

A Comprehensive Survey of Rock Art in Upper Tibet

Volume I. Eastern Byang thang

John Vincent Bellezza



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ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY



ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD

Summertown Pavilion

18-24 Middle Way

Summertown

Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-80327-503-1

ISBN 978-1-80327-504-8 (e-Pdf)

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Cover: Gnam mtsho (Sky Lake) from the southeast side of the lake. Photograph was taken in the early morning during placid weather. Spine: Outline of Inv. no. S1_L9_C11a: stag, Protohistoric Period. Cat107.

Maps and diagrams by Brian Sebastian and John Vincent Bellezza.



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Acknowledgements

It is with much gratitude that I acknowledge the support of the **Lumbini International Research Institute** (LIRI), who through a generous grant enabled me to compose this volume. I want to specially thank Dr Christoph Cüppers, the acting Director of LIRI, who has seen fit to assist my efforts in publishing many of the findings I obtained in Tibet still pending. Three other friends personally provided financial assistance for this work and I very much thank them for it. Frederique Darragon funded the creation of a set of rock art locator diagrams, while Richard X Zawitz underwrote the copyediting services and helped defray expenses involved in the production of the book. Jim Carota assumed the remaining costs incurred in production. Angela Clyburn was so good as to take it upon herself to digitally enhance hundreds of rock art images using special software. Her efforts proved essential to this work by making some rock art compositions visible to me for the first time and by bringing many others into clearer focus. I would also like to thank an anonymous reviewer for helpful comments.

As an independent researcher and explorer with little recourse to university and corporate sponsorship, every act of kindness shown to me by friends, colleagues and strangers alike, whether it was material or informational in nature, assumes special significance. Nonetheless, I have enjoyed much intellectual liberty in my quest to elucidate the ancient cultural make-up of Tibet, managing to be free of burdensome teaching assignments and faculty obligations. Operating independently has also allowed me to remain vigilant regarding the pet theories of others and the latest socio-political trends in academia. Yet, I am always cognizant of the fact that the liberty I have attained was largely empowered by the generosity and goodwill of others.

I am most fortunate to have been guided and befriended by many Tibetans over the course of launching expeditions to uppermost Tibet. This volume is the fruit of fieldwork and exploration in Tibet initiated in 1986, none of which would have been possible without the assistance of literally thousands of shepherds, farmers, monks, scholars, and government officials in Tibet. The drivers, cooks and guides who helped run many of my expeditions often had to endure difficult conditions and they command my respect. Although even those Tibetans whom I remember most must remain unnamed for the time being, their contributions are much appreciated. I also want to heartily thank the dear friends who accompanied me on expeditions to Tibet. Of special note is the late C. Ashely McAllen M.D., who participated in and helped fund fieldwork in 1999 and 2004–2007. His memory is cherished. Special thanks go out to R. Claire Bellezza who helped make the 1994 expedition to Upper Tibet especially pleasurable. Many friends have offered moral and material encouragement over the decades of exploration and research on which this work rests. It is with much satisfaction that I salute them all. Family members have been steadfast in their support of my labours and have helped me as best they could. Expressing the debt of gratitude owed and affection I have for them is beyond my powers as a writer to express.

Despite any shortcomings in this book, as surely there are, I sincerely hope that all those who have assisted me (directly or indirectly) in writing it will not see their efforts as having been made in vain.

Precis

This volume comprehensively documents rock art in Upper Tibet,¹ the first of five books planned on the subject. Rock art, the alteration of natural rock surfaces as cultural productions, is typically one of the most durable of archaeological assets worldwide. The territory referred to as Upper Tibet in this work occupies much of the western half of the Tibetan Plateau, the highest part of the highest plateau on earth.² The Tibetan Plateau is strategically situated in the heart of Asia and covers an area of approximately 2,400,000 km². To the west and south lies the Indian Subcontinent and Burma, while cultural China occupies the east and Inner Asia is in the north. The pictographs (rock paintings) and petroglyphs (rock carvings),³ rock art sites, and descriptions and analyses presented in this work are the direct result of intensive fieldwork conducted by the author in Upper Tibet between 1995 and 2016. By organizing rock art as well as related findings collected on eighteen major expeditions into a single research framework,⁴ a coherent exposition of this area of inquiry is achieved. The present volume and others of the series, examine the physical, aesthetic and semantic characteristics of rock art in Upper Tibet. It is subject to archaeological, historical and ethnographic investigation, which lays the foundation for systematically exploring various questions regarding the role of rock art in forging Upper Tibet's past. As is conveyed in this and other volumes of the series, rock art in this territory serves as a kind of cultural bridge spanning some 3000 years. Hence, this corpus of primary materials is uniquely placed chronologically, enabling the distant past to set the stage for gaining new perspectives on the more familiar Tibetan legacies of later times.

The study of rock art is of much value, for it provides a great wealth of information on ancient settlement and culture in Tibet (as it does worldwide). These paintings and carvings on stone represent a continuous record of habitation and cultural development over a wide swath of Tibet, beginning no later than the Late Bronze Age and continuing until c. 1400 AD and even to the present day. The origins of the large fund of rock art in Upper Tibet can be traced back to no later than the Late Bronze Age (c. 1200–700 BC) and persisted as an interrelated cultural, regional and technological expression in the Iron Age (ca. 700–100 BC) and Protohistoric period (c. 100 BC – 600 AD). The rock art of this Late Prehistoric era (c. 1200 BC – 600 AD) is primarily characterized by zoomorphic depiction and close interactions between animals and humans in both hunting and non-hunting contexts. In the Early Historic period (c. 600–1000 AD), the rock art of Upper Tibet began to chronicle numerous encounters between Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions and sometimes appears alongside Tibetan rock inscriptions. As this book and others in the same series demonstrate, it is in the rock art of Upper Tibet that some of the most widespread icons and symbols adopted by the two Lamaist religions (Buddhism and Yungdrung Bon) first manifested. Yet, there was no complete break with the past and hunting displays and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic portraiture continued to fascinate rock art makers in the Early Historic period and Vestigial period (c. 1000–1400 AD). The old tradition of carving and painting natural rock surfaces in Upper Tibet, often relying upon preestablished themes and scene architecture, continued until as late as c. 14th century AD, before largely disappearing from the archaeological record (Bellezza 2020b). Nonetheless, there is also a smaller body of rock paintings and carvings that prevailed in the Late Historic period (c. 1400–1950 AD), which extends traditional legacies of figuration to within living memory.

¹ This territory falls under the jurisdiction of the Tibet Autonomous Region of the Peoples Republic of China. In premodern times, it was part of lands ruled by the Lhasa government (Sde pa gzhung).

² West of Upper Tibet, the 'Western Tibetan Plateau' includes the regions of Ladakh and Spiti under Indian jurisdiction, Baltistan in Pakistan, and Transhimalayan areas of Nepal (Humla, Dolpo, Mustang, etc.). There are manifold commonalities in the content of rock art on the Western Tibetan Plateau. Adjacent tracts to the east of Upper Tibet, in what are now the Mtsho nub and Yul shul Prefectures of Qinghai province on the Eastern Tibetan Plateau, also share an interrelated physical and cultural environment with the Western Tibetan Plateau.

³ Pictographs (rock paintings) are also known as cave paintings, cave drawings, rock paintings, and rupestrian paintings. Synonyms for petroglyphs include rock engravings/etchings, and rupestrian carvings/engravings/etchings.

⁴ These expeditions were planned and executed by the author with local residents acting as guides and providing logistical support on a voluntary basis. Friends of the author also accompanied him on several of the campaigns to survey rock art, sometimes participating in its documentation. In expeditions launched after 1998, paid staff was a critical element of most missions. Staff members were engaged in the operation and maintenance of transport vehicles, cooking and other camp chores, and as liaisons with government officials. The expeditions in which rock art was surveyed are as follows: Divine Dyads Expedition, year two (1995), Changthang Phase II Expedition, year one (1997), Changthang Phase II Expedition, year two (1998), Changthang Circuit Expedition (1999), Upper Tibet Circumnavigation Expedition (2000), Upper Tibet Antiquities Expedition (2001), High Tibet Circle Expedition (2002), High Tibet Antiquities Expedition (2003), High Tibet Welfare Expedition (2004), Tibet Upland Expedition (2005), Tibet Ice Lakes Expedition (2006), Tibet Highland Expedition (2006), Wild Yak Lands Expedition (2007), Sky Lake Expedition I (2008), Upper Tibetan Rock Art Expedition I (2010), Upper Tibetan Rock Art Expedition II, year one (2011), Sky Lake Expedition II (2012), and Upper Tibetan Rock Art Expedition II, year two (2013). Each of the expeditions in which rock art was catalogued were between one and six months in length. As well as these expeditions, rock art was documented on two shorter excursions to Upper Tibet in 2014 and 2016.

In addition to this work and its focus on the eastern portion of Upper Tibet, there are four other volumes planned for the series which, when brought to fruition, will constitute the most extensive study of rock art conducted in Upper Tibet to date. All five volumes are contracted for publication by Archaeopress (Oxford) and are expected to appear in print over the next three years. This first volume inventories rock art in a region called the Eastern Byang thang (pronounced Changthang).⁵ Like this book, Volumes II, III and IV consist of regional surveys of rock art and are geographically organized from east to west. The second volume is devoted to the rock art of the Central and Western Byang thang, while the third and fourth volumes examine the rock art of Stod in the far west of Tibet. In total, around 11,000 rock art subjects are to be individually inventoried through the compilation of standardized sets of data. Basic information on rock art production techniques, subject identification, thematic class, mode of presentation, physical condition, estimated age, and relative location, etc. are supplied for each piece of rock art. In addition to the datasets, the first four volumes of the series offer rock art site descriptions and assess the cultural, religious and artistic development of these locations. Particularly in this first volume on the rock art of the Eastern Byang thang, a spectrum of collateral archaeological sites (residential, ceremonial and funerary) is scrutinized. When viewed in combination with these monumental assets, the social and economic context of rock art in the region comes into sharper focus. The fifth and final volume of the series contains the bulk of the text, a rigorous examination of the ideological, technical, chronological, cross-cultural comparative, and statistical aspects of rock art in Upper Tibet. Drawing from the inventory, the significance of rock art to an understanding of the cultural and historical development of Tibet and its place in the archaeological mosaic of Eurasia more widely is plumbed in depth. There are also extensive methodological and theoretical discussions planned for the fifth volume, which situate the rock art of Upper Tibet in a broader academic and artistic ambit.

⁵ In this work the most widely used system of Roman transliteration of Tibetan terms, which is called modified Wylie, is uniformly employed for consistency and accuracy. Without the degree of linguistic precision offered by the correct rendering of Tibetan terms, the cultural and historical analyses undertaken in this volume and others in the series would be seriously compromised. To avoid unwieldy repetitions, it was decided that phonetic equivalents of Tibetan terms would not be included in the work. However, Tibetan words that have been adopted into the English language (e.g. lama, Lhasa) appear as they do in English. It should be emphasized that the system of transliteration employed in this work differs greatly from Sincized designations of Tibetan terms which are now frequently used in science publications worldwide. For example, the Tibetan word for lake *mtsho* (pronounced *tsho*) is often written as *co* in technical articles. It is the author's view that the confusion engendered by disparate systems of transliteration is best overcome by the embrace of Tibetan linguistic traditions in this work.

Section I

General Introduction

Ia. A Geographic, Environmental, and Administrative Review

Upper Tibet consists of two major regions that are traditionally known to Tibetans as Byang thang and Stod.¹ The larger Byang thang (literally: Northern Plains), a sprawling expanse of mountain ranges, basins and plains, occupies the eastern two-thirds of the territory, while the valleys, mountain ranges and badlands of Stod are situated in the far west. However, the physiographic boundary between the Byang thang and Stod is not clearly demarcated; rather they overlap as the high tablelands of the former give way to the lower elevation of the valleys of the latter. In fact, the Western Byang thang is often seen as an integral part of Stod, because it too was, and still is, administered by Mnga'ris (now a prefecture of the TAR). The Byang thang is set north of the two main Transhimalayan ranges. In geographic parlance, these two ranges have come to be called Gnyan chen thang lha (eastern subdivision) and Gangs ti se (western subdivision), which in scientific literature are spelled in a variety of ways.² In the west, the northern boundary of Upper Tibet is formed by the Kunlun Mountains, which demarcates sections of the border between the provinces of TAR (Tibet

Autonomous Region) and Xinjiang in the PRC (Peoples Republic of China). In the east, the northern bounds of Upper Tibet are formed by the Gdang la (Tanggula) range, which divides the TAR and Qinghai provinces. The Byang thang is a descriptive geographic term that refers to the topographic characteristics of the region and does not carry any weight as political geographic nomenclature. It has often been used by residents of primarily agrarian Central Tibetan (in places such as Lhasa and Shigatse) to mean rather ambiguously the homeland of their stock-rearing northern neighbours. That is also the case with Byang, a toponym that refers rather inexactly to the vast northern regions of the herders. From this word comes *byang ba* (northerner), which denotes the herders or *'brog pa* of the north.³ Although the term Byang thang does not appear to be of ancient origins, the use of the word Byang to denote some or all of the Byang thang has a long historical pedigree.⁴

This first volume in the series on the rock art of Upper Tibet is dedicated to the pictographs of the eastern quarter of Upper Tibet, a region referred to as the Eastern Byang thang. In terms of biogeographical and physiographic make-up, the Eastern Byang thang stretches all the way east to Sog County (94° E), but this survey is only concerned with the territory set west of 91° E. The Eastern Byang thang is demarcated in this study as extending as far west as 88.4° E, which coincides with the Rgyal gangs ri (a meridian range of lofty peaks) and Ske ring mtsho (a very large salt lake), both of which are in Shan rtsa County. Although the Eastern Byang thang reaches all the way north to the Kunlun Mountains, the rock art surveyed is concentrated in the

¹ The earliest known documents and inscriptions in Tibetan date to the 7th and 8th centuries AD, where it appears as a highly sophisticated language that exhibits a mature grammar and syntax and an extensive vocabulary. Clearly, the origins of the Tibetan language lie in a much earlier period. Therefore, an understanding of Tibetan is a vital tool in the investigation of the cultural context of Upper Tibetan rock art, especially for that produced after the 7th century AD. According to Tibetan written sources, prior to the 7th century AD and the annexation of Upper Tibet into the Tibetan empire, two other Tibeto-Burman languages were spoken there: Zhang zhung (in the west) and Sum pa (in the east). Extant lexicons in Zhang zhung are scanty and what are purportedly terms of Sum pa language origin occur in Yungdrung Bon liturgical texts. Words and passages in these two languages have been written using the Tibetan script, mostly postdating the 11th century AD, and admit of lexical and orthographic innovations that arose subsequent to their use as spoken languages in Upper Tibet, beclouding their earlier vernacular forms. On the Zhang zhung language, see, e.g. Martin 2010; Hummel 2000; Dagkar 2003: 10–41.

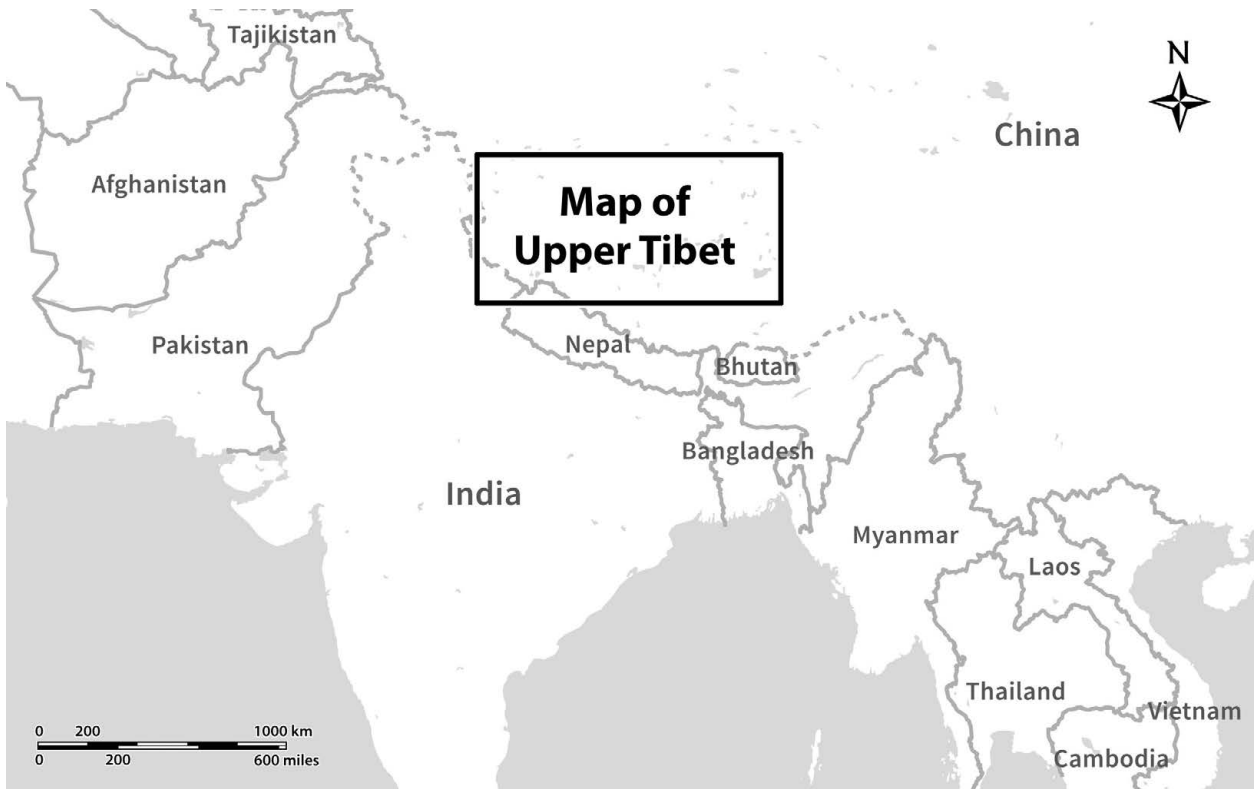
² In the English language, the Transhimalayan (also Trans-Himalayan) range of Gnyan chen thang lha is frequently rendered phonetically as Nyenchen Tanglha, while the established Chinese spelling is Nyainqentanglha. The Transhimalayan range of Gangs ti se appears in various forms with Gangdise, Gangdese, and Gangdisi commonly encountered, but also as Gangdisê in pinyin (official system of transliteration used in the PRC).

³ On the culture and way of life of the *'brog pa*, see, e.g. Bellezza 1997a; 2014c: 47–73; Norbu 1997; Goldstein and Beall 1990; Ekvall 1968.

⁴ One ancient recorded form is Byang 'brog (Pastures of the North/Wilderness of the North), which is closely associated with the hunting of wild yaks and deer in several Old Tibetan historical and funerary and curative ritual manuscripts that date to the Early Historic period. Another form found in Tibetan manuscripts of the Early Historic period is Byang ka snam brgyad, a region of eight parts (*snam brgyad*, Classical Tibetan: *nam brgyad*), which appears to be synonymous with some or all of the Byang thang. On these Old Tibetan terms, see Bellezza 2008: 519, 520; 2010: 69; 2013a: 210, 238, 239. Byang ka, meaning 'north' or perhaps more precisely 'expanse of the north', parallels other geographic terminology; e.g. *thang ka* (plain) *sna ka* (prow of a ridge).



Map 1. Map of the Tibetan Plateau and adjoining countries. The TAR (Tibet Autonomous Region) is highlighted in the middle of the map. This region corresponds with what is sometimes called inner Tibet.



Map 2. Location of Upper Tibet, see Map 3 for site locations.

southernmost portion of the region (below 32° N). In the current system of political geography instituted by the PRC, the Eastern Byang thang falls mostly under the jurisdiction of Nag chu, one of six prefectures of the TAR. Rock art is found in Dpal mgon County (*rdzong* in Tibetan; *xiàn* in pinyin) in the east and Shan rtsa County in the west, two subdivisions of Nag chu Prefecture. A tiny portion of the Eastern Byang thang, coinciding with the eastern half of the Lake Gnam mtsho basin,⁵ is placed in 'Dam gzhung County, Lhasa Prefecture. In the premodern political geography of Tibet employed by the Lhasa government (*Sde pa gzhung*), the Eastern Byang thang was apportioned into several major and many minor regions, which were owned by various aristocratic, abbatial and monastic estates, or ruled directly by the government. The traditional classification and administration of regions in Upper Tibet is an involved historical subject to which only the briefest of introductions can be given here. One broad administrative region was traditionally called *Byang rigs sde bzhi*, the four divisions of which encompassed the Eastern Byang thang west of 91° E. According to the Tibetan geographic text *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad*, *Byang rigs sde bzhi* was made up of four districts: Nag tshang, Gnam ru, Nag chu and Yangs pa can (Wylie (1962: 88)).⁶ The basic geographic unit and taxation entity of each district in old Tibet consisted of amalgamations of pastoral encampments generally known as *tsho pa* and *shog kha*, which for simplicity's sake are called 'confederated areas' in this work. Lake Gnam mtsho, in the southeast corner of the Eastern Byang thang, was divided between the eight confederated areas of 'Dam gzhung, the seven confederated areas of Sa skya and the 13 confederated areas of Gnam ru. West of Gnam mtsho there were the confederated areas of G.yag pa, which were grouped into several subdistricts (G.yag pa thar ma, G.yag pa pro mo drug bcu (sp?) and G.yag pa grum pa). The western portion of the Eastern Byang thang belonged to the six confederated areas of Nag tshang. Three other important districts on the Eastern Byang thang were Nag chu kha, A mdo and Bar tha, none of which contain rock art recorded by the author.

Like the rest of the Byang thang, the Eastern Byang thang is almost all given over to a pastoralist economy and semi-nomadic way of life. It is a cold, semiarid to arid region with dramatic diurnal temperature fluctuations due to the extremely high elevation. The cultivation of barley is limited to a few enclaves

and much of this grain never matures and ends up as animal feed. Local herders known as *'brog pa* raise yaks, sheep, goats, and horses, eking out a livelihood in very harsh conditions. The Byang thang averages more than 4700 m in elevation, ranging from 4450 m in the most depressed lake basins to 5300 m on the plains of the north and northwest. It is beset by unpredictable and fast changing weather conditions as well as stiff winds much of the time. The region enjoys a summer season of only around eight weeks in length. Subfreezing temperatures must be contended with for the remainder of the year. Even in the middle of the summer blizzards may hit, often wiping out great numbers of livestock. The Eastern Byang thang, the wettest part of Upper Tibet, only receives c. 400 mm precipitation in the east and 300 mm in the west (Lu *et al.* 2019; Schaller 1998: 29).⁷ The lower rainfall in the west of the Eastern Byang thang is part of a wider trend of decreased precipitation and temperatures on the Tibetan Plateau from the southeast to the northwest. This trend is accounted for by increased continentality, higher elevation and higher latitude on a southeast to the northwest transect. The climate of this very elevated landmass is strongly influenced by the Indian summer monsoon, this being particularly true of the Eastern Byang thang. The interaction of the westerlies with the Indian southwestern monsoon are pivotal forces in the climate of the Byang thang. The Byang thang, an integral biogeographical zone, is noteworthy for its many brackish, saline, and freshwater lakes. The two largest lakes in the region are Gnam mtsho (slightly brackish) and Zi leng mtsho (saline), both of which are situated on the Eastern Byang thang. The Tibetan Plateau contains 52% of the lakes (covering an area of 40,000 km²) of the PRC, (Wu *et al.* 2019), the majority of which are found on the Byang thang. Due to glacial loss (overall c. 15% in last 30 years), rising temperatures, and generally more precipitation, some lakes of the Byang-thang lakes are among the fastest growing in world.

The cold, semi-arid climate and high-altitude southern tier of the Byang thang is comprised mainly of so-called alpine grasslands, an ideal resource for the keeping of livestock. Much of the Eastern Byang thang is blanketed in alpine meadow (pasture) and alpine steppe vegetation, with *Kobresia pygmaea*

⁵ The neologism 'Lake Gnam mtsho' is used to make it clear to readers that this refers to a lake. This toponym is a tautology as '*mtsho*' means 'lake' in Tibet.

⁶ Yangs pa can is a pastoralist region south of the Transhimalaya, under which the important pastoralist region of 'Dam gzhung (also south of the Transhimalaya) is presumably subsumed in this scheme of classification.

⁷ The 300 mm isoline is found just west of the Shen rtsa County seat (Lu *et al.* 2019). In the county seat of Gnam ru (Chinese: Baingoin), 70 km northwest of the Gnam mtsho, total annual precipitation, measured from 1957 to 2010, varied between 170 mm and 469 mm with a mean of 312 mm (Liang *et al.* 2012). There has been a trend to warmer and wetter conditions on the Tibetan Plateau in the last few decades. On these recent climatic phenomena, see Li *et al.* 2010. Wang *et al.* (2008) state that surface temperatures on the Tibetan Plateau have increased by c. 1.8°C over the last 50 years and further increases may lead to enhanced summer rainfall. Based on more comprehensive meteorological data, Zhong *et al.* (2019) identify a consistent warming trend from 1960–2014, the average increase being 2.2 times the global mean.

predominating in the former and *Stipa purpurea* being the dominant perennial grass in the latter biome.⁸ Hummock swamps consisting primarily of *Kobresia schoenoides* are scattered around many areas of the Eastern Byang thang.⁹ Herbaceous plants belonging to the genus *Artemisia* are prolific in the region. Dwarf willows (genus *Salix* L.) and junipers (*Juniperus pingii* var. *wilsonii*) grow in some protected south-facing locations, particularly near the limestone and granite formations that encircle Gnam mtsho. There is also a special vegetation linked to geothermal sites.¹⁰ In the northern tier of the Eastern Byang thang (above 33°N) there is transition from alpine meadows to high-cold desert.¹¹ While there are trees, flowers and perhaps other vegetation depicted in the rock art of Upper Tibet, their identification is uncertain.

The zoomorphic rock art of Upper Tibet is characterized by wild ungulates, large carnivores and birds that are mostly native to the territory. Thanks to its vast wild pasturelands, the Byang thang once supported large populations of wild herbivores including the now rare wild yak (*Bos grunniens*), the endemic white-lipped deer (*Cervus albirostris*; now restricted to the eastern margin of the Eastern Byang thang), Tibetan wild ass (*Equus hemionus*; the largest species of wild ass in the world), Tibetan antelope (*Pantholops hodgsoni*), argali (*Ovis ammon hodgsoni*; the largest wild sheep species in the world), blue sheep (*Pseudois nayaur*), and Tibetan gazelle (*Procapra picticaudata*), all of which are represented in the rock art of Upper Tibet. Other common but smaller mammalian species in the territory, such as the Tibetan woolly hare (*Lepus oiostolus*), Himalayan marmot (*Marmota himalayana*), and black-lipped pika (*Ochotona curzoniae*), are little seen in rock art.¹² Large carnivores on the Byang thang are the brown bear (*Ursus arctos*), snow leopard (*Panthera uncia*), wolf (*Canis lupus*), and lynx (*Felis lynx*). In addition to the tiger, these large wild carnivores are fairly common portrayals in Upper

Tibetan rock art. The Tibetan sand fox (*Vulpes ferrilata*) and red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) also occur on the Byang thang but they appear to be little depicted in rock art. It is reported that 67 species of birds breed on the Byang thang and 156 species in the far west of Tibet, which are mostly comprised of Palearctic species but with some Sino-Himalayan species as well (Vaurie 1972: 110–144).¹³ Bar-headed Goose (*Anser indicus*), followed by Brown-headed Gull (*Larus brunnicephalus*), Ruddy Shelduck (*Tadorna ferruginea*) and Great Black-headed Gull (*L. ichthyaetus*) made up 81.2% of all the waterbirds counted on an extensive survey carried out in the southern tier of the Byang thang (Zhang *et al.* 2015). Ravens, tit warblers, snow finches, ground choughs, snowcocks, sand grouse, larks, and desert wheatears are also common in the southern Byang-thang (Yeshe De Project 1986: 56). Black-necked Cranes (*Grus nigricollis*) were counted at 39 lakes in Nag chu and Mnga' ris Prefectures (Zhang *et al.* 2015). A wide range of raptors fly in the skies of the Byang thang, including those belonging to the families of Falconidae, Strigidae and Accipitridae. Many taxa of birds, especially birds of prey, grace the rock art of Upper Tibet.

It is widely accepted that the formation of the Tibetan Plateau was mainly the result of the collision of the Indian and Eurasian tectonic plates during the Cenozoic and the subsequent subduction of the Indian plate beneath the Eurasian plate.¹⁴ The Tibetan Plateau has had a huge bearing on shaping the global climate and in the distribution of biogeographical zones in Eurasia. The Tibetan Plateau is the youngest example of continent-to-continent collision, subduction and spreading, which was initiated 50–70 million years ago (Liu *et al.* 2019). The modern deformation regime was established 8–15 million years ago (Royden *et al.* 2008). The plate tectonic forces that formed the Tibetan Plateau occurred in stages, producing six nearly east-west oriented crustal blocks or terranes that are accreted to Eurasia. The Tibetan orogenic belt consists of (from south to north) the Himalayan, Lhasa, Qiangtang, Songpan-Ganzi-Hoh-Xil, Kunlun-Qaidam, and Qilian blocks, each of which is separated from one another by suture zones (Liu *et al.* 2019; Spicer *et al.* 2021). Upper Tibet is composed of the Himalayan block and two terranes, Lhasa and Qiangtang (each measuring 1000 km in length and 200–400 km wide), which are separated from one another by the Indus-Yarlung suture zone (consisting of a depression with two axial rivers flowing in opposite directions) and the Bangong-Nujiang suture zone (running north of Ru thog, Sger rste, Nyi ma and Nag chu) respectively. The

⁸ Around 60% of the entire area of the Tibetan Plateau is composed of alpine steppe (*S. purpurea* and *Carex* high-cold steppe), alpine meadow (*Kobresia* and forb high-cold meadow), and alpine sparse vegetation (Ni and Herzsuh 2011: 431). Miehe *et al.* (2011) estimate that grasslands belonging to the Poaceae and Cyperaceae families and cushion plants in the central and western highlands of Tibet cover around 800,000 km². *Kobresia* pastures constitute the largest pastoral alpine ecosystem in the world, the main component of which is an endemic dwarf sedge, *Kobresia pygmaea*, which forms a tough cover of turf secured by a felty root mat that on the southern Byang thang extends west to the 82nd meridian (Miehe *et al.* 2019). The typical alpine steppe community of *S. purpurea* is sparse, with plant coverage not more than 20% (Chang: 1981).

⁹ It is reported that hummock swamps of the Cyperaceae family cover 80,000 km² of the Tibetan highlands (Miehe *et al.* 2011).

¹⁰ More than 600 geothermal sites have been documented in the TAR (Gustafsson 1993: 26).

¹¹ *Carex moorcroftii* and *Ceratoides compacta* are the dominant species in the northernmost tier of the Byang thang (Chang 1981).

¹² For a general study of large mammals on the Byang thang, see Schaller 1998; 'Animal Diversity Web (ADW)': <https://animaldiversity.org/>. Selected wildlife of Upper Tibet will be examined in more detail in Vol. V of this study.

¹³ For a list of bird species found on the Tibetan Plateau, see 'Avibase – The World Bird Database': <https://avibase.bsc-eoc.org/checklist.jsp?region=cnti>

¹⁴ However, it is not yet known precisely when Cretaceous sedimentary formations associated with the orogenic cycles responsible for the Tethys Sea closure on the Byang thang took place. Dates range from the early to late Cretaceous. On questions related to the Tethys Sea closure, see Liu *et al.* 2018.

Qiangtang terrane was accreted to the Songpan-Ganzi terrane in the north along the Jinsha Suture during the late Triassic or early Jurassic, while the Lhasa terrane was accreted to the Qiangtang terrane along the Banggong Suture during the early Cretaceous (Dewey *et al.* 1988; Liu *et al.* 2015). The Qiangtang terrane is covered in Mesozoic strata with outcrops of granitoids and volcanic rocks, while the Bangong-Nujiang suture zone is composed of scattered ophiolitic fragments and Jurassic flysch, the remnants of the Bangong-Nujiang Tethys (Liu *et al.* 2018). The Lhasa terrane, which underthrusts the Qiangtang block, is bounded on the south by the Gangdese (Transhimalayan) belt of magmatic rocks. South of that is the Himalayan orogenic belt. The Lhasa terrane is distinguished by the huge Early Jurassic-Middle Eocene Gangdese magmatic belt in the south and by Palaeozoic-Mesozoic strata in the centre and north (Liu *et al.* 2018). The Gangdese magmatic belt is thought to have formed during the north-dipping subduction of the Indus-Yarlung Tethyan lithosphere, or alternatively, after the collision of the Indian and Eurasian plates along the Indus-Yarlung suture (Liu *et al.* 2018). The Byang-thang has ample reserves of soda, borax, asbestos, graphite, iron, gypsum, quartz, and gold (Yeshe De Project 1986: 56).

Ib. Ancient Cultural Characteristics of the Eastern Byang thang

This résumé of the ancient cultural characteristics of the Eastern Byang thang serves as a prelude to more extensive treatment of the subject planned for Vol. V of the series. It is designed to equip the reader with an archaeological and historical orientation to the region, thereby placing the rock art inventoried in this work in a broader context.

The southern tier of the Eastern Byang thang has been long settled by human beings, with the earliest occupation potentially dating to the Upper Palaeolithic some 20,000 to 40,000 years ago.¹⁵ Although traces of

¹⁵ It is still not known when the earliest homo sapiens colonizers reached the Tibetan Plateau. A paucity of ancient human remains in secure archaeological contexts has impeded an understanding of the population history of this huge territory. Lu *et al.* (2016) conclude that the genetic origins of the Tibetans are considerably more ancient and more complex than previously thought, pushing them back to at least 40,000 years before present. The evidence presented in the Lu *et al.* study indicates the existence of both Palaeolithic and Neolithic ancestries in the Tibetan gene pool (paternal and maternal lineages), establishing continuities between the prehistoric inhabitants and those of today. Based on the findings of various other studies as well as their own, Liu *et al.* (2022) conclude that the Tibetan genetic patrimony rests on a substratum of Palaeolithic Eurasian ancestry (making up as much as 20% of the Tibetan lineage), yet most of their ancestry is held in common with Late Neolithic populations of the Upper Yellow River basin, particularly those that belonged to the Qijia culture. Nevertheless, Liu *et al.* (2022) hold that genetic links between Tibetans and lowlanders probably cannot be fully accounted for by wholesale migration emanating from the Upper Yellow River basin, which served as a vehicle for the spread of barley cultivation and domestic animals on the Plateau, c. the early to middle second

early human settlement have been discovered in the northern part of the Eastern Byang thang, it is the south of the region (below the 32nd parallel) that was and is most amenable to colonization. The south is warmer, wetter and on average lower in elevation than the north (much of the north is covered in permafrost). Hence, it is no surprise that the southern tier of the Eastern Byang thang is where the rock art and associated structural remains of the Late Prehistoric era are distributed. At a place called Nwya Devu, in the southern part of the Eastern Byang thang (Shan rtsa County, Gzhung smad Township), the first excavation of a stratified site on the Tibetan Plateau believed to be of Palaeolithic antiquity was conducted between 2013 and 2018. Nwya Devu is not far from rock art sites S21 and S22 of this volume. Relying upon optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating techniques, the earliest of the three strata excavated at Nwya Devu. and by extension the lithic assemblage it contained, which is marked by relatively advanced prismatic core and blade technology (blade cores, flake cores, blades, flakes, and others), are estimated to date from 30,000 to as much as 40,000–45,000 years ago (Zhang *et al.* 2018). While this forgoing study requires much follow-up work, including the discovery of other stratified sites that potentially predate the Last Glacial Maximum (18,000–24,000 years ago), it is indicative of the longstanding nature of human activity in Upper Tibet.¹⁶

millennium BC. Based on major differences in the archaeological cultures of the Tibetan Plateau and Upper Yellow River basin and the distribution of adaptive alleles related to hypoxia, Liu *et al.* (2022) consider that the Tibetan genetic pool potentially formed well before 2000 BC. In addition to examining the phylogenetic data of other East Asian populations, He *et al.* (2021) collected genome-wide data of 78 modern Tibetans that they differentiate into 11 geographic regions, as well as genomic data from eight genetically related ancient humans discovered in the Mustang region of Nepal (Chokhopani, Mebrak and Samdzong burials), which date between c. 800 BC – 500 AD. The He *et al.* (2021) study holds that modern Tibetans can be divided into several population substructures: Central Tibetans have predominant Palaeolithic and Neolithic ancestries derived from indigenous hunting-foraging groups stemming from early Eurasian lineages and the Yellow River basin respectively, while Amdo Tibetans on the northeast part of the Plateau have an admixture of 2% or 3% western Eurasian haplotypes, and Kham Tibetans in the southeast have strong Neolithic Southeast Asian affinities. Presumably, for the purposes of their study, He *et al.* (2021), subsume adjoining parts of Upper Tibet under Central Tibet, but nowhere is this made manifest. Another recent study of genome-wide SNP data by Ma *et al.* (2022) suggests that the general pattern of allele and haplotype sharing between Tibetans living in eastern Nag chu (Sbra chen County), Lhasa, Shigatse, and Chamdo is characterized by a significant degree of genetic homogeneity. Thus, this study refers to these overlapping groups or clades as 'core Tibetans'. The Ma *et al.* (2022) study reaffirms that the so-called core Tibetans share much of their genetic ancestry with the prehistoric populations in Mustang noted above. The scope of genetic drift and admixture and its implications for an understanding of Tibetan population history discussed in the studies outlined in this note are preliminary in nature. The sampling of larger quantities of ancient nuclear and mitochondrial DNA is sorely needed if the historical and spatial relationships between the prehistoric and contemporary populations of Tibet are to be more accurately fixed.

¹⁶ On potential Palaeolithic sites more generally on the Tibetan Plateau, see Aldenderfer and Zhang 2004; d'Alpoim Guedes and Aldenderfer 2020.

Wang *et al.* (2020), show that the Central Tibetans are closely related genetically to the inhabitants of Chokhopani (c. 800–600 BC), Mustang.¹⁷ A more extensive study of ancient genomes from Transhimalayan regions of Nepal pushes the formation of the Tibetan gene pool back to c. 1500–1300 BC, at least 500 years earlier than findings from Chokhopani (Liu *et al.* 2022). This study is based on genome-wide data that was obtained through DNA extracted from dental materials that belonged to 38 individuals in seven burial sites in the Mustang and Manang regions of Nepal, which range in age from c. 1500 BC – 650 AD.¹⁸ These are highly significant findings because they indicate that the demographic composition of Tibetans has been relatively stable since no later than the Late Bronze Age. Thus, it appears that the rock art corpus of Upper Tibet was primarily the production of individuals possessing a Tibetan genetic profile. It follows that the thematic, artistic, and technical developments in the rock art of the territory can mostly be assigned to endogenous cultural processes rather than to major demographic shifts in the population. That historic Tibetans are largely of the same ancestry as their Late Prehistoric forebears goes some way to explaining the manifold continuities exhibited in the content of rock art, not just in Upper Tibet but across much of the Plateau (this topic will be discussed in Vol. V of the series). Nevertheless, allowance must also be made for certain rock art compositions having been made by non-Tibetans, e.g. that which occurs in site S1.

The rock art of Upper Tibet provides a great wealth of information on ancient settlement and culture in the region, but only many millennia after Nwya Devu. Rock art paintings and carvings represent a continuous record of habitation and cultural development in Upper Tibet beginning no later than the Late Bronze Age and continuing until c. 1400 AD and even to the present day. Relatively little is still known about the Neolithic in Upper Tibet, a time before rock art production began in that territory.¹⁹ Although it is very likely that some sites

in which rock art occurs were exploited by antecedent Neolithic hunting and foraging peoples, who may not have left behind permanent dwellings or other fixed structures, the cultural and linguistic relationship between them and creators of early rock art in Upper Tibet remains shrouded in mystery.²⁰ Nonetheless, that Upper Tibetans in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age chiefly developed endogenously from in-situ Neolithic hunting, foraging, agrarian and/or pastoral societies is supported by genomic findings, which indicate that there was no fundamental demographic break in Tibetan populations after the Late Neolithic (c. 2000–1500 BC).

The rock art of the Eastern Byang is almost entirely comprised of pictographs, while petroglyphs predominate in the rest of Upper Tibet. The tradition of pictographic rock art on the Tibetan Plateau is clearly centred on the Eastern Byang thang.²¹ Almost all rock art sites of the Eastern Byang thang are associated with natural parietal structures, which exist in the limestone outcrops and escarpments that dot the region. The ample limestone formations of the Eastern Byang thang

on the Tibetan Plateau by Chinese archaeologists since the 1980s. On the Neolithic in Tibet, also see Chayet 1994: 34–55; Aldenderfer and Zhang 2004: 26–40; d’Alpoim Guedes and Aldenderfer 2020.

²⁰ It appears that it was the native inhabitants of Upper Tibet who incorporated bronze and iron technologies from North Inner Asian sources into their cultural matrix in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (Bellezza 2020a; *Flight of the Khyung*; www.tibetarchaeology.com/february-2016/ and www.tibetarchaeology.com/march-2016/). This indigenous adaptation of Eurasian technological advances coincided with other innovations that led to more socially and economically complex societies in Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Upper Tibet (Bellezza 2020c). Cao *et al.* (2022) observe that the repertoire of copper and arsenical copper tools and ornaments from burials of Gepa Serul (c. 1600–1100 BC), in far western Tibet, have strong affinities with those of bronze cultures of the Eastern Steppe and Northern Zone. Lead isotope values of most objects from Gepa Serul are characterized as highly radiogenic lead (HRL) but differ markedly from HRL ores used in the Central Plains, Hexi Corridor and Xinjiang; therefore, direct transmission of metallurgical technologies and objects to far western Tibet is not likely (Cao *et al.* 2022). That Tibetan copper alloy objects of the Late Prehistoric era are derivative and not simple copies of those belonging to the Northern Zone (Northwest China) and Xinjiang is supported by the typological study of a wide range of metallic objects (Bellezza 2020a; 2020c). Yet, this does not rule out foreign groups through invasion, migration or marriage as having contributed to the cultural florescence of Upper Tibet in the Late Prehistoric era. Any such interactions may have involved introgression or perhaps the mixing of novel haplotypes into the Upper Tibetan gene pool but this remains to be determined. The welter of clans and tribes, some of foreign origins, stated in Tibetan literature to have settled in Upper Tibet does suggest a process of demic augmentation in the region over the long haul. The timescale and intensity of this process however is unclear in the texts. Our understanding of the phylogenetic evolution of human populations in Upper Tibet will remain speculative until ancient DNA is recovered from the territory and genetically analyzed.

²¹ The tradition of creating pictographs also occurs at seven sites on the Central and Western Byang thang and at two sites in Stod, but the majority of rock paintings are on the Eastern Byang thang. Pictographs of Ladakh, Zanskar and Spiti, regions on the western edge of the Tibetan Plateau, share cultural affinities with those in Upper Tibet. Ancient rock paintings have also been documented in southeastern Tibet but these belong to a substantially different aesthetic tradition than Upper Tibet.

¹⁷ There are also strong genetic affinities between modern-day Tibetans and Sherpa and members of the Bsam rdzong (Samdzong) culture in Mustang (c. 400–700 AD). See Aldenderfer and Eng 2016.

¹⁸ Genetic profiles were obtained from (Suila (1494–1317 BC), Lubrak (1269–1123 BC), Rhirhi (805–767 BC), Kyang (695–206 BC), Chokhopani (801–770 BC), Mebrak (500 BC to 1 AD), and Samdzong (450–650 AD), all of which have been shown to be closely related to contemporary Tibetans and Sherpas. Genetic differentiation from lowland populations and the formation of the Tibetan gene pool is now traceable through dental materials from Suila and Lubrak to c. 1500–1300 BC. However, due to a lack of DNA predating 1500 BC, it is still not known when the Tibetan genome was first constituted. A Tibetan genetic cline extending from northeastern Tibet to the Himalaya has been identified, which is theorized to be the result of population and linguistic dispersal originating in the northeastern fringes of the Plateau. See, as above, Liu *et al.* 2022.

¹⁹ Aldenderfer (2007) reviews archaeological evidence for Neolithic settlement in three major regions of the Tibetan Plateau: Amdo (Qinghai Plateau), Kham and Central Tibet. Neolithic sites in these three regions have been provisionally dated using chronometric means to a maximum of 6700, 5800, and 3800 years ago respectively. I estimate that c. 40 sites identified as Neolithic have been discovered

are part of Jurassic and Cretaceous strata that were laid down across the entire southernmost swath of the Byang thang. In the harsh climatic and environmental conditions of the region natural parietal structures would have exerted a strong pull on the inhabitants from earliest times. The shallow caves, overhangs, fissures, niches, and larger caverns in the limestone formations were choice locations for rock art makers, furnishing an ideal environment for the preservation of rock paintings as well as shelter for artists as they painted, and for those who came to view their work. Only one rock art site on the Eastern Byang thang (S14) is in an alternative geological setting.

Twenty-nine rock art sites have been surveyed on the Eastern Byang thang. 2036 rock art subjects were inventoried separately at these sites.²² The rock paintings of the Eastern Byang thang are mainly concentrated in just two areas: the Gnam mtsho and Mtsho sngon lake basins. Of all the rock art inventoried on the Eastern Byang thang, 85% occurs at the 12 sites that ring Gnam mtsho, making it one of most important repositories of this archaeological and artistic asset in Upper Tibet. Much of the balance of rock art is found at 12 sites in the Mtsho sngon (Blue Lake) basin. Produced over a timeframe of roughly two millennia, the ancient rock art of the Eastern Byang thang varies greatly in subject matter, style, and execution. However, almost all of it is part and parcel of the same regional tradition of pictograph making. In turn, the rock art of the Eastern Byang thang shares much of its content and form in common with the rest of Upper Tibet, while having weaker stylistic and thematic affinities with adjoining territories of the Tibetan Plateau and Himalayan rimland. This permits us to speak of an integral tradition of rock art production extending from Gnam mtsho in the east to Gu ge and Ru thog in far western Tibet, as well as a more dispersed greater Plateau tradition. The Upper Tibetan tradition of rock art betokens vibrant cultural, social, and economic links that extended across the territory, which emerged in the Late Bronze Age and persisted throughout the rest of the Late Prehistoric era and into the Historic era. A deeply entrenched artistic and technological groundwork in the Upper Tibetan rock art zone, notwithstanding, there are also many unique and idiosyncratic rock art creations that herald the skills, proclivities, and imagination of individual artists and groups of artists.²³

²² In this work, each individual piece of rock art is called a 'subject'. The rock art of Upper Tibet is divided into two major categories of depiction: animate and inanimate. Animate subjects are subdivided into two major groups: anthropomorphic and zoomorphic (with therianthrope subjects also represented), while inanimate subjects include geometrics, architectural structures, symbols, and various minor compositions. Rock art is broadly classified chronologically as either belonging to the Late Prehistoric era (c. 1200 BC – 600 AD) or the Historic era (600–1950 CE). The basic terms, categories and chronology of rock art are defined in Section IIc of the work.

²³ Furthermore, there are several groups of anthropomorphic

Only around 25% of rock subjects on the Eastern Byang thang potentially date to the Late Bronze Age (c. 1200–700 BC), Iron Age (c. 700–100 BC) and Protohistoric period (c. 100 BC – 600 AD). The largest single source of rock art assigned to the Late Prehistoric era on the Eastern Byang thang is site S12, a small cave on the north-western side of Gnam mtsho. The rock art of the Late Prehistoric era on the Eastern Byang thang, and more generally in Upper Tibet, is characterized by several major themes that shape the content of most compositions. These include solitary anthropomorphic renditions, solitary and group portraits of animals and birds, hunting scenes, alternative scenes featuring anthropomorphs and zoomorphs in close association with one another, and symbolic subjects of which the swastika is paramount. More minor compositions (e.g. simple geometrics, desultory lines, scribbles, etc.) aside, more than 90% of all rock art compositions attributed to the Late Prehistoric era on the Eastern Byang thang and other parts of Upper Tibet is counted among these five overarching themes. The fairly restricted range of compositions in the Late Prehistoric era is indicative of systems of social organization and economic production in Upper Tibet that were not as varied or developed as those that prevailed in the Historic era.

Between 1686 to 1810 rock art subjects inventoried separately on the Eastern Byang thang are thought to predate the Late Historic period (c. 1400–1950 AD), while 226 to 348 subjects are assigned to the Late Historic period (and a few to the Modern period).²⁴ Nearly all rock art attributed to the Late Historic period in the region is found around the shores of Gnam mtsho. Of rock art produced prior to the Late Historic period on the Eastern Byang thang, around 70% is assigned to the Early Historic period (c. 600–1000 AD) and Vestigial period (c. 1000–1400 AD). The high proportion of rock art made in the Historic era sets the Eastern Byang apart from other regions of Upper Tibet, where rock art of the Late Prehistoric era predominates. If the rich tableau of figures and symbols assigned to the Late Prehistoric era in site S12 is not counted, subjects belonging to the Historic era comprise c. 85% of all rock art on the Eastern Byang thang. Of the 307 rock art subjects inventoried in sites S13–29, 296 to 305 subjects predate the Late Historic period. Unlike Gnam mtsho, there is exceedingly little rock art belonging to the Late Historic period at these sites (only upwards of 11 subjects are assigned to the Late Historic period in rock art sites S13–29). Also, relatively little rock art is attributed to the Protohistoric period and virtually nothing from antecedent periods occurs in S13–29 (a more thorough

(mascoids, bi-triangular bodied) and zoomorphic (arcuate body ornamentation) depictions in Upper Tibet found only in Ru thog.

²⁴ The numerical discrepancy of subjects predating the Late Historic period and of those that belong to other periods reflects uncertainties inherent in the chronological system of rock art classification used in this work. For a discussion of this matter, see Section IIc.

statistical analysis of Upper Tibetan rock art is planned for Vol. V of the series).

A significant minority of rock art of the Eastern Byang thang made during the Early Historic and Vestigial periods continued to conform to modes of subject and scene selection established in the Late Prehistoric era. This traditional or more conservative body of rock art adheres to the broad themes noted for rock art in the Late Prehistoric era (e.g. hunting scenes, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic portraiture, etc.). While a large body of religiously themed rock art appeared on the Eastern Byang thang in the Early Historic period, the thematic continuity exhibited by other rock art demonstrates that there was no large tear in the pre-existing cultural fabric of the region or in Upper Tibet more broadly. That Upper Tibet entered a more advanced social, economic and political regime in the Early Historic period is borne out by the appearance of a more diverse rock art repertory. This is mirrored in the historical record, for in the 7th century AD much of the Tibetan Plateau came under imperial rule. The Tibetan empire expanded its political and territorial grip until reaching its greatest extent in the 8th and first half of the 9th centuries AD. The formation of the Tibetan empire and its multifarious contacts with foreign peoples inexorably altered the cultural complexion of Upper Tibet and other Tibetan territories. Among the greatest cultural feats of the Imperial period (c. 600–850 AD) was the invention of a system of Tibetan writing and the introduction of Indian Buddhism. Rock art of the Early Historic period in Upper Tibet embodied these two major cultural achievements, as Buddhist-inspired religious symbolism and Tibetan inscriptions took centre stage at sites throughout the territory. The exceedingly influential cultural layer that was added to the rock art corpus of Upper Tibet in the Early Historic period was given shape by new channels of religious belief and devotion that proliferated in this territory. One centre of these changes was the Eastern Byang thang.

The religious rock art (symbolic and representational) that came out of the Eastern Byang thang in the Early Historic period underlines distinct sectarian affiliations. The study of Tibetan historical literature, buttressed by the rock art and epigraphic records, attests to the presence of two main religious orders that surfaced in Upper Tibet in the Early Historic period: Buddhism and a non-Buddhist entity. Very much has been written about the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet and its doctrinal and ecclesiastic underpinnings, and readers wanting to learn more are encouraged to consult this voluminous literature. The category of non-Buddhist religion, however, requires a bit more explanation as it is not so well appreciated. As used in this work, the term 'non-Buddhist' refers to various religious traditions and adherents known to Tibetans as

bon or *bon po*.²⁵ *Bon*, a blanket native category, embraces disparate priesthoods, beliefs and ritual practices that are believed to have circulated in the Late Prehistoric era (how these personnel and their doctrines and institutions may have been organized remains obscure). The term *bon* is also used to denote the successors of pre-established religious customs and lineages who lived in Tibet in the Early Historic period. As an alternative and largely indigenous religious system, the *bon po* operated independently and in parallel with Buddhism in the Early Historic period, at least at first. Nevertheless, over time there was much intellectual and artistic crossover between Buddhism and those still identifying as non-Buddhists, which culminated in the late 10th and 11th centuries AD in the emergence of a syncretistic religion known as Yungdrung Bon (G.yung drung Bon).²⁶ The rock art and rock epigraphy of Upper Tibet, especially that of the Eastern Byang thang, constitute two of the most complete bodies of evidence that document the Buddhist and non-Buddhist systems of religion and the interactions that took place between them in the Early Historic period. The spread of religious content in rock art and rock inscriptions on the Eastern Byang thang gained even more momentum in the Vestigial period, as the interplay between the two chief religious orders reached a crescendo.

In the rock art of the Eastern Byang thang, the two fundamental kinds of religion, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, were articulated in an extensive repertoire of sacred symbols, e.g. the swastika, five-pointed stars, stepped structures, and endless knots, etc. Discerning the sectarian orientation of religiously inspired rock art on the Eastern Byang thang is much aided by Tibetan rock inscriptions, which were made in the same parietal structures and in some instances as part of the same compositions as sacred symbolism. The spatial relationships between the rock art subjects and epigraphs of the two major religious categories is also very revealing. The concentration of religious rock art belonging to one or the other religious order in certain parietal structures, the placement of pictographs and inscriptions seemingly with no regard for those already present on rock surface, and their defacement and erasure illustrate the scope and nature of sectarian interactions in the Early Historic and Vestigial periods. The superimposition and deliberate damage of religious pictographs and inscriptions suggests that competition was a key preoccupation of rock art makers (specific examples are offered throughout the course of the book). Any such sectarian tensions are likely to have acted as a major motivational factor in the creation of

²⁵ There is a growing scholarly literature on the ancient *bon po*. For bibliographic information and further background, consult my various publications.

²⁶ On the relationship between *bon* traditions and the Lamaist religion of Yungdrung Bon, see Kværne 1972; Bellezza 2008; 2013; Karmay 1998;

countervailing pictographs and inscriptions, as rival parties sought to exert actual or symbolic control over sites. This is exemplified in the painted swastikas hailing from the Early Historic and Vestigial periods that litter rock art sites on the Eastern Byang thang. Those facing in counter-clockwise (non-Buddhist) and clockwise (Buddhist) directions were commonly added to the same rock surfaces in a disorderly or ad hoc fashion. Sectarian distinctions associated with the orientation of the swastika can be traced to the Imperial period, a by-product of religious differentiation between Buddhists and those maintaining a religious order based on older indigenous or hybridized traditions. However, not all of the religiously inspired rock art of the Eastern Byang thang and other parts of Upper Tibet was the result of competition and conflict. Certain pictographs painted in the Vestigial and Late Historic periods appear to innocently mark sacred features in natural parietal structures, or to document their use by meditators (*sgom chen*) and worshippers (*mchod pa*). After c. 1000 AD, Buddhism consolidated its control over much of the Tibetan Plateau. By the close of the Vestigial period, followers of Yungdrung Bon and any surviving archaic *bon* cultists had been converted in most parts of Upper Tibet to the prevailing faith. Unrepentant Yungdrung Bon adherents who were displaced tended to move south into Central Tibet and eastwards into the Tibetan cultural territories of Kham (Khams) and Amdo (A mdo). The status of Buddhism as the paramount religion in Upper Tibet more or less coincided with the end of the bulk of rock art production in Upper Tibet. To what degree the disappearance of archaic *bon* traditions and Yungdrung Bon might have contributed to the demise of rock art remains unclear. With the subsidence of sectarian opposition there was no longer any compelling motivation to outdo rivals in rock art and inscription making. Nonetheless, the popularity of alternative forms of art and craft, and possibly growing literacy, are likely to have also played a major role in the steep decline in rock art production in Upper Tibet after c. 1300 AD.

Twenty-two of the 29 rock art sites surveyed on the Eastern Byang thang are closely associated with archaic structural remains, which occur either in the same natural parietal structure or close by in the same limestone formation. The most commonly built archaic structures were cliff shelters (also called rock shelters and cave shelters), which typically consist of a façade, a masonry front that served to insulate the interior from the elements. The observations offered below help distinguish archaic cliff shelters from later variants constructed by Buddhist practitioners. All of the abandoned ancient cliff shelters of the Eastern Byang thang are now heavily degraded, impeding an assessment of their original design, plan, and manner of construction. Certain others are likely to have been incorporated into Buddhist facilities, which appeared

on the Eastern Byang thang mostly after 1000 AD, eliminating or concealing their older structural characteristics. Parietal installations in the limestone formations of the region, which range in age from the Late Prehistoric era to Early Historic period, vary in size from shallow caves with elementary masonry façades to multiroomed complexes that spill out well beyond the cave or overhang that serves as their core. More elaborate cliff shelters are endowed with anterooms, exterior walled enclosures, internal wall partitions, stone and adobe fixtures, and unidentified stone structures that belonged to the same residential complexes.²⁷ The various structural elements of cliff shelters were constructed of local pieces of limestone (raw and hewn), which were assembled into walls with random rubble textures (dry stone and mortared). Internal subsidiary structures include shelves, niches, alcoves, and platforms made of stone and mud, or hewn out of the natural walls of caves.

None of the archaic cliff shelters of the Eastern Byang thang have been securely dated utilizing chronometric methods. Thus, we must fall back on informed approaches to assess their age. As the observations offered below suggest, they appear to have been founded and in active use during the Late Prehistoric era and Early Historic period, a timespan of some two millennia.²⁸ Of course, many of the caves, clefts, and overhangs around which they came up are likely to have been the focus of attention, and possibly occupation, long before masonry structures were built to expand their usefulness. The archaic morphological traits of cliff shelters, siting in desolate locations, lack of prevailing cultural emblems, and their devotional and intellectual abandonment by the current Tibetan population allude to their antiquity. The massive masonry front walls and careful drystone construction of some examples are hardly matched by the Buddhist hermitages and temples built into parietal structures, which were founded more recently on the Eastern Byang thang. These tend to have more crudely and lightly built walls and occur in still well-trammelled locations. In contrast, many of the archaic cliff shelters are situated in limestone formations that were vacated and never redeveloped by later inhabitants. The now deserted tips of headlands around Lake Gnam mtsho

²⁷ Small and largescale freestanding residential structures, various kinds of fortifications, a diverse array of tombs and other types of funerary structures, which exhibit archaic design and morphological features, supply a continuous record of habitation and cultural development in Upper Tibet from the Late Bronze Age until the Vestigial period. These assemblages of monuments have been the object systematic exploration and research by the author since the early 1990s. Most are distributed on the Central and Western Byang thang and in Stod, not on the Eastern Byang thang. For information on their function, age and cultural and historical significance, see Bellezza 2008; 2011; 2014a; 2014c; 2020c.

²⁸ It is certainly possible that cliff shelters in Upper Tibet were first developed during the Late Neolithic; however, archaeological evidence for this has yet to be identified.

are a case in point. A cultural distinction as compared with Buddhist facilities that developed around parietal structures in Upper Tibet is the absence of religious markers and emblems, such as the tying of prayer flags (*rlung rta*), mantras inscribed on stones, deposition of moulded clay plaques with sacred images (*tsha tsha*), and the erection of tiered monuments known as *chorten* (*mchod rten*). Most tellingly, even derelict Buddhist facilities, as many now are, are acknowledged in Tibetan historical and biographical texts and by the local oral tradition. As a rule, accounts about their founding, legends regaling the exploits of saints that frequented them, and myths concerning the sacred and extraordinary qualities of Buddhist sites circulate locally, if not more widely. Not so with archaic cliff shelters. These are rarely distinguished with Buddhist religious indicators or even acknowledged in the history and lore of the region. In historical terms, the archaic cliff shelters have become the other.

Archaic cliff shelters were once the most common enduring residential structures on the Eastern Byang thang (their importance is somewhat diminished in more westerly regions of Upper Tibet by the existence of various kinds of archaic freestanding residential complexes). Aside from considering that cliff shelters probably fulfilled domiciliary, economic, ceremonial and ritual purposes, the specific functions attached to them on a site-by-site basis have not been determined with any assurance. The uses of archaic cliff shelters seem to have varied considerably according to their size and design. The smallest and least substantial ones had no domiciliary functions, although they could have been occupied on a temporary or seasonal basis as bivouacs. Other minor examples may have been established as shrines or tabernacles, which is supported by religious-themed rock art decorating the walls of some of them (the most common subject is the swastika oriented in a counter-clockwise direction). On the other hand, caverns with massive front walls, anterooms and internal partitions were probably occupied as permanent habitations. In addition to residential and economic functions, major cliff shelters probably acted as cult venues and sanctuaries where ceremonial and ritual operations were conducted. Although cliff shelters were the prime form of imperishable residential construction on the Eastern Byang thang during the Late Prehistoric era and Early Historic period, their numbers were never large enough to accommodate more than a very small fraction of the total population, even when making allowance for others that have disappeared over the years, or which were engulfed by the raising of Buddhist facilities. Hence, specialized functions and exclusive patterns of occupation are likely to be implicated in their construction and tenure. If accessibility or ownership

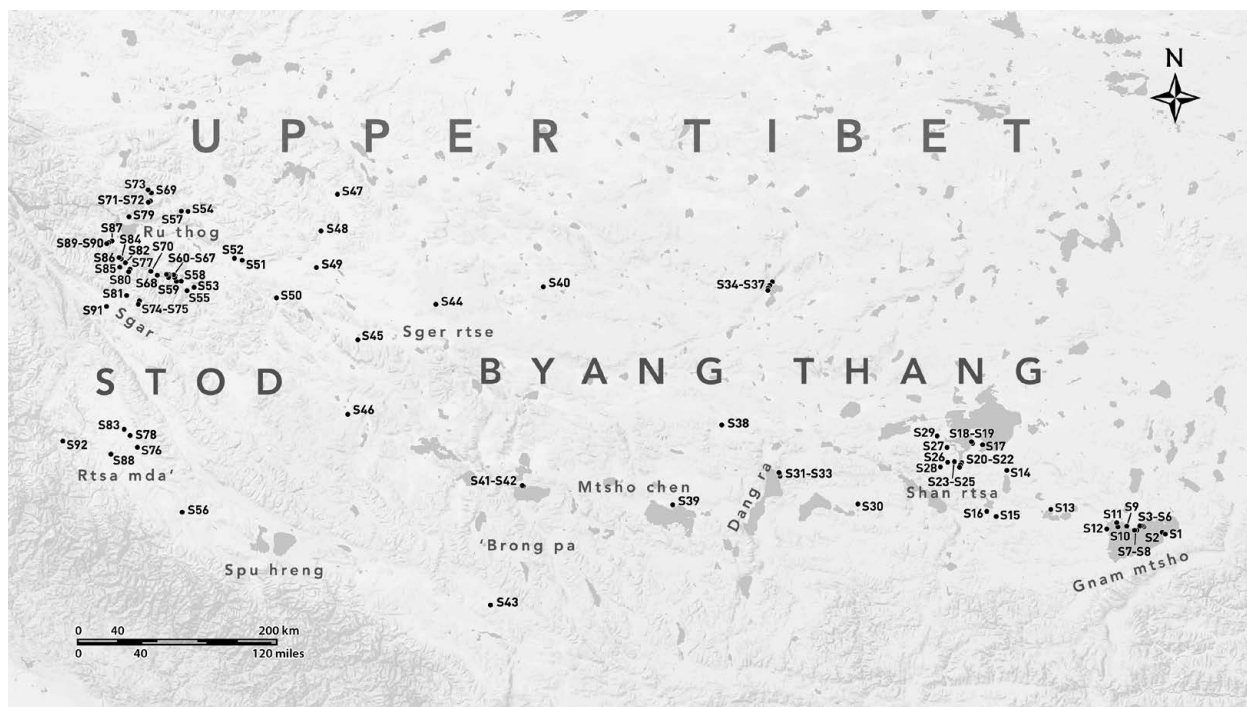
was restricted this would indicate that elite social roles were accorded to them, such as those exercised by a priesthood or ruling class. This is particularly likely for the largest and most intricate cliff shelters.

Three-quarters of rock art sites on the Eastern Byang thang are linked to ancient built cliff shelters. This significant spatial correlation between the two archaeological assets suggests that they are interrelated cultural expressions. Potentially, rock art production was intertwined with the residential, ceremonial and ritual activities that transpired in the same parietal structures hosting anthropogenic modifications. However, as none of the built cliff shelters or rock art have been precisely dated, cliff shelter building and rock art production as allied cultural functions is just one of three historical scenarios that must be put forward. It is also possible that rock art makers were attracted to pre-existing cliff shelters; these two cultural expressions being incidental but not directly related to one another. Inversely, builders of cliff shelters may have chosen places for construction that already had rock art. Given the broad chronological scope of rock art production on the Eastern Byang thang, all three historical scenarios, depending on location and circumstance, are plausible. We are thus inclined to see rock art production as both tied to as well as unrelated to cliff shelter construction in the region.

Ic. Rock Art Sites of Upper Tibet

To fix the locations of rock art sites as accurately as possible, GPS coordinates (latitude and longitude), using the WGS 84 (World Geodetic System), are furnished for each of them in the Table below. For rock art sites occupying large areas, the coordinates provided are for a centralized location within them. A variety of handheld consumer-grade GPS (Global Positioning System) units have been employed in the field to obtain the GPS coordinates of rock art and other types of archaeological sites in Upper Tibet since 1999. GPS units have varying levels of accuracy. In general terms, the GPS coordinates of rock art sites provided should be accurate to within *c.* 30 m; however, the standard deviation for any specific set of coordinates given remains unknown. In addition to inherent technical limitations pertaining to receiver design and quality, other factors that help determine the accuracy of a GPS unit include satellite geometry, signal blockage, atmospheric conditions, and topography. Reduced battery power can also affect the sensitivity of GPS readings. It must also be noted that GPS base stations were not established in the field (these are used to introduce a correction factor to the GPS signals received). All coordinates in this work are given in decimal degrees:

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Map 3. Locations (digital degrees) of rock art sites in Upper Tibet surveyed in this work.

Site No.	Site Name	North Latitude	East Latitude
Site 1	Bkra shis do chen	30.775956	90.867194
Site 2	Bkra shis do chung	30.766667	90.9
Site 3	Rta mchog ngang pa do	30.8325	90.67
Site 4	Just West of Ngang pa do	30.8419	90.655433
Site 5	Further West of Ngang pa do	30.842167	90.642333
Site 6	North of Khyi rgan gag pa do	30.842133	90.6252
Site 7	Lug do	30.801667	90.595
Site 8	Ra ma do	30.8	90.57
Site 9	Stong shong phug	30.839317	90.487217
Site 10	Se mo do / Srin mo do / Nang do	30.831667	90.391667
Site 11	Rigs lnga do	30.871667	90.38
Site 12	Lce do	30.813	90.273333
Site 13	Sha ba brag Thang stong phug	30.991667	89.675
Site 14	Kong chung	31.348233	89.204533
Site 15	Gnam g.yang phug	30.927083	89.090817
Site 16	Lha ris sgrub phug	30.975183	88.990533
Site 17	Slob dpon phug	31.582667	88.945167
Site 18	Sho lo phug	31.595333	88.8405
Site 19	Lha 'dre phug	31.61	88.826667
Site 20	Gzims phug btsan khang	31.420567	88.7227
Site 21	Dpal gzims phug	31.399	88.709333
Site 22	Rdo 'khor phug pa	31.377333	88.699867

A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF ROCK ART IN UPPER TIBET

Site No.	Site Name	North Latitude	East Latitude
Site 23	Dgon ro dmar lding / Lcags sgo brag	31.428	88.6525
Site 24	Lha 'dre tshogs khang	31.428167	88.6495
Site 25	Dar lung phug	31.4292	88.645383
Site 26*	Skyid sgrom sgo gru bzhi	31.423333	88.573333
Site 27	Sgar gsol brag phug	31.558667	88.565667
Site 28	Chu ro	31.379233	88.495267
Site 29	O rtsal phug	31.661733	88.4605
Site 30	Bshag bsangs	31.042133	87.613083
Site 31	Dar chung	31.297333	86.783
Site 32	Sgo bdag	31.321	86.7775
Site 33*	Am nag	31.329333	86.769333
Site 34	Rong rde'u sna lhas	33.052983	86.699417
Site 35	Sngon gdong	33.019883	86.672567
Site 36	Gyam gdong	32.996067	86.653517
Site 37	Rgya rug	32.975917	86.6509
Site 38	Brag khung mdzes po	31.761667	86.158333
Site 39	Mu ro ri (L1)	31.03534	85.63404
Site 40	Rta ri brag phug	33.006667	84.251667
Site 41	'Phrang lam	31.2062	84.039767
Site 42	Lha khang dmar chags	31.20995	84.02606
Site 43	Rdzong pi phi	30.113333	83.686667
Site 44	Ri rgyal	32.849983	83.104217
Site 45	Dkyil grum	32.531067	82.269783
Site 46	Bong lhas brag (near Skya bo klu khang)	31.858333	82.161667
Site 47	Ba'o lhas	33.831667	82.051667
Site 48	Phru gu dbyar ka	33.506667	81.876667
Site 49	Sngor gyam	33.18	81.826667
Site 50	Steng rtse mtshams khang	32.908333	81.4
Site 51	Brag lung nub ma	33.245	81.035
Site 52	Kham pa rwa co	33.261667	80.951667
Site 53	Gong ra / Gong kha	33.003333	80.519667
Site 54	Chu mkhar gyam	33.68	80.455
Site 55	Skabs ren spungs ri	32.973167	80.443833
Site 56	Tham ka can	30.967167	80.393
Site 57	Rta pa gong g.yag	33.681983	80.3845
Site 58	Ser tshogs rdo ring	33.058017	80.38325
Site 59	Mchod rten sbug sna kha	33.5557	80.330533
Site 60	Brag gdong East	33.104183	80.318333
Site 61	Glog phug mkhar	33.091	80.314167
Site 62	Brag gdong West	33.115	80.302667
Site 63	Gyam rag (East)	33.114933	80.254917
Site 64	Rtwa med god sa mon dur	33.117033	80.252033

*The geocoordinates provided for S26 and S33 have not been GPS verified.

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Site No.	Site Name	North Latitude	East Latitude
Site 65	Rwa 'brog 'phrang	33.101667	80.251333
Site 66	Sgog ra	33.091667	80.246667
Site 67	Skal khra mon dur	33.118717	80.22465
Site 68	Sna kha sogs and Mtha' rung	33.110333	80.127167
Site 69	Mtha' kham pa ri	33.843833	80.061867
Site 70	Nag skyom	33.146133	80.05715
Site 71	Rgyab lung	33.771667	80.053333
Site 72	Brag gtsug	33.76055	80.030067
Site 73	Gna' bo lung	33.8705	80.028
Site 74	Chu lung	32.881667	79.936667
Site 75	Gyam kham pa	32.85125	79.923367
Site 76	Rdu ru can	31.56	79.913333
Site 77	Ri mo gdong	33.165	79.835
Site 78	Sa snying	31.6659	79.835667
Site 79	Rno ba g.yang rdo	33.633167	79.824333
Site 80	Nag khung rdo ring	33.141667	79.821667
Site 81	Gri'u chu thang	32.93	79.798333
Site 82	She rang sna kha shar ma	33.222317	79.786167
Site 83	Bri mo spo ba	31.72285	79.773417
Site 84	Rdzong chen	33.2575	79.741667
Site 85	She rang mkhar lung	33.1835	79.725333
Site 86	Rdzong chung	33.268667	79.7185
Site 87	Ru thog rdzong	33.416833	79.642
Site 88	Gser sgam	31.496667	79.631667
Site 89	Lu ring sna ka	33.401983	79.607617
Site 90	Mar lung	33.393333	79.588333
Site 91	Brag gyam	32.831667	79.585
Site 92	Rgyal la lding	31.616667	79.116667

Section II

About this Rock Art Inventory

IIa. Overview

To optimize the utility of the inventory that makes up the bulk of this work, the physical and aesthetic characteristics of rock art in Upper Tibet are presented in a systematic fashion. The inventory furnishes standard sets of data on each rock art subject that has been recorded by the author. Brief comments on the identification of anatomical features, clarification of the scope and nature of individual subjects and the compositions of which they are a part are offered. All information about the physical and aesthetic characteristics of pictographs and petroglyphs on which this study is founded were obtained through visual examination in the field and through photographs. Visual appraisal of rock art was aided by blowing up and enhancing digital images on a computer screen. The quantification of the chemical and physical properties of pictographs and petroglyphs in Upper Tibet does not figure in this work. The scientific methods and tools employed in such analyses, e.g. microscopy, spectrography, non-invasive X-ray imaging, radiocarbon dating, and a host of other technological innovations, must await subsequent study. Rather, the inventory emphasizes the cultural, historical, and artistic dimensions of rock art in Upper Tibet.

The inventory is designed to provide a comprehensive picture of rock art in the Eastern Byang thang region of Upper Tibet. Hence, much effort has been made to make it as complete as possible. Yet, it is not feasible to scrutinize every single carving and pigment application that exist on rock surfaces. Thus, many indistinguishable marks, lines, blotches and smudges are not inventoried separately. Nevertheless, mention is made of some minor pigment applications of no obvious pictorial value in the comments part of the inventory. As this work focuses on the study of ancient rock art, subjects attributed to the Late Historic and Modern periods are not thoroughly examined. Nevertheless, in cognizance of the importance of more recent rock art in assessing the ongoing historic, cultural, and artistic development of Upper Tibet, a significant number of more noteworthy examples among them enjoy their own inventory entries in this work. Where it has been deemed useful to merely mention more recent rock art

this is done in the comments part of proximate rock art subjects. Where appropriate, two tallies of the number of rock art subjects inventoried at each site and in larger groupings of sites have been compiled: one for rock art that belongs to the Late Historic period and one for rock art that predates it. Modern rock art, which mainly consists of devotional expressions and graffiti, is seldom inventoried separately. Rock art of the Modern period comprises an exceedingly small percentage of total output in Upper Tibet.

Although much effort has been made to carefully and fully document the rock art of the Eastern Byang thang, an exhaustive inventory could not be realized. Due to logistical and operational limitations in the field, an indeterminate number of rock art subjects and sites in the region have been overlooked. There are likely to be omissions even from sites that were visited by the author on multiple occasions. The terrain of the Eastern Byang thang is simply too vast and the topography too complex to hope to assemble an inventory that is truly complete. Moreover, some subjects are only marginally represented photographically. Marginal representation includes photographs that are out of focus, of a very small scale, or incomplete. In certain cases, rock art subjects first detected through digital enhancement software have been shown to be cut in the available images. Generally speaking, the digital enhancement of rock art photographs transforms the intensity, hue, and saturation of images in order to accent their contrast and improve visual clarity. The proprietary digital enhancement software employed in this work is called *DStretch* and was developed by Jon Harman (see <http://www.dstretch.com/>).¹ Widely used in the study of pictographs worldwide, this software is distributed by its owner on a payment basis. *DStretch* software was broadly applied to the photographs of rock art on which this volume is based.² Some highly degraded rock art subjects that underwent digital enhancement using *DStretch* have been selected for publication in this volume where their visual quality is significantly greater than that of unenhanced images. This software

¹ On the use and benefits of *DStretch* software, see Quellec *et al.* 2015.

² All digital enhancements made with this software in the study were produced by Angela Clyburn (Enderby).

is also used in the inventory to augment the definition of individual subjects in larger groups of rock art arrayed on rock surfaces for ease of viewing. When digitally enhanced images are employed, their image counterparts unmodified in this way are not included in the work. A better visual assessment would not be served by including dual reproductions of the same image views (both of which are digitally generated to begin with).

The creation of this or any inventory of rock art requires an appraisal of a set of physical and aesthetic characteristics to determine its identity, extent, and status. An appraisal of individual pieces of rock art, or the various elements thereof, entails numerous judgements regarding its appearance, age, and condition. These assessments are based on both objective and subjective criteria. Objective criteria depend on empirically quantifiable methods. For example, the size of a particular rock art specimen and whether it was painted or carved constitute objective assessments, which are indisputable (provided they are accurately rendered). Other categories of data, e.g. taxa identification, visual appraisal of the physical condition of rock art, scene architecture, relative age, are more subjectively obtained kinds of information, which by their very nature are open to debate and revision. Although employing subjective criteria is a valid means of inquiry in rock art studies, they may not be easily verifiable or reproducible.

The utility of an inventory of rock art is predicated on the various categories of data it provides and the manner in which they are organized. While the contents of inventories vary from study to study, furnishing the location of rock art, its apparent identity and age, and accompanying imagery are *de rigueur*. While some publications rely primarily on black-and-white drawings (or tracings made on transparent plastic sheets) of rock art, this inventory features colour photographs (nonetheless, numerous black-and-white drawings of rock art of a typological and cross-cultural nature will be supplied in Vol. V of the work). There are respective advantages in the use of photographs or drawings. Therefore, relying exclusively on one medium or the other entails certain trade-offs. Photographs have the advantage of conveying the physical traits of rock art, e.g. – techniques of production, pigment hue or patina, wear and damage, and the status of the rock substrate. However, when rock art is highly degraded or obscured, or when the contours of a pictograph or petroglyph are to be emphasized, drawings provide certain advantages. Drawings are also superior when photographs of rock art are of low quality or when they provide incomplete or awkward views. In this study, some of the inherent advantages of drawings are captured by the selection of digitally enhanced images

to accentuate the contours of rock art and make clearer highly deteriorated examples.

This volume does not privilege the orientation of rock art specimens as this type of information has not been found to have a significant bearing on the placement of rock art in sites on the Eastern Byang thang. Although GIS generated viewsheds of rock art sites and loci have not been made, observations made in the field show that it is common for rock art in the region to be oriented in all compass points; that is because it appears to be focused on particular topographic features, not more expansive reference points. For example, at Lake Gnam mtsho parietal structures overlook the lakeshore; therefore, rock art at sites on the south lakeshore tend to face northwards and those on the north lakeshore look to the south. Similarly, the inclination from the vertical plane of rock art on the rock faces of parietal structures varies greatly, not obviously making it an important categorical aspect of analysis. In fact, most rock art follows the natural contours of rock walls that make up caves, cliffs, and fissures. Rather, a main spatial concern of many artists was fitting in subjects on surfaces already crowded with rock art. In sites included in this volume the rock art, with few exceptions, is within arm's reach, from just above ground level to a height of 2 m. Hence, the distance of rock art from ground level is not included as a standard dataset. Although the exhaustive recording of orientation is omitted from the inventory, there are individual cases where the direction, inclination, and distance of rock art from ground level are exceptional in nature and thus deemed important to understanding its spatial context. In these cases, information on orientation is specified in the comments section of the inventory.

Iib. Fundamental Terms Used in the Rock Art Inventory

Fundamental terms regularly employed in the inventory are defined below. No universally accepted standard for the description and classification in rock art studies has yet been adopted by specialists. The great variations in rock art worldwide, its wide chronological spectrum, the diverse geological and topographic conditions in which it occurs, as well as contending methodological and theoretical approaches, have all militated against the standardization of rock art classification and nomenclature. Terms popularly used in rock art studies, e.g. 'subject', 'motif', 'scene', and 'style', are often defined differently by researchers. This has not infrequently led to confusion on what is actually meant by the nomenclature selected, a problem exacerbated when rock art is described and classified on the basis of its appearance rather than on empirically quantifiable criteria independent of visual appraisal. Hence to be as

comprehensible as possible, it is crucial to define terms regularly employed in this work as precisely as possible.

Subject

What are determined to be integral pictographs or petroglyphs are referred to in this work as 'subjects'. A subject is defined as a piece of rock art of any kind, whether it is anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, architectural, symbolic, geometric, or indeterminate in nature, which forms a discrete physical entity. Many subjects in Upper Tibet are so situated that they are surrounded by a rock surface on one or more sides that is unmodified by other pigment applications or carvings, however small this space may be (rock art subjects are sometimes situated less than 1 mm from another specimen). By virtue of being spatially separate from others, a petroglyph or pictograph depicted on a rock surface can normally be assumed to be a subject in and of itself. Nevertheless, what constitutes a discrete entity is not always apparent, rendering any such judgement as subjective in nature. Individual subjects, even those that are totally unrelated, can be joined together on the margins or may overlap partially or completely. For example, a pictograph of an animal inside another animal could potentially represent two separate animals or one animal with two types of bodies, the former example constituting two subjects and the latter one. More commonly, a mass of dots, lines and/or geometric shapes cannot be satisfactorily disambiguated into one or more subjects. In those cases, any assessment of what comprises a single subject remains provisional. In this work an anthropomorph depicted mounted on a horse is treated as a single subject. Similarly, the individual elements appended to an anthropomorphic portrayal, e.g. a bow and arrow or headgear, are seen as part of the same subject, as are arrows embedded in game animals.

Composition

One or more subjects that are welded together in a single presentation or expression 'constitute' a composition. It is very common though in rock art for two or more subjects to have been carved or painted together as part of an intended display, narrative, event, or some other kind of constitutive presentation. More complex compositions in Upper Tibet consist of between two and c. 100 individual subjects. Usually, the respective subjects of a composition are found in close proximity to one another. However, occasionally, subjects that appear to be part of the same composition are spaced quite widely apart. Generally speaking, subjects that make up a composition exhibit analogous painting or carving techniques and levels of wear and other forms of physical degradation. Another hallmark

of subjects painted in conjunction with one another is that they portray complementary components (e.g. prey and predator, sun and moon) and actions (e.g. pikes of opposing anthropomorphs pointed at each other, hunter pursuing game on horseback). In some cases, the determination of what subjects are integrally related to one another in an intended ensemble cannot be made with any assurance. Ascertaining what is part and not part of a whole composition is impaired when disparate subjects placed near each other share analogous artistic and physical traits. In these circumstances it is not feasible from a visual appraisal alone to untangle one composition from another. Consisting of two subjects, a hunter aiming/releasing an arrow at a wild herbivore is one of the most common types of compositions in Upper Tibet. Compositions consisting of two or more hunters, hounds and game animals are also very common.

Motif

In this work, the distinctive elements or lineaments of individual subjects are termed 'motifs'. In zoomorphic portrayal, motifs are clearly delineated anatomical and ornamental features rendered in a rock carving or painting. These are typically described according to their shape (e.g. fan-shaped tail, club feet, horns forming a full circle, S-shaped body adornment, etc.). In addition to anatomical features in anthropomorphic portrayal (e.g. rectangular torso, round head, long fingers, etc.), motifs include any weapons, clothing and headgear, etc., depicted with the figures. In the depiction of stepped structures, motifs are constituent architectural structures (e.g. tricuspidate finial, squat spire, niches, etc.). Although geometric and symbolic subjects may possess various motifs, elementary renditions of them are not usually described in terms of respective motifs but as unitary forms.

Form

As used in this work, 'form' denotes the totality of the shape of a subject; the effect created by the unity of the respective elements of a piece of rock art. The form taken by a subject is delineated by its outline or silhouette in its entirety. In addition to the outer contours or profile of a subject, its internal lines and shading are key elements that must be assessed to determine accurately its overall disposition or form.

Style

The form that a petroglyph or pictograph assumes is mediated through its 'style', the manner in which it has been designed and executed. A classification of style in rock art is predicated on identifying distinctive and recurring motifs, as well as by assessing the

configuration of the lines and gradations used to create them. In addition to shapes, lines and shading, the classification of style in rock art must take into account the simulation of stasis and movement, as well as colour (in pictographs), texture, aspect, and perspective, to appraise a subject's overall aesthetic effect. Style is also predicated on the drawing and carving techniques employed in the execution of rock art, which influences its staging, emphasis, tenor, balance, and other not easily definable subjective qualities. Style as a fundamental tool of assessment has emerged as a complex and rather controversial subject in rock art studies (particularly when it is used as a means of cultural and chronological classification). Theoretical questions involved in the determination of specific styles, or the lack thereof, will be discussed in Vol. V of the series.

Scene and Theme

In this work, 'scene' refers to the pictorial content of a composition. The one or more rock art subjects that make up a composition are the building blocks of the scene that they create. These subjects and their individual aspect and relationship to one another determine the architecture of a scene. Hence, a scene is what a composition was intended by its creator to depict through figuration, mimicry, symbolism, or exemplification, etc. Potentially, scenes portray literal representations of lifeforms, things and activities, but they may also be more metaphorical demonstrations. Often, the presentation of the likenesses of humans, animals and commonly found objects in Upper Tibetan rock art convey well-known activities, e.g. hunting and combat. For instance, a certain hunting scene might be described as featuring 'four archers on horseback and two hunting hounds chasing three wild yaks, two stags, and one wild sheep'. However the same scene may also articulate various cognitive states, mytho-religious sequences and esoteric symbolism, etc. While the inner import or unmanifest theme of a scene is likely to remain unknowable to a modern-day observer, its literal aspects or outer theme are more amenable to specification. For example a hunting scene is recognizable when an armed anthropomorph is aiming/releasing an arrow at a game animal such as a wild sheep or deer. That the slaughter of animals is intended is sometimes further confirmed by the depiction of quarry already struck by arrows. This observable action constitutes the outer or manifest theme of the scene, but says nothing in itself about what hunting in this fashion may have signified to its makers and original users. While the more obvious activities of hunting and combat are relatively easy to detect, the inner themes running through many compositions are ambiguous. For example, a solitary anthropomorph depicted

flaunting a bow and arrow may possibly have been intended to portray a hunter with his weapon, a warrior preparing for battle, a priest conducting a ritual, a mythological hero or divinity, or someone entirely different. Theoretical and methodological questions concerned with fathoming the significance and meaning of rock art, a contentious subject in rock art studies, will be examined in Vol. V of the series.

Iic. Key Categories of Data Provided in the Rock Art Inventory

The inventory of each rock art subject in this work features a standard set of data about its location identity, condition, age, and previous study expressed through the following categories:

1. Unique alpha-numerical identifier
2. Type of rock art
3. Pigment type and carving technique
4. Subject identification
5. Extent of a composition
6. Mode of subject depiction
7. Apparent theme of a composition
8. Dimensions
9. Physical condition
10. Estimated age
11. Imagery
12. General comments
13. Relative placement of a subject on a rock surface
14. External scholarly references to a subject

1. Alpha-numerical identifier

The first data point in the inventory is the unique alpha-numerical designation attached to each rock art subject. This designation begins with the site number (e.g. S1). The site number is followed by the discrete location within a site of a subject, providing it is sufficiently extensive to be geographically subdivided in this manner. The unit of subdivision for a site is called a locus (e.g. L1). The site number, and if there is a locus number, is always followed by the composition number (e.g. C1). If a composition is determined to be made up of more than one subject, the composition number is followed by a small case letter (e.g. C1a). In full, the alpha-numerical designation for each rock art subject can be exemplified as follows: S12_C127 (Site S12, Composition 127) or S1_L1_C3a (Site 1, Locus 1, Composition 3, Subject a). The inventorying of subjects is generally carried out according to their relative location to other rock art in sequential order of placement on a rock surface. However there are exceptions where proximate subjects do not always possess a sequential inventory number.

2. Type of rock art

All rock art in the inventory falls into two categories: petroglyphs (rock carvings) and pictographs (rock paintings). The creation of petroglyphs by whatever technique used is essentially a reductive process (removal of a portion of a rock surface). On the other hand, the creation of pictographs is an additive process (application of a pigment to a rock surface).

3. Pigment type and carving technique

Pictographs were produced through the addition of pigments to a rock surface using various techniques that permit them to bond to naturally occurring lithic materials. The diverse array of pictographs in Upper Tibet indicates that various tools and methods were used to paint them. However, determining the precise tools and methods relied upon in pictograph production in Tibet requires further study and experimentation. Rock art pigments were dabbed to make dots and small marks, laid down as a continuous band of colour to produce lines, and daubed or overspread to cover larger surface areas. The thickness of pigment applications in the rock art of Upper Tibet varies from thin and sparse to thick and profuse. The strong bonding to the parent material, uniform consistency of the paints and their durability suggests that many ancient pictographs were compounded from an admixture of mineral substances and organic binding agents, as is typical worldwide (more on this subject is forthcoming in Vol. V). Nevertheless, the composition of pigments used in rock art production on the Tibetan Plateau can only be determined through chemical analysis. Such work is still pending. Most more recent pictographs were not made with specially prepared paints but seem to have been drawn by employing a raw piece of red ochre or other mineral matter. We call this method of production the 'crayon technique', and it is easily recognizable by the crisp, fine but discontinuous lines it leaves and by the lack of shading and silhouetting exhibited by pictographs made using it. Applications of raw, red ochre do not adhere to stone surfaces as well as the prepared pigments that were employed in earlier times; therefore, they are more susceptible to erosion and other forms of degradation. The range of basic mineral pigments employed in Upper Tibetan rock production are as follows:

Red ochre (*btsag*) – oxides of iron

Yellow ochre (*btsag ser*) – oxides of iron

Black pigment (*meng lcags, sol ba*) oxides of manganese, and probably charcoal

Blue-grey pigment (*'dam sngon*)

White pigment (*sa dkar*) – calcium carbonate and/or calcium sulphate

Petroglyphs were produced through the reduction of a rock surface using various techniques that penetrate and excise naturally occurring lithic materials. In this work, these various processes of reduction are generally called 'carving'. Determination of the specific methods and tools that were used in petroglyph production requires further study and experimentation. In this work carving techniques are categorized broadly through a visual appraisal of the effect they leave behind on rock surfaces. These effects can be appraised to infer what types of tools and methods may have been used to produce petroglyphs. However, an analogous effect on a rock surface may potentially have been produced using different tools or with a different series of procedures. Moreover, the effect produced on a rock surface by any given technique is liable to be affected by the manual proficiency and level of engagement of individual artists. The classification of rock carving techniques in this work can be approximated as follows:

Pecking technique: the striking of a rock surface with a fairly sharp tool to produce discontinuous scarring or pitting through percussive action

Chiselling technique: the chipping or cutting away of a rock surface with a sharp-edged tool to produce scored lines and slashes

Bruising technique: the shallow grinding of a rock surface by a hard tool with an abrasive face or edge to produce a blemished or silhouetted effect

Engraving technique: the removal of a rock surface in a uniform manner with more advanced types of sharp-edged iron/steel tools and techniques to produce relatively deep, more smooth-walled incisions

4. Subject identification

In the inventory, each rock art subject is classified according to what it seems to depict or represent. All identification falls into two major orders: animate and inanimate. In the animate order there are both anthropomorphs and zoomorphs. When the bipartite identity of a living creature is undeterminable it is simply termed a 'biomorph'. In the inventory recognizable anthropomorphs are classified as so unless they are shown mounted on a horse or another animal or in a peculiar emblematic fashion. Equestrian subjects are referred to as 'horseback riders'. Emblematic figures are called 'mascoids', a term first used by specialists in the Soviet Union (Bruneau and Bellezza 2013; discussion forthcoming in Vol. V). Zoomorphs are classified according to the taxa to which they belong. The main categories in this work are as follows: antelopes, birds, camels, wild sheep, carnivores (wild and domesticated), cervids, equids (wild and domesticated), fish, lizards,

and wild yaks. When rock art consisting of four legged animals cannot be placed among any of these taxa, they are simply designated 'quadrupeds'. The inanimate order of rock art includes objects (e.g. chariots, weapons, stepped structures, etc.) and geometric forms (e.g. circles and half circles, squares and rectangles, volutes, crosses, and dots, as well as more complex geometric renditions). This system of classification simply notes the form of interconnecting lines and vertices. It does not second-guess whether geometric shapes might have been intended to signify designs, symbols, doodles, entopic images, or even objects or biomorphs in certain instances. A major category of identifiable rock art belonging to the inanimate order are what are referred to as 'symbols' (e.g. bells, ritual thunderbolts, endless knots, flaming jewels, conches, dharma wheels, swastikas, spirals, stars, sunbursts, crescent moons, and vases, etc.). All the symbols enumerated are well recognized in Tibetan culture and literature as possessing profound religious and/or cosmological significance. It must be kept in mind, however, that rock art symbols dating to the Late Prehistoric era may have possessed different meanings and functions from those recorded in the Historic era. Also, classification as a symbol does not preclude such rock art from also possessing a literal dimension (e.g. a sunburst as the likeness of the sun). In addition to the sunburst, other widely distributed subjects in rock art that may have dual identities as both physical objects and metaphorical representations, include trees, flowers, vases, and ritual thunderbolts. Any reference to the right or left hand of an anthropomorph are from the perspective of the figure. Otherwise, the direction of rock art subjects and the rock surfaces that host them are given from the perspective of the observer.

5. Arrangement

As explained above, a composition is made up of one or more subjects. When two subjects comprise a composition, they are referred to as 'paired'. When there are three or more subjects in a composition, they are called 'composite'.

6. Mode of subject depiction

The execution of subjects falls into three main modes of depiction: 'outlined', 'silhouetted', and 'linear'. The term outlined denotes pictographs and petroglyphs whose outer contours or other attributes are rendered as simple lines, the remaining portion of the subject consisting of an unmodified rock surface. The term silhouetted refers to pictographs and petroglyphs where the space between the outer contours is filled with paint or the rock surface entirely removed. When a subject occupies a rock surface that is only partly modified within the outer contours it is said to be

'partially silhouetted'. The third mode of depiction in the inventory is 'linear'. The term linear denotes subjects of all kinds (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, symbolic, geometric subjects, indeterminate) that are executed using one or more thin lines or closely spaced dots which do not include uncarved conterminous surfaces as part of a figure. Thus, linear subjects are devoid of internal painted or carved elements, nor do any of their lines create enclosed spaces on a rock surface.

7. Apparent theme of a composition

As already explained, rock art compositions convey a variety of scenes framed by the representation of personalities, things, activities, ideas, or states of being, which are aligned in particular interrelationships. The identity and import of a scene are referred to as a 'theme' in this work. While the outer themes or the prosaic pictorial elements of a scene, e.g. the stalking and slaughter of animals, are relatively easy to discern, whereas underlying ideological and symbolic currents are difficult or even impossible to pinpoint. The classification of themes in this work is organized in several broad categories based on recognizable biomorphic figures, activities, such as hunting and combat, and features, e.g. sacred architecture. As a convention in this work, those subjects that are widely understood in Tibetan culture to be symbols possessing religious and esoteric meaning (e.g. swastikas, flaming jewels, endless knots, etc.) are themed 'symbolic'. Another convention found in the inventory is the categorization of many compositions featuring a single anthropomorph or zoomorphs as a 'portrait'. This term denotes solitary representations of anthropomorphs and zoomorphs that were intentionally created to stand alone. Otherwise, the use of the word portrait connotes no particular ideas, conditions, situations, or other unique characteristics that may have been tied to a composition by the maker. Hence the term 'portrait' does not prejudice any interpretation of the ontological state of a subject (whether ordinary, mythic, divine, etc.) that might have been intended by the artist. The portrait is the most widespread theme in the animate order of rock art on the Tibetan Plateau and is very common in the rest of Inner Asia as well.

8. Dimensions

In the inventory just one measurement for the size of a subject is indicated, either along the horizontal or vertical plane. More than 98% of all rock art in Upper Tibet is between 2 cm and 50 cm in length and width. The mean range in size for rock art in the territory is between 10 cm and 30 cm, significantly less than rock art of Ladakh and North Inner Asia (this matter will be discussed in Vol. V). Ordinarily, the longest side of

an individual pictograph or petroglyph is selected for measurement (cm). Measurements made along the long axis of figures are not necessarily in conformance with Cartesian coordinates, and may deviate as much as 45° from the vertical or horizontal plane. On flat-topped boulders the vertical and horizontal planes are assigned as per the orientation of an anthropomorph or zoomorph. When the orientation of indeterminate, symbolic or geometric subjects on a flat-topped rock surface cannot be determined, the measurement for the long axis of the figure is provided and the horizontal and vertical planes are not specified.

Measurements are made of an entire subject, including the horns and tails of animals and any depicted implements or other motifs that extend beyond the body height or width of an anthropomorph. The dimensions of select pictographs and petroglyphs were collected in the field. However most dimensions provided in the inventory are derived from photographs in which a scale is included alongside the rock art. Due to camera lens distortion and deviations in the relative size of subjects created by their angle of incidence from the plane perpendicular to the axis of the lens, this method of measurement has a significant margin of error. Furthermore, uneven rock surfaces complicate fixing the size of subjects distributed across them. Without a significant time-investment and specialized computer software, trigonometric calculation of the size of rock art in photograph with a scale card in the image within a very small margin of error is not feasible. Measuring rock art from a photograph is most accurate when a subject and scale card are near one another and both are aligned at right angles to the focal plane of the lens of the camera. Margins of error increase with deviations in this orthogonal relationship. To minimize the margin of error, measurements were not made when a scale card and a piece of rock art are oriented at very different angles from one another. Nevertheless the margin of error in the dimensions of rock art given in this inventory are estimated to range between 5% – 25%. Although this is clearly far from ideal when the precise dimensions of a piece of rock art are required, the measurements given furnish a satisfactory approximation of the size of a subject for comparative purposes. The scale card used in the field was manufactured and distributed freely by the IFRAO (International Federation of Rock Art Organizations).

9. Physical condition

Despite often being a very durable anthropogenic modification to the landscape, the physical condition of rock art changes over time due to various mineralogical and environmental processes. These endogenous and exogenous processes typically involve geochemical

weathering, erosion, geomorphological alteration, and organic inclusion. Geochemical weathering involves mineralogical changes to rock substrates and the paintings and carvings they support primarily through the agency of water. The rate of geochemical weathering varies according to ambient conditions and the petrological characteristics of the rock substrate. The main geochemical processes are solution, hydration, hydrolysis, ion exchange (including chelation), oxidation, reduction, and carbonation (Bednarik 2012: 59). Geochemical weathering is conspicuous in the decay of rock art pigments as well as in the formation of accretionary deposits on rock paintings and carvings. Over time pictographs tend to brown and darken and ablate, or lose mass through geochemical weathering. Accretionary deposits in their most common and least destructive manifestation cause a fairly transparent layer (typically composed of silicates, oxalates or carbonates) to form over pictographs. Heavier, more opaque accretions can damage or even obliterate pictographs. The purplish or brownish patina that develops on carved surfaces is a geochemical phenomenon popularly known as rock varnish or desert varnish. Generally speaking these patinae are composed of ferromanganese silica, oxalate and carbonate skins, which form over rock art carvings in semi-arid and arid climates (Bednarik 2012: 68), such as in Upper Tibet.

As used in this work, erosion is a progressive physical process that results in the wear or reduction of rock surfaces and the carvings and paintings they host. The main agents of erosion are wind and water, which act to abrade rock carvings and exfoliate rock art paintings. A common form of erosion is spalling, the fracturing, chipping and flaking of rock surfaces and the carvings and paintings made upon them. Spalling is mainly caused by insolation and freezing and thawing. The most common type of spalling encountered in Upper Tibet is the fracturing of rock surfaces, which in some cases appears to be intensified by geomorphological forces. The waterborne deposition of silt and rock debris on rock art is the most prevalent type of geomorphological change observed in Upper Tibet. Rock art near ground level is most susceptible to being obscured by an overlay of foreign matter. In earthquake-prone Upper Tibet, rock formations and boulders regularly undergo geomorphological change, as seen in their uplift, subsidence, and shearing. While no specific cases of earthquake damage to rock art have been positively identified in the region, it is a potential cause of degradation. Another natural destructive force is epilithic organisms, i.e. lichen growth on rock art. However, in arid, high-elevation Upper Tibet epilithic organisms have little impact on rock art. The effects of geochemical weathering, erosion, geomorphological alteration, and organic inclusion on rock art in

Upper Tibet ranges from mild to severe. In certain circumstances, degradation from one or more of these forces can be so severe that a rock painting or rock carving virtually disappears from sight.

Human activities have had a widespread impact on the physical condition of rock art in Upper Tibet. Some rock paintings and carvings have been adversely affected by vandalism and tampering, leading to their partial or total destruction. Observations made in the field by the author indicate that the impact of vandalism has intensified in the modern period. The most common anthropogenic impact on rock art in Upper Tibet is religious in nature. For more than a millennium, Buddhists have been inscribing mantras over older rock art compositions, as well as painting over and effacing pictographs and scraping away and eradicating petroglyphs. Presumably, these destructive actions were carried out to neutralize or exorcise rock art compositions that were perceived as deviating from Buddhist ethics and sensibilities (e.g. the eradication of hunters and swastikas oriented in a counter-clockwise direction).

An appraisal of the physical condition of rock painting and carvings was conducted on a visual basis. No attempt has been made to identify the specific causes (whether geochemical or geomorphological) of rock art degradation and destruction on a subject-by-subject basis, save to note where anthropogenic factors are clearly indicated. Pictographs are assessed using a three-tiered system of classification that gauges their relative degree of degradation, which is simply termed 'wear'. Wear is defined in terms of loss of pigment mass through exfoliation and ablation. The three degrees of relative wear are as follows:

Light wear: most or all the pigment used in making a pictograph appears to be intact

Moderate wear: some of the pigment used to make a pictograph has been reduced across its entire extent/ or in specific portions (resulting in discontinuous pigment applications)

Heavy wear: the substantial loss of pigment over an entire pictograph or any portion thereof. In some cases, pigment loss may be so advanced that it is no longer visible to the naked eye

The depletive processes exerted on petroglyphs through mechanical and chemical forces lead to the grinding down, coarsening and polishing of rock surfaces. As with pictographs, the geochemical weathering of rock carvings is subsumed under the term 'wear'. Wear is assessed through a visual appraisal of the texture (patterning and contrast) and colour (hue and saturation) that petroglyphs assume relative to adjacent, non-modified rock surfaces. The chief

criterion is texture because it is less susceptible to alteration in photographs than colour. The colour (hue, saturation and intensity) that petroglyphs and uncarved rock surfaces assume in an image can vary markedly due to ambient light conditions and camera settings. More chromatic variability is introduced by the methods employed in processing film and digital images. Leaving aside parameters that define how light has been captured and presented in an image, photographs furnish a reliable record of observable physical properties of rock carvings, which can be described in terms of their smoothness, roughness, fineness, or coarseness. In other words, an appraisal of texture serves as a guide to determining the degree of wear that petroglyphs have undergone. As noted above, rock carvings are also frequently subject to re-patination, the formation of a very thin mineralized rind or skin over them. As patinas redevelop over carved surfaces they tend to darken and become opaquer. Also, the edges of petroglyphs tend to round out and their surfaces more generally wear down as patinae re-form over the centuries. Moreover, as rock carvings age they become increasingly susceptible to spalling, breakage and other types of innate physical degradation. Thus, re-patination and overall wear can generally be correlated, in that they both tend to intensify as the age of a petroglyph increases. Nevertheless, the simulated colour, brilliance and texture of the same piece of rock art exhibited in a photograph may deviate considerably as weather conditions, sunlight and shadows change over the course of a day or at different times of the year. These factors must be taken into consideration when visually appraising the extent and intensity of wear and patina, particularly when relying upon photographs. The four degrees of relative wear in petroglyphs are classified as follows:

Light wear: The abbreviated erosion of rock carvings, which is characterized by a rough or coarse texture. The individual cuts or bruising on a rock surface as part of the petroglyph making process are clearly visible. Light wear is usually associated with light re-patination, which is visible in the minimal darkening of a carved surface

Moderate wear: The substantial erosion of rock carvings, which is characterized by a fairly smooth or fine texture. The individual cuts or bruising on a rock surface that comprise a petroglyph may not be readily distinguishable. Moderate wear is often associated with moderate re-patination, the pronounced darkening of a carving that readily contrasts with that of surrounding uncarved rock surfaces

Heavy wear: The severe erosion of rock carvings, which is characterized by a homogenous texture (be it rough or smooth). The individual cuts or bruising

on a rock surface are likely to have merged and may not be recognizable to the naked eye. Rock carvings are worn to the degree that they may resemble the colour and texture of surrounding uncarved rock surfaces. Petroglyphs may have also sustained significant fracturing, flaking and crumbling. Heavy wear is often associated with heavy re-patination, the advanced darkening of rock carvings marked by deep purplish and brownish hues

Very heavy wear: The severe erosion of rock carvings, sometimes to the point that they may be hardly recognizable. The texture of rock carvings and surrounding rock surfaces are closely matched and sustained damage is commonplace. Very heavy wear is often associated with very heavy re-patination or the profuse darkening of rock carvings

10. Estimated age

None of the rock art inventoried in Upper Tibet has been subject to chronological analysis based on direct dating techniques. Several chronometric methods to objectively determine the age of rock art are currently under development. Despite significant progress having been made in the absolute dating of pictographs and petroglyphs over the last three decades, the application of the techniques being developed poses various technical problems that are yet to be fully solved. Consequently a widely accepted protocol for direct dating in rock art studies has not been established. Chronological values provided in the inventory are based upon a system of non-direct methods to assess the age of rock art. This analytical approach to dating relies on a visual inspection of rock art, which is assessed according to its the physical, aesthetic, cultural, and locational characteristics. Rock art sharing analogous sets of traits are organized hierarchically to build up a relative chronology (i.e. which pictographs and petroglyphs are older in relation to others).³ The inductively derived dating regimen employed in this work yields provisional chronological values that are of limited resolution and unverified accuracy. As the chronological attributions proffered have not been corroborated through more objective testing methods, they must be seen as suggestive rather than prescriptive of the age of rock art. In the relative dating methods used here the periodization of rock art is inferred through an appraisal of both its intrinsic and acquired qualities. The intrinsic qualities of rock art comprise those with which it was produced, including its original style, form, compositional structure, and technique of manufacture.

³ Inductively derived and absolute dating techniques will be examined further in Vol. V of the series. For other accounts of the system of dating employed here, see Bellezza 2020a: 3–8; 2020b: 12, 13; 2020c: 18–23. On the paleographic dating of Tibetan rock inscriptions (which can be applied to rock made in conjunction with it), see Bellezza 2020b: 119–136.

Acquired qualities of rock art include signs of physical degradation and anthropogenic alteration that have occurred since its production. The relative chronology devised for Upper Tibetan rock art is based on the following criteria:

Stylistic and thematic categorization of motifs, subjects, compositions, and scenes

Appraisal of the general characteristics of the contents of rock art sites

Assessment of the techniques used in carving and painting

Examination of the degree of erosion and re-patination of carvings and the degree of browning and wear of pigments

Determination of the placement of palimpsests

Rock art subjects associated with particular historical contexts in textual sources

Palaeographic assessment of Tibetan inscriptions accompanying rock art

Comparison of rock art with Tibetan artefacts (metallic, ceramic, wooden, etc.) and other artforms

Association of rock art with monumental assets (cliff shelters, ritual structures, tombs)

Gauging ecological conditions depicted in rock art

Cross-cultural comparative study of rock art

Derived from the criteria outlined above, the eight chronological categories (plus two subcategories) used in this work are given as follows:

Late Neolithic/Bronze Age (c. 2000–1200 BC)⁴

⁴ Limited archaeological evidence for a Bronze Age stage of technological development is available for the northeast periphery of the Tibetan Plateau (from the Zongri, Qijia and Siba archaeological cultures). See March 2016 *Flight of the Khyung*: www.tibetarchaeology.com/march-2016/. As regards other parts of Tibet, the transition from a Neolithic way of life to the adoption of metal-making technologies poses many unanswered questions. The persistence of Neolithic technologies well into the first half of the second millennium BC in Kashmir and Swat, montane regions to the west of the Tibetan Plateau, encourages us to consider that Upper Tibet, with its abundant supply of game, may have retained a Neolithic stage of development until just as late (Bellezza 2002a: 7 (n. 14); 2008: 92 (n. 52)). The discovery of an extensive microlith site in Lcags ri thang on the eastern fringes of Upper Tibet, which has been attributed to c. 1000 BC by Chinese archaeologists, points to the retention of certain Neolithic technologies at an even later time (Bellezza 2008: 115 (n. 119)). It is not known when copper smelting and casting were introduced in Tibet, but the earliest objects produced with these technologies on the Western Tibetan Plateau come from Mustang

Late Bronze Age (c. 1200–700 BC)
 Iron Age (c. 700–100 BC)
 Protohistoric period (c. 100 BC – 600 AD)
 Early Historic period (c. 600–1000 AD)
 Imperial period (c. 600–850 AD)
 Post-Imperial period (c. 850–1000 AD)
 Vestigial period (c. 1000–1400 AD)
 Later Historic period (c. 1400–1950 AD)
 Modern period (post 1950)

and Gu ge (dated to the middle to late second millennium). Copper rings and bracelets, and possibly metal beads, which accompanied single primary inhumations of individuals with genetic profiles very similar to present-day Tibetans, were recovered from two cist burials in the village of Lubrak (Klu brag). These tombs have yielded calibrated radiocarbon dates in the 13th and 12th centuries BC. On these discoveries in Lubrak, as cited above, see Liu *et al.* 2022. It remains to be determined where the metal objects found in Lubrak were produced. Wherever they were made, the findings from Lubrak demonstrate that a population on the Tibetan Plateau, which shared much of its genetic ancestry in common with adjacent Upper Tibet, used copper and copper alloy objects in the Late Bronze Age (see fn. 24). Small copper and arsenical copper tools and ornaments have also been excavated from Phase I (1600–1000 BC) tombs in Gepa Serul, a cemetery in Sangs mdar, Rtsa' mda County, in far western Tibet (Cao *et al.* 2022). These objects include four bosses, three bell-shaped ornaments, three needles, knife, chisel, wimble, finger-ring and a comb-shaped object. The homogenous Pb isotope ratios for both the copper and arsenical copper objects from Gepa Serul, an indicator of the provenance of the copper ores used in production, shows that the ores came from multiple sources, some of which might be Tibetan in origin (Cao *et al.* 2022). Nevertheless, it is still not known whether the objects from Gepa Serul were produced locally or imported from other regions. The strong correspondence in Pb isotope ratios between copper and copper alloy objects from Gepa Serul and the Bsam Rdzong cemetery (c. 450–650 CE) in Mustang, Nepal, suggest that commonly sourced ores were used despite the great time discrepancy between the two sites. All information concerning Gepa Serul cited above comes from Cao *et al.* 2022. These authors hold that similarities in burial customs, architectural techniques, ceramics, metalware, stoneware, bamboo and wooden objects, and in Pb isotope ratios measured in copper and copper alloy objects found in Gepa Serul and Bsam Rdzong, demonstrate the presence of a 'western Himalayan archaeological complex'. While there are certainly many affinities in the artefactual and monumental assemblages of Mustang and Gu ge, it is not warranted to lump them together into a unitary archaeological complex or culture. Major disparities in the artistic characteristics of rock art and in the designs and morphological characteristics of residential, ceremonial, and burial monuments in the various regions of the Western Tibetan Plateau (Stod, Mustang, Spiti, Ladakh) indicate that there were also powerful countervailing cultural forces in operation there in the Late Prehistoric era. Yet the exploitation of analogous copper and arsenical copper technologies, with ores possibly even sourced from the same mines, indicates that a metallurgical industry may have developed in Mustang and Gu ge in the Bronze Age or Late Bronze Age. Despite manifold parallels with metalware produced by Eastern Steppe and Northern Zone (Northwest China) bronze cultures of the same period, the artistic, morphological, and functional traits of the assemblages of metallic objects recovered from Mustang and Gu ge, when taken as a whole, strongly suggest that an indigenous manufacturing capability contributed to their production.

11. Imagery

Photography is the most non-intrusive method of recording rock art. With the exception of a few sketches made in the field, photography is the backbone of rock art documentation in this study. Many of the subjects inventoried are accompanied by one or more photographic images. As the catalogue of images is separate from the text of the inventory, a page reference for each subject illustrated is provided in the pertinent inventory entries. However, for practical reasons not all of the 2034 rock art subjects inventoried in this work could be depicted. Which photographs were selected for inclusion was made based on several criteria. First of all, images needed to be of sufficient resolution and clarity to print well in book form. The images obtained in the field by the author vary widely in quality and some are not perfectly in focus. Also, photographs of highly repetitive subjects, i.e. swastikas, and very minor subjects, i.e. desultory dots and lines, are sometimes omitted as they hardly serve to increase an overall appreciation and understanding of rock art in Upper Tibet. Moreover, images containing incomplete rock art subjects and some examples from the Late Historic period tend to have been deselected. It is not unusual for photographs to have parts of other subjects in them in addition to the target subject. To avoid redundancy, rock art depicting stepped structures, a kind of sacred architecture, are generally not illustrated in this work. (For colour photographs, black-and-white drawings and cultural and historical information about stepped structures in the rock art of Upper Tibet, see Bellezza 2020b.) Nonetheless, several stepped-structure subjects omitted from the present author's previous publications are illustrated here. References to and photographs of rock art consisting of swastikas (a seminal symbol in Upper Tibet), which are at sites with no other appreciable rock art, are embedded in the entries of the nearest inventoried site. Illustrations of archaeological monuments, rock art sites and unstudied rock inscriptions are interspersed in the text of the inventory so as to visually orient readers and supply more of an historical and cultural context. Rock art locator diagrams also appear with the text to delineate the spatial relationships of larger aggregations of pictographs and petroglyphs.

A word on the photographic techniques employed in the study is in order here. Colour photography was used exclusively in the field because it permits viewers to more easily differentiate a pigment application or carving from the background rock substrate. On the other hand, black-and-white photography tends to reduce the contrast between rock art and the background substrate. Surface features such as lichens, scratches and light accretions often reproduce densities similar to those of pigments, creating a kind of 'visual noise' in black-and-white photography (Hender 1995:

75). The same general observation is applicable to rock carvings: they do not usually photograph as well in black-and-white. Photographs of rock art in Upper Tibet taken in the 1990s and early 2000s were made with film cameras. Images so obtained were subsequently digitally scanned for publication where required. In the period of analogue photography, the number of photographs taken at each rock art site was limited by the amount of film that could be carried. This restricted visual coverage of rock art to a greater or lesser extent. In contrast, with digital photography it is possible to lavish far more photographs on anything of interest.

The ambient conditions in which photographs were shot in Upper Tibet were largely a matter of the exigencies of time and place. Lens quality and competence in operating a camera notwithstanding, the results achieved in rock art photography are largely dictated by lighting conditions. There are advantages and disadvantages inherent in any particular photographic setting in the field, posing trade-offs for the photographer. As a general rule in rock art photography, natural lighting is superior to artificial sources of illumination (cf. Bednarik and Sheshadri 1995: 49).⁵ In parietal structures where natural light is severely reduced, the flash function of cameras supplied the artificial lighting for imaging in this study. Sunlight exposure on a rock surface has two main components: reflectance and glare (texture and contour) and a diffuse back-scattered component arising from just beneath the surface (colour and internal structures), and being able to differentiate between them is critical in rock art photography (Hender 1995: 76). When pictographs and petroglyphs are photographed in direct sunlight, the colour and texture of pigments and cuts in rock surfaces can have a well-defined quality. Imaging petroglyphs on a dark rock substrate in bright sunlight is often preferable, but one must guard against the dazzling effect of glare. Placing the focal plane of a camera lens in an orthogonal relationship with the angle of sunlight can create much glare, obscuring rock art. As noted by Francfort and Jacobson-Tepfer (2004: 57), rock art is often best imaged in diffuse sunlight as direct light makes for flattened images. Direct sunlight can also wash out the details of rock art. This is especially true in Upper Tibet. On account of very low atmospheric pressure (c. 50% – 70% of kPa at sea level) solar radiation is very intense there, affecting the absorption and scattering of light rays. To minimize imaging distortions associated with direct sunlight, photography for this work was often undertaken when sunrays struck rock surfaces at moderately

oblique angles. Nonetheless, when sunlight hits rock surfaces at highly oblique angles, such as those that occur near sunrise and sunset, the shadows created will often obscure rock art. Photography under partial cloud cover (generates a softer, more diffuse light) was shown to yield consistently high-quality images by enhancing the contrast in colour between uncarved and carved surfaces. Then again, heavy cloud cover acts to darken images and may reduce their overall clarity. Rock carvings photographed in the shade are often whitened, endowing them with the effect of a drawing or tracing. In shaded images all salient features of a petroglyph are immediately evident. Yet, carved lines photographed in the shade may be indistinct due to the way in which light is polarized. This is referred to as a ‘bleaching effect’. Furthermore, images obtained in the shade are more bluish in colour because molecules in the atmosphere scatter blue light more effectively.

12. General comments

Along with each rock art subject entry there is a general comments segment that details its identity, distinguishing aesthetic features, and outstanding cultural and technical characteristics. The presence of proximate pictographs and petroglyphs that are not inventoried separately in this work may also be noted. Furthermore, Upper Tibetan rock inscriptions that are not documented in a work dedicated to the epigraphy of the territory (Bellezza 2020b) are mentioned and translated where appropriate. A simplified system of Roman transliteration without diacritics is employed. The pronouns ‘he’ and ‘his’ are used in this work as a convention but also reflect that most rock art production in Upper Tibet appears to have been the domain of males (gender identification will be discussed in Vol. V of the series).

13. Relative placement

Where known, the location of a rock art subject at each site or locus is furnished by detailing its relative placement to proximate rock art and local topographic features (e.g. right side of the mouth of a cave, rear wall of a recess, top of a boulder, etc.). The placement of subjects is given from the perspective of the viewer. The distance between two compositions that are immediately next to each other is not specified but can be understood as generally being less than 20–30 cm. Two compositions that are spaced between 30 cm and 1 m apart are said to be at an ‘appreciable distance’ from one another. There are certain compositions whose relative placement on a rock surface has not been determined or only incompletely. The indeterminate placement of rock art is designated by the term ‘unfixed’

⁵ Bednarik and Sheshadri (1995) describe optimal lighting parameters for rock art photography, some of which have been superseded by subsequent technological advances.

14. External scholarly references to a subject

When available, bibliographic references to rock art subjects and compositions in scholarly literature are furnished. The cited references are centred on illustrations of specific rock art. Readers can consult these works for any other information that may be included about featured rock art. In some cases, bibliographic references are only cited in the more general context of a locus or site.

IId. Abbreviations Used in the Rock Art Inventory

1. Alpha-numerical spatial identifier

S = Site, L = Locus, C = Composition

2. Type of rock art

Picto = pictograph

RO = red ochre

YO = yellow ochre

BP = black pigment

BGP = blue-grey pigment

WP = white pigment

Petro = petroglyph

PT = pecking technique

CT = chiselling technique

BT = bruising technique

ET = engraving technique

4. Subject identification

? The use of a question mark designates that the identity of a subject is uncertain

5. Arrangement

? The use of a question mark designates that it is uncertain whether a composition consists of one, two, or more subjects

8. Dimensions

(h) = horizontal dimension

(v) = vertical dimension

(d) = diameter

NA = not available

9. Physical condition

LW = light wear

MW = moderate wear

HW = wear

10. Estimated age

BA = Bronze Age

LBA = Late Bronze Age

PP = Protohistoric period

EHP = Early Historic period

IP = Imperial period

PIP = post-Imperial period

VP = Vestigial period

LHP = Late Historic period

MP = Modern period

11. Images

NI = not illustrated

12. General comments

NIS = not inventoried separately

Rock Art Catalogue

DEI = digitally enhanced image

Section III

Rock Art and Associated Sites of Lake Gnam mtsho (S1–S12)



Figure 1. Gnam mtsho from the southeast side of the lake. Photograph was taken in the early morning during placid weather.

IIIa. Geographic, Cultural and Historical Overview

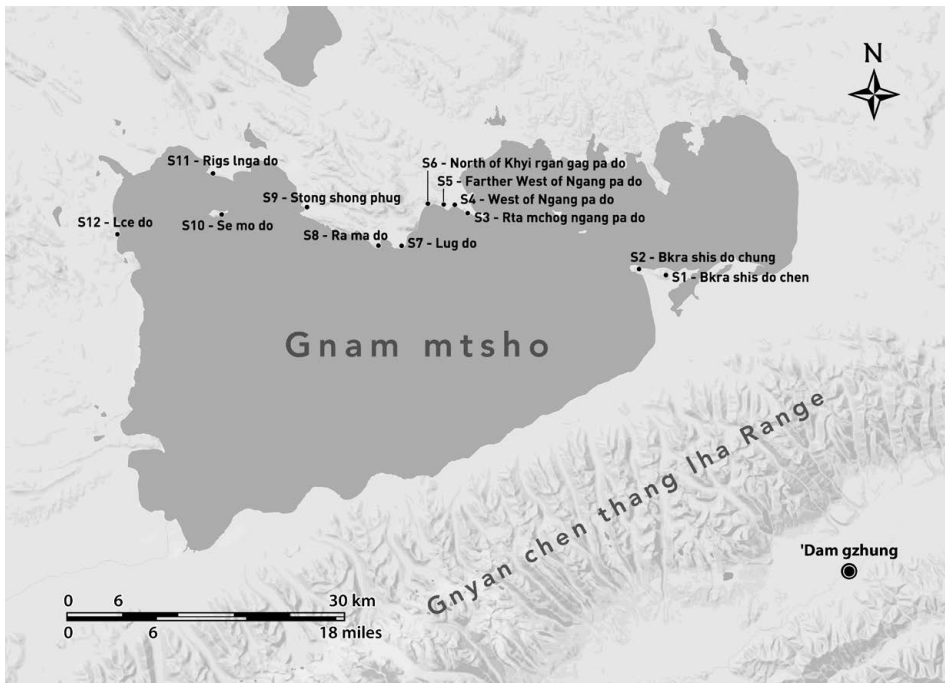
One of the largest concentrations of rock art sites in the TAR (Inner Tibet) is found at Gnam mtsho (Sky Lake).¹ According to local folklore, this lucid body of water is so named because it reflects with perfect fidelity the colour and tenor of the sky (Bellezza 1997a: 96). Paralleling the Gnyan chen thang lha range to the south, Gnam mtsho is situated at c. 4720 m above mean sea level and has a surface area of just over 2000 km².² This

slightly brackish body of water was until recently the largest lake in the TAR. On the entire Tibetan Plateau it is only much exceeded in surface area by Mtsho sngon-po in Amdo, Qinghai province. Gnam mtsho is so large and deep that it has a pronounced effect on the

¹ In Mongolian, this lake is called Tengri Nor (Tenger nuur; Celestial Lake), a literal translation of the Tibetan. Various Mongol groups beginning in the 13th century CE, invaded and intermarried in the Gnam mtsho region, giving rise to local pastoralist tribes known as A pha hor/A po hor.

² Wu *et al.* (2014) report the elevation of Gnam mtsho as 4718 m and

its surface area as 1920 km² in 1979. However, Gnam mtsho and other endorheic lakes of the eastern Byang-thang have expanded significantly since the 1990s due to increased runoff (with increased precipitation, glacial mass loss, and a reduction in permafrost key causal factors), reduced evaporation (despite increased temperatures), decreased solar radiation (due to expanded deep cloud cover and water vapour) and wind speed playing significant roles. See Lei *et al.* 2013. Kasper *et al.* (2013: 262) give the surface area of Gnam mtsho as 2015 km² in 2010. Wu *et al.* (2014) give the elevation of Gnam mtsho in 2010 as 4725 m, maximum depth as 90 m and its catchment area as 10,610 km². More recent measurement puts the maximum depth of Gnam mtsho at 98 m (Dai *et al.* 2020).



Map 4. Rock art sites around Lake Gnam mtsho in the southeast portion of the Byang thang.



Figure 2. A typical family of herders (*brog pa*) on the Eastern Byang thang. This family belongs to the A pha hor tribe of Gnam mtsho. Photograph taken in the autumn of 1994.

local climate, with daytime temperatures in the basin generally lower than surrounding area while nighttime temperatures are higher (Dai *et al.* 2020). The lake occupies the transition zone from a semi-humid to a semi-arid continental climate, receiving c. 400 mm of precipitation annually, with about 85% falling between June and October (Liang *et al.* 2012). The mean temperature in the warmest month (July) is 9.5°C and in the coldest month (January) -8.4°C. (Liang *et al.* 2012). The Gnam mtsho catchment area is predominantly composed of *Kobresia pygmaea* pastures (above 5200 m elevation), *Stipa purpurea* steppe (below 5100 m elevation), high alpine plants of rocks and screes in Thang lha range, and a *Kobresia schoenoides* (hummock swamps) zone in southwest (Miehe *et al.* 2008; Liang *et al.* 2012). There are also patches of woodland along the

lakeshore dominated by the endemic Wilson juniper dwarf shrub on sandy and south-facing slopes (Liang *et al.* 2012). The occurrence of Wilson junipers around Gnam mtsho may partly depend on moister growing conditions due to the so-called ‘lake effect’ (Liang *et al.* 2012, citing Kropacek *et al.* 2010). The relatively moist climate, ample sources of fresh water from tributary rivers and streams, extensive pasturage, woodland, and large number of caves have made Gnam mtsho a focus for human settlement for millennia. This is mirrored in the area’s rich rock art record.

In modern administrative terms, Gnam mtsho is almost evenly divided between ‘Dam gzhung and Dpal mgon counties of the TAR. In pre-modern times, the eastern half of the lake was part of eight confederated camps

of the district known as 'Dam brgya shog brgyad, while the western half fell into the confederated camps of the Gnam ru district, known collectively as 'Du khongs bcu gsum, as well as the confederated camps of Sa skya shog kha bdun. The local herders belonging to these various confederated camps were mainly bound to the Buddhist monasteries of the Dge lugs pa sect and the Tibet government in Lhasa (Sde pa gzhung) and were required to pay taxes in the form of meat, butter, wool, and other produce of the pastoral economy.

The rock art of Gnam mtsho is nearly all comprised of pictographs that dot the light-coloured limestone rock formations which embrace about half of the entire lakeshore. These red, white, and blue formations host shallow caves and other parietal structures that face directly onto the lake, which serve as loci for the creation of rock art. Without exception, the rock art sites of Gnam mtsho do not straddle major routes that crisscross the area; instead, they are in isolated, sometimes hard-to-access areas on the lakeshore. The habitational as well as the sacred status of limestone formations at Gnam mtsho seem to have been long-standing attractions for rock art makers. As I have written elsewhere, 'In a land of interminable plains and of extreme cold, caves assume special importance from the perspective of survival' (Bellezza 1997a: 173). As of 2000, six sites with c. four dozen carbonate rock caves, cliffs, clefts, and nooks bearing rock art were known at Gnam mtsho (Bellezza 2001: 200, 201; 2002b: 36).³ Subsequent surveys by the author have increased the number of rock art sites around the southeast, north, and northwest sides of the lake to 12 (see Map 4), which are comprised of 112 different loci. Altogether, 1729 rock art subjects have been inventoried separately at the 12 sites. Between 1390 and 1505 of these subjects are assigned dates ranging from the Late Bronze Age to the Vestigial period. Additionally, between 224 and 339 rock art subjects at Gnam mtsho are attributed to the Late Historic period (actually a small handful of these belong to the Modern period, as noted in the inventory entries). Uncertainties in the estimated age of rock art account for the discrepancies in the chronological classification of rock art provided in the inventory. There are also some 150 minor pictographs as well as non-descript pigment applications and rock art specimens lacking adequate photographic coverage at Gnam mtsho, which are recorded in this work but not inventoried separately (these are not included in the

tallies of subjects provided here). Much of the rock art that is recorded but not inventoried separately belongs to the Late Historic period.

In Tibet, sacred topographic features are popularly believed to be the abodes of various classes of spirits. The primary goddess of Gnam mtsho is known as Gnam mtsho phyug mo, a figure who possesses both a pacific and wrathful demeanour. In addition to more advanced tantric concepts associated with the goddess, the lake is seen as embodying diverse classes of indigenous divinities, including the *lha mo* (female celestial spirits), *klu mo* (female serpent spirits), *smam mo* (female prototypes), *mo lha* (female guardian spirits), *brtan ma* (territorial protectresses), *srin mo* (female chthonic spirits), and *se mo* (class of archaic spirits).⁴ In Tibetan mythology, Gnam mtsho is customarily paired with the highest mountain bounding the lake basin, Gnyan chen thang lha, her consort and co-generator of the world.⁵ The multi-faceted native identity of the lake goddess and her role as the mother of existence in local cosmogonic myths very much suggest that she enjoyed a prominent status in the religious traditions of Tibet prior to the spread of Buddhism in the Early Historic period. While permanent residency in cliff shelters at Gnam mtsho furnished a logistic imperative for rock art production, evolving sacred geographic notions operated on the imaginal and ideological planes. In the Historic era, the waters, headlands, and islands of Gnam mtsho were conceived of as the abodes of subsidiary deities that belonged to the retinues of the lake goddess. Due to a lack of hard evidence, how recognition of a holy aura around this limpid body of water might have informed the making of rock art in the Late Prehistoric era is difficult to assess. As reflected in sacred geographic traditions of historic times, the stone surfaces of the caves and formations on which rock art was placed were probably perceived as incorporating supernal qualities. The sacred topographic features around Gnam mtsho and lake itself are traditionally viewed by Tibetans in two different ways: as part of the very substance or life force (*srog*) of supernatural beings or as containing qualities that flow from them, such as good fortune capability (*g.yang*) and blessings (*byin brlabs*). While we do not have the means at our disposal to know for certain, parallel conceptions in the Late Prehistoric era regarding the immanence of divine beings in physical entities and the less tangible properties they emanate may also have influenced how rock surfaces on which art was made were regarded by artists.

In the era of Lamaist domination at Gnam mtsho, beginning in the 10th and 11th centuries AD, the sanctity

³ According to the 'Geological Map of the Academia Sinica-Royal Society Geotraverse Route Across the Xizang- Qinghai (Tibetan) Plateau, South Sheet - Lhasa to Tanggula Pass', the carbonate rock formations in which the rock art surveyed at Gnam mtsho is located are classified as limestone, which belongs to the Aptian-Albian stage of petrogenesis (these are the fifth and sixth main divisions in the Lower Cretaceous Series, dated 125 to 100.5 million years ago). This map was published by the Royal Society (London) in 1988. Limestone, a sedimentary rock, is primarily composed of calcite (CaCO₃), which was formed in water through crystallization.

⁴ On the sacred geography and large body of religious traditions surrounding Gnam mtsho, see Bellezza 1997a; 2005: 311-325.

⁵ On the history and personality of this prime mountain god of Tibet, see Bellezza 1997a; 2005: 173-217; 2020c: 71-75, 84-86.

of this large body of water became well anchored in Buddhist and Yungdrung Bon traditions and values. The importance of the lake in Lamaism is underscored by the large numbers of adepts that reportedly came there to meditate and carry out esoteric rituals. Among the most famous Buddhist personalities recorded as visiting are Gu ru rin po che (Padma 'byung gnas; 8th century AD), Rgwa lo tsa ba (12th century AD), Rgyal ba lo ras pa (12th to 13th century AD), Sangs rgyas yar byon (13th century AD), and others (Bellezza 1997a: 162–173). Celebrated *bon* and Yungdrung Bon sages of yore at Gnam mtsho include Stong rgyung mthu chen,⁶ Gnam mtsho do pa and Ldong sgo zhig-po (Bellezza 2020b: 142). In the Buddhist sacred geographic scheme, Gnam mtsho is an abode of Rdo rje phag mo, one of the most popular tantric goddesses of Tibet.⁷ Gnam mtsho's divinity is also likened to *mkha' 'gro ma*, female tantric spirits who assist proficient Buddhist practitioners. In the Yungdrung Bon religion, the tantric goddess of the lake is called Yum sras, she who rules over the surrounding mountain gods (Bellezza 1997a: 112–115; 2005: 317–325). In the Lamaist religions, these otherworldly tantric deities abide in spiritual realms but also emanate at Gnam mtsho, their beneficent qualities spreading out across the landscape. Clearly, rock art that consists of Lamaist subject matter, which first appeared in Gnam mtsho in the Early Historic period, was made in cognizance of Lamaist traditions, values, and worldview. However, rock art of the Early Historic period and Vestigial period that is not explicitly Lamaist in content, such as that featuring wild animals and armed anthropomorphs in hunting and duelling scenes, does not appear to have come under the doctrinal and institutional auspices of Buddhism or Yungdrung Bon or only marginally so.

Rock art production at Gnam mtsho coincided with periods of sedentary occupation and residence construction, in addition to being spatially associated with other kinds of built structures. Nowhere else on the Eastern Byang thang is endowed with as many documented ancient residential and ceremonial centres as this lake,⁸ underlining its longstanding cultural and demographic importance. The great utility of caves for temporary and permanent habitation, the archaic architectural traits of certain built cliff shelters, and proximate rock art strongly suggest that the early residential and ceremonial centres of Gnam mtsho arose in the Late Prehistoric era and Early

Historic period. In seven of the 12 rock art sites at the lake there are significant cliff shelters and sometimes ancient funerary and ritual structures as well.⁹ Being of comparable age, much of the rock art of Gnam mtsho can probably be attributed to cave-dwelling residents and other local persons who exploited natural parietal structures for practical and religious purposes. The presence of non-Buddhist rock inscriptions and pictographs (such as counter-clockwise swastikas, stepped structures with forked and tricuspidate finials, and rudimentary auspicious symbols) indicates that many archaic residential sites around the lake were inhabited or frequented by persons motivated by the practice of ritual, devotion and other kinds of cult undertakings.¹⁰ Some of these non-Buddhist practices appear to stem from indigenous cultural sources that predated the introduction of Buddhism in the region, while others assumed syncretic forms that borrowed from Buddhism. Rock art made after the abandonment of the archaic cave shelters as habitations and cult centres is also likely to have been mainly produced by local inhabitants. However, the potential role of visitors (pilgrims, traders, raiders, luminaries, etc.) to Gnam mtsho as being actively involved in the creation of rock art in various times and places must also be considered.

Although the adventitious reoccupation of ancient cliff shelters by Buddhist meditators appears to have been quite common at Gnam mtsho, except in a few locations there is minimal evidence for their subsequent architectural modification (i.e. the renovation or expansion of pre-existing facilities). This indicates that any such tenure by Buddhist individuals or groups was not particularly sustained or intensive. That Buddhist occupation of most archaic residential sites was of an itinerant kind is borne out by the absence of rock art, inscriptions, and monuments belonging to this religion in many cliff shelters. Nevertheless, the headland of Bkra shis do (S1 and S2) on the southeast side of Gnam mtsho and the island of Se mo do (S10), two places with early rock art, were the focus of substantial Buddhist settlement activity from no later than the 11th century AD onward. These two sacred sites continued to house Tibetan meditators and pilgrims until the Chinese Communist takeover in 1959. Buddhist retreat centres,

⁶ This famous personality is attributed to the 8th century AD, a time before the formation of the Yungdrung Bon religion. For biographical information, see Karmay 1972: 48, 49; Bellezza 2000b: 35, 39; 2001: 59–61, 193; 2005: 314, 315.

⁷ A local sacred geographic tradition said to be scripturally based relates the body (*sku*) of Rdo rje phag mo to the headland of Bkra shis do, her speech (*bka'*) to the headland of Bya do, and her mind (*thugs*) to the island of Srin mo do.

⁸ For surveys of other archaeological sites on the Eastern Byang thang, see Bellezza 2001; 2002b; 2014a; 2014c.

⁹ In addition to archaic structural remains described in this work, the eastern half of the north shoreline of Gnam mtsho supported other ancient residential centres. These above-ground monuments appear to represent sedentary occupation sites (cave shelters and free-standing habitational structures) active in the Late Prehistoric era and Early Historic period. These include Rdo ring, Sha do and Snying do (Bellezza 1997a: 267–272; 1996: 62–64). Another site with extensive ruins and caves on the north shore is Bya do; however this site was thoroughly redeveloped as a Buddhist monastery, concealing earlier strata of occupation (Bellezza 1997a: 251–260). The oral tradition of Gnam mtsho recognizes that archaic religious practitioners known as *bon po* once controlled Bya do (Bellezza 2001: 59, n. 30).

¹⁰ On these non-Buddhist inscriptions and pictographs and their relationship to Buddhist counterparts at Gnam mtsho, see Bellezza 2020b.



Figure 3. A view of Nam mkha'i do looking west from Ra ma do. The archaeological site is at the foot of the escarpment in the middle of the photograph.

and even a monastery, were founded at Bkra shis do, and Se mo do was a hub for hermits and sages.

Ancient cliff shelters at sites that also boast of rock art are examined in the course of the inventory. Moreover, caves at the two largest Buddhist monasteries at Gnam mtsho, Bya do and Do skya, are very likely to have supported earlier phases of occupation. While traces of archaic residential constructions still exist at Bkra shis do and Se mo do, most structural evidence for ancient settlement at Bya do and Do skya have disappeared through the demolition or rebuilding of earlier cave shelters. Unlike the Central and Western Byang thang and Stod, rock art sites at Gnam mtsho exhibit little evidence for archaic burial grounds visible on the surface. One exception seems to be Se mo do, where seven ostensible funerary enclosures of a minor scale were discovered on the north side of the island (Bellezza 2014a: 449–452). These structures are on the opposite side of the island from the archaic cliff shelters on the less sunny part (north side) of the island (a boreal afterlife is specified in Old Tibetan funerary manuscripts). Two sites on the north shore of Gnam mtsho with significant residential ruins but devoid of rock art are G.yang phug and Bra gu rta ra. Despite being covered in prior publications, these two sites are revisited below as new information about them has emerged from subsequent surveys.

IIIb. G.yang phug

There is a fairly extensive array of residential and ceremonial structures (possibly both funerary and non-funerary in function) consisting of cave façades, foundation walls, and tumuli at a site called G.yang phug (Good Fortune Capability Cave).¹¹ G.yang phug was one of a chain of archaic sedentary settlements that once existed on the north side of Gnam mtsho. This relatively large site extended well beyond the formation harbouring cliff shelters to blanket the rocky benches in front of it. Interestingly, there is neither rock art nor overtly Buddhist monuments and emblems at the site. G.yang phug (30.813333 N/90.5400 E) is west of Ra ma do (S8), on the west side of a deeply cut inlet. It is set on the eastern edge of a headland called Nam mkha'i do (Space Headland), where limestone cliffs tower as much as 300 m above Gnam mtsho (Figure 3). Sandwiched between great sheets of water and rock, G.yang do is endowed with geomantic qualities much revered by the ancient inhabitants of the Byang thang. The view to the east across the waters of Gnam mtsho is very encompassing. Moreover, there is no trail around the lakeshore along the headland, adding to its exclusivity and forcing circumambulators to move inland and

¹¹ In an earlier description of the site, I mistakenly refer to G.yang do as Lug do (Bellezza 1997a: 260–262).

traverse two passes before reaching the next headland of Bya do to the west.

G.yang phug is named for a large cave, which measures 30 m in length, 14 m wide at the entrance, and as much as 10 m in height (Figures 4 and 5). The mouth of this cave is barricaded by the remains of a massive façade made of local pieces of limestone, which is now reduced to its foundations. There may have been masonry structures inside the cave as well but it has been long modified for pastoral use. Like most other caves at Nam mkha'i do, the G.yang-phug cave has an eastern aspect. To the north of G.yang phug in the same escarpment is a series of three smaller caves, all of which were modified for human occupation by the construction of masonry façades. These three caves appear to have been bounded in part by a wall built on rock outcrops, set 10 m lower along the base of the escarpment, but very little of this structure remains intact. The largest and most southerly of the trio of caves is c. 10 m deep and there is a ruined *chorten* standing outside (Figures 6 and 7). The religious identity of this *chorten* cannot be ascertained from the extant remains. Between the south cave and the other two caves are the remnants of a foundation wall 5 m in length that appears to have been part of a substantial residential structure (Figure 8). On the fairly wide bench below the trio of caves there are fragments of a double-course foundation wall of heavy construction that is embedded into the ground. Fashioned from stones up to 70 cm long, it measures 15 m in length, 80 cm – 1 m in width, and has a maximum protrusion of 30 cm above ground level. This wall terminates in a 3 m-long extension that runs perpendicular, forming an L-shaped structure. To the east of the wall there are other structural remains, including a similarly constructed foundation wall c. 12 m in length. Another wall segment (about 10 m long) follows the slope gradient below the biggest of the trio of caves. Near the massive walls described there are traces of a square structure (now 6.5 m × 6.5 m and 1.5–1.8 m tall). A depression in the top of this structure seems to signal that it was once excavated. There are also minor structures in the vicinity. On the bench in front of the trio of three caves there are three quadrate tumuli forming a north-south oriented row 20 m long. The south tumulus measures 3 m × 3 m and now has a maximum height of 50 cm. The



Figure 4. The cave of G.yang phug on the headland of Nam mkha'i do, Gnam mtsho, with debris of ancient structures in front.



Figure 5. G.yang phug. Note the remains of its massive façade.



Figure 6. The second largest cave at G.yang phug and outlying structural remains.



Figure 7. The ruined mud brick *chorten* next to the second largest cave at G.yang phug. The religious identity of this monument is unclear.



Figure 8. A substantial masonry structure at the base of Nam mkha'i do near G.yang phug. This construction may once have been part of a residential complex.



Figure 9. The middle tumulus (foreground) and north tumulus at G.yang phug.

middle tumulus (3 m × 3 m × 50 cm) (Figure 9) contains a coherent wall segment that is oriented north-south. The north tumulus (3.6 m × 5.5 m) also has a coherent wall segment with a north-south alignment (Figure 9). The rear (west) wall of the north tumulus is 1.5 m high and the front wall more than 3 m in height. This structure appears to have been excavated sometime in the past.

IIIc. Bra gu rta ra

One of the most extensive complexes of ancient ruins at Gnam mtsho is on the east side of the north shore of Gnam mtsho. This site known as Bra gu rta ra (Bra gu's Horse Corral) contains no cliff shelters; rather it is dominated by an imposing freestanding structure that may possibly have once served as a stronghold (Figures 10 and 11). It was established on the summit of a rocky ridge that overlooks the lake (30.907133 N/90.800000 E/ elevation: 4590 m). This granite ridge is suspended c. 25 m above a narrow valley called Ra gzhung and bisects its mouth. East of the site there is an inlet at a place known as Mgar chung. Bra gu rta ra commands stunning views of Gnam mtsho, investing it with a geomantic position favoured by early builders: sites with open views of the east side of sacred bodies of water. Bra gu rta ra is dominated by a large rectangular walled enclosure or stockade, whose walls are quite closely aligned in the cardinal directions (Figures 12, 13, and 15). In Upper Tibet it is not unusual for archaic tombs and necropolises, and even some residential sites, to be oriented in the compass points. The enclosure measures 57 m (east-west) by 28 m (north-south). The perimeter walls were heavily built of uncut and roughly hewn granite blocks 30–80 cm in length. These random-rubble walls appear to be of a drystone composition and are around 80 cm thick and are now between 1–2 m in height. The enclosing walls are very heavily weathered and support growths of orange climax lichen in places, indicating that parts of the enclosure have not been disturbed in a long time. The enclosure contains various subsidiary or internal structures, the plan of which is not easily discernible from a visual appraisal alone. The remains of a massively built partition wall bisect the enclosure into two roughly equal sections (Figure 17). The large enclosure is further divided by various other wall footings. Inside the enclosure, near

its northeast corner, there are standing walls belonging to a subsidiary structure (12 m × 13.5 m) (Figure 14). There is also structural residue outside the southwest corner of the enclosure, as well as other structural traces inside the south-central portion. Outside the northeast flank of the enclosure there are two adjacent foundations, which together measure 13 m (east-west) by 5.8 m (north-south) (Figure 18). On the east half of the south perimeter wall there is a small flag-pole mast (*dar lcog*) (Figure 16) and a stone incense brazier (*bsang khang*), as well as cairns on the site (*lha tho*), highlighting the ongoing sacred status of Bra gu rta ra.¹²

According to the oral tradition of Gnam mtsho, Bra gu rta ra was built in the distant past as a horse corral for a local ancestral hero (*ma sangs*), the non-Buddhist warrior named Bra gu ngom ngan (sp.).¹³ Although based on a historical fund of sorts, this central personality of Gnam mtsho cannot be historicized with any precision. In the oral tradition dedicated to Bra gu ngom ngan, he is presented as a rather hapless figure, a narrative mechanism that serves to depreciate this personality and his non-Buddhist religious moorings. What is certain is that Bra gu rta ra was not built as a horse corral.¹⁴ It is far too large, structurally developed, and peculiarly sited to have been raised as a place to keep horses (in fact, in pre-modern times horses were not typically corralled on the Byang thang). Nevertheless, the original function of the ruins of Bra gu rta ra is difficult to appraise. The placement of the facility on an eminence, and the heavy outer walls, mimics those of strongholds

¹² Also, to the east of the large enclosure there is a 2 m-tall boulder called Thang lha'i rta phur (Thang lha's Horse Stake), where the mountain god is supposed to have tied his horse. The veneration of Gnyan chen thang lha by local herders takes place at the boulder. Prayers and offerings made here are purported to ensure the health and fecundity of horses. Votive offerings of old bits and braided reins and halters are common at the site. See Bellezza 1997a, p. 264.

¹³ For the folklore surrounding Bra gu ngom ngan (also: Bra bu'i ngom ngan/Dwa'u ngom ngan/Dgra dgu ngo gn) and the Bra gu rta ra site, see Bellezza 1997a: 40, 119, 212, 220, n. 11, 264–266; 2001: 79–81. The spelling Bra gu/Bra bu'i appears to be derived from one of the main genealogical lineages of Tibet, the Dbra (Bellezza 2008: 261, n. 272). Bra gu ngom ngan is also thought to have been responsible for the construction of an archaic residential complex (*gsas khang*), known as Rdzong dmar (Red Castle), situated on the Gnam mtsho island of Se mo do (S10; Bellezza 1997a: 161; 2014c: 461, 462).

¹⁴ However during the collectivization period in the Chinese Cultural Revolution it is reported that the site was used to pen livestock (Bellezza 1997a: 264).



Figure 10. The north side of Bra gu rta ra as viewed from the lower reaches of the ridge.



Figure 11. Bra gu rta ra as seen from the west.



Figure 12. Bra gu rta ra as seen from the east.



Figure 13. The long north wall and west wall (background) of the large enclosure at Bra gu rta ra.



Figure 14. An internal structure on the northeast side of the enclosure at Bra gu rta ra.



Figure 15. The southwest portion of the large enclosure at Bra gu rta ra. The massive construction of the outer walls can be seen.

further west in Upper Tibet. The various subsidiary walls seem to indicate that a relatively complex group of structures stood both inside and outside the walls of the enclosure. If these structures were roofed with permanent or temporary materials, then function as a citadel or elite residence is probably indicated. Conceivably, Bra gu rta ra could represent an unrecorded type of necropolis, but this seems less likely. The age of the site is not immediately apparent. All that can be affirmed at this juncture is that it was established in the Late Prehistoric era or in the Early Historic period, and Bra gu rta ra remains one of the largest and most important archaeological sites on the Eastern Byang thang.

IIId. An Investigation of Bkra shis do (S1 and S2)

Before we move to the actual inventory of rock art on the Eastern Byang thang, a prefatory discussion of the important headland hosting the first two sites is in order. This headland known as Bkra shis do (Good Luck Headland) is the largest on Gnam mtsho (Figures 19 and 20), jutting out 4–8 km from the trending contour of the southeast shore of the lake. This wedge-shaped promontory terminates in two large red and white limestone rock formations, Bkra shis do chen (3 km long) and Bkra shis do chung (1.5 km long). These two formations (S1 and S2) rise 100–200 m above the lake and are separated from each other by a small plain called Har kab. They are home to the largest concentration of rock art and Tibetan rock inscriptions at Gnam mtsho.¹⁵ 1128 pictographs and two petroglyphs have been inventoried individually on this large headland. Between 974 and 1002 of these subjects are assigned dates ranging from the Iron Age to the Vestigial period and 126–154 pictographs have been dated to the Late Historic period. Bkra shis do is situated 10 km north of the

¹⁵ There are c. 350 inscriptions written in red ochre and a black mineral pigment that mostly predate 1300 CE at Bkra shis do reported in Bellezza 2020b: 146. However, as this inventory will show, the actual number of inscriptions on this headland approaches 400. Zhang (2009: 64) misrepresents my work by claiming that I indicate that inscriptions at Bkra shis do belonging to the Early Historic period could be in a ‘Zhang-zhung script’. In fact, the earliest inscriptions at Gnam mtsho were inscribed in various kinds of Old Tibetan scripts.



Figure 16. The southeast corner of the large enclosure of Bra gu rta ra. The prayer-flag mast at the site is visible on the upper right side of the image.



Figure 17. The central partition wall dividing the large enclosure into southern and northern halves. The south wall of the enclosure can be seen in the background, and on the upper left of the photograph there are traces of other internal structures.



Figure 18. The footings of two structures lying outside of the northeast side of the large enclosure at Bra gu rta ra.

foot of the Gnyan chen thang lha range. Several passes of relatively easy access traverse this range in the vicinity of the headland, including La rgan la and Rkyang la. These passes link the Gnam mtsho basin with the 'Dam gzhung (Marshy Country) basin, and have long acted as gateways to the Byang thang. Geographically speaking, 'Dam gzhung is an intermediate region between Upper Tibet and Central Tibet, tying the two together through a series of well-

trodden routes.¹⁶ Prior to the Imperial period, Central Tibet formed the territorial and cultural unit that came to be called Bod, while Gnam mtsho appears to have been part of Sum pa, a proto-state annexed by the expanding Tibetan empire in the 7th century AD.¹⁷ Its strategic geographic location notwithstanding, habitable caves and dwarf juniper and willow stands go some way in explaining the long-standing historical importance of Bkra shis do, as is reflected in its prolific rock art, inscriptions, ancient residential structures, and sacred geographical traditions.

The Bkra shis do 'bathing head' (*khrus sgo*) or ritual ablutions nexus on the south side of the Bkra shis do chung headland is where representatives of the Lhasa government of Inner Tibet made annual offerings to Gnam mtsho. There are many cairns (*la btsas*) with prayer flags marking this sacred site (Figure 21). In the local sacred geographic tradition, Bkra shis do is one of 18 major headlands and islands (*do*), the balance

¹⁶ Burial mounds surveyed in the 'Dam gzhung (known earlier as 'Dam shod snar mo) basin indicate that elite components of its culture in the Imperial period were closely tied to Central Tibet. On these tombs, see Bellezza 2014a: 377–392; Hazod 2019: 114, 115; Hazod *et al.* 2017. On the conquest of 'Dam gzhung (in the country of Sum pa) during the Imperial period, see Hazod 2019: 31. In more recent centuries, the herders of 'Dam gzhung belonged to A pa hor bands of 'brog pa and are culturally and linguistically identical to pastoralists who reside permanently at Gnam mtsho. In fact, many herders who have winter home bases (*gzhi ma*) in 'Dam gzhung possess grazing rights in the Gnam mtsho basin, where they spend summers with their livestock. The important 'Dam gzhung basin contains ample grazing grounds and a large pastoralist population. At one time agriculture was practised on the margins of the marshy basin but very little farming activity still takes place.

¹⁷ For historical and archaeological evidence suggesting that Gnam mtsho and other parts of the Eastern Byang thang were once part of Sum pa (which may have been a subsidiary territory of Zhang zhung), see Bellezza 2011: 58, 59, 62, 69, 70, 109; Hazod 2009: 168, 169; Denwood 2008: 12, 13.



Figure 19. The wedge-shaped headland of Bkra shis do (middle) as seen from an outlier of the Gnyan chen thang lha range. The smaller Bkra shis do chung formation is on the left and the Bkra shis do chen formation is on the right. In the background is the north shore of Gnam-mtsho.



Figure 20. Bkra shis do as viewed from the tip of the headland of Do ring, on the opposite side of Gnam mtsho. Bkra shis do chen is the large formation on the left side of the photograph, while Bkra shis do chung is on the right.

of which arc around the north and northwest sides of Gnam mtsho (Bellezza 1997a: 120–123). This sacred group of headlands is called Nyin la do chen bcu bryad (Eighteen Sunlit Headlands and Islands), each of which has a ruling deity. The old name for Bkra shis do is Gnam mtsho do ring (Sky Lake Long Headland), which in the G.yung drung Bon tradition is presented as a major centre of religious activity and settlement in the Late Prehistoric era and Imperial period. G.yung drung Bon sources identify this location, as well as 'Dam gzhung, as among 37 religious assembly centres (*'du gnas so bdun*), in which monuments such as *chortens*, castles (*mkhar*), territorial markers (*sa rtags*), stelae (*rdo ring*), caves for meditation (*sgrub phug*), burial mounds (*bang so*), and possibly temples were constructed (Bellezza 2008: 284, 290–292).

Nowadays, there are structural remains of an archaic architectonic character scattered around the base of the two formations of Bkra shis do. The most compelling archaeological evidence for settlement predating the 11th century AD is found on the south side of Bkra shis do chung and consists of several ruined cliff shelters (Bellezza 2002a: 126; 2020b: 146). These highly disintegrated walls of façades, anterooms and internal structural features are mostly clustered in an area without appreciable rock art and inscriptions, which is set between Loci 12 and Loci 14 of Bkra shis do chung (Figures 22–25). Archaic stonework structures in this area are integrated into caves carrying the following names in a local sacred geographic scheme (in sequential order going clockwise): Gu ru sgrub phug, Bka' bryud phug chen, Bka' bryud phug chung, Rnam



Figure 21. The view from the Bkra shis do bathing head. Beyond Gnam mtsho, the highest mountain seen in the snowy Transhimalayan range is Gnyan chen thang lha proper.



Figure 22. One of the archaic cave shelters on the south side of Bkra shis do chung (S2) in the vicinity of S2_L12 to S2_L14. Note the remains of the façade at the bottom of the photograph and the masonry platform of unknown function on the right side of the cave. The black discolouration on the ceiling represents carbon deposits from the fires that were once lit in the cave.



Figure 23. The remains of another cave shelter between S2_L12 and S2_L14 of Bkra shis do chung. This habitation was set more than 1 m below the surrounding ground level. Both an internal wall and part of the front wall of the ancient residence are visible.

stras phug, Gnam mtsho phug, and Thang lha'i phug. Another ancient ruin at Bkra shis do chung is near the famous isolated outcrop known as Sman bla pho brang (Figure 26). Potentially, this group of natural parietal-cum-manmade structures could have functioned as domiciles, cult venues, and shrines. These remains seem to corroborate G.yung drung Bon textual references to Gnam mtsho do ring as having supported a thriving religious community founded prior to, and during, the Imperial period. In more recent centuries, permanent habitation on the headland has gravitated towards the southeast side of Bkra shis do chung.¹⁸ The almost total absence of pictographs in the ancient ruins of Bkra shis do chung shows that caves not exploited for permanent habitation were often favoured for the creation of rock art. This is corroborated by the lack of adequate shelter afforded by many of the decorated parietal structures. At least some of the non-residential caves and recesses in the formation on Bkra shis do chung that boast rock art and inscriptions may have been cult sites that served as tabernacles, shrines or temples. At minimum they are very likely to have been endowed with mythological and religious meaning by painters and inscribers. This is the implication that must be drawn from the sacred lore still attached to many of these natural parietal structures.¹⁹ However, the specifics of any such traditions in the Late Prehistoric era have been lost with time.

The extensive body of rock art and inscriptions at Bkra shis do indicate that the headland has played a significant role in the cultural and religious traditions of the region for many centuries. Ranging in age from the Iron Age to the Vestigial period, this rock art record dovetails nicely with the textual and monumental evidence we have reviewed. There is also a sizable body of rock art at Bkra shis do that dates to the Late Historic period. This more recent rock art tends to echo the content of earlier compositions, a testament to the strength and continuity of local cultural and social traditions. The rock art and inscriptions of Bkra shis do constitute an historical and archaeological resource

¹⁸ The two most important Buddhist residential centres at Bkra shis do chung are a Rdzogs chen monastery named Zhabs drung lha khang and a cave temple known as Rgwa lo gzims phug. See Bellezza 1997a: 176, 177.

¹⁹ On the sacred geography of the natural parietal structures of Bkra shis do chung, see Bellezza 1997a: 155, 175–188.



Figure 24. Another view of the front wall of the multi-roomed cliff shelter in Figure 23. Set deeply below the surrounding terrain, this wall appears to have been part of an anteroom adjoining the overhang at the base of the escarpment that formed the rear of the habitation.



Figure 25. Now reduced to piles of rubble, a substantial residential structure built against the base of the formation appears to have once stood at the pictured location. This structure is situated between S2_L12 and S2_L14 of Bkra shis do chung.



Figure 26. Although very little remains intact, these structural traces near the Bkra shis do chung feature called Sman bla pho brang suggest that a significant cave shelter once stood at this location.

unmatched in scope by other lines of evidence currently available to us. With the exception of just two ancient carvings, the rock art (and rock inscriptions) at Bkra shis do were painted in various mineral pigments, with red ochre being the most common. Rock art and rock inscriptions also occur in black pigments, and one swastika was painted in a blue-grey mineral pigment (probably of the type used to paint the walls of temples and *chortens*). The rock art and inscriptions are distributed at more than 70 different loci around Bkra shis do.²⁰ Probably much of the red ochre used to produce pictographs and inscriptions came from a shallow pit mine situated below the eastern extremity of Bkra shis do chen (Figures 27 and 28). According to local folklore, this high-purity iron oxide clay signifies the blood (*rakta*) of the tantric goddess Rdo rje phag mo (Bellezza 2001: 200).

It is clear from the distribution of rock art on the two headlands of Bkra shis do that the various loci were mainly selected on the basis of being endowed with rock surfaces suitable for painting (smooth, regular, sheltered, and of sufficient size). Particularly sought after by painters were surfaces covered in a naturally occurring smooth white mineral skin. This homogeneously textured veneer, or *scialbatura*, is a kind of secondary mineral deposit (speleothem), which worldwide is usually composed of reprecipitated calcium carbonate (CaCO_3). A visual examination of the white mineral veneer coating caves at Bkra shis do suggests that it may possibly constitute a calcium oxalate membrane formed through the reaction of oxalic acid with calcite contained in the parent rock during the weathering process. We hasten to add, however, that the identification of the mineral content of the veneer can only be confirmed through physiochemical analysis of the accretions and their alteration products. Furthermore, the highly polished quality of much of the veneer covering parietal features at Bkra shis do is the result of very specific geochemical formation processes. The caves and other parietal structures and their various walls at Bkra shis do are aligned in all compass points and planes of inclination, indicating that orientation in itself had little bearing on where pictographs were painted. On the other hand, specific cultural lore and social values attached to parietal structures probably had a powerful influence on the placement of specific compositions. Even so, correlating pre-modern sacred geographic traditions and social imperatives in a convincing manner with those

²⁰ Surveys conducted in the 1990s revealed rock art at c. 40 caves, cliffs, and fissures in the two formations of the headland (Bellezza 2001: 200).



Figure 27. The red ochre pit mine at Bkra shis do chen (reddish patch in the middle of the photograph).



Figure 28. The interior of the red ochre mine (*gter kha*) at Bkra shis do chen.

active before the conversion of the region to Lamaism is difficult to achieve.

The rock art of Bkra shis do is highly diverse in content and form, the handiwork of artists labouring over a period of more than two millennia.²¹ Rock art dating to the Iron Age and Protohistoric period makes up only a fairly small percentage of the total output but it is well distributed in loci around the promontory, particularly at Bkra shis do chen and on the northeast side of Bkra shis do chung. The largest collection of red ochre pictographs attributed to the Iron Age was established at Brag dkar (S1_L15 to S1_L17), where it is a dominant component of these three loci. This indicates that Brag dkar served as a cradle of rock art production on the headland, bringing it into cultural and chronological correspondence with numerous rock art sites situated further west in Upper Tibet. Rock art compositions assigned to the Protohistoric period are much more numerous than those of the Iron Age at Bkra shis do and appeared at many more loci of the headland. Pictographs of the Protohistoric period were rendered in both red ochre and black mineral pigments. Rock art of the Iron and Protohistoric period at the headland is mostly

²¹ Tang and Zhang (2001: 264) attribute the pictographs of Bkra shis do to the 7th – 9th centuries CE. While this timeframe appears to coincide with the zenith of rock art production in the locale, it was actually created over a much wider sweep of time, as this work shows.

comprised of zoomorphic portraiture, with wild yaks, deer, wild sheep, equids, antelopes, carnivores, and birds being represented. Nevertheless, pictures of solitary or paired animals are common in the rock art of all periods at Bkra shis do, as they are at most other sites in Upper Tibet. Compositions featuring wild ungulate hunting scenes also played an important role in the early phases of rock art at the headland. Like other rock art sites in Upper Tibet, hunting at Bkra shis do was depicted conducted on foot and on horseback with bows and arrows. Standing archers and those on horseback, sometimes accompanied by hunting dogs, constitute a prevailing thematic pattern. Quarry in the pictographs of Bkra shis do consists mainly of wild yaks and deer, but wild sheep and antelopes are also present. The prototype for big game hunting scenes on the western half of the Tibetan Plateau emerged out of the Late Bronze Age in Upper Tibet, which was preceded by analogous themes in Ladakh of the Late Neolithic/Bronze Age. Late Bronze Age and Iron Age compositions featuring the hunting of large herbivores are also prevalent in the rock art of the grasslands of north-eastern Tibet. As shall be discussed in Vol. V of the series, the fundamental scene architecture of big game hunting on the Tibetan Plateau owes much to North Inner Asian cultural precursors. Other kinds of human-animal interactions, like those that may entail ritual and mystic phenomena, are also portrayed in various compositions of the Late Prehistoric era at Bkra shis do.

Solitary anthropomorphs, often brandishing weapons, in various styles and forms, are one of the most evocative components of the rock art record at Bkra shis do in the Iron Age and Protohistoric period. However, the undertakings and connotations of these figures are not easily identifiable. Furthermore, martial competition and combat with polearms appeared in the rock art of the Protohistoric period. While relatively few in number, next to Ru thog in far western Tibet, Bkra shis do boasts the largest number of martial compositions in Upper Tibet. Weapons depicted in these rivalries include spears with flags, pikes, bows and arrows, standards, and shields. Yet, other subjects occurring with fairly high frequency in the early rock art of Bkra shis do are swastikas and trees, symbolic devices of great weight throughout Upper Tibet.²²

²² Some local residents recognize that the pictographs and inscriptions of Bkra shis do and other rock art sites at Gnam mtsho are an important historical resource that were made sometime in the past by their ancestors. Nonetheless, many local herders and visiting pilgrims from other parts of Tibet believe that the paintings were self-formed (*rang byon*) and reflect the holiness and magical qualities of the parent sites. See Bellezza 2001: 200, 201; 2002b: 348.

This characterization of the content of rock art at Bkra shis do in the Late Prehistoric era is also applicable to other sites at Gnam mtsho and further west in Upper Tibet. In summary, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic portraits, hunting, martialism, symbols, and ostensible ritual and mythic events centred around animals and humans, make up the bulk of rock art attributed to the Late Prehistoric era across this huge territory.

Rock art of the Late Prehistoric era at Bkra shis do acted as a magnet, pulling in artists of the Historic era to make successive contributions in the same locations. Moreover, artists of the Historic era often remained true to earlier thematic traditions. Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic portraiture, hunting scenes, combat and/or martial sporting contests on horseback, and symbolism bridged the prehistoric-historic divide at Bkra shis do. These perdurable aesthetic continuities in the artistic output of Bkra shis do indicate that certain cultural, social and economic forces continued to mould rock art production on the headland for a very long time. Although portraiture and hunting tend to prevail in the thematic repertory of many rock art sites in Upper Tibet, Bkra shis do also manifests alternative themes, making it one of the most diversified rock art hubs on the Tibetan Plateau. Much of this diversity can be explained by the historic periodization of the majority of its rock art. In the Early Historic period there was an explosion in painting at Bkra shis do in the same parietal structures as in earlier times, but which also expanded to other places along the two formations of the headland. Pictograph production at Bkra shis do peaked in the Early Historic period and into the Vestigial period. Nevertheless, by the close of the Vestigial period it was in steep decline. Bkra shis do and some other rock art sites on the Eastern Byang thang are unusual in this regard, as, further west, rock art production commonly reached a crescendo in the Late Prehistoric era. At many sites on the Central and Western Byang thang and in Stod there are few if any compositions assigned to the Historic era.

The more varied subject matter of rock art in the Historic era at Bkra shis do coincides with more complex social, economic and political orders that sprung up in the Early Historic and Vestigial periods. Many pictographs of that time were deeply influenced by religious devotion and observance. Such rock paintings were primarily created by archaic practitioners known to Tibetans as *bon* or *bon po*. From the late 10th century AD a substantial amount of non-Buddhist rock art may have been made by G.yung drung Bon practitioners. Buddhist adherents also became vigorous participants in the generation of rock art at Bkra shis do, probably sometime in the Early Historic period. Religious-themed pictographs include stepped structures

(archaic tabernacles and *chortens*) in varying styles,²³ swastikas (mostly oriented counter-clockwise), *rdo rje*, five-pointed stars, auspicious symbols (flaming jewels, endless knots, conches, vases, fishes, parasols, conjoined sun and moon, etc.), as well as a few portraits of Lamaist adepts. Some religiously inspired art was made in conjunction with Tibetan inscriptions (Buddhist and non-Buddhist), most of which are mantric in nature.²⁴ The artistic style, compositional arrangement and epigraphic context confirms that many of the stepped structures and symbolic elements at Bkra shis do are non-Buddhist in nature. Buddhism at Bkra shis do had a decidedly smaller part to play in the mix of religious currents that circulated there in the form of rock art, because of the relatively late threshold upon which this religion became dominant in the region. This coincides with the rise of the Bka' rgyud pa subsects in the 11th – 13th centuries AD and with the decline of the old rock art-making traditions in Tibet more widely.

The rock art of Bkra shis do affords us with an unparalleled view of the cultural, social, and religious transitions that began there in the Early Historic period and which were completed by the close of the Vestigial period. As discussed above, the less diversified economic regime of the Late Prehistoric era as indicated by its rock art is largely defined by unabashedly martial and venatic themes. The pictographs of that time allude to a non-sectarian society, one that was not particularly self-reflexive in matters of religion. Of course, religious ideas and values are likely to loom large within the displays of early hunting and martialism; however, few attempts were made to showcase these as something separate from mainstay physical activities. Also, the symbolic repertory of the Late Prehistoric era is much more limited in scope and, by definition, writing had not yet been invented. By contrast, starting in the Early Historic period, religious expression became paramount in the rock art of Bkra shis do. This religious broadcasting took the form of sectarian posturing with Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups vying with one another for control of rock art spaces. In a more political vein, rock art and rock inscriptions served as territorial signals and admonitions (cf. Bellezza 2020b: 142, 143). This is amply demonstrated by the jumbling, superimposition, or erasure of contending religious symbols and inscriptions seen in many loci at Bkra shis do. No longer was religion articulated through everyday exertions and aspirations; rather it had become the pivot around which the population's social identity revolved and consequent sectarian tensions were enmeshed. The rock art and epigraphs of Bkra shis

do came to affirm sectarian affiliations and loyalties in the same way that frescoes, scroll paintings (*thang ka*) and sculptures also did for the Lamaist religions.

The rock art and epigraphy of Bkra shis do and other places at Gnam mtsho indicate that Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups by and large co-evolved. These groups exploited the same tools to write and make art on naturally occurring stone surfaces for the purpose of affirming their religious identities. Moreover, they drew from a comparable fund of symbolism, syntax and grammar, signalling that the two groups shared a critical epistemological and ideological ground in common. In other words, there was no religious faction that was demonstrably more intellectually or technologically advanced than others operating on the headland. Nevertheless, that those practising non-Buddhist traditions retained an integral body of archaic mytho-ritual conventions until at least the 11th century AD is strongly suggested by non-Buddhist Old Tibetan literature (as is met with in the Dunhuang and Gathang Bumpa manuscripts, East Turkestan slips, etc.), which greatly contrasts with Buddhist praxis, doctrines, and morality. Tibetan rock art, rock inscriptions and textual sources when viewed together infer that a peculiar syncretism was underway at Gnam mtsho in the Early Historic and Vestigial periods. Non-Buddhists, while retaining older customs and fonts of historical legitimacy to some degree or other (together with their infrastructural and organizational correlates), were keen consumers of the latest abstract and material innovations, which they exploited to frame their own beliefs and practices. In doing so, they began to be enwrapped in the Sūtrayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrāyana fabric of Tibetan Buddhism. With the spread of Buddhist traditions among local non-Buddhist cultists at the turn of the second millennium AD, familiar patterns of religious expression become discernible in the rock art of Bkra shis do. These indigenous practitioners were eventually either assimilated into Buddhism or contributed to the genesis of a novel non-Buddhist Lamaist faith in the 10th and 11th centuries AD. This faith was of course Yungdrung Bon.

As with Tibetan religious art more generally, prevailing forms of piety, devotion, doctrine, and mysticism are reflected in the pictographs and accompanying Tibetan inscriptions of Bkra shis do by around 1000 AD. Yet religion was not the only preoccupation of rock art makers in the Early Historic and Vestigial periods at Bkra shis do and other rock sites around Gnam mtsho. In addition to hunting and martial scenes, and the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic portraiture already mentioned, there are other genres of depiction with a more social flavour from that time. These include what might be displays of local family and community life. There are also several enigmatic clusters of what

²³ This type of rock art is the focus of study in Bellezza 2020b; 2020d; 2008: 127–130, 199–203; 2000b: 40–42.

²⁴ On the evolution of religious traditions at Gnam mtsho, as chronicled in its epigraphy, see Bellezza 2020b.

appears to be non-Tibetan rock art and pseudo-inscriptions at Bkra shis do.

Bkra shis do and some other rock art sites at Gnam mtsho stand out in Upper Tibet for having a quite well-developed stratum of rock art produced from around the 14th century AD until recent times. In fact, rock art and inscriptions are still occasionally being made in the region today (often with deleterious effects on older pictographs). While compositions from later times occur at other sites, large bodies of rock art attributed to the Late Historic period are seldom found outside Gnam mtsho. The fairly large corpus of rock art at Bkra shis do that postdates the Vestigial period was typically inserted in between or superimposed on older pictographs. As a rule, this more recent rock art was more crudely crafted using what we call the 'crayon technique' (see Section IIc). In the main, rock art of the Late Historic period was inspired by pre-existing thematic and aesthetic precedents. Despite a decline in the technology and artistic skills used to make rock art after the Vestigial period, much of its content remained true to antecedent depiction.

In addition to religious subjects, wild ungulate and human portraiture, hunting and horseback riding comprise the gist of many compositions. Even in the Late Historic period, livestock and herding scenes are exceedingly rare, if they exist at all. Nevertheless, how much of the cultural significance and social value invested in the act of making rock art of earlier times is embodied in that of the Late Historic period is not self-evident. At least in an aspirational sense, later hunting scenes capture the exhilaration and skill of coursing large wild herbivores on foot and on horseback conveyed by ancient rock art. A similar observation regarding the earnestness and devotion associated with religious representations, both later and earlier, can also be made. While the cultural, social, and economic apparatus surrounding rock art production at Bkra shis do changed significantly over the last 2500 years, certain affective factors seem to have been more durable. At any rate, as the production of rock art in the Late Historic period relied heavily upon pre-existing subjects and themes for its inspiration, it can be seen as constituting an unbroken artistic tradition ultimately traceable to the Late Prehistoric era.

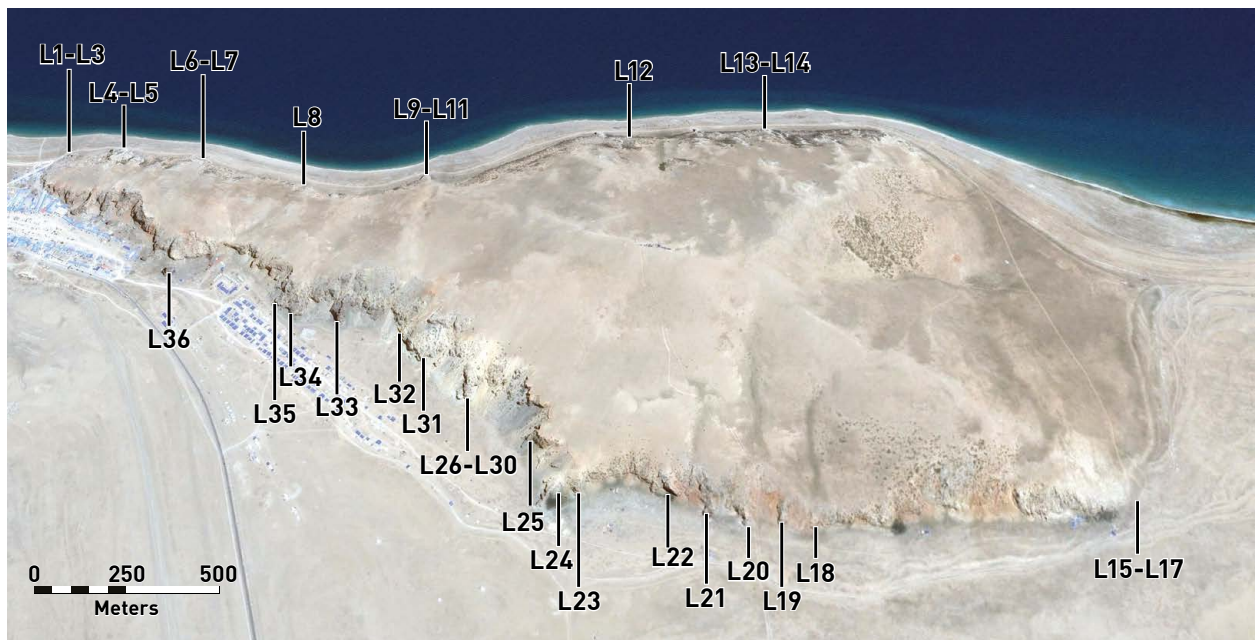
Inventoried Rock Art Sites

Bkra shis do chen (S1)

Surveys conducted in 1995, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2010, and 2012

The most easterly rock art site surveyed by the author in Upper Tibet is Bkra shis do chen, the larger of the two formations on the big headland that points out from the southeast side of Gnam mtsho. Rock art has been documented around the headland in 36 loci, which consist of a series of shallow caves, nooks, crevices, and cliff faces set along the base of the limestone formation. Between 652 and 674 subjects, ranging in age between the Iron Age and Vestigial period, have been documented at Bkra shis do chen. Additionally, 97 to 119 subjects attributed to the Late Historic period have been inventoried, a fairly small but representative selection of the total number of pictographs dating to more recent times found at the site. What appear to be two subjects from the Modern period have also been inventoried. The discrepancies in numbers given in the above chronological categories are due to uncertainties regarding the estimated age of certain pictographs. Questions pertaining to whether a subject should be attributed to the Vestigial or the Late Historic period account for most of this ambiguity.

The largest agglomerations of rock art at Bkra shis do chen occur in the Pyramidal Nooks (S1_L1-L3), Brag phying gur phug (S1_L9-L11) and the Klu khang grotto (S1_L-26-L30). The biggest group of rock art that is assignable to the Late Prehistoric era is in Brag dkar (S1-L15 to S1_L17). Rock art belonging to the Late Prehistoric era is scattered around other loci of the site as well. The relative abundance of rock predating the Early Historic period at Bkra shis do chen demonstrates that it was one of the major centres of rock art during earlier phases of production in Upper



Map 5. The various loci of rock art at Bkra shis do chen (S1). The locations designated are approximate positions that have not been GPS verified. Note the dense agglomeration of modern structures on the south side of the headland. These structures are mostly visitor facilities that were built to cater to the burgeoning Chinese tourist trade of the 21st century.

Tibet. Nevertheless, the zenith of rock art production at Bkra shis do chen occurred in the Early Historic and Vestigial periods, which corresponds with the inscribing of Buddhist and non-Buddhist epigraphs at the site. Circa 2011, a motorable road was cut around Bkra shis do chen. Although this road affords improved access, it has had a negative ecological and cultural impact on the environmentally sensitive headland.

The presentation of this survey of rock art loci at Bkra shis do chen begins on the northwest side of the formation and proceeds in a clockwise direction around the north side before bending around to the south side of the formation. The precise location of loci on the south side of the formation and their relative position to adjacent loci requires further verification.

The Pyramidal Nooks (S1_L1 to S1_L3)



Figure 29. The two pyramidal nooks and rib of limestone rock dividing them (S1_L1 to S1_L3). These matching parietal structures at Bkra shis do chen are full of red ochre pictographs.

The three most westerly loci at Bkra shis do chen consist of two equally sized, naturally occurring pyramidal recesses (West Pyramidal Nook and East Pyramidal Nook) and the margin between them. These recesses in the formation have been informally named by the author for their shape. They each measure roughly 2 m in height and 2 m wide at the base. The pair of pyramidal nooks is situated in a highly conspicuous location at the foot of the formation, on the western extremity of the north side of Bkra shis do chen. Their shape is reminiscent of mountains and this seems to have had special significance for the painters (Bellezza 1997: 196). The arrangement of pictographs in each of the two nooks somewhat conforms to a vertical hierarchy of space, with birds painted near the upper edges and large quadrupeds in the lower sections. Although this vertical ordering is loosely ordered, it is one of the more realistically structured treatments of space depicted in the rock art of Bkra shis do (Bellezza 1997: 196). Additionally, the presence of smooth rock walls covered in a light-coloured mineral veneer made the two recesses a highly sought-after location for painting. Most of the dense collection of red ochre pictographs in the pyramidal nooks are interrelated stylistically and thematically. This suggests that the bulk of rock art was made there in a relatively short span of time, and perhaps by the same individuals, or groups of individuals. This timeframe is

still not well quantified; it coincides with either the Early Historic or Vestigial period. There are also several older compositions in the pyramidal nooks that appear to date to the Protohistoric period.

The pictographs of the pyramidal nooks primarily showcase scenes from the cultural and social life of Gnam mtsho, e.g. hunting, horseback riding, and martial sports. Several groups of anthropomorphs in the pyramidal nooks seem to be dancing or engaged in other types of ceremonial behaviour. There are also various anthropomorphic and zoomorphic portraits and some symbols infused with religious meaning among the more strident actions conveyed by the rock art. Nonetheless, there are few if any compositions of a Lamaist character in the pyramidal recesses. This is curious given the historical attribution of the rock art and its conspicuous location. Unlike many other locations at Bkra shis do, it appears that the pyramidal nooks were mostly dedicated to activities of a more secular nature. However, the Tibetan letter A was inscribed in red ochre eight times in the pyramidal nooks (they are individually noted in the inventory). These monosyllabic inscriptions were made in the same general span of time as many of the surrounding pictographs. The Tibetan letter/syllable A was invested with mantric significance in both the non-Buddhist and Buddhist religions practised at Bkra shis do prior to the 13th century AD (Bellezza 2020b: 140, 141). It is one of the most common mystic syllables encountered in the palaeographic record of the promontory.

Pyramidal Nook West (S1_L1)

53 or 54 ancient subjects has been individually inventoried in the West Pyramidal Nook (S1_L1), which appear to predate the Late Historic period. Additionally, there are one or two subjects that postdate the Vestigial period. With just one exception, the dimensions of these pictographic subjects are unavailable for inclusion in the inventory.

Lower section of nook

Inventory No: S1_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: equid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat1

Comments: An ostensible horse with a linear extension above the head that may possibly represent another subject.

Placement: Bottom left side of the recess.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 197 (fig. 11), 198.

Inventory No: S1_L1_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat2

Comments: The subject was depicted with a round head and round topknot and waisted body but no appendages.

Placement: To right of S1_L1_C1.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148 (fig. 189); Bellezza 1997a: 197 (fig. 11).

Inventory No: S1_L1_C3a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat3

Comments: A standing archer taking aim with a bow and arrow. The subject was roughly drawn using the crayon technique.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L1_C1.

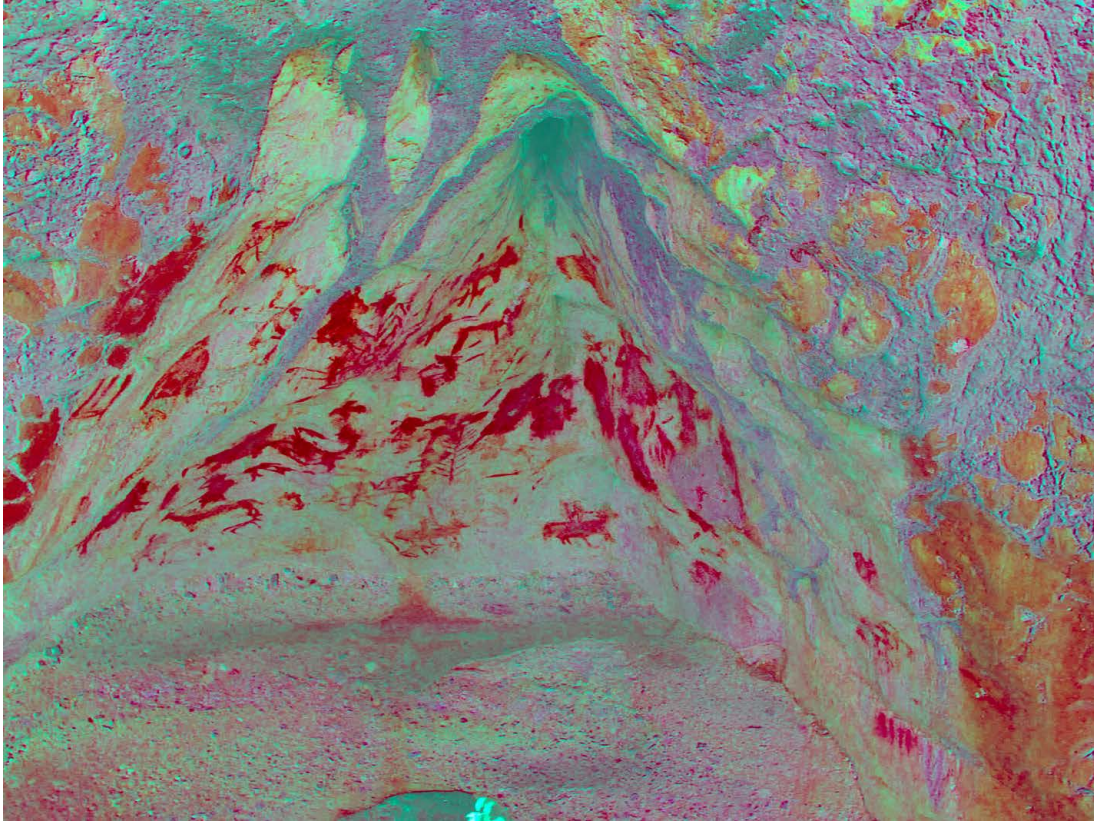


Figure 30. The West Pyramidal Nook (S1_L1). The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the definition of the individual pictographs.



Figure 31. Locations of rock art in S1_L1.

Inventory No: S1_L1_C3b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: cervid	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat3

Comments: A stag with branched antlers. The subject was roughly drawn using the crayon technique. Much of the pictograph has worn away.

Placement: To right of S1_L1_C3a, facing in opposite direction as part of same composition.

Inventory No: S1_L1_C4a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: equid	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat4

Comments: The subject probably represents a long-necked horse, complete with series of lines simulating the mane. This animal is facing away from a standing archer (S1_L1_C4c) that appears to be shooting at it.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L1_C2.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148 (fig. 189); Bellezza 1997a (fig. 97); 2020c: 496 (fig. 189).

Inventory No: S1_L1_C4b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat4

Comments: The subject may possibly represent another equid. The perspective afforded seems to be that this animal is abreast of or moving in concert with S1_L1_C4a.

Placement: Above S1_L1_C4a.

Inventory No: S1_L1_C4c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat4

Comments: A Tibetan *dbu can* (letters with heads) letter A is superimposed on this standing archer. The subject appears to be shooting an arrow in the direction of the ostensible equid in S1_L1_C4a.

Placement: To right of S1_L1_C4a.

Inventory No: S1_L1_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: raising an object	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat5

Comments: The subject is an anthropomorph with one arm raised and holding a linear motif with a bulbous upper end (possibly a musical horn). The other arm of the figure is bent at a right angle with a reins-like linear extension possibly linked to head of the animal in S1_L1_C4a. The subject is also characterized by what appears to be a large headdress, long torso or knee-length robe, and abbreviated legs.

Placement: Immediately above S1_L1_C4b, furnishing the effect that the anthropomorph is standing astride the animal or its counterpart, S1_L1_C4a. This perspective appears to have been engineered through the juxtaposition of two discrete compositions as the wear and pigment quality of the subjects vary considerably.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148 (fig.188); Bellezza 1997a: 197 (fig. 11); Bellezza 2020c: 496 (fig. 189).

Inventory No: S1_L1_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat4

Comments: The subject is an elementary antelope-like zoomorph with exaggeratedly long horns.

Placement: Partially superimposed upon the rear legs of S1_L1_C4a.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148 (fig. 189).

Margin between the pyramidal nooks (S1_L2)

This locus contains ten subjects, nine of which date to the Late Historic and Modern periods, and one to earlier times.

Inventory No: S1_L2_C1

Type: picto, RO

Subject: mass of lines

Arrangement: single?

Mode: linear

Theme: unknown

Dimensions: NA

Condition: LW

Age (est.): LHP/MP

Image ref: Cat30

Comments: The subject consists of crisscrossing lines with no overall pattern discernible.

Placement: Lower right side.

Inventory No: S1_L2_C2

Type: picto, RO

Subject: conjoined sun and moon

Arrangement: single?

Mode: outlined

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: LW

Age (est.): LHP/MP

Image ref: Cat30

Comments: The technique used to make the subject and its wear characteristics closely match S1_L2_C1, suggesting that they may possibly form one composition.

Placement: Above S1_L2_C1.

Inventory No: S1_L2_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat31

Comments: It is not clear if the subject is a representational figure or merely a geometric design.

Placement: Situated on the left side of the bottom of the margin between the two pyramidal nooks.

Inventory No: S1_L2_C4

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: LW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat31

Comments: Desultory pigment applications with no identifiable figurative value.

Placement: Above S1_L2_C3.

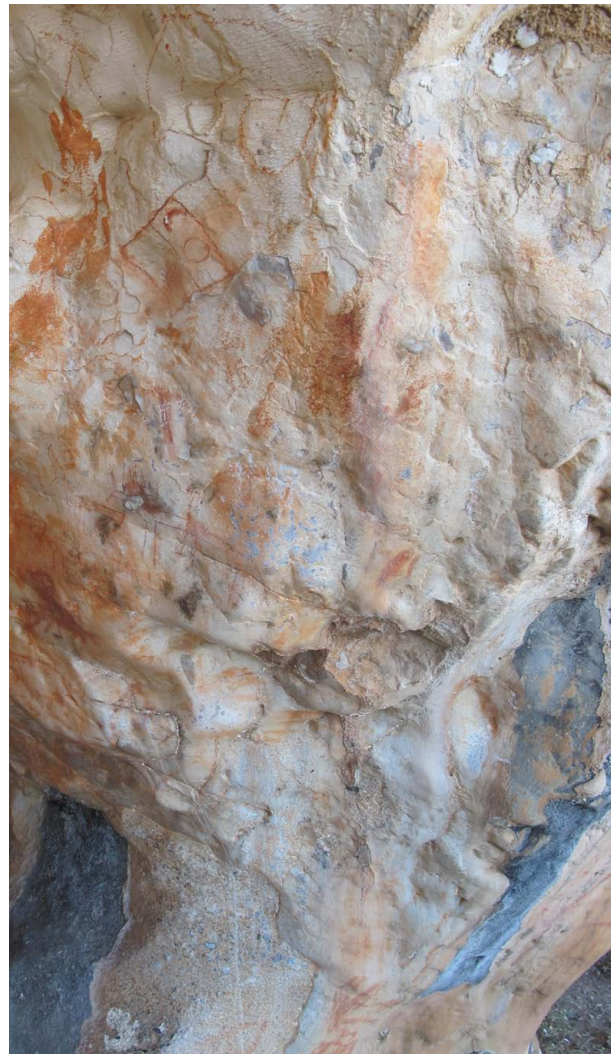


Figure 32. The margin between the pyramidal nooks (S1_L2).

Inventory No: S1_L2_C5**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** cervid**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** PP/EHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 25 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat32**Comments:** The subject consists of a stag with forked antlers and barbed tines that are larger than the rest of the figure.**Placement:** To right of and above S1_L2_C4.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2001: 329 (fig. 10.21).**Inventory No:** S1_L2_C6a**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** horseback rider**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat33**Comments:** The crudely rendered rider is depicted without implements or weapons. The subject appears to be in pursuit of three animals, drawn in the same style using the crayon technique.**Placement:** Middle part of the margin on the left side.**Inventory No:** S1_L2_C6b**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** cervid**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat33**Comments:** The subject is a stag with branched antlers.**Placement:** To left of S1_L2_C6a.**Inventory No:** S1_L2_C6c**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat33**Comments:** The subject may possibly represent a yak.**Placement:** Below S1_L2_C6b.**Inventory No:** S1_L2_C6d**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat33**Comments:** It is not clear whether the subject represents a wild ungulate or carnivore.**Placement:** To left of S1_L2_C6b.**Inventory No:** S1_L2_C7**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** sunburst, sun and moon**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat34**Comments:** This composition consists of a square box divided into two equal parts. In one half there is a sunburst and in the other a widely separated crescent moon and sun. This composition was probably invested with religious value.**Placement:** Upper section of the margin.

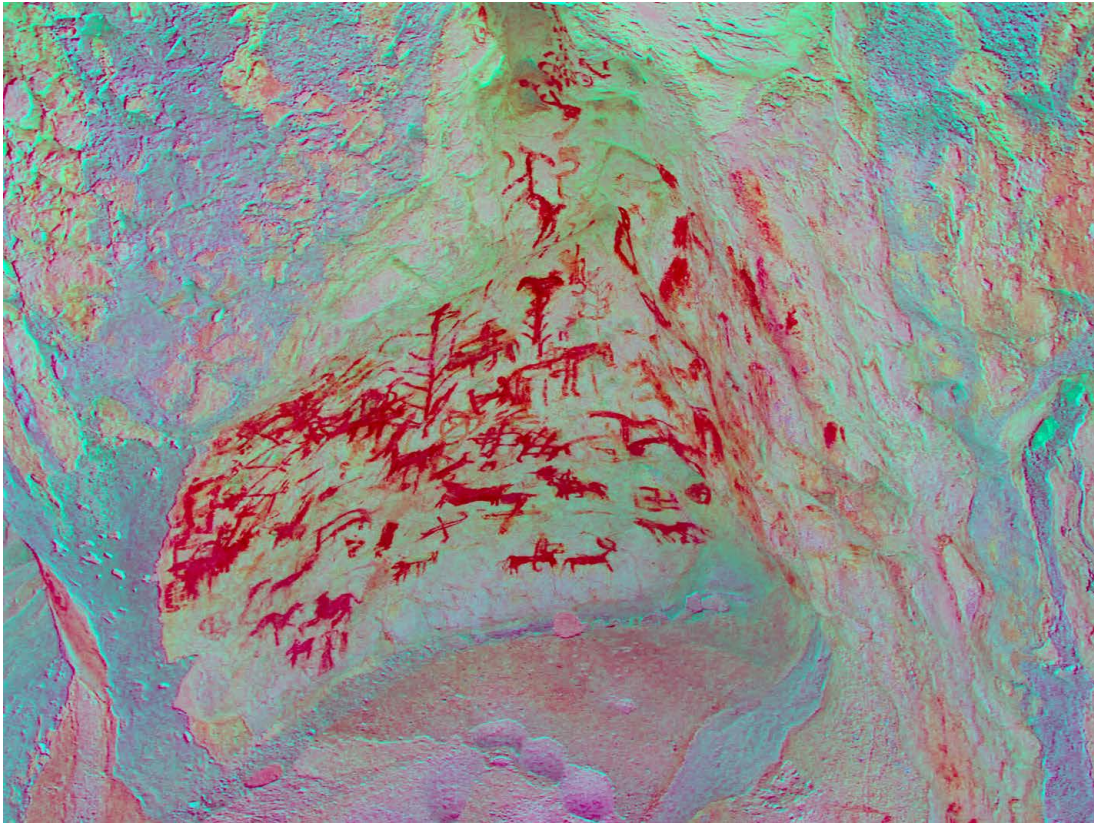


Figure 33. Pyramidal Nook East (S1_L3). The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the definition of the individual pictographs.

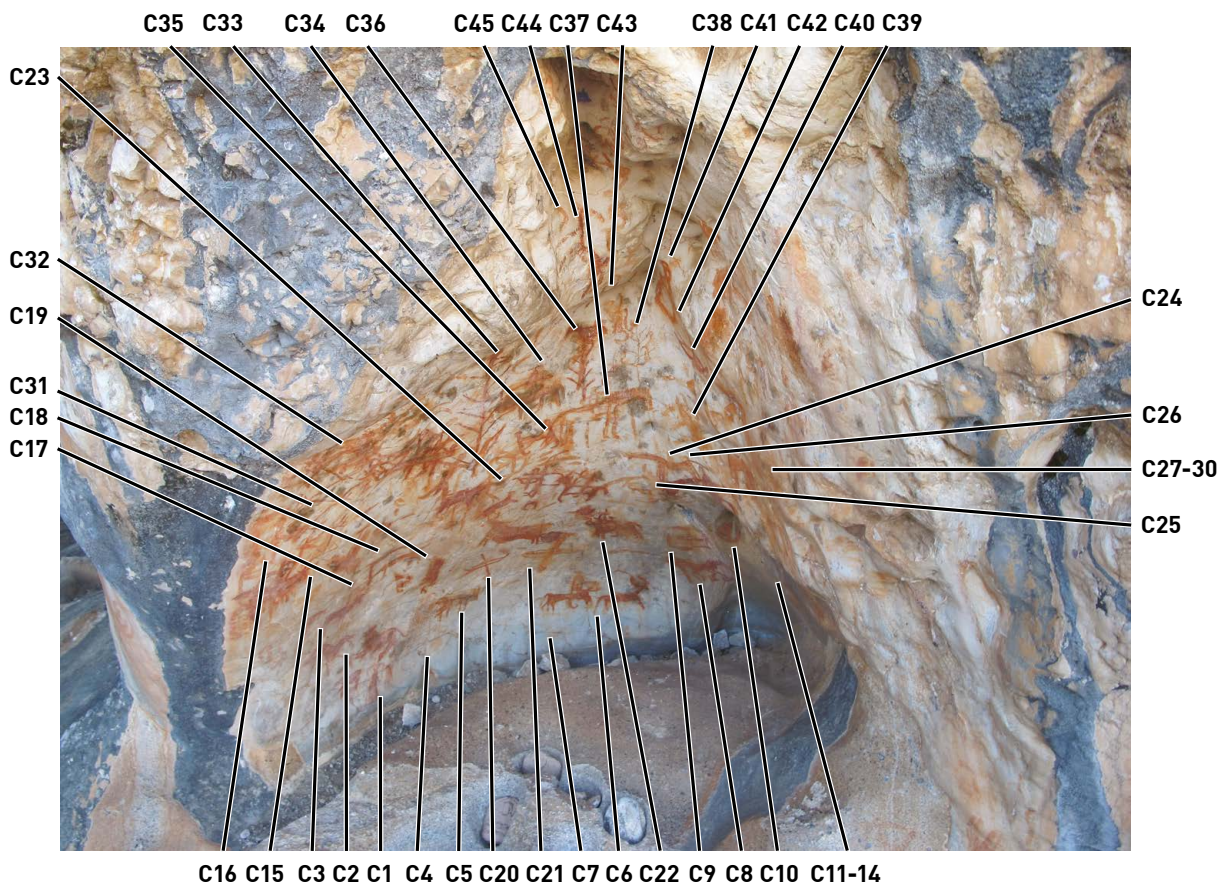


Figure 34. Locations of rock art in S1_L3.

Inventory No: S1_L3_C3a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW

Subject: carnivore **Theme:** predation? **Age (est.):** EHP

Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat37

Comments: The raised and hook tail, pricked ears, and blunt snout of the subject are insufficient to identify it as either a felid or canid.

Placement: To left of and above S1_L3_C2b.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 384 (fig. 37).

Inventory No: S1_L3_C3b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW

Subject: stag **Theme:** predation? **Age (est.):** EHP

Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat37

Comments: The branched antlers of this animal identify it as a stag. It is possible that this composition is part of S1_L3_C2. Just above the subject there is a Tibet *dbu can* letter A.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L3_C3a.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 199 (fig. 13), 200.

Inventory No: No: S1_L3_C4

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW

Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP

Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat38

Comments: This anthropomorph has an hourglass-shaped torso, one arm raised above the round head, and one arm akimbo. The ankles and feet emerge below the long robe of the figure.

Placement: To right of S1_L3_C2c.

Inventory No: S1_L3_C5

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** LW

Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP

Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat39

Comments: Although the subject has long ears or horns, it cannot be positively identified. It is possible that this animal was painted with one or more subjects situated in the vicinity but this cannot be established through a visual appraisal.

Placement: Above S1_L3_C4.

Inventory No: S1_L3_C6a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW

Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat40

Comments: The lineaments of the composition indicate that the horseman is equipped with a bow but it is hardly indicated.

Placement: To right of S1_L3_C5.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 151 (fig. 193); Bellezza 2002b: 371 (fig. 16).

Inventory No: S1_L3_C6b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW

Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat40

Comments: The shape of the horns and tail of the subject suggest that it is a wild yak. It is shown struck by an arrow in the back. There is a linear extension on each horn which appears to have been added to the composition at a later date. The significance of the two added lines is unclear.

Placement: To right of S1_L3_C6a.

Upper section of the nook

Inventory No: S1_L3_C31

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: LW
Subject: linear markings	Theme: geometric?	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat53

Comments: The subject consists of three interconnected triangles with branching lines on the peak of each.
Placement: Above S1_L3_C15.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148, 149 (fig. 190).

Inventory No: S1_L3_C32

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly depict a wild ungulate.
Placement: Above S1_L3_C31, on the left edge of the nook.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148, 149 (fig. 190).

Inventory No: S1_L3_C33

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: tree	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat54

Comments: There may possibly be a bird on the top of the tree that was added to the composition subsequently.
Placement: To right of S1_L3_C23a.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148, 149 (fig. 190); Bellezza 2020c: 489 (fig. 176).

Inventory No: S1_L3_C34

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat55

Comments: The horseman may be wielding a bow. This subject may possibly have been created with one or more pictographs in the vicinity. Above the subject is a Tibetan letter A (*dbu can*). It appears to be of commensurate age.
Placement: To right of S1_L3_C33.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148, 149 (fig. 190); Bellezza 2020c: 489 (fig. 176).

Inventory No: S1_L3_C35a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: paired	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat56

Comments: The subject has a round head and narrow body with one leg visible. This composition may possibly have been created with one or more pictographs in the vicinity.
Placement: Below S1_L3_C34.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 148, 149 (fig. 190); Bellezza 2020c: 489 (fig. 176).

Inventory No: S1_L3_C35b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: paired	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat56

Comments: The anthropomorph closely matches the form and aspect of S1_L3_C35a. The four arms of these two figures are interlocked, creating a symmetrical effect. These figures may be dancing or sporting, which suggests that they are shown participating in a ceremonial or ritual activity. The composition may possibly have been created with one or more pictographs in the vicinity.
Placement: To right of S1_L3_C35a.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 166 (fig. 279).

Sangs rgyas yar byon phug (S1_L4)

In a popular sacred geographic scheme of the region, S1_L4 is named after the famous Stag lung bka' brgyud master, Sangs rgyas yar byon (1203–1272 AD).¹ There is said to be a footprint in stone (*zhabs rjes*) of this lama in the cave. The locus is situated on the north side of Bkra shis do chen, like all those up to S1_L14. Although this is a relatively small cave, it is deeper than many others at Bkra shis do. 12–16 pictographs have been inventoried that predate the Late Historic period. The earliest rock art in the cave may date to the Protohistoric period but most of these subjects are assigned to Early Historic and Vestigial periods. This rock art is primarily composed of wild ungulate and bird portraits. There is also a relatively large body of pictographs made using the crayon technique in Sangs rgyas yar byon phug, all or most of which is attributable to the Late Historic period. 11–15 of these more recent subjects are included in the inventory for comparative purposes. Among the most notable compositions of the Late Historic period are two hunting scenes. Rock art of the Late Historic period is concentrated on the rear right wall of the cave. There are also a number of Tibetan inscriptions on the right wall of Sangs rgyas yar byon phug.



Figure 35. Sangs rgyas yar byon phug (S1_L4).

Right side of cave

Inventory No: S1_L4_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: wild ungulate

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat63

Comments: The body of the subject is ornamented with several dots, a rare decorative mode in Upper Tibet.

Placement: On bottom right side of the mouth of cave.

¹ On this lama at Gnam mtsho, see Bellezza 1997a: 167–169, 172, 200.

Uncategorized placement

Inventory No: S1_L4_C21a

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat74

Comments: This wild yak has a bird-like appearance.

Placement: Unfixed.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2000b: 380 (fig. 29).

Inventory No: S1_L4_C21b

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat74

Comments: The subject may possibly be shown with a horn, suggesting that it represents an indigenous wild ungulate of some kind.

Placement: Below S1_L4_C21a.

Cleft southeast of Sangs rgyas yar byon phug (S1_L5)

This unnamed locus of rock art on the north side of Bkra shis do chen, a cleft in the base of the limestone rock formation, contains a handful of diverse pictographs. Seven subjects were inventoried at this location, including six that predate the Late Historic period and one that is assigned to the Late Historic period.

Left wall of cleft

Inventory No: S1_L5_C1

Type: picto, RO

Subject: anthropomorph?

Arrangement: single

Mode: silhouetted

Theme: portrait

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat75

Comments: The round motif at the top of the pictograph and what appears to be a long torso suggest that the subject is an anthropomorph. A syllable of the non-Buddhist Sale 'od mantra was superimposed on the base of the pictograph. For this mantra, see Bellezza 2020b: 150 (fig. 10.11). In this work, the mantra is misattributed to a proximate cave.

Placement: On left wall of the cleft.



Figure 36. The left southeast of Sangs rgyas yar byon phug (S1-L5).

Inventory No: S1_L5_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: RA
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat75

Comments: The subject appears to represent a horse or carnivore.
Placement: To left of S1_L5_C1.

Inventory No: S1_L5_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: LW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat76

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika was superimposed on a highly ablated *ma ni* mantra. For this mantra, see Bellezza 2020b: 150 (fig. 10.11).
Placement: To left of and below S1_L5_C2.

Rear wall of cleft

Inventory No: S1_L5_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: LW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: A counter-clockwise variant.
Placement: Rear wall of the cleft.

Inventory No: S1_L5_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: LW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat77

Comments: The subject brandishes a sword (the hilt is depicted) in one hand while the other arm is bent at an acute angle. The head is surmounted by three branched motifs resembling feathers of diadems. This anthropomorph appears to be a Lamaist personality or divinity. It is possible that the subject represents a heavily retouched older pictograph.
Placement: To right of and below S1_L5_C4.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020c: 459 (fig. 101).

Inventory No: S1_L5_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: Partially framed by wavy lines there is a Tibetan *dbu can* inscription that appears to read: *glo*. The lines and inscription are only easily visible under digital enhancement.
Placement: To left of and below S1_L5_C5.

Inventory No: S1_L5_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition:
Subject: tree	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat78

Comments: This tree of elementary design is typical in form of this category of Tibetan rock art in Upper Tibet.
Placement: Intermediate location between S1_L4 and S1_L5.



Figure 37. The twin caves (S1_L6 and S1_L7).



Figure 38. Twin Cave West (S1_L6).

The twin caves (S1_L6 and S1_L7)

In previous publications, I have referred to these two loci at Bkra shis do chen as ‘twin caves’ or ‘twin niches’. In this work the former name is employed. These two caves are situated on the north side of Bkra shis do chen. The deeper Twin Cave East is c. 4 m in length. 35 pictographic subjects in the twin caves have been inventoried. These include five or six representative specimens from the Late Historic period. Although there are a few anthropomorphic and zoomorphic portraits and a fine horseman embellishing the cave walls, there are no hunting scenes in the two loci. Rather, the rock art of the twin caves strongly gravitates towards religious and mystic themes and is symbol rich. It includes four to six counter-clockwise swastikas, one clockwise swastika, two circle and crescent subjects, one or two stepped shrines, three endless knots, three sets of flaming jewels, and three triple jewels. There are also Buddhist and non-Buddhist red ochre inscriptions in the twin caves. These religious-related inscriptions and rock art date to the Early Historic and Vestigial periods. They demonstrate that the twin caves were the focus of cult functions that spanned the transition from non-Buddhist to Buddhist religious traditions and loyalties.

Twin Cave West (S1_L6)

Ten subjects were inventoried in this locus, including one or two pictographs that are assigned to the Late Historic period.

*Right side of cave***Inventory No: S1_L6_C1**

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 18 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat79

Comments: The subject is wearing a pointed hat, not unlike the felt hats (*phying zhwa*) worn by A pha hor herders of the region in pre-modern times. The body of the horse is covered in small dots.

Placement: Right wall of the niche.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 202 (fig. 16); 2020c: 476 (fig. 153). In this latter work the composition is misattributed to Brag phying gur phug.

Inventory No: S1_L6_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: equid?	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat80

Comments: The subject has what appears to be a mane, and along with the aspect conveys the impression that it is rearing up or galloping.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L6_C1.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 330 (fig. 10.22).

Inventory No: S1_L6_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: LW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 10 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat81

Comments: The subject appears to have a halo.

Placement: To right of and well above S1_L6_C1.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 325 (fig. 10.13).

Inventory No: S1_L6_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition:
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: If the subject is an animal, it appears to be some type of wild ungulate.

Placement: To right of and above S1_L6_C2.

Twin Cave East (S1_L7)

25 subjects were inventoried in this locus, including three that date to the Late Historic period.

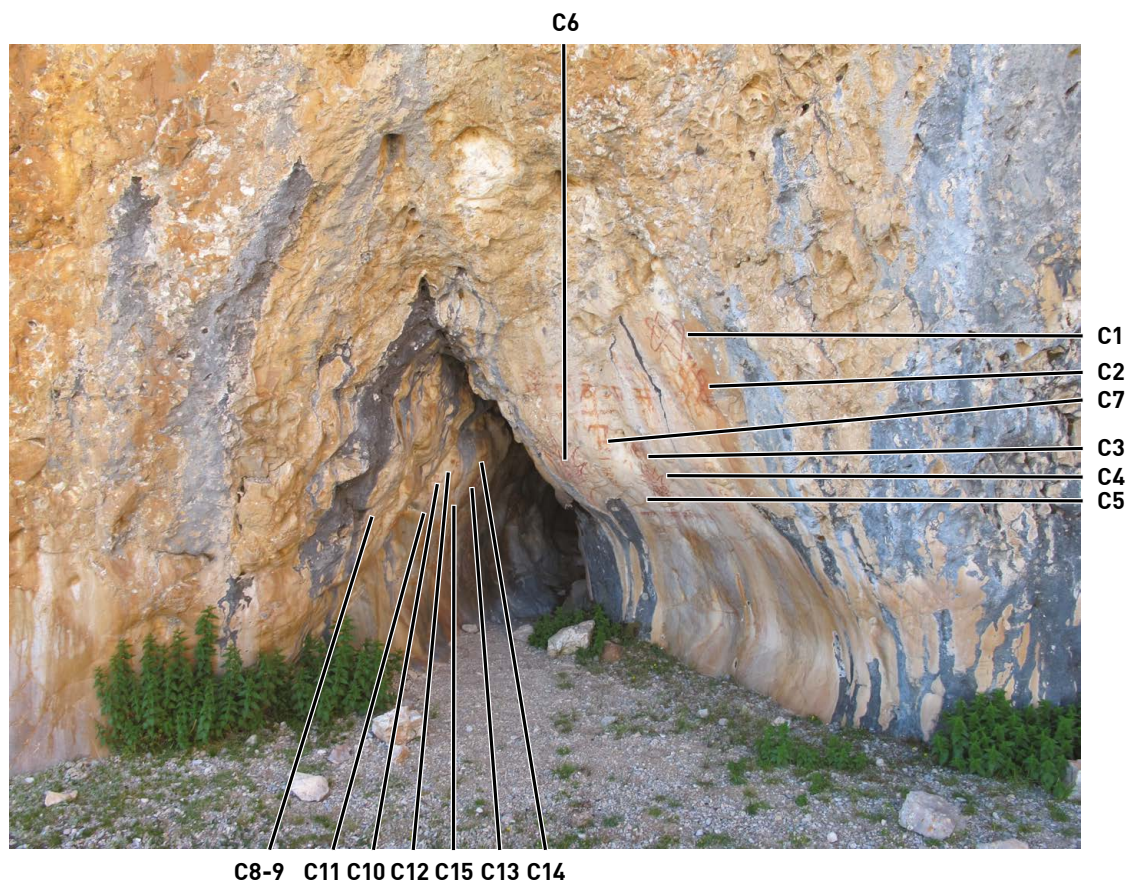


Figure 39. Locations of rock art in S1_L7.

Right side of cave

Inventory No: S1_L7_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: endless knot

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 23 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat84

Comments: The older style of the endless knot suggests that it was made by a non-Buddhist. Butter was dabbed on the pictograph as an offering.

Placement: Above right side of the mouth of the cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 335 (fig. 10.33).

Inventory No: S1_L7_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: endless knot

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 30 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat84

Comments: The pigment quality, colour, and wear match those of a *ma ni* inscription situated to the left of the endless knot. Together with the more elaborate style of the endless knot, this strongly suggests that it was made by a Buddhist.

Placement: Below S1_L7_C1.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 335 (fig. 10.34).

Inventory No: S1_L7_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 18 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat85

Comments: This subject may possibly depict a horse.
Placement: Below and to left of S1_L7_C2, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S1_L7_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: flaming jewels	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 29 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat86

Comments: The subject was probably painted by non-Buddhists.
Placement: Below S1_L7_C3.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 202 (fig. 17).

Inventory No: S1_L7_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat87

Comments: The subject consists of an oval outline that was partially obliterated when the light-coloured veneer of the cave wall was removed.
Placement: To left of S1_L7_C4.

Inventory No: S1_L7_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: flaming jewels	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 46 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat88

Comments: The subject was probably painted by non-Buddhists.
Placement: To left of and above S1_L7_C5.

Inventory No: S1_L7_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika?	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 33 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat89

Comments: The subject appear to be a swastika with its arms out of sync. A *ma ni* mantra was superimposed over the top of this pictograph. The lower central axis of the subject is intersected by an inverted U-shaped line that appears to have been painted at a different time.
Placement: To left of S1_L7_C6.

Left side of cave

Inventory No: S1_L7_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: flower	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Figure 40

Comments: The flower has eight petals and may represent a lotus.
Placement: Left wall of the cave



Figure 40. S1_L7_C8 (left), S1_L7_C9 (centre left) and a Tibetan letter A written in an archaic script (centre right).

Inventory No: S1_L7_C9

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: circle and crescent

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 9 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 40

Comments: These two motifs appear to depict the conjoined sun and moon. The Tibetan letter A rendered in an archaic script is placed in close proximity, as are what appear to be five other letters in an Old Tibetan script. This inscription, S1_L7_C8 and S1_L7_C9 exhibit analogous wear and pigment traits, indicating that they were produced in the same timeframe. It is even possible that they constitute an integral composition.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L7_C8.

Inventory No: S1_L7_C10

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 8 cm

Image ref: Cat90

Comments: The swastika has counter-clockwise orientation.

Placement: On left wall, deeper in the cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 333 (fig. 10.28).

Inventory No: S1_L7_C11

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 9 cm

Image ref: Cat90

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation.

Placement: Below S1_L7_C10.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 333 (fig. 10.28).

Inventory No: S1_L7_C25

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 8 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat98

Comments: This probable female figure has her hair set in two braids. She wears a long robe with long sleeves over her bi-triangular torso.

Placement: It is not known whether the subject is associated with S1_L6 or S1_L7.

S1_L8



Figure 41. An unnamed recess in the Bkra shis do chen formation (S1_L8).

This locus of rock art is a small recess in an isolated location on the north side of Bkra shis do chen. It contains only one pictograph of any stature, which is dated to the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S1_L8_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat99

Comments: This subject has a central axis and branches arrayed on both sides, recalling a tree. To the left of the subject there is a pictograph of the LHP which resembles an eye (NIS). A red ochre *ma ni* inscription in the recess is misattributed to the twin caves in Bellezza 2020b: 153 (fig. 10.20).

Placement: Upper right side of recess.



Figure 42. The outcrop containing Brag phyng gur phug (S1_L9 to S1_L11) as seen from the east.

Brag phyng gur phug (S1_L9 to S1_L11)

Overlooking Gnam mtsho in the middle of the north side of Bkra shis do chen there are two shallow V-shaped caves, Brag phyng gur phug West (S1_L9) and the slightly deeper Brag phyng gur phug East (S1_L11). The rib of stone between the two chambers constitutes S1_L10. The name Brag phyng gur phug (Felt Tent Formation) comes from a popular sacred geographic tradition in the region. This tower-like rocky outcrop is isolated from the main headland and it appears to have been named after the yurts of the Mongols. It is also said that this outcrop is part of a self-formed white sleeping dragon (Bellezza 1997a: 202). Furthermore, the twin chambers are known as Slob dpon gzims phug, and there is supposed to be an impression in stone of the drum used by Gu ru rin po che inside (Bellezza 1997a: 202, citing Stag lung rtse sprul 1991). The floor of the two chambers has a highly polished undulating limestone rock surface. It is traditionally believed that this came about through the melting of the stone during the mystic inner heat practice (*gtum mo*) of Gu ru rin po che. Like many rock art loci around Bkra shis do, a substantial number of religiously inspired pictographs and inscriptions in Brag phyng gur phug were fashioned by non-Buddhists before Buddhism became dominant in the area beginning after 1000 AD.

Among the 166 subjects recorded in Brag phyng gur phug there are 33 belonging to, or possibly dating to the Late Historic period. However, subjects assigned to the Early Historic and Vestigial periods make up the bulk of rock art in Brag phyng gur phug.² The more recent body of rock in the two chambers is readily identifiable. Pictographs of the Late Historic period were made by drawing on stone surfaces with a raw piece of red ochre, in contrast to most earlier rock art at Gnam mtsho that was painted with prepared pigments. More recent rock art is also characterized by less ablation of the pigments, cruder technical execution, and more cursory and naïve treatment of subjects in general. In this work, only a representative selection and more notable specimens of later rock art are presented. As in other loci around Bkra shis do, this body of rock art often intrudes upon earlier pictographs, the prime spots in parietal structures having been already filled by the end of the Vestigial period. There is a smaller proportion of rock art attributed to the Late Historic period in Brag phyng gur phug than in the pyramidal nooks (S1_L1 to S1_L3). At the other end of the chronological spectrum in Brag phyng gur phug are 21 subjects that date to, or possibly belong to the Protohistoric period. There is just one composition in Brag phyng gur phug (S1_L9_C10) that might be attributable to the Iron Age, reflecting the paucity of rock art more widely at Bkra shis do that belongs to this more remote phase of production.

Brag phyng gur phug hosts the single largest collection of rock art at Bkra shis do, and it is duly diverse in terms of subject matter and thematic orientation. Hunting on horseback with bows and arrows is represented in all periods of rock art production. However, there are only three to eight such scenes (some of these may depict martial competition instead). Thus, hunting vies with many other themes at the three loci. There is one unabashed battle scene (S1_L11_C42), but solitary mounted archers may also showcase martial pursuits. As at many other sites around Bkra shis do, the depiction of solitary anthropomorphs, animals and birds constitute a strong component in the contents of Brag phyng gur phug. Religion-related subjects include stepped structures on the left wall (facing west) of S1_L9 and auspicious symbols (endless knots, conches, five-pointed stars, fishes, etc.) on the right wall (facing

² Tang and Zhang (2001: 263, 264) categorically date the rock art of Brag phyng gur to the 7th – 9th centuries AD. These researchers are evidently unaware of the wide chronological and thematic range of rock art in these three loci.



Figure 43. Brag phyng gur phug West (S1_L9) on the right side of the image and Brag phyng gur phug East (S1_L11) on the left side, with S1_L10 in the centre.

east) of S1_L11. The majority of these auspicious symbols appear to have been painted by non-Buddhists. There are just three swastikas at Brag phyng gur phug. Brag phyng gur phug is especially noteworthy for its unique subsets of rock art. It stands out at Gnam mtsho for two compositions that feature Bactrian camels. In one scene an individual leads two Bactrian camels (S1_L9_C1), documenting a form of transportation prevalent in North Inner Asia. This composition indicates that residents of Gnam mtsho, or those visiting there, were familiar with this mode of transport during the Protohistoric period or Early Historic period. Caravans using camels for traction could also possibly portray an economic reality in the region in the past. There is also a composition consisting of a solitary camel in Brag phyng gur phug (S1_L11_C8).

A group of unique red ochre pictographs and inscriptions or pseudo-inscriptions of decidedly non-Tibetan origin are found in the rear of S1_L9. This rock art includes various anthropomorphs dressed in a foreign manner and a relatively elaborate residential structure, an exotic architectural manifestation. I have attempted to correlate these compositions with the Jurchens and Khitans, peoples of Altaic origins who spoke Mongolic-related languages (cf. Bellezza 2014b: 194; 2001: 203). These peoples and their ruling dynasties (Liao and Jin) dominated northern China from the early 10th to early 13th century AD. However, this attribution is problematic.³ Although, the non-figurative element in the alien rock art of Brag phyng gur phug sometimes resembles characters in scripts employed by the Jurchens and Khitans, it does not appear to belong to either of these writing traditions. Some of the strange characters in Brag phyng gur phug recall Chinese ideograms or logograms, but taken as a whole they do not belong to the Chinese tradition of writing either.⁴ Most of the markings are rather crude and more elementary in form than Chinese ideograms or the scripts of the Khitans and Jurchens. This may suggest that rather than letters or logograms, they are idiosyncratic runes or ciphers created for mystic or esoteric communications which may possibly have been inspired by the writing system of others. The rock art with which these figures are associated

³ In an earlier work (Bellezza 1997a: 208–210), I describe this rock art as in a ‘Chinese style’.

⁴ Two of the more convincing analogues are figures that resemble the Chinese characters for *tiān* (heaven) and *dà* (big; cf. Bellezza 1997a: 209). For these characters see, Sonam Wangdu 1994: 154 (fig. 201). I have attempted to equate nine other figures in S1_L9 with Chinese characters (Bellezza 1997a: 209), but the correspondences in form are not very compelling. Sonam Wangdu (1994: 154) states that there are several Chinese characters among the figures in Brag phyng gur phug, but he does not identify them individually or attempt a reading. In their introduction to this book, Li and Huo (1994: 34) are of the opinion that such markings indicate that the people of Bkra shis do probably had relations with the Chinese in the period in which they were made. The basis of their observation is not clear to me.

suggests quite clearly that they were not made by Tibetans, as these pictographs are out of character with variants traditionally painted by Tibetans at Bkra shis do and other rock art sites. Tentatively, we associate the unusual art and figures of Brag phying gur phug with visitors coming from the Northern Zone (Northwest China) or other territories in North Inner Asia during the Vestigial period. At any rate, anthropomorphs among them flaunting a sword, the sun and moon, as well as a bird of prey, broadcast important social, political and religious signals.

Near the base of the partition dividing the two chambers of Brag phying gur phug (S1_L10) there is a panel of interrelated red ochre pictographs. This rock art is unique in style and content at Bkra shis do and probably in all of Tibet for that matter. As it is anomalous in subject matter, form and presentation, it is difficult to contextualize culturally and historically. The presence of ideogram-like characters on the panel strongly suggests that it is of non-Tibetan origin. Attribution to artists coming from North Inner Asia seems indicated. However, the panel of pictographs does not closely resemble non-Tibetan rock art in Brag phying gur phug West (S1_L9). The profusion of vegetation in S1_L10 was delicately rendered using very fine red ochre lines. Moreover, the two anthropomorphs in the locus were created in a style different than that used to produce human figures in S1_L9. There is also an anthropomorphic composition on the right wall of S1_L11 that deserves special comment. It consists of five human figures attired in ankle length robes or caftans gathered at the waist and with short or mid-length sleeves (S1_L11_C10). The red ochre pigment of these figures has undergone considerable wear and ablation. Moreover, the composition is partially obscured by subsequent pigment applications and the running of pigment from adjacent pictographs. This composition can be tentatively attributed to the Imperial period. Exotic influences appear to be at play here. The atypical human subjects it features might be the handiwork of visitors to Gnam mtsho, or possibly the creation of indigenous artists chronicling foreign peoples and customs. One can speculate that this composition might possibly depict Sogdian traders who visited the locale (an important pilgrimage site) en route to or from Lhasa (February 2012, *Flight of the Khyung*: www.tibetarchaeology.com/february-2012/).

Brag phying gur phug West (S1_L9)

63–65 subjects predating the Late Historic period have been inventoried in this locus. There are also 24–26 subjects assigned to the Late Historic period, constituting a large proportion of more recent rock art in the locus.

Right side of the mouth of the cave

Inventory No: S1_L9_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: caravan

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 7.5 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat100

Comments: The subject attired in a mid-length robe is leading a pair of camels (S1_L9_C1b, S1_L9_C1c). This is the only camel caravan scene recorded in the rock art of Upper Tibet.

Placement: On the right side of the mouth of the cave. This is the most westerly composition surveyed at Brag phying gur phug.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 170 (fig. 300); 2002b: 394 (fig. 58).

Inventory No: S1_L9_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: camel

Theme: caravan

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 10 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat100

Comments: The subject with its two humps represents a Bactrian camel.

Placement: To right of S1_L9_C1a.

Inventory No: S1_L9_C1c

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: camel

Theme: caravan

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 15 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat100

Comments: This Bactrian camel appears to be attached to its counterpart by a lead.

Placement: To right of S1_L9_C1b.

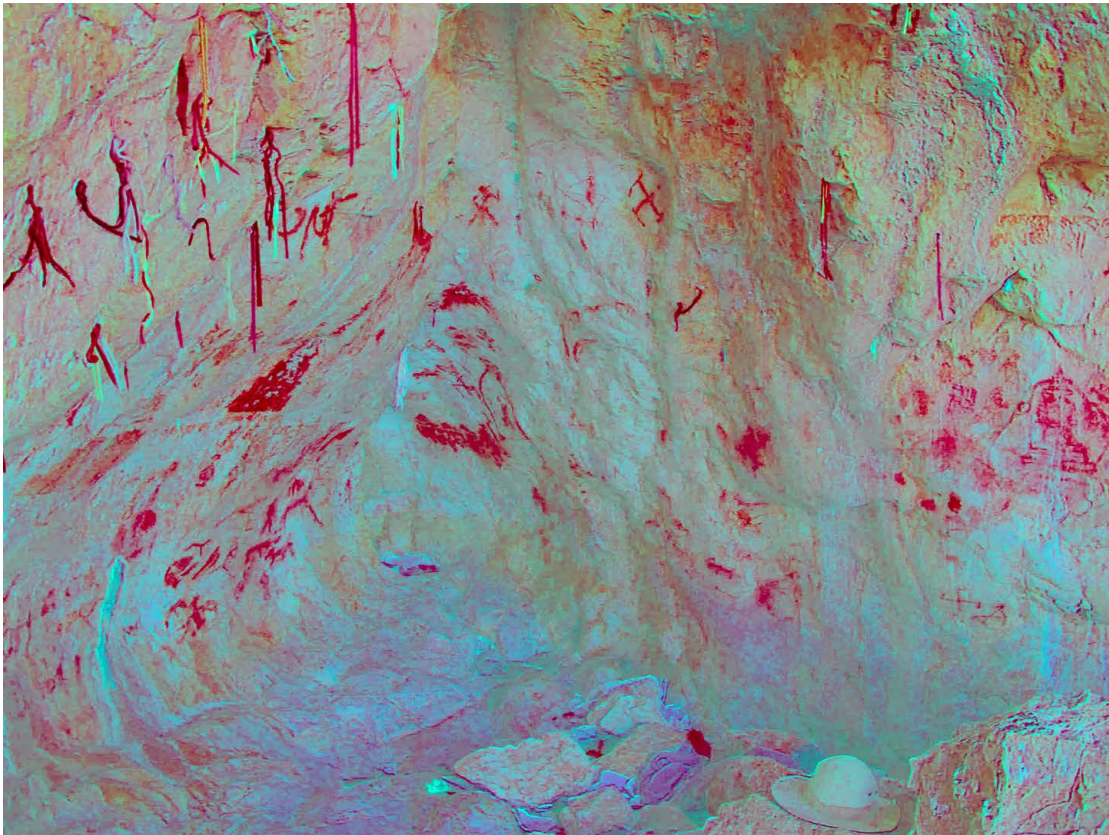


Figure 44. Brag phying gur phug West (S1_L9). The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the definition of the individual pictographs.

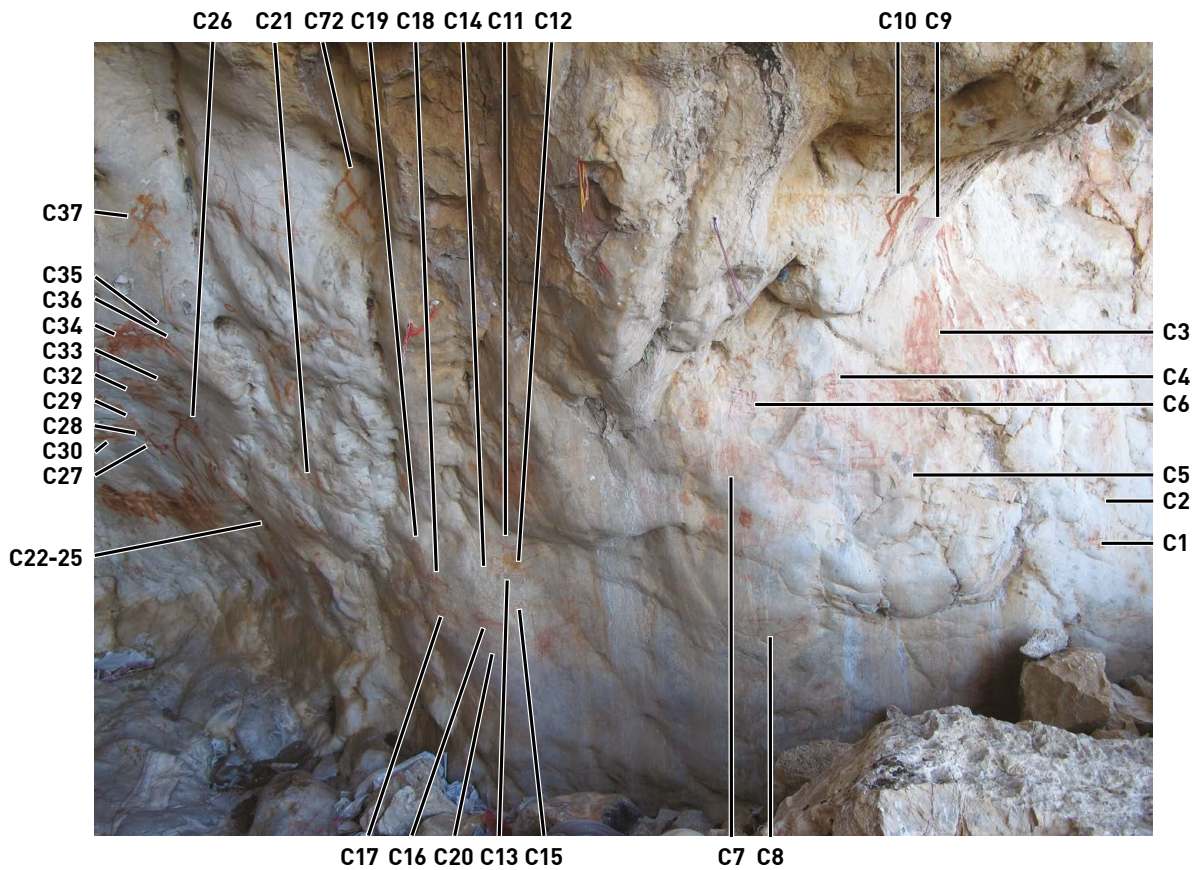


Figure 45. Locations of rock art on the right wall of S1_L9.

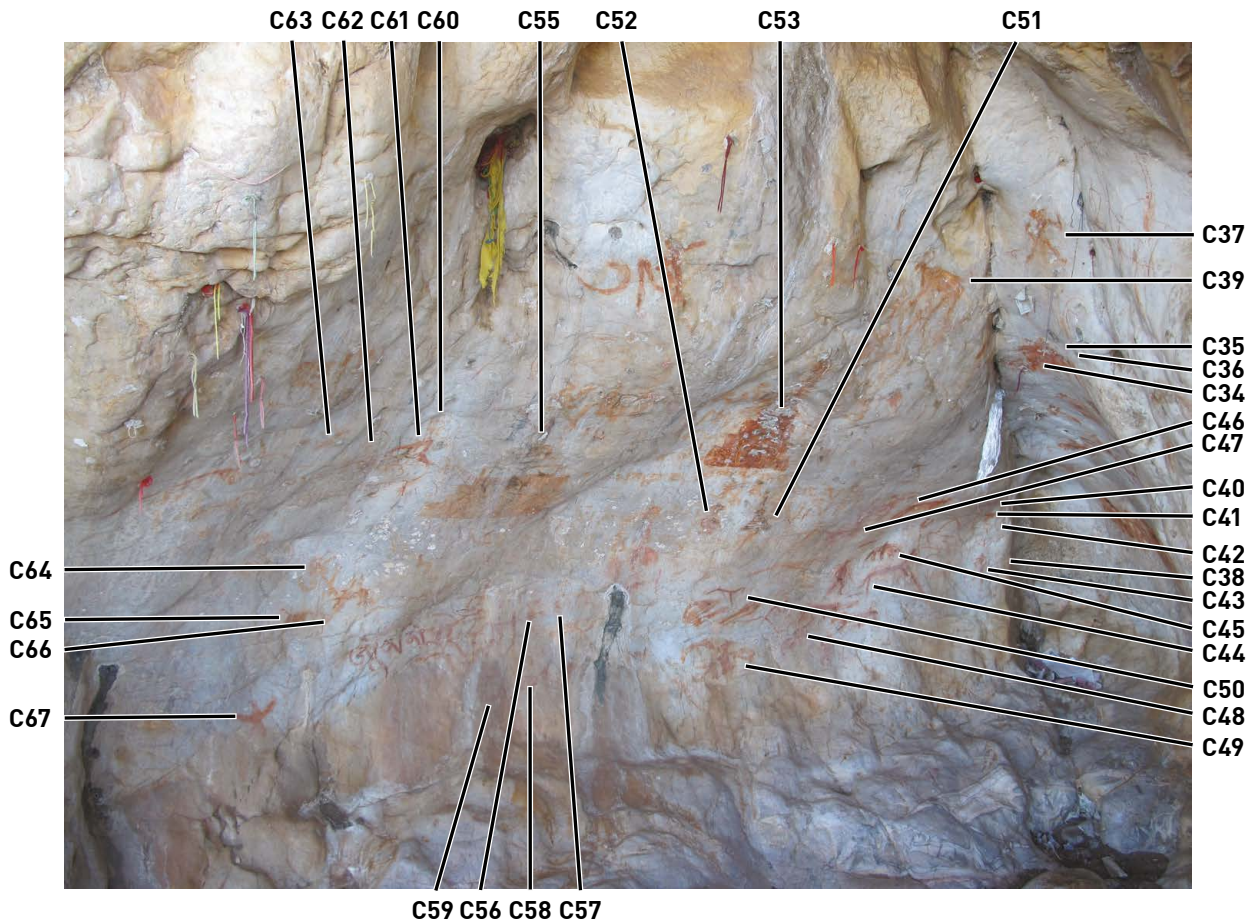


Figure 46. Locations of rock art on the left wall of S1_L9.

Left wall of the cave

Inventory No: S1_L9_C39

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat128

Comments: The uppermost ligatures of a Tibetan *Om* syllable were superimposed on the subject; however, almost all of this Buddhist inscription is set below the pictograph. It reads *Om A hung* (vertically arrayed) and can probably be attributed to the Vestigial period. This inscription is not surveyed in Bellezza 2020b.

Placement: To left of and below S1_L9_C38, on upper section of rear left wall.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 375 (fig. 21).

Inventory No: S1_L9_C40

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: bird

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat129

Comments: The bird is shown in profile, with a thin neck and angular body and tail.

Placement: Well below S1_L9_C39, in lower rear of left wall.



Figure 47. Composition S1_L9_C41 (upper left), S1_L9_C42, S1 (upper middle), S1_L9_C43 (lower middle), and surrounding enigmatic figures.

Inventory No: S1_L9_C41

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat129
Comments: The bird is shown in profile and has a broad tail.
Placement: Below S1_L9_C40.

Inventory No: S1_L9_C42a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP
Arrangement: **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat129
Comments: The subject consists of a circle with two dots inside, of the type seen in S1_L9_C35 and S1_L9_C36. This is a non-Tibetan pictograph.
Placement: To right of S1_L9_C40.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 154 (fig. 200).

Inventory No: S1_L9_C42b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP
Arrangement: **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat129
Comments: The subject consists of a circle with a Z-like central motif, of the type seen in S1_L9_C35 and S1_L9_C36. This is a non-Tibetan pictograph.
Placement: Below S1_L9_C42a.

Inventory No: S1_L9_C43

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 13 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat130
Comments: The subject wears a wide-brimmed hat with a peaked crown; its arms and one leg are raised as if dancing. All around compositions S1_L9_C39 to S1_L9_C42 are characters belonging to what may possibly be an unidentified system of writing (letters or ideograms). Rather than a script these linear marks may be ciphers or mystic diagrams. For more images, see Sonam Wangdu 1994: 154 (fig. 201); Figure 47.
Placement: Below S1_L9_C40.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 210 (fig. 30).

Inventory No: S1_L9_C44a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 27 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat131
Comments: This highly elongated animal may possibly depict a carnivore or equid. It is one of three such animals composed in association with two unarmed anthropomorphs. The actions and impression conveyed by this composition are obscure, save to say that it does not appear to be hunting related.
Placement: To left of S1_L9_C43.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 151 (fig. 195); Bellezza 1997a: 208 (fig. 27). These references do not include illustration of L9_C44a.



Figure 48. The central rib of Brag phying gur phug (S1_L10). This narrow band of limestone rock partitions the two chambers of Brag phying gur phug. In this digitally enhanced image, compositions S1_L10_C1 to S1_L10_C10 are visible. Although these pictographs are interrelated culturally and chronologically, their compositional affinities to one another have not been determined with any assurance. For the inscription on the far left, see Figure 49.

Central rib of Brag phying gur phug (S1_L10)

15 subjects were inventoried in this locus, all of which are provisionally attributed to the Early Historic period.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C1a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: Anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 20 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat149, Cat150

Comments: The seated figure has a large round head and arms at the side or held in the lap. The subject may be portrayed in a meditative pose.
Placement: At base of panel of rock art.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C1b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: Anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 24 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat149

Comments: In form and aspect, the subject mimics the figure in S1_L10_C1a. This composition sits amidst much foliage, which was created in the same timeframe, if not by the same hand in certain cases.
Placement: To left of S1_L10_C1a.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C8b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** tree and bird **Age (est.):** EHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 12 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat150, Cat154
Comments: The theme of a bird perched in a tree recalls composition S1_L1_C18.
Placement: Above S1_L10_C8a.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C8c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** tree and bird **Age (est.):** EHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 13 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat151
Comments: The bird is shown in profile, as if flying.
Placement: To left of S1_L10_C8b.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C9

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat150
Comments: The subject is only appreciable under digital enhancement. It has an equid-like or carnivore-like appearance.
Placement: Above S1_L10_C4.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C10

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: tree? **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 7 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat150
Comments: The subject is only appreciable under digital enhancement. The branching lines of the subject seem to identify it as a tree.
Placement: Above S1_L10_C9.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C11

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: animal **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The subject is only appreciable under digital enhancement. It may possibly represent a bird.
Placement: To right of and above S1_L10_C7.

Inventory No: S1_L10_C12

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The subject is only appreciable under digital enhancement. The bird is rendered with two clawed feet and tail feathers.
Placement: Above S1_L10_C11.



Figure 49. Ideogram-like characters situated below S1_L10_C8c. The pigment qualities, technique of application, and wear characteristics of the figures match the proximate birds and vegetation of S1_L10. They therefore appear to belong to the same cultural and historical setting. These characters resemble those found in S1_L9. They have been digitally enhanced to improve readability.

Brag phying gur phug East (S1_L11)

57 or 58 subjects that predate the Late Historic period were inventoried in this locus. Eight or nine subjects attributed to the Late Historic period are also included in the inventory for comparative purposes.



Figure 50. The left wall of S1_L9 (right), S1_L10 (middle right) and right wall of S1_L11 (left).

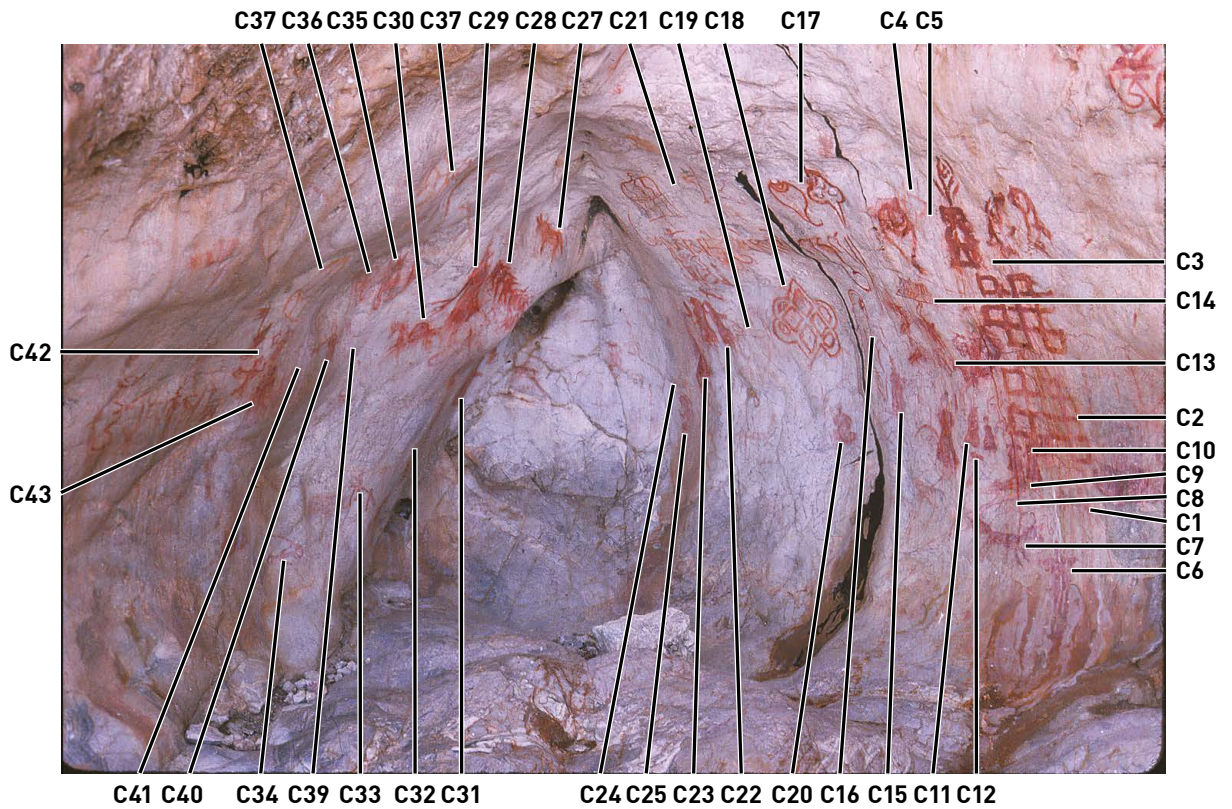


Figure 51. Locations of rock art in S1_L11.

Inventory No: S1_L11_C10c**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** 11 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat164**Comments:** The subject appears to have been painted with facial features. On the top of the figure's head is a motif resembling a hair bun or small cap.**Placement:** To left of S1_L11_C10b.**Inventory No:** S1_L11_C10d**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** 10 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat165**Comments:** The armless subject has facial features and wears a turban, or has hair piled high on the head.**Placement:** To left of and above S1_L11_C10c.**Inventory No:** S1_L11_C10e**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** 21 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat166**Comments:** The subject has a short-sleeved robe but no arms and wears a turban or other headgear. Alternatively, the figure may be portrayed with a distinctive coiffure.**Placement:** To left of S1_L11_C11.**Inventory No:** S1_L11_C11a**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** 12 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat165**Comments:** The subject is more crudely executed than those in S1_L11_C10 and the pigment quality differs too. The figure appears to raise a sword that may have been created by another hand than the anthropomorph but it seems to have been integrated into the composition.**Placement:** In between S1_L11_C10d and S1_L11_C10e.**Reference(s):** Sonam Wangdu 1994: 152 (fig. 197); Bellezza 1997a: 204 (fig. 19).**Inventory No:** S1_L11_C11b**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** sword**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** 12 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat165**Comments:** The sword stands alone to the left of the figure. This sword may have been created by another individual than the maker of S1_L11_C11a but it appears to have been integrated into the composition.**Placement:** In between S1_L11_C10d and S1_L11_C10e.**Inventory No:** S1_L11_C12**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** LW/MW**Subject:** wild ungulate**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** EHP to LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 8 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat165**Comments:** The subject was retouched in more recent times, possibly lending it the appearance of a stag.**Placement:** Below S1_L11_C11.

Inventory No: S1_L11_C21a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: star	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 19 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat170

Comments: This five-pointed star is a symbol belonging to the non-Buddhist tradition. It appears to have been deliberately damaged. It is possible that this composition was made as part of S1_L11_C17. The non-Buddhist identity of the composition is underlined by their placement above a large *ma tri* mantra.

Placement: To left of S1_L11_C17b, on middle part of rear right wall.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 154 (fig. 10.24).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C21b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: victory banner	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 22 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat170

Comments: Above this subject there is what appears to be a partially effaced Tibetan letter A.

Placement: To left of S1_L11_C17b.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 338 (fig. 10.38).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C22a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat174

Comments: The long-robed subject has one arm raised to its head and the other outstretched.

Placement: To left of and partly underneath S1_L11_C19.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 204 (fig. 20).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C22b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat174

Comments: Like its counterpart, the subject has one arm raised to its head. The aspect of the two anthropomorphs of the composition points to some type of coordinated activity, such as dancing, or another kind of ceremonial behaviour. Compare with S1_L1_C23.

Placement: To left of S1_L11_C22a.

Inventory No: S1_L11_C23

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat175

Comments: The long-robed subject has one arm raised above its head and the other akimbo, evoking a dance or some other type of ceremonial activity. It has peaked headgear surmounted by a linear motif reminiscent of a plume or other type of finial. Sharing the same aspect as the figures in S1_L11_C22, it is possible that this figure was painted with it, but its physical traits have been obscured by waterborne damage to the pigment. At the base of the figure there are two curvilinear subjects that vaguely resemble Tibetan letters (NIS).

Placement: To left of S1_L11_C22b, on rear of right wall.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 204 (fig. 20).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C24

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: LW/MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat175

Comments: The bird drawn in profile belongs to a later phase of rock art in the cave.

Placement: To left of S1_L11_C23, on rear edge of right wall.

Inventory No: S1_L11_C25

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 12 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat176

Comments: The seated figure has a large round head with long thick hair, or horn-like extensions, and one arm raised to shoulder height. Below the subject there is a highly obscured red ochre pigment application that resembles an animal, but photographic coverage is insufficient to fully assess it (NIS).

Placement: Below S1_L11_C23.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2000b: 48 (fig. 20).

Uncategorized placement

Inventory No: S1_L11_C26

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat177

Comments: One of the relatively few more recent pictographic productions in S1_L11.

Placement: Right wall of cave.

Inner left wall of cave

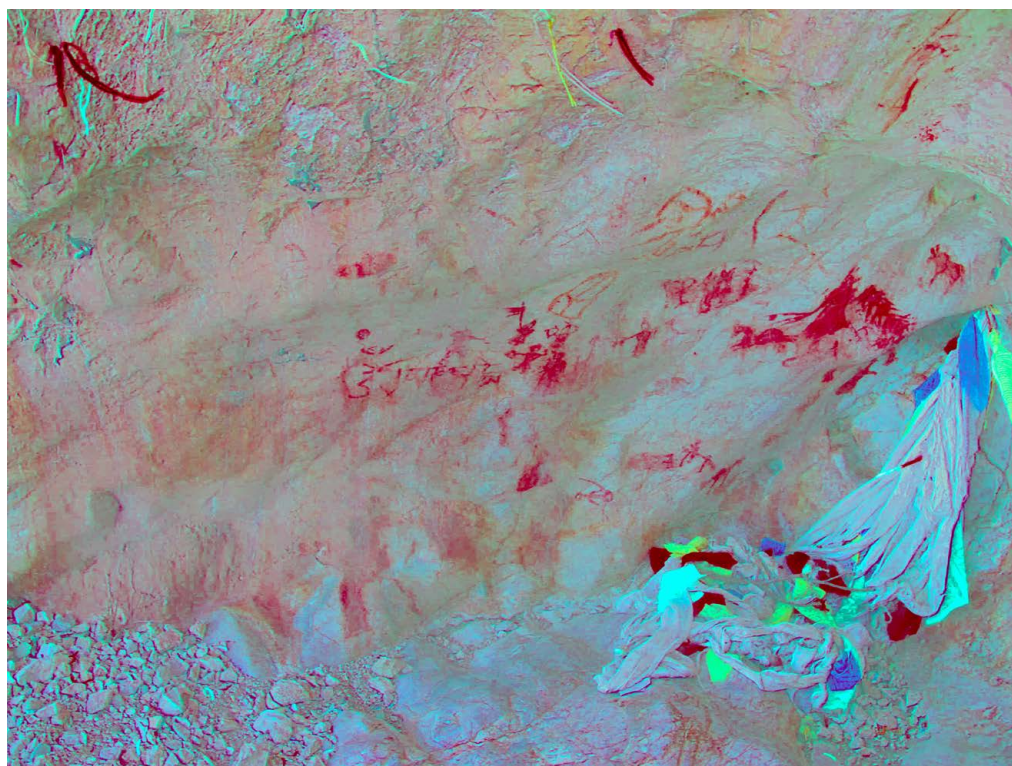


Figure 53. The inner left wall of S1_L11. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the definition of the individual pictographs.

Inventory No: S1_L11_C27

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat178

Comments: With its long tail and erect ears, the subject resembles a carnivore, but it may possibly represent a wild yak instead.

Placement: Upper rear section of left wall.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 384 (fig. 38).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C28

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW

Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat179

Comments: With its barbed line, the subject somewhat resembles an inverted tree.

Placement: To left of and below S1_L11_C27.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 156 (fig. 205); Bellezza 1997a: 205 (fig. 21); 2020c: 501 (fig. 195).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C29

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW

Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat179

Comments: This unusual figure has one arm with three long finger-like projections on which there is a small sphere. The subject may possibly be seated, but the legs below the knees are highly obscured.

Placement: To left of S1_L11_C28.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 156 (fig. 205); Bellezza 1997a: 205 (fig. 21); 2020c: 501 (fig. 195).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C30

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW

Subject: equid **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat179

Comments: The subject has a casket-like motif on its back and appears to be galloping. The pigment qualities, mode of application, and wear are comparable with S1_L11_C28 and S1_L11_C29, which may possibly indicate that they form an integral composition.

Placement: To left of S1_L11_C29.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 156 (fig. 205); Bellezza 1997a: 205 (fig. 21); 2020c: 501 (fig. 195).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C31a

Type: picto, red **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW

Subject: architectural **Theme:** ritual **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 16 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat180

Comments: Given the form of the subject, it appears to represent a tent, complete with guy lines. Depictions of clearly recognizable tents and domiciles are rare in the rock art of Upper Tibet.

Placement: Below S1_L11_C28, on lower rear section of left wall.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 156 (fig. 204); Bellezza 1997a: 206 (fig. 22).

Inventory No: S1_L11_C31b

Type: picto, red **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW

Subject: altar? **Theme:** ritual **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 6 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat180

Comments: Given the elements of the composition in general, the subject seems to represent an altar and/or a religious image.

Placement: Below S1_L11_C30a.

Inventory No: S1_L11_C31c

Type: picto, red **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW

Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** ritual **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 12 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat180

Comments: The subject, painted in profile, appears to be prostrating or kneeling, its arms joined in front of the body as if in supplication.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L11_C31b.

Inventory No: S1_L11_C43

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 10 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat189

Comments: The subject is highly obscured. Under digital enhancement it can be seen that the anthropomorph has a large head and its arms are joined near the waist. To the left of is a more recent quadruped (NIS).

Placement: Below S1_L11_C42a.

Glang ma phug (S1_L12)

Glang ma phug (Willow Cave) was given its name by local inhabitants when we first detected it in 2000. This shallow cave is hidden behind a dense growth of dwarf willow. Local residents report that until quite recently, musk deer lived in these relict stands of willow, which are situated in the sheltered middle stretch of the north side of Bkra shis do chen. Nine subjects have been inventoried separately; these include four, to as many as eight, that predate the Late Historic period. Between one and five subjects belong to the Late Historic period. Most notable in the cave are three different anthropomorphic portraits.



Figure 54. The stand of dwarf willow concealing S1_L12.

Rear of the cave

Inventory No: S1_L12_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 10 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat191

Comments: The subject seems to be walking. It is enclosed in a lozenge that appears to have been painted at a later date.

Placement: Bottom rear of cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002a: 198 (fig. XI-3a).

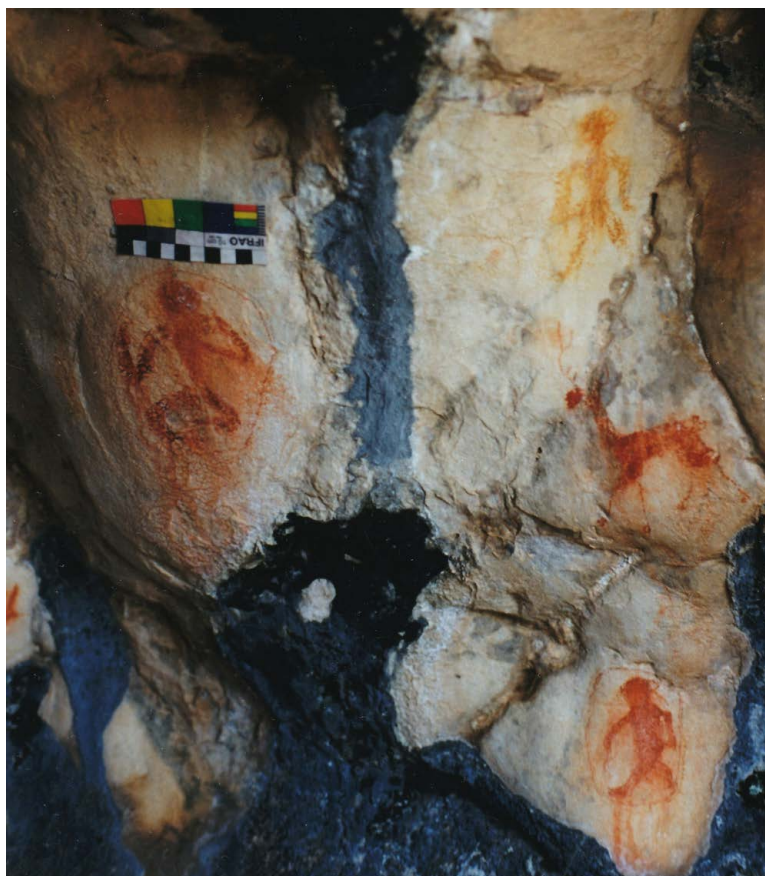


Figure 55. The rock art in the rear of S1_L12.

Inventory No: S1_L12_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: cervid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP and LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat192

Comments: The subject appears to have been retouched to create its current identity, a stag.
Placement: Above S1_L12_C1.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002a: 197 (fig. XI-1a).

Inventory No: S1_L12_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 10 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat193

Comments: The subject may possibly display a male sexual organ.
Placement: Above S1_L12_C2.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002a: 198 (fig. XI-1a).

Inventory No: S1_L12_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 13 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat194

Comments: Shown seated in a cross-legged position with one arm raised, the subject has the appearance of a religious personality.
Placement: To left of S1_L12_C2.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002a: 198 (fig. XI-2a).



Figure 56. An outer section of S1_L12. S1_L12_C7 is visible near the top of the photograph on the middle-left side. Across the entire image, red ochre blotches, as well as linear pictographs belonging to the Late Historic period, can be seen.

Outer section of the cave

Inventory No: S1_L12_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: ritual thunderbolt	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 11 cm (9v)	Image ref: Cat195

Comments: This simple but well drawn ritual thunderbolt (*rdo rje*) has a central axis and two prongs on each end.
Placement: Outer section of cave, on lower right side.

Inventory No: S1_L12_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: ritual thunderbolt	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: This ritual thunderbolt is in a style comparable to S1_L12_C5, but made with much finer lines. Photographic coverage is insufficient to fully assess the subject.
Placement: Above S1_L12_C5.

Inventory No: S1_L12_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat196

Comments: The subject with its clawed feet, erect ears, and tail curling over the back, appears to be a canid or felid.
Placement: Upper part of outer section of cave.

Inventory No: S1_L12_C8

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: bird

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 56

Comments: The subject, shown in profile, has a long, pointed beak.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L12_C7.

Inventory No: S1_L12_C9

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: carnivore

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 56

Comments: The subject has a striped body, gaping jaws, and a tail arching over the body, evoking the tiger. Also, in the same section of the cave are various crude pictographs (linear subjects and indistinguishable pigment applications) which belong to the Late Historic period (NIS).

Placement: Below S1_L12_C7.

Twin Niches (S1_L13 and S1_L14)



Figure 57. Twin Niche West (S1_L13).

The twin niches (S1_L13 and S1_L14) have been assigned their name by the present author as there does not appear to be any lore connected to them in the sacred geography of Bkra shis do. These two small recesses at the base of the formation are situated on the north side of Bkra shis do chen, just east of the dwarf willow stands that shelter on the headland. The twin niches have a relatively high proportion of rock art that dates, or possibly dates, to the Late Prehistoric era, setting them apart from most other loci at Bkra shis do. This inconspicuous and relatively remote location did not attract as much attention from rock art makers of the Historic era, in contrast to other loci on the north side of Bkra shis do chen. There are various minor pigment applications in the niches, with little substance or form, which probably range in age from the Protohistoric to the Late Historic periods. These have not been inventoried separately.

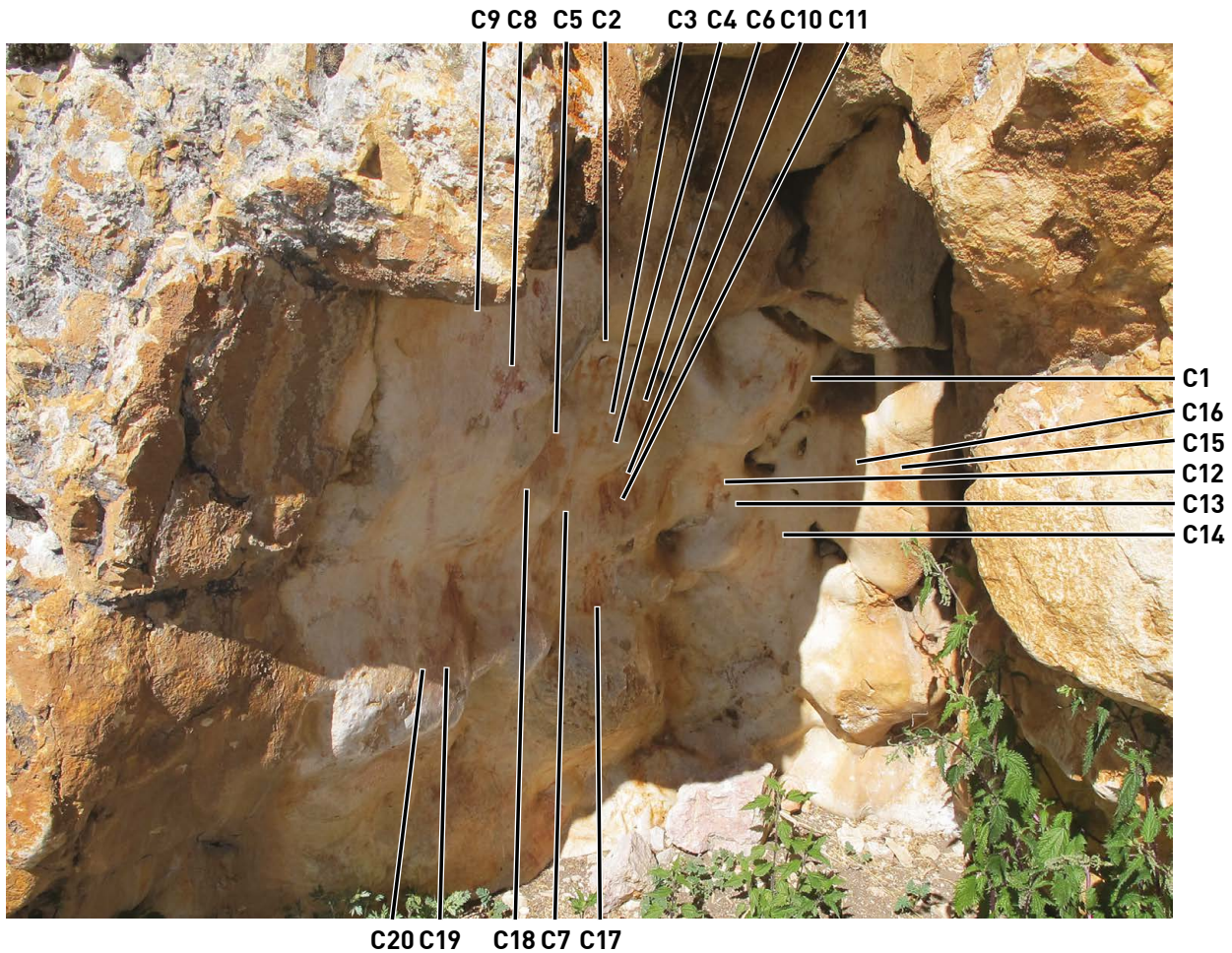


Figure 58. Locations of rock art in S1_L13.

Twin Niche West (S1_L13)

23 subjects have been inventoried separately in Twin Niche West (S1_L13), only one of which might date to the Late Historic period. S1_L13 is most noteworthy for its anthropomorphic figures, which seem to have been first created in the Protohistoric period. Seven such standing figures have been positively identified but there may be others as well. There is also a composition featuring a battle or martial sport that depicts two armed horsemen. Many of the other subjects are solitary animals and include two cervids. There are also three bird-like figures in S1_L13.

Inventory No: S1_L13_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: LW/MW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP to LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 6.5 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat197

Comments: Previously referred to as a ornitho-therianthrope, the appearance of this subject, however, was created when supplemental lines were added to a pre-existing pigment application. Below this composition there is a crudely rendered anthropomorph made using the crayon technique, which belongs to the Late Historic period (NIS).

Placement: Top right side of the niche.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2000b: 50 (fig. 26).

Inventory No: S1_L13_C19

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW/HW

Subject: quadruped?

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is highly obscured and cannot be positively identified.

Placement: To left of and below S1_L13_C18, at an appreciable distance, on lower left side of niche.

Inventory No: S1_L13_C20

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW/HW

Subject: cervid

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 8 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat207

Comments: The subject appears to have branched horns and its head regardant. Above the subject is a roughly triangular patch of red ochre pigment (NIS).

Placement: To left of S1_L13_C19, on lower left side of niche.

Inventory No: S1_L13_C21

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW/HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: Subject was made using the crayon technique.

Placement: Unfixed.

Twin Niche East (S1_L14)

Twin Niche East (S1_L14) contains just two compositions (possible hunting scene and solitary bird). The three pictographs that comprise them are assigned to the Iron Age, placing the locus among the earliest rock art at Bkra shis do. Twin Niche East did not attract the attention of artists of the Historic era, its smooth limestone rock walls remaining devoid of later rock art and inscriptions.



Figure 59. Twin Niche East (S1_L14).

Inventory No: S1_L14_C1a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): IA
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat208
Comments: The subject possess the bulky body of a bear or yak.		
Placement: The lower right side of niche.		

Inventory No: S1_L14_C1b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): IA
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat208
Comments: The subject appears to be a horseman, possibly armed with a bow and arrow.		
Placement: To left of S1_L14_C1a.		

Inventory No: S1_L14_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat209
Comments: The bird has an exaggeratedly long neck and upturned wings.		
Placement: At rear of niche.		

Brag dkar (S1_L15 to S1_L17)



Figure 60. The view east from Brag dkar. The snowy Gnyan chen thang lha range in the background includes the lofty and sacred peaks of Bsam gtan khang bzang and Lha rgod snying khrom.

Brag dkar is comprised of three loci set on the eastern extremity of Bkra shis do chen. This location serves as a springtime camp for a local herding family (Bellezza 1997a: 211). 69 red ochre pictographic subjects have been inventoried at the three loci. This remote location on the headland hosts the second largest concentration of pictographs dating to the Late Prehistoric era at Gnam mtsho: only Lce do (S12) has a greater quantity. In fact, prehistoric rock art far outnumbers rock art of the Historic era at Brag dkar. There are just three subjects and two retouched specimens inventoried at Brag dkar that are assigned to the Late Historic period. Also, there is one subject attributed to either the Vestigial or Late Historic periods, ten subjects attributed to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, and each of four subjects belonging to either the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods. The balance of rock art at Brag dkar is assigned to the Iron Age and Protohistoric period. The early corpus of rock art is mostly concerned with animals such as the wild yak and deer, depicted either as solitary portraits or as game, as well as hunters and other anthropomorphs in close association with the animals. Swastikas, sunbursts, and conjoined sun and moon symbols spanning the prehistoric-historic divide are also represented. Similarly, panels with interrelated anthropomorphs and animals that belong to the Late Prehistoric era are found at rock art sites further west in Upper Tibet. Much of the early rock art in Brag dkar is heavily eroded and hard to detect with the naked eye; thus, many images have benefited from digital enhancement.

Brag dkar Escarpment (S1_L15)

This escarpment is situated on the north side of Brag dkar, immediately to the south of an undecorated recess in the formation. The pictographs were placed on the vertical cliff face, all within arm's length. In total 20 subjects attributed to the Iron Age and Protohistoric period were inventoried in this locus.

Inventory No: S1_L15_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat210

Comments: The subject has a rectangular body and almost no head. Under digital enhancement a pair of horns is visible, giving the subject the appearance of a wild yak.

Placement: On far-right side of escarpment, near left mouth of recess in the formation.



Figure 61. Locations of rock art on Brag dkar Escarpment (S1_L15).

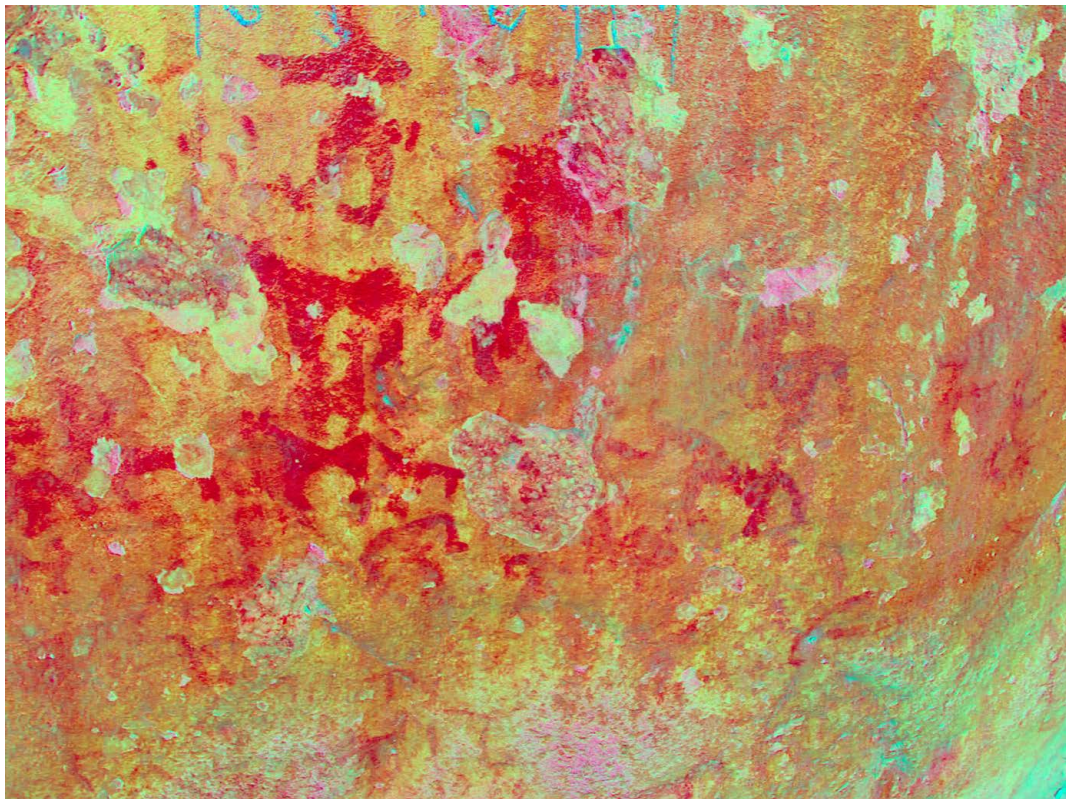


Figure 62. The panel hosting subjects including S1_L15_C3 (far right, in the central part of the image) to S1_L15_C14 (far left, in the lower part of the image). The anthropomorph on the upper left side of the image is S1_L15_C11. S1_L15_C4 and S1_L15_C5 can be seen in the middle-right part of the image, while S1_L15_C6 to S1_L15_C10 are situated in the middle-left part. Across the lower section of the panel are red ochre linear markings (NIS). This image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the pictographs.



Figure 63. There is a set of much smaller figures next to and superimposed on S1_L17_C3b that may also be symbolic in nature or representative of a system of writing (NIS). The figures have a maximum height of 2.5 cm. They are comparable with unidentified symbols or characters found in S1_L9 and S1_L10. Vestigial or Late Historic periods. The present author previously attempted to identify these figures as Tungusic language characters (Bellezza 2002b: 51), but this is doubtful.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C4

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: carnivore

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 38 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat226

Comments: The stripes on the subject probably identify it as a tiger. Directly below it there are red ochre pigment applications of no particular form (NIS).

Placement: To right of and below S1_L17_C3c.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 51 (fig. 28).

Inventory No: S1_L17_C5

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 3 cm (v)

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject, oriented counter-clockwise, has been obscured by a subsequent red ochre pigment application of no particular form.

Placement: Below the head of S1_L17_C4.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C6

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject(s) consists of various ambiguous pigment applications.

Placement: To left of S1_L17_C5.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C11

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW

Subject: wild yak **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA

Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 22 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat223, Cat229

Comments: The subject may be portrayed with an arrow in its back. It is possibly an integral part of S1_L17_C12

Placement: To left of S1_L17_C1.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C12a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW

Subject: wild yak **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** IA

Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 13 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat223, Cat229

Comments: S1_L17_C12 may possibly be part of a larger integral composition.

Placement: Below S1_L17_C11.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C12b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW

Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA

Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 10 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat223, Cat229

Comments: The subject is a standing archer pointing his bow and arrow at rear of S1_L17_C12a.

Placement: To left of S1_L17_C12a.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C12c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW

Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA

Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 10 cm (v)? **Image ref:** Cat223, Cat229

Comments: The subject appears to be is a standing archer pointing a bow and arrow at the front of S1_L17_C12a.

Placement: To right of S1_L17_C12a.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C13

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW

Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA

Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat229

Comments: The rectangular-bodied subject may possibly be a stag.

Placement: Below S1_L17_C12b.

Inventory No: S1_L17_C14

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW

Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA

Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 9 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat229

Comments: The long-necked subject may possibly be an antelope.

Placement: Below S1_L17_C12c.



Figure 64. Compositions S1_L17_C11 (bottom), S1_L17_C15 (lower left), S1_L17_C16 (middle right), S1_L17_C17 (upper middle) and S1_L17_C18 (upper left). This image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the pictographs.

Inventory No: S1_L18_C4

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 6 cm (v) **Image ref:** Figure 67
Comments: The subject consists of an oval outline with two wing-like extensions.
Placement: To left of and below S1_L18_C2.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2000b: 48 (fig. 21).



Figure 67. Compositions S1_L18_C2 to S1_L18_C5. The image has been enhanced to make the pictographs more visible.

Inventory No: S1_L18_C5

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 6 cm (v) **Image ref:** Figure 67
Comments: The subject appears to limn a wild ungulate.
Placement: Below forward portion of S1_L18_C2.

Inventory No: S1_L18_C6

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat239
Comments: This bust of a Lamaist figure wears a crown with diadems. Immediately above is an inscription (probably from the Vestigial period) that reads: *Stag lung pa'i phug* ('Cave of the Stag lung pa', a subset of the Bka' bryud pa). This inscription is recorded in Bellezza 1997a: 211, 212.
Placement: Outer right wall.



Figure 68. The syllables *Om* and *ma* in conjunct form inscribed below S1_L18_C7.

Inventory No: S1_L18_C7

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 68
Comments: This two-legged animal seems to have a hooked head. Below it is the Tibetan syllable *Om* and what appears to be the letter *m* written in a conjunct form. This inscription belongs to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. It is not recorded in Bellezza 2020b. See Figure 68.
Placement: In Stag lung phug.

Inventory No: S1_L18_C8

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat240
Comments: The subject may represent an equid.
Placement: Unfixed.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2000b: 393 (fig. 55).

Inventory No: S1_L18_C9

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: building **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** LHP/MP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat241
Comments: The subject is a multi-storied edifice that almost certainly represents a Buddhist temple.
Placement: Outer right wall.



Figure 69. The Tibetan letter A, which is provisionally attributed to the S1_L18 locus. Vestigial period. This inscription is not recorded in Bellezza 2020b.

Inventory No: S1_L18_C10a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: LW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat242
Comments: The saddle of the horse is depicted by two pairs of lines.		
Placement: Unfixed.		

Inventory No: S1_L18_C10b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: LW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat242
Comments: Perhaps the subject represents a carnivore.		
Placement: Below S1_L18_C10a.		

Inventory No: S1_L18_C11

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: conjoined sun and moon	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 12.5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat243
Comments: There is a dot in the middle of the sun symbol.		
Placement: Unfixed.		

S1_L19

This locus is comprised of a single panel of red ochre pictographs arrayed on the wall of the escarpment. It includes six inventoried subjects that belong to the Late Prehistoric era and includes at least four wild ungulates. There are also two subjects attributed to the Late Historic period in the inventory.

Inventory No: S1_L19_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** wild yak**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** IA/PP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat244

Comments: The subject has horns that almost form a circle. It is on a rock surface with several other red ochre pictographs belonging to an early phase of rock art at Bkra shis do. One or more of these subjects may form integral compositions; however, the heavy wear of the pictographs precludes a definitive assessment.

Placement: At the middle top of panel.

Inventory No: S1_L19_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** wild ungulate**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** IA/PP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 70

Comments: The subject may represent an antelope.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L19_C1.

Inventory No: S1_L19_C3**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** IA/PP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 70

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an antelope or carnivore. Between S1_L19_C1 and S1_L19_C3 there is a red ochre pigment application of no clear figurative importance (NIS).

Placement: To left of and below S1_L19_C2.



Figure 70. The panel containing the eight inventoried compositions of S1_L19. S1_L19_C1, the only well-defined subject, a wild yak, is seen in the middle of the top of the image. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the pictographs.



Figure 71. Panel containing compositions S1_L21_C5 to S1_L21_C11. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the pictographs.

Inventory No: S1_L21_C7

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 7 cm (h)

Image ref: Figure 71

Comments: The subject is a triangle divided by a line into two equal parts. It and one or more other subjects on the same panel may form an integrated composition.

Placement: To left of S1_L21_C6.

Inventory No: S1_L21_C8

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: conjoined sun and moon

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 5 cm (h)

Image ref: Figure 71

Comments: The subject and one or more other pictographs on the same panel may form an integrated composition.

Placement: Above S1_L21_C6, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S1_L21_C9

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 13 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 71

Comments: The subject(s) primarily consists of what resembles an upside-down conjoined sun and moon resting on a horizontal line with four diagonal lines extending below the latter at acute angles.

Placement: To left of and below S1_L21_C8.

Inventory No: S1_L21_C10

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 7 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 71

Comments: The subject is shaped like a question mark.

Placement: Below S1_L21_C9.

Inventory No: S1_L21_C11

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 7 cm (h)

Image ref: Figure 71

Comments: The subject resembles the numeral 3 turned 90° to the left. There are other minor pigment applications on the panel (NIS).

Placement: To left of upper part of S1_L21_C9.

Inventory No: S1_L21_C12

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: carnivore

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 12 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat250

Comments: The subject seems to have the form of a carnivore.

Placement: In a tiny niche in the formation near ground level.

Thang lha'i rgyal sgo (S1_L22)

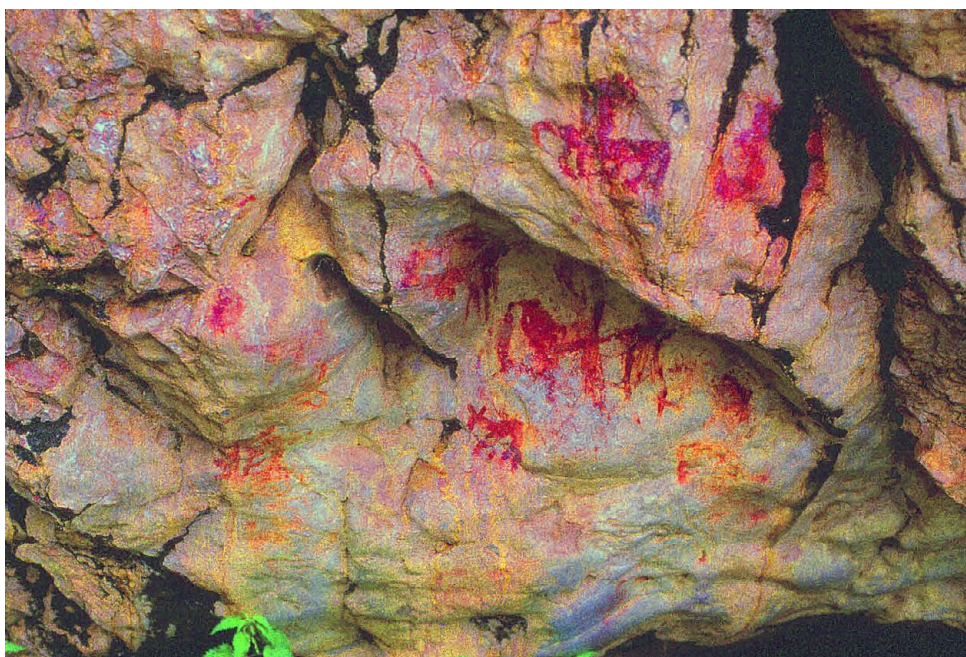


Figure 72. A portion of the cliff face in S1_L22. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the pictographs.

This locus is centred in a small cave adjacent to Thang lha'i rgyal sgo (Portal of Thang lha), a naturally occurring triangular-shaped opening in a spur of the Bkra shis do chen formation. The mountain god, Gnyan chen thang lha is supposed to have passed through this hole (Bellezza 1997a: 212). Rock art in this locus also extends to adjacent features. Nine subjects that appear to date to the Protohistoric period have been inventoried here.

Inventory No: S1_L22_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 72

Comments: The subject may possibly have been made in conjunction with one or more other pictographs on the same panel. To the right of the subject there is a trapezoidal-shaped red ochre pigment application of no clear figurative significance (NIS).

Placement: Middle of panel top.

Inventory No: S1_L22_C9**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** HW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** PP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat253

Comments: This subject appears to have been partially superimposed on S1_L22_C7. There are faint pigment applications on the same stone surface as S1_L22_C5 to S1_L22_C9, but photographic coverage is inadequate to assess them properly.

Placement: Below and merging with S1_L22_C7.

S1_L23

Three pictographs painted in red ochre and a black pigment that predate the Vestigial period have been inventoried in this locus. There is also one inventoried subject assigned to the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S1_L23_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** conjoined sun and moon**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat254

Comments: The crescent moon is V-shaped and the sun has a dot in the middle.

Inventory No: S1_L23_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** MW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat255

Comments: There are minor red ochre linear applications of comparable age in the proximity, as well as superimposed lines drawn in a black pigment that date to the Late Historic period (NIS).

Inventory No: S1_L23_C3**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** LW**Subject:** yak**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat256

Comments: There are red ochre applications of greater age surrounding the subject but photographic coverage is insufficient to assess them.

Inventory No: S1_L23_C4**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** endless knot**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat257

Comments: There are minor black pigment applications on the right side of the subject (NIS).

Rgyal sgo sna lung phug (S1_L24)

Rgyal sgo sna lung phug (sp.?) is a small cave with faint red ochre pictographs. Five thematically interrelated subjects, each of which dates to Protohistoric cum Early Historic periods, have been inventoried in the locus.

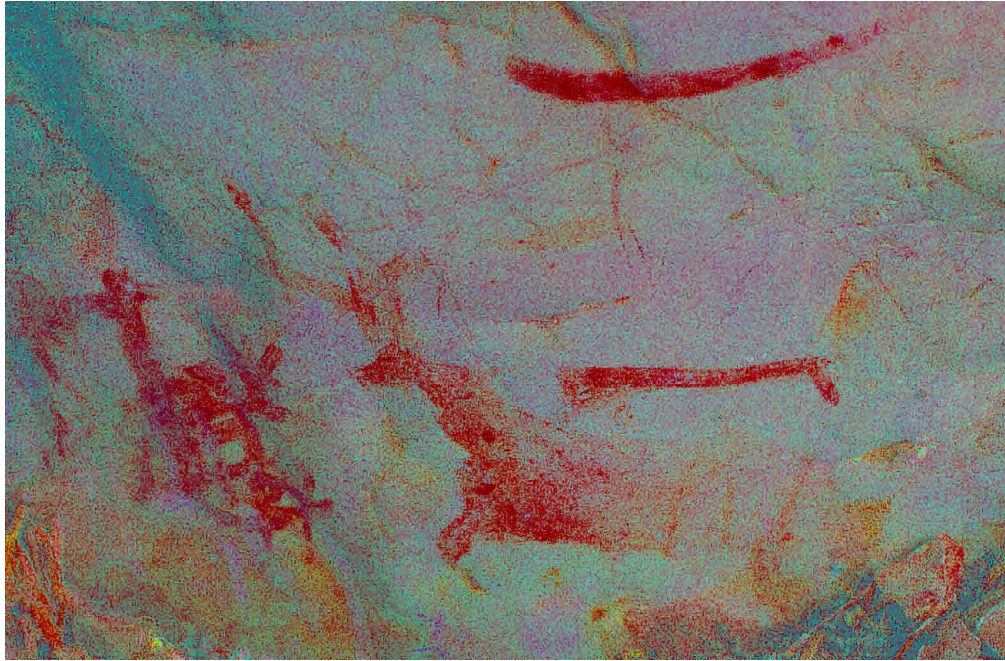


Figure 73. The various compositions of S1_L24. The most prominent of these is S1_L24_C1, on the lower right side of the photograph. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the pictographs.

Inventory No: S1_L24_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 73
Comments: The horns of the subject are almost erect.		
Placement: Unfixed.		

Inventory No: S1_L24_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 73
Comments: The subject may possibly represent an unfinished animal.		
Placement: Above S1_L24_C1.		

Inventory No: S1_L24_C3a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 73
Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild ungulate.		
Placement: To left of S1_L18_C1.		

Inventory No: S1_L24_C3b**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 73**Comments:** The subject appears to represent a wild ungulate and is comparable in style, pigment qualities, and wear to S1_L18_C3a.**Placement:** Above S1_L24_C3a.**Inventory No:** S1_L24_C4**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** PP/EHP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 73**Comments:** The subject seems to limn a standing figure shooting a bow and arrow. Photographic coverage of the stone surface to the left of the subject is lacking, precluding an assessment of what might be the target.**Placement:** To left of S1_L24_C3b.**Sangs rgyas yar byon sgrub phug (S1_L25)**

This locus consists of a pair of shallow caves named after an early Stag lung pa master, Sangs rgyas yar byon (1203–1272 AD). He is said to have initiated a local leader named Ma sangs dwa'u ngo ngan at this location (Bellezza 1997a: 212). The locus is situated in the middle of the south side of the Bkra shis do chen formation. Three subjects (two Buddhist, one non-Buddhist), all of which predate the Late Historic period, are inventoried here.

Inventory No: S1_L25_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 7 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat258**Comments:** The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.**Placement:** Unfixed.**Inventory No:** S1_L25_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** partially silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** *chorten***Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 29 cm (v)**Image ref:** NI**Comments:** This *chorten* is one of the very few at Bkra shis do that conforms fully to Buddhist iconometric traditions.**Placement:** Inside the cave.**Reference(s):** See Bellezza 2020b: 54 (fig. 20a).**Inventory No:** S1_L25_C3**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** *chorten***Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 22 cm (v)**Image ref:** NI**Comments:** This *chorten* is one of the very few at Bkra shis do that conforms fully to Buddhist iconometric traditions.**Placement:** Inside the cave.**Reference(s):** See Bellezza 2020b: 54 (fig. 20b).

Klu khang (S1_L26 to S1_L30)

The Main Chamber of the Klu khang (Serpent Spirit Grotto, S1_L26) is the single largest parietal structure at Bkra shis do. It measures c. 20 m deep, 10 m wide, and as much as 5 m in height. In addition to the rock art of the Main Chamber, there are four ancillary chambers with pictographs. These tiny chambers are clustered just west of the Main Chamber. The second ancillary chamber has an inner opening that accesses the Main Chamber. Like other loci at Bkra shis do, these adjoining chambers are surveyed in a clockwise direction. A fifth ancillary chamber of the Klu khang contains only scattered clay sculptures (*tshwa tshwa*). 116 red ochre and black-pigment subjects were inventoried in the Klu khang, including one whose location remains uncategorized. The rock art of the Klu khang spans the Protohistoric to the Late Historic periods, with both the Protohistoric and Early Historic periods being very well represented. Hunting scenes, wild ungulate portraits, and religious-related matter are conspicuous in the five loci of the Klu khang.

Klu khang, Main Chamber (S1_L26)

There are 14 to 17 inventoried subjects in the Main Chamber that are attributed to the Early Historic (e.g. symbols, animal portraits) and the Protohistoric periods (hunting scene), and two to five subjects that belong to the Late Historic period (e.g. wild ungulate portraits, hunting scene).

To the left of the mouth of the cave

Inventory No: S1_L26_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 30 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat259, Cat260

Comments: A large and bold swastika oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Prominently positioned.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 213.

Inventory No: S1_L26_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 14 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat260

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an equid. The heavy wear of the pictograph appears to be mainly caused by its poor adherence to the roughly textured rock surface.
Placement: Above S1_L26_C1.

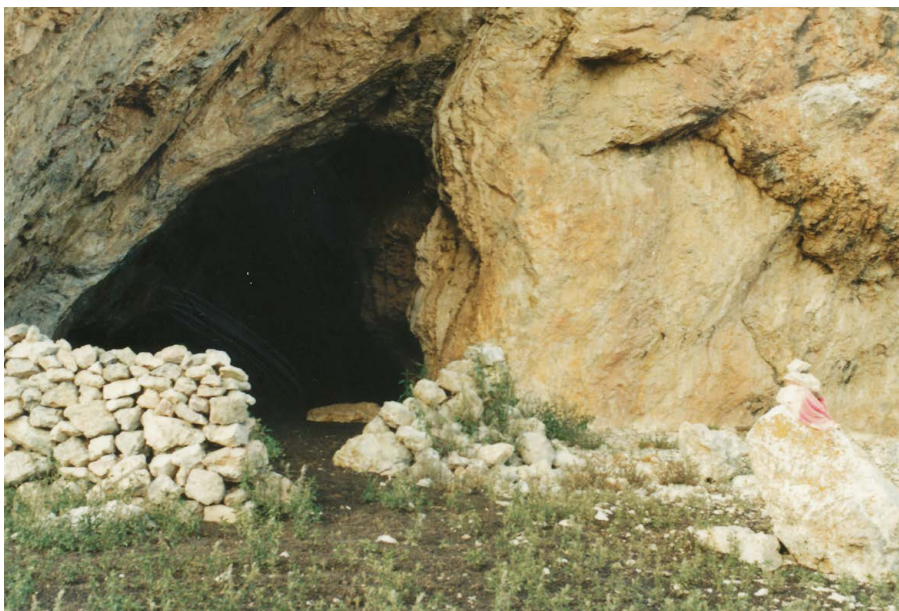


Figure 74. The main chamber of the Klu khang (S1_L26).

East wall of the cave

Inventory No: S1_L26_C10a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat264

Comments: The horseman is facing backwards while aiming/releasing an arrow at his prey. To the right of the subject is a highly obscured pigment application that may possibly depict an animal (NIS).

Placement: Near cave floor.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 213 (fig. 31).

Inventory No: S1_L26_C10b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat264

Comments: The subject appears to have been intentionally smudged.

Placement: To right of S1_L26_C10a.

Inventory No: S1_L26_C10c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: biomorph	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat264

Comments: This damaged pigment application appears to depict an animal or horseback rider.

Placement: Above S1_L26_C10b.

Inventory No: S1_L26_C10d

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat264

Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild sheep.

Placement: To right of S1_L26_C10b.

Inventory No: S1_L26_C10e

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: cervid	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat264

Comments: The branched horn of the animal identifies it as a stag. Below the subject there is a highly obscured pigment application that seems to depict an animal (NIS).

Placement: To right of and above S1_L26_C10d.

Inventory No: S1_L26_C11a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat264

Comments: The figure wields a bow and arrow. To the right of the subject there is a reverse C-shaped pictograph (NIS).

Placement: To right of and above S1_L26_C10a.

Inventory No: S1_L26_C11b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: wild ungulate

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat264

Comments: The subject may depict a wild yak. To the left of the subject is a pigment application (possibly a silhouetted animal). It is not inventoried separately because of incomplete photographic coverage.

Placement: To left of S1_L26_C11a.

Inventory No: S1_L26_C12

Type: picto, BP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject has horns that almost join at the tips, a rectangular body, V-shaped pairs of legs, and a large, bushy tail that is raised.

Placement: On right wall of cave.

Klu khang, Ancillary Chamber 1 (S1_L27)

Eight inventoried subjects (e.g. wild ungulate portraits, swastikas) of this locus are dated to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. Ten other subjects (e.g. wild ungulate portraits, hunting scene) that have been inventoried are attributed to the Late Historic period.



Figure 75. Klu khang, Ancillary Chamber 1 (S1_L27).

Inventory No: S1_L27_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat265

Comments: This is the only swastika in the Klu khang to be oriented in a clockwise direction.

Placement: In the chamber.

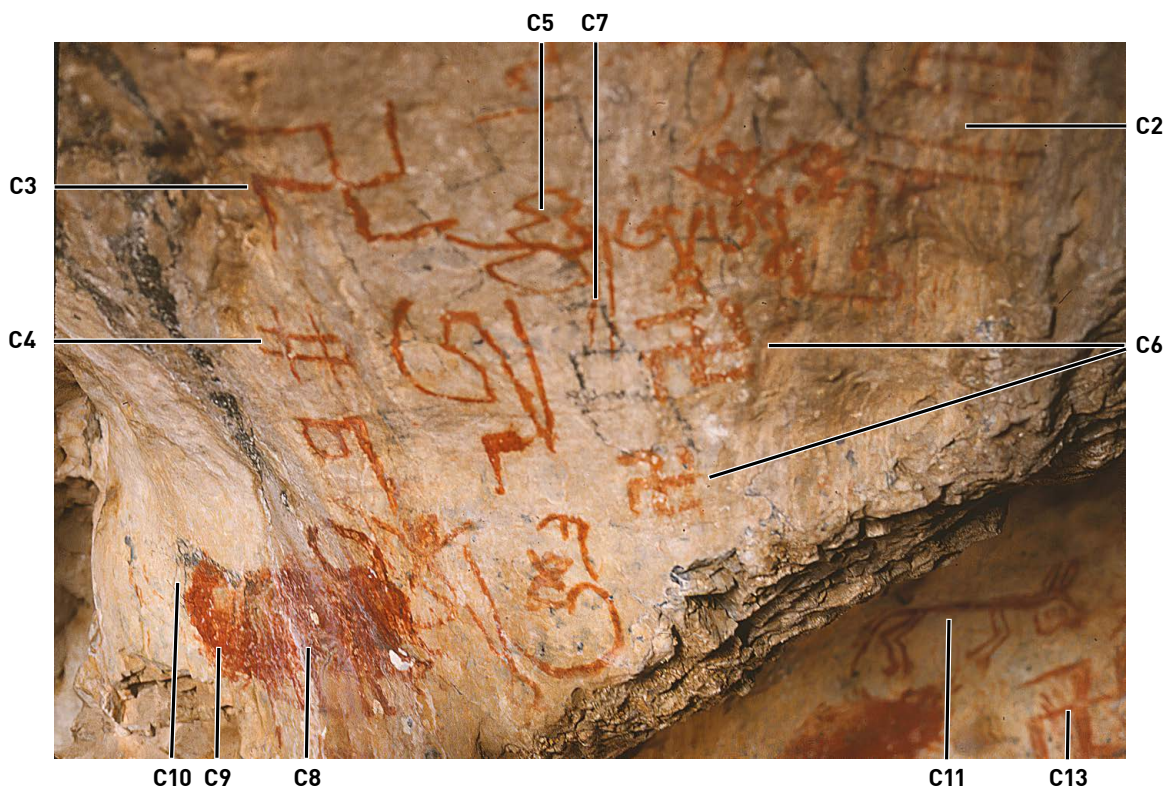


Figure 77. Locations of the rock art on the middle rear wall of S1_L28.

Middle rear wall of the chamber

Inventory No: S1_L28_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: flaming jewels

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 39 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat270

Comments: The subject was almost certainly painted by a non-Buddhist.

Placement: Upper right section of middle rear wall.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 161 (fig. 10.45).

Inventory No: S1_L28_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 26 cm (v)

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject appears to have been made by a non-Buddhist.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L28_C1.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 46 (fig. 14c).

Inventory No: S1_L28_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 9 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat271

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. It is possible that it was created in conjunction with S1_L28_C4 and/or S1_L28_C5. In any case, they belong to the same cultural tradition and timeframe.

Placement: To left of and below S1_L28_C1.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 161 (fig. 10.45).

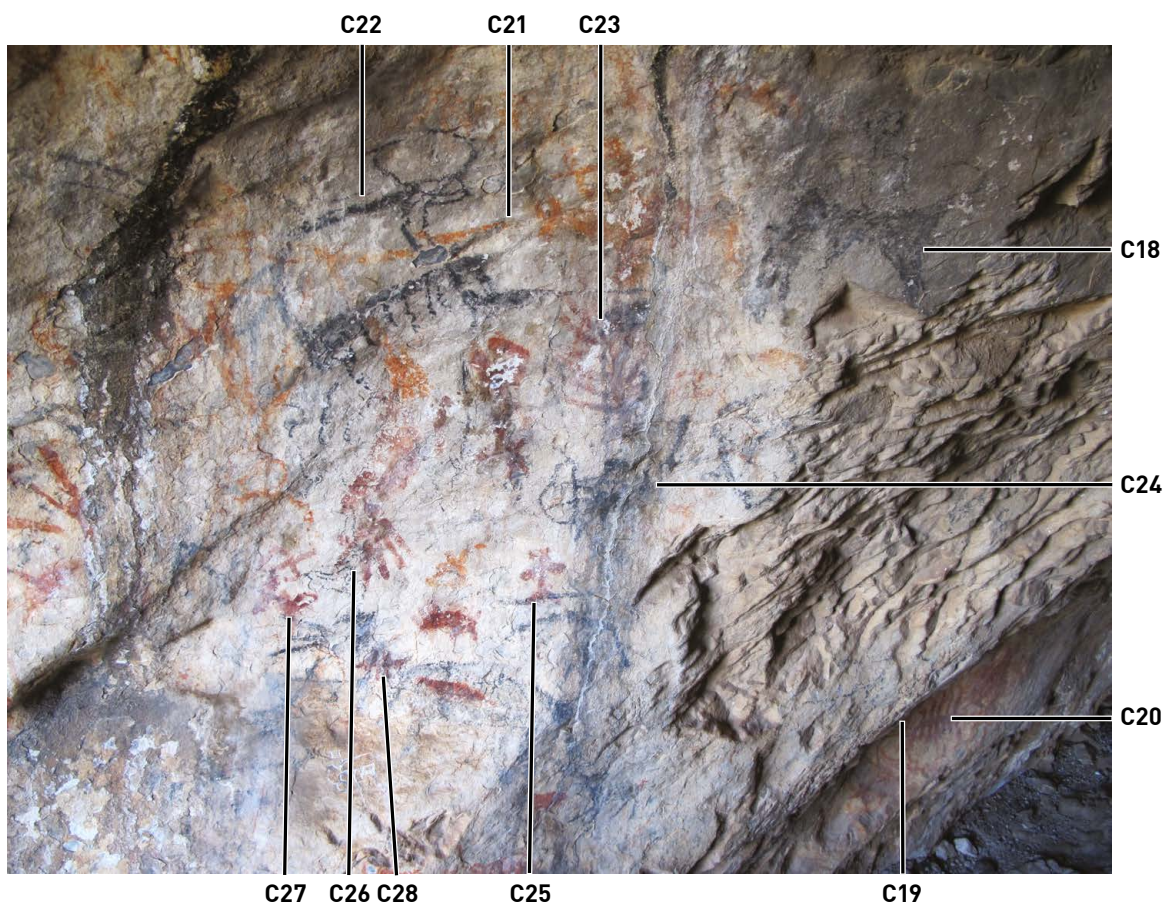


Figure 79. Locations of rock art on the left wall of S1_L28.

Inventory No: S1_L28_C20

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: LW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat277

Comments: The subject consists of a horizontal line with vertical lines on each side that run perpendicular to it.

Placement: To right of and below S1_L28_C19.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 163 (fig. 10.50).

Inventory No: S1_L28_C21a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 78

Comments: The horseman is shooting a bow and arrow.

Placement: To left of S1_L28_C18, in upper part of middle section of left wall.

Inventory No: S1_L28_C21b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: wild ungulate

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 78

Comments: The subject may possibly be a stag.

Placement: To left of S1_L28_C21a.

Klu khang, Ancillary Chamber 3 (S1_L29)

The largest concentration of rock art in the Klu khang dating to the Late Prehistoric era is found in Ancillary Chamber 3. Approximately 80% of its 34 inventoried subjects can be attributed to the Protohistoric period (e.g. anthropomorphs, horseback riders, wild ungulate and carnivores, and hunting). Among the remaining subjects in Ancillary Chamber 3 are several horseback riders and what might be a stepped structure, each of which is dated to the Early Historic and/or Vestigial periods. Only one subject (horseback rider) in the locus may belong to the Late Historic period.



Figure 80. Klu khang, Ancillary Chamber 3 (S1_L29).

Upper left wall

Inventory No: S1_L29_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 16.5 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat285

Comments: The subject appears to be armed with a bow and arrow. It may have been made in conjunction with one or more pictographs in the vicinity but this could not be determined with any assurance.

Placement: Inner section of upper left wall.

Inventory No: S1_L29_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 15 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 81

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an anthropomorph.

Placement: To left of and below S1_L29_C1.



Figure 81. The left wall of the Klu khang, Ancillary Chamber 3. Subjects S1_L29_C1 to S1_L29_C18 are contained in the image with the exception of S1_L29_C6. The image has been digitally enhanced for the clarity of the rock art.

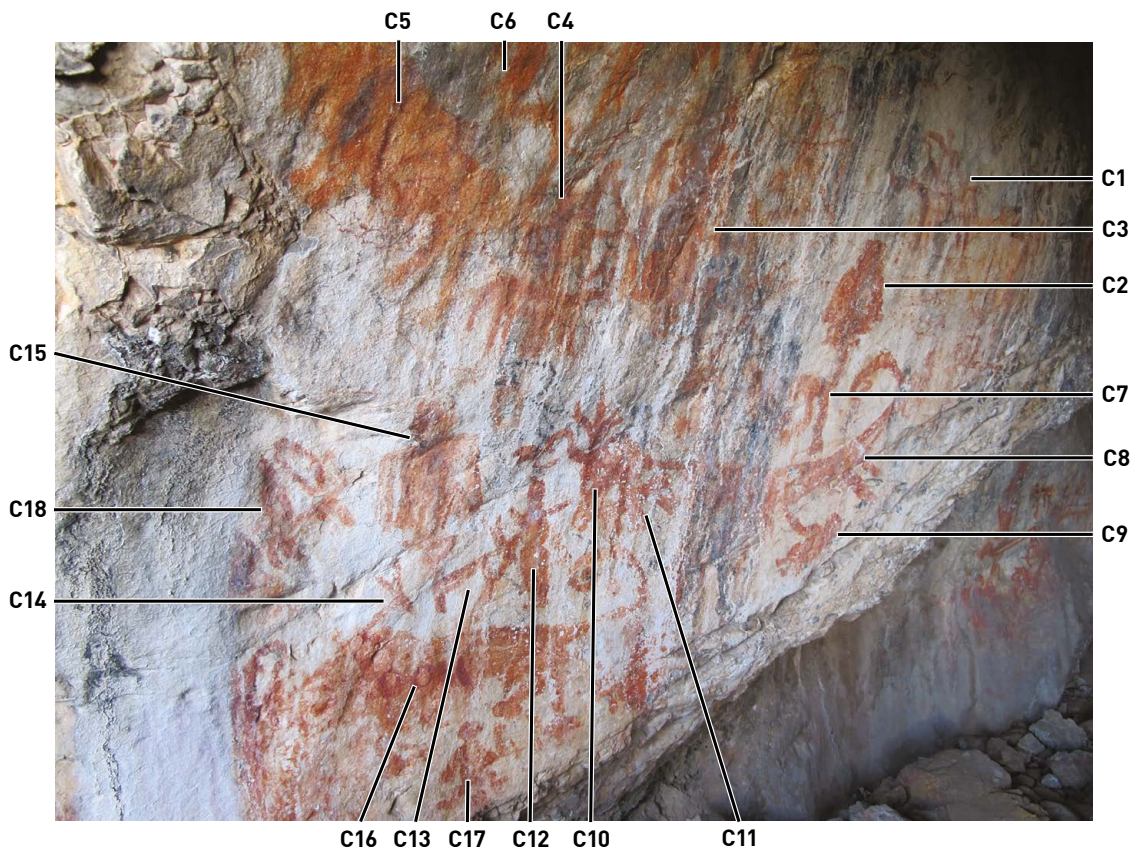


Figure 82. Locations of rock art on the upper left wall of S1_L29.

Klu khang, Ancillary Chamber 4 (S1_L30)

Ten subjects have been inventoried in Ancillary Chamber 4, all of which are assigned to the Early Historic period. It is comprised of anthropomorphs and two horses. Most or all of this rock art was painted with Tibetan religious inscriptions.



Figure 83. Klu khang, Ancillary Chamber 4 (S1_L30).

*Left wall***Inventory No:** S1_L30_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** Partially silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** 40 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat301

Comments: The subject has prominent ears that are half-circle shaped. Its arms are outstretched and there are four fingers on each hand. Immediately below the figure is a geometric subject containing Tibetan letters (see Bellezza 2020b: 163 (fig. 10.52)).

Placement: Upper section of inner left wall.

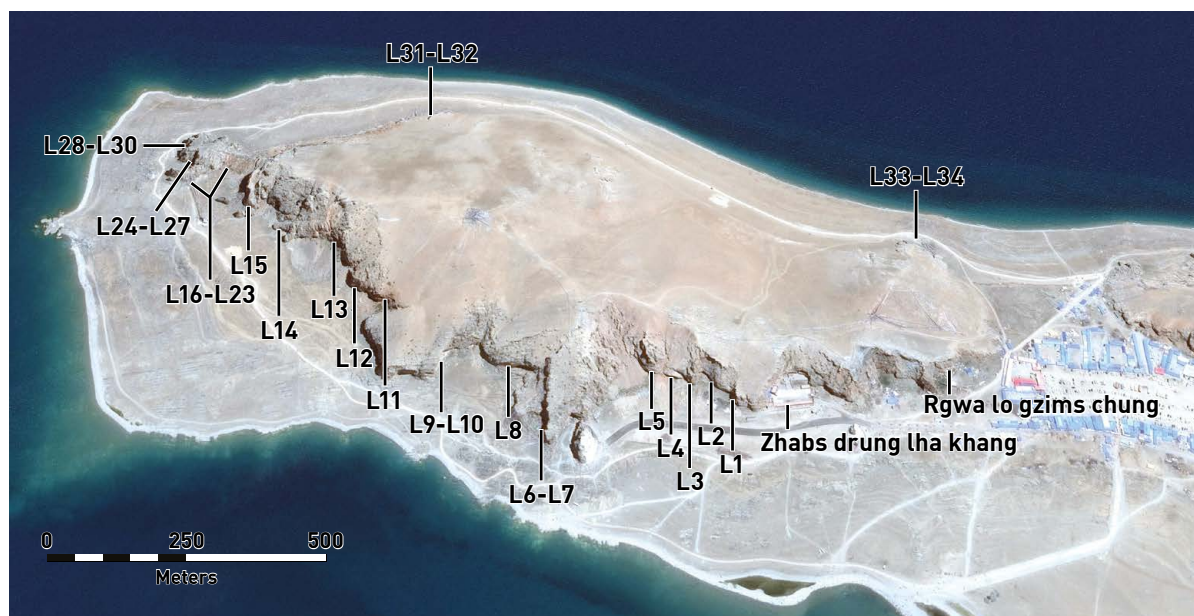
Inventory No: S1_L30_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** Partially silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** anthropomorph?**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** paired?**Dimensions:** 39 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat301, Cat302

Comments: The right hand of S1_L30_C1 appears to make contact with the head of the subject. These two pictographs may possibly have been made by the same hand.

Placement: To left of and below S1_L30_C1.

Bkra shis do chung (S2)

Surveys conducted in 1995, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2010, and 2012



Map 6. The various loci of rock art at Bkra shis do chung (S2). The locations designated are approximate positions that have not been GPS verified. Note the dense agglomeration of modern structures on the southeast side of the headland. These structures are mostly visitor facilities built to cater to the rapidly growing Chinese tourist industry of recent decades.

Bkra shis do chung (S2) shares the Bkra shis do headland with Bkra shis do chen (S1). They are complimentary topographic features in terms of their geographic aspect and cultural and historical significance. Although Bkra shis do chung is considerably smaller than Bkra shis do chen, it contains a larger series of caves; however, a lower percentage of these caves contains rock art. Traditionally, Bkra shis do chung was the more popular formation with pilgrims, receiving heavy foot traffic. Two sacred Buddhist residential sites situated on the southeast side of the limestone formation help to explain its popularity: Rgwa lo gzims chung (Venerable Habitation of Rgwa lo) and Zhabs drung lha khang (In the Presence [of Gu ru rin po che] Chapel), religious institutions now belonging to the Rnying ma pa sect. Rgwa lo gzims chung is named after Rgwa lo tsa ba gzhon nu dpal (12th century AD), a renowned lama and translator who originally hailed from Amdo. He is credited with spending six years at Gnam mtsho (Gardner n.d.). A tooth of the saint that was desecrated during the Chinese Cultural Revolution was eventually recovered and is once again enshrined in the cave (Bellezza 1997a: 176). Zhabs drung lha khang is a small temple complex whose core is a cave in which the great Buddhist master Gu ru rin po che is supposed to have meditated. In popular tradition, Zhabs drung lha khang is one of four monasteries that Gu ru rin po che predicted would be established at Gnam mtsho in the four cardinal directions (Bellezza 1997a: 177). The concentration of both archaic and Lamaist religious habitations at Bkra shis do chung helps to explain why devotional and sectarian content is the largest component of rock art in all but two of its 34 loci. The interactions between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, as spelled out in the rock art and epigraphy described in Section II, were focused on the formation where most people lived, worked, and prayed. Thus, Bkra shis do chung served as a major arena for encounters between Buddhist and non-Buddhist factions during the Early Historic and Vestigial periods.

363 subjects have been inventoried at Bkra shis do chung. Between 325 and 331 of these range in age from the Protohistoric to the Vestigial periods. There is one pictograph recorded among them that may possibly be datable to the Iron Age. The inventory also features 29 to 34 subjects attributed to the Late Historic period, while four are products of the modern period. Inventoried examples constitute a relatively small but representative portion of the total amount of rock art at Bkra shis do chung assigned to the Late Historic period. A selective spectrum of rock art of the Later Historic period is included for comparative purposes. The variable range for the two broad chronological categories of rock art described is due to questions concerning the chronological attribution of certain subjects in the dating scheme set out in this work. The presentation of the survey of rock art loci at Bkra shis do chung begins on the southeast side of the formation and proceeds in a clockwise direction around the south side of the formation and then along the north side. The precise location of loci on the south side of the formation, as well as their relative position to adjacent loci, requires further study.



Figure 86. The twin rock pinnacles named Sgo srung khro bo khro mo stand guard at the start of the pilgrim circuit around Bkra shis do chung (S2). According to the local sacred geographic tradition, Khro bo khro mo is a group of three male and three female wrathful deities who are believed to have originated in the ancient *bon* tradition (Bellezza 1997a: 177). Nearby there is a shrine dedicated to another protective deity of Bkra shis do chung, Rol pa skya bdun (Bellezza 2008: 62 (fig. 82)).



Figure 87. Zhabs drung lha khang, Bkra shis do chung. Photograph taken in 2010.



Figure 88. Circa 2010, a motorable road was cut around Bkra shis do chung. From subsequent observations made by the author it can be stated that this road has had a deleterious cultural and ecological impact on Bkra shis do chung. Pictured is the road on the north side of the formation. In the background Bkra shis do chen is visible.

S2_L1

The expansion of cave residences on the south side of Bkra shis do chung, east of Zhabs drung lha khang, in the early 2010s, has had the effect of concealing or obliterating an unknown number of pictographs. These new houses were built by lay religious practitioners and nuns. The fate of the residences and their inmates in more recent years is unclear. In a location at the base of the formation west of S2_L1 there are two ancient *ma ni* inscriptions written in red ochre (Bellezza 2020b: 166 (fig. 10.59). Immediately to the right of them there is a Buddhist mantra that reads *Om Om [hung]*, which was written vertically in red ochre. This highly obscured mantra appears to have been inscribed during the Vestigial period.



Figure 89. The exterior of one of the cave residences that was being built in S2_L1 in 2012. It is situated near a cave called Klu gdong phug (Face of the Serpent Spirit Cave).



Figure 90. The interior of the same cave residence in S2_L1. A *ma ni* mantra written in red ochre and other red ochre applications can be discerned. The photograph was taken in 2012.

S2_L2

This locus, a cliff face on the south side of the Bkra shis do chung formation, contains a single red ochre pictograph. Loci S2_L2 to S2_L5 are situated east of Zhabs drung lha khang along the eastern third of the site.

Inventory No: S2_L2_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW/HW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat318

Comments: The spire consists of three cross-pieces. This stepped structure is not documented in Bellezza 2020b.

Placement: Unfixed.

S2_L3

This locus is another unnamed spot on the escarpment that forms the south face of the Bkra shis do formation. There are just two red ochre subjects forming an integral composition inventoried here.

Inventory No: S2_L3_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 139 cm (v)

Image ref: NI

Comments: This is clearly a non-Buddhist version of a stepped structure.

Placement: Unfixed.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18e).

Inventory No: S2_L3_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 33 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat319

Comments: The subject has a counter-clockwise orientation.

Placement: To right of S2_L3_C1a.

S2_L4

This locus is another site on the escarpment between O rgyan phug and Phag mo phug. There is only one red ochre pictograph inventoried here.

Inventory No: S2_L4_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: stepped structure	Theme: sacred architecture	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 37 cm tall	Image ref: NI

Comments: This stepped structure is of the same type as S2_L2_C1.
Placement: Unfixed.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 46 (fig. 14f).

S2_L5

This locus is another site on the escarpment between O rgyan phug and Phag mo phug. There are two red ochre swastikas inventoried here. Additionally, there are three more red ochre swastikas that appear to be situated beyond O rgyan phug to the east. They are included in the S2_L5 locus but their precise location is undetermined.

Inventory No: S2_L5_C1a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 34 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat320

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L5_C1b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 24 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat320

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To left of S2_L5_C1a.

Inventory No: S2_L5_C2a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 10 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat321

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed. At a different location on the escarpment than S2_L5_C1.

Inventory No: S2_L5_C2b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 12 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat321

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To left of S2_L5_C2a.

Inventory No: S2_L5_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 39 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat322

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. As it and other swastikas occur near the beginning of the circuit (*skor ba*) for Buddhist practitioners, the swastikas painted in S2_L5 and other initial loci appear to be sectarian and territorial markers that once signalled ownership (actual or aspirational) of Bkra shis do chung by non-Buddhist adherents.

Placement: Unfixed. At a different location on the escarpment than S2_L5_C2.

Gdung rtan mkha' 'gro gter yig (S2_L6)

This locus is a small cave containing a well-built reliquary *chorten* c. 1 m in height. It is reported to enshrine the relics of the renowned 20th-century lama Dil mgo mkhyen brtse. Gdung rtan mkha' 'gro gter yig contains three subjects, belonging to the Historic era, which were painted in red ochre and a black pigment.

Inventory No: S2_L6_C1

Type: picto, BP	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat323, Cat 324

Comments: The subject is a large likeness of a Lamaist personality. This well-executed pictograph has detailed facial features and is shown wearing a hat. The long robe of the figure (now highly worn) is decorated with parallel lines and a chequerboard pattern. Highly deteriorated letters in Tibetan written in red ochre, constituting part of a *ma ni* mantra, were superimposed on the body of the figure. This may possibly signal that the subject represents a non-Buddhist personality. There is also a highly fragmentary inscription in the cave written in a black pigment. Only what appears to be the Tibetan letter *A* and what might be the syllable *tri* are discernible.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L6_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L6_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

S2_L7

This locus, another small cave, is adjacent to S2_L6. It contains moulded clay plaques (*tshwa tshwa*). A single pictograph painted in what appears to be a black pigment is found here.

Inventory No: S2_L7_C1

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat325

Comments: This complex subject(s) is composed of a mass of dots and short parallel lines oriented in different directions. It may possibly depict one or more flaming jewels symbols. The placement of the pictograph on the cave floor is very unusual.

Placement: On cave floor.

Gu ru sgrub phug (S2_L8)

This locus is situated on the face of the escarpment near a cave known as Gu ru sgrub phug. It contains two red ochre symbolic subjects.

Inventory No: S2_L8_C1a**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** partially silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** flaming jewels**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** 10 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat326

Comments: The subject appears to have been made in conjunction with two Sale 'od mantras, indicating that the composition is non-Buddhist in nature.

Placement: Unfixed.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2008: 166 (fig. 280); 2020b: 211 (fig. 10.185).**Inventory No:** S2_L8_C1b**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** conjoined sun and moon**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** 6.5 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat326

Comments: The subject appears to have been made in conjunction with two Sale 'od mantras, indicating that it is non-Buddhist in character. In the accompanying photograph (Cat326) the last syllable of these two mantras is cut

Placement: To left of S2_L8_C1a.**S2_L9**

This locus is situated on the face of the escarpment, 5 m north of the Sri gcod bum pa shrine. It features two red ochre pigment applications and Tibetan inscriptions.

Inventory No: S2_L9_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 46 cm (v)**Image ref:** NI

Comments: The subject, a patch of red ochre, appears to be covering up pictographs and/or an inscription. To the left of the subject there is a Tibetan *Om* and above it an *A* (for these inscriptions, see reference below).

Placement: Unfixed.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 177 (fig. 10.87).**Inventory No:** S2_L9_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 34 cm (v)**Image ref:** NI

Comments: Inside the vase of the subject there is a mantric inscription.

Placement: Unfixed.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 47 (fig. 16e), 282 (fig. 10.174).



Figure 91. Folios written in Kalika (Mongolian) recovered from Rgwa lo gser bum by local religious custodians.

Sri gcod bum pa (S2_L10)

This locus is a rocky extension on the escarpment face which projects southwards. Sri gcod bum pa is named after a shrine erected to aid women who have suffered miscarriages or have been unable to conceive (Bellezza 1997a: 179). Five giant red ochre pictographic stepped structures are found in this locus. These pictographs are 300–500cm in height, making them the largest documented pieces of rock art on the Tibetan Plateau. Also, in this locus there is another built shrine called Rgwa lo gser bum. Senior religious figures at Gnam mtsho believe that it was first destroyed by the Dzungar Mongols in the 18th century AD and then later rebuilt. It is reported that after being desecrated a second time in the Chinese Cultural Revolution, local lay practitioners recovered around 50 folios written in the Mongolian script from the Rgwa lo gser bum. We were able to inspect four of these folios, which belong to three different texts.

Inventory No: S2_L10_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: stepped structure	Theme: sacred architecture	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: Much of the spire of the subject is intact. This appears to be the largest example in the locus (c. 500 cm in height). It is possible that this stepped structure was painted with one or more of the others at Sri gcod bum pa.
Placement: Occupies most northerly position in the locus.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 47 (fig. 15a); 2001: 339 (fig. 10.40).

Inventory No: S2_L10_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: stepped structure	Theme: sacred architecture	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: Much of the spire of the subject is intact.
Placement: To left of S2_L10_C1.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 47 (fig. 15b); Bellezza 2001: 340 (fig. 10.43).

Inventory No: S2_L10_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: stepped structure	Theme: sacred architecture	Age (est.): EHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: Much of this subject has worn away.
Placement: To left of S2_L10_C2.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 47 (fig. 15c); Bellezza 2001: 339 (fig. 10.41).

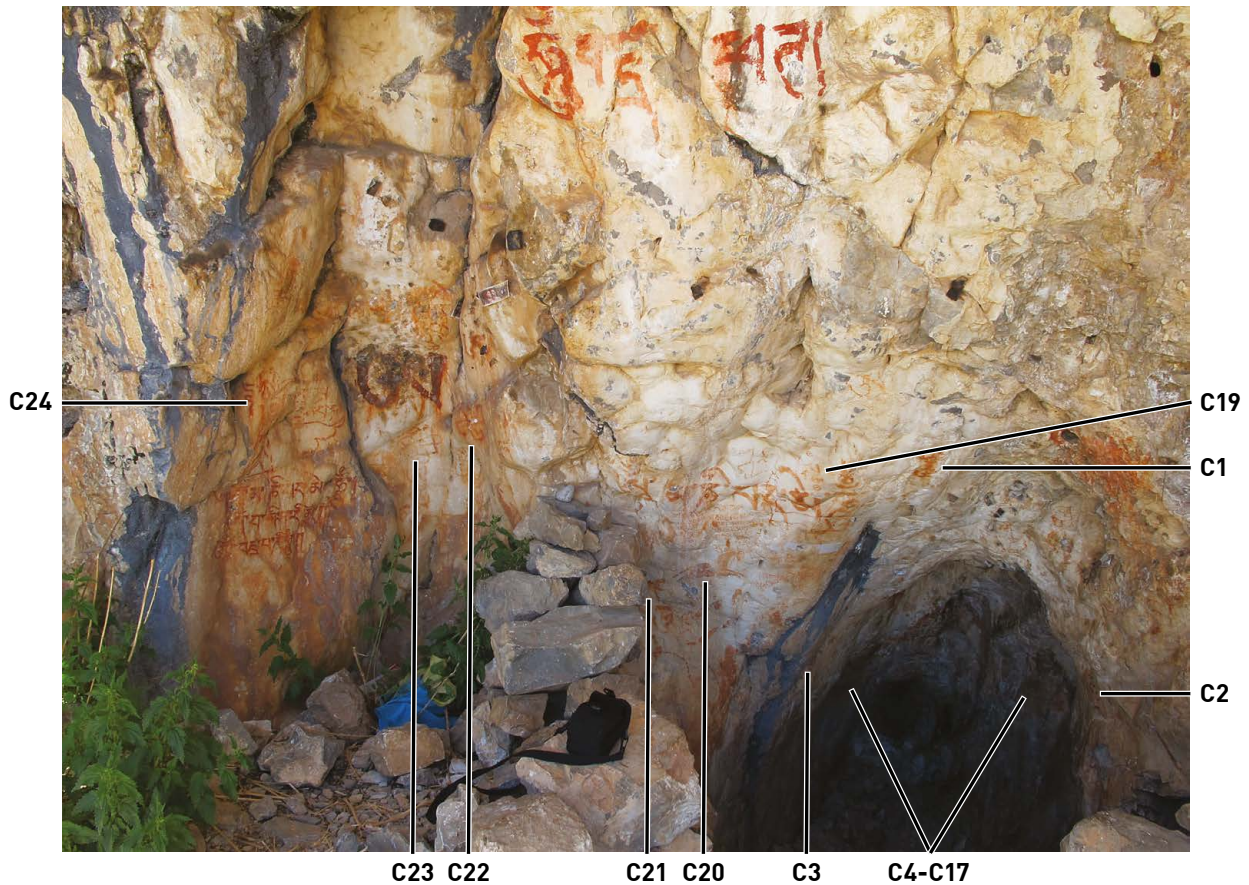


Figure 92. Locations of some of the rock art at 'Jams dbyangs phug (S2_L11).

Inventory No: S2_L11_C4

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: quadruped?

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild ungulate.

Placement: To right of S2_L11_C3.

Inventory No: S2_L11_C5

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat329

Comments: The subject is vaguely reminiscent of an anthropomorph.

Placement: Outer left side of cave.

Inventory No: S2_L11_C6

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: geometric

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat330

Comments: The subject consists of two incomplete rectangular tiers.

Placement: To right of S2_L11_C4.

Inventory No: S2_L11_C25b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat343

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a counter-clockwise swastika.
Placement: To right of S2_L11_C25a
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 281 (fig. 10.373).

Inventory No: S2_L11_C26

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat343

Comments: The subject is oriented in a clockwise direction.
Placement: To right of and below S2_L11_C24, wedged inside a much larger Tibetan letter A.

O rgyan phug (S2_L12)

This locus is a cliff wall just outside O rgyan phug, a small cave that contains a natural stone bar from which the 8th-century AD master Gu ru rin po che is supposed to have hung his drum. Ten red ochre symbolic pictographs, dating to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, were surveyed here. One composition is comprised of a quartet of auspicious symbols (pair of fish, victory banner, parasol, and endless knot). The abbreviated nature of this set of auspicious symbols (a quartet rather than an octad) is also met with at Brag bying gur phug (S1_L11). The other six pictographs of S2_L12 are swastikas oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. All the seminal symbols of the locus appear to have been made by a non-Buddhist cult that existed in the region before its definitive conversion to Buddhism in the 13th century AD. The early Buddhist presence in S2_L12 is documented by several bold *ma ñi* mantras inscribed over and between the non-Buddhist sacred symbols (Bellezza 2020b: 177–179 (figs. 10.88–10.93).

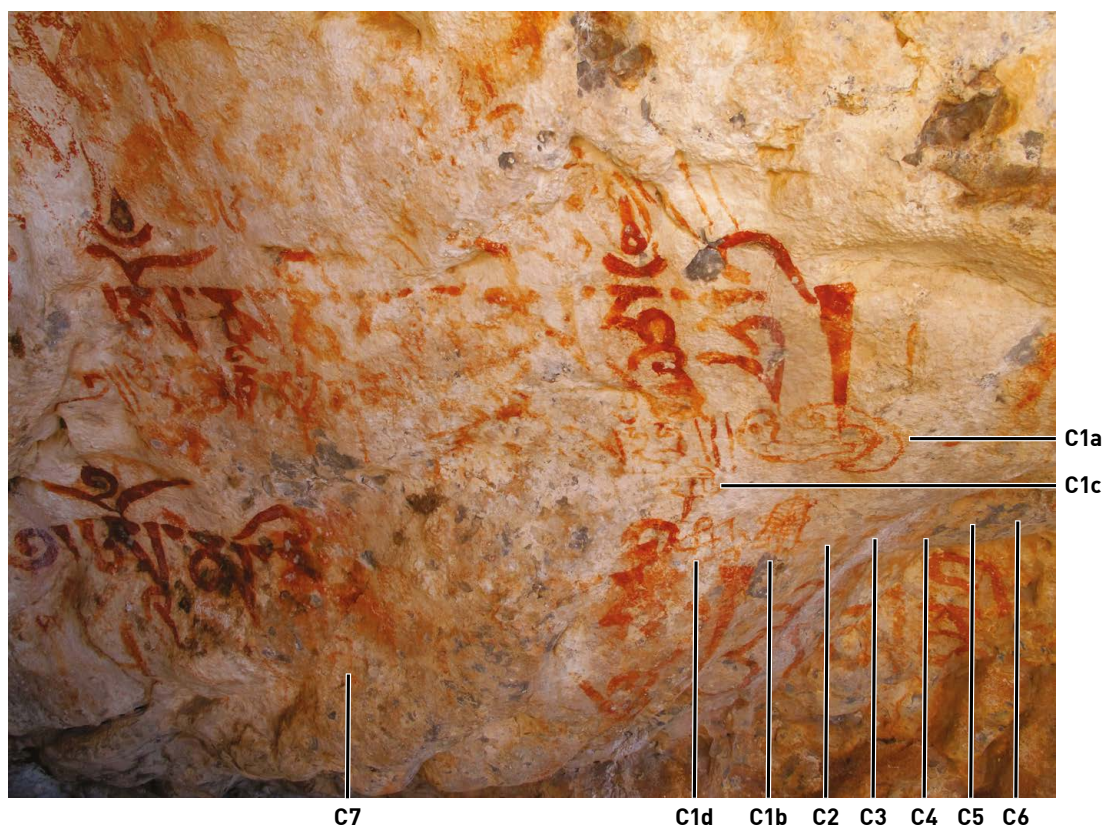


Figure 93. The locations of rock art in S2_L12 are encompassed by this image.

Inventory No: S2_L13_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 7 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat350

Comments: The subject consists of a triangle with one point set against the back of the stag in S2_L13_C2b.
Placement: Above S2_L13_C2b.

Inventory No: S2_L13_C4

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 14 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat351

Comments: The subject consists of a bust of what appears to be Lamaist figure.
Placement: Unfixed.

S2_L14

At this locus two red ochre swastikas attributed to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods have been inventoried.

Inventory No: S2_L14_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat352

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. There is an L-shaped red ochre line to the left of it (NIS).
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L14_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat353

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Bde mchog yab yum (S2_L15)



Figure 94. The two free-standing pinnacles near the centre of the image are known as Bde mchog yab yum (S2_L15). Envisioned as representing the tantric god Bde mchog in ecstatic embrace, these pinnacles are one of the most prominent sacred geographic sites at Bkra shis do chung.

This locus is a niche in the escarpment situated opposite the Bde mchog yab yum formation, a distinctive landmark that consists of two pinnacles standing close to each other. There is just one red ochre subject dating to the Late Historic or Modern periods in this locus.

Inventory No: S2_L15_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: LW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): LHP or MP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 36 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat354

Comments: This Lamaist figure is shown seated.

Placement: In niche.

S2_L16

This locus is a small cave in the formation, containing seven subjects painted in red ochre, a black pigment, and a white pigment. Solitary animals and swastikas make up the bulk of pictographs in this locus. One of these is assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, four to the Vestigial period, and two to the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S2_L16_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: bird

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 13 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat355

Comments: The bird is shown in profile.

Placement: Inside cave

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 332 (fig. 10.27).

S2_L17



Figure 95. The cliff face of S2_L17. The image has been digitally enhanced to bring out the various inscriptions.

This locus is a spot on the face of the escarpment. It contains a *dbu can* inscription of two syllables that reads *Om Hri*. These very large syllables (1 m or more in height) are only readable when images of them are digitally enhanced. This inscription is likely to be a Buddhist composition, as it is written very conspicuously and contains the first and last syllables of the septasyllabic *ma ñi* mantra. The inscription is followed by two large circles which appear to be a form of punctuation known as the *gter tsheg*. Within the large *Hri* there is an archaic-style A, an illegible mantric inscription, and the syllable *Hra*. These are also very difficult to distinguish without digital enhancement. For two other inscriptions in this locus, which overlie the *a chung* of the big A, see Bellezza 2020b: 180 (fig. 10.99).

Inventory No: S2_L17_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: circle

Theme: punctuation?

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 95

Comments: The import of this subject and its counterpart are difficult to assess.

Placement: On cliff face.

Inventory No: S2_L17_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: circle

Theme: punctuation?

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 95

Comments: The import of this subject and its counterpart are difficult to assess.

Placement: Below S2_L17_C1a.



Figure 96. Rlung ra phug (S2_L19).



Figure 97. The right wall of Rlung ra phug (S2_L19). Visible in the image are S2_19_C1 (far left side), S2_L19_C2 (lower middle), S2_L19_C3 (middle right), S2_L19_C4 (upper right), and S2_L19_C5 (lower right).

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: BKRA SHIS DO CHUNG (S2)

Inventory No: S2_L19_C9

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly depict a wild ungulate. There is at least one wild ungulate of the Late Historic period to the right of the subject (NIS).

Placement: To right of S2_L19_C8.

Left wall of the cave

Inventory No: S2_L19_C10a

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat366

Comments: This standing archer is attired in a long robe. His bow is equipped with an exaggeratedly large arrow.

Placement: On inner left wall of the cave.

Inventory No: S2_L19_C10b

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: carnivore

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat366

Comments: The subject is a hunting dog harrying the object of the hunt.

Placement: To right of S2_L19_C10a.

Inventory No: S2_L19_C10c

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: wild carnivore

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat366

Comments: The subject may represent a wild yak. It is depicted with an arrow piercing its back.

Placement: To right of and above S2_L19_C10b.



Figure 98. The cave of S2_L20.



Figure 99. Pad sdong phug (S2_L23).

S2_L20

This locus is a small cave just to the south of S2_L19. A lone red ochre pictograph dating to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods has been inventoried here.

Inventory No:

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat367

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Rear of the cave.

S2_L21

This locus consists of another tiny cave. Two subjects painted in a black pigment that date to the Late Historic period have been inventoried here.

Inventory No: S2_L21_C1

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: flaming jewels

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 22 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat368

Comments: The subject has a very long, tendril-like stem.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L21_C2

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: equid

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 20 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat368

Comments: The subject may possibly have been made with S2_L18_C2. In that case, the composition represents the flaming jewels symbol mounted on a horse.

Placement: Below S2_L18_C5.

Rdo zhun phug (S2_L22)

This locus is near Rdo zhun phug (Molten Stone Cave). One subject, a stepped structure (Early Historic or Vestigial periods), was inventoried at this location.

Inventory No: S2_L22_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: stepped structure	Theme: sacred architecture	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 41 cm (v)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is an elaborately painted, multi-tiered stepped structure with an archaic design. The way the initial part of a *ma ni* mantra, inscribed in red ochre, was superimposed on the right banner of the subject strongly suggests that it is a non-Buddhist religious emblem. On palaeographic grounds, this mantra can be dated to the Vestigial period.

Placement: Unfixed.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002a: 206.

Pad sdong phug (S2_L23)

This locus is a small cave known as Pad sdong phug (Lotus Tree Cave). Six subjects painted in red ochre and black pigment have been inventoried here. Three swastikas and a flaming jewels symbol make up the symbolic component of the rock art. The other two subjects are an anthropomorphic portrait and a zoomorphic portrait. These subjects include three that date to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, two that are assigned to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods, and one clearly belonging to the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S2_L23_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: flaming jewels	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 26 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat369

Comments: Proximate inscriptions suggest that the subject was made by a non-Buddhist.

Placement: Inner left side of cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002a: 207 (fig. XI-13a); 2008: 166 (fig. 281); 2020b: 187 (fig. 10.119).

Inventory No: S2_L23_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat370

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave.

Inventory No: S2_L23_C3a

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat371

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 189 (fig. 10.123).

Inventory No: S2_L23_C3b

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat371

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a clockwise direction.

Placement: To right of S2_L23_C3a.

Inventory No: S2_L23_C4

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat372

Comments: The subject is a Lamaist figure seated on a throne.

Placement: To right of S2_L23_C3a.

Inventory No: S2_L23_C5

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: equid

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat373

Comments: The subject seems to represent a horse. A V-shaped red ochre pigment application was either superimposed on the subject or lies beneath it. Above the subject there is an ancient red ochre *ma ni* mantra not recorded in Bellezza 2020b.

Placement: Unfixed. Inside the cave.

Dung dkar rang byon (S2_L24)

Dung dkar rang byon (Self-formed Conch) is a small, conch-shaped recess in the formation. The locus is also called Gter sgo dung dkar (Conch Treasure Portal). Four red ochre symbolic subjects belonging to adversarial religious traditions have been inventoried here. These include two counter-clockwise swastikas and a ritual thunderbolt, which date to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. A third counter-clockwise swastika is attributed to the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S2_L24_C1

Type: picto, RO

Subject: ritual thunderbolt

Arrangement: single

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Figure 100

Comments: This *rdo rje* is positioned in the middle of the niche. It is superimposed on a non-Buddhist mantra that reads: *Bso A pha[t]*. Below this inscription is another highly obscured one that was perhaps written by the same individual. It may possibly read: *A dung*. Both of these inscriptions were written horizontally. There are nine other instances at Bkra shis do of the inscription *Bso A pha[t]*, most of which are accompanied by a counter-clockwise swastika rendered in the same hand (Bellezza 2020b: 140). This mantra is designed to expel negative influences and reassert mastery over a place, people, or spirits.

Placement: In recess.



Figure 100. The contending religious symbols and mantras of Dung dkar rang byon (S2_L24). The final letters of the two inscriptions illustrated in the lower half of the photograph are cut. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the various pigment applications.

Inventory No: S2_L24_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 100

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To right of S2_L24_C1.

Inventory No: S2_L24_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 100

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. This swastika and the one labelled S2_L24_C2, along with the mantra *Bso A phat*, contrast with the *rdø rje*. These graphic encounters between the Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions were marked by the juxtaposition and superimposition of contending religious symbols and inscriptions.

Placement: To left of and above S2_L24_C1.

Inventory No: S2_L24_C4

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: LW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 100

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: The subject is superimposed on the *Bso* syllable of the upper mantra.

Big Khyung Cave (S2_L25)

The name of the locus was given to it by the present author because of the large pictograph of a horned eagle placed in the middle of the rear wall. The Big Khyung Cave is found adjacent to S2_L24 and to a cave known as Bkra shis rtags bryad phug (Eight Auspicious Symbols Cave). This latter physical feature is supposed to have self-manifested images of the eight auspicious symbols on the polished limestone floor of the cave (Bellezza 1997a: 181). A fine linear pattern was drawn on the floor of Bkra shis rtags bryad phug in red ochre. As there is no photographic record of this pigment application, it is not included in this inventory as a separate locus.

Big Khyung Cave is a deep overhang in the escarpment situated near the western end of Bkra shis do chung. This parietal structure, with its large open front, is divided by a central rib into right and left parts. 38 red ochre and black pigment subjects were inventoried here. 17 subjects are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, another 11 are tentatively dating solely to the Early Historic period, four are attributed to the Protohistoric period, and one to either the Iron Age or Protohistoric period. Additionally, two subjects belonging to the Late Historic period and three to the Modern period have been inventoried for comparative purposes. In addition to multiple swastikas and a flaming jewels symbol, there are two hunting compositions and several animal portraits painted on the inner walls of the overhang. There appears to be one red ochre composition of a horseback rider of significant antiquity among the pictographs (it is provisionally dated to the Iron Age or Protohistoric period). Pictographs painted in black pigment have not been periodized with any assurance, accounting for the large proportion of provisional chronological assessments at this location.



Figure 101. Big Khyung Cave (S2_L25). All but the panels of pictographs on the outer left wall of the left part of this overhang in the escarpment are visible in this image. There is a very large horned eagle pictograph (S2_L25_C1a) on the central rib of stone dividing the right and left parts of the overhang visible in the image. This composition and flanking *ma ni* mantras written boldly in red ochre chronicle Buddhist efforts to subdue non-Buddhist religious activity and acquire territorial control of the cave and Bkra shis do more generally. In terms of size and quantity, Buddhist artists and inscribers outdid their non-Buddhist counterparts in the Big Khyung Cave, intimating their final victory in sectarian struggles that erupted at Bkra shis do during the Vestigial period. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the rock art.

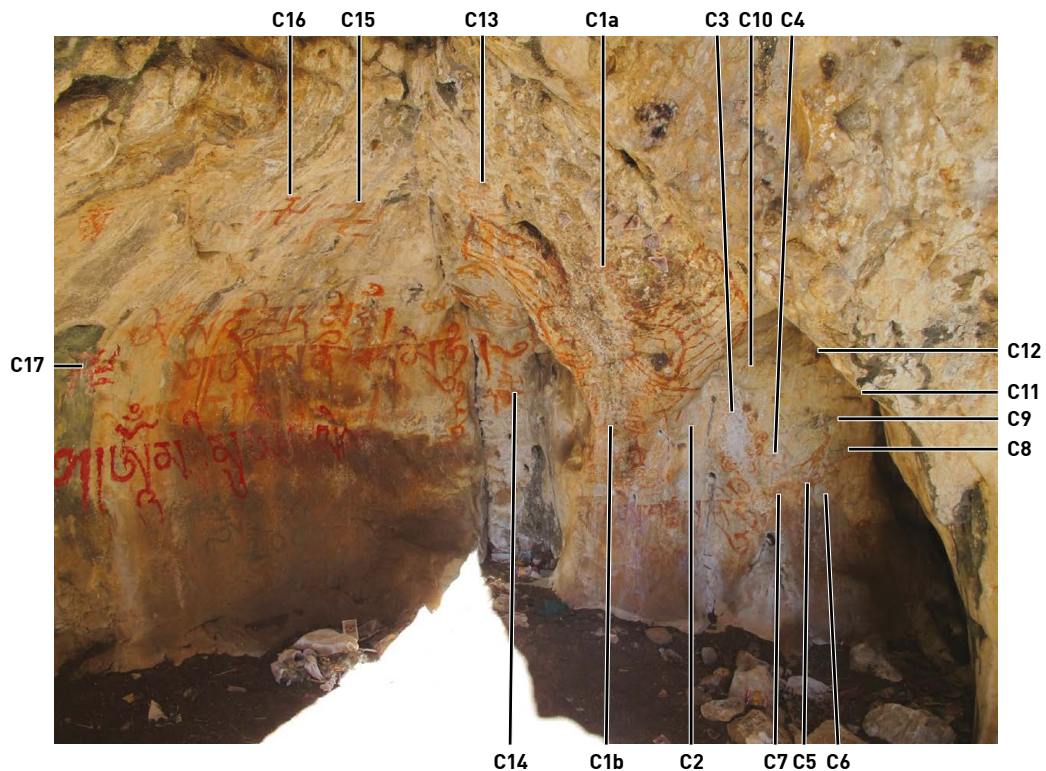


Figure 102. Locations of rock art in S2_L25.

Central rib of the overhang

Inventory No: S2_L25_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Subject: bird

Arrangement: paired

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: religious

Dimensions: 80 cm (h)

Condition: MW/HW

Age (est.): VP

Image ref: Cat374

Comments: The subject represents a horned eagle. It straddles the breadth of the central rib. Much detail and effort went into the creation of this pictograph. Its central placement suggests that it may trace the lineaments of a self-formed *khyung* that was envisioned as appearing on the panel of stone on which it was painted. The subject was adeptly rendered with key iconographic elements, i.e. the triple-gems diadems and the snake (decorated with dots) in the bird's talons. The eyes, eyebrows, and a hint of the beak are also discernible.

Placement: Central rib of cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 386 (figs. 40, 41); 2020b: 190 (fig. 10.125).

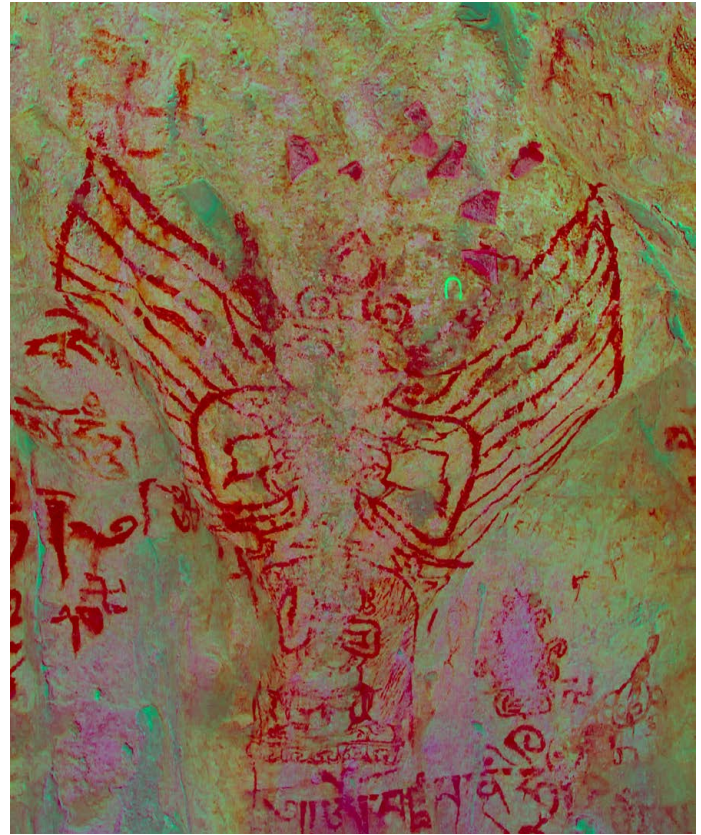


Figure 103. The horned eagle (S2_L25_C1a) and Phyag na rdo rje (S2_L25_C1b) pictographs that dominate the central rib of the cave. They have a combined height of 125 cm. Some of the surrounding subjects are also visible in the photograph. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the rock art.

Inventory No: S2_L25_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Subject: anthropomorph

Arrangement: paired

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: religious

Dimensions: 53 cm (v)

Condition: MW/HW

Age (est.): VP

Image ref: Cat375

Comments: The subject represents Phyag na rdo rje, one of the three most popular bodhisattvas and a major Dharma protector (Chos skyong) in Tibetan Buddhism. Like its counterpart in S2_L25_C1a, great pains were taken to produce an iconographically accurate portrayal of the deity. Among the characteristic motifs that were painted are the flaming hair, garland of skulls, tiger-skin girdle, and *rdo rje* held by the god. Phyag na rdo rje is surrounded by a mass of flames and stands on a lotus base while trampling a demon in the form of a naked human. Unlike most rock art in Upper Tibet, this composition contains standard iconographic motifs that allow us to confidently assign it to the Vestigial period. The significance of the paired composition is likely to be associated with the famous power of the horned eagle and Phyag na rdo rje to subjugate the water spirits (*klu*). This function may have been perceived as particularly important because, according to the Ma rgyud tradition of Yungdrung Bon, Gnam mtsho was the centre of a pentad of tantric female figures with the serpent heads of female water spirits (Gnam mtsho phyug mo'i mkha' 'gro klu gdong lnga) in ancient times (Bellezza 1997a: 110). This Yungdrung Bon tradition is undoubtedly a tantric interpretation of older cultural lore in which the lake goddess of Gnam mtsho possesses a retinue of female water spirits and has an aspect as a female water spirit too. The male consort of Gnam mtsho, the mountain god Gnyan chen thang lha, also commands an army of water spirits and can appear as one in certain aspects. Furthermore, *klu* and *klu mo* figure prominently in the sacred geography of Bkra shis do and the wider Gnam mtsho region (on this subject, see Bellezza 1997a).

Placement: Below S2_L25_C1a.

Right part of the overhang

Inventory No: S2_L25_C2

Type: picto, RO

Subject: conch

Arrangement: single

Mode: outlined

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat376

Comments: It is unclear whether this subject was painted by a Buddhist or a non-Buddhist.

Placement: To right of S2_L25_C1b.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 334 (fig. 10.31).

Inventory No: S2_L25_C3

Type: picto, RO

Subject: flaming jewels

Arrangement: single

Mode: outlined

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW/HW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat377

Comments: The design of the subject, and the fact that much of it was purposely effaced, strongly suggest that it was painted by a non-Buddhist.

Placement: To right of S2_L25_C2.

Inventory No: S2_L25_C4

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat377

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. It is possible that this subject and S2_L25_C3 were made in conjunction with one another.

Placement: To right of S2_L25_C3.

Inventory No: S2_L25_C5

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: anthropomorph?

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 24 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat378

Comments: The subject consists of an upside down 'head' with well-demarcated facial features and a large hook-like motif on top.

Placement: To right of S2_L25_C4.

Reference(s): Soman Wangdu 1994: 142 (fig. 176).



Figure 104. Compositions S2_L25_C5 (dominates upper and centre portion of the image), S2_L25_C6 (lower middle), S2_L25_C7 (partially visible, lower left corner), and S2_L25_C8 (spread across upper and central parts of the image).

Inventory No: S2_L25_C6**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat378**Comments:** The subject consists of two curvilinear marks reminiscent of Tibetan letters. It may possibly have been made with S2_L25_C5.**Placement:** To right of and below S2_L25_C5.**Inventory No:** S2_L25_C7**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** horseback rider?**Theme:** hunting**Age (est.):** IA/PP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 11 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat378**Comments:** The ostensible horseman is partially obscured by a red ochre pigment application of no particular pictorial significance. The subject is partially cut in the available imagery. To the right of and below the subject there is a red ochre pigment application resembling the Tibetan letter *ga* (NIS).**Placement:** To left of and merging with S2_L25_C5.**Inventory No:** S2_L25_C8a**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** horseback rider**Theme:** hunting**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat378, Cat379**Comments:** The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow.**Placement:** To right of S2_L25_C5.**Inventory No:** S2_L25_C8b**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** wild ungulate**Theme:** hunting**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat378**Comments:** The subject has V-shaped horns and is positioned behind L25_C8a. S2_L25_C5 is partially superimposed on the subject.**Placement:** To left of S2_L25_C8a.**Inventory No:** S2_L25_C8c**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** hunting**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat378**Comments:** The subject has the elongated body and pointed ears of a carnivore, yet no tail is visible. S2_L25_C5 is superimposed on the subject. There are minor black pigment markings below S2_L25_C8 (NIS).**Placement:** Below S2_L25_C8a and S2_L25_C8b.**Inventory No:** S2_L25_C9**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** wild yak**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** EHP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** 21 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat380**Comments:** Despite being silhouetted, the pigment and wear qualities of the subject suggest that it may possibly have been painted in conjunction with L25_C8. Above the subject the Tibetan syllable *Om* has been inscribed in red ochre. It is not recorded in Bellezza 2020b.**Placement:** Above S2_L25_C5.

Inventory No: S2_L25_C10

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat381

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild yak.
Placement: Above S2_L25_C3, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S2_L25_C11

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise manner.
Placement: To right of and above S2_L25_C9, at an appreciable distance.
 Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 192 (fig. 10.132).

Inventory No: S2_L25_C12

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: cervid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 23 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat382

Comments: The branched antlers identify the subject as a stag.
Placement: Above S2_L25_C11.

Left partition of the overhang

Inventory No: S2_L25_C13

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise manner.
Placement: Above right wingtip of S2_L25_C1a.

Inventory No: S2_L25_C14

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat383

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise manner. To the left of and below the subject there is a red ochre pigment application of no obvious pictorial significance (NIS).
Placement: To left of the interface between S2_L25_C1a and S2_L25_C1b, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S2_L25_C15

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat384

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise manner.
Placement: To left of S2_L25_C13, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C4

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: Around the counter-clockwise swastika are crude and unordered Tibetan letters that include an A.
Placement: Unfixed. Right wall.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat396

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation and each arm is composed of two parallel lines.
Placement: Unfixed. Right wall.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C6

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat396

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation.
Placement: To left of and below S2_L26_C5.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C7

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat396

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation.
Placement: To left of and below S2_L26_C6.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C8

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat397

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation.
Placement: Unfixed. Right wall.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 197 (fig. 10.144).

Inventory No: S2_L26_C9a

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat398

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation.
Placement: Unfixed. Right wall.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 197 (fig. 10.145).

Inventory No: S2_L26_C9b

Type: picto, BP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat398

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation.
Placement: Below S2_L26_C9a.

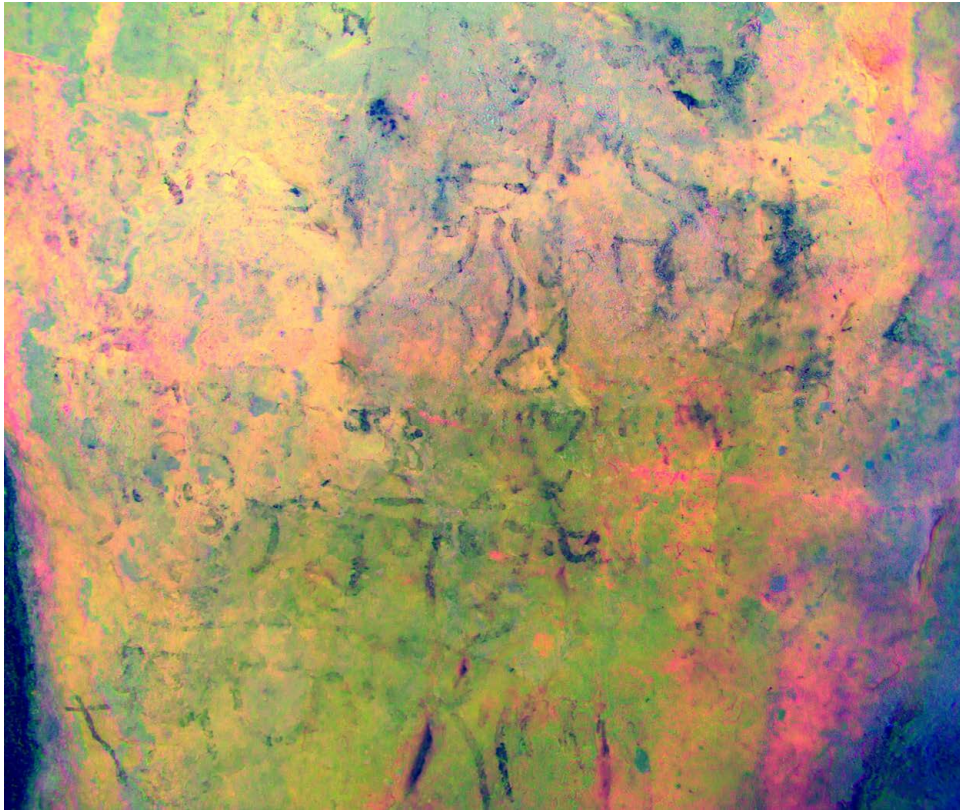


Figure 105. Composition S2_L26_C10 and an accompanying Tibetan *dbu med* (headless letters) inscription. The image has been digitally enhanced to make its contents more apprehensible.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C10a

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 105

Comments: The subject(s) is found among lines of Tibetan text that share the same pigment and wear qualities. This is one of several illegible Tibetan inscriptions of multiple lines found in the locus.

Placement: Unfixed. Right wall.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C10b

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 105

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a flaming jewels symbol.

Placement: To left of and below S2_L26_C10a.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C10c

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 105

Comments: The subject resembles a line of lotus petals.

Placement: Below S2_L26_C10b.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C11

Type: picto, BP

Mode: Silhouetted

Condition: MW/HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 17 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat399

Comments: Much of the pictograph has been obliterated.

Placement: Unfixed.

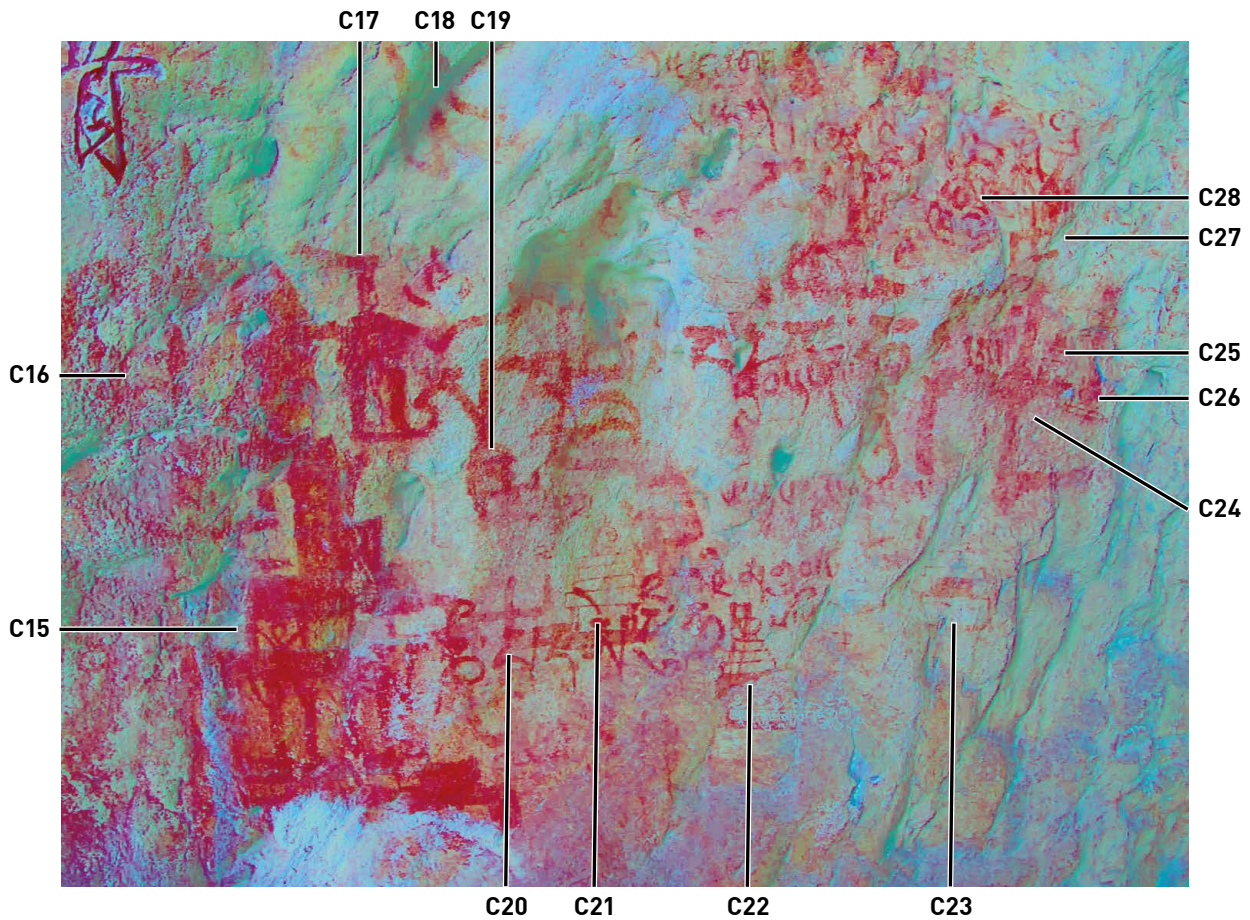


Figure 106. The locations of rock art on a large panel on the right wall of S2_L26.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C15

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 105 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat403

Comments: A *ma ni* mantra (lower) was superimposed on the stepped structure, strongly suggesting that the subject was painted by a non-Buddhist. This mantra and stepped structure are not recorded in Bellezza 2020b.

Placement: Unfixed. Right wall.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C16

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 52 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat403

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation and is obscured by other red ochre pigment applications.

Placement: To left of upper part of S2_L26_C15.

Inventory No: S2_L26_C17

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 58 cm (v) **Image ref:** Figure 106

Comments: The swastika has a counter-clockwise orientation.

Placement: To right of upper part of S2_L26_C15.

Inventory No: S2_L29_C2b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat416

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To the right of S1_L29_C2a.

Srin po'i ro rdo rgyag sa (S2_L30)

Srin po'i ro do rgyag sa (Place to Fling the Corpse of the Srin po Stone Cave) consists of two narrow passageways in the escarpment that are joined in the rear. This locus is situated on the western extremity of Bkra shis do chung. In the local tradition, pilgrims enter through the south passageway and throw a stone into the north passageway, thereby re-enacting the destruction of a *srin po* demon at this location by Gu ru rin po che, or so it is reported (Bellezza 1997a: 183). One subject assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods was inventoried here. Although there is just a single red ochre pictograph in S2_L30, its symbolic status is in keeping with the religious tenor of most rock art at Bkra shis do chung.



Figure 107. The western extremity of Bkra shis do chung around Srin po'i ro do rgyag sa (S2_L30).

Inventory No: S2_L30_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: victory banner

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat417

Comments: The intricately designed subject was probably created by a non-Buddhist.

Placement: South cave.

Bon kyi phug (S2_L31)

Bon kyi phug (Cave of Bon) is a small cave on the northwest side of the Bkra shis do chung formation. Eight subjects have been inventoried here, six or seven of which are red ochre, counter-clockwise swastikas dating to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. Their non-Buddhist religious alignment is underlined by related non-Buddhist inscriptions.



Figure 108. Bon kyi phug (S2_L31).

Inventory No: S2_L31_C7a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat421

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. It may possibly have been made in conjunction with S2_L31_C7b.

Placement: To left of S2_L31_C4.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 200 (fig. 10.154).

Inventory No: S2_L31_C7b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat421

Comments: The subject resembles a swastika with additional lines.

Placement: To left of and above S2_L31_C7a, at appreciable distance.

Mna' bshags phug (S2_L32)



Figure 109. Mna' bshags phug (S2_L32).

Mna' bshags phug (Swear an Oath Cave) is another small cave on the northwest side of Bkra shis do chung. Three red ochre subjects assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods have been inventoried here. These pictographs of symbolic import document contacts between the Buddhist and non-Buddhist faiths.

Inventory No: S2_L32_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat422

Placement: Rear of the cave.

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 203 (fig. 10.163).

Inventory No: S2_L32_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject somewhat resembles a Tibetan letter.

Placement: To left of S2_L32_C1, at an appreciable distance.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 204 (fig. 10.165).

Inventory No: S2_L32_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is oriented in a clockwise direction and appears to be superimposed on a *ma ñi* mantra.

Placement: To right of and above S2_L32_C2.

Zhwa dmar phug (S2_L33)



Figure 110. Locations of some of the rock art in S2_L33.

Zhwa dmar phug (Cave of the Zhwa dmar [pa]) is to be found on the southeast side of Bkra shis so chung. The name of the cave is more properly Zhwa dmar dbu zhwa gter bzhes sa (Place where the Zhwa dmar [pa] Received His Treasure Hat), the location where the early Zhwa dmar lamas are supposed to have obtained the treasure of their hat (Bellezza 1997a: 183). 27 red ochre subjects of diverse ages and genres have been inventoried in this locus. Unlike most loci at Bkra shis do chung, with their preponderance of rock art belonging to the Historic era, up to 11 of these subjects may date to the Protohistoric period. Five other subjects are provisionally dated to the Early Historic period. Seven subjects (mostly anthropomorphs) are each attributed to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. There are also two subjects (dharma wheels) assigned to the Late Historic period, and each of two subjects (anthropomorphs) dated to either the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. The two earlier phases of rock art in Zhwa dmar phug are primarily comprised of horsemen or animals. There is little evidence for encounters between Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions in the cave.

*Inside the cave***Inventory No:** S2_L33_C1a**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** bird**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** PP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat423**Comments:** The subject is a horned eagle (*khyung*). The pairing of this subject with a terrestrial animal (S2_L33_C1b) may possibly signal a symbolic a cosmological theme.**Placement:** Unfixed.**Inventory No:** S2_L33_C1b**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** wild ungulate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** PP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat423**Comments:** The subject resembles a wild yak, or possibly an antelope.**Placement:** Above S2_L33_C1a.**Inventory No:** S2_L33_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** geometric**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat424**Comments:** The subject consists of two triangles placed apex to apex.**Placement:** Below S2_L33_C1a.**Inventory No:** S2_L33_C3a**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** horseback rider**Theme:** martial competition**Age (est.):** PP/EHP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** 13 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat425**Comments:** The horseman holds up a linear motif that resembles a standard or spear with a flag attached. The subject stands in opposition to S2_L33_C3b.**Placement:** Unfixed.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2001: 320 (fig. 10.3); 2020b: 423 (fig. 15).**Inventory No:** S2_L33_C3b**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** horseback rider**Theme:** martial competition**Age (est.):** PP/EHP**Arrangement:** paired**Dimensions:** 11 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat425**Comments:** Not too much of this horseman has survived, but it appears to have the same aspect as S2_L33_C3a.**Placement:** To right of S2_L33_C3a.**Inventory No:** S2_L33_C4**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** dharm wheel**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat426**Comments:** Like much of the rock art dating to the Late Historic period, this subject was crudely drawn.**Placement:** Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L33_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: dharma wheel	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat427

Comments: Like much of the rock art dating to the Late Historic period, this subject was drawn in a cursory fashion.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L33_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a quadruped.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L33_C7a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 8 cm	Image ref: Cat428

Comments: The subject, arms akimbo, stands in close proximity to another anthropomorph. The pigment of the four subjects of the composition has been heavily degraded, effacing details. The figures appear to be depicted carrying out some type of orchestrated activity.
Placement: Unfixed.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 324 (fig. 10.10).

Inventory No: S2_L33_C7b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 10 cm	Image ref: Cat428

Comments: The subject is heavily obscured; it appears to have at least one arm partially raised. It forms a pair with S2_L33_C7a.
Placement: To right of S2_L33_C7a.

Inventory No: S2_L33_C7c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 7 cm	Image ref: Cat428

Comments: The legs of the subject appear to be bare. It forms a second pair with S2_L33_C7d.
Placement: To right of S2_L33_C7b.

Inventory No: S2_L33_C7d

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 6.5 cm	Image ref: Cat428

Comments: The subject may possibly be holding something in one hand.
Placement: To right of S2_L33_C7c.

Inventory No: S2_L33_C17b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: martial competition

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 11 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat437

Comments: The horseman holds up a linear motif that resembles a standard or spear, having the same aspect as its counterpart.

Placement: To right of S2_L33_C17a.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 320 (fig. 10.2); 2020b: 421 (fig. 12).

Escarpment wall

Inventory No: S2_L33_C18a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: martial competition

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat438

Comments: The horseman is depicted holding up a thick, linear motif with both hands. The forward portion of the subject has been obliterated, with the loss of the stone surface on which it was painted. It stands in opposition to S2_L33_C18b.

Placement: Near base of formation, c. 2 m to left (east) of Zhwa dmar phug.

Reference(s): Soman Wangdu 1994: 143 (fig. 177); Bellezza 2020b: 422 (fig. 13).

Inventory No: S2_L33_C18b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: martial competition

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat438

Comments: The horseman is depicted holding up a thick, linear motif with both hands. The forward portion of the subject has been obliterated, with the loss of the stone surface on which it was painted.

Placement: To left of S2_L33_C18a.

Sgrol ma phug (S2_L34)

Sgrol ma phug is named after the most celebrated savioress in Tibetan Buddhism. There are supposed to be 21 different self-manifested images of this goddess on the cave walls (Bellezza: 1997a: 183). Sgrol ma phug is situated near the northeast end of the Bkra shis do chung formation. Like adjoining Zhwa dmar phug (S2_L33), the content of rock art here is strongly aligned with nearby Bkra shis do chen (S1). 122 red ochre and black pigment subjects have been inventoried here, the largest number of pictographs in a single parietal structure of Bkra shis do. Almost 90% of the rock art in Sgrol ma phug is on the long rear wall (measuring c. 4.5 m × 2 m) of the cave. Unlike other loci at Bkra shis do chung that have a preponderance of rock art dating to the Historic era, the largest chronological category



Figure 111. Sgrol ma phug (S2_L34).



Figure 112. This large pile of stones is called Sdig pa'i khur bo bab sa rdo phug (Stone Heap of the Landing Place of the Load of Sins). This pile was created by pilgrims carrying stones from Sdig bshags phug (Confession of Sins cave), which is on the opposite end of the north side of the Bkra shis do chung formation, in an effort to purge themselves of sin (Bellezza 1997a: 183).

of pictographs (46 subjects) is assigned to the Protohistoric period. An additional 43 subjects are each dated to the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods. 27 subjects are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, four to the Late Historic period, and two to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. Only a representative selection of rock art attributed to the Late Historic period has been surveyed in S2_L34 for comparative purposes. Numerous other examples exist in the interstices between older rock art. The content of this locus reflects the average greater age of rock art in Sgrol ma phug; it being heavy in game animals (wild yaks, cervids, and wild sheep) and anthropomorphs and riders, including hunters and warriors. There are several compositions in Sgrol ma phug dating, or possibly dating to, the Protohistoric period that pertain to more overtly religious and mythic themes, highly valuable additions to the pictographic record. Encounters that once took place between the Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious traditions make up much of the rock art of the Historic era in the cave.

Right section of the rear wall of the cave

Inventory No: S2_L34_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 113

Comments: The subject consists of a curved line with a diamond-shaped motif at one end.
Placement: Extreme right side of rear wall.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 16 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat439

Comments: The subject may possibly portray an equid.
Placement: To left of and below S2_L34_C1, at an appreciable distance, in middle tier of rear wall.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 146 (fig. 184).

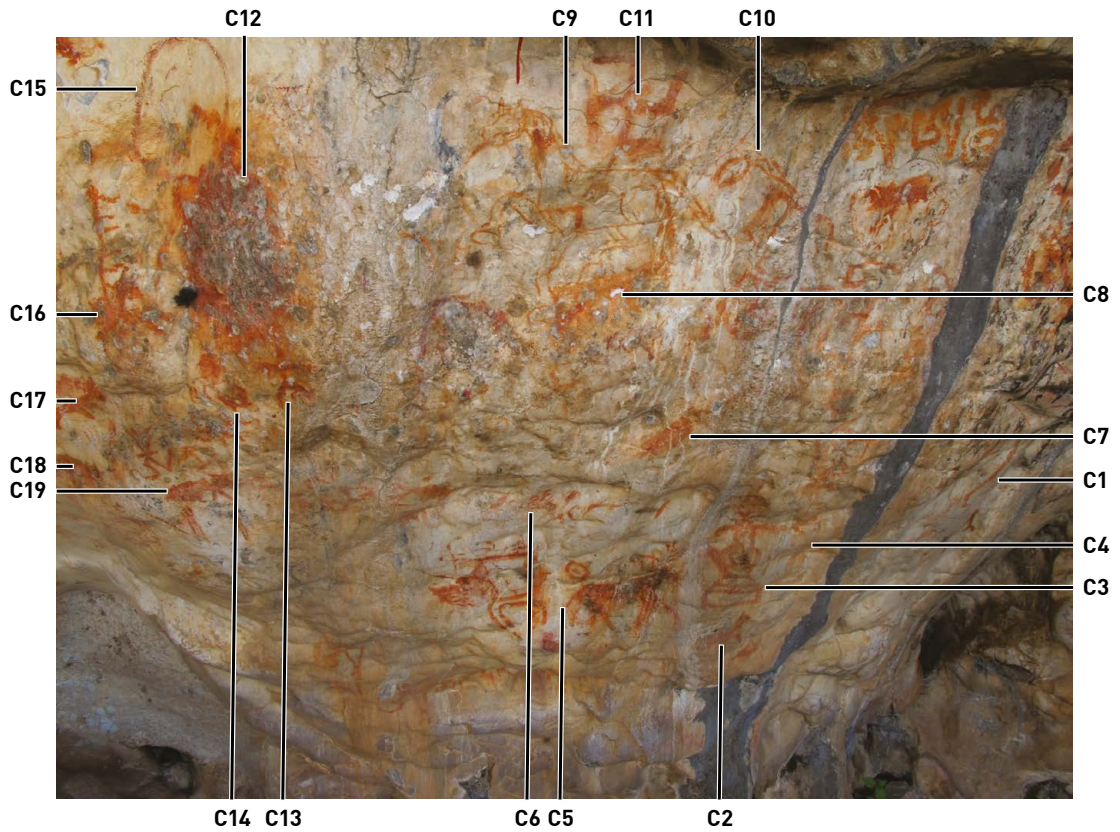


Figure 113. Locations of rock art in the outer section of the left wall of S2_L34.



Figure 114. The right section of the rear wall of the cave. S2_L34_C1 is in the middle part of the far-right side of the photograph, S2_L34_C2 to S2_L34_C5 are on the lower right side, S2_L34_C9 to S2_L34_C11 are on the upper middle-right side, while S2_L34_C12 to S2_L34_C24 are clustered on the upper left side of the image. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the visibility of the pictographs.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C24

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject(s) consists of curvilinear lines.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C23.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C25

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is tree-like in form.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C24.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C26

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat450

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C20, near top of rear wall.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 321 (fig. 10.5); 2020b: 463 (fig. 113).

Central section of the rear wall of the cave

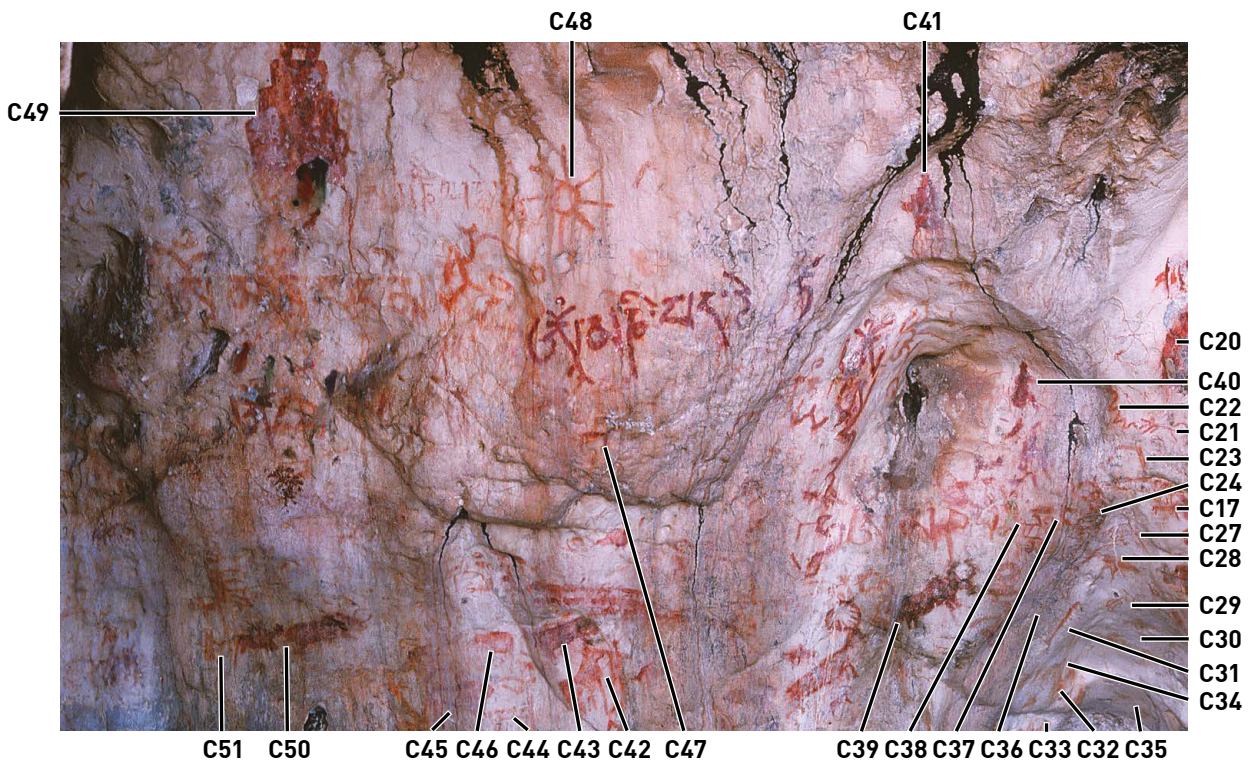


Figure 115. Locations of rock art in the central section of the rear wall of S2_L34.

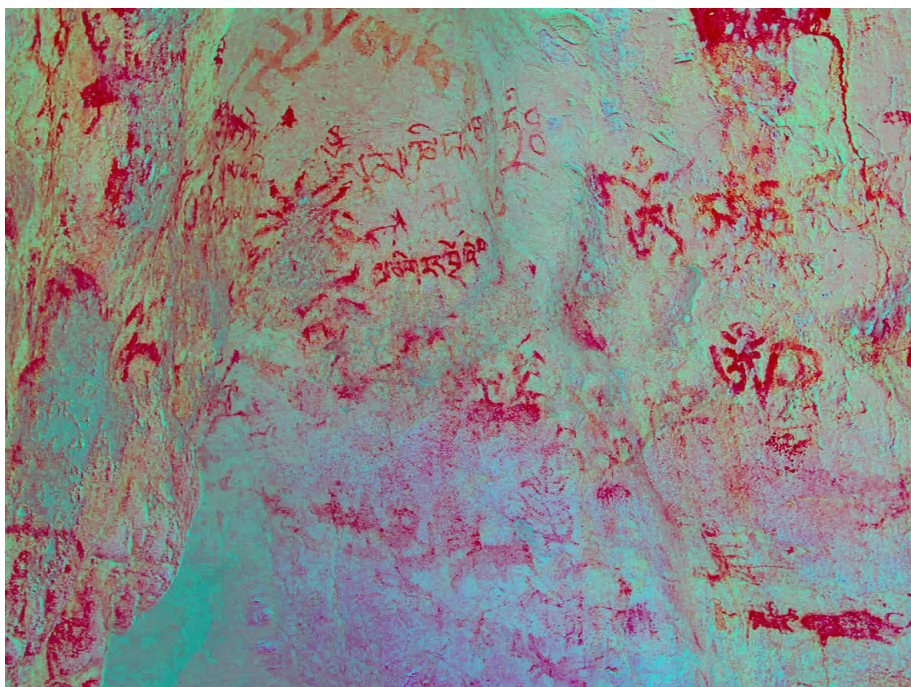


Figure 116. A portion of the rock art of the central and left sections of the rear wall of S2_L34. The image has been digitally enhanced.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C27

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat451

Comments: The subject may possibly depict a stag.
Placement: To left of and below S2_L34_C16, on right edge of central section of right wall.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C28

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: cervid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat451

Comments: With its branched horns, the subject represents a stag.
Placement: Below S2_L34_C27 and left of S2_L34_C18.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C29a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 9 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat452

Comments: The subject is a crested raptor with arm-like wings and a bi-triangular body. One of its arms merges with the head of the paired anthropomorph (S2_L34_C27b), as if it is leading the human figure.
Placement: Below S2_L34_C28, in recess on right edge of central section of right wall.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 144 (fig. 180); Bellezza 1997a: 184 (fig. 6); 2008: 175 (fig. 309); 2013a: 39 (fig. 3). In all of these works this important composition is likened to a celestial burial, or passage to the afterlife, with the assistance of an avian psychopomp.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C29b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 9 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat452

Comments: The subject is depicted in a supine position, as if suspended in mid-air.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C29a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C30a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat453
Comments: The horseman is aiming/shooting a bow and arrow. The rider seems to have a feather, or some other object, on top of its head.
Placement: Below S2_L34_C29.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 146 (fig. 185).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C30b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 9c m (h) **Image ref:** Cat453
Comments: The subject may represent an antelope.
Placement: To right of and below S2_L34_C30a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C30c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat453
Comments: The horseman is grasping the reins; the saddle on his mount appears also to be depicted.
Placement: To left of and below S2_L34_C30a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C30d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat453
Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild sheep and may be shown bleeding from the mouth.
Placement: To right of and below S2_L34_C28c.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C31

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The subject consists of a thick, vertical line with a series of thin perpendicular lines along its upper half.
Placement: To left of and below S2_L34_C29b.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C32a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** martial competition **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat454
Comments: The horseman is armed with two linear motifs, with hooked ends, which seem to portray spears with flags attached. This composition appears to portray a battle scene involving two differently equipped contingents.
Placement: To left of and below S2_L34_C30c.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 144 (fig. 181); Bellezza 1997a: 186 (fig. 7); 2020b: 414 (fig. 1).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C32b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 10 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat454

Comments: The subject appears to be attired in a long, bulky robe. One of his arms is raised to his head and in the other hand he brandishes a linear object with two hooked ends that is oriented vertically.

Placement: Below S2_L34_C32a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C32c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat454

Comments: The horseman holds up a linear motif with an elaborate linear extension (unless this extension is in actuality a separate subject).

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C32a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C32d

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat454

Comments: The horseman is represented aiming/releasing an arrow.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C32c.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C32e

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 5 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat454

Comments: This now almost headless subject appears to wear a voluminous robe and is aiming/releasing an arrow in the direction of S2_L34_C32c.

Placement: Below S2_L34_C32d.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C32f

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 9 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat454

Comments: The subject is attired in a long, waisted robe and wields a linear motif reminiscent of a club.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_32d.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C33

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject consists of a circle joined to a horizontally oriented line with two shorter vertical lines intersecting its midsection. To the left of the subject there is a Tibetan red ochre inscription that reads *Om* [A].

Placement: Below S2_L34_32c.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C34

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat454, Cat455

Comments: The subject appears to represent an equid.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C32c and S2_L34_C32d.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C35a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat456

Comments: The horseman is displaying what appears to be a hunting bird. Examples of falconry in the rock art of Upper Tibet are rare.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C32.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C35b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 2.5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat456

Comments: With its long, V-shaped horns, the subject resembles an antelope.
Placement: To right of and below S2_L34_C35a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C35c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat456

Comments: The subject, a hunting hound, has gaping jaws and is chasing S2_L34_C33d.
Placement: To the left of and below S2_L34_C35a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C35d

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: cervid	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat456

Comments: The barbed horns of the subject identify it as a stag.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C35c.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C36

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject consists of a group of about ten mostly intersecting horizontal and vertical lines. Below the subject there is another group minor linear subjects of no definite form that were drawn in red ochre and a black pigment, which date to the Late Historic period (NIS).
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C31.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C37

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The subject appears to be a highly obscured, counter-clockwise swastika.
Placement: To left of and above S2_L34_C36.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C38

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The lineaments of this damaged subject(s) have not been ascertained.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C37.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C39a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat457
Comments: A black pigment application became merged with the tail of the subject.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C36.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 143 (fig. 179); Bellezza 2002b: 369 (fig. 14).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C39b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: cervid **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat457
Comments: This stag has a rectangular body and well-formed antlers.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C37a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C39c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat457
Comments: The horseman appears to be grasping something with one hand.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C39b.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C39d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: wild sheep **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat457
Comments: The subject appears to represent either a blue sheep or an argali. It is one of three major traditional game animals of the region that appears in the composition.
Placement: Below S2_L34_C39b.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C40

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat458

Comments: The head, surmounted by a round motif, the robed-body, and the arms of the subject are discernible. It may possibly be shown seated. Between the subject and S2_L34_C39, and to the left of S2_L34_C27, there are several red ochre pigment applications of no obvious pictorial significance (NIS).

Placement: To left of and above S2_L34_C39a, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C41

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI

Comments: Much of the right side of the subject has worn away.

Placement: To left of and above S2_L34_C40, at an appreciable distance, near top of rear wall.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 42 (fig. 10v), in which the subject is misattributed to Stong shong phug (S9).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C42a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 25 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat459

Comments: The subject appears to have ray-like lines extending from the head and may possibly be holding a bow. There is a red ochre pigment application to the right of the subject that does not appear to be of any pictorial significance (NIS).

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C39b, at an appreciable distance.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 145 (fig. 182); Bellezza 1997a: 186 (fig. 8).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C42b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 13 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat459

Comments: The subject may represent a kneeling anthropomorph.

Placement: Below and merging with S2_L34_C42a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C42c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 19 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat459

Comments: The subject seems to have the form of a yak, but no horns are visible. The standing anthropomorph (S2_L34_C42a) appears to extend an arm over the head of the subject. The theme of this composition is enigmatic: it could possibly portray the taming of livestock, ritual performance, a mythical event, or something entirely different

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C42a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C43

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat460

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild sheep.

Placement: Above S2_L34_C42c.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 145 (fig. 182).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C44

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 15 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat461

Comments: The subject may represent an antelope or wild yak.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C42c.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 145 (fig. 182); Bellezza 1997a: 186 (fig. 8).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C45

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild carnivore	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 115

Comments: With its large head, broad chest, and tail curling over the back, the subject is reminiscent of a lion. There are red ochre pigment applications to the left of the subject that do not appear to have any significant pictorial value.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C44.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C46

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 115

Comments: The pictorial value, if any, of the subject has not been determined.

Placement: Above S2_L34_C44.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C47

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 15 cm (h)	Image ref: Figure 115

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an antelope.

Placement: Above S2_L34_C43, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C48

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: sunburst	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 22 cm (d)	Image ref: Cat462

Comments: The subject appears to have been painted together with a Tibetan *Om*.

Placement: Above S2_L34_C47, at an appreciable distance, near top of rear wall.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 143 (fig. 178); Bellezza 2020b: 206 (fig. 10.173).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C49

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: stepped structure	Theme: sacred architecture	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 50 cm (v)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject has a spire with cross-pieces.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C48, at an appreciable distance, near top of rear wall.

Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 143 (fig. 178); Bellezza 1997a: 184 (fig. 4); 2020b: 46 (fig. 14i).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C50a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 32 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat463

Comments: The wild yak may be depicted with an arrow in its back.
Placement: To left of and above S2_L34_C45, at an appreciable distance.
Reference(s): Sonam Wangdu 1994: 145 (fig. 183); Bellezza 2002b: 362 (fig. 4).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C50b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 18 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat463

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C50a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C51a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 11 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat463

Comments: The subject wears what may be horned headgear and has two outstretched arms. This composition was made using an analogous technique and pigment as S2_L34_C50, and the two of them may possibly be thematically interrelated.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C49a.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 362 (fig. 4).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C51b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 10 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat463

Comments: The horns and wings of the subject identify it as a *khyung*.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C51a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C51c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: standard	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 40 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat463

Comments: The subject is a standard or flag divided into different parts and possibly with streamers too. A finial also appears to be depicted. The ensign joins the anthropomorph and bird of the composition in some kind of vertical hierarchy. The horns of the two biomorphs are another linking thematic element.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C49a and S2_L34_C49b.

Left section of the rear wall of the cave

Inventory No: S2_L34_C52

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 15 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat464

Comments: The subject holds up what is almost certainly a spear with a flag attached, and appears to have a large object in the other hand as well.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C51b.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 323 (fig. 10.9); 2020b: 459 (fig. 100).

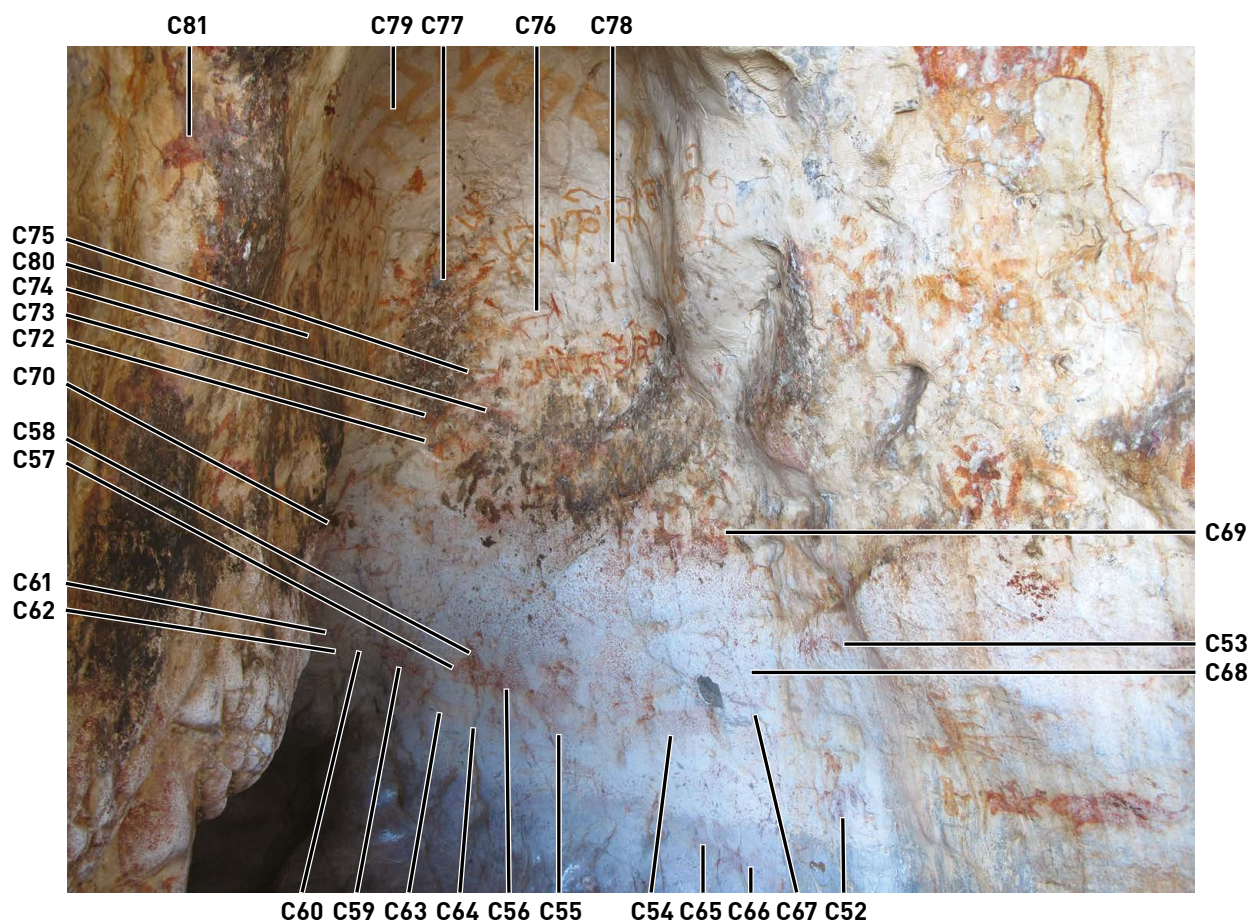


Figure 117. Locations of rock art on the left section of the rear wall of S2_L34.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C53

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: martial competition

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 14 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat465

Comments: The horseman holds up a vertical motif reminiscent of a polearm.

Placement: Above S2_L34_C52, at an appreciable distance.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2001: 319 (fig. 10.1); 2020b: 466 (fig. 120).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C54

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat466

Comments: The subject may possibly depict a stag. In addition to being highly eroded much of the head of the subject was destroyed, with the localized loss of the stone veneer covering the cave wall.

Placement: To left of and above S2_L34_C52.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C55

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat467

Comments: This urn-shaped subject may possibly represent a highly stylized anthropomorph.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C54.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C56

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat467, Cat468

Comments: The bell-shaped subject may possibly represent a highly stylized anthropomorph. There is a red ochre pigment application to the right of the subject, but photographic coverage is inadequate to assess it.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C55.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C57

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat467, Cat468

Comments: The subject resembles a wild yak. It is possible that this subject was made together with S2_L34_C54, but these pictographs are too highly degraded to ascertain their compositional affinities.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C56, and perhaps partially superimposed upon it.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C58

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat467, Cat468

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an anthropomorph.

Placement: Superimposed on S2_L34_C57.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C59

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: martial competition?	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 18 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat469

Comments: The horseman carries an upright motif that recalls a polearm. To the right of and below it is a red ochre pigment application for which photographic coverage is inadequate (NIS).

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C57.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C60a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: geometric	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 4 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat470

Comments: The subject consists of a modified triangle with a short line attached.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C59.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C60b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: geometric	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 3 cm (d)	Image ref: Cat470

Comments: The subject consists of a circle. Below the composition there is a horizontal line painted in red ochre (NIS).

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C60a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C61

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: equid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat470

Comments: The mane of the subject helps confirm its identity.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C60b, on left edge of left section of rear wall.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: BKRA SHIS DO CHUNG (S2)

Inventory No: S2_L34_C62

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: geometric	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat470

Comments: The subject, made using the crayon technique, consists of a chequerboard pattern.
Placement: Below S2_L34_C61.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C63

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 15 cm (h)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject could depict an equid. It may possibly have been made in conjunction with S2_L34_C57 and/or other proximate pictographs.
Placement: To right of and below S2_L34_C57.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C64

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: NI

Comments: Only the head and arms and a small portion of the torso of the subject are extant. There are other highly degraded red ochre pigment applications in the vicinity but photographic coverage is inadequate to assess them properly.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C63.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C65

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat471

Comments: The front of the subject is no longer extant.
Placement: Below S2_L34_C54.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C66

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider?	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 19 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat471

Comments: There is possibly a figure on the back of the animal, but the pigment application is highly ambiguous.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C65, and to left of S2_L34_C52, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C67

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 117

Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to assess the subject properly.
Placement: To right of and above S2_L34_C54.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C68

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 117

Comments: The subject is tree-like. Photographic coverage is inadequate to assess it properly.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C67 and to left of S2_L34_C53a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C69a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 117
Comments: The urn-shaped subject may possibly represent an anthropomorph,
Placement: Above S2_L34_C68.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C69b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 117
Comments: The urn-shaped subject may possibly represent an anthropomorph. The two subjects of this composition have a strong stylistic affinity with S2_L34_C55.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C69a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C70a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** 21 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat472
Comments: The horseman possesses a long standard, or spear with a flag attached.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C69b, at an appreciable distance, on left edge of left section of the rear wall.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 372 (fig. 18); 2020b: 466 (fig. 121).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C70b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** 29 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat472
Comments: Pigment and wear qualities suggest that the subject and S2_L34_C70a form an integral composition.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C70b, at an appreciable distance, on left edge of left section of the rear wall.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C71

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** martial theme **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 16 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat472
Comments: The horseman, made using the crayon technique, is armed with a bow and arrow; his mount is striped.
Placement: Below S2_L34_C70b.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C72

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 117
Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to fully assess the subject.
Placement: To right of and above L34_C70a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C73

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 117
Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to fully assess the subject.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C72.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: BKRA SHIS DO CHUNG (S2)

Inventory No: S2_L34_C74

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 117

Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to fully assess the subject.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C73.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C75

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 117

Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to fully assess the subject.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C74.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C76

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: LW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 117

Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to fully assess the subject.
Placement: To right of and above S2_L34_C75.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 208 (fig. 10.178).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C77

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: sunburst	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 117

Comments: In addition to being highly obscured, part of the subject has been effaced.
Placement: To left of S2_L34_C76.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C78

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 117

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To right of S2_L34_C76.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 208 (fig. 10.178).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C79

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat473

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C77, at an appreciable distance.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 208 (fig. 10.178).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C80a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat474

Comments: The subject has been obscured by the application an additional red ochre coat and butter offerings. There may possibly be proximate pictographs below this composition that are now obscured heavily.
Placement: Above S2_L34_C70, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C80b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat474

Comments: The subject consists of an oval with facial-like markings inside. It has been obscured by the application of an additional red ochre coat and butter offerings.

Placement: To right of S2_L34_C80a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C80c

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: cervid

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat475

Comments: The subject depicts an antlered stag whose body is ornamented with three circles. It has been obscured by the application of an additional red ochre coat and butter offerings.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C80a.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C80d

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 11cm (h)

Image ref: Cat475

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an equid.

Placement: To left of S2_L34_C80c.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C80e

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: flaming jewels?

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat475

Comments: The subject is cut in the photograph available.

Placement: To the left of S2_L34_C80d.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C80f

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: cervid

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 24cm (h)

Image ref: Cat475

Comments: The body of the subject is divided by lines into three parts.

Placement: To left of and above S2_L34_C80c.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C80g

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 28cm (h)

Image ref: Cat475

Comments: Most of this wild yak was been obscured by the application of butter offerings and appears to be damaged as a result.

Placement: Above S2_L34_C80f.

*Inner left wall of the cave***Inventory No:** S2_L34_C81**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** cervid**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** PP/EHP**Arrangement:** composite?**Dimensions:** 30cm (h)**Image ref:** Figure 117**Comments:** Most of this stag has been obscured by the application of butter offerings and appears to be damaged as a result.**Placement:** To the left of S2_L34_C79, at an appreciable distance.*Right wall of cave***Inventory No:** S2_L34_C82**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** partially silhouetted**Condition:** MW/HW**Subject:** stepped structure**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat476**Comments:** The subject was painted with an ill-defined base, round vase and a branched finial.**Placement:** To right of and below S2_L34_C1, at an appreciable distance.**Inventory No:** S2_L34_C83**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** horseback rider**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** PP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat477**Comments:** The horseman has two small linear projections on top of its head. He is equipped with a bow and arrow and a very long vertical motif (likely to represent a standard or flag with spear attached).**Placement:** To right of and below S2_L82.**Inventory No:** S2_L34_C84**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** horseback rider**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** PP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** 7 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat478**Comments:** The horseman has a linear projection on top of its head (a plume?) and is equipped with a bow and arrow and a very long vertical motif (likely to represent a standard or flag with spear attached).**Placement:** To right S2_L83.**Inventory No:** S2_L34_C85**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** bird**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat479**Comments:** With its spread wings and wide tail, the subject appears to depict a raptor in flight.**Placement:** To right of S2_L34_C84, at an appreciable distance.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2002b: 387 (fig. 42).**Inventory No:** S2_L34_C86**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** bird-man**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 10 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat480**Comments:** The subject has the legs and round head of an anthropomorph and the wings of a bird.**Placement:** To right of and above S2_L34_C85, at an appreciable distance.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2000b: 45 (fig. 14).

Uncategorized placement

Inventory No: S2_L34_C87

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: equid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 12 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat481

Comments: Made using the crayon technique.
Placement: Unfixed. Left section of rear wall?

Inventory No: S2_L34_C88

Type: picto, BP	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat482

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C89

Type: picto, BP	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: martial competition	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat483

Comments: The subject has widely spread horns and a rectangular body. It may possibly depict a wild sheep or wild yak.
Placement: Unfixed.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 379 (fig. 27).

Inventory No: S2_L34_C90

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat484

Comments: The subject is depicted with either exaggeratedly large hands or it is holding objects in each.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S2_L34_C91

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat485

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild ungulate. Its ostensible horns may be cut in the available photograph.
Placement: Unfixed.



Figure 118. A non-Buddhist swastika and inscription in a rock shelter on Do ring.



Figure 119. The ruined rock shelter that contains the inscription and rock art at Do ring.

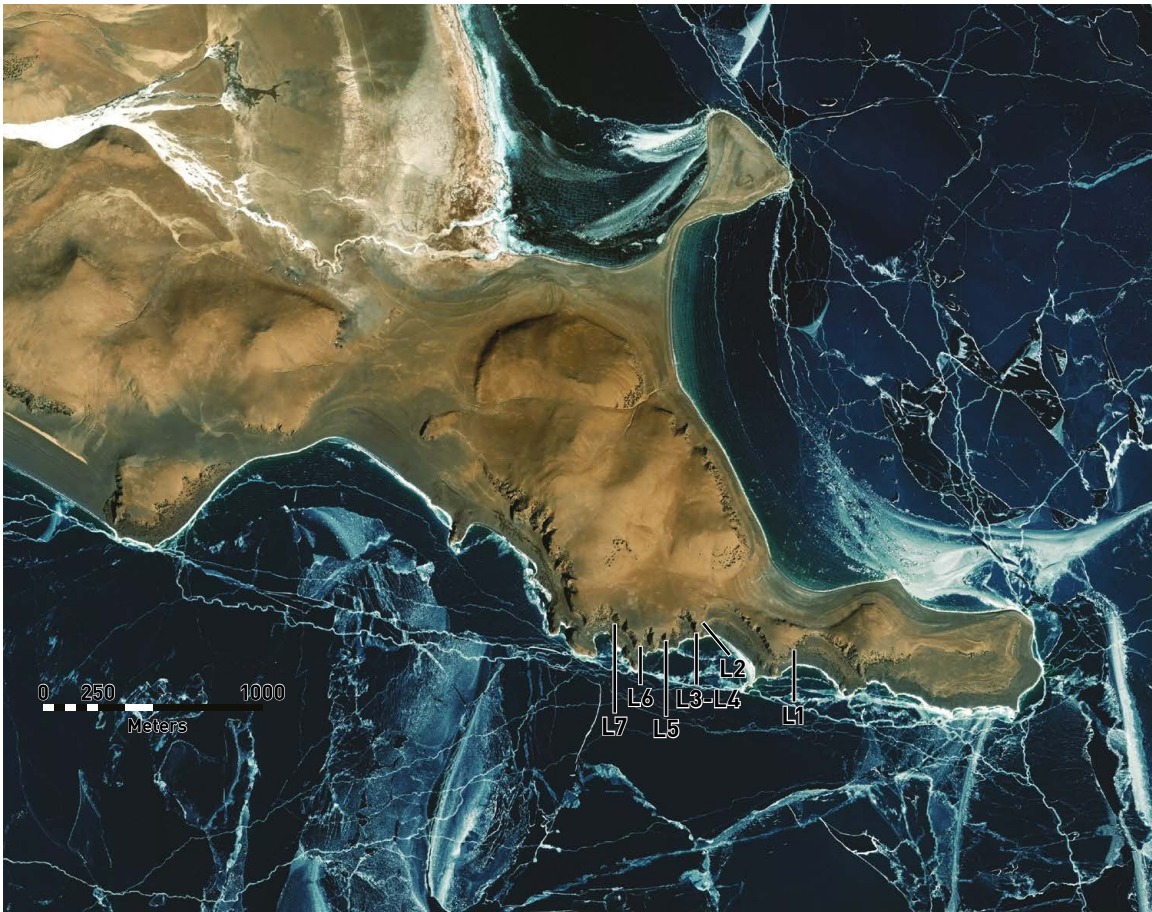
Do ring

Opposite Bkra shis do, on the north side of Gnam mtsho, there is a narrow headland, 10 km in length, named Do ring (Long Headland). Near the end of this headland there are the remains of ancient rock shelters.¹ On a boulder in the rear of one of these structures there is a counter-clockwise swastika accompanied by a non-Buddhist mantric inscription that reads: [A Om] *hung ram dza* (Figure 118). The inscription and pictograph were painted using a black pigment and appear to date to either the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. According to local folklore, these pigment applications were magically self-formed.

¹ On this site, see Bellezza 1997a: 271, 272.

Rta mchog ngang pa do (S3)

Surveys conducted in 1997, 2008, and 2012



Map 7. The rock art loci of Rta mchog ngang pa do (S3). Although the positions of the loci of the site have been GPS verified, they should be viewed as approximate.

Rta mchog ngang pa do (S3) is a long headland that juts into the middle of the north side of Gnam mtsho, one of the Eighteen Sunlit Headlands and Islands in the sacred geographic tradition of the lake. This headland, formed from limestone, extends nearly 3 km into Gnam mtsho. It is named after the ‘excellent horse’ (*rta mchog*), which designates a mythical steed (and real ones too) that are endowed with great speed. The horse referred to has an orangish coat, which in Tibet is described as coloured like the goose (*ngang pa*).¹ Rta mchog ngang pa do is situated at 4740–4470 m above mean sea level. It is home to various parietal structures (shallow caves, recesses, overhangs), which harbour the site’s rock art and ruins. These built structures and rock art are all on the south side of the headland. As per the local sacred geographic tradition, the Vajrayāna (Rdo rje theg pa) hero Gu ru rin po che is supposed to have visited Rta mchog ngang pa in the late 8th century AD. According to the highly respected lay practitioner (*sngags pa*), Blo bzang chos ’grub, who resided at the site until his death in the mid 2000s, it was Mi la ras pa who brought Buddhism to the headland in the 11th century AD, having wrested control of it from the *bon po*. Indeed, Buddhist saints who visited Gnam mtsho in the 11th–13th centuries AD exerted a strong religious influence on the region. These luminaries played a crucial role in the transition from occupation by non-Buddhists to the full establishment of Buddhist doctrinal and ecclesiastic foundations at Gnam mtsho.

Rock art at Rta mchog ngang pa do is found in seven loci on the southside of the headland, all of which are shallow caves. These caves and others like them are located at the base of the limestone headland. No rock art dating to the Late Prehistoric era has been documented here. 45 pictographs have been inventoried on the headland. 28–32

¹ On the sacred geographic traditions connected to Rta mchog ngang pa do, see Bellezza 1997a: 262, 263.



Figure 120. Rta mchog ngang pa do (S3) as seen from the east.



Figure 121. Rta mchog ngang pa do (S3) as viewed from the north.

of these subjects are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, while 13–17 of them are dated to the Late Historic period. The discrepancy in the attributed chronological values reflects uncertainties in the dating of this rock art. Like Bkra shis do (S1, S2), the pictographs and epigraphs of Rta mchog ngang pa do document encounters between Buddhists and non-Buddhists that took place all around Gnam mtsho. Nonetheless, the majority of these drawings and writings are non-Buddhist in character, reflecting the well-established status of earlier religious traditions at Gnam mtsho and on the Eastern Byang thang more broadly. Rta mchog ngang pa do has the highest proportion of pictographs made with white mineral pigments at Gnam mtsho; their usage being uncommon in the rock art of Upper Tibet.



Figure 122. An old dwarf juniper tree (*Juniperus pingii* var. *wilsonii*) clinging to the Rta mchog ngang pa do formation. These junipers grow in highly sheltered spots around the headland. The largest trunks are around 30 cm in diameter, representing several centuries of growth.



Figure 123. The sacred mountain Gnyan chen thang lha as seen from Rta mchog ngang pa do. This tallest mountain in the Transhimalayan range of the Eastern Byang thang is situated on the opposite (south) side of Gnam mtsho. In Tibetan mythology and religion, the lake and mountain form an archetypal couple and are tantric consorts.

Recently occupied caves residences (about six of them) are situated on the northwest end of Rta mchog ngang pa do. Local Buddhist nuns and lay practitioners have resided in this cluster of caves over the centuries. In addition to its rock art and epigraphy, the older history is manifested in a sky burial site and the remains of cave shelters and other ruins that dot the extremely rugged headland. These structures were constituent parts of a much more extensive habitational infrastructure that existed in ancient times. This nucleus of early settlement is concentrated on the south side of Rta mchog ngang pa do. Not only is the south side of the headland endowed with caves and other parietal structures, it enjoys optimum solar exposure, which is crucial in the frigid climate of the Byang thang.

What appears to have been the most important ancient monument at Rta mchog ngang pa do, or at least its most dramatically situated, is not ensconced in a cave. Rather it stands atop a pyramidal formation offset from the backbone of the headland. This evocative topographic feature is one of two pyramidal formations rising c. 50 m

directly above Gnam mtsho and which are separated from one another by a narrow inlet (Figure 124). These twin formations are likened to the ears of the mythic horse embodied by Rta mchog ngang pa do. What appears to have been a residential complex comprised of two structures occupies the summit of the northwest 'horse's ear' (30.8335 N / 90.667333 E; Figure 125). Access to it is by way of a shaft not more than 1 m in width and 3.5 m in height, which is situated on the east side of the natural rock pyramid (Figure 126). Embedded in it are the scant remains of a stone staircase, now forcing one to exploit the most minimal of footholds to reach the summit. The top of the shaft is linked to a narrow, level passageway (4 m in length) situated in a fissure in the formation. The far (west) side of this passageway has a view onto the lake. There is another opening overlooking the east side of the formation, which is barricaded by an old stone wall, and a smaller wall fragment above it. Built of local chunks of limestone, these masonry walls may have had a defensive function. The stairs along the path leading up to the summit from the level passageway have been destroyed, forcing one to scale the walls of the horse's ear. Emerging from the bowls of the formation, the steeply sloping summit of the horse's ear is reached (inclined at an approximately 30° angle; Figure 127).

The highly degraded building complex was conspicuously sited on the northwest edge of the summit of the horse's ear, the most exposed but best vantage point. According to the local oral tradition, these ruins, as well as the headland more generally, were once occupied by the *bon po*. This historical attribution is accurate, in that the rock art and epigraphy of Rta mchog ngang pa do is largely non-Buddhist in composition. We must also keep in mind that archaic residential sites commanding lofty positions around holy lakes constituted a well-hewn pattern of elite settlement in Upper Tibet (Bellezza 2008: 575, 576). The coveted geomantic and defensive qualities of the site were not lost on the builders. The central geographic position of Rta mchog ngang pa do, combined with the eminence of the horse's ear, afforded the building complex encompassing views of Gnam mtsho and expansive vistas in most other directions too. Furthermore, the chosen site is easily defensible, adding to its overall desirability. The placement of buildings in such an exclusive location strongly suggests that it once served an elite function. However, it is not clear from an appraisal of the paltry remains whether it housed high-ranking members of society (such as priests and/or political leaders) or was constructed simply as a temple or shrine. These two occupancy scenarios, however, are not mutually exclusive.

The larger of the two carcasses making up the complex on the horse's ear consists of an L-shaped structure (overall dimensions: 7.4 m × 9.3 m) split into two levels (Figures 128-131) [use long hyphen]. Its infilled double-coursed, random-rubble texture walls were neatly constructed of raw and roughly hewn limestone blocks, 10–60 cm in length. The seams in the walls are engorged with highly impacted clay-based mortar and are between 45–55 cm in thickness. The walls sustain growths of orange climax lichen in places. The extant height of the walls and their manner of construction indicate that the main structure was probably roofed. The plumb spans of the walls, perpendicular alignment of the corners, and the relatively light construction suggest that any such roofs were composed of perishable materials or wooden rafters (not by stone corbels and bridging stones, as is found further west in Upper Tibet). As the dwarf junipers that grow on the headland do not provide adequate length timbers, any permanent roofing materials for the edifice must have been transported from outside the area. Typically, rounds of poplar from lower-lying regions are used as rafters in many places in Tibet. The lower level of the main structure (5.5 m × 4.6 m) contained a single room or chamber. It has been mostly reduced to its revetment and wall footings. The longer forward wall of the lower level has a current maximum exterior height of 1.6 m, but it is only 60 cm (v) on the inside, the vertical difference being accounted for by a revetment that functioned to level out the building site. The side walls of the main structure have been reduced to 40 cm or less in height. The upper tier of the main structure measures 9.3 m (south and north sides) by 2.8 m (west side) by 4.6 m (east side). It contained two rooms (east and west), which are separated from one another by a passageway that is c. 1 m in width. The upper east room and the lower-level room are also divided by an equally wide gap. Thus, the three rooms of the edifice were linked to each other by an L-shaped open passage or an enclosed corridor. The rear or upper wall of the edifice is 9.3 m in length and is now between 60–80 cm high on the exterior face and 80 cm and 1.3 m high on the interior side. There is another ancient carcass on the very apex of the same horse's ear, c. 8 m higher in elevation than the main structure (Figure 132). This upper structure has a quadrat plan (4.8 m × 6.7 m). All that is left of it is a revetment which projects a maximum of 1 m above the summit. It appears to have been divided into two parts by a wall. As the upper structure is so heavily deteriorated, it could not be determined whether it was designed for residential use or exclusively for ceremonial/ritual purposes. Small cairns line the upper structure, illustrating how the sacred status of the Rta mchog ngang pa do has been maintained until modern times.

East of the horse's ears, along the south side of Rta mchog ngang pa do, there is a series of shallow caves, at least eight of which were modified by various types of stone walls, so as to function as habitations and/or ceremonial



Figure 124. The two conical formations at Rta mchog ngang pa do which are said to be the ears of the horse (middle of the image). The ancient building complex is on the summit of the northwest (right) ear.



Figure 125. The building complex on the summit of the northwest horse's ear, as seen from the base of the formation. In the middle of the summit there is the lower structure and on the left side of the summit there is the smaller upper structure.



Figure 126. The entrance to the shaft with a stone staircase can be seen at the base of the two halves of the formation. An open passageway is located below the gap that divides the two parts of the formation. The lower or main summit structure is visible on the left portion of the summit.

venues. Five of these anthropogenically modified caves also boast rock art and Tibetan inscriptions, which reveal that these cliff shelters were once exploited by non-Buddhist inhabitants of the region before devolving to Buddhist adherents. Along with the ruins on the horse's ear and the group of caves recently used by anchorites, the more remote cave shelters on the south side of the headland furnish us with a picture of the cultural and demographic

Figure 127. The building complex atop the horse's ear, with the vast expanse of Gnam mtsho surrounding it on three sides. This photograph was taken from the heights of the backbone of the headland. The L-shaped main structure is on the middle-right side of the summit while the upper structure is on the far-left side.



Figure 128. The horse's ear lower/main structure, a complex of small buildings or rooms as viewed from the east.



Figure 129. The horse's ear lower structure as seen from the north side.



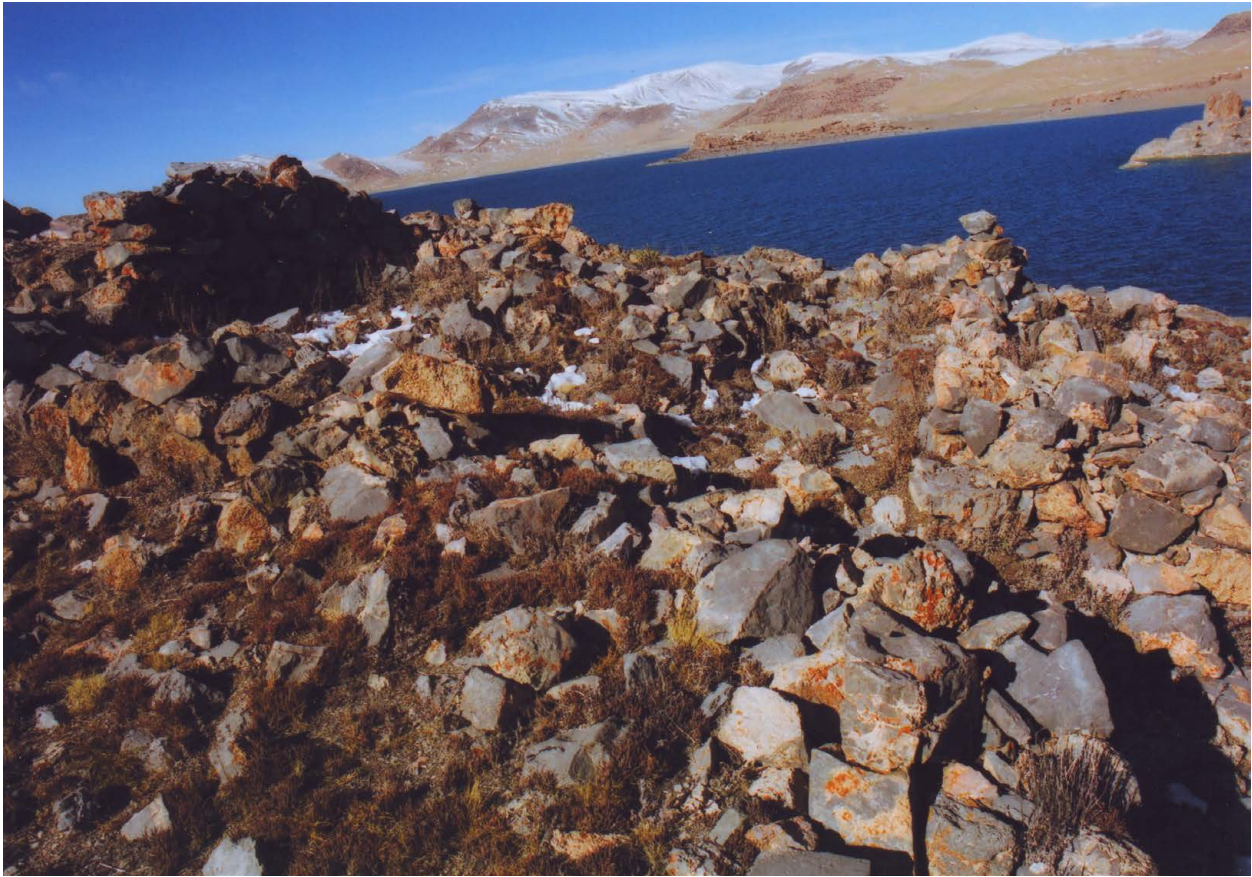


Figure 130. The lower tier and corridor or passageway (just below the standing wall on the upper left side) of the horse's ear lower structure.



Figure 131. The upper tier of the horse's ear lower structure as viewed from above or to the south.

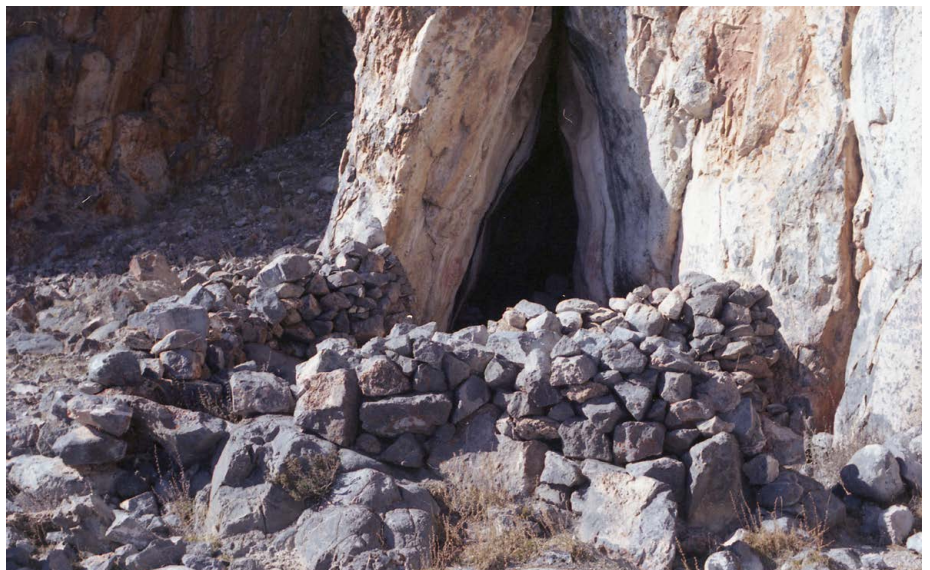
Figure 132. The upper structure on the horse's ear at Rta mchog ngang pa do.



Figure 133. The vestiges of an ancient cave shelter on the rocky spine of the headland opposite the horse's ears formations. Impacted rubble heaped up to around 3 m in height barricade the mouth of a small cave. Massively built wall fragments (70 cm thick) have survived, confirming the anthropogenic character of the remains. It is not known if the caves at Rta mchog ngang pa do with façades and other structures functioned as habitations or as venues for ritual and ceremonial activities. However both scenarios seem likely.



Figure 134. Another ancient cave shelter at Rta mchog ngang pa do. Flanking the mouth of this shallow but tall cave are the remains of a heavily built façade (70 cm thick) that has been reduced to 1.5 m or less in height. This forward structure appears to have once supported an anteroom or enclosure.



importance of Rta mchog ngang pa do during an archaic cultural phase of occupation, which probably began in the Late Prehistoric era and continued into the Early Historic period.



Figure 135. S3_L1. Note the remains of the masonry façade and the built niche in the rear of the cave.

S3_L1

This locus is a shallow and narrow cave that has been structurally modified by a façade, an internal partition wall, and a masonry niche in the rear. It is situated on the southeast end of the headland. Buddhist mantras accompanied by representations of butter lamps have been nicely carved into the cave walls. Seven red ochre subjects were inventoried in this locus, four of which form a Buddhist symbolic composition that dates to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. The other three subjects are non-Buddhist swastikas, each of which is assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

Inventory No: S3_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: On rear wall of cave.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 216 (fig. 10.199).

Inventory No: S3_L1_C2a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat486

Comments: This clockwise swastika has dots between each of the four arms. The swastika is also surrounded by nine smaller dots.
Placement: On rear wall of cave.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 213 (fig. 10.190).

Inventory No: S3_L1_C2b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: crescent **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat486
Comments: Accompanying subjects indicate that this represents a crescent moon.
Placement: To right of and above S3_L2_C2a.

Inventory No: S3_L1_C2c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: dots **Theme:** symbolic? **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat486
Comments: The subject consists of six small circles oriented in columns.
Placement: To right of S3_L1_C2a.

Inventory No: S3_L1_C2d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: sunburst **Theme:** symbolic? **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat486
Comments: The rays of the sun are curved and there is a dot in the middle.
Placement: To left of S3_L1_C2a.

Inventory No: S3_L1_C3

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat487
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed. In or around the cave.

Inventory No: S3_L1_C4

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat488
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed. In or around the cave. A little east of S3_L1 there is a small cave with a ruined façade.

S3_L2



Figure 136. S3_L2. The larger grey stones in the foreground appear to have formed outer structures (including a façade) around the overhang in the cliff face, which can clearly be seen in the middle of the image. The smaller reddish stones in the background are part of structures that were subsequently modified for pastoralist use. S3_L2 appears to have been a locus of substantial construction and residential activity, as part of an archaic cultural occupation.

S3_L2 is a large, east-facing overhang that shelters the remains of walls that local luminaries believe once formed a *bon* residential complex. The wall that encloses the overhang spans 15 m and on its inner side there are several room partitions. All walls are now highly degraded but individual segments still reach up to 1.9 m in height. Some mud plaster still clings to the interior walls. The degradation of the ruins is in part due to their transformation into a pastoralist facility that included corrals. These must have been constructed with stones extracted from the old cliff shelter. The extant structural evidence indicates that the overhang once hosted a substantial residential complex. In local geographic lore a small recess in the rear wall of the overhang is said to be the body print of an archetypal female, and into which female pilgrims back up to receive a blessing. At a distance of 1.5 m there is larger recess in the cliff face into which males back up. Five symbolic subjects were inventoried in these two afore-mentioned recesses, all of which date to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. Four of these pictographs form an integral composition. Three subjects in this composition were painted using multi-coloured mineral pigments. Polychrome rock art is very uncommon in Upper Tibet and has been recorded only on the Eastern Byang thang. The symbols painted in S3_L2 were created by a non-Buddhist painter(s).

Inventory No: S3_L2_C1a**Type:** picto, RO/WP/BGP**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** flaming jewels**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** 25 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat489, Cat490**Comments:** The subject was well rendered using a multi-coloured palette.**Placement:** A small recess in rear wall of overhang associated with females.**Reference(s):** 2020b: 212 (fig. 10.187).

Inventory No: S3_L2_C1b

Type: picto, YO, WP and BGP

Subject: swastika

Arrangement: composite

Mode: silhouetted

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: 20 cm (v)

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat489

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika was painted on a yellow ochre ground and was outlined using a blue-grey mineral pigment.

Placement: Above S3_L2_C1a.



Figure 137. The rock art panel of S3_L2_C1.

Inventory No: S3_L2_C1c

Type: picto, RO/YO/WP

Subject: swastika

Arrangement: composite

Mode: silhouetted

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: 19 cm (v)

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat489

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika was painted on a yellow ochre ground and was outlined using red ochre.

Placement: Below S3_L2_C1a.

Inventory No: S3_L2_C1d

Type: picto, WP and BGP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 11 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat489

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika was painted on a blue-grey ground.

Placement: To right of S3_L2_C1c.

Inventory No: S3_L2_C1e

Type: picto, YO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat489

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika is partially obliterated.

Placement: To left of S3_L1_C1c.

Inventory No: S3_L2_C2

Type: picto, YO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 37 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat491

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika is partially obliterated. Highly obscured minor yellow ochre pigment applications are found in the same recess (NIS).

Placement: A small recess in rear wall of overhang associated with males.

S3_L3

This locus is a relatively long and narrow cave. For inscriptions in this cave, see Bellezza 2020b: 214, 215 (fig. 194). Just one red ochre pictograph attributed to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods was inventoried here.

Inventory No: S3_L3_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat492

Comments: The unidentified subject resembles a cauldron with tripod legs.
Placement: Inside cave.

S3_L4

This locus is a relatively long narrow cave that appears to have once had a masonry façade. It is situated 5 m west of S3_L3. Only one subject is inventoried here.

Inventory No:

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): Unknown
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat493

Comments: The subject may in fact be a wild ungulate and joined by one or two other figures painted on a single panel.
Placement: In cave.

S3_L5

This locus consists of a pair of caves and the intervening cliff face, and spans c. 3 m. Both caves are enclosed by a massive façade wall (10.4 m long) that has been reduced to its footings. The east cave is 5.4 m in depth and the west cave 6.7 m. Both have low ceilings. In the west cave there is an illegible inscription written in a black consisting of some eight syllables. There are also Tibetan letters of the alphabet painted in black on the ceiling of this cave. 13 subjects painted in red ochre and white pigments was inventoried in the locus. Eleven of these are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods and comprise mainly symbolic and religious-themed compositions. There is also an anthropomorphic composition of two subjects that dates to the Late Historic period.



Figure 138. Innominate (S3_L5). The locus consists of the two caves and the rock bulwark between them.

East cave

Inventory No: S3_L5_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 120 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat494

Comments: The subject was painted with facial features and headgear and may possibly be shown in a sitting position. It appears to be a religious figure or possibly a deity. The lines of this large pictograph follow the various contours of the rock face, perhaps indicating that it highlights a self-formed image that was envisaged as appearing on the rock surface. To the left of the subject and extending to the mouth of the cave, red ochre pigment was applied over a wide area as a kind of paint (NIS).
Placement: West wall of east cave.

Inventory No: S3_L5_C7a

Type: picto, RO/WP **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 80 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat499

Comments: The subject was painted on a beige ground. The facial features of this large figure were clearly rendered. It also is characterized by a tall, pointed hat, what appears to be a long robe or skirt, and one raised arm. This pictograph may represent a rendering of a non-Buddhist religious adept or deity.

Placement: Right side of mouth of cave.

Inventory No: S3_L5_C7b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 10 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat499

Comments: The counter-clockwise swastika that embellishes the composition identifies it as having a non-Buddhist origin.

Placement: To right of and below head of S3_L5_C7a.

Inventory No: S3_L5_C8a

Type: picto, WP **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 8 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat499

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika was made next to the beige ground that S3_L5_C7 was painted on. Above the subject two long, curling lines emerge from underneath the beige ground, which suggests that other rock art is concealed underneath it (NIS).

Placement: To right of S3_L5_C7.

Inventory No: S3_L5_C8b

Type: picto, WP **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 7 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat499

Comments: This counter-clockwise swastika was made next to the beige ground that S3_L5_C7 was painted on.

Placement: Below S3_L5_C8a.

Inventory No: S3_L5_C9

Type: picto, WP **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat500

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To right of and above S3_L5_C7, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S3_L5_C10

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat500

Comments: This stepped structure has a multi-tiered lower section, longitudinally divided into two parts, a simple spire with two cross-pieces, and a forked finial, each prong of which is double curved. The style of the subject strongly suggests that it is a non-Buddhist depiction of a ceremonial monument. This stepped structure is not recorded in Bellezza 2020b.

Placement: To right of S3_L5_C9.

S3_L6

This locus is a relatively large cave where eight subjects have been inventoried. Seven of these are non-Buddhist religious symbols and architectural forms painted in red ochre, which are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The eighth subject is a religious portrait of the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S3_L6_C1

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The stepped shrine has a crescent-shaped finial.
Placement: Unfixed.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 39 (fig. 6d).

Inventory No: S3_L6_C2

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat501
Comments: The subject consists of nine or ten interconnected rectangles and triangles.
Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave.

Inventory No: S3_L6_C3

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat502
Comments: The subject has five vertical lines extending from the top of its head, which is suggestive of a tantric crown of five diadems (*rigs lnga*).
Placement: Above S3_L6_C2.

Inventory No: S3_L6_C4

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat503
Comments: The stepped shrine has a base of at least seven tiers and a round vase. It is not recorded in Bellezza 2020b.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S3_L6_C5

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat504
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S3_L6_C6

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat505
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S3_L6_C7

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat506

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S3_L6_C8

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat507

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed

S3_L7



Figure 139. S3_L7 with its massive front wall, which is 11 m long, 70 cm thick, and as much as 1.5 m in height. Inside this wall there are two internal partitions now reduced to 1.7 m and 2 m in length.

This locus is an overhang in the escarpment with a high ceiling, which was modified by a robustly constructed façade. It is situated in a part of the rocky headland known as Sman skyid. Ten subjects were inventoried in this locus, all of which are dated to the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C1

Type: picto, WP

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: single

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: 21 cm (v)

Condition: HW

Age (est.): LHP

Image ref: NI

Comments: The elaborately designed stepped shrine has a three-pronged finial and is fully flanked by its two banners. The base is enclosed by a line of 12 triangular motifs (offering cakes?). The subject is clearly a non-Buddhist example of a *chorten*. There is also a highly eroded non-Buddhist *dbu can* inscription written vertically in a white pigment in the cave, which reads: *A Om hung* (Figure 140). This inscription can probably be assigned to the Late Historic period.

Placement: Rear of cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 51 (fig. 18s).



Figure 140. A highly worn non-Buddhist inscription in S3_L7. The image has been digitally enhanced for visibility.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 17 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat508

Comments: The subject appears to be a seated Lamaist figure. Other red ochre pigment applications of the Late Historic period are found to the left of the subject and underneath S3_L7_C1 (NIS).

Placement: To right of S3_L7_C1.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C3a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: bird

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 10 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat508

Comments: The subject is a horned eagle (*khyung*). It may possibly have been painted in conjunction with S3_L7_C2.

Placement: Below S3_L7_C2.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C3b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat508
Comments: The subject is a horned eagle (*khyung*).
Placement: To left of S3_L7_C3a.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C3c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat508
Comments: The subject is a horned eagle (*khyung*).
Placement: To left of and below S3_L7_Cb.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C4a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW/MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 29 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat509
Comments: The subject consists of a square paralleled by other lines forming a larger, open square. This subject may possibly represent an internal space such as a temple. The composition of which it is a part may chronicle a worship scene.
Placement: In rear of cave.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 215 (fig. 10.196).

Inventory No: S3_L7_C4b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW/MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat509
Comments: The subject consists of a stepped structure-like form.
Placement: In middle of S3_L7_C4a.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C4c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW/MW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat509
Comments: The subject appears to be bending towards S3_L7_C4b.
Placement: To right of S3_L7_C4b.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C4d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW/MW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat509
Comments: The subject appears to be attired in a long robe.
Placement: To right of and below S3_L7_C4c.

Inventory No: S3_L7_C4e

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW/MW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat509
Comments: The subject has a bi-triangular torso.
Placement: On left side of lower part of S3_L7_C4a.

Innominate (S4)

Survey conducted in 2012



Map 8. The rock art loci of S4.

S4 consists of three unnamed caves in a limestone escarpment that is situated just west of Rta mchog ngang pa do. They contain 19 diverse subjects, painted in red ochre and a black pigment. Seven of these are assigned to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods, six to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, and each of six subjects to either the Iron Age or Protohistoric period. As might be expected when rock art is attributable to a broad chronological spectrum, content varies widely in S4 and embraces both Buddhist and non-Buddhist subjects. Between S4 and S5 three small caves with the vestiges of masonry façades appended to them were observed. These defunct cave shelters can be assigned to the Late Prehistoric era or Early Historic period.



Figure 141. The limestone escarpments with rock art sites S4 (foreground) and S5 (far left).



Figure 142. S4. S4_L1 is at the foot of the formation in the middle of the image, while L2 and L3 are out of view on the left side of the formation (side facing directly onto Gnam mtsho).

S4_L1

S4_L1 is a small cave set a little below the surrounding ground level. It contains one panel of rock art in the rear of the cave which features seven subjects. Six of the subjects are each assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods and one to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. Perhaps all the rock art and red ochre inscriptions in S4_L1 was made by Buddhists. A cave free from earlier non-Buddhist rock art must have acted as an attraction to the Buddhist rock art makers.

Inventory No: S4_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: endless knot	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat510

Comments: The endless knot was drawn with 16 cells. Below the subject are several red ochre pigment applications with no obvious figurative significance.
Placement: To left of and above S4_L1_C1.

Inventory No: S4_L1_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 143

Comments: The subject has an irregular cruciform shape.
Placement: Middle of rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S4_L1_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat511

Comments: The swastika has a clockwise orientation.
Placement: To right of and above S4_L1_C1.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 217 (fig. 10.201).

Inventory No: S4_L1_C4

Type: picto, RO

Subject: crossed thunderbolts

Arrangement: single

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat511

Comments: The subject, known as *rdo rje rgya gram* in Tibetan, is a quintessential symbol of Tibetan Buddhism but rare in rock art depiction.

Placement: To right of and above S4_L1_C3.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 217 (fig. 10.201).

Inventory No: S4_L1_C5

Type: picto, BP

Subject: stepped structure?

Arrangement: single

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture?

Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Image ref: Cat512

Comments: The highly obscured subject consists of three levels.

Placement: To right of and above S4_L1_C4.

Inventory No: S4_L1_C6

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: flower?

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 143

Comments: The subject consists of a small circle in the centre with six equal-sized circles arrayed around it.

Placement: To left of and above S4_L1_C4.

Inventory No: S4_L1_C7

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: geometric

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Figure 143

Comments: The subject consists of four small circles with a curvilinear motif below them.

Placement: To right of and above S4_L1_C6.



Figure 143. The panel of red ochre and black pigment pictographs in L4_S1. The image has been digitally enhanced to make the rock art more visible. In the middle of the image is S4_L1_C1. S4_L2_C2 to S4_L1_C7 are arrayed above S4_L1_C1.

S4_L3

S4_L3 is another small, south-facing cave situated on the west side of the S4 formation. A single composition comprised of six subjects was inventoried here. This composition is attributed to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods.

Inventory No: S4_L3_C1a

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat515

Comments: The subject has a triangular head and a triangular body and holds a linear motif (spear, staff?) in one hand. The composition of which it is a part is highly unusual in character. It could potentially convey a hunting, martial, and/or ritual theme.

Placement: In cave.

Inventory No: S4_L3_C1b

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat515

Comments: The subject has a triangular head and a triangular body.

Placement: To left of S4_L3_C1a.

Inventory No: S4_L3_C1c

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat515

Comments: The subject has a triangular head and a triangular body and holds a long linear motif (polearm?) diagonally across its body.

Placement: To left of S4_L3_C1b.

Inventory No: S4_L3_C1d

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** LW
Subject: carnivore **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat515

Comments: The subject has clawed feet, an erect, curling tail, and a long body adorned with interconnected triangles. The head of the subject is largely obliterated. It may possibly depict a tiger.

Placement: Above S4_L3_C1a to S4_L3_C1c.

Inventory No: S4_L3_C1e

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** LW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat515

Comments: The context of the composition indicates that this is the wild form of the yak.

Placement: To right of S4_L3_C1d.

Inventory No: S4_L3_C1f

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat515

Comments: The subject has a bi-triangular torso. While common in Ladakh and Ru thog, occurrences of anthropomorphs with bi-triangular bodies are rare elsewhere in Upper Tibet. In the only photograph of the subject available, its head is cut.

Placement: To left of and above S4_L3_C1d.

Another cave

Between S4 and S5 there is a cave overlooking the lakeshore with a red ochre counter-clockwise swastika that measures 20 cm in height, the bottom half of which is highly obscured (Figure 144).



Figure 144. This swastika was painted in a cave between S4 and S5 (30.837955 N / 90.649667 E).

Innominate (S5)

Survey conducted in 2008

S5 is a small, south-facing cave in the next limestone escarpment west of S4, and, likewise, it bounds the north shore of Gnam mtsho. Only a single red ochre pictograph attributed to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods was inventoried at this site.



Map 9. The rock art locus of S5.



Figure 145. S5 is the escarpment on the right side of the photograph (the rock art is in a cave out of view). S7 can be seen on the far-left side of the image. The large hill to the right of S7 is Khyi rgan gag pa do (Old Dog Barking Headland), one of the Eighteen Great Sunny Headlands and Islands in the sacred geographic tradition of Gnam mtsho.



Figure 146. S3 is the long headland extending to the far-right side of the photograph. S5 is the smaller escarpment in the middle of the image.

Inventory No: S5_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: geometric?

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 35 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat516

Comments: The subject has a roughly trapezoidal outline and is subdivided into 18 triangles and rectangles. Above it there are several minor red ochre pigment applications of no significant pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: In cave.

Innominate (S6)

Surveys conducted in 1997, 2008, and 2012



Map 10. The rock art loci of S6.

S6 is a small, house-like, south-facing escarpment on the north shore Gnam mtsho, c. 3 km north of Khyi rgan gag pa do (Old Dog Barking Headland). This limestone escarpment is lined in caves and recesses, five of which host pictographic rock art. 97 subjects painted in red ochre and a black pigment were inventoried at this site. With a few exceptions the rock art of S6 is dated to the Historic era (Early Historic to Late Historic periods). Between 21 and 40 subjects are attributed to the Late Historic period and a further seven are each dated to the Late Historic or Modern periods. There are also six pictographs that are provisionally assigned to the Protohistoric period. The balance of rock art in S6 is assigned to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The limitations of the estimates of age given in this work are particularly salient for this locus, because many pictographs here were produced with an older crayon technique that is not well represented at other sites in Upper Tibet. Pictographs made in this fashion are difficult to gauge on stylistic grounds, and a visual assessment of pigment ablation and browning is also subjective by its very nature. Another distinguishing feature of S6 is the paucity of rock art and inscriptions that betoken competition and conflict between Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups in the Early Historic and Vestigial periods. Although there are some sectarian compositions present, the majority of the rock art is comprised of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic portraiture (including several horseback riders).

A little east of S6 there is a superficial, sub-rectangular stone enclosure, near the edge of an escarpment that hugs the shoreline of Gnam mtsho (30.8442 N/90.637167 E; Figure 147). In close proximity to the enclosure there is a large, raw cave and a seasonal pastoral encampment. The enclosure, an ancient structure, is generally aligned in the cardinal directions and measures 8 m (east-west) by 3.8 m (north-south). It consists of four perimeter walls constructed of various lengths (up to 75 cm) of unhewn limestone. The enclosing walls, where intact, are of a crude, double-coursed composition and well-anchored in the ground. The stones of the wall closest to the lakeshore project as much as 50 cm above the surrounding ground level, while on the upslope side the structure is flush with the adjoining ground. The interior of the enclosure is divided into two parts by a single-course wall of larger stones.



Figure 147. The sub-rectangular stone enclosure situated east of S6.

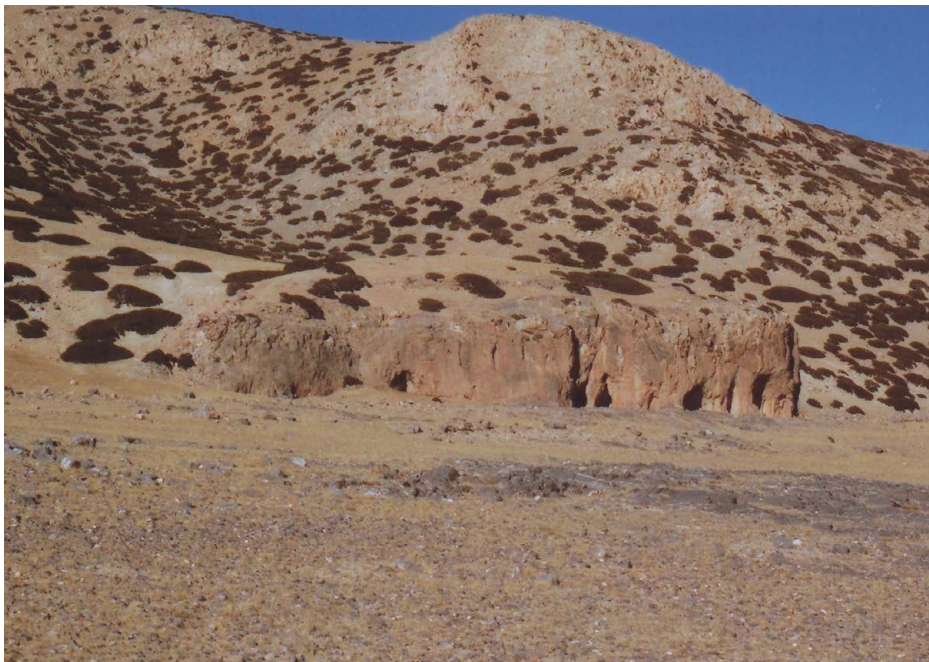


Figure 148. The escarpment of S6. S6_L1 is a recess situated next to the cave on the far-right side of the formation. S6_L2 is the cave on the left side of a slit in the formation between it and S6_L1. S6_L3 is the cave to the right of the two small caves in the middle of the formation. S6_L4 is the cave on the left side of the formation. S6_L5 is the small hollow at the base of the formation situated left of S6_L4.

The identity of this ancient structure has not been ascertained, however its morphological traits are shared by superficial structures that commonly occur west of the 89th meridian in Upper Tibet.¹ These enclosures of various sizes, shapes, and elaborations are sometimes associated with human burial but many seem to have had funerary ritual functions not involving interment. Subsurface investigation of ancient masonry enclosures in Upper Tibet is still in its infancy and alternative functions for them cannot be discounted. Those opened up accidentally through construction and by looters reveal a wide spectrum of structural configurations. These range from shallow pits apparently devoid of human remains and objects to well-built, multi-chambered cists with masonry walls in which human remains and other things are reported to have been found. Evidence from the Tibet textual record indicates that burial inside elaborate masonry structures fell out of favour after the 10th century AD.² The discontinuation of burial as an elite form of corpse disposal coincides with the conversion of almost all of Tibetan Plateau to Lamaist religions and the concomitant marginalization of the corpus of archaic funerary myths and rituals.

¹ On these ancient mortuary and ritual enclosures, see Bellezza 2008: 110–129; Bellezza 2014a: 17–20; 2014c: 234–459.

² See Bellezza 2013a: 26 (n. 41), 119, 123, 142.

S6_L1

This locus is a recess on the right side of the escarpment. A petroglyph drawn in a black pigment dating to the Late Historic period and an older mass of red ochre applications were inventoried at the location.

Inventory No: S6_L1_C1

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat517

Comments: The contours of the subject are comprised of two zigzag lines. It is one of many compositions dating to the Late Historic period in S6, which make up the majority of pictographs in the locus. To the left of the subject are faint red ochre pigment applications of no obvious pictorial significance (NIS).

Placement: Inside recess.

Inventory No: S6_L1_C2

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat517

Comments: The subject has the appearance of an anthropomorph but no recognizable head is depicted.

Placement: To right of S6_L1_C1.

S6_L2

S6_L2 is a shallow recess in the formation. Eight red ochre pictographs were inventoried here. They include four subjects, each of which appears to date to the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods. Four other subjects are attributed the Late Historic period.

Inventory No: S6_L2_C1

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 16 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat518

Comments: The subject is a well-formed raptor complete with many anatomical details. Above its left wing is a horseshoe-shaped red ochre pigment application (NIS).

Placement: Unfixed. In recess.

Inventory No: S6_L2_C2

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat518

Comments: The subject was superimposed on the top part of S6_L2_C1. It seems to depict either an equid or carnivore.

Placement: On top of S6_L2_C1.

Inventory No: S6_L2_C3

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat518

Comments: The subject is an incomplete animal of some type.

Placement: Above S6_L2_C1.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: INNOMINATE (S6)

Inventory No: S6_L3_C1

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat522
Comments: The subject is made up of dots and slashes that form an irregular rectangle.
Placement: Middle of rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C2

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat522
Comments: The subject is composed of a chequerboard pattern.
Placement: Inside of S6_L3_C1.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C3

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat522
Comments: The subject could represent one of any number of different animals.
Placement: Superimposed on top part of S6_L3_C1.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C4

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat522
Comments: The subject consists of a group of lines radiating from a triangular form. It may possibly represent a flaming jewels symbol.
Placement: To right of S6_L3_C1.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C5a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** geometric **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 10 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat523
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. A Tibetan *dbu can* letter *s* appears to be part of the same composition.
Placement: Unfixed. Rear wall of cave.
Reference(s): 2020b: 282 (fig. 10.375).

Inventory No: S6_L3_C5b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** geometric **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 10 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat523
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Below S6_L3_C5a.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C6

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 11 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat524
Comments: The rear portion of the subject was either obliterated or never completed.
Placement: Unfixed. Rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat525

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an unfinished wild yak.
Placement: Upper section of rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric?	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat526

Comments: The subject consists of a four-sided form partially open on one side and with three short inner lines connected to three of the outer lines at acute angles.
Placement: Unfixed. Rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C9

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric?	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat526

Comments: The subject consists of a half circle with a hook line extending above it. To the right of S6_L3_C8 and S6_L3_C9 there are red ochre linear figures of no apparent pictorial significance (NIS), as well as a Tibetan *dbu can* letter *m*.
Placement: Below S6_L3_C8, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C10

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat527

Comments: The subject with its spread wings appears to portray a raptor.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S6_L3_C11

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: LW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat527

Comments: The subject is characterized by an inverted V-shaped head and two prominent feet. All around S6_L3_C10 and S6_L3_C11 there are a number of insignificant line drawings dating to the Late Historic period (NIS).
Placement: To right of S6_L3_C10.

S6_L4

S6_L4 is another small cave in the escarpment. 41 subjects painted in red ochre and a black pigment were inventoried in the locus. The chronological classification of rock art in this cave is hampered by the advanced wear of many subjects, even those that appear to date to the Late Historic period. The particular set of geochemical forces acting upon the rock walls of the cave seem to have played a role in the rapid degradation of rock art here. Each of 16 subjects appear to date to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, while each of 11 subjects is assigned to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. Five other subjects are attributed to the Late Historic period and one to the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods. Additionally, there is a recent composition comprised of eight subjects that dates either to the Late Historic or Modern periods.

Left section of rear wall of the cave

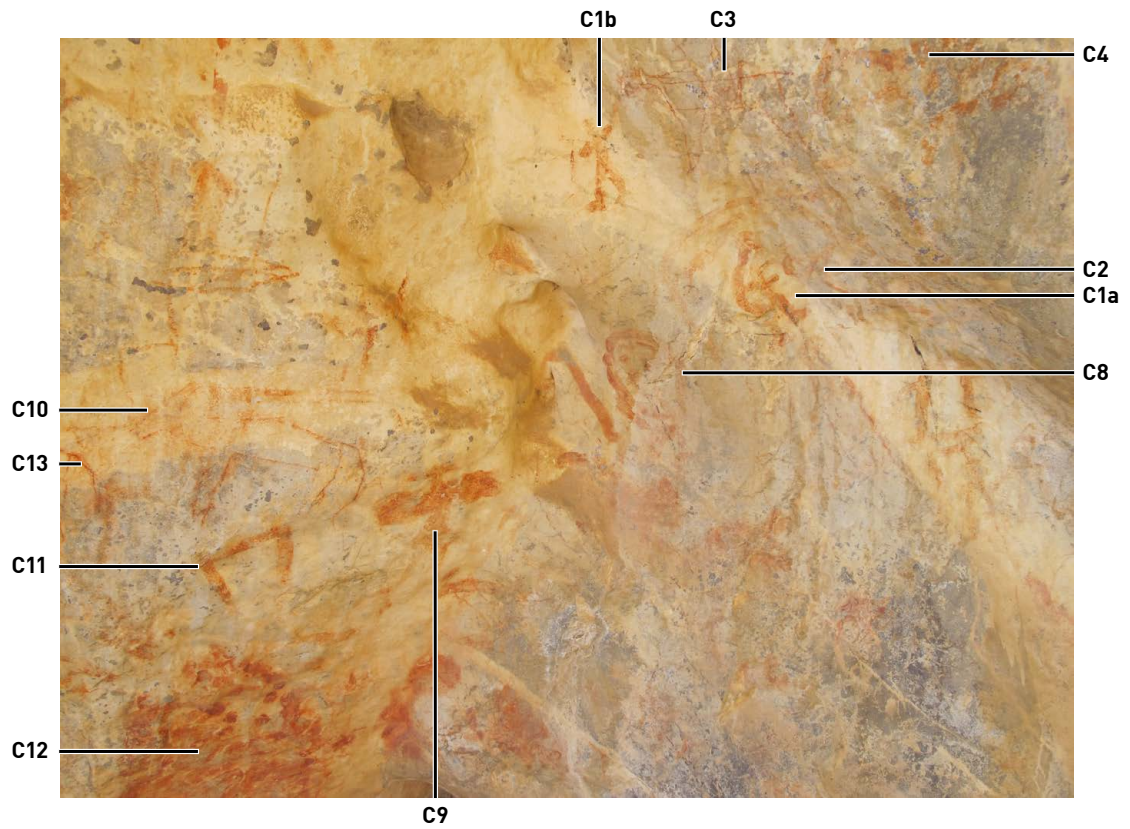


Figure 150. The locations of rock art in one section of S6_L4.



Figure 151. Shown here is a group of pictographs on the left side of the rear wall (right side of image) and the inner section of the left wall (left side of image) of S6_L4. The image has been digitally enhanced to accentuate the visual clarity of the pictographs.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C1a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat528

Comments: The figure appears to have a curved back.
Placement: Left edge of rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C1b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat528

Comments: The standing figure appears to be depicted in movement.
Placement: To left of and above S6_L4_C1a.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 151

Comments: The subject consists of a vase-like motif enclosed within a rectilinear outline.
Placement: To right of and around S6_L4_C1a.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 151

Comments: The subject was made employing the crayon technique.
Placement: On rear wall, to right of and above S6_L4_C1b.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 151

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a quadruped with a striped body, however photographic coverage of it is incomplete.
Placement: To right of S6_L4_C3.

Left wall of the cave

Inventory No: S6_L4_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: LW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat529

Comments: The subject consists of a squarish patch of red ochre that may obscure a counter-clockwise swastika.
Placement: On left wall of cave, to left of and above S6_L4_C1b.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat529

Comments: The subject consists of a swastika oriented in a clockwise direction. It is partially cut in the available photograph.
Placement: To left of S6_L4_C5.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C7

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat529
Comments: The subject consists of a swastika oriented in a clockwise direction.
Placement: To left of and below S6_L4_C6.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C8

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** symbolic? **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 151
Comments: The subject consists of an oval with a few dots inside. Below the subject there are several red ochre pigment applications of little or no pictorial value (NIS).
Placement: To left of and below S6_L4_C1a.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C9

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat530, Cat531
Comments: The subject depicts a raptor with spread wings.
Placement: To left of and below S6_L4_C8.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C10

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat531
Comments: The subject may possibly represent a carnivore or equid.
Placement: To left of S6_L4_C9.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C11

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat531
Comments: The subject appears to be an unfinished quadruped.
Placement: Below S6_L4_C10.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C12

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat531
Comments: The subject consists of a dense mass of lines and dots. Photographic coverage of bottom of the subject is missing.
Placement: Below S6_L4_C11.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C13a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat531, Cat532
Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow. Due to variations in pigment colouration and erosion, it may be that this subject was added at a later date to complete the composition.
Placement: To left of S6_L4_C10.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C13b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: wild sheep **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat531, Cat532
Comments: The subject, which appears to depict a blue sheep or an argali, is shown struck by an arrow.
Placement: To left of S6_L4_C13a.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C14

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP/EHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat531
Comments: The standing figure appears to be depicted with implements in both hands, one of which is club-like. There are highly obscured red ochre pigment applications below and to the right of the subject. These are not inventoried separately for want of adequate photographic coverage.
Placement: Below S6_L4_C13.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C15

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The subject may possibly represent an equid. There are highly obscured red ochre applications below the subject. Photographic coverage is inadequate to assess them.
Placement: To left of and below S6_L4_C13b.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C16

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 152
Comments: The subject consists of a modified rectangle. Photographic coverage is inadequate to assess it.
Placement: To left of and above S6_L4_C14, on left edge of rear wall.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C17

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika? **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 152
Comments: The subject appears to be an incomplete clockwise swastika.
Placement: Below S6_L4_C14, on left edge of rear wall.

Outer left wall of cave

Inventory No: S6_L4_C18

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat533
Comments: The subject consists of several uneven rows of dots, some ten in total. To the right of the subject there is a sub-rectangular outline in red ochre (NIS).
Placement: To left of S6_L4_C13b.



Figure 152. The outer left wall of S6_L4, with a portion of the rear wall (far right). The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the rock art.

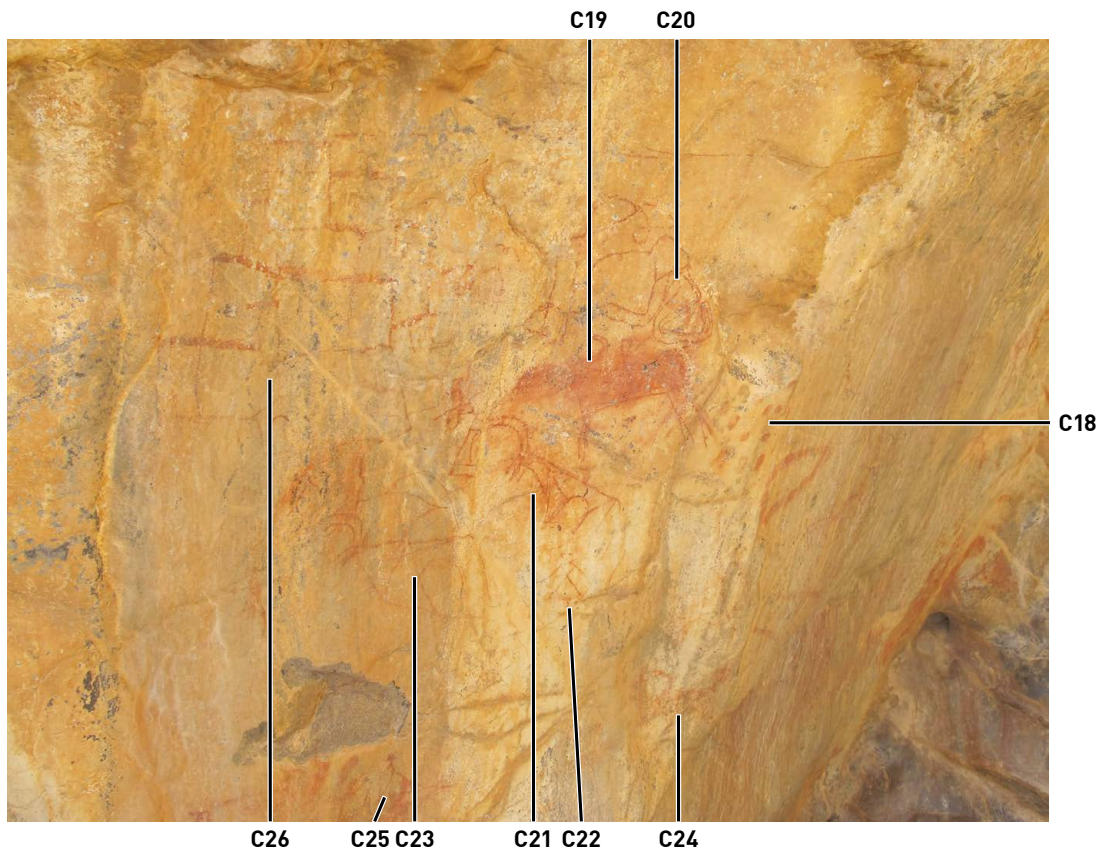


Figure 153. Locations of rock art on the outer left wall of S6_L4.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C25**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** horseback rider**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat533**Comments:** The horseman is depicted holding the reins. To the left of the subject there is a highly obscured red ochre pigment application (NIS).**Placement:** To left of S6_L4_C24.**Inventory No:** S6_L4_C26**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** geometric**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 152**Comments:** The subject consists of rows of interconnected squares and rectangles.**Placement:** To left of S6_L4_C19 and S6_L4_C20.**Inventory No:** S6_L4_C27**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat534**Comments:** The swastika is aligned in a clockwise direction.**Placement:** Top of left wall.**Inventory No:** S6_L4_C28**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** bird**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat534**Comments:** The subject represents a horned eagle (*khyung*). Below the subject and S6_L4_C27 there is a long horizontal line paralleled by a row of dots painted in a black pigment (NIS).**Placement:** To right of S6_L4_C27.**Inventory No:** S6_L4_C29a**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** LHP/MP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat535**Comments:** The subject consists of an L-shaped line which appears to depict the interior of a Buddhist temple. The composition of which it is a part almost certainly conveys Buddhist religious activity.**Placement:** Below S6_L4_C27**Inventory No:** S6_L4_C29b**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** LHP/MP**Arrangement:** composite**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat535**Comments:** The subject consists of a figure sitting cross-legged on a linear motif. It appears to portray a lama seated on a dais or a statue on an altar.**Placement:** Inside S6_L4_C29a, in a central position.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C29c

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** religious activity **Age (est.):** LHP/MP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat535
Comments: The subject consists of a figure with one arm raised to its head and the other outstretched.
Placement: To right of S6_L4_C29b.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C29d

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** religious activity **Age (est.):** LHP/MP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat535
Comments: The subject was cursorily drawn.
Placement: To left of S6_L4_C29b.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C29e

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** religious activity **Age (est.):** LHP/MP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat535
Comments: The subject was drawn with deeply bent legs.
Placement: To right of and below S6_L4_C29b.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C29f

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** religious activity **Age (est.):** LHP/MP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat535
Comments: The subject was cursorily executed.
Placement: To right of S6_L4_C29e, positioned outside the 'temple'.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C29g

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** religious activity **Age (est.):** LHP/MP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat535
Comments: The subject appears to be shown beating a drum.
Placement: To left of and below S6_L4_C29f, positioned outside the 'temple'.

Inventory No: S6_L4_C29h

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** religious activity **Age (est.):** LHP/MP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat535
Comments: The standing figure was roughly drawn.
Placement: To left of S6_L4_C29g.

Uncategorized placement

Inventory No: S6_L4_C30

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat536
Comments: The horseman is depicted holding the reins.
Placement: Unfixed

Inventory No: S6_L4_C31**Type:** picto, BP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat536**Comments:** The subject may possibly represent a stag. Around the subject and extending over S6_L4_C30 there are several obscured figures of animals rendered in the same style and black pigment (NIS).**Placement:** To right of S6_L4_C30.**Inventory No:** S6_L4_C32**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat537**Comments:** The subject appears to represent either a carnivore or equid.**Placement:** Unfixed.**S6_L5**

S6_L5 is a small cave on the west end of the escarpment. Rock art here is concentrated on the left wall of the cave. 35 subjects were inventoried, all but two of which were painted in red ochre. 25 subjects are each assigned the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, each of four subjects to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods, five to the Late Historic period, and one is attributed to either the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods. As with other loci at S6, there are genres of rock art made using a crayon technique whose age has been estimated with minimal assurance. S6_L5 is primarily composed of two major kinds of subjects: equids without riders and ornitho-anthropomorphs (figures with both human and avian qualities). It is possible that some of these equids and ornitho-anthropomorphs predate the Early Historic period but a more conservative dating regime has been adopted here. With its two dominant subject types, analogous repertory of techniques and styles, and comparable wear characteristics, certain subjects of the main panel may have been made by the same individuals and could potentially form multi-subject compositions. However, as this could not be determined through visual inspection alone, all red ochre pictographs are treated as individual subjects. Like other loci of S6, encounters between protagonists of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions were only marginally exercised in the rock art and epigraphy of S6_L5. There appear to have been more red ochre pictographs to the right of the extant panel but they were almost totally destroyed, together with the loss of the calcareous veneer covering the cave wall.



Figure 154. The red ochre pictographs on the left wall of S6_L5 except for S6_L5_C1. The image has been digitally enhanced to accentuate the clarity of the pictographs.

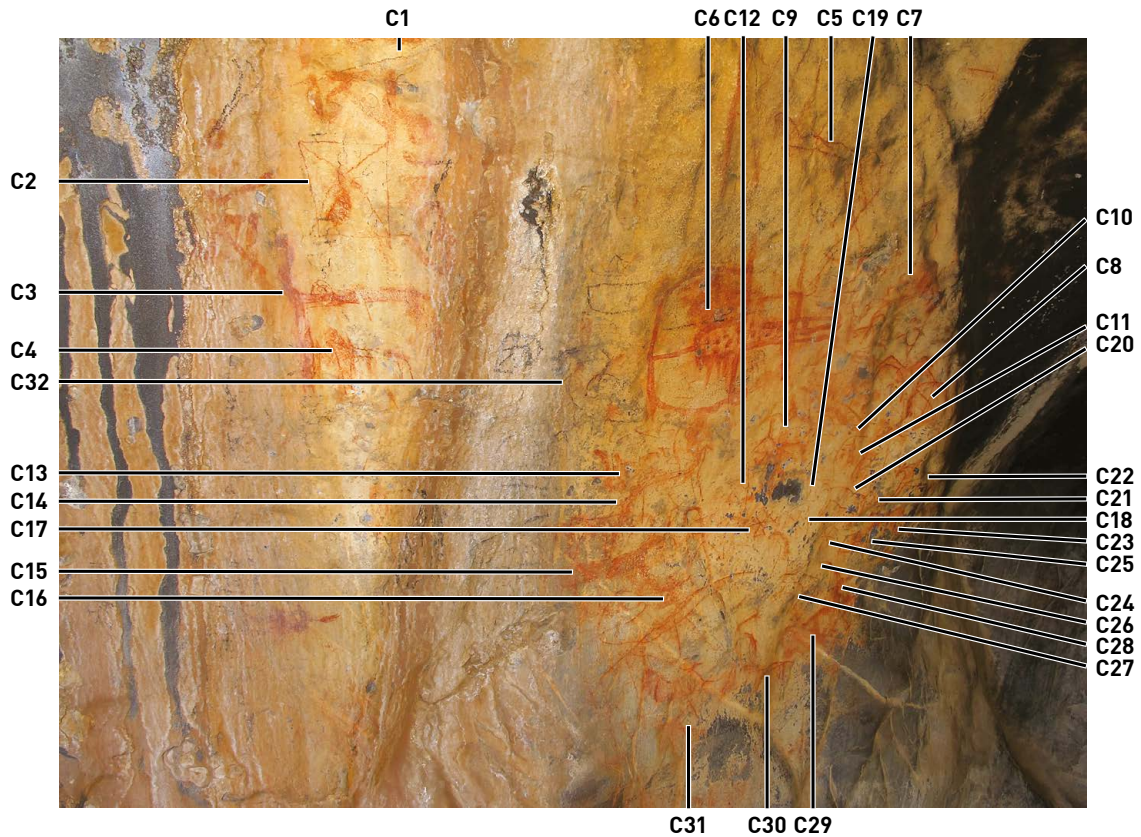


Figure 155. The locations of rock art in S6_L5 up to S6_L5_C31 .

Outer left wall

Inventory No: S6_L5_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 12 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat538

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. It is situated above a Tibetan letter A, and on either side of this letter, set in a lower position, are the syllables *Om* and *Hung*.

Placement: Outermost position on the left wall of the cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 218 (fig. 10.204).

Inventory No: S6_L5_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: geometric

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat538

Comments: The subject consists of a square filled with an X motif.

Placement: Below S6_L5_C1.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW/HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat538

Comments: The subject consists of what might possibly represent an equid.

Placement: Below S6_L5_C2.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C4**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat538**Comments:** The subject consists of a crudely executed animal.**Placement:** Below S6_L5_C3.*Inner left wall***Inventory No:** S6_L5_C5**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 154**Comments:** The subject consists of a crudely executed animal. Below the subject is an hourglass-shaped pictograph from the Late Historic period (NIS).**Placement:** To right of S6_L5_C1, at an appreciable distance.**Inventory No:** S6_L5_C6**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat539**Comments:** The subject may possibly represent a wild ungulate. The extent of the subject is unclear, as various linear motifs intersect and surround the core figure.**Placement:** To left of and below S6_L5_C5.**Inventory No:** S6_L5_C7**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 154**Comments:** The subject appears to represent a wild sheep.**Placement:** To right of S6_L5_C6.**Inventory No:** S6_L5_C8**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat540**Comments:** The subject appears to have avian traits; to the left of it there is what appears to be an unfinished animal outlined in red ochre (NIS).**Placement:** To right of and below S6_L5_C7, on right (inner) edge of panel with rock art.**Inventory No:** S6_L5_C9**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** LW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 6 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat541**Comments:** The subject may possibly represent an unfinished anthropomorph with avian qualities. A rectilinear red ochre pigment application to the right of the subject and a T-shaped red ochre application above the subject have not been inventoried separately.**Placement:** Below S6_L5_C6.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2000b: 50 (fig. 27).

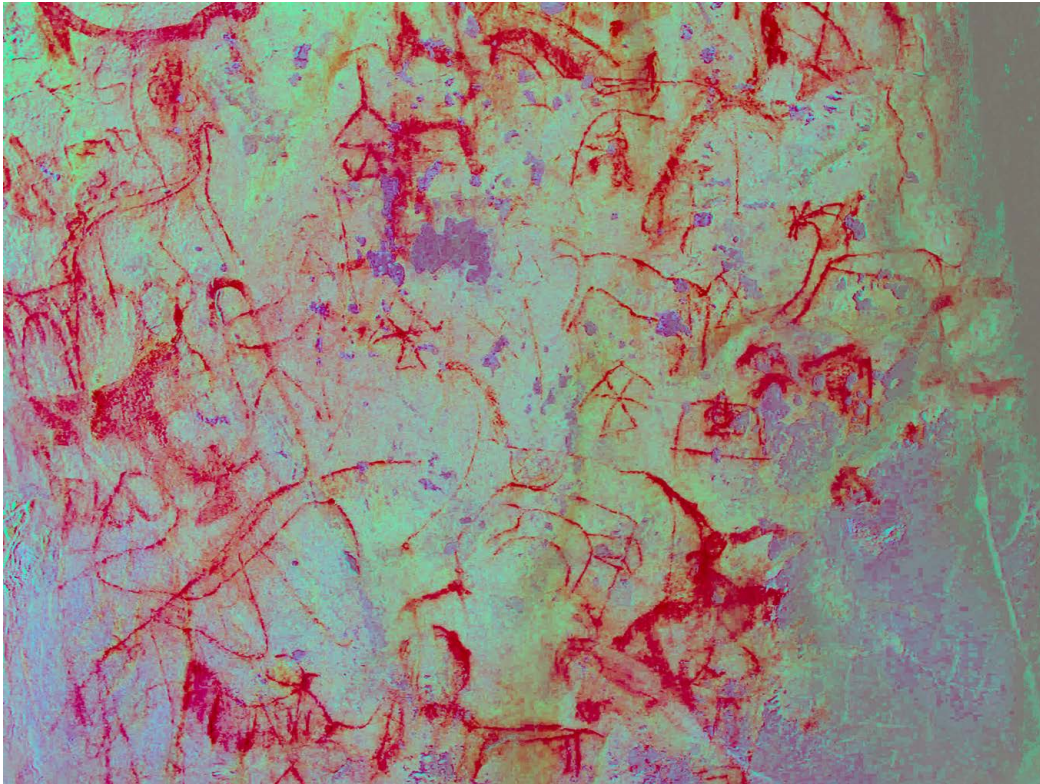


Figure 156. A large selection of pictographs on the inner left wall of S6_L5. S6_L5_C9 is situated near the top left side of the photograph, while S6_L5_C10 is at the top of the image on the middle right side. S6_L5_C13 is in the upper left corner, S6_L5_C15 is on the far-left side of the middle part of the image, S6_L5_C22 is on the far-right upper part of the image, S6_L5_C28 is on the lower right side, S6_L5_C30 is at the bottom of the image in the centre, and S6_L5_C31 appears on the bottom-left side of the image. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the rock art.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C10

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: equid

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat541

Comments: There may possibly be something depicted on the back of the equid. There is a red ochre pigment application of no apparent pictorial value and more recent desultory Tibetan letters above the subject.

Placement: To right of S6_L5_C9.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C11

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat541

Comments: The subject has an anthropomorphic-like appearance.

Placement: Inside the legs of S6_L5_C10.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C12

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 5 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat542

Comments: The subject may be portrayed with avian qualities. The figure appears to hold a long linear motif with a hooked end (15 cm in height; spear with flag?) upright in one hand. This motif is cut in the selected photograph.

Placement: To left of and below S6_L5_C9.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2000b: 50 (fig. 27).

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: INNOMINATE (S6)

Inventory No: S6_L5_C13

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** LW
Subject: equid **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat543
Comments: The subject has a small, hooked head; the contours of the body possess a graceful sweep.
Placement: To left of S6_L5_C12.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C14

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: antelope **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat544
Comments: The long, zigzagging horns of the subject identify it as an antelope. The top of the pictograph is cut in the selected photograph.
Placement: To left of and below S6_L5_C13.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C15

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat544
Comments: The subject may represent an equid.
Placement: Below S6_L5_C14.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C16

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: bird? **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat544
Comments: The subject appears to depict a raptor with outstretched wings.
Placement: Below S6_L5_C15.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C17

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat545
Comments: The subject may display anthropomorphic qualities.
Placement: To right of and below S6_L5_C12.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2000b: 50 (fig. 27).

Inventory No: S6_L5_C18

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat546
Comments: The subject appears to have avian qualities. The figure appears to be shown holding a long linear object.
Placement: To right of S6_L5_C17.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C19

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat546
Comments: The subject appears to have avian qualities.
Placement: Above S6_L5_C18.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C20

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 12 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat546

Comments: Much of the head of the subject has been obliterated.
Placement: To right of S6_L5_C19.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C21

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat546

Comments: The subject appears to have avian qualities.
Placement: To right of S6_L5_C20.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C22

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: equid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 156

Comments: The subject was drawn with a small, hooked head.
Placement: To right of S6_L5_C21, on right edge of panel.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C23

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 156

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an equid.
Placement: Below S6_L5_C22, on right edge of panel.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C24

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat546, Cat547

Comments: The subject appears to have anthropomorphic qualities. A linear motif is positioned over the waist, which appears to represent an implement (sword, club?).
Placement: Below S6_L5_C20.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C25

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat546

Comments: The subject consists of a bell-shaped outline, above and inside of which is positioned a motif that is reminiscent of an anthropomorph.
Placement: To right of S6_L5_C24.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C26

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: equid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 156

Comments: The subject was drawn with a small, hooked head and mane.
Placement: Below S6_L5_C24.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C27

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 156

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an equid.
Placement: Inside the legs of S6_L5_C26.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C28

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 17 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat548

Comments: The subject represents a horned eagle (*khyung*).
Placement: Below S6_L5_C26, at right edge of panel with rock art.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C29

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 156

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an equid or carnivore.
Placement: Below S6_L5_C28, at right edge of panel.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C30

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: cervid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 14 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat549

Comments: The branched horns of the subject identify it as a stag. Above the subject there is a small red ochre application that may possibly depict an unfinished animal (NIS).
Placement: To left of and below S6_L5_C29, at bottom of panel with rock art.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C31

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 14 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat549, Cat550

Comments: The subject represents a horned eagle (*khyung*). Between this subject and S6_L5_C16 there are linear applications of red ochre (NIS).
Placement: To left of S6_L5_C29, at very bottom of panel.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C32a

Type: picto, BP	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: LW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat551

Comments: The well-sketched bird appears to represent a duck or goose. It was probably made in conjunction with S6_L5_C33.
Placement: Superimposed on S6_L5_C6.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C32b

Type: picto, BP	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: LW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat551

Comments: This well-sketched bird may possibly represent a raptor with folded wings. To the left of the subject is a square form with several linear motifs inside, which was also drawn in a black pigment (NIS).
Placement: To left of S6_L5_C32a and partially superimposed on S6_L5_C6.

Uncategorized placement

Inventory No: S6_L5_C33

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat552

Comments: The subject consisted of a pair of undulating lines. To the right of the subject there is a red-ochre application of no apparent pictorial significance (NIS).

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S6_L5_C34

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak?

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat553

Comments: The subject has the body shape and tail of a wild yak but the horns have virtually disappeared.

Placement: Unfixed.

Lug do (S7)

Surveys conducted in 1997 and 2012



Map 11. The rock art loci of Lug do (S7).



Figure 157. Lug do (S7) is on the left side of the photograph and Ra mo do (S8) on the right.

Lug do (Sheep Headland) is a large limestone formation set on a promontory along the north shore of Gnam mtsho. The headland is one of the Eighteen Sunlit Headlands and Islands in the local sacred geographic tradition. Like many other headlands and islands belonging to this tradition, Lug do has been a key cultural resource since the Late Prehistoric era. This is illustrated by the ancient rock art and rock shelters that dot the headland, as well other headlands and islands of the Eighteen Sunlit Headlands and Islands. The red ochre epigraphy of Lug do refers to the headland by this name, verifying that since no later than the Early Historic period it has been known as such (Bellezza 2020b: 219 (fig. 10.207), 220 (fig. 10.210)).¹ At Lug do between 31 and 37 subjects predate the Late Historic period, and 17 to 23 are assigned to the Late Historic period. The discrepancies in the chronological tallies given is due to uncertainties regarding the estimated age of specific pictographs at Lug do. Despite the headland containing

¹ In Bellezza 1997a; 2000b; 2002b, this headland is mistakenly labelled Ra mo do. Ra mo do (S8) is actually the next headland to the west. In Bellezza 2020b: 221, 222 (figs. 10.215–10.218) there are four inscriptions misattributed to Ra ma do: they are actually found at Lug do.



Figure 158. The restricted access on the east side of the archaic residential installation at Lug do can be seen in the foreground. In the background the natural rampway hosting the residential site is visible (the diagonal line on the lower part of the formation).



Figure 159. The highly dissolute structural remains along the natural stone rampway at Lug do.



Figure 160. The structural vestiges of the lowermost cliff shelter on the rampway.



Figure 161. The structural traces of the lower-middle cliff shelter on the rampway.

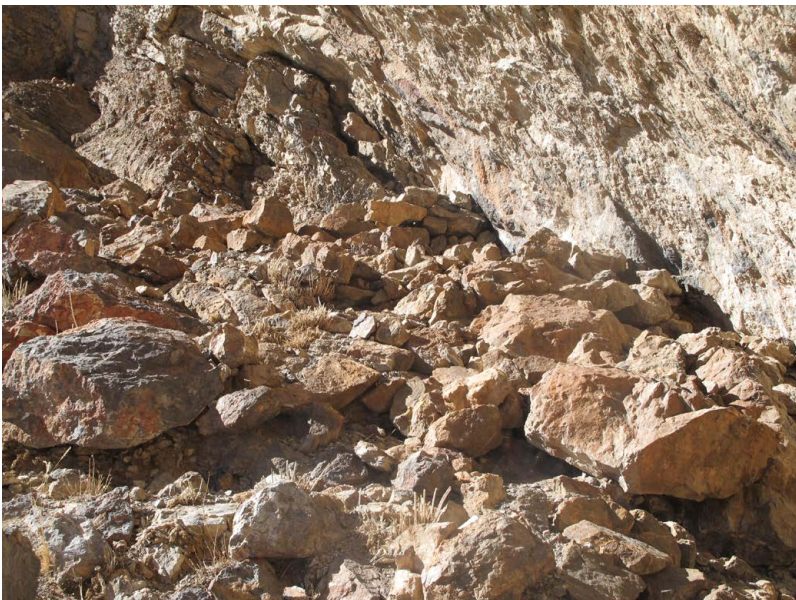


Figure 162. The structural traces of the upper-middle cliff shelter on the rampway.



Figure 163. The structural traces of the uppermost cliff shelters on the rampway.



Figure 164. The stone and adobe residential complex in the west portion of the south side of Lug do. On the right side of the photograph there are ritual structures and residential structures in the middle and on the left side.

a fairly small group of rock art, it is diverse in terms of age and content. Not surprisingly, six pictographs attributed to the Iron Age or Protohistoric periods are primarily comprised of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic portraits. Rock art of the Historic era is a mix between patently religious compositions and other themes (e.g. horseback riding, solitary animal portraits). Trenchant encounters between members of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions are present at only one locus of Lug do (S7_L2).

In the middle-western portion of the south side of Lug do there are the remains of an archaic residential installation constructed along a steep incline on the escarpment (30.799333 N / 90.589833 E). The site is very secluded – ledges along the lakeshore flanking both sides of it must be negotiated to gain access (Figure 158). Additionally there is no access



Figure 165. Another view of the old residential and ritual complex in the west portion of the south side of Lug do.

from above and the towering ramparts of the formation. Hence the location is relatively defensible, a topographic endowment met with at many ancient residential sites in Upper Tibet. There are no Buddhist constructions or emblems at the archaic residential complex, as is often the case with ancient non-Buddhist monuments in Upper Tibet. The effect of conversion to Buddhism was to wipe clean such installations from the collective memory of local herders and elites, or at best, they came to occupy a marginal place in local mythology. The impression gained from a visual assessment of the site is that it supported a multi-roomed complex of significant size and importance. In addition to four rock shelters built into clefts in the formation, there are highly fragmentary masonry walls lining the rampway, a natural geological feature.² This rampway is c. 40 m in length and inclined at around 30° (Figure 159). The four rock shelters (lowermost, lower-middle, upper-middle, uppermost) each have an area of c. 9–12 m² (Figures 160–163). The walls of the various structures have been reduced to a height of 1 m or less. They are built of roughly hewn pieces of local limestone up to 60 cm in length. The age of the ruins has not been determined, except to state that, like other archaic residential sites at Gnam mtsho, they are most plausibly attributed to the Late Prehistoric era and/or the Early Historic period.

A little further west of the archaic residential installation at Lug do described above there is another residential complex overlooking Gnam mtsho (Figures 164 and 165). The remains of rock and adobe block walls were constructed around an overhang in the formation. The site appears to have been made up of one or two small buildings whose walls contain masonry lower courses and adobe block upper courses. On a ledge immediately to the right (east) of the ruined residences, there are traces of three rectangular adobe structures set on a masonry plinth. These ritual structures appear to have functioned as tabernacles for enshrining deities, as is met with at a great many residential sites in Tibet, both ancient and contemporary. As rule, adobe block structures on the Byang thang are associated with Historic era constructions.³ The relatively minimal erosion of the adobe blocks and relative tall freestanding walls of the residential complex also seem to support a periodization in the Historic era. Yet, it is curious that there are no identifiable Buddhist constructions or emblems (e.g. *chortens*, inscribed prayer plaques, prayer flags, etc.) deposited at this Lug do site, a practice commonplace even at abandoned Buddhist edifices. This may suggest that the residential complex was inhabited by non-Buddhists. If so, the ruins are best dated to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

² There are other archaic cliff and cave shelters that were built on natural stone rampways in Upper Tibet. A more extensive example is found on the Central Byang thang at Brag mthu bo che (Great Powerful Formation; Bellezza 2001: 112).

³ On the early use of adobe block constructions in Upper Tibet, see Bellezza 2008: 43; 2014c: 4, 5.

S7_L1

S7_L1, like other loci at Lug do, is a small cave with a southern aspect in the face of the formation which overlooks Gnam mtsho. Eight red ochre pictographs were inventoried in this locus. Both animals and symbols were painted here. Two of the subjects are each assigned to the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods, four to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, and two to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. The relative importance of this cave is indicated by the remains of a clay-mortared masonry façade, which intimates occupation prior to the Late Historic period.



Figure 166. S7_L1. Note the remains of the ancient façade wall that enclosed the mouth of the cave.

Inventory No: S7_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 22 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat554

Comments: With its long tail curling over the back, the subject may possibly represent a snow leopard or tiger.
Placement: Unfixed. Inside the cave.

Inventory No: S7_L1_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat554

Comments: The subject consists a horseshoe-shaped form.
Placement: Above S7_L1_C1.

Inventory No: S7_L1_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat555

Comments: The subject may possibly depict an anthropomorph with flame-like motifs around the head, which stands on a curved element partitioned into many segments and edged by a line of petal-like motifs.
Placement: To left of S7_L1_C1.

Inventory No: S7_L1_C4a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: biomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat556

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a horseback rider.
Placement: Above S7_L1_C2, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S7_L1_C4b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate?	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 17 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat556

Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild ungulate but it was partially obscured by an added red ochre pigment application.
Placement: Above S7_L1_C4a

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LUG DO (S7)

Inventory No: S7_L1_C4c

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 12 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat556

Comments: The horseback rider may possibly be shown armed with a bow and arrow.

Placement: Above S7_L1_C4b.

Inventory No: S7_L1_C5

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat557

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S7_L1_C6

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: endless knot

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat557

Comments: The endless knot contains 12 cells.

Placement: Above S7_L1_C5.

S7_L2

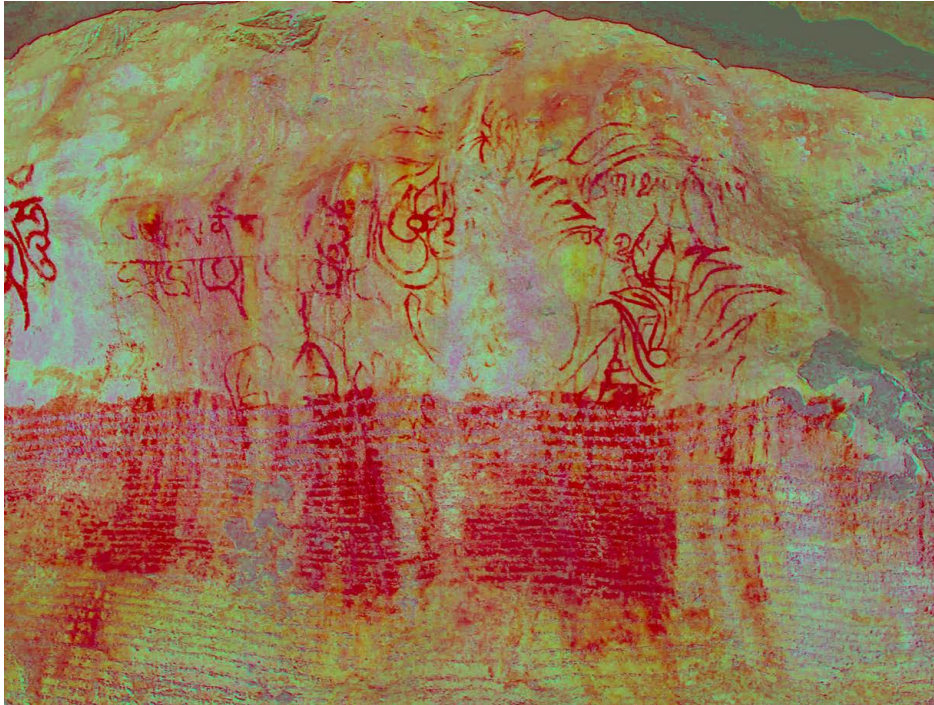


Figure 167. S7_L2. The three partly intact flaming jewels symbols and other religious pictographs painted on this rock panel are visible in the photograph. The image has been digitally enhanced to visually accentuate the rock art.

S7_L2 is comprised of a rock panel (c. 7 m × 2 m) in the face of the formation that is protected by a natural overhang. There are also two recesses in the cliff face immediately to the west of the panel. 28 red ochre pictographs have been inventoried in this locus. They include two subjects, each of which is attributed to the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods. Each of 13 subjects are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, each of three are attributed the Vestigial or Late Historic periods, and ten others are dated to the Late Historic period. There are many other pictographs made in a black pigment attributable to the Late Historic period that are not inventoried separately. The main rock panel hosts an impressive ensemble of what appear to be non-Buddhist religious symbols and sacred architecture. Unfortunately, this set of rock art was largely destroyed by later Buddhist inscribers of mantras and prayers.

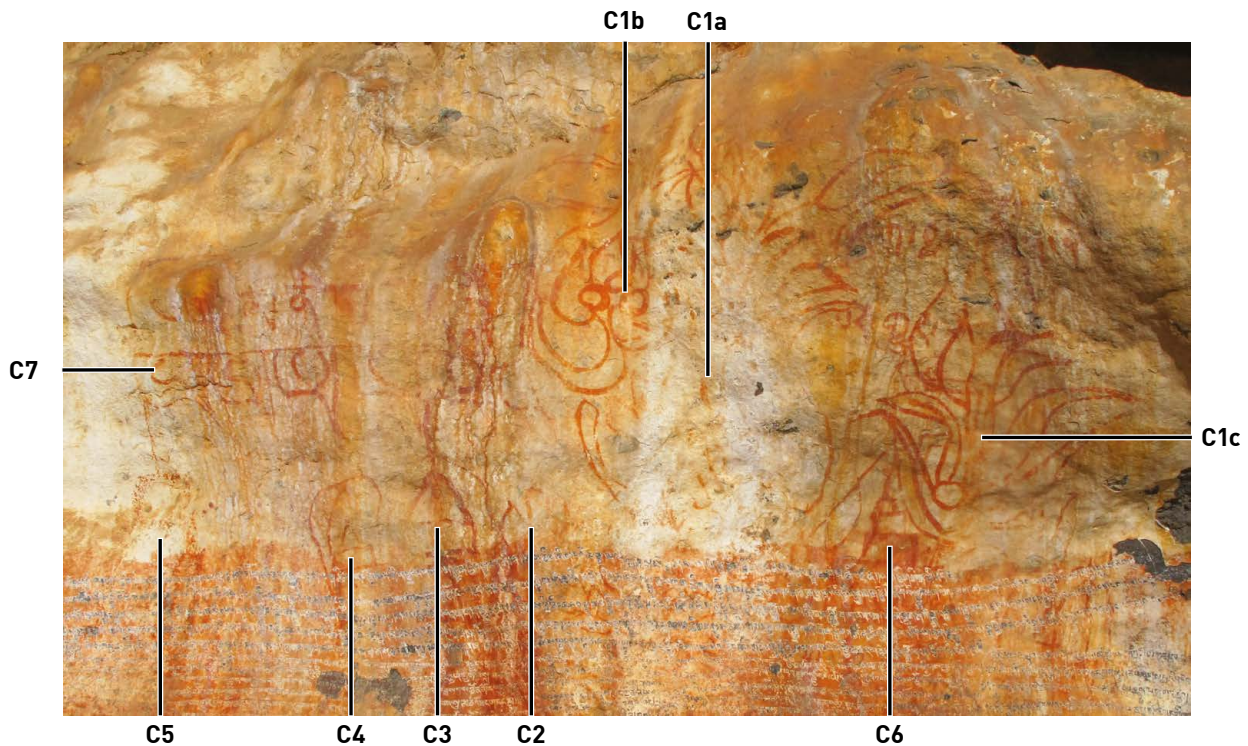


Figure 168. Locations of some of the rock art in S7_L2.

Inventory No: S7_L2_C1a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: flaming jewels?	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 167

Comments: The subject constitutes an elaborate flaming jewels symbol, much of which has been obliterated. Most of the stone surface that the pictograph was painted on has been scoured clean of its red ochre pigment application. The subject is the largest (roughly 1 m in height) of three intricate flaming jewels symbol appearing on the same panel, which seem to have been painted by the same person(s). A large band of red ochre, c. 1 m in height, coats the lower portion of the rock panel, upon which at least 50 long lines of Buddhist text were carved (consisting of many hundreds of words). The way in which Buddhist inscriptions have intruded upon the rock art, and the obscuring of the lower section of rock art on the panel by a wide red ochre band, strongly suggest that the flaming jewels and other religious pictographs were created by those practising non-Buddhist traditions.

Placement: Middle of panel.

Inventory No: S7_L2_C1b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: flaming jewels	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat558

Comments: The central triple jewels and the left half of the flames of the subject are still largely intact.

Placement: To left of upper part of S7_L2_C1a.

Inventory No: S7_L2_C1c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: flaming jewels	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat559

Comments: Much of the subject is still extant. A Tibetan red ochre inscription of two lines was superimposed on the subject and on S7_L2_C1b. Photographic coverage is inadequate to assess it properly. For other red ochre inscriptions in the locus, see Bellezza 2020b: 219 (fig. 10.208).

Placement: To right of S7_L2_C1a.

Inventory No: S7_L2_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 167

Comments: Much of the subject has been obscured by the large band of red ochre that stretches across the rock panel. The visible part of the subject depicts three tongues of flames. S7_L2_C2 may have been painted in conjunction with one or more proximate pictographs, but this could not be determined with any assurance due to the manner in which the rock panel has been modified by subsequent Buddhist inscribers.

Placement: Below S7_L2_C1b.**Inventory No:** S7_L2_C3**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 167

Comments: Much of the subject has been obscured by the large band of red ochre that stretches across the rock panel. The visible part of the subject depicts the mast and two upper tiers of a stepped structure. It seems to be one of four such stepped structures in a row, of which only the upper portions are still visible. Along with the flaming jewels, these various pictographs indicate that a dramatic set of religiously inspired rock art once graced this rock panel.

Placement: To left of S7_L2_C2.**Inventory No:** S7_L2_C4**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 167

Comments: Much of the subject has been obscured by the large band of red ochre that stretches across the rock panel. The visible part of the subject depicts the upper two tiers of a stepped structure.

Placement: To left of S7_L2_C3.**Inventory No:** S7_L2_C5**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure?**Theme:** sacred architecture?**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 167

Comments: The visible part of the subject depicts what appears to be the upper two tiers of a stepped structure. Unlike the four proximate stepped structures, this one lacks a pointed top stage.

Placement: To left of S7_L2_C4.**Inventory No:** S7_L2_C6**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat560

Comments: The visible part of the subject depicts the mast and upper five tiers of a stepped structure, much of which was damaged by a Buddhist inscription.

Placement: Below S7_L2_1c.**Inventory No:** S7_L2_C7**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** lotus petals**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Figure 167

Comments: The subject consists of a horizontal row of four interconnected lotus petals that appears to have been created by a Buddhist artist.

Placement: Above S7_L2_C3 to S7_L2_C5.

S7_L3

S7_L3, a small cave with two mouths and two interconnected chambers, is 10 m west of S7_L2. Eight pictographs drawn in a black pigment were inventoried in this locus. Seven of these subjects are dated to the Late Historic period and one to either the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. Most, if not all, of this rock art is symbolic or religious in nature.



Figure 170. S7_L3. This small cave has two mouths that access two interconnected chambers.

Inventory No: S7_L3_C1

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat568

Comments: The subject consists of a rectangular outline with 15 extant circles inside. The right side of the pictograph was destroyed when the light-coloured veneer broke away from the cave wall. In the available image part of the left edge of the subject is cut. It is possible that the subject was made contemporaneously with one or more proximate pictographs. To the left of it there are various black pigment applications that date to the Late Historic period, none of which amount to anything significant (NIS).

Placement: In the passageway connecting the two chambers of the cave.

Inventory No: S7_L3_C2

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: sunburst

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat568

Comments: The sunburst has 16 rays.

Placement: To right of S7_L3_C1.

Inventory No: S7_L3_C3

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: crossed thunderbolts

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat568

Comments: The subject (*rdo rje rgya gram*) is simply executed, but well formed.

Placement: To right of S7_L3_C2.

Inventory No: S7_L3_C4

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: LW

Subject: thunderbolt

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat569

Comments: About a quarter of the subject has been lost, together with the naturally occurring mineral veneer upon which it was drawn. The subject and S7_L3_C3 may possibly form an integral composition.

Placement: Above S7_L3_C3.

S7_L5

S2_L5 is a recess in the cave situated in the middle of the Lug do headland. Six subjects painted in red ochre and a black pigment were inventoried in this locus. Each of two of the subjects are dated to the Iron Age or Protohistoric period, two possibly to the Early Historic period, and two subjects to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. Although few, the pictographs of the locus embrace diverse themes.



Figure 172. S2_L5 is the recess in the middle of the image.

Inventory No: S7_L5_C1

Type: picto/RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: bird

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 23 cm tall

Image ref: Cat572

Comments: The subject represents a horned eagle (*khyung*). Line drawings made with a black pigment that appear to belong to the Modern period are superimposed on the subject (NIS).

Placement: In upper part of recess.

Inventory No: S7_L5_C2

Type: picto/BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat573

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an equid. Based on pigment and wear qualities, the subject may possibly have been made with S7_L5_C3.

Placement: Below S7_L5_C1.

Inventory No: S7_L5_C3

Type: picto/BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: geometric

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat573

Comments: The subject consists of a circle marked by a cross, the four lines of which extend beyond the circumference.

Placement: To left of S7_L5_C2.

Inventory No: S7_L5_C4

Type: picto/RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW/HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat574

Comments: It is not clear whether the subject is depicted with prominent ears or horns.

Placement: To right of S7_L5_C3.

Inventory No: S7_L5_C5a

Type: picto/RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat575

Comments: The subject may possibly be shown holding a bow.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S7_L5_C5b

Type: picto/RO

Subject: quadruped

Arrangement: paired

Comments: The subject may possibly represent the object of a hunt. There are also many more recent pictographs in the locus that were painted using a black pigment, including the crudely executed representation of a house dating to the Modern period (NIS).

Placement: Below S7_L5_C5a.

Mode: outlined

Theme: unknown

Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat575

S7_L6

S7_L6 is a natural cave shelter in the formation on the west side of Lug do. The locus contains two red ochre stepped shrines that almost certainly were painted by a non-Buddhist. These paired pictographs are dated to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

Inventory No: S7_L6_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: paired

Comments: This highly unusual depiction of a stepped structure was probably created by an individual who practised the local, non-Buddhist religion.

Placement: In middle of rear wall of parietal structure.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18k).

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: 78 cm (v)

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: NI



Figure 173. S7_L6. The rock art is in the middle of the rear of this natural cave shelter.

Inventory No: S7_L6_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: paired

Comments: The subject, with its tapering base, is of a similar style to its counterpart.

Placement: To left of S7_L6_C1a.

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: 60 cm (v)

Condition: MW/HW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat576

S7_L7

S7_L7, another small cave, is at the west end of the Lug do headland. Just two subjects have been inventoried here. These red ochre symbolic pictographs are each assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

Inventory No: S7_L7_C1

Type: picto, RO

Subject: swastika

Arrangement: single?

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Inside cave.

Mode: linear

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat577

Inventory No: S7_L7_C2

Type: picto, RO

Subject: swastika

Arrangement: single?

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Below S7_L7_C1.

Mode: linear

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat577

Ra ma do (s8)

Surveys conducted in 1995, 1997, and 2012



Map 12. The rock art loci of Ra ma do (S8).

Ra ma do (Female Goat Headland) is another large limestone headland at Gnam mtsho, which belongs to the local sacred geographic tradition known as the Eighteen Great Sunny Headlands and Islands. Rock art in this site is concentrated at the east end of the south side of the headland. 30 subjects were tallied, all but one of which are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The other pictograph at the site appears to be considerably older than the rest. Rock art production at Ra mo do is distinguished by the diverse assortment of mineral pigments, which includes polychrome and bichrome specimens. The site is rich in symbolic pictographs made by both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. There are also several anthropomorphs and zoomorphs among the pictographs.



Figure 174. Ra ma do (S8) as seen from the east.

On the east side of Ra mo do there is an ancient sub-rectangular enclosure formed by perimeter walls built of uncut limestone pieces up to 80 cm in length (Figure 176). The irregular walls of the perimeter are constructed of stones embedded in the ground, as well as some overlying stones that produce a second vertical course of masonry. Enclosures sharing cognate morphological traits are commonplace in Upper Tibet west of the 89th meridian: these are chiefly burial and funerary ritual monuments.



Figure 175. Ra ma do (S8) is on the right side (west) and Lug do on the left side (east) of the photograph.



Figure 176. A small, walled enclosure on the east side of Ra ma do. Such structures in Upper Tibet are often associated with burial and/or funerary rituals.



Figure 177. S8_L1. The cave with the rock art is on the right side of the formation, the far-eastern end of the south side of the Ra mo do headland.

S8_L1

S8_L1 is a shallow but relatively spacious cave with a southern aspect set on the eastern edge of the formation of Ra ma do. This part of the formation is almost house-like in form. The locus is noteworthy for its bichrome and polychrome pictographs. 13 subjects have been inventoried here, 12 of which are dated to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The thirteenth pictograph, the only one created in a black mineral pigment in the locus, appears to be considerably older than the others.

Inventory No: S8_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO/YO/WP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 45 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 178

Comments: One of the only polychrome pictographs in Upper Tibet. It is probably a non-Buddhist depiction of the stepped shrine. The subject may possibly have been made in conjunction with one or more proximate pictographs.

Placement: Middle section of outer right wall of cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 262 (fig. 14); 2020b: 50 (fig. 18h).

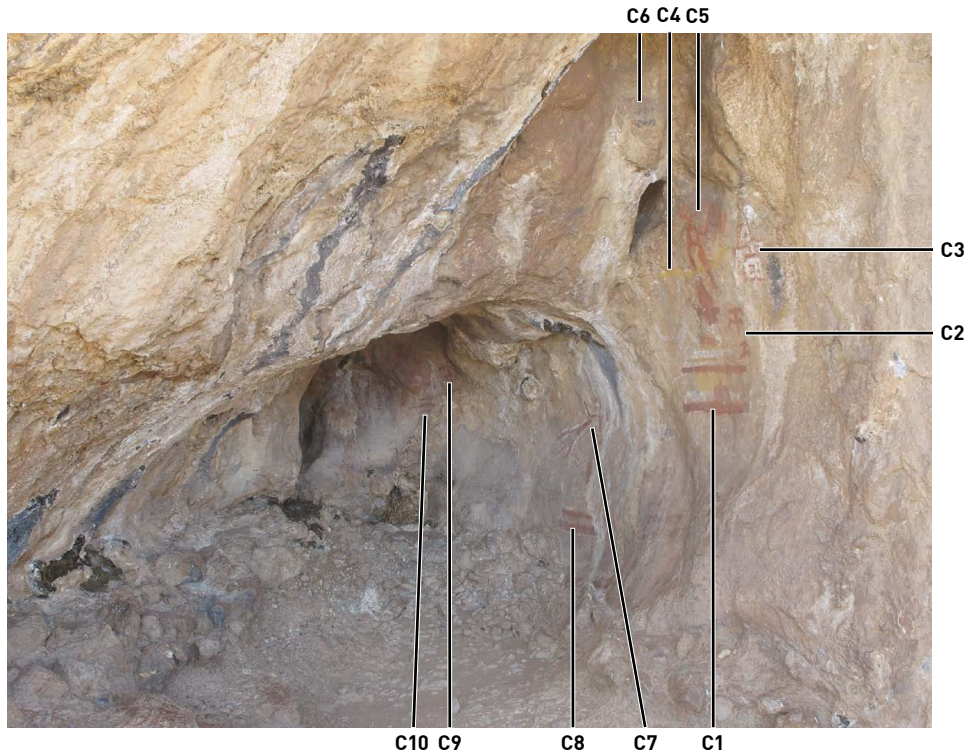


Figure 178. Locations of rock art in S8_L1.

Inventory No: S8_L1_C2a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: biomorph

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 11 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat578

Comments: The subject seems to represent an animal or anthropomorph.

Placement: To right of middle part of S8_L1_C1.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 262 (fig. 14).

Inventory No: S8_L1_C2b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: biomorph

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 6 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat578

Comments: The subject seems to represent an animal or anthropomorph.

Placement: Below S8_L1_C2a.

Inventory No: S8_L1_C3

Type: picto, RO/WP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 27 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat579

Comments: The subject may represent a stepped structure, or even possibly an anthropomorph.

Placement: To right of and above S8_L1_C1.

Inventory No: S8_L1_C4

Type: picto, YO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: outlined

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat580

Comments: The subject consists of a single, slightly curving, yellow line.

Placement: Above S8_L1_C1.

Inventory No: S8_L1_C12**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** anthropomorph?**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat585**Comments:** The subject appears to represent a rudimentary human figure.**Placement:** Above S8_L1_C11.**S8_L2**

S8_L2 is a small cave in which only two red ochre pictographs were inventoried. Both of these subjects are non-Buddhist swastikas, each of which dates to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

Inventory No: S8_L2_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat586

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. Below it is a highly fragmentary Tibetan red ochre inscription in *dbu med* script, consisting of at least seven lines.

Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave.**Inventory No:** S8_L2_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 10 cm (v)**Image ref:** Figure 179

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. Below it is a non-Buddhist inscription that reads: *A Om h[ung]* (written vertically). The inscription and swastika appear to have been made by the same hand.

Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave.**S8_L3**

S8_L3 is another small cave on the south side of the headland.

13 red ochre subjects, each of which dates to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, have been inventoried in this locus. Many of these pictographs are rich in symbolic and religious meaning. The presence of Buddhists and non-Buddhists at the cave is marked by a clockwise and a counter-clockwise swastika.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** serpent?**Theme:** symbolic?**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat587

Comments: The subject consists of a spiral with various extensions; it may possibly represent a snake. It is possible that the subject was made in conjunction with one or more pictographs on the same rock panel of the cave. All pictographs on this panel share analogous pigment and wear qualities, as well as some stylistic affinities.

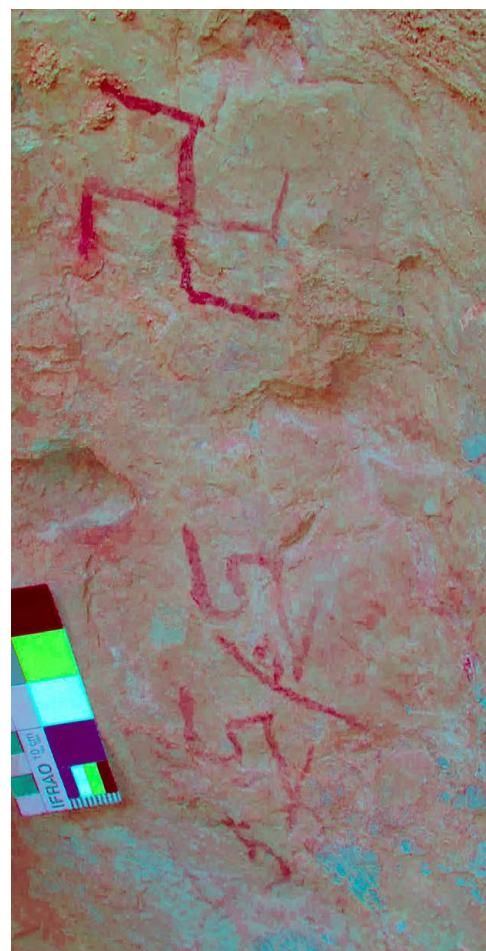
Placement: Unfixed inside the cave.

Figure 179. S8_L2_C2. Non-Buddhist swastika and mantric inscription. The image has been digitally enhanced for visual clarity.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C2

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat589
Comments: The bird is shown in profile.
Placement: To right of S8_L3_C1.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C3a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: fish **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat588, Cat589, Cat590
Comments: The subject has an unadorned sinuous body. This fish and its counterpart are one of three pair of fishes nested inside one another.
Placement: To right of and above S8_L3_C1.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C3b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: fish **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat589
Comments: The subject has an unadorned sinuous body.
Placement: To left of and below S8_L3_C4a.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C4a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: fish **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat589
Comments: The subject has a round fin or crest on its head.
Placement: Above S8_L3_C1.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C4b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: fish **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat589
Comments: The subject has a round fin or crest on its head.
Placement: To right of S8_L3_C4a.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C5a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: fish **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 35 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat589, Cat590
Comments: The subject was relatively intricately drawn with a head, two segmented fins, and segmented tail.
Placement: To left of and above of S8_L3_C4a.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C5b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: fish **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat589
Comments: The subject was relatively intricately drawn with a head, two segmented fins, and segmented tail.
Placement: To right of and above of S8_L3_C4b.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat589

Comments: The arms of the swastika are out of sync. It has a dot between each of the four arms, which is often indicative of a Buddhist symbol. This calls into question the religious identity of the entire panel of pictographs.

Placement: Above of S8_L3_C5.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat589, Cat591

Comments: With its swept-back horns, the subject appears to represent an antelope or wild sheep.

Placement: To right of S8_L3_C3a.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat589

Comments: With its short horns, lithe body, and long legs, the subject resembles a gazelle.

Placement: To right of and above S8_L3_C7.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C9

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: cervid	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat589, Cat592

Comments: The subject was portrayed with a set of antlers and a U-shaped motif with dots inside resting on its back (representation of jewels?). As with the three pairs of fishes on the same rock panel, this subject appears to be laden with religious and symbolic significance.

Placement: To right of S8_L3_C8.

Inventory No: S8_L3_C10

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 12 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat593

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

S8_L4

S8_L4 is a point on the face of the rocky headland situated 6 m west of a cave with red ochre inscriptions (see Bellezza 2020b: 221 (fig. 10.214), which in this work are misattributed to Lug do). The locus is a few metres east of a large cave in the formation. One bichrome subject of unclear identity was inventoried here. This pictograph appears to date to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

Inventory No: S8_L4_C1

Type: picto, RO/WP	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 21 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat594

Comments: The subject consists of an upper, oval-shaped contour with a curvilinear motif inside, which is linked to an oblong lower motif.

Placement: On cliff wall.

S8_L5

S8_L5 is situated to the right of the mouth of a relatively large cave. One non-Buddhist symbolic pictograph, which dates to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, was inventoried in this locus.

Inventory No: S8_L5_C1

Type: picto, WP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW

Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP

Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat595

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. Next to it is a partially destroyed Tibetan red ochre inscription that reads: *Om* (Figure 180). There are also faint red ochre pigment applications in the vicinity for which there is no photographic coverage.

Placement: Unfixed.



Figure 180. Tibetan red ochre inscription in S8_L5. The image has been digitally enhanced for ease of readability.

Stong shong phug (S9)

Surveys conducted in 1995, 1997, and 2012



Map 13. The rock art loci of Stong shong phug (S9).

The site is named for Stong shong phug (S9_L3), one of the largest caves at Gnam mtsho, which is situated on the south side of a limestone formation, together with some ten smaller caves immediately to the east. All these caves generally have a southern aspect. 44 subjects, painted in red ochre and white and black pigments, were inventoried at this site. 39 subjects are each dated to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, four to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods, and one to the Iron Age or Protohistoric periods. The rock art of Stong shong phug is strongly biased towards religious symbols and architecture of a non-Buddhist origin. Virtually no Buddhist pictographs, and perhaps no Buddhist rock inscriptions, were made at the site. The religious composition of the rock art and inscriptions reflects a local oral tradition, attributing the occupation of the site's namesake cave to the ancient *bon po*. Stong shong phug proper is one of the only caves at Gnam mtsho to retain its pre-Buddhist associations in the local society.



Figure 181. The formation of Stong shong phug (S9) in the background. In the foreground is a tourist facility constructed c. 2011. Photograph taken in 2012.



Figure 182. The three pinnacles of Rigs gsum mgon po (named after the three primary bodhisattvas), a little west of Stong shong phug, a famous local landmark.

S9_L1

S9_L1 consists of a single bichrome pictograph suspended c. 3 m above ground level on the right side of the mouth of a relatively large cave ensconced in the formation of Stong shong phug. The sole subject in this locus is dated to the Early Historic period.

Inventory No: S9_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO/WP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 70 cm tall

Image ref: Cat596

Comments: The subject consists of a circle, around which radiate 14 petal-like motifs. In the centre of the circle there is a motif whose contours are reminiscent of the form of a Tibetan copper-alloy talisman (dated to the Imperial period) in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK (see <https://collections.ashmolean.org/>, Accession no. EA2001.154). Below the subject there is a red ochre pigment application of no apparent pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: Approximately 3 m up on the right side of mouth of cave.

S9_L2

S9_L2 is a shallow cave in the Stong shong formation, the mouth of which is elevated c. 2 m above the surrounding ground level. Six subjects painted in red ochre and a black pigment have been inventoried inside this cave. Each of four of these subjects are dated to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, one is attributed to the Iron Age or Protohistoric periods, and one to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods.

Inventory No: S9_L2_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 68 cm tall

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject has a spire with cross-pieces.

Placement: Unfixed. In the cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 46 (fig. 14a).

Inventory No: S9_L2_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: composite

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: 48 cm tall

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject has a spire with cross-pieces.

Placement: To right of S9_L2_C1a.

Inventory No: S9_L2_C1c

Type: picto, RO

Subject: anthropomorph

Arrangement: composite

Mode: linear

Theme: unknown

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat597

Comments: The subject was executed in an elementary manner.

Placement: Between S9_L2_C1a and S9_L2_C1b.



Figure 183. S9_L2.

Inventory No: S9_L2_C2

Type: picto, RO

Subject: bird?

Arrangement: composite

Comments: The subject may represent a bird with a very broad tail. The bottom portion of the pictograph is cut in the selected photograph.

Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave.

Mode: outlined

Theme: unknown

Dimensions: 20 cm (v)

Condition: HW

Age (est.): IA/PP

Image ref: Cat598

Inventory No: S9_L2_C3

Type: picto, BP

Subject: carnivore

Arrangement: single

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a lion.

Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave.

Mode: outlined

Theme: unknown

Dimensions: 48 cm (h)

Condition: MW

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Image ref: Cat599

Inventory No: S9_L2_C4

Type: picto, RO

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: single

Comments: The subject has four graduated tiers and only a hint of a spire. To the left of and above the subject is a red ochre pigment application of no obvious pictorial significance (NIS).

Placement: Unfixed. Inside cave?

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP

Image ref: Cat600

Stong shong phug (S9_L3)

Stong shong phug (A Thousand Capacity Cave) proper is named for its reputed facility to hold a thousand sheep and goats. The contemporary name however is based on a folk etymology. Stong shong phug was used to shelter sheep and goats during the 7th and 8th Tibetan lunar months. This almost round cave has a maximum depth of 27 m and a maximum width of 15 m. The roof of the capacious cave is suspended c. 7 m above the cave floor. In the middle of the roof of the cave there is a large orifice, measuring c. 3 m in diameter and 7 m in length, which opens up on



Figure 184. Stong shong phug proper (S9_L3) before redevelopment by the Chinese. What appear to be faint traces of the original masonry façade and the piles of re-stacked stones can be seen. Photograph taken in 2008.

the summit of the formation. Rock art is clustered in and around a natural alcove against the rear wall of the cave. 37 red ochre, black pigment and white pigment subjects have been inventoried in the locus. Each of 34 of these are dated to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, while each of the remaining three subjects are assigned to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. The pictographs of Stong shong phug are weighted heavily in favour of non-Buddhist symbolic and religious compositions. Beginning c. 2011, the cave was requisitioned by the PRC government and redeveloped as a sight-seeing attraction. The cave floor and the path leading up to it from a new road have been paved over and a few benches for sitting installed. Before the site's redevelopment, stones embedded in the ground and re-stacked piles in front of the mouth of Stong shong phug suggest that at one time there was a masonry façade enclosing the cave. Other archaeological remains that existed around Stong shong phug included a masonry platform and sub-rectangular enclosures (Bellezza 1997a: 249). The current status of these ancient structures is unknown. The southern exposure, capacious interior, and view onto Gnam mtsho all help to explain the ancient attraction of the cave. The hole in the roof may also have added to the mythic and religious allure of Stong shong phug in ancient times. Unfortunately, as of 2012, no efforts were being made to conserve the rock art or what has survived of the archaeological monuments in the locus, or even acknowledge their existence through noticeboards.

According to one of the most knowledgeable lay practitioners at Gnam mtsho, A thob, the older name of the Stong shong phug was Stong rgyung phug. Stong rgyung mthu chen, an 8th-century AD *bon* master, is one of the most famous personalities of that time recorded in Yungdrung Bon sources.¹ In those textual sources Stong rgyung mthu chen is a member of the Mkhas pa mi bzhi, a quartet of highly influential *bon* scholars and translators. The Yungdrung Bon tradition is unambiguous in placing this sage at Gnam mtsho (in textual accounts he is associated with S1-S2 and S10). The phonological jump from Stong shong to Stong rgyung is not very large in the local (A pha hor) dialect of Tibetan, adding credence to the cave's association with Stong rgyung mthu chen. The manipulation of old toponyms to reflect Buddhist concepts and values is commonplace in Tibet. Moreover, the local oral tradition still connects Stong shong phug to the *bon po*, averring that it was once a stronghold of these non-Buddhist practitioners. In a legend collected from two highly respected lamas who hail from the Gnam mtsho region, it is said that at one time the lake rose very rapidly and the only way the *bon po* could escape from the cave was by magically creating a hole in the roof and ascending through it on a celestial cord (*dmu thag*; Bellezza 1997a: 249). Thus, the oral and literary traditions associated with Stong shong phug square nicely with its non-Buddhist themed rock art.

¹ On this ancient master see, Karmay 1972: 27, 42, 49, 56, 58, 72, 73, 85, 89; Bellezza 1997a: 271, 272, 286 (n. 42); 2001: 59–61; 2005: 244, 314, 315, 419, 420; 2008: 212.



Figure 185. The passageway in the roof of Stong shong phug.



Figure 186. One of the ancient stone enclosures in the vicinity of Stong shong phug. Photograph taken in 1997. It is not known whether this structure has survived the redevelopment of the site.



Figure 187. Stong shong phug after redevelopment. Photograph taken in 2012.

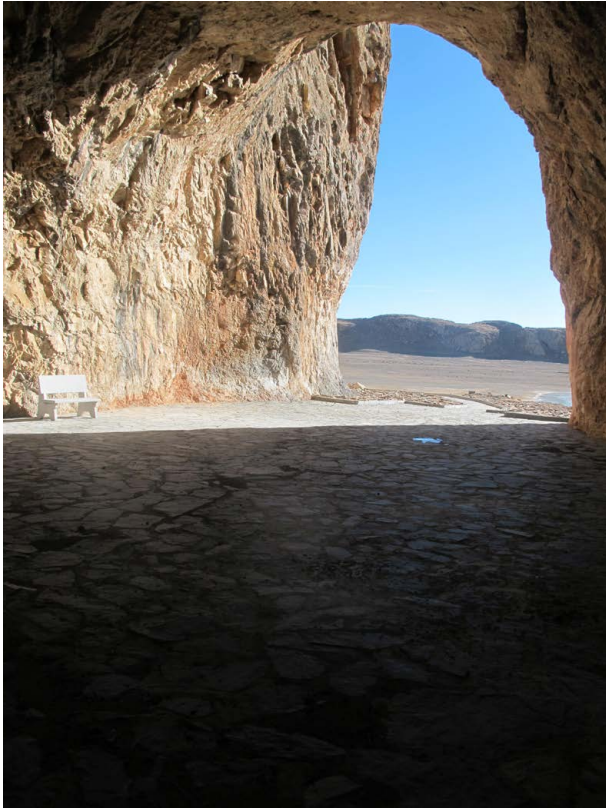


Figure 188. View out from the rear of Stong shong phug.
Photograph taken in 2012.

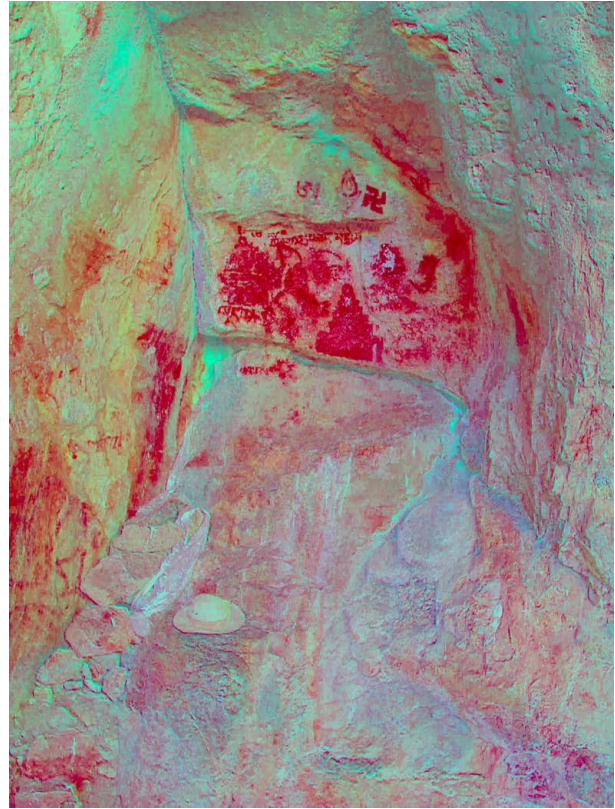


Figure 189. S9_L3. The central panel (2 m × 90 cm) is suspended c. 2 m above the floor of the cave (upper half of the photograph). The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the clarity of the pictographs.

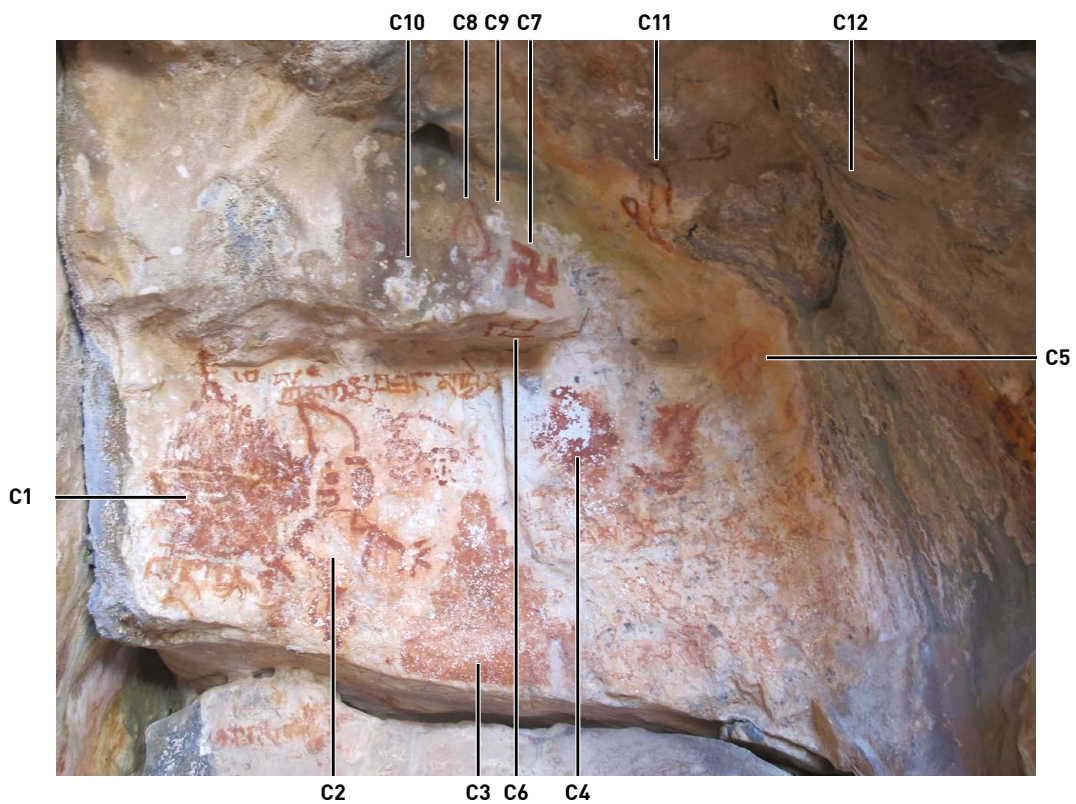


Figure 190. Locations of rock art on and around the central panel of S9_L3.

*Central panel and ledge***Inventory No:** S9_L3_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 55 cm (v)**Image ref:** NI**Comments:** Proximate rock art and the placement of inscriptions suggest that the subject is a non-Buddhist version of the monument. There are faint red ochre applications of no significant pictorial value on the rear wall, below the central panel (NIS).**Placement:** Lower left side of central panel in cave.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 46 (fig. 14l).**Inventory No:** S9_L3_C2**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** partially silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 60 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat601**Comments:** The subject is portrayed with a high-peaked hat, similar to the ones worn by Lamaist monks.**Placement:** To right of S9_L3_C1.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 223 (fig. 220).**Inventory No:** S9_L3_C3**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 60 cm (v)**Image ref:** NI**Comments:** Proximate rock art and the placement of inscriptions suggest that the subject is a non-Buddhist version of the monument.**Placement:** To right of S9_L3_C2.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 46 (fig. 14m).**Inventory No:** S9_L3_C4**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** silhouetted**Condition:** MW**Subject:** stepped structure?**Theme:** sacred architecture**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 23 cm (v)**Image ref:** Figure 189**Comments:** The subject appears to represent an unfinished stepped structure. However, much of this rather roughly painted pictograph has been destroyed.**Placement:** To right of and above S9_L3_C3.**Inventory No:** S9_L3_C5**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** MW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat602**Comments:** The swastika is aligned in a clockwise direction.**Placement:** To right of S9_L3_C4, on upper right side of central panel, at an appreciable distance.**Inventory No:** S9_L3_C6**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** MW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat603**Comments:** The swastika is aligned in a counter-clockwise direction.**Placement:** Above S9_L3_C4, on overhang of ledge above central panel.

Se mo do (S10)

Survey conducted in 2006



Map 14. The rock art loci of Se mo do (S10).

Se mo do, also known as Srin mo do (*srin mo* is a class of female carnivorous deity-demons) and Nang do (Inner Island), constitutes the geomantic core of Gnam mtsho in local sacred geographic traditions. This island is thought to occupy the innermost and most secret geographic position at the lake. It belongs to the Eighteen Sunlit Headlands and Islands, a group of sacred topographic features at Gnam mtsho. Se mo do, the largest island in Gnam mtsho, measures 2.2 km in length (there are also three smaller islets in the lake). Se mo do is situated in the northwest portion of the lake and at its closest point it is 3.5 km offshore. With one exception, the rock art of this site is found in parietal structures of the limestone escarpment that runs along the south side of the island. 18 red ochre subjects have been inventoried at Se mo do. Between nine and 11 are each assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods and between seven and nine to the Late Historic period. Virtually all this rock art is symbolic and religious in make-up and includes swastikas, flaming jewels symbols, one or two stepped structures, an endless knot, a conjoined sun and moon, and two cruciform subjects. Most of it was made by non-Buddhist practitioners who appear to have been intent on maintaining symbolic or nominal control of Se mo do, even in more recent times. Perhaps the only pictograph that was painted by a Buddhist in S10 is a conjoined sun and moon symbol, which is superimposed on a non-Buddhist mantric inscription.

Due to its highly coveted geographic position, Se mo do became a major focus of permanent settlement sometime during the Late Prehistoric era. There were two major phases of cave residence construction: an earlier and much more ambitious phase, and a second phase that is associated with Buddhist masters in the Tibetan oral and textual traditions (the latter dated c. 800–1300 AD).¹ Built of local limestone rocks, the Phase I construction extended well

¹ On the history and lore of Se mo do, see Bellezza 1997a: 159–165. On the archaeological monuments of the island, consult Bellezza 2014c: 450–460.



Figure 191. The island of Se mo do (S10) as seen from Rigs lnga do (S11) to the north.



Figure 192. One of the cairns on the summit of Se mo do looking out to the west. There are extensive ritual structures on the summit, with the Buddhists exploiting pre-existing cairns for their own purposes.



Figure 193. A large stone plaque with a carving in relief of the wrathful tutelary deity known as Khro bo bdud rtsis 'khyil ba that belongs to the Rnying ma sect. It is found among the ritual structures planted on the summit of the headland.

beyond the caves, overhangs, and recesses of the escarpment, in what seem to be traces of extensive anterooms and enclosures. On the other hand, Phase II occupation was confined to the parietal structures, and the walls of these residential ruins are of a much lighter construction. Occasional residency by Buddhist meditators in the caves of Se mo do continued until the Modern period. S10 is still infrequently used by herders for their goats and sheep. Traditionally, the island was accessible only during the winter when Gnam mtsho freezes over. In more recent years, on account of the rapid warming of the Tibetan Plateau, access to Se mo do has become more difficult.

S10_L1

S10_L1 is a small, narrow cave (6 m × 2 m) deeply set into the escarpment, on the south-eastern extremity of the Se mo do formation. The only anthropomorphic modification to the cave is a small panel (50 cm × 18 cm) of red ochre pictographs on the rear wall. Three subjects were inventoried in this locus, each of which are dated to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. This rock art appears to be of religious and symbolic significance.

Inventory No: S10_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO

Subject: stepped structure?

Arrangement: composite

Mode: silhouetted

Theme: sacred architecture?

Dimensions: 17 cm (v)

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat618

Comments: The subject may possibly be a depiction of a stepped structure. In any case, it appears to have been deliberately defaced by a successive red ochre pigment application.

Placement: Bottom of panel in cave.

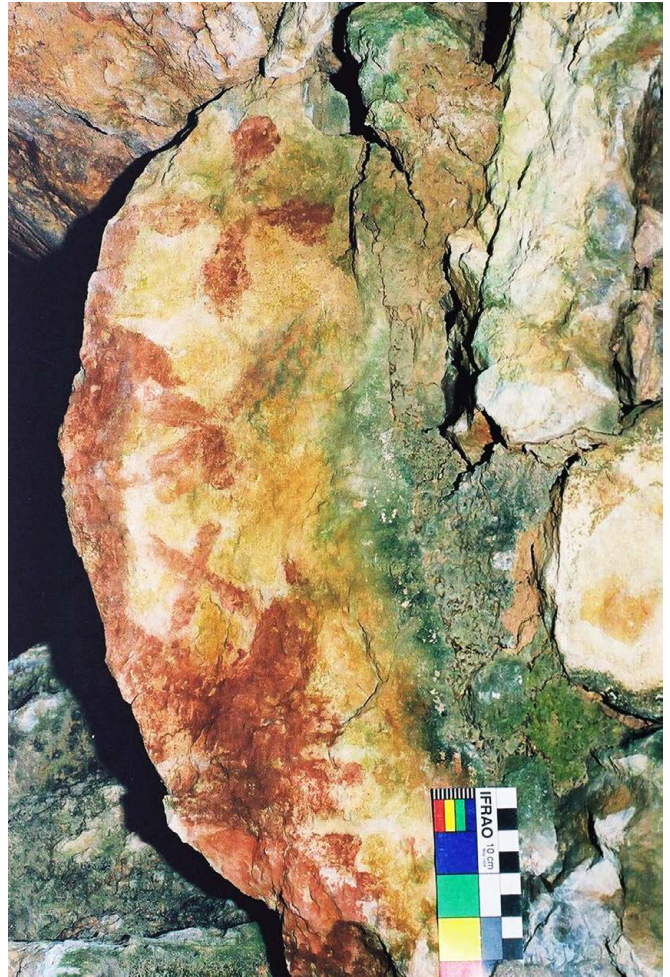


Figure 194. S10_L1.

Inventory No: S10_L1_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: cruciform

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 5 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat618

Comments: The subject appears to have been made in conjunction with other red ochre applications on the same panel. To the left of and below the subject are red ochre pigment applications of no apparent pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: Middle of panel in cave.

Inventory No: S10_L1_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: cruciform

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 9 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat619

Comments: The subject has the form of crossed thunderbolts, a seminal Tibetan Buddhist symbol.

Placement: Top of panel in cave.

Klu khang chung (S10_L3)

Klu khang chung (Small House of the Serpent Spirits; S10_L3) consists of two caves adjacent to S10_L2, which are part of the same ancient residential complex. The structures of S10_L3 (5.3 m × 6.8 m) represent various chronological stages of construction. Four red ochre symbolic subjects dated to the Late Historic period were inventoried in the locus.



Figure 196. The exterior structures in front of S10_L3.



Figure 197. The rock art of S10_L3.

Inventory No: S10_L4_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** endless knot**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat623**Comments:** The subject is covered in a light layer of red ochre, and a *ma ni* mantra was carved into it, evidence for modification of the pictograph by Buddhist adherents.**Placement:** Under an overhang in a large boulder that faces onto the lake.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2008: 188 (fig. 354).**Inventory No:** S10_L4_C2a**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** flaming jewels**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 36 cm (h)**Image ref:** Cat624**Comments:** The subject was well-executed by someone versed in painting Tibetan religious symbols. The three angular jewels in the middle rest upon a lotus petal base and the tongues of fire surrounding them have scalloped edges.**Placement:** On right wall of small cave.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 228 (fig. 10.234).**Inventory No:** S10_L4_C2b**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** flaming jewels**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 22 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat624**Comments:** The subject is characterized by three round jewels enveloped by elaborate tongues of fire. The flames and jewels rest upon a tree-like base.**Placement:** Above S10_L4_C2a.**Inventory No:** S10_L4_C3**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** MW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 22 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat624**Comments:** This counter-clockwise swastika was superimposed on a Tibetan non-Buddhist inscription.**Placement:** To right of S10_L4_C2b.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 228 (fig. 10.234).**Rgyal ba lo ras pa phug (S10_L5)**

S10_5 is a small cave, with the remains of a masonry façade wall, immediately to the west of Rgyal ba lo ras pa phug. Rgyal ba lo ras pa phug is another residential complex at the base of the escarpment rising above the south side of Se mo do. It is named after a celebrated 'Brug pa bka' brgyud pa saint of the 13th century AD. Four red ochre subjects assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods were inventoried in this locus. Like other loci at Se mo do, this rock art is religious and symbolic in nature

Inventory No: S10_L5_C1**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** MW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat625**Comments:** This counter-clockwise swastika was superimposed on a non-Buddhist inscription.**Placement:** Left wall of cave.**Reference(s):** Bellezza 2020b: 229 (fig. 10.236).

Inventory No: S10_L5_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: conjoined sun and moon

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat625

Comments: The subject is superimposed on a non-Buddhist inscription. It appears to be a Buddhist production.

Placement: To left of and above S10_L3_C5.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 229 (fig. 10.236).

Inventory No: S10_L5_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is fairly elementary in design and probably represents a non-Buddhist creation.

Placement: Lower right wall of cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 46 (fig. 14d).



Figure 199. S10_L5.

Rigs lnga do (S11)

Surveys conducted in 1997 and 2012



Map 15. Rock art loci at Rigs lnga do (S11).



Figure 200. Rigs lnga do from the south. This photograph was taken on the island of Se mo do.

Rigs lnga do (Five Diadems Headland; S11) is named after pinnacles atop a limestone formation. The crown of five diadems (*rigs lnga*) is one of the most common types of Tibetan tantric headgear. Rock art at this site is mostly located in south-facing caves and recesses in the escarpment and in an outcrop that faces Gnam mtsho. 11 red ochre subjects have been inventoried at Rigs lnga do, all of which, with one possible exception, predate the Late Historic period.



Figure 201. It is pinnacles such as those pictured for which Rigs Inga do is named. The image shows the southeast side of the formation.

S11_L1

S11_L1 is cave in an isolated limestone outcrop on the east end of Rig Inga do. Just one bichrome subject invested with religious symbolism was painted in the locus. It is assigned to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods.

Inventory No: S11_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO/YO

Subject: triple jewels

Arrangement: single

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Image ref: Cat626

Comments: This rather elaborate subject was well executed by a competent artist. The manner in which a Buddhist mantra was superimposed on it suggests that the pictograph was painted by a non-Buddhist practitioner.

Placement: Inside cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 231 (fig. 10.239).



Figure 202. S11_L1.

S11_L2

S11_L2 is a small cave in the escarpment. Three red ochre subjects, each of which are assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, were inventoried in the locus.

Inventory No: S11_L2_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat627

Comments: The subject with its eight points resembles a flower or dharma wheel (*chos 'khor*). It is possible that this subject was painted in conjunction with S11_L2_C2.

Placement: Inside cave.

Inventory No: S11_L2_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: dots

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat627

Comments: The subject consists of a row of seven dots.

Placement: Above S11_L2_C1.

Inventory No: S11_L2_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat627

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a quadruped.

Placement: Above S11_L2_C2.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 232 (fig. 10.241).

S11_L3

S11_L3 is a recess in the escarpment. One red ochre subject was identified in the locus, dated to the Vestigial period.

Inventory No: S11_L3_C1

Type: picto, RO

Subject: rectangle and other elements

Arrangement: single

Mode: outlined

Theme: devotional

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): VP

Image ref: Cat628

Comments: The subject consists of a rectangular outline and an inner motif that may possibly represent a lama on a throne. The accompanying mantras and prayers demonstrate that this is a Buddhist composition.

Placement: Inside cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 232 (fig. 10.243).

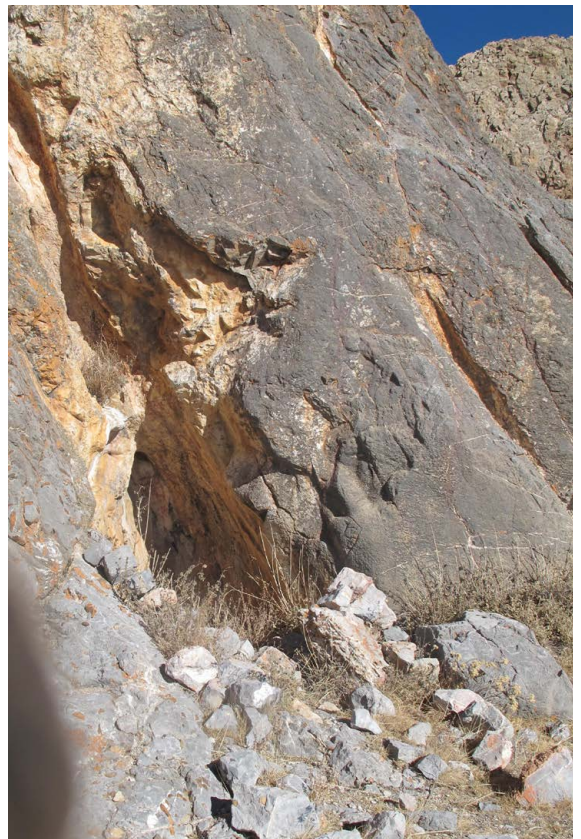


Figure 203. S11_L3.

S11_L4

S11_L4 is a relatively large, west-facing cave that appears once to have had a masonry façade, but only faint traces of this structure are extant. Three red ochre subjects were inventoried in the locus. These pictographs range in age from the Late Prehistoric era to the Vestigial period.



Figure 204. S11_L4. Note the rocky dispersion in front of the mouth of the cave that appears to be structural remains.

Inventory No: S11_L4_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: linear marks	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat629

Comments: The subject consists of at least 28 slashes arranged in an irregular line. There are two additional slashes below it. These linear marks may possibly have been made as some kind of tally.
Placement: Rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S11_L4_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: lotus petals	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat630

Comments: The subject consists of a line of seven or eight lotus petals, a Tibetan Buddhist symbol and motif.
Placement: Rear wall of cave.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 233 (fig. 10.244).

Inventory No: S11_L4_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat631

Comments: The subject consists of a human face-like form and is somewhat reminiscent of the mascoids of Upper Tibet, Spiti and Ladakh, and those of North Inner Asia. There are two small red ochre circles to the left of the subject (NIS).
Placement: Rear wall of cave.

S11_L5

S11_L5, a very small cave, is on the western extremity of the escarpment at Rigs lnga do. Three red ochre subjects have been inventoried in the locus, each of which is assigned to the Protohistoric or Early Historic periods.



Figure 205. S11_L5 is situated at the bottom of the far left side of the formation.

Inventory No: S11_L5_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 29 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat632

Comments: The subject is characterized by a round head, long legs, and may be portrayed holding a linear motif overhead (sword?). A tall, pointed motif extends above the middle of the top of the head of the figure. This motif seems to depict some kind of headgear or plume. Below the subject there are one or two animals, made using the crayon technique, which date to the Late Historic period (NIS). There is also a patch of red ochre to the right of the subject (NIS).

Placement: Inside cave.

Inventory No: S11_L5_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: equid?

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 21 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat632

Comments: The subject has a head that recalls a horse but it appears to sport a pair of horns (psychopomp horses outfitted with horns are described in Old Tibetan literature). The perspective afforded by the composition seems to be that the subject is standing behind S11_L5_C1a. To the left of and above the subject there is a small red pigment application comprised of several interconnected lines and a circle (NIS).

Placement: To right of and left of S11_L5_C1a.

Inventory No: S11_L5_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: cervid

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 12 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat633

Comments: The subject is depicted with antlers, identifying it as a stag.

Placement: Inside cave.

Lce do (S12)

Surveys conducted in 1995, 1997, 2010, and 2012



Map 16. Lce do (S12).

Lce do, also spelled Lci do (S12), is centred around a tiny east-facing cave set in a large limestone formation situated on the northwest side of Gnam mtsho. A stone monument erected on the site *c.* 2011 by the TAR government to mark the rock art site mislabels it as ‘Chig do’ (which is actually the name of one of the islets in the lake). Although it is not counted among the sacred geographic grouping known as the Eighteen Sunlit Headlands and Islands, Lce do is considered a sacred site. Like other rock art sites at Gnam mtsho, many local residents believe that the pictographs of the headland were magically self-formed, a manifestation of the holiness of the place. Unfortunately, some of this precious rock art has been damaged by overzealous carvers of Buddhist mantras in modern times. Approximately 4 km to the south of Lce do is Do skya dgon pa, a relatively small Rnying ma pa facility, one of four Buddhist monasteries founded around Gnam mtsho in the cardinal directions.¹ The primary cave at Lce do is tucked into an overhang in the formation. Although it is only 2 m deep and 1.5 m high at the mouth, it contains the largest group of pictographs of any parietal structure at Gnam mtsho and boasts one of the most extensive aggregations of rock art assigned to the Late Prehistoric era in Upper Tibet. With its hunting scenes and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic portraits, dating from as early as the Late Bronze Age, Lce do is closely aligned thematically and chronologically to rock art sites further west in the territory. The rock art of the Late Prehistoric era at Lce do, particularly in its earlier phases, is vibrant and dynamic in form and style. The pictographs of the cave exhibits a rich palette of ochre pigments. These pigments vary in colour from mustard yellow to various shades of red and purple. The darkest ochres employed are nearly black in colour. The wide chromatic range exhibited by pictographs at Lce do indicates that the sourcing and preparation of mineral pigments for the production of rock art was a relatively well-developed local industry in the Late Prehistoric era. Furthermore, the durability of the early rock art contrasts with pictographs of later periods at Lce do and other sites at Gnam mtsho (with their more limited hues and increased susceptibility to pigment loss and colour degradation).

¹ On Do skya, see Bellezza 1997: 236–238.



Figure 206. The headland of Lce do as seen from the south. The cave hosting nearly all the rock art at the site is found at the base of the large rock outcrop on the far right side of the photograph.



Figure 207. Lce do (S12). The cave with almost all the rock art is situated at the base of the formation in the middle of the photograph (the smaller of the two triangular shaded areas).



Figure 208. The interior of the cave pullulating with rock art at Lce do (S12). Discarded protection cords (*srung mdud*), prayer flags (*rlung rta*), and offering scarves (*kha btags*) hung in the cave are visible on the right side of the photograph. These modern emblems of Buddhist practice extend to the etching of mantras in the walls of the cave.

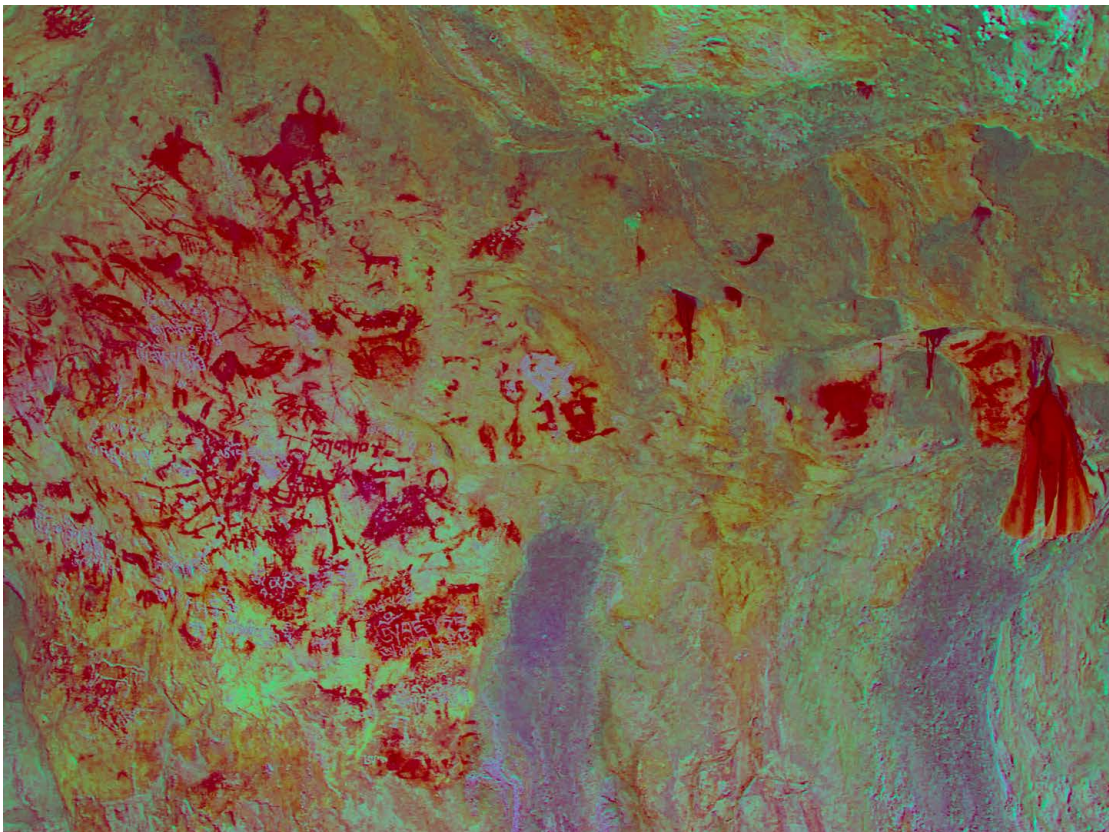


Figure 209. The pictographs on the right outer side of Lce do. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the definition of the individual pictographs.

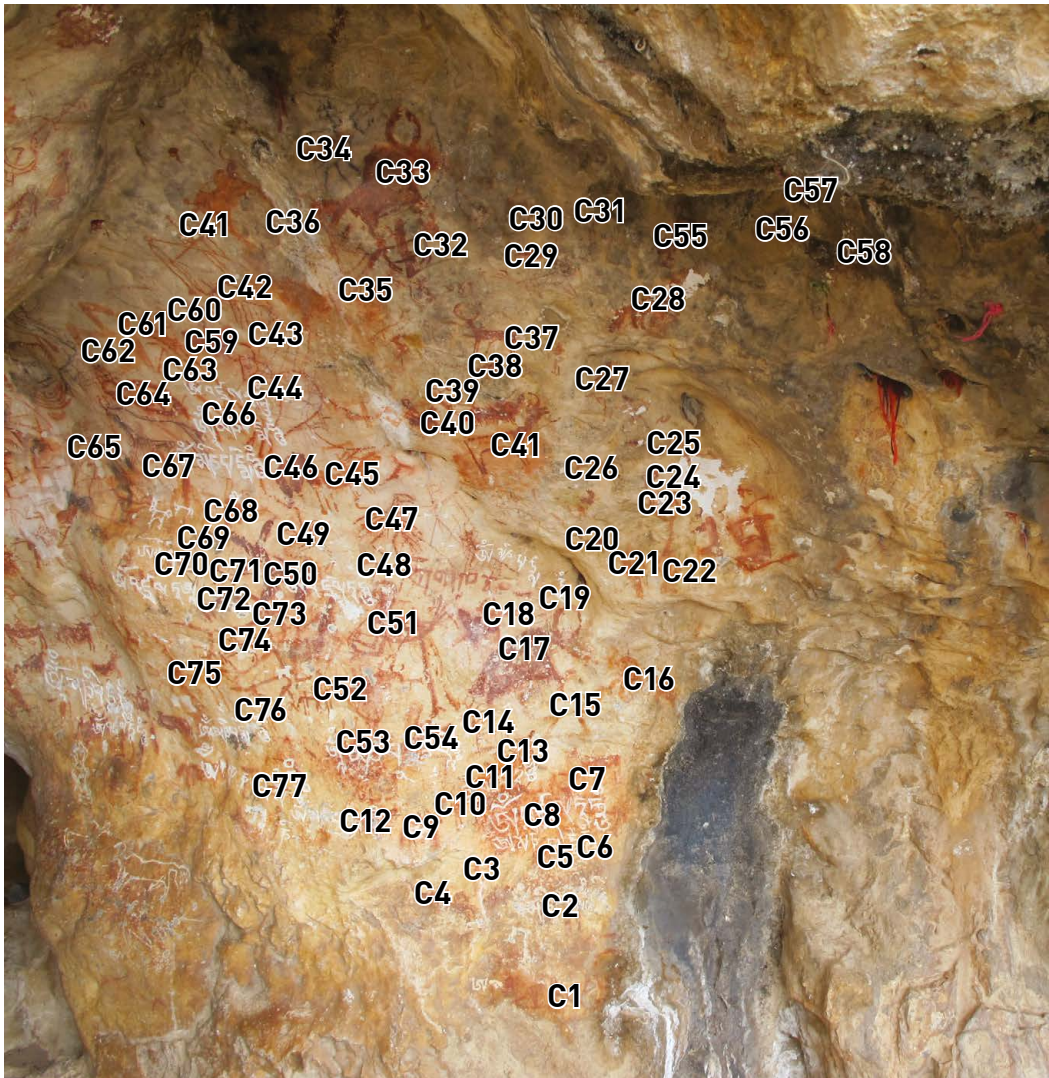


Figure 210. Locations of pictographs on the right outer side of Lce do (S12).

289 subjects have been inventoried at Lce do, all but two of which are packed into the small cave described above.² Due to the density of pictographs, it is not always possible to disambiguate one composition from another. Some of the hunting scenes in the cave have an interlocking architecture, whereby compositions with analogous subjects are in very close proximity or even interlaced. Of rock art belonging to the Late Prehistoric era, 53 subjects are each assigned to the Late Bronze Age or Iron Age, while 158 subjects are each assigned to the Iron Age or Protohistoric period. Additionally, there are two subjects attributed exclusively to the Protohistoric period, 26 to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, 46 to the Vestigial or Late Historic periods, and four solely attributed to the Late Historic period. Even art dating to the Historic era at Lce do promotes zoomorphic and anthropomorphic representation. There are very few pictographs in the site that are patently Lamaist in nature (just a small handful of swastikas and endless knots exist in the cave). Thus, unlike many other caves around Gnam mtsho, relations between Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups hardly played out in the rock art of Lce do. Rather, it has been a showcase for the flaunting of traditional activities such as hunting and horseback riding since its limestone walls were first adorned with pictographs some 3000 years ago. The glorification of the hunt at Lce do is trumpeted in the portrayal of wild yaks, deer, and wild asses already struck by arrows. It appears therefore that the cave long served as a cult site for hunters, where social and cultural imperatives associated with the slaughter of game animals were literally laid down in stone. While creation of rock art compositions featuring wild ungulates, either alone or in hunting scenes with archers on horseback, continued to be created at Lce do until relatively recently, there is only one scene of combat or martial sport displayed in S12.

² A number of these pictographs are illustrated in Sonam Wangdu 1994: 136–140. However, most are shown in small scale and they are not cited individually in the descriptive entries of that work.

*Right wall of the cave***Inventory No:** S12_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat634

Comments: Parts of the pictograph, including the head, have entirely worn away.
Placement: Lowermost position on right wall.

Inventory No: S12_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat634

Comments: The subject may possibly limn a wild yak. The pictograph has been defaced by the carving of a mantra over it. It may possibly have been made together with one or more of the subjects in close proximity.
Placement: Above S12_C1.

Inventory No: S12_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat634

Comments: The subject represents a standing archer taking aim.
Placement: To left of and above S12_C2.

Inventory No: S12_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: biomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat634

Comments: The subject may possibly depict a mounted horse.
Placement: To left of and below S12_C3.

Inventory No: S12_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject resembles a tree.
Placement: Above S12_C2.

Inventory No: S12_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may well represent one or eventwo wild ungulates but not enough of the pigment application has survived to positively identify them.
Placement: To right of and above S12_C2.

Inventory No: S12_C7a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired/composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat635

Comments: The subject represents a standing archer aiming/releasing an arrow. This composition may have included one or more of the other surrounding pictographs but this could not be determined through a visual appraisal alone.
Placement: Above S12_C6.

Inventory No: S12_C7b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: paired/composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat635
Comments: The nearly hornless subject appears to be depicted struck by several arrows.
Placement: To right of and above S12_C7a.

Inventory No: S12_C8

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The pigment application is far too degraded to identify; however, given its placement, it probably belongs to one of the proximate hunting scenes. The subject has been damaged by the carving of mantras over it.
Placement: To left of S12_C7a.

Inventory No: S12_C9a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat636
Comments: The subject may possibly be shown struck in the rear by an arrow.
Placement: Above S12_C8.

Inventory No: S12_C9b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 9.5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat636
Comments: The horseman is shown aiming/releasing his recurve bow.
Placement: To left of S12_C9a.

Inventory No: S12_C10

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat636
Comments: The standing figure may possibly be armed with a bow. Despite being interposed in composition S12_C9, the pigment qualities of the subject indicate that it was created separately.
Placement: In between S12_C9a and S12_C9b.

Inventory No: S12_C11

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat636
Comments: Given its spatial context, this amorphous mass of pigment may possibly have once constituted a definable animal. The subject has been damaged by the carving of Buddhist mantras over it. Partially superimposed on the subject is a red ochre mantric inscription written in two lines that reads: *Om A hung*.
Placement: To right of and above S12_C10.

Inventory No: S12_C12

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat636

Comments: The horseman is shown aiming/releasing an arrow. It may possibly be part of the same composition in which S12_C9b is found.
Placement: To left of S12_C9b.

Inventory No: S12_C13

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat637

Comments: The subject with its sweptback horns represents either a wild sheep or antelope.
Placement: Above S12_C11.

Inventory No: S12_C14

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 11 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat637

Comments: The subject is tree-like but with 'branches' only on one side.
Placement: Above S12_C13.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 172 (fig. 306).

Inventory No: S12_C15

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 14 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat638

Comments: With its broad, upturned wings and triangular tail the subject represents a raptor.
Placement: To right of S12_C14.

Inventory No: S12_C16

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat639

Comments: With its double curved back the subject strongly resembles a wild yak.
Placement: To right of S12_C15.

Inventory No: S12_C17a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat640

Comments: The subject has a triangular head, wedge-shaped tail, and two attenuated legs.
Placement: Above S12_C15.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 172 (fig. 306).

Inventory No: S12_C17b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat640

Comments: With its outstretched wings the subject is identifiable as a raptor. The pairing of a wild yak and bird in the same composition is liable to have had profound cosmological, mythic, and/or religious significance.
Placement: Above S12_C17a.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LCE DO (S12)

Inventory No: S12_C18

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat640

Comments: The subject may represent an antelope or wild sheep.
Placement: Above S12_C17b.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 172 (fig. 306).

Inventory No: S12_C19

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: LW
Subject: tree	Theme: symbolic?	Age (est.): LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat640

Comments: The subject was made using the crayon technique.
Placement: Above S12_C17a.

Inventory No: S12_C20

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat641

Comments: The subject represents either an antelope or wild sheep.
Placement: To right of and above S12_C19.

Inventory No: S12_C21

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat642

Comments: The subject is bird-like in form.
Placement: To right of and below S12_C20.

Inventory No: S12_C22

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat642

Comments: The subject appears to represent a raptor. There is an insignificant red ochre pigment application above the subject (NIS). To the right of the subject, at an appreciable distance, there is a red ochre pigment application of no obvious pictorial value (NIS). To its right, on the extreme right side of the right wall of the cave, there is another red ochre pigment application of a decidedly rectilinear form (NIS).
Placement: To right of S12_C21.

Inventory No: S12_C23

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat643

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an antelope.
Placement: Above S12_C22.

Inventory No: S12_C24

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild antelope?	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 4 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat643

Comments: The subject was painted with sweptback horns.
Placement: Above S12_C23.

Inventory No: S12_C25a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat644

Comments: The subject constitutes either an antelope or wild sheep. To the right of the subject there is what might be an unfinished depiction of a wild ungulate (NIS).

Placement: To right of and above S12_C24.

Inventory No: S12_C25b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat644

Comments: The animal intended for representation is unclear as the photographic coverage is insufficient. Above the subject are several red ochre pigment applications of no significant pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: To left of S12_C25a.

Inventory No: S12_C26

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat645

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an antelope.

Placement: To left of S12_C24.

Inventory No: S12_C27

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject resembles an inverted funnel.

Placement: Above S12_C26, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S12_C28

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat646

Comments: The subject has a bushy tail and pointed ears, lending it the appearance of a fox or wolf.

Placement: To right of and above S12_C27, at an appreciable distance, near top of outer wall of cave.

Inventory No: S12_C29

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat647

Comments: The subject strongly resembles an antelope. What appears to be another wild ungulate is situated to the left of the subject (NIS).

Placement: To left of and above S12_C28, near top of right wall of cave.

Inventory No: S12_C30

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: animal	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat647

Comments: The subject may represent an unfinished horned eagle. To the right of the subject there is a minor outlined form in red ochre (NIS).

Placement: Above S12_C29.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LCE DO (S12)

Inventory No: S12_C31

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat647

Comments: The subject resembles an equid or carnivore.
Placement: To right of S12_C30, near top of right wall of cave.

Inventory No: S12_C32

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat648

Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild ungulate. It was superimposed on a thick vertical line painted in red ochre.
Placement: To left of S12_C30.

Inventory No: S12_C33

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 19 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat648

Comments: The subject is portrayed with a projecting triangular tail. There are animal subjects painted in red ochre and dating to the Late Historic period in the vicinity (NIS).
Placement: Above S12_C32.

Inventory No: S12_C34

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat648

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a mounted archer. The top of the pictograph is cut in the selected photograph.
Placement: Above S12_C33, near top of right wall.

Inventory No: S12_C35a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat649

Comments: The horseman appears to flaunt a bow and arrow. Its mount has a bi-triangular form. The subject appears to have been made in conjunction with S12_C36 and S12_C37
Placement: To left of S12_C33.

Inventory No: S12_C35b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat649

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a hunting dog.
Placement: Below S12_C35a.

Inventory No: S12_C35c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider?	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat649

Comments: The subject either represents a horseback rider or two discrete animals adjacent to one another.
Placement: Below S12_C35b.

Inventory No: S12_C36

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph?	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat650

Comments: The subject is characterized by wedge-shaped head complete with a pair of round eyes and a mouth, triangular headgear, and a body composed of concentric circles. However, no arms are visible. The lower portion of the figure resembles the tail of a bird. The subject seems to portray a divine, heroic, priestly, or mythic personality. S12_35a seems to have been partially superimposed on the pictograph.

Placement: To left of S12_C35a.

Inventory No: S12_C37a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: cervid	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat651

Comments: The branched antlers of the subject identify it as a stag. It is shown struck by four different arrows. To the right of the subject there is possibly a small, highly obscured red ochre animal (NIS). Below the subject is what could be another animal (NIS).

Placement: To right of S12_C35c.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 367 (fig. 12).

Inventory No: S12_C37b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 7 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat651

Comments: The subject is a standing archer aiming/releasing an arrow at S12_C37a.

Placement: To right of S12_C35c.

Inventory No: S12_C37c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat651

Comments: The subject appears to be a hunting dog.

Placement: To left of and below S12_C35b.

Inventory No: S12_C38

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat652

Comments: The subject has an upturned, pointed snout.

Placement: Below S12_C37a.

Inventory No: S12_C39a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat652

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow at his prey.

Placement: To left of and below S12_C38.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 241 (fig. 1).

Rear wall of the cave

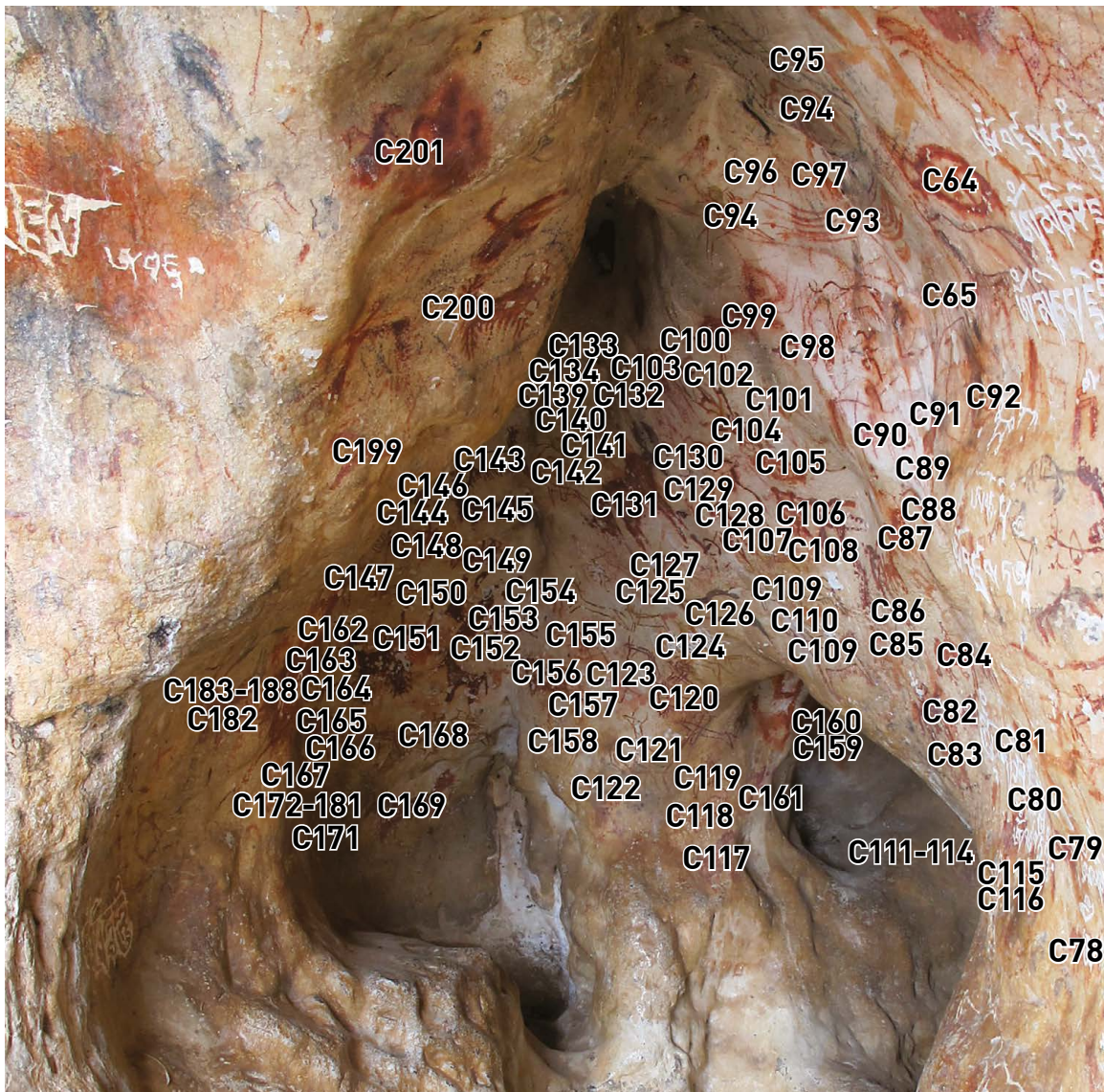


Figure 211. Locations of many pictographs on the central rear and left walls of Lce do (S12).

Inventory No: S12_C78

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat675
Comments: The subject has been damaged by the carving of a mantric syllable on it.		
Placement: To left of S12_L77, on lower right edge of rear wall.		

Inventory No: S12_C79

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: NI
Comments: The head, legs, and tail were never created.		
Placement: To left of and above S12_C78.		

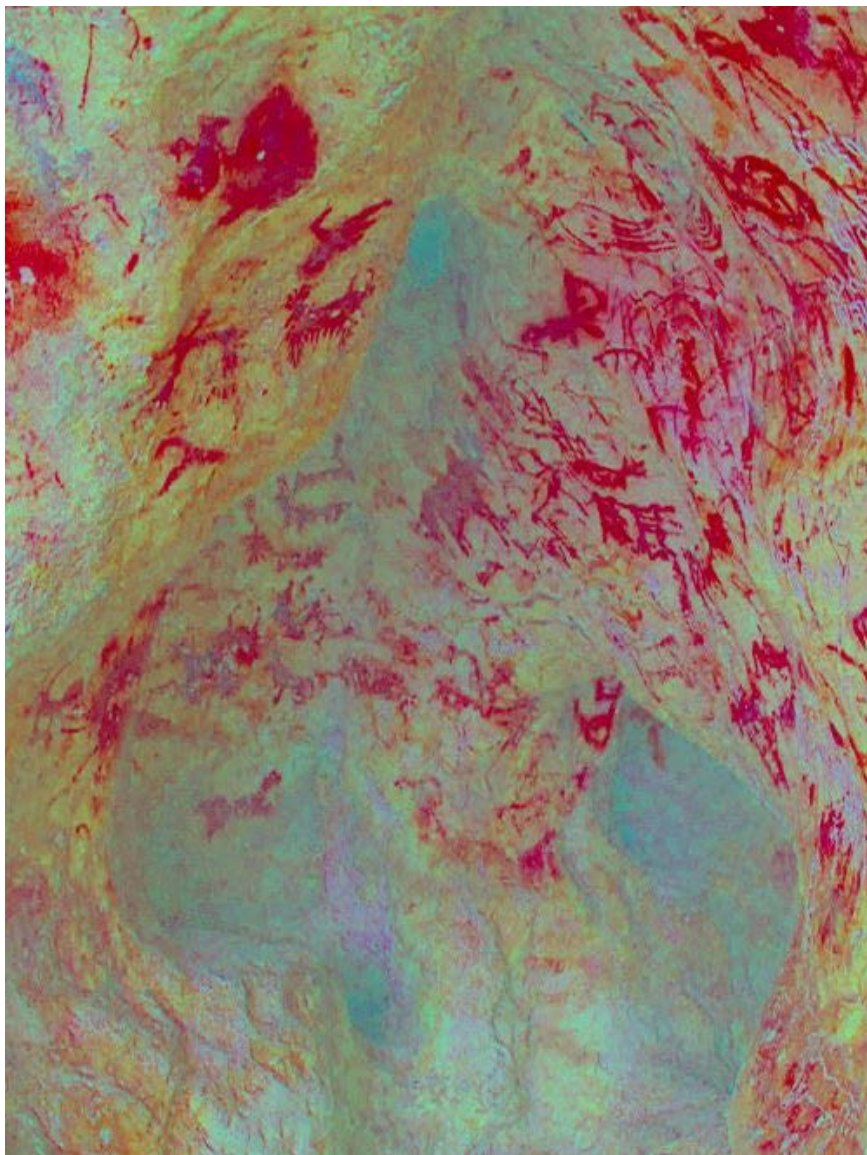


Figure 212. The rear wall of Lce do. Parts of the right wall and left wall of the cave are also visible on the upper right side and upper left side of the photograph. The image has been digitally enhanced to increase the definition of the individual pictographs.

Inventory No: S12_C80a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: martial competition

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 9 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat676

Comments: The horseman is engaging his opponent equipped with a polearm. Below this composition the bust of a lama, yak, and another animal were recently carved into the rear wall of the cave.

Placement: To left of S12_C79.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020c: 421 (fig. 11).

Inventory No: S12_C80b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: martial competition

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 11 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat676

Comments: The horseman is engaging his opponent equipped with a polearm.

Placement: To left of S12_C80a.

Inventory No: S12_C81

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: cervid	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat677

Comments: The branched horns of the subject identify it as a stag. The subject may possibly be a constituent part of the hunting scene in S12_C83.

Placement: Above S12_C80.

Inventory No: S12_C82a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat678

Comments: The subject must be a wild ungulate, such as a wild yak, but it was not well executed.

Placement: To left of S12_C81.

Inventory No: S12_C82b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat678

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow at his quarry.

Placement: To left of S12_C82a.

Inventory No: S12_C83

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat678

Comments: The square-bodied subject must be a wild ungulate, such as a wild yak, but it was not well executed.

Placement: Below S12_C82b.

Inventory No: S12_C84a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat678

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow at his quarry. Above the subject there is a pictograph with a roughly rectilinear form that is also of considerable antiquity (NIS).

Placement: Above S12_C82a.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 366 (fig. 10).

Inventory No: S12_C84b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat678

Comments: The wild yak is depicted already hit by three or four arrows. To the right of the subject there is a red ochre pigment application of no obvious pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: To right of S12_C84a.

Inventory No: S12_C85

Type: picto, BP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LBA/IA

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 4 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat678, Cat679

Comments: The body of the animal is striped, suggesting that it may represent a tiger. However the front portion of the figure has been covered up with clay or an earthen pigment.

Placement: Above S12_C82b.

Inventory No: S12_C86

Type: picto, BP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LBA/IA

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 5 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat680, Cat694

Comments: The subject appears to be a wild yak. However the front portion of the figure has been covered up with clay or an earthen pigment.

Placement: Above S12_C82b.

Inventory No: S12_C87a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 6 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat681

Comments: The horseman sitting high in the saddle is aiming/releasing an arrow at his quarry.

Placement: To right of and above S12_C86.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 366 (fig. 10).

Inventory No: S12_C87b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 8.5 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat681

Comments: The subject appears to have been already struck by several arrows. Below the composition is a red ochre pigment application of no obvious pictorial significance (NIS).

Placement: To right of S12_C87a.

Inventory No: S12_C87c

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 6 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat681

Comments: The subject may possibly be shown lassoing one of the horns of the wild yak.

Placement: To right of S12_C87b.

Inventory No: S12_C88

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 9 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat682

Comments: The horseman is either brandishing a bow and arrow or holding the reins of his mount.

Placement: To right of and below S12_C87c.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 366 (fig. 10).

Inventory No: S12_C89

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 8.5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat683

Comments: The body of the subject is embellished with dots, recalling the snow leopard. Above the subject there is a linear red ochre pigment application of no significant pictorial value (NIS). A small portion of the tail is cut in the selected photograph.

Placement: To right of S12_C87c.

Inventory No: S12_C90

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat684

Comments: The horseman appears to be aiming/releasing an arrow. To the right of and above the subject there is a red ochre pigment application, made using the same technique, of no obvious pictorial value (NIS). There are other minor red ochre and black pigment applications in the vicinity (NIS).

Placement: To right of S12_C87c.

Inventory No: S12_C91

Type: picto, BP	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat685

Comments: There is a red ochre patch below the subject (NIS).

Placement: To right of S12_C90.

Inventory No: S12_C92

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 7.5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat686

Comments: The subject presented in profile may possibly represent a peacock. A black pigment application of no apparent pictorial value was superimposed on the subject (NIS). Surrounding the subject are linear red ochre pigment applications of no significant pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: To right of and above S12_C91.

Inventory No: S12_C93

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 21 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat687

Comments: With its long wings spread out, the subject represents a raptor. There is a more recent red ochre pigment application made using the crayon technique below and partially superimposed on the subject. It includes a triangular motif (NIS).

Placement: Above S12_C65b and S12_C65c.

Inventory No: S12_C94a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat687

Comments: The subject is depicted hit in the chest with an arrow.

Placement: To left of S12_C62 and above S12_C93.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LCE DO (S12)

Inventory No: S12_C94b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 13 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat687

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow in the direction of the prey. The subject is partially cut in the selected photograph.

Placement: To left of S12_C94a, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S12_C95

Type: picto, BP

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: bird

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 7 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat688

Comments: The subject depicts a horned eagle (*kyung*). There are various black pigment applications of the same timeframe below the subject of no significant pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: Above S12_C94a.

Inventory No: S12_C96

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 6 cm (v)

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild yak.

Placement: To right of S12_C94b.

Inventory No: S12_C97

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): VP/LHP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 6 cm (h)

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild ungulate.

Placement: To right of S12_C96.

Inventory No: S12_C98

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 8 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat689

Comments: The subject appears to depict a carnivore.

Placement: Below S12_C65c.

Inventory No: S12_C99

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat690

Comments: The tips of the horns of the subject are joined.

Placement: To left of S12_C65c.

Inventory No: S12_C100

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: cervid

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat691

Comments: The branched antlers of the subject identify it as a stag.

Placement: Below S12_C99.

Inventory No: S12_C101

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat692
Comments: The subject resembles an equid.
Placement: Below S12_C98 and S12_C100.

Inventory No: S12_C102

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat693
Comments: The subject consists of a roughly square outline with various internal divisions.
Placement: To left of S12_C101 and below S12_C100.

Inventory No: S12_C103

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 15 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat693
Comments: The horseman appears to be aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: To left of S12_C102.

Inventory No: S12_C104

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat693
Comments: The horseman is shown holding an upright standard or spear with a flag, as well as aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: To right of and below S12_C102.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020c: 462 (fig. 109).

Inventory No: S12_C105

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: biomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 14 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat693, Cat694
Comments: The subject was rendered in such a way that it both resembles a bird in profile, or a wild yak without legs.
Placement: Below S12_C104.

Inventory No: S12_C106a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat693, Cat694
Comments: The subject is unique in form, as are its two counterparts in the composition. It invokes a symbolic identity and may represent an idiosyncratic pictogram or ideogram.
Placement: Below S12_C105.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 243 (fig. 6); 1997b: 397 (fig. 1).

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Inventory No: S12_C106b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat693, Cat694

Comments: The subject is of a similar design to S12_C106a.
Placement: To right of S12_C106a.

Inventory No: S12_C106c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat694

Comments: The subject may possibly have anthropomorphic qualities. The lowermost portion of it was superimposed on S12_C86.
Placement: To right of and below S12_C106b, and to left of S12_C87a.

Inventory No: S12_C107

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat695

Comments: The subject has a striped body reminiscent of a tiger.
Placement: Below S12_C106a.

Inventory No: S12_C108

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat694

Comments: The subject is a cruciform, comprised of two parallel lines.
Placement: To right of S12_C107.

Inventory No: S12_C109a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat696

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow at one of the two wild yaks in the composition.
Placement: Below S12_C107.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 365 (fig. 9).

Inventory No: S12_C109b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat696

Comments: The subject is depicted already struck in the front haunches by an arrow. This hunting composition belongs to the earliest phase of rock art production at Lce do.
Placement: To right of S12_C109a.

Inventory No: S12_C109c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat696

Comments: The subject was never completed.
Placement: Below S12_C109a and S12_C109b.

Inventory No: S12_C109d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 20 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat696
Comments: The bushy tail of the subject extends straight out, as if the animal were depicted in a state of alarm.
Placement: Below S12_C109c, and above cubbyhole in rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S12_C110

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 8.5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat696
Comments: The subject quite strongly resembles a bird with spread wings.
Placement: In middle of S12_C109.

Inventory No: S12_C111

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph? **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat697
Comments: The subject appears to be a standing archer depicted taking aim, or in the act of shooting an arrow.
Placement: Upper left side of cubbyhole in rear wall of cave.

Inventory No: S12_C112

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat697
Comments: The horseman is depicted aiming/releasing an arrow. It is partially superimposed on S12_C111.
Placement: Below S12_C111.

Inventory No: S12_C113

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: endless knot **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat697
Comments: The subject is so obscure that only the most basic contours are discernible.
Placement: Below S12_C112.

Inventory No: S12_C114a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 12 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat698
Comments: The subject is attired in a long robe and may be portrayed as having long tresses.
Placement: To left of S12_C113.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 394 (fig. 59).

Inventory No: S12_C114b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 10 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat698
Comments: The subject is shown wearing a mid-length robe or tunic divided longitudinally into two halves, and appears to be sporting a set of horns or braids that stick out.
Placement: To left of S12_C114a.

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Inventory No: S12_C115

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat699

Comments: The subject consists of a roughly circular outline with a pigment application inside.
Placement: Below S12_C80.

Inventory No: S12_C116

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat699

Comments: The subject consists of a roughly circular outline with one or two linear pigment applications inside. It is partially superimposed on S12_C115. Below the subject are one or two red ochre pigment applications of no apparent pictorial value (NIS).
Placement: Below S12_C115.

Inventory No: S12_C117

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat700

Comments: The subject is a large-bodied animal, such as a bear or wild yak. To the left of the subject there is an obscure red ochre pigment application (NIS).
Placement: To right of lower part of cubbyhole.

Inventory No: S12_C118

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat701

Comments: The subject was rendered with few indications of a tail.
Placement: Above S12_L117.

Inventory No: S12_C119

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat702

Comments: The subject appears to have been painted alone but this is uncertain. The horseman is depicted aiming/releasing an arrow. A V-shaped motif placed on top of the head is reminiscent of feathers or horns.
Placement: Above S12_L118.

Inventory No: S12_C120a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat703

Comments: The horseman is depicted aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: Above S12_L119.

Inventory No: S12_C120b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat703

Comments: The subject is depicted already hit in the front haunches by an arrow.
Placement: Above S12_L120a.

Inventory No: S12_C120c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat703, Cat706
Comments: The horseman is depicted aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: Above S12_L120b.

Inventory No: S12_C120d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat703, Cat706
Comments: The subject may possibly portray an antelope. There is a red ochre line to the right of the subject of no obvious pictorial value. The horns of the subject are partially cut in the selected photograph.
Placement: To left of S12_L120c.

Inventory No: S12_C121

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 12 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat704
Comments: The subject represents a horned eagle (*khyung*).
Placement: To left of S12_L119 and S12_C120a.

Inventory No: S12_C122

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: cervid **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat705
Comments: The branched antlers of the subject identify it as a stag.
Placement: To left of and below S12_L121.

Inventory No: S12_C123

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 6 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat703
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a clockwise direction.
Placement: To left of and above S12_L121.

Inventory No: S12_C124a

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 11 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat706
Comments: The horseman is portrayed as being exaggeratedly large and has two lines extending above the head that are suggestive of feathers or horns.
Placement: Above S12_L120c.

Inventory No: S12_C124b

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat706
Comments: The subject most resembles an antelope.
Placement: To right of S12_L124a.

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Inventory No: S12_C124c

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: cervid **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat706
Comments: This antlered stag is depicted already struck by an arrow.
Placement: To left of S12_L124a.

Inventory No: S12_C124d

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat706
Comments: This subject resembles an equid. It is depicted struck in the neck by an arrow.
Placement: To left of S12_L124c.

Inventory No: S12_C124e

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat706
Comments: This subject is aiming/releasing an arrow. There are two short vertical extensions on the head of the subject.
Placement: Above S12_L124d.

Inventory No: S12_C125

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 6 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat706
Comments: This subject is crescent-shaped and may possibly represent an incomplete animal. To the left of the subject are some linear red ochre applications that appear to be of no significant pictorial value (NIS).
Placement: Above S12_L124c.

Inventory No: S12_C126

Type: picto, BP **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 18 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat707
Comments: The head, legs, and tail of the subject were never rendered.
Placement: To right of and below S12_L125.

Inventory No: S12_C127

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 18 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat708
Comments: The head, legs, and tail of the subject were never completed.
Placement: To right of and above S12_L125.

Inventory No: S12_C128a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 7 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat709
Comments: The subject is wielding a bow and arrow.
Placement: To right of S12_L127.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 243 (fig. 5)

Inventory No: S12_C128b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 14 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat709

Comments: The subject possibly represents a wild yak, or perhaps a stag.
Placement: To right of S12_L128a.

Inventory No: S12_C129

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat709

Comments: The subject most resembles an antelope or wild sheep. A tail and stripes appear to have been added to the subject subsequently.
Placement: Above S12_L128b.

Inventory No: S12_C130

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat710

Comments: The subject may also have anthropomorphic qualities.
Placement: Above S12_L129.

Inventory No: S12_C131

Type: picto, RO/BP	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 22 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat711

Comments: Black pigment appears to have been added to the head and horns of the subject subsequently.
Placement: To left of S12_C128 and S12_L129.

Inventory No: S12_C132

Type: picto, RO/YO	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 3.5 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat712

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To left of S12_C103 and above S12_L131.

Inventory No: S12_C133

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat713, Cat714

Comments: The subject has a bi-triangular torso and perhaps horn-like extensions on its head. It appears to be portrayed with ornithic qualities. To the right of the subject there is a minor black pigment application (NIS).
Placement: To left of S12_C132 and above S12_C143j.

Inventory No: S12_C134

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat714

Comments: The subject is swastika-like but with two arms missing.
Placement: To left of and above S12_C133.

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Inventory No: S12_C135

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat714

Comments: The subject resembles an equid or yak.
Placement: To left of S12_C1134.

Inventory No: S12_C136

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat714, Cat715

Comments: The subject invokes a peacock.
Placement: Above S12_C1135, at top of rear wall.

Inventory No: S12_C137a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat715

Comments: There is a minor red ochre pigment application of the same timeframe between the subject and S12_C136 (NIS). The bottom part of the subject is cut in the selected photograph.
Placement: To left of S12_C136.

Inventory No: S12_C137b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat715

Comments: The subject was executed with an arched belly and wedge-shaped tail.
Placement: Above S12_C136a

Inventory No: S12_C138

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat716

Comments: There is a minor red ochre pigment application of the same timeframe between the subject and S12_C133 (NIS).
Placement: To right of and below S12_C133.

Inventory No: S12_C139

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat717

Comments: With its spread wings this highly stylized subject appears to portray a raptor.
Placement: Below S12_C138, and to right of and above S12_C143e.

Inventory No: S12_C140

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat718

Comments: The bird is presented in profile.
Placement: To right of S12_C139.

Inventory No: S12_C141a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 3.5 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat711, Cat718

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a clockwise direction. The composition features a triad of seminal symbols.
Placement: To right of S12_C140.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 244 (fig. 8).

Inventory No: S12_C141b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: crescent	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 3 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat711

Comments: The subject signifies the moon..
Placement: To right of S12_C141a.

Inventory No: S12_C141c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: sunburst	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 3.5 cm (d)	Image ref: Cat711

Comments: The sun is depicted with 13 rays.
Placement: Below S12_C141a.

Inventory No: S12_C142a

Type: picto, YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: 15 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat719

Comments: The horseman is shown aiming/releasing an arrow, and there is a bundle of arrows by his side. There is a rectilinear motif on the back of the horse behind the rider.
Placement: To left of S12_C141c.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 244 (fig. 8).

Inventory No: S12_C142b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat719

Comments: The horseman is shown aiming/releasing an arrow. There are three vertical lines extending from the top of his head (feathers?). The subject is facing in the opposite direction to its counterpart.
Placement: Below S12_C141a.

Inventory No: S12_C143a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LBA/IA

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 18 cm (h)

Image ref: Figure 213

Comments: The subject is depicted already struck in the chest by an arrow. The composition of which it is a part boasts the most subjects of any hunting scene at Lce do. Interestingly, all eight anthropomorphs associated with it are on foot. The style of the various figures in the composition indicates that it is one of the oldest in Lce do. This is supported by the sprawling arrangement of the composition in the centre of the rear wall. The manner in which S12_C142 and S12_C144 flank this hunting scene suggests that they may have been added subsequently to supplement or empower S12_C143 with horseback riders, a technological advance that came to dominate the Tibetan Plateau by no later than the Iron Age (on this subject, see Bellezza 2020c). The implication of the spatial ordering of these three compositions, as well as the fact that none of the anthropomorphs of S12_C143 are depicted on horseback, may be that it was painted before the introduction of equestrian capabilities in Tibet.



Figure 213. Composition S12_C143 (hunters on foot and two yaks is in the middle of the photograph). Subject S12_C143j is not visible in the image. The composition is bracketed by the twin horsemen of S12_C142 (right side of photograph) and those of S12_C144 (lower-left side of the image, not fully visible).

Placement: To left of S12_C142.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 245 (fig. 9). Only three of the anthropomorphs are depicted in this work.

Inventory No: S12_C143b

Type: picto, RO/YO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LBA/IA

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 18 cm (h)

Image ref: Figure 213

Comments: The subject is depicted already hit in the back by a hunter's arrow. The location of the strike corresponds with an indentation in the inner contour of the body of the wild yak. The impression received by this portrayal, for what it is worth, is that it signifies that the inner core, or life force, of the creature has been penetrated or violated, a symbol of impending death; hence, a successful hunt.

Placement: To left of S12_C143a.

Inventory No: S12_C143c

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LBA/IA

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 2.5 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 213

Comments: The subject does not appear to be armed. It is paired with S12_C143d.

Placement: Above S12_C143a.

Inventory No: S12_C143d

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): LBA/IA

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 3 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 213

Comments: As the subject is damaged, it is not clear whether it is depicted with a weapon.

Placement: To left of S12_C143c.

Inventory No: S12_C143e

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 6 cm (v) **Image ref:** Figure 213
Comments: The subject may be depicted with a bow slung over its back. It is paired with S12_C143f.
Placement: To left of and above S12_C143d.

Inventory No: S12_C143f

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Figure 213
Comments: It is unclear whether the subject is shown with a weapon.
Placement: To left of S12_C143e.

Inventory No: S12_C143g

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 213
Comments: The subject displays a bow held abreast.
Placement: Above S12_C143b.

Inventory No: S12_C143h

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 213
Comments: The subject seems to be unarmed. It is paired with S12_C143i.
Placement: To left of and above S12_C143g.

Inventory No: S12_C143i

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 213
Comments: The subject appears to be equipped with a bow or polearm.
Placement: To the left of S12_C143g.

Inventory No: S12_C143j

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat720
Comments: The subject was shown unarmed. It occupies the most outlying position in the composition.
Placement: Below S12_C133.

Inventory No: S12_C144a

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat721
Comments: The horseman is shown aiming/releasing an arrow, and there is a bundle of arrows by his side. Although the two subjects of this composition were made separately, they are positioned as if they are shooting at S12_C143b.
Placement: To left of S12_C143b.

Inventory No: S12_C144b

Type: picto, YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting?	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat721

Comments: The horseman is shown aiming/releasing an arrow, and there is a bundle of arrows by his side, and a pointed motif on the back of the horse behind the rider.
Placement: Below S12_C144a.

Inventory No: S12_C145

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Figure 213

Comments: The identity of the subject is not at all clear.
Placement: Below S12_C143b.

Inventory No: S12_C146

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Figure 213

Comments: The subject made using the crayon technique consists of five interconnected square motifs. Inside the fully enclosed middle square there is a triangular motif with additional lines.
Placement: To left of S12_C143b and above S12_C144a.

Inventory No: S12_C147

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: equid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 11 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat722

Comments: The different pigments and application techniques used to produce this pictograph indicate that it was made at two different times.
Placement: Below S12_C143b.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 394 (fig. 57).

Inventory No: S12_C148

Type: picto, RO, YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 9 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat723

Comments: The wings of the subject were executed as a series of parallel lines.
Placement: To right of S12_C147.

Inventory No: S12_C149

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: carnivore	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat724

Comments: The body of the subject is subdivided into triangular cells. The form and body decoration of the subject are reminiscent of the tiger.
Placement: To right of S12_C148.

Inventory No: S12_C150a

Type: picto, RO/YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat722, Cat725, Cat726
Comments: The body of the subject is embellished with a single red ochre line.
Placement: To right of, and partially underlying, the front leg of S12_C147.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 245 (fig. 10).

Inventory No: S12_C150b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat725, Cat726
Comments: The subject most resembles a wild ass (*rkyang*).
Placement: To right of S12_C150a.

Inventory No: S12_C151a

Type: picto, RO/YO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 15 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat726
Comments: This composition is comprised of a triad of animals, and was probably invested with profound symbolic, mythic, or ritual value.
Placement: Below S12_C150.

Inventory No: S12_C151b

Type: picto, RO/YO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 9 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat726
Comments: The subject represents a raptor.
Placement: To right of and above S12_C151a, and partially superimposed on S12_C150b.

Inventory No: S12_C151c

Type: picto, RO/YO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: equid **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 12 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat726
Comments: The subject almost certainly represents a wild ass (*rkyang*).
Placement: To left of S12_C152a.

Inventory No: S12_C152a

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 6 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat726, Cat727
Comments: It appears that the rear of the subject is depicted already struck by an arrow. The front portion of the subject was never completed or it has been totally effaced. The style of the composition, technique, and pigment match S12_C150. It is possible that S12_150 and S12_C152 are constituent parts of the same composition; if so, these halves were arranged at a significant distance from one another, just like the subjects in S12_C143.
Placement: Below S12_C151b.

Inventory No: S12_C152b

Type: picto, YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 8 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat726, Cat727

Comments: The subject is shown aiming/releasing an arrow. There are two vertical lines on top of the head of the hunter that appear to limn feathers or horns.
Placement: To right of S12_C152a.

Inventory No: S12_C153

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: bird	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat728

Comments: The subject represents a peacock, head regardant.
Placement: To right of S12_C151b.

Inventory No: S12_C154

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak?	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat729

Comments: The subject was quite roughly executed.
Placement: To left of S12_C124d.

Inventory No: S12_C155

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat730

Comments: The horseman is shown aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: To right of S12_C153.

Inventory No: S12_C156

Type: picto, RO/YO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 12 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat731

Comments: The body of the subject is subdivided into at least 15 triangles.
Placement: To right of and below S12_C152b, and to left of and below S12_C155.

Inventory No: S12_C157

Type: picto, RO/YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 4 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat731

Comments: The subject was never completed.
Placement: To right of S12_C156.

Inventory No: S12_C158a

Type: picto, YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: horseback rider	Theme: hunting	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 8 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat732

Comments: The horseman appears to be depicted aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: Below S12_C157.

Inventory No: S12_C158b

Type: picto, RO/YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: cervid **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 9 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat732
Comments: The body of this antlered stag is ornamented with a single red ochre line.
Placement: To left of S12_C158a.

Inventory No: S12_C159

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to assess the subject fully.
Placement: To right of S12_C120, on upper-left side of cubbyhole in rear wall.

Inventory No: S12_C160

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: Photographic coverage is inadequate to assess the subject fully.
Placement: To right of S12_C159.

Inventory No: S12_C161

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat733
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To right of S12_L118.

Inventory No: S12_C162

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: carnivore? **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat734
Comments: The subject was painted with a long tail and body and what appear to be two, long upright ears.
Placement: To left of S12_C151a.

Inventory No: S12_C163a

Type: picto, RO, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat735
Comments: The subject is depicted aiming/releasing an arrow.
Placement: Below S12_C161.

Inventory No: S12_C163b

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting? **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: paired? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat735
Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild yak. It appears to be part of a composition with paired or composite subjects. Only the pair of horns and part of the head of the subject are visible in the selected photograph.
Placement: To left of and below S12_C163a.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LCE DO (S12)

Inventory No: S12_C164

Type: picto, YO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: wild ungulate

Theme: hunting?

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 10 cm (h)

Image ref: NI

Comments: The head of the subject was not completed. The body is most like a wild yak in form.

Placement: To right of S12_C163a, and to left of S12_C151a.

Inventory No: S12_C165

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 17 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat736

Comments: The legs of the subject were not well developed.

Placement: Below S12_C163 and S12_C164.

Inventory No: S12_C166

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 10 cm (h)

Image ref: NI

Comments: Only the outline of the upper portion of the subject was rendered. It is possible that this pictograph was made in conjunction with S12_C165.

Placement: Below S12_C164.

Inventory No: S12_C167

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 24 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat737, Cat740

Comments: The pigment application to form the body of the subject has a stippled effect.

Placement: To left of S12_C166.

Inventory No: S12_C168a

Type: picto, YO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 18 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat738

Comments: In addition to a striped body and barbed belly and neck, the subject is shown already struck by an arrow.

Placement: Below S12_C151a.

Inventory No: S12_C168b

Type: picto, YO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: horseback rider

Theme: hunting

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 11 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat738

Comments: The horseman is depicted aiming/releasing an arrow and appears to have a full quiver of arrows at his side.

Placement: To right of S12_C168a.

Inventory No: S12_C169

Type: picto, RO

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 21 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat739

Comments: The belly, legs and tail of the subject are heavily barbed.

Placement: Below S12_C167a.



Figure 214. Locations of some pictographs on the left wall of Lce do (S12).

Inventory No: S12_C177

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: bird

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 11 cm (v)

Image ref: Figure 214

Comments: With its upraised wings the subject represents a raptor. A *ma ni* mantra was carved over the lower portion of the subject.

Placement: To right of S12_C176 and above S12_C174.

Inventory No: S12_C178

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: bird

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat743

Comments: The subject also appears to possess anthropomorphic qualities.

Placement: To right of S12_C177.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 394 (fig. 57).

Inventory No: S12_C179

Type: picto, YO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: cervid

Theme: portrait

Age (est.): IA/PP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat743

Comments: The branched antlers identify the subject as a stag.

Placement: To right of S12_C178.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 394 (fig. 57).

Inventory No: S12_C180

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: equid	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat744

Comments: The subject has two triangular motifs on its back, which may possibly limn a saddle or mounted figure.
Placement: To right of S12_C179.

Inventory No: S12_C181

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat745

Comments: The subject does not have a clearly defined head. To the left of the subject and above S12_C176 there is a patch of red ochre upon which a Buddhist mantra was cut (NIS). This ochre application appears to obscure underlying rock art.

Placement: Above S12_C178.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 385 (fig. 39).

Inventory No: S12_C182

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat746

Comments: The subject was rendered with an exaggeratedly large tail. To the right of the subject there is a red ochre linear pigment application (NIS).

Placement: To left of patch of red ochre left of S12_C181.

Inventory No: S12_C183

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: cruciform	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: There is a red ochre pigment application below the subject that appears to be of no significant pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: To left of S12_C182.

Inventory No: S12_C184

Type: picto, BP	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 12 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat747

Comments: The subject is comprised of a chequerboard pattern of at least nine squares.

Placement: Below pigment application below S12_C183, near bottom of left edge of rear wall.

Inventory No: S12_C185

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 7 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat748

Comments: The subject resembles an incomplete sunburst.

Placement: To right of S12_C184.

Inventory No: S12_C186

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may represent some type of wild ungulate.

Placement: To left of and above S12_C182, on left edge of rear wall.

Inventory No: S12_C187

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 6 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat749
Comments: The subject appears to portray a horned eagle (*khyung*).
Placement: To right of and above S12_C182.

Inventory No: S12_C188

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: equid **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 24 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat750
Comments: The subject may represent a wild ass (*rkyang*), however much of the body of the subject has been lost along with some of the cave surface. There is a red ochre pigment application to the right of the subject that appears to be of no pictorial significance (NIS).
Placement: To right of and above S12_C182.

Inventory No: S12_C189

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 6 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat751
Comments: The subject is characterized by spread wings, the tips pointing upwards, and what appears to be a pair of horns.
Placement: To right of S12_C188.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 385 (fig. 39).

Inventory No: S12_C190

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: carnivore **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat752
Comments: The subject possesses a head regardant, clawed feet, a long, hooked tail, body ornamented with crescent motifs, and perhaps gaping jaws. It may possibly represent a tiger.
Placement: To right of S12_C189 and above S12_C181.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 385 (fig. 39).

Inventory No: S12_C191

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Figure 214
Comments: The subject most closely resembles an antelope. Below the subject are two sub-rectangular outlines painted in red ochre (NIS).
Placement: To right of S12_C190 and left of S12_C143i.

Inventory No: S12_C192

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: The exaggeratedly large horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow. The figure is equipped with what appear to be three large arrows by its side.
Placement: Above S12_C191.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020c: 463 (fig. 110).

Inventory No: S12_C193

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** IA/PP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI

Comments: Only the body of the subject was completed. Between the subject and S12_C192 there is a more recent red ochre pigment application consisting of several lines, possibly representing an animal (NIS).

Placement: To left of S12_C192.

Inventory No: S12_C194

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: biomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 2.5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat753, Cat754

Comments: The subject is reminiscent of a bird, or anthropomorph, with its head facing downward. It may possibly have been painted in conjunction with S12_C195.

Placement: To left of S12_C193.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 367 (fig. 11).

Inventory No: S12_C195

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** portrait **Age (est.):** VP/LHP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 2.5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat753, Cat754

Comments: The subject also has decidedly avian qualities.

Placement: To left of S12_C194 and above S12_C188.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 367 (fig. 11).

Inventory No: S12_C196a

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat754

Comments: The subject most resembles a wild ass (*rkyang*). It is depicted with an arrow penetrating its back.

Placement: Above S12_C194 and S12_C195.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 367 (fig. 11).

Inventory No: S12_C196b

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: horseback rider **Theme:** hunting **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: paired **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat754

Comments: The horseman is aiming/releasing an arrow. Above the subject is a small heart-shaped yellow ochre pigment application that exhibits the same pigment qualities and wear (NIS). There are also much more recent red ochre linear applications to the right of and above the subject (NIS).

Placement: To left of S12_C196a.

Inventory No: S12_C197

Type: picto, YO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** LBA/IA
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 2.5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat754

Comments: The subject consists of three groups of lines, each of which terminates in three points. It may possibly have been made in conjunction with S12_C196.

Placement: To left of and below S12_C196b.

Inventory No: S12_C198

Type: picto, YO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): LBA/IA
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat755

Comments: The subject has a barbed belly and legs
Placement: To left of S12_C196b.

Inventory No: S12_C199

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat756

Comments: There are no clear indications as to what animal might be intended by the subject.
Placement: On right (innermost) edge of left wall of cave.

Inventory No: S12_C200a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat756

Comments: The subject may represent an antelope or wild sheep. It appears to have been in conjunction with two other subjects to form a triad of animals.
Placement: Above S12_C199.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 246 (fig. 12).

Inventory No: S12_C200b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat756

Comments: Unlike its two ostensible counterparts, the subject was finely executed with the defining features of the wild yak. The subject is contained within a sunburst painted recently using a black pigment (NIS).
Placement: To right of S12_C200a.

Inventory No: S12_C200c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: bird?	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: 10 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat756

Comments: The subject may have anthropomorphic traits as well.
Placement: Above S12_C200b.

Inventory No: S12_C201

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: NI

Comments: There is another more recent animal subject painted in red ochre between the subject and S12_C200b (NIS).
Placement: To right of S12_C200b.

Inventory No: S12_C202

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild ungulate	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly represent an antelope.
Placement: To right of S12_C200c.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LCE DO (S12)

Inventory No: S12_C207c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: tree?	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 5 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat759

Comments: The subject almost certainly represents a tree.
Placement: To left of S12_C207b.

Inventory No: S12_C208

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 5.5 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat760

Comments: The subject possibly forms an integral composition with S12_C209. The subject is one of five anthropomorphs in the vicinity of one another, the older examples perhaps acting as inspiration for the creation of the more recent ones.
Placement: Above S12_C207a.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 246 (fig. 13).

Inventory No: S12_C209

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 5.5 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat760

Comments: The head of the subject is missing. It possibly forms an integral composition with S12_C209.
Placement: To right of and below S12_C208.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 246 (fig. 13).

Inventory No: S12_C210

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 3 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat760

Comments: In its current state, the head and tail of the subject cannot be differentiated.
Placement: To left of S12_C208.

Inventory No: S12_C211

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat760

Comments: The wings of the subject are turned upwards and the flight feathers are rendered as barbed lines. It represents a raptor of some type.
Placement: To right of and above S12_C208
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 246 (fig. 13).

Inventory No: S12_C212

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat760, Cat761

Comments: The subject is depicted with a crescent-shaped headdress or coiffure, two opposing bulbous breasts, and a long dress or robe. It is one of the most convincing portrayals of a female figure in the rock art of Upper Tibet.
Placement: To right of and above S12_C209, and to left of S12_C41 at an appreciable distance.
Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 246 (fig. 13).

Inventory No: S12_C213

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 9 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat760

Comments: The round head and neck of this broad-bodied subject are clearly defined, however the appendages are not well developed.

Placement: To left of and above S12_C210.

Reference(s): Bellezza 1997a: 246 (fig. 13).

Inventory No: S12_C214

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): IA/PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly depict an anthropomorph.

Placement: To left of S12_C213.

Inventory No: S12_C215

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6.5 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat760

Comments: The subject was crudely executed, as is often the case with more recent rock art at Gnam mtsho. It has T-shaped facial features. On the basis of pigment qualities and wear, it is possible that the subject was produced in conjunction with S12_C216 and / or S12_C217.

Placement: To right of S12_C213.

Inventory No: S12_C216

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: bird	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat762

Comments: The horns of the subject identify it as a horned eagle (*khyung*). It may possibly have been produced in conjunction with S12_C217.

Placement: To right of and above S12_C215.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2002b: 391 (fig. 49).

Inventory No: S12_C217

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: wild yak	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat763

Comments: The subject in form and style draws heavily from earlier examples of wild yaks in the rock art of Upper Tibet.

Placement: To right of S12_C216.

Inventory No: S12_C218

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: endless knot	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat763

Comments: The subject is composed of 13 cells. On either side of it are more recent red ochre applications appearing to be of no significant pictorial value (NIS).

Placement: To left of S12_C216.

Inventory No: S12_C219**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** bird**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat764**Comments:** The back half of this well-drawn subject has been obliterated. It may possibly have been painted with one or more of the pictographs in close proximity.**Placement:** To left of S12_C210, at an appreciable distance, on outer left wall.**Inventory No:** S12_C220**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat764**Comments:** The subject most likely represents an animal.**Placement:** To left of S12_C219.**Inventory No:** S12_C221**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** partially silhouetted**Condition:** HW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** IA/PP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat764**Comments:** The subject may possibly represent an equid. To the left of the subject is one or more faint red ochre pigment applications; photographic coverage is insufficient for a full appraisal of them (NIS).**Placement:** To left of and above S12_C219.**Inventory No:** S12_C222**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** quadruped**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single?**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat764**Comments:** The subject may possibly represent an equid.**Placement:** Above the back of S12_C221.**Inventory No:** S12_C223**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** bird**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** IA/PP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** 17 cm (v)**Image ref:** Cat765**Comments:** The subject with its upturned wings and broad tail represents some type of raptor. To the right of the subject there is a more recent red ochre subject depicting an animal. Due to inadequate photographic coverage, it is not inventoried separately.**Placement:** To left of S12_C221, at an appreciable distance. This is the outermost pictograph recorded on the left wall of the cave.*Uncategorized placement***Inventory No:** S12_C224**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** geometric**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat766**Comments:** The subject consists of interconnected volutes in what might be a 'water design' (*chu ris*). Below the subject there is a patch of red ochre that may be covering up other pictographs (NIS).**Placement:** Unfixed.

Inventory No: S12_C225

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat766
Comments: The subject may possibly represent an unfinished infinite knot symbol.
Placement: To right of S12_C224.

Inventory No: S12_C226

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: geometric **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat766
Comments: The subject may possibly represent an unfinished infinite knot symbol.
Placement: Below S12_C225.

Inventory No: S12_C227a

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat767
Comments: The subject most resembles a wild sheep. Above the composition there is a fragmentary Tibetan *dbu can* inscription.
Placement: Unfixed. Located in another cave on the Lce do headland.

Inventory No: S12_C227b

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: equid **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat767
Comments: The subject is depicted complete with a saddle and saddle rug.
Placement: Below S12_C227a.

Inventory No: S12_C227c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat767
Comments: The subject is portrayed with a triangular torso and appears to be leading S12_C227b by a line.
Placement: To left of S12_C227b.

Inventory No: S12_C227d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph? **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat767
Comments: The subject appears to be shown attired in a long robe. This figure may possibly represent a female while S12_C227c may depict a male.
Placement: Below S12_C227b.

Inventory No: S12_C228

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat767
Comments: The subject is now fragmentary and partially cut in the photograph available.
Placement: To left of and above S12_C227b.

There are only four geographic areas west of Nag chu city that still have native Yungdrung Bon religious practitioners (Na dmar chung, Spo che/Shel dkar brag, Dang ra g.yu mtsho, and Gur gyam), all of which are in Upper Tibet. One of these Yungdrung Bon enclaves is Spo che, c. 15 km northwest of Lake Gnam mtsho. The topography of Spo che is dominated by an c. 5700 m-tall eponymous mountain. According to local folklore, this sacred mountain was a rival for the affections of the goddess of Lake Gnam mtsho. In a fit of jealousy, the husband of Nam Tsho, Mount Gnyan chen Thang lha, cut off the top of Spo che. This tale is told to explain the mountain's flat top. In sacred geographical accounts, Mount Spo che is a territorial deity and the northern general of the mountain monarch Gnyan chen thang lha (Bellezza 1997a: 50, 61, 119, 135, 247; 2005: 180, 192).

20 km west of Spo che there is a small sacred lake, called nowadays Coral Lake (Byu ru mtsho). According to Yungdrung Bon scholars, such as Tenzin Namdak, this name is a phonetic corruption of the original appellation Gyer ru mtsho (Gyer ru mtsho translates something to the effect of 'Bon District Lake' or 'Bon Community Lake'. The old name is said to reflect the significance of this body of freshwater to the religious predecessors of today's Yungdrung Bon religion. According to the Yungdrung Bon tradition, Gyer is the Zhang zhung language equivalent of the term 'Bon'. In particular, the 3 km-long headland known as Gyer ru do that bisects Gyer ru mtsho is thought to have been occupied by adepts since early times (Figures 216 and 217).³ Local tradition has it that the famous Bon saints of Upper Tibet, Snang bzher lod po and Gyer spungs Dran pa nam mkha', meditated at Gyer ru mtsho do. Although this association of great saints with the headland at Gyer ru mtsho cannot be independently verified, archaeological evidence at the locale strongly indicates that this lake was a magnet for permanent human settlement by the Early Historic period.

Glang chen phug, known as a 'house of meditation' (*mtshams khang*) to Yungdrung Bon practitioners, is named for the parent formation, thought to resemble an elephant. Located on the south side of the limestone headland of Gyer ru mtsho do, meditators from Sman ri gling, and more recently those of Ru lag G.yung drung gling, two major Yungdrung Bon monasteries in Gtsang (western Central Tibet), have frequented Glang chen phug. Even before the foundation of Sman ri gling in the 15th century AD, a Bon sage called Glang chen mtshams pa is supposed to have meditated at Gyer ru mtsho do. In the late 1940s, Glang chen phug was home to Ponlob Tenzin Namdak, now Yungdrung Bon's senior-most scholar (Figure 218). The young Tenzin Namdak stayed at this retreat site with his spiritual master Sgang ru Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan. In the modern period of diminished religious activity, the cave now lies vacant. Glang chen phug itself may possibly have been an early residential site but the Lamaist retreat centre has engulfed any earlier structural remains.

The archaeological evidence at Gyer ru mtsho do demonstrates that Spo che enjoyed a vibrant cultural life before the domination of Buddhism in the region. While the political affiliations of the Eastern Byang thang before the unification of Tibet under King Srong btsan sgam po in the 7th century AD remain unclear, the archaeological and Tibetan textual records point to a unique Upper Tibetan cultural formation. Traditionally, the Eastern Byang thang is thought to have been part of Zhang zhung or a smaller sister kingdom called Sum pa. The rocky backbone of the limestone headland of Gyer ru mtsho do rises to a maximum of 60 m above the lake, but most of it is 30 m



Figure 215. A red ochre swastika oriented in a counter-clockwise direction situated just east of Locus 4, on a headland called Gyer ru mtsho do (31.025 N / 89.54.0 E / 4680 m – 4740 m), in the Spo che region. Gyer ru mtsho do is part of the shoreline of Byu ru mtsho, an 8 km-long lake c. 35 km northwest of Gnam mtsho. It is one of two such swastikas in close proximity to one another. These two pictographs date to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

³ This site was surveyed by the present author in 1999 and 2014.



Figure 216. The sacred Mount Spo che from the west as seen from the summit of the headland known as Gyer ru mtsho do.



Figure 217. The headland of Gyer ru mtsho do (small dark formation in the middle of the photograph).



Figure 218. Glang chen phug, Gyer ru mtsho do. As can be seen in the image, the cave is divided into two parts. The right half functioned as a kitchen and fuel storage area and the left (with large window) was used for religious practice and sleeping. The latrine is placed below the kitchen.

or less in height. The ancient structural traces here comprise various defunct cliff shelters. These remains appear to have developed over time in various phases of settlement activity on the headland. While most of the ancient residential complexes are likely to have originated in the Late Prehistoric era, some of the seven or eight groups of rock shelters at Gyer ru mtsho do were still being exploited in the Historic era.⁴ Even in its most developed phase, the rock shelters at Gyer ru mtsho do could not have supported more than several dozen residents. The existence of this archaic residential site shows that even headlands with more modest geographical qualities were exploited as permanent habitations, provided they possessed certain physical attributes. These attributes are both practical and geomantic or mythic in nature. They include lakes with sacred auras and those containing potable water, natural caves, and south-facing headlands overlooking expanses of water to the east. The importance of potable water and caves to settlements is self-explanatory, as is a southern aspect in a cold northern hemisphere climate. Orientation over a body of water to the east is probably best explained by ritualistic and ideological factors. The placation of lake spirits and the sun rising over open water may be relevant considerations in this regard. In prevailing Tibetan religious conceptions, the east is imbued with pacific qualities associated with the colour white.

There is just one ancient cave shelter on the north side of Gyer ru mtsho do, delineated here as Locus 1 (L1). Despite receiving far less sunlight than places on the south side of the headland, this cave (5 m × 3 m) was modified for human habitation (Figure 219). It is situated near the rocky summit of the headland and is barricaded by the remains of a masonry façade. Like most other man-made walls at Gyer ru mtsho do, this was a quite heavily built structure composed of a dry-stone, double-course fabric built with uncut limestone blocks. Spreading out from the façade are the vestiges of one or two parallel walls that may have possibly formed an anteroom or landing around the cave. In close proximity to L1 there is an unmodified cave with a low ceiling and two mouths. Morphological evidence in Locus 1 is now limited; hence, the period in which the walls were built is unclear but they cannot postdate the Early Historic period.

⁴ For the initial survey of the site made in 1999, see Bellezza 2001: 10–112.



Figure 219. The ancient cave shelter of Locus 1 on the north side of Gyer ru mtsho do. Note the remains of the masonry walls that once sealed the cave.



Figure 220. The crumbling masonry walls and escarpment with cave of Locus 2, Gyer ru mtsho do.



Figure 221. The rock shelters of Locus 4, Gyer ru mtsho do. Note the manner in which wall traces continue up the natural ramp of stone on the left side of the structure.

Just east of Locus 1 there is a saddle that straddles the centre of Gyer ru mtsho do in the otherwise rocky backbone of the headland. A little below the rim of the saddle, on the south side of the headland, there is Locus 2 (Figure 220). Highly deteriorated walls bound a level area (11 m × 4 m) nestled against a rock face. The walls demarcating the site are freestanding to a height of 1 m. Locus 2 appears to have been a residential site of the kind commonly found at headlands and islands in Upper Tibet that predate the 10th century AD. Nonetheless, the existing structural evidence does not permit a conclusive chronological or morphological assessment of the structure. East of Glang chen phug, towards the tip of the headland, there is another zone with what appears to be a series of highly deteriorated walls, possibly belonging once to ancient rock shelters, although there is very little physical evidence left to appraise. Areas with possible ancient remains near the tip of the headland have been assigned the label Locus 3.

Locus 4 is situated west of the saddle, on the south side of the headland (Figure 221). It is set c. 20 m above Gyer ru mtsho in an overhang of the escarpment. A wall up to 1.5 m in height on its exterior side encloses a triangular space (5 m on each side) underneath the overhang. The forward wall runs up a natural stone ramp, a design feature found at other archaic rock shelter sites in Upper Tibet (see S7). If this rampway of stone were fully enclosed by walls it would have added c. 6 m² to the area of the residential structure. In the cliff face there is a quite recognizable self-formed (*rang byon*) swastika, a local sacred feature of Yungdrung Bon. In a recess to the east of L4 there two highly exfoliated counter-clockwise swastikas painted in red ochre (see Figure 215). These pictographs mark the tenure of the site by those practising an archaic form of religion.

Locus 5 of the Gyer ru mtsho do headland consists of a V-shaped crook in the escarpment elevated c. 15 m above the lake (Figures 222 and 223). A cave with a heavily mud-mortared façade forms the nucleus of the site. The fabric of this façade strongly suggests an historical religious origin. Prayer flags have been hung inside and outside of this cave and votive clay plaques (*tsha tsha*) are deposited inside. While it does not appear to have a name, this cave retains a holy status in the sacred geography of Yungdrung Bon. Five stone steps lead up to the 1.4 m-tall entranceway of the cave (such relatively large doorways are a trait associated with Historic era architecture). The cave is divided into three sections: forward (open space 4 m long), central (3 m long, with masonry partition wall and entablature) and rear (narrow immured space, probably with a ritual function). In front of the cave there is a series of manmade terraces which cover at least 100 m² and have a combined height of 5 m. These remains may be those of destroyed anterior residential structures.



Figure 222. The walled cave and anterior structures of Locus 5, Gyer ru mtsho do.



Figure 223. The interior of the cave in Locus 5. Note the wall in the foreground dividing the forward and central portions of the cave. In the background the shut-in rear section of the cave is visible.

Locus 6 is at the base of the limestone escarpment (Figure 224). Fragmentary foundations and revetments create a level space, 3 m – 5 m wide, running along the cliff for more than 20 m. On the basis of its aspect, design and construction, this was an archaic residential complex. The formation partly overhangs the site. At the east end of the ruins a wall fragment (up to 1.8 m in height) clings to the cliff, the only standing ancient structure surviving at Gyer ru mtsho do.

Locus 7 is the most westerly group of archaic residential structures at the Gyer ru mtsho do headland (Figures 225–227) [use long hyphen]. It is comprised of several horizontal fissures in the escarpment, perched 15 m – 20 m



Figure 224. Structural remains in Locus 6, Gyer ru mtsho do. Note the intact standing wall enclosing the cliff on the upper-right side of the image.

above the lake. A centrally located fissure is surrounded by wall traces reduced to 50 cm or less in height. These walls demarcate an internal space (c. 8 m × 5 m) divided in half by another wall. An outer wall, at a distance of 1 m – 2 m, parallels the forward wall of this structure, the remains it seems of a more extensive room or building. Locus 7 is quite hard to reach and has a defensible position, suggesting that it was once highly coveted real estate. In any case, finding insulated locations for construction was a preoccupation with ancient builders in Upper Tibet. Like other ancient residential loci at the headland, Locus 7 is well sheltered from rock falls.



Figure 225. The horizontal fissures of Locus 7 situated near the summit of the escarpment, Gyer ru mtsho do. Access to points west along the headland is via a narrow ledge on the left side of the site. This restricted access lends the site a protective quality.



Figure 226. The forward and inner walls in the central fissure of Locus 7, Gyer ru mtsho do. The aspect and design of this construction strongly suggest an archaic cultural identity.



Figure 227. The ruined cave shelter of the central fissure, Locus 7, Gyer ru mtsho do.

Sha ba brag (S13)

Survey conducted in 1999



Map 17. Sha ba brag (S13). The cave with the rock art is on the opposite side of a rocky rib from the modern-day monastery.

Sha ba brag (Stag Rock) is the name of a monastery said by local monks to have been founded by the third Karma pa, Rang byon rdo rje (1284–1339 AD; Bellezza 2001: 91; Figure 228). Sha ba brag is on the north side of the Ring mtsho nub ma basin (also called Ring mtsho gong ma) on the eastern edge of Shen rtsa County. Local elders believe that the *bon po* were evicted from the area with the coming of the Karma bka' brgyud sect, eventually leading to the establishment of the Buddhist monastery. In the pre-modern period, Sha ba brag was part of a pastoral camp named Mchog chu, which remitted its produce directly to the Lhasa government (Bellezza 2001: 90). The site consists of limestone escarpments with several caves and high-volume springs. The southern exposure and the presence of shelter and fresh water (uncommon features in the vast Ring mtsho lake basin) have ensured that Sha ba brag has remained a geographically important place since pre-Buddhist times. On the summit of the escarpment there is a group of residential ruins (5.8 m × 7.2 m) associated with the ancient *bon po* (Figure 229). The structural remains are split between three levels, with at least 4 m vertically between the base of the structure and the uppermost foundation wall.¹ According to the celebrated Yungdrung Bon text, *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*, composed in the 14th century AD, the 8th-century AD adept Snang bzher lod po meditated at Sha ba brag (although it is not clear whether he built the hermitage or whether it predates him). The heart of the current monastery is a cave called Tshe sgrub phug pa (Long Life Empowerment Cave; c. 8m long) at the foot of the formation and containing the assembly hall (*'du khang*) and protector chapel (*mgon khang*). Given the geographical prominence of Tshe sgrub phug pa, it must have been important to the ancient inhabitants as well. The most famous self-formed (*rang byon*) stone image at Sha ba brag is that of a white male deer.

Four conjoined sun and moon symbols (between 12.5 cm and 38 cm in width each) and at least two other pictographs were inventoried at Sha brag. Five of these specimens are bichrome and one is painted solely in red ochre. They can probably all be dated to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The rock art is in and around a cave called Thang stong phug (10 m × 6 m; 4670 m), where the renowned Tibetan adept, engineer and operatic genius

¹ For more information on this archaeological site, see Bellezza 2001: 90, 91.



Figure 228. Sha ba brag monastery at the foot of the formation. The archaic residential complex is on the summit of the formation directly above the monastery.

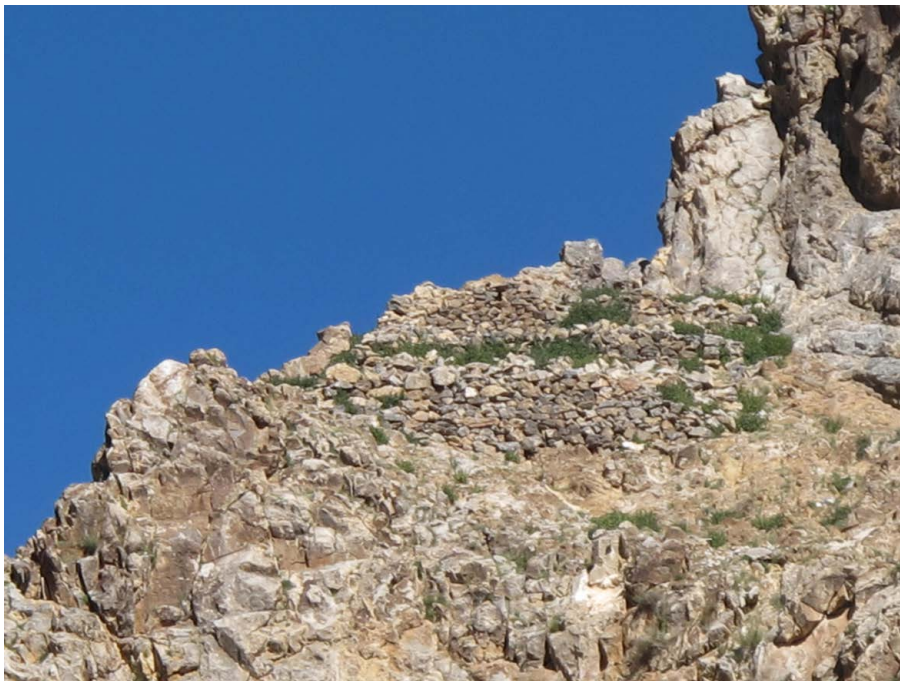


Figure 229. The main group of ancient ruins at Sha ba brag.

Thang stong rgyal po is supposed to have meditated (Figure 230). This cave also functioned as a pilgrim's serai in the premodern period. It is found in a limestone escarpment between Sha ba brag and 'Dud 'gro brag (Formation of the Animals; located to the west of the former). The masonry façade of the cave is c. 10 m long and 2.2 m wide, and includes what appear to have been two anterooms. Highly polished stone steps lead down from the entrance of the cave to the landing, accessing the two forward rooms, which are set at different elevations (Figure 231). The formidably built partition walls between the anterooms are up to 2 m in height and 1.2 m thick at the base. In the west anteroom, a small remnant of the red tinted mud plaster that once covered interior walls survives. Behind the anterior rooms, a thick layer of dung and modern sacred clay plaques (*tshwa tshwa*) are scattered about in the rear of the cave, which forms a large open area. Outside there is an outer wall 10 m in length and 2.2 m wide that appears to have been part of a building which once barricaded Thang stong phug. In front of this structure there are the remains of at least one other walled terrace. West of Thang stong phug, in a part of the escarpment called 'Dud 'gro brag, there is Gu ru sgrub phug, a cave where Gu ru rin po che (an 8th-century AD tantric master) is reputed to have stayed.



Figure 230. The outer wall surrounding Thang stong phug (S13), Sha ba brag.



Figure 231. Passageway between two anterooms with rear of the cave in the middle, Thang stong phug, Sha ba brag.

Thang stong rgyal po phug (S13)

Inventory No: S13_C1

Type: Picto, RO/WP

Subject: conjoined sun and moon

Arrangement: single

Comments: A red ochre subject on a white ground.

Placement: On cliff wall, near cave mouth.

Mode: silhouetted

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat768

Inventory No: S13_C2

Type: Picto, RO/WP **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: conjoined sun and moon **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat769
Comments: A subject painted on a mud plaster surface.
Placement: In close proximity to S13_C1.

Inventory No: S13_C3

Type: Picto, RO/WP **Mode:** silhouetted(?) **Condition:** MW
Subject: conjoined sun and moon **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: There is no photographic coverage of the subject available.
Placement: In close proximity to S13_C2.

Inventory No: S13_C4

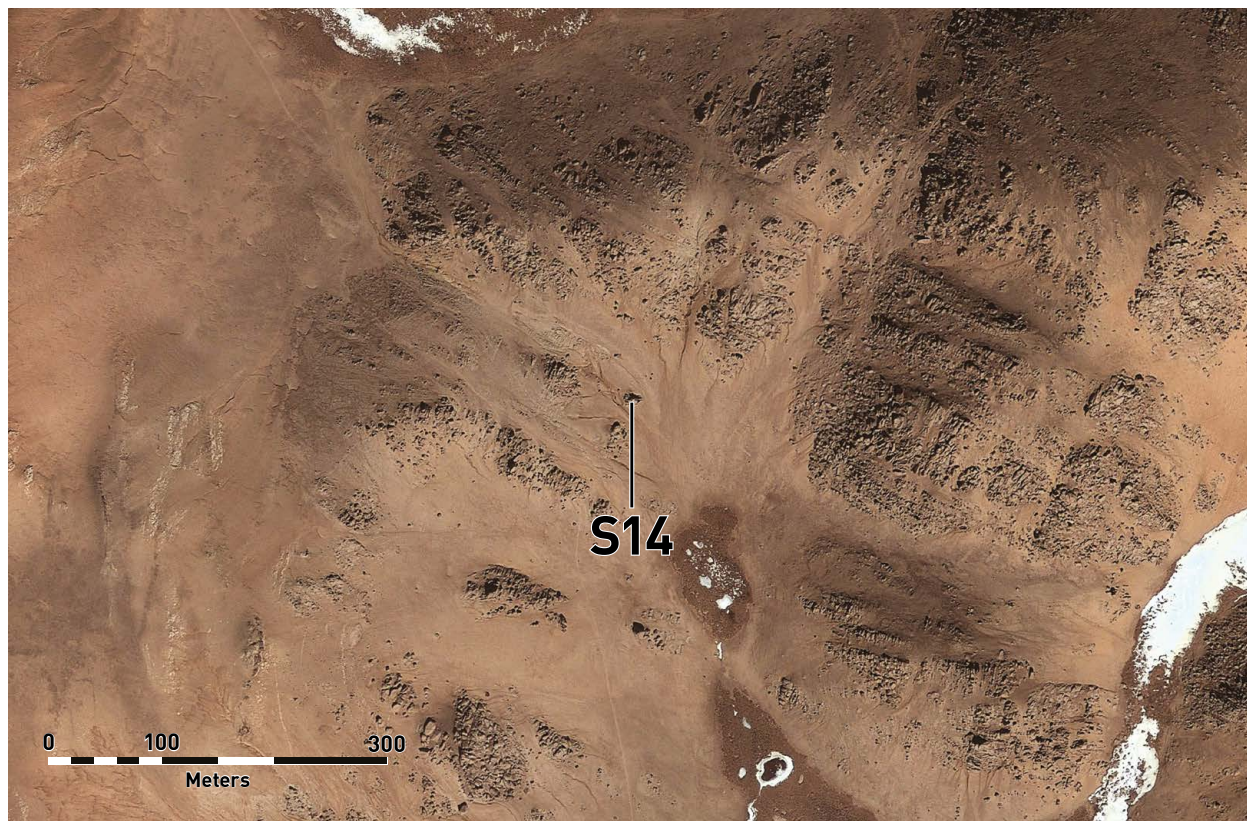
Type: Picto, RO/WP **Mode:** silhouetted(?) **Condition:** MW
Subject: conjoined sun and moon **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: There is no photographic coverage of the subject available.
Placement: In close proximity to S13_C3.

Inventory No: S13_C5

Type: Picto, RO/WP **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI
Comments: Damage to the subject precludes a clear assessment of its design.
Placement: At west end of cave.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18b).

Inventory No: S13_C6

Type: Picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: quadruped? **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat770
Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild ungulate. There are also faint pigment applications in the cave, among which may be a Tibetan letter A (NIS).
Placement: Unfixed.

Kong chung (S14)*Survey conducted in 2002*

Map 18. Kong chung (S14).

Kong chung is the name of a relatively narrow valley filled with granite formations, just east of Sgo mang mtsho. Once located in a region known as Sgo mang ru pa, the site is now part of Gzhung smad Township, Shan rtsa County. The rock art is contained in a natural rock shelter set at the head of a narrow valley (4900 m). The roof of this rock shelter is formed by a single flat granite boulder 7 m in length, with the entrance in the east. The pictographs found here are said to be self-formed. They appear to mark a a holy site of some kind. A minimum of 17 red ochre swastikas were inventoried at this site, all but one of which is oriented in a clockwise direction. These swastikas are attributed to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.



Figure 232. The natural rock shelter at Kong chung (S14). Members of the survey team are shown measuring the structure.

Inventory No: S14_C1a

Type: RO, picto **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 12 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat771
Comments: The swastika was made with multiple arms.
Placement: On the ceiling of the rock shelter.

Inventory No: S14_C1b

Type: RO, picto **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat771
Comments: The swastika was made with multiple arms.
Placement: To left of and below S14_C1a.

Inventory No: S14_C1c

Type: RO, picto **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** 24 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat771
Comments: The swastika was made with multiple arms.
Placement: To right of and below S14_C1a.

Inventory No: S14_C2

Type: RO, picto **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: interconnected swastikas **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 60 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat772
Comments: The subject consists of at least three interconnected clockwise swastikas.
Placement: On rock shelter ceiling.

Inventory No: S14_C3

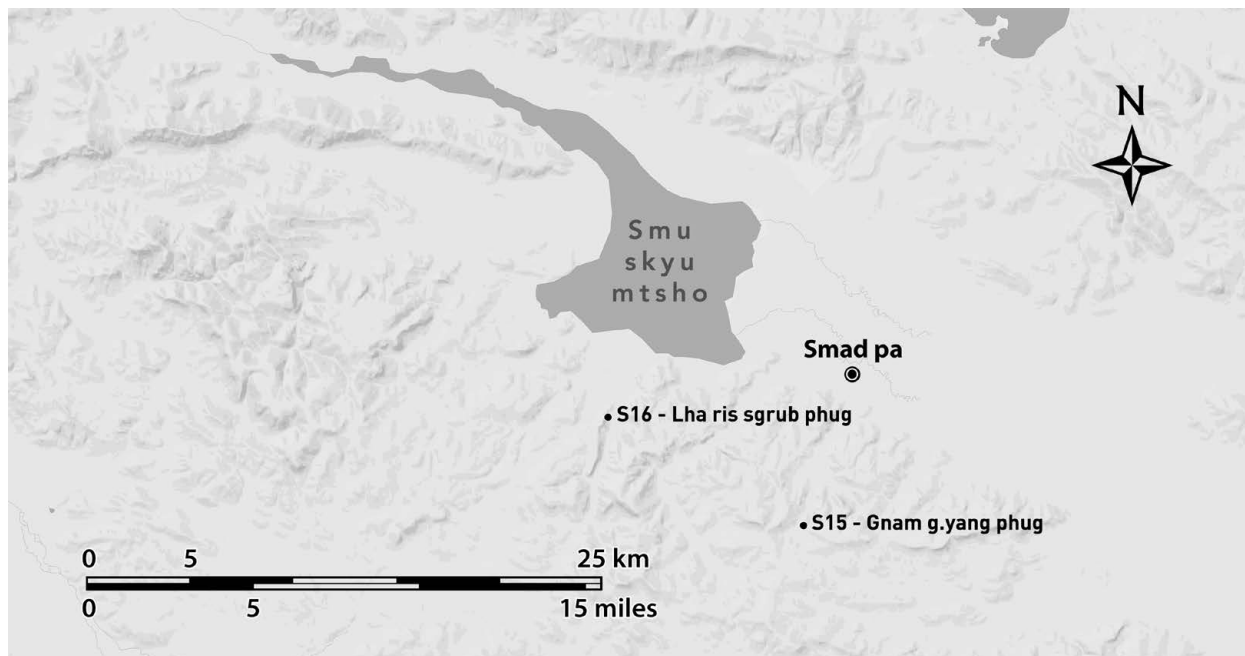
Type: RO, picto **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW/HW
Subject: interconnected swastikas **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat773
Comments: The subject consists of at least 12 adjacent and interconnected clockwise swastikas that form a single cluster of rock art, which appears to have been made in the same timeframe. Photographic coverage is inadequate to disambiguate each of the swastikas, thus they are treated in a single entry. The swastikas range in height from 12 cm – 20 cm.
Placement: On a cracked and pitted boulder inside rock shelter.

Inventory No: S14_C4

Type: RO, picto **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 17 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat774
Comments: The subject consists of single counter-clockwise swastika.
Placement: Unfixed.

Gnam g.yang phug (S15)

Surveys conducted in 2002 and 2011



Map 19. Gnam g.yang phug (S15) and Lha ris sgrub phug.

Gnam g.yang phug (Sky Good Fortune Capability Cave) is the name of one of two caves with rock art situated in a valley system that empties into the Rmo kyu mtsho lake basin (30.927 N / 89.090833 E / 5040 m). The bulk of the rock art at S15 is in Gnam g.yang phug.¹ Below Gnam g.yang phug and the upper two branches of the valley there is another cave that was modified for human occupation (30.941 N / 89.092167 E / 4915 m). These two caves formed an ancient nucleus of settlement in a region known as Smad pa that furnished protection from the elements and the basic physical constructs needed to establish secure sedentary patterns of occupation. As with many of the parietal structures of Gnam mtsho, as well as Sha brag (S13), the rock art in S15 is associated with caves that were anthropogenically modified for residential use. Although a lack of an absolute chronology for the cave shelters and rock art of S15 complicates any attempt to directly relate sedentary occupation to rock art production, it is clear that these were part of complimentary human activities, one cultural manifestation informing the other, at least in an historical sense. 61 red ochre pictographs were inventoried in S15, making it one of the most extensive pictographic sites on the Eastern Byang thang. 57 of these subjects are attributed to the Protohistoric period and four to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

Gnam g.yang phug is situated south of the Smad pa Township headquarters (in Shan rtsa County; Figures 233–238 [use long hyphen]). The cave is set on a slope c. 40 m above the southeast branch of the narrow Gnas sna valley. In the valley floor there is still a perennial watercourse, a major attraction and important natural resource for the ancient inhabitants. With its ruined masonry façade, east-facing Gnam g.yang phug appears to have been a ritual sanctuary and/or residential complex during the Late Prehistoric era. There is no contemporary usage of the cave. The remains of the massive masonry wall that once enclosed the mouth of the cave (11 m wide) has been reduced to 1 m or less in height. It is constructed of uncut blocks of local limestone, 40 cm – 70 cm in length. Gnam g.yang phug is 25 m deep, making it a potentially significant shelter. The highly auspicious name of the cave alludes to its special role in the sacred geography of the region. On the front wall of the left (main) chamber of the cave there is a black pigment Tibetan *dbu med* inscription that reads: *sgom gyi gnas yin* (This is a place of meditation). This rock inscription was almost certainly made by Buddhists but the palaeography suggests that it is centuries old. The epigraphic evidence indicates that the sacred status of the cave continued during the era of Buddhist dominance (but structural and other evidence for a Buddhist tenure at the site is very weak). 56 red ochre subjects were inventoried in Gnam g.yang phug, 55 of which are assigned to the Protohistoric period and one to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The rock art is dominated by hunting, and fierce wild animals and raptors in other kinds of associations with anthropomorphs. The rock art seems to articulate martial themes through ritualized and mythic perspectives on the predator-prey cycle.

¹ Some of the rock art of Gnam g.yang phug is illustrated in Sonam Wangdu 1994: 132, 133 (called in this work Lu ma yangs (Broad Springs)).

Figure 233. Gnam g.yang phug (S15_L1)



Figure 234. Gnam g.yang phug (S15_L1).
The cave has two chambers, left (main)
and right.



Figure 235. Gnam g.yang phug (S15_L1).
Note the remains of the front wall that
once enclosed the main chamber of the
cave.





Figure 236. The remains of the extensive masonry façade that once barricaded Gnam g.yang phug (S15_L1).



Figure 237. The interior of the left or main chamber of Gnam g.yang phug (S15_L1).



Figure 238. The main chamber of Gnam g.yang phug (S15_L1).

Gnam g.yang phug (S15_L1)

Inventory No: S15_L1_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 33 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat775

Comments: The subject resembles a crown with three points.
Placement: Right wall of main chamber, near rear of cave.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 18 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat776

Comments: The subject somewhat resembles a stepped structure.
Placement: Right side of mouth of main chamber.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject may possibly depict an animal.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C4a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 3 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat777

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. The composition consists of three seminal symbols, in what appears to be some kind of cosmogonic and/or cosmological display.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C4b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: crescent	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 2 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat777

Comments: The subject signifies the moon.
Placement: Below S15_L1_C4a.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C4c

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: sunburst	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: 2 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat777

Comments: The subject cannot be fully assessed due to inadequate photographic coverage.
Placement: To left of S15_L1_C4b.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 17 cm (v)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject consists of several lines combined to form a jellyfish-like form.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C6a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat778

Comments: The subject appears to be shown wielding an object in one hand.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C6b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: 7 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat778

Comments: The subject appears to be standing upside down and may be depicted with a male organ or new-born between the legs.
Placement: To right of and below S15_L1_C6a.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 51 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat779

Comments: This large counter-clockwise swastika was created subsequent to much adjacent and underlying rock art.
Placement: To right of S15_L1_C6.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: partially silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat780

Comments: With its long, thin body, and what appear to be upright ears, the subject may possibly represent a carnivore. It is one of many wild ungulates, carnivores, and raptors painted on a large panel on the cave wall. Many of these pictographs are interrelated and were probably made in one or more groups, but photographic coverage is inadequate to assess the compositional organization of the rock art. This panel of pictographs extends to S15_L1_49, and conveys hunting and martial themes. The armed anthropomorphs, raptors, and other creatures seem to celebrate values associated with warriors.
Placement: Above, at some distance from S15_L1_C6.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C9

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat780

Comments: With its long, sleek body, and what appear to be upright ears, the subject may represent a carnivore. What appears to be a highly degraded red ochre quadruped is situated to the right of and below the subject (NIS).
Placement: Above S15_L1_C8.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C10

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: quadruped	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 5 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat780

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a carnivore. There is a highly obscured red ochre pigment application to the left of the subject (NIS).
Placement: To right of and above S15_L1_C9, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C14

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: sunburst **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 9.5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat781

Comments: It is likely that this sunburst was painted in conjunction with one or more surrounding animals. The subject is partially cut in the selected photograph.

Placement: Above S15_L1_C12.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 170 (fig. 301).

Inventory No: S15_L1_C15

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: zoomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI

Comments: Due to inadequate photographic coverage, the subject cannot be identified.

Placement: Above S15_L1_C12.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 170 (fig. 301).

Inventory No: S15_L1_C16

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 5 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat780

Comments: With its hooked beak, spread wings, and wide tail, the subject strongly resembles a raptor.

Placement: Above S15_L1_C12.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 170 (fig. 301).

Inventory No: S15_L1_C17

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780

Comments: The longish tail, narrow body, and what appears to be a pair of upright ears of the subject, recall a carnivore.

Placement: To right of S15_L1_C11.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 170 (fig. 301).

Inventory No: S15_L1_C18

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 7.5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a carnivore.

Placement: To right of S15_L1_C16.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 170 (fig. 301).

Inventory No: S15_L1_C19

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780

Comments: The subject appears to depict a carnivore, as typified by the long, lithe body and long tail.

Placement: Below S15_L1_C18.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C20

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780
Comments: The subject appears to be some type of wild ungulate.
Placement: To left of and below S15_L1_C19.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C21

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 8 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780
Comments: The subject may possibly represent some type of wild ungulate.
Placement: Below S15_L1_C20.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C22

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 6 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780
Comments: The form of the subject recalls a carnivore.
Placement: To left of and below S15_L1_C17.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C23

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 14 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780
Comments: The subject comprises the single largest zoomorphic subject in S15_L1.
Placement: Below S15_L1_C22.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C24

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 1.5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780, Cat782
Comments: The subject most resembles a wild sheep or antelope. S15_L1_C24 to S15_L1_C26 stand on the same red ochre line, which seems to portray the contour of a slope. All three figures face to the right as if ascending a hill.
Placement: To right of S15_L1_C23.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C25

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 2 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780
Comments: The subject is ambiguous in form but probably depicts a wild ungulate.
Placement: To right of and above S15_L1_C24.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C26

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 2.5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat780
Comments: The subject most resembles a wild sheep.
Placement: To right of and above S15_L1_C24.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C27

Type: picto, RO
Subject: wild ungulate
Arrangement: single?
Mode: outlined
Theme: unknown
Dimensions: 5 cm (h)
Condition: HW
Age (est.): PP

Image ref: Cat780
Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild yak.
Placement: To right of and above S15_L1_C26.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C28

Type: picto, RO
Subject: quadruped
Arrangement: single?
Mode: partially silhouetted
Theme: unknown
Dimensions: 8 cm (h)
Condition: HW
Age (est.): PP

Image ref: Cat779, Cat780
Comments: The subject may possibly represent a wild ungulate.
Placement: Below S15_L1_C25 to S15_L1_C27.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C29

Type: picto, RO
Subject: quadruped
Arrangement: single?
Comments: The subject is partially obscured by the upper arm of S15_L1_C7.
Placement: To left of and below S15_L1_C28.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C30

Type: picto, RO
Subject: bird
Arrangement: single?
Comments: With its hooked beak, spread wings, and wide tail, the subject strongly resembles a raptor.
Placement: To left of S15_L1_C29, above upper arm of S15_L1_C7.

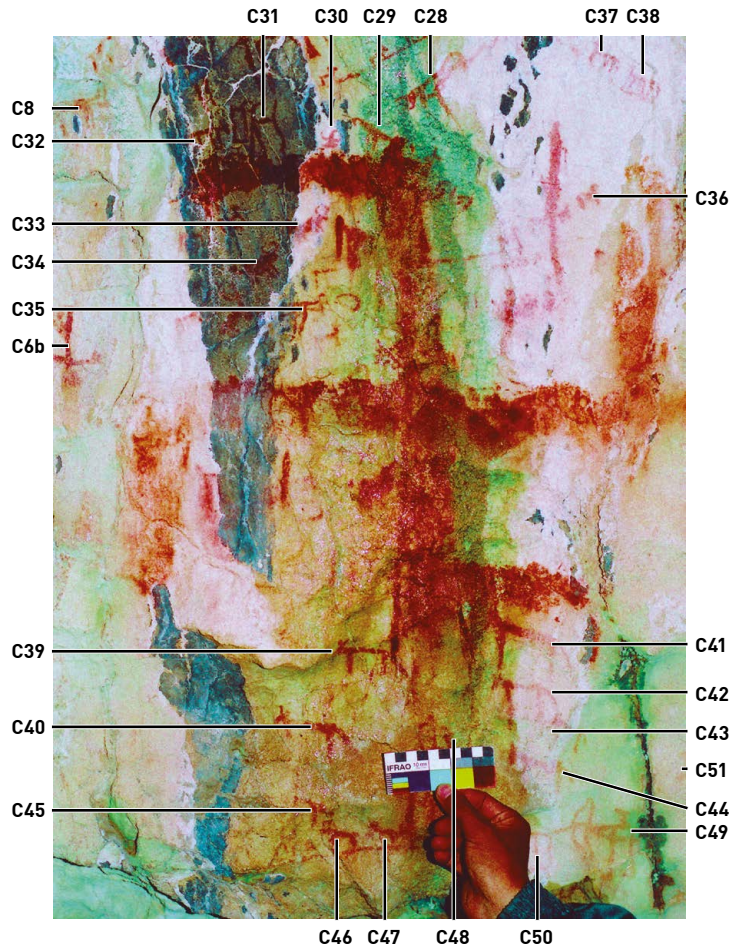


Figure 240. Locations of pictographs on the lower section of the large panel of Gnam g.yang phug (S15). The image is dominated by a large superimposed swastika (S15_L1_C7).

Inventory No: S15_L1_C31

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: anthropomorph **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 6 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat782

Comments: The subject is armed with a rectangular shield and bow. Found amidst the large panel of wild carnivores, raptors, and wild ungulates, the subject cuts a venatic and/or martial figure with its armaments.

Placement: To left of S15_L1_C30 and below S15_L1_C23.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C32

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 4 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat782

Comments: The subject may possibly depict a carnivore.

Placement: To left S15_L1_C31.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C33

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 4 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat779

Comments: The subject is well formed, raising no doubt as to its identification.

Placement: Below S15_L1_C30, inside upper left part of S15_L1_C7.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C34

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild yak **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 4 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat779

Comments: The subject is well formed, raising no doubt as to its identification. To the left of the subject there are two highly obscured red ochre pigment applications (NIS).

Placement: To left of and below S15_L1_C33, inside upper left part of S15_L1_C7.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C35

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 4 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat779

Comments: The subject most resembles a wild ungulate. Above and below the subject there are highly obscured red ochre pigment applications (NIS).

Placement: Below S15_L1_C33, inside upper left quarter of S15_L1_C7.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C36

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 2 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat779

Comments: The subject may possibly portray some type of wild ungulate. To the left of the subject there is a highly obscured red ochre pigment application, possibly representing an animal (NIS).

Placement: To right of S15_L1_C33, at an appreciable distance, inside upper right quarter of S15_L1_C7.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C37

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: quadruped **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: single? **Dimensions:** 4 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat779

Comments: The subject may possibly portray some type of wild ungulate.

Placement: To right of S15_L1_C28, at an appreciable distance

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: GNAM G.YANG PHUG (S15)

Inventory No: S15_L1_C52

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: wild caprid

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 4 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat785

Comments: The subject was well executed.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C53

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 4 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat785

Comments: The subject was partially destroyed but it appears to represent an antelope.

Placement: To right of S15_L1_C52.

Inventory No: S15_L1_C54

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: 3.5 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat785

Comments: The subject appears to represent a wild ungulate. To the right of it is either another red ochre pictograph or an extension of the same subject.

Placement: Below S15_L1_C52.

S15_L2

The other cave (8 m × 6 m) with rock art in S15 does not appear to be named. It is elevated c. 30 m above the valley floor. A significant façade enclosed the mouth of the cave and quite a bit of rubble is strewn about the interior. There is a walled ledge (used for defensive purposes or as an outside work area?) below the façade. Three red ochre subjects were inventoried in S15_L2, all of which are swastikas. Oriented in both directions, these swastikas seem to document sectarian encounters between Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups in the cave, either in the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.



Figure 241. The cave of S15_L2 can be seen on the upper-left side of the limestone outcrop.

Inventory No: S15_L2_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat786

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Left wall of cave.

Inventory No: S15_L2_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat787

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a clockwise direction. To the left of the subject there is a red ochre linear extension (NIS).
Placement: Left wall of cave, at different location.

Inventory No: S15_L2_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat788

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a clockwise direction.
Placement: Cave ceiling.



Figure 242. The rectangular mouth of S15_L2. Note the remains of the front wall enclosing the mouth of the cave and other man-made structural features below it.



Figure 243. Wall fragments composing part of the forward structural features of S15_L2.



Figure 244. The interior of S15_L2.

Lha ris sgrub phug (S16)

Surveys conducted in 2002 and 2011



Figure 245. Lha ris sgrub phug (S16) is in the middle of the pictured limestone outcrop.

Lha ris sgrub phug (Divine Figures Religious Practice Cave; 4780 m) is situated in a small valley south of the Rmo kyu mtsho basin, in Smad pa Township (Shan rtsa County). The cave is also known locally as Lha ris brag phug (Divine Figures Formation Cave). This east-facing cave is perched c. 35 m above the valley floor and is within view of the lake. The single chamber of the cave is steeply inclined towards the rear and is 46 m in length. The cave has a maximum width of 17 m but the mouth is tall and narrow. A small masonry front wall barricades the opening of the cave. There is a perennial stream in the stretch of the valley below Lha ris sgrub phug, adding much to its attractiveness as a place to tarry or live. Like nearby Gnam g,yang phug and many other caves on the Eastern Byang thang sporting rock art, Lha ri sgrub phug may have functioned as a sanctuary, ritual centre, or other type of residence in the Late Prehistoric era. There is a single panel of red ochre pictographs (60 cm × 40 cm) on the left wall of the cave, 5 m in from the mouth.¹ The cave wall chosen for rock art production is relatively flat and smooth, the only suitable place for the painting of pictographs. It appears that the panel of rock art was fairly recently damaged by the rubbing or abrading of the paintings. 19 red ochre interrelated pictographs were inventoried in S16, all of which are dated to the Protohistoric period. The panel is characterized by sacred symbols, wild ungulates, raptors, and anthropomorphs in a scene that recalls hunting and martial themes. Furthermore, the panel of rock art appears to signify other cultural foundations of its maker(s), with cosmological and ritual themes seemingly running through it as well.

¹ On this rock art, also see Sonam Wangdu 1994: 134, in which this cave is called Lha mtsho lung pa (Divine Lake Valley); however this is the name of, or a description of, the valley, and not the name of the cave. The entire panel is pictured in Bellezza 2008: 165 (fig. 274).



Figure 246. The mouth of Lha ris sgrub phug (S16). Note the remains of the masonry façade.



Figure 247. The interior of Lha ris sgrub phug (S16).

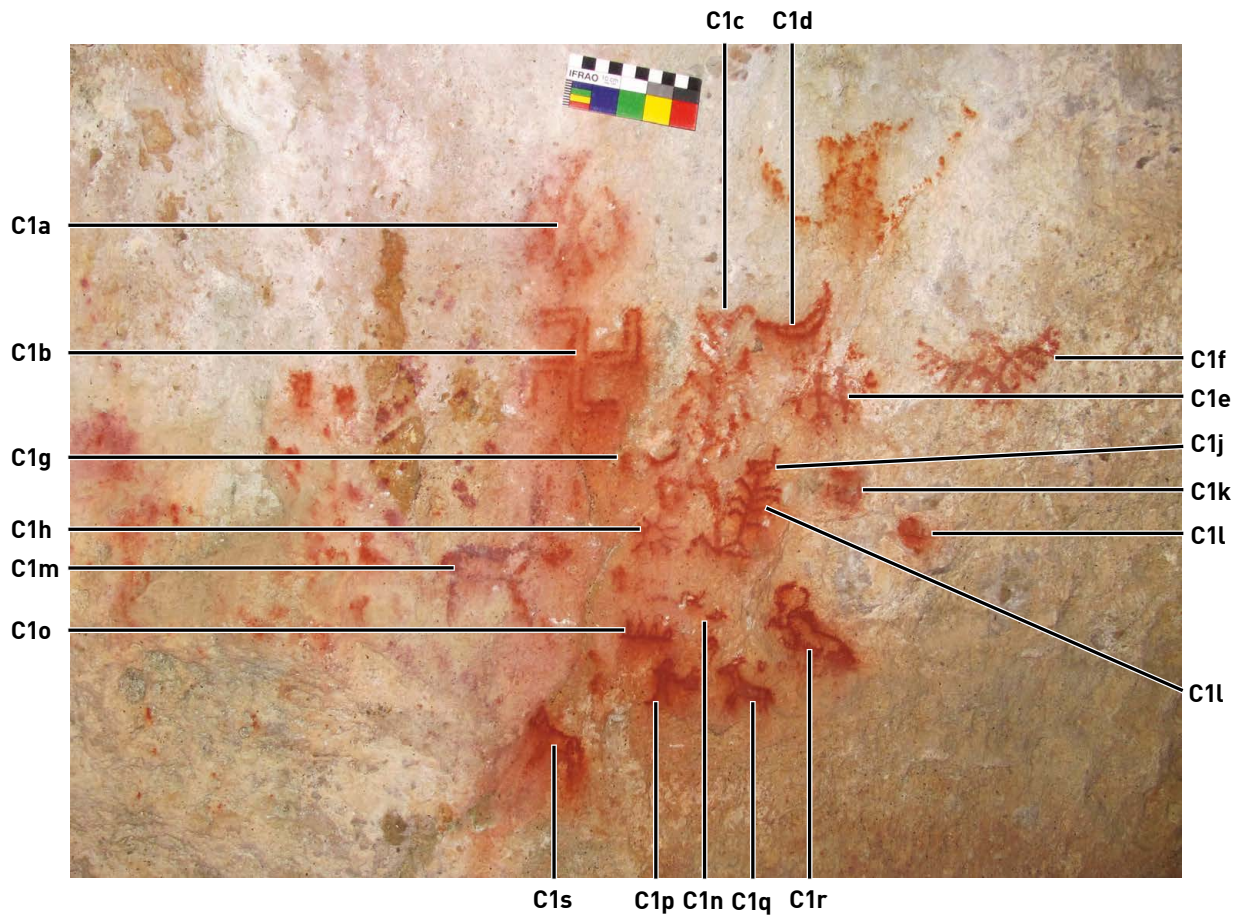


Figure 248. Locations of pictographs in Lha ris srub phug (S16).

Inventory No: S16_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: bird

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 11 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat789, Cat791

Comments: The subject has a triangular head, diamond-shaped wings, and what appears to be a bi-triangular body. It also possesses decidedly anthropomorphic anatomical qualities. The pictographs of this panel are treated as a single composition, as clearly most were created in one or more integral groups, all of which are closely interrelated thematically. However, the precise compositional organization of the pictographs could not be determined with any assurance.

Placement: Left wall, top of panel.

Inventory No: S16_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 9 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat790, Cat791

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Below S16_C1a.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LHA RIS SGRUB PHUG (S16)

Inventory No: S16_C1c

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW

Subject: tree **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP

Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 13 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat791

Comments: The subject has parallel V-shaped branches. There may possibly be a bird depicted in the crown of the tree, potentially adding another subject to the panel (NIS).

Placement: Left of S16_C1b.

Inventory No: S16_C1d

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW

Subject: crescent **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP

Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791

Comments: It is clear from the rich symbolic complement of rock art in S16 that the subject was invested with cosmogonic and/or cosmological value as a likeness of the moon.

Placement: Left of S16_C1c.

Inventory No: S16_C1e

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW

Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP

Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 6 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791

Comments: The identity of the subject is unclear; it could possibly represent two trees, or perhaps even two anthropomorphs.

Placement: Below S16_C1d.

Inventory No: S16_C1f

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW

Subject: bird **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP

Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 7 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat792

Comments: This well-formed raptor was rendered with prominent flight feathers.

Placement: To right of S16_C1e.

Inventory No: S16_C1g

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW

Subject: crescent **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP

Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 2 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat793

Comments: This crescent may have been created with S16_C1h, as complementary cosmological symbols.

Placement: To right of and below S16_C1b.

Inventory No: S16_C1h

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW

Subject: sunburst **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP

Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 4 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat793

Comments: This subject has nine sunrays, a number rich in cosmological symbolism in Tibet.

Placement: Below S16_C1g.

Inventory No: S16_C1i

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW

Subject: tree **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP

Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 7 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat794

Comments: The subject has parallel branches and a triangular base.

Placement: To right of S16_C1g.

Inventory No: S16_C1j

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: bird **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 2.5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat794
Comments: The bird is shown perched in the crown of the tree, recalling subjects found in S1_L1. The arrangement of S16_C1i and S16_C1j is liable to have conveyed significant symbolic or mythic information.
Placement: Above S16_C1i.

Inventory No: S16_C1k

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 3 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat795
Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. The subject appears to have been deliberately smudged.
Placement: To right of S16_C1i.

Inventory No: S16_C1l

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** linear **Condition:** HW
Subject: swastika? **Theme:** symbolic **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 2.5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat795
Comments: The subject appears to have been deliberately smudged.
Placement: To right of and below S16_C1k.

Inventory No: S16_C1m

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: wild ungulate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 10 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791
Comments: The subject strongly resembles an antelope. To the left of the subject there are various minor red ochre applications (NIS).
Placement: To left of S16_C1h.

Inventory No: S16_C1n

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 2 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat797
Comments: The subject may possibly represent an animal. To the left of and below it there are two other minor red ochre applications (NIS).
Placement: To right of and below S16_C1h.

Inventory No: S16_C1o

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** HW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** PP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** 5 cm (h) **Image ref:** Cat791, Cat796
Comments: The subject consists of a horizontal row of four triangular motifs interconnected at the base by a line. The subject may possibly represent offering cakes (*gtor ma*) or some other kind of ritual object.
Placement: To right of and below S16_C1h.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LHA RIS SGRUB PHUG (S16)

Inventory No: S16_C1p

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: anthropomorph

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 3.5 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat791, Cat797

Comments: The subject is grasping a squarish motif (a shield or bow and arrow?). If not shown aiming/shooting at one of the surrounding game animals; the anthropomorph is engaged in a more symbolic or abstract relationship with his animal companions.

Placement: Below S16_C1o.

Inventory No: S16_C1q

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild ungulate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 5 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat791, Cat797

Comments: The subject most resembles an antelope or wild sheep. There is a small heart-shaped red ochre application above it (NIS).

Placement: To right of S16_C1p.

Inventory No: S16_C1r

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: wild yak

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 10.5 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat791, Cat797

Comments: Due to the long belly fringe, the legs of the subject are not clearly rendered.

Placement: To right of and above S16_C1q.

Inventory No: S16_C1s

Type: picto, RO

Mode: partially silhouetted

Condition: HW

Subject: quadruped

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): PP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: 4.5 cm (h)

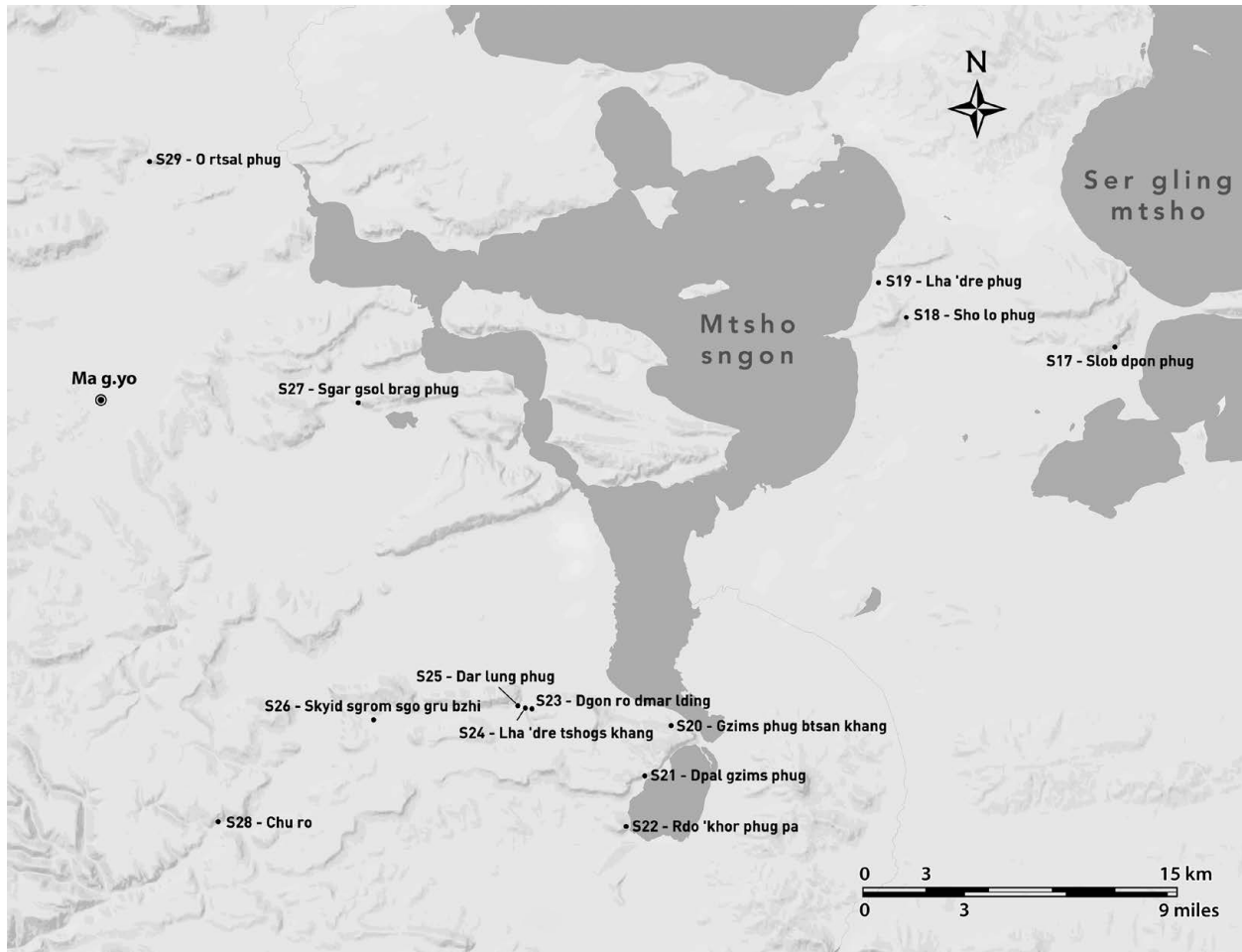
Image ref: Cat791

Comments: Despite being quite well executed, the identity of the subject is ambiguous.

Placement: Below S16_C1m, at bottom of panel.

Slob dpon phug (S17)

Survey conducted in 2002



Map 20. Sites S17 to S29 situated near the lakes of Mtsho sngon and Ser gling mtsho. Slob dpon phug (S17) is on the right side of the map. All these sites are in the easternmost parts of the traditional Tibetan district known as Nag tshang tsho drug.



Figure 249. Slob dpon phug (S17). Note the landing and stone steps below the mouth of the cave. Both the north (right) and south (left) chambers of the cave are visible.

Slob dpon phug (S17; 4820 m) is a small, east-facing cave high up on a reddish limestone formation in Gzhung smad Township (Shan rtsa County). In the traditional political geography of premodern Tibet, Slob dpon phug was part of the sprawling district of Nag tshang tsho drug, as were the balance of rock art sites in this present volume (S18 to S29). The site towers above the east shore of Zi leng mtsho (Ser gling mtsho; 4530 m), now the largest lake on the Byang thang. In 2010, this lake had a measured surface area of 2320 km², increasing in elevation 12 m since 1976 because of climate change and other hydrological factors (Shi *et al.* 2017: 16, 18). Slob



Figure 250. North chamber of Slob dpon phug (S17). Note the remains of the front wall barricading the entrance to the cave.

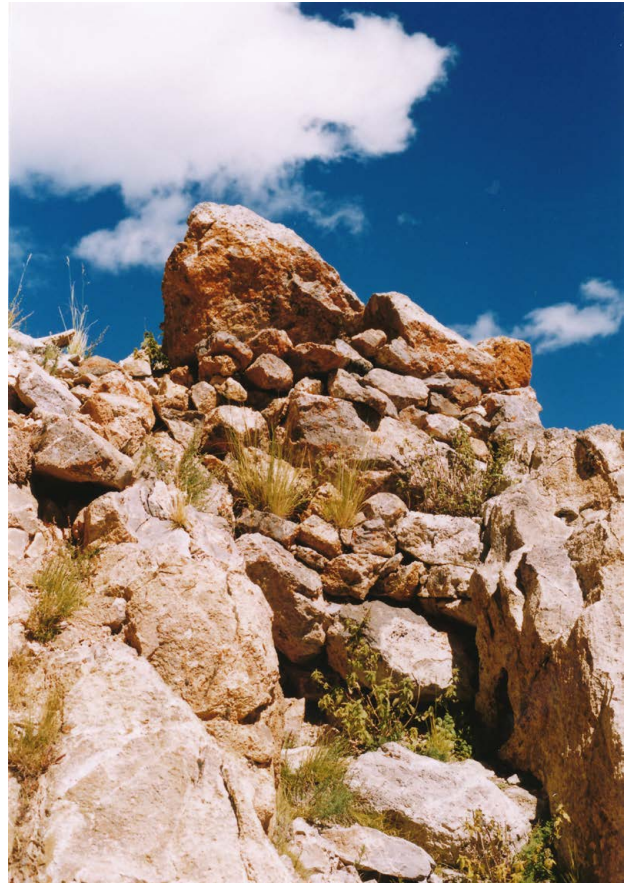


Figure 252. The remains of the stone staircase that lead up to Slob dpon phug.



Figure 251. Slob dpon phug (S17), south chamber. Note the remains of the front wall barricading the entrance to the cave.



Figure 253. A portion of the old wall set at the base of the steep approach to Slob dpon phug.

dpon phug is on an isthmus separating Sngon mo mtsho and Zi leng mtsho. In local lore, the famous Buddhist master Gu ru rin po che is supposed to have meditated here. However, as the rock art indicates, this legend appears to be apocryphal, with the aim of historically dislodging the site from its pre-Buddhist moorings. There is just one access to Slob dpon phug via the remains of a limestone staircase set in a fissure below the cave. At c. 10 m below the cave, on the access route, there are the vestiges of a wall (now 4.5 m long and no more than 1.2 m in height) built of uncut pieces of limestone (30 cm –70 cm in length). This wall must have been part of a gateway to the cave complex. Like many other early residential sites on the Eastern Byang thang, the protected aspect of the cave furnishes it with a good defensive posture. Above the cave there is a vertical expanse of limestone perhaps c. 100 m in height. Just below the cave there is a landing (3 m in length) with the remains of a revetment measuring 1.5 m in height on the west side. From the landing some remnants of stone steps lead up to the entrance of the cave. Access to Slob dpon phug is by way of the south chamber (5 m across). Still partly enclosing the south chamber of the cave are the traces of a masonry façade.

22 red ochre pictographs were inventoried individually in Slob dpon phug. These range in age from the Protohistoric period to as late as the Vestigial period. Additionally, there are at least eight other red ochre counter-clockwise swastikas found, for which there is no photographic coverage. When viewed inclusively the site contains at least 30 pictographs that predate the Late Historic period. The central chamber of Slob dpon phug is accessed via a narrow passageway; together the north and central chambers extend for 9 m. The south chamber measures 3 m across and contains a large cache of sacred clay plaques (*tshwa tshwa*). The sacred ejaculation *hung* was written in a yellow pigment across the walls of the south chamber at least eight times. These inscriptions almost certainly served to symbolically reconfigure the identity of the cave, bringing it within Buddhist auspices. On the north wall of the south chamber, near the ceiling, there are at least 13 red ochre counter-clockwise swastikas (S17_C1–S17_C13). A part of the north wall of the chamber was tampered with in an apparent attempt at Buddhacization. Clay was applied, covering an unknown number of pictographs. The syllable *hung* was written over the middle of this clay veneer patch. On the mouth of the north chamber, near the ceiling, there are at least six counter-clockwise swastikas, including two painted in a yellow pigment (only a single photograph of one of these swastikas is available). On the northwest wall of the north chamber of Slob dpon phug there are two or three faint red ochre counter-clockwise swastikas, for which there are no photographs. Nonetheless, the most varied rock art at the site is found on the northeast wall of the south chamber (S17_C17 to S17_C22).

The rock art and epigraphy of Slob dpon phug indicates that rigorous interactions between the older non-Buddhist religion and Buddhism took place here. Although the duration of these encounters is unknown, the aesthetic and epigraphic evidence suggests that they were sustained. The anthropogenic modification of Slob dpon phug and the area below it demonstrates that the cave once functioned as a significant residential complex (probably as a sanctuary, ritual venue, and/or hermitage). These structural modifications and mix of rock art and inscriptions betoken a site that once had significant religious and mythic value. The stunning views of the surrounding countryside from Slob dpon phug could only have enhanced the desirability of the site.

Inventory No: S17_C1

Type: picto, RO
Subject: swastika
Arrangement: single?
Mode: linear
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: 6 cm (h)

Condition: MW
Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. To the left of it there may be another highly obscured red ochre counter-clockwise swastika (NIS). Multiple red ochre swastikas of the same general size and form were painted on the same panel. Some of these may have together formed integral compositions but the pictorial evidence is insufficient to gauge their extent.

Placement: Upper left side of panel, on north wall of south chamber, near ceiling.

Inventory No: S17_C2

Type: picto, RO
Subject: swastika
Arrangement: single?

Mode: linear
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: 7 cm (h)

Condition: MW
Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To right of S17_C1.

Inventory No: S17_C3

Type: picto, RO
Subject: swastika
Arrangement: single?

Mode: linear
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: 6 cm (h)

Condition: MW
Age (est.): EHP/VP
Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To right of S17_C2.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 239 (fig. 10.258).

Inventory No: S17_C4

Type: picto, RO
Subject: swastika
Arrangement: single?

Mode: linear
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: 6 cm (h)

Condition: MW
Age (est.): EHP/VP
Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. To the left of the subject there appears to be a highly obscured red ochre swastika (NIS).

Placement: Below S17_C3.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 239 (fig. 10.258).

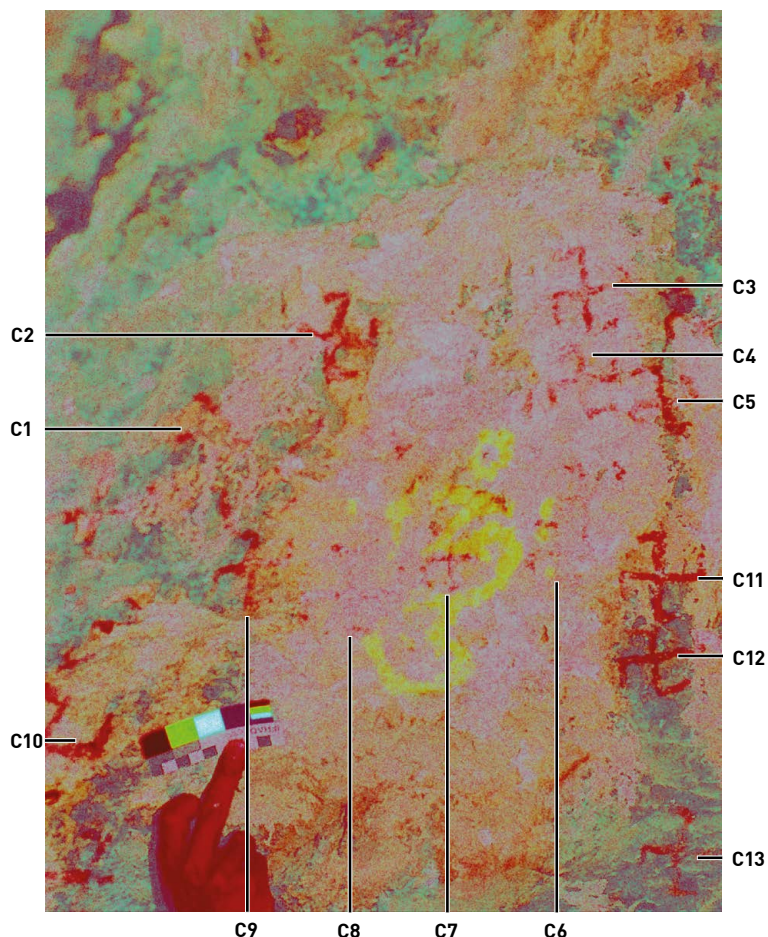


Figure 254. Locations of some pictographs in Slob dpon phug.

Inventory No: S17_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. Immediately above the subject there may be a highly obscured red ochre swastika (NIS).

Placement: Below S17_C4.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 239 (fig. 10.258).

Inventory No: S17_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To left of S17_C5.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 239 (fig. 10.258).

Inventory No: S17_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. The syllable *hung* inscribed in a yellow pigment was superimposed on top of the subject. This inscription was made by a Buddhist practitioner. Above the subject is what may be another swastika.

Placement: To left of S17_C6.

Inventory No: S17_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To left of and below S17_C7.

Inventory No: S17_C9

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To left of S17_C8.

Inventory No: S17_C10

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 10 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To left of and below S17_C9.

Inventory No: S17_C11

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To right of S17_C6.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 239 (fig. 10.258).

Inventory No: S17_C12

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Below S17_C6.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 239 (fig. 10.258).

Inventory No: S17_C13

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 7 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat798

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Below S17_C12.

Inventory No: S17_C14

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 9 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat799

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. To the left of it there is a patch of red ochre (NIS).
Placement: Mouth of north chamber.

Inventory No: S17_C15

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 8 cm (d)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject somewhat resembles a sunburst.
Placement: Unfixed. North chamber of cave.

Inventory No: S17_C16

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: indeterminate	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): PP/EHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (h)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is somewhat reminiscent of a conjoined sun and moon.
Placement: To left of S17_C15.

Sho lo phug (S18)*Survey conducted in 2002*

Figure 255. Approaching Sho lo phug (S18), at the base of the limestone formation on the right side.

Sho lo phug (4880 m) is on the east slopes of a limestone mount, sandwiched between the lakes of Mtsho sgnon and Zi leng mtsho. The area was once part of Phyi gling/Ser gling Township, which has been relegated to a lesser position in the political geography of the TAR. Sho lo phug is now under the jurisdiction of Gzhung smad Township, Shan rtsa County. The cave enjoys commanding views of the east half of Zi leng mtsho. The limestone mount in which the cave is situated is the abode of a local territorial god (*yul lha*). This deity is called Dge khyung (Virtuous Horned Eagle) in a local Buddhist invocatory (*gsol kha*) text; however, the name of the *yul lha* is pronounced Gyer khyung by local residents. This name is derived from Gyer rgyung, a god belonging to archaic religious traditions. According to the Yungdrung Bon tradition, the *rgyung* were a class of gods that originated in Zhang zhung (both *gyer* and *rgyung* also form an element in the proper names of various ancient *bon* sages). Sho lo phug has a modern masonry façade. Inside the cave a single red ochre pictograph has been inventoried, dated to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.¹

Inventory No: S18_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 24 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat801

Comments: The identity of this relatively complex subject cannot be determined. It possesses certain features of the Buddhist thunderbolt (*rdo rje*) symbol.

Placement: Unfixed.

¹ On what appear to be three funerary structures below Sho lo phug, see Bellezza 2014a: 345, 346.

Lha 'dre phug (S19)

Survey conducted in 2006

Lha 'dre phug is an east-facing cave (4620 m; 11 m × 6 m at the mouth) in a light-coloured limestone formation. The site is in Gzhung smad Township, Shan rtsa County. The formation is set between Lake Mtsho sngon and the sacred formation of Gyer rgyung. The cave is near the lakeshore and has sweeping views of Mtsho sngon. Unfortunately, photographs of rock art inside Lha 'dre phug were lost when a roll of film became unusable during the TILE expedition in 2006. According to local lore, the red and yellow ochre pictographs of the cave were made by terrestrial spirits (*sa bdag*). In a walled niche on the outer left wall of the cave there are two red ochre *dbu can* inscriptions. One of these reads: *Sa la 'od thon dang rdzogs sangs rgyas* (Enlightenment from the perfection of the arising of the light of the mind of the bodhisattva stage). The other hard-to-read inscription is as follows: *A dga'* (probably a religious term expressing primal joy). At least 19 subjects have been inventoried in Lha 'dre phug, all but two of which predate the Late Historic period. Five of the subjects are counter-clockwise swastikas dating to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. Among the other subjects there are upwards of six wild yaks assigned to the Protohistoric period. Three of the subjects in Lha 'dre phug are bichrome (red ochre and yellow ochre). The other 16 subjects were painted in red ochre only.

Overhead on the left central side of the cave there is a lightly applied red ochre counter-clockwise swastika (18 cm in height). A second counter-clockwise red ochre swastika (50 cm in height) and an unidentified subject (possibly an anthropomorph; 80 cm in height) are also found overhead in the central portion of the cave. Among other pictographs there is a subject resembling the top half of an anthropomorphic stick figure (red outline, solid yellow round head; 50 cm in height). The pictographs on the ceiling of the cave display moderate wear. On the right wall, near the mouth of the cave, there are two confronted wild yaks (each 15 cm long) made by the heavy application of red ochre, as well as a lone wild yak. Nearby, there are two medium red ochre counter-clockwise swastikas (12 cm and 18 cm in height) and a counter-clockwise swastika with a medium red outline and central yellow bands (17 cm in height). The superimposition of the medium red ochre swastika 18 cm in height on darker red ochre pictographs is a clear indication of relative age. The swastikas 17 cm and 18 cm in height were partially destroyed by the removal of the rock surface. Below the swastika 18 cm in height are unidentified red ochre applications, a good portion of which were destroyed by the removal of the rock surface. The swastika 12 cm in height was painted over a portion of the newly exposed rock surface and clearly belongs to a more recent time. In another area of the right wall of the cave there is a dark red ochre wild yak (12 cm long) and three or four indistinct red ochre applications, two of which are probably wild yaks. On the right outer wall there is a stepped structure-like subject (30 cm in height) with a yellow ochre interior and red ochre exterior. In the central portion of the right wall of the cave a dark red ochre wheel with eight spokes was crudely painted. Beside it is another crude subject.

The swastika rock art of Lha 'dre phug records encounters between the old non-Buddhist religion and Buddhism. As in many other caves with counter-clockwise swastikas on the Eastern Byang thang, these seminal symbols were made by practitioners of now defunct religious traditions. They appear to symbolically and ritually mark the caves in which they are located so as to enunciate their sectarian identity and signal physical possession. The painting of a swastika subsequent to the removal of the old rock surface in Lha 'dre phug is a particularly strident example of the sectarian posturing that affected the entire region. On the other hand, the wild yak pictographs and other dark red ochre subjects belong to an earlier phase of occupation at Lha 'dre phug. Above Lha 'dre phug there is Lha khang phug, a meditation cave used by the monks from Gzims phug monastery. Higher up in the same limestone outcrop is Tshwa phug, where it is reported by local *'brog pa* that valuables were secreted during the Kazakh raids of 80 years ago.



Figure 256. Lha 'dre phug (S19) and surroundings. The cave is in the formation in the middle of the photograph.



Figure 257. Lha 'dre phug (S19).

Gzims phug btsan khang (S20)

Survey conducted in 2013

Gzims phug btsan khang (Retreat Cave House of the Btsan; 4720 m) is on the north end of a series of rugged limestone formations that extend south to encompass S21 and S22. S20 is in Gzhung smad Township, Shan rtsa County. Gzims phug btsan khang is found in a reddish limestone formation of the same name (*btsan* is a common class of fierce horse-riding, red-coloured spirits) that rises 150 m above Lake Mtsho sngon and enjoys encompassing views of the lake. The cave (8 m × 3 m) has ample headroom and there are the remains of a masonry façade that once enclosed the mouth. The structural evidence suggests that Gzims phug btsan khang once functioned as either a temporary or permanent shelter, possibly for meditation and/or ritual uses. Although it is not clear

whether the rock art of the cave was created before, during, or after the occupation of the cave, there is an historical relationship between occupancy and rock art production, one cultural function informing the other indirectly, if not directly. Five red ochre pictographs have been inventoried in S20; these consist of seminal symbols and are attributed to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The subjects are comprised of countervailing religious symbols, including a counter-clockwise swastika and four Buddhist manifestations. Hence, as with so many other caves adorned with rock art on the Eastern Byang thang, Gzims phug btsan khang was the focus of contending sectarian activities. The nature of these activities, and the socio-religious tensions that may have arisen from them, remain difficult to assess. A central question is whether religious disputes between Buddhists and non-Buddhists in the Early Historic and Vestigial periods involved open violence; however, the rock art and historical evidence gathered from the Mtsho sngon region are insufficient for us to know with any certainty.



Figure 258. The limestone formation of Gzims phug btsan khang. The cave with rock art (S20) is hidden on the right side of the base of the formation.



Figure 259. Gzims phug btsan khang (S20).

Inventory No: S20_C1

Type: picto, RO
Subject: swastika
Arrangement: single
Mode: linear
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW
Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat802

Comments: The fragmentary subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Right wall of cave.

Inventory No: S20_C2

Type: picto, RO
Subject: mandala
Arrangement: single
Mode: outlined
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: 18 cm (d)

Condition: HW
Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat803

Comments: The subject consists of a circle with an unusually complex design inside. Eight lotus petals are arrayed around the open circular centre. Between the lotus petals and outer contour of the subject there is a ring of eight semicircles.
Placement: Left wall of cave.

Inventory No: S20_C3

Type: picto, RO
Subject: thunderbolt
Arrangement: single?
Mode: outlined
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW
Age (est.): EHP/VP
Image ref: Cat804

Comments: The subject is a well-formed thunderbolt symbol (*rdo rje*) with a central axis and two outer prongs at both ends. It may possibly have been painted in conjunction with S20_C4.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S20_C4

Type: picto, RO
Subject: *bum pa*
Arrangement: single?
Mode: outlined
Theme: symbolic
Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW
Age (est.): EHP/VP
Image ref: Cat804

Comments: This ritual vase is complete with important details, including a wide foot, diamond-shaped body, flanged neck, and elaborate top.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S20_C5

Type: picto, RO
Subject: ritual thunderbolt?
Arrangement: single
Mode: outlined
Theme: symbolic?
Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW
Age (est.): EHP/VP
Image ref: Cat805

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a crossed thunderbolt (*rdo rje rgya gram*). Unfortunately, photographic coverage of the subject is incomplete.
Placement: Unfixed.



Figure 260. Looking out from the mouth of Gzims phug btsan khang north towards Mtsho sngon.

Dpal gzims phug (S21)

Surveys conducted in 2004, 2005 and 2013



Map 21. The four loci of Dpal gzims phug (S21). The relatively small lake on the east side of the site is named Gzims phug mtsho.

Dpal gzims phug is situated in Gzhung smad Township, Shan rtsa County. In addition to many caves for shelter, Dpal gzims phug boasts springs, pasturage, and a freshwater lake. These natural resources translate into the site as long having been a magnet for sedentary settlement. The lake on the east flank of the Dpal gzims phug is called Gzims phug mtsho and by the older Zhang zhung language name Mu ting (Sky Water). The goddess of the lake may be known as Ma ting ting mo, but little sacred lore is still attached to this body of water (Bellezza 2014d: 492). The small Rnying ma monastery of Dpal gzims phug was originally founded by Blo gros mtha' yas, who arrived at the site in 1095 AD (Bellezza 2014d: 446). The rich



Figure 261. The Buddhist monastery of Dpal gzims phug.

natural resources and pre-existing religious significance of the location were doubtlessly important considerations in the establishment of a Buddhist monastery here. Nevertheless, a survey of the numerous archaic cliff shelters and other structures strongly suggests that settlement in S21 was greatly curtailed during the period of Buddhist domination. There are very few signs of most ancient cliff shelters having been occupied by Buddhists in anything but nominal terms. 40 rock art subjects have been inventoried at Dpal gzims phug (S21), almost all of which are religiously themed. 30 of the subjects are comprised of counter-clockwise swastikas (additionally there are two or

three other red ochre counter-clockwise swastikas at the site that have not been inventoried separately). Three stepped structures and two conjoined sun and moon symbols make up other religious subjects at S21. The rock art of Dpal gzims phug was mostly painted in red ochre, but bichrome and pictographs in a white pigment exist there as well. This rock art is all dated to the Early Historic and Vestigial periods. Although most of the rock art in S21 was painted by non-Buddhists, there are also some Buddhist religious subjects. The rock art of opposing religious traditions demonstrates that Dpal gzims phug was yet another arena on the Eastern Byang thang where sectarian encounters between contending religions appear to have been commonplace.

Rta ra dmar lding (S21_L1)

Rta ra dmar ding (S21_L1) (Soaring Horse Corral 4660 m) is a rocky limestone gorge c. 3 km north of the monastery of Dpal gzims phug. This gorge and the rocky walls flanking it open onto the lake of Gzims phug mtsho. The contemporary name of the site is suggestive of a process of religious and cultural marginalization. Indeed, there is virtually no current Buddhist activity in Rta ra dmar lding. The cave art of Rta ra dmar lding is in and around a series of ruined residential structures found at the base of the orange-red limestone formation on either side of the defile.² The ancient monuments of Rta ra dmar lding and other loci at Dpal gzims phug represent three distinctive phases in the cultural development of the region: rock shelters of the Late Prehistoric era; edifices set in cliffs and fissures of the Early Historic period; and Rnying ma retreats and temples of the Vestigial and Late Historic periods (cf. Bellezza 2014d: 446). 14 subjects were inventoried in the locus, all of which date to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. Two of these subjects are bichrome (red ochre and a white pigment), while the rest were rendered in red ochre. In addition to the 14 inventoried subjects, there are at least two or three other red ochre counter-clockwise swastikas near S21_L1_C1 that are not inventoried separately. The bulk of the rock art at Rta ra dmar lding pertains to rival sectarian activities (with the most of it having been created by non-Buddhists), graphic indications of encounters between non-Buddhists and Buddhists.



Figure 262. The gorge of Rta dmar lding (S21_L1). The rock art of the locus is concentrated at the base of the formation. In the foreground there are ruined pastoral structures.

Inventory No: S21_L1_C1a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat806

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. There are faint red ochre counter-clockwise swastikas in close proximity (NIS).
Placement: In the rear of cave, above arm’s reach, West rock shelter, Rta ra dmar lding defile.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2014d: 444 (fig. TUE36.1).

Inventory No: S21_L1_C1b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat806

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Below S21_L1_C1a.

² On the history and archaeology of this site, see Bellezza 2014c: 444–449; 2020b: 23.

Inventory No: S21_L1_C7

Type: picto, RO/WP

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: single

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: 48 cm (v)

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat810

Comments: This relatively elaborate stepped structure appears to be non-Buddhist in style. It is characterized by a base of five graduated tiers, round vase, small triangular spire, small circular finial, and two long banners.

Placement: Above main entrance to ruined retreat house on north side of the defile.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18m).



Figure 263. The ruined religious cliff dwelling on the north side of the Rta ra dmar lding defile. The cliff dwelling consisted of five rooms built against the escarpment. S21_L1_C6 to S21_L1_C8 were painted on the rear wall of the structure.

Inventory No: S21_L1_C8

Type: picto, RO

Subject: indeterminate

Arrangement: single

Comments: The subject consists of a large patch of red ochre that may possibly have been applied to the cliff face to conceal older pictographs.

Placement: Below S21_L1_C7.

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: unknown

Dimensions: NA

Condition: MW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat810

Inventory No: S21_L1_C9a

Type: picto, WP

Subject: swastika

Arrangement: composite

Comments: The subject is oriented in a clockwise direction and has a dot between each of the four arms. This composition was painted on a rock panel that measures 1.1 m wide and 70 cm high.

Placement: Above mouth of Rta ra dmar lding defile, at base of north formation, inside ruined religious cliff dwelling. On this structure, see Bellezza 2014d: 448.

Mode: linear

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat811

Inventory No: S21_L1_C9b

Type: picto, WP

Subject: swastika

Arrangement: composite

Comments: The subject is oriented in a clockwise direction.

Placement: Below S21_L1_9a.

Mode: linear

Theme: symbolic

Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Image ref: Cat811

Inventory No: S21_L1_C9c

Type: picto, WP	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat811

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Below S21_L1_9b.

Inventory No: S21_L1_C9d

Type: picto, WP	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: HW
Subject: dots	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat811

Comments: The subject consists of c. 35 dots on the right side of the three swastikas and 35 dots on the left side. Perhaps the many dots represent members of a local community (Bellezza 2014d: 448). However, the significance of the composition is enigmatic. By virtue of its combining clockwise and counter-clockwise swastikas together, it seems to take an inclusive view of local religion, a state of affairs that potentially prevailed in the period prior to the founding of nearby Dpal gzims phug monastery in 1095 AD.
Placement: Around S21_L1_9a to S21_L1_9c.

Tsha tsha repositories (S21_L2)

The *Tsha tsha* repositories (S21_L2) are situated on a ledge at the base of the towering limestone formation that overlooks Gzims phug mtsho. The locus is easily recognizable by its six ruined sacred clay plaque (*tsha tsha*) repositories (4650 m). Just south of S21_L2 is A phug, in which a Tibetan letter A was engraved on the rear of the south wall of the cave. Above the *tsha tsha* repositories, on the limestone escarpment, ten swastikas were inventoried, five in red ochre and five in a white pigment. These are all dated to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. The establishment of the Buddhist *tsha tsha* repositories may possibly have been established in response to the ten counter-clockwise swastikas, and the doctrinal and territorial values they embody, as a means to neutralize or contain the influence of the old religion.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C1

Type: picto, WP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat812

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C2

Type: picto, WP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat812

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To right of S21_L2_C1.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C3

Type: picto, WP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat813

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: DPAL GZIMS PHUG (S21)

Inventory No: S21_L2_C4

Type: picto, WP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C5

Type: picto, WP	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C9

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L2_C10

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Chos lung phug (S21_L3)

Chos lung phug (S21_L3) is perched c. 30 m above the Gzims phug mtsho basin. At the locus there is a small, ruined Buddhist retreat shelter and an archaic cliff shelter (4615 m). According to the monks of Dpal gzims phug, members of their monastery meditated at the retreat shelter in premodern times. Six subjects have been inventoried at Chos lung phug, all of which are religious in nature and dated to the Vestigial period. Three of these subjects were painted in red ochre and three in a white pigment. Like other loci at Dpal gzims khang (S21) and parietal sites more widely on the Eastern Byang thang, this rock art documents rival religious traditions. As S21_L3_C2 and S21_L3_C4 are painted on a specially prepared clay surface, they are not technically classified as rock art; rather they are more akin to frescoes. However as this art is of comparable age and content to pictographs at Dpal gzims phug, it is critical to the documentation of the site.



Figure 264. Chos lung phug (S21_L3). Both the ruined Buddhist retreat and archaic cliff shelter are tucked into the base of the escarpment on the middle-left side of the formation.

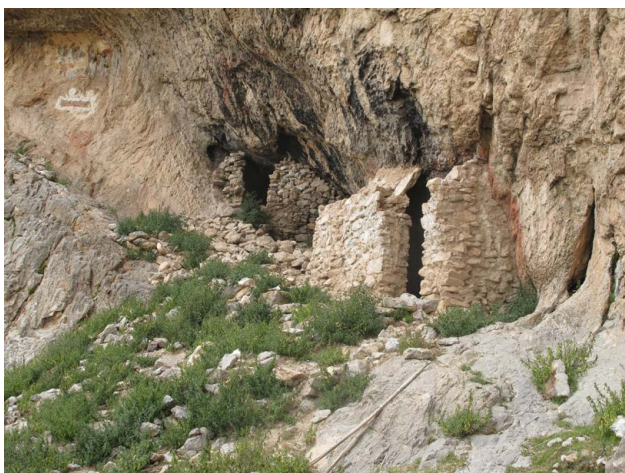


Figure 265. The ruined Buddhist retreat centre in Chos lung phug (S21_L3) (right), and a more ancient cliff structure (left). S21_L3_C1 is visible on the cliff wall to the left of the ancient cliff shelter.



Figure 266. The ancient cliff shelter in Chos lung (S21_L3). This structure was probably established by the non-Buddhist occupants of ancient Dpal gzims phug.

Inventory No: S21_L3_C1a

Type: picto, WP	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: conjoined sun and moon	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat814

Comments: The sun and moon acts as a crowning subject of the rock panel. This is clearly a Buddhist composition that marks the sectarian orientation of the locale.
Placement: Just south of the ancient residential structure.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 241 (fig. 10.263).

Inventory No: S21_L3_C1b

Type: picto, WP	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: conjoined sun and moon	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat814

Comments: The sun and moon acts as a crowning subject of the rock panel.
Placement: To right of S21_L3_C1a.

Inventory No: S21_L3_C1c

Type: picto, WP	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: frame	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat814

Comments: The subject consists of a thick, rectangular frame inside of which the three Rigs gsum mgon po mantras were carved in relief. The inscriptions exhibit some archaic palaeographic features (such as the syllable *Om* containing five elements).
Placement: To right of S21_L3_C1a.

Inventory No: S21_L3_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: stepped structure	Theme: sacred architecture	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat815

Comments: The subject consists of a relatively elaborate stepped structure (*mchod rten*) painted on a polished clay surface that adheres to the rock wall. The religious identity of the stepped structure is uncertain; nevertheless, much of the subject was intentionally damaged, which seems to indicate that it was made by a non-Buddhist(s). This identity is supported by other rock art and an inscription painted on the same polished clay surface. To the left of the subject there is a partial frame painted in yellow ochre (NIS). Inside the frame there is a red ochre *ha*, and a yellow ochre *hung* that exhibits archaic palaeographic features.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S21_L3_C3a

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat816

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. Above it a damaged non-Buddhist Sa-le 'od mantra was inscribed in red ochre (the mantra is now incomplete).
Placement: To right of S21_L3_C2, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S21_L3_C3b

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP
Arrangement: paired	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat816

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To right of S21_L3_C3b.

Chos lung O rgyan bsam gtan gling (S21_L4)

Chos lung O rgyan bsam gtan gling (Dharma Valley O rgyan's Meditation Place; 4700 m) is a cave at the head of a waterless gorge.³ The name of the limestone cave reflects the alleged stay at Dpal gzims phug by the celebrated Buddhist master Gu ru rin po che. This cave (7.5 m × 4 m) has an easterly aspect and a well-developed façade (3.8 m long, maximum height 2.4 m). This masonry front wall includes two external extensions that outflank the entrance (1.2 m × 50 cm). The façade seems to have been tinted red (in conformance with religious usage) but most of the colour has faded away. Below the façade there is what remains of a stairway (5.5 m in height) embedded in a cleft in the formation. The high, hidden aspect of Chos lung O rgyan bsam gtan gling are typical archaic situational features. The non-Buddhist identity of the cave is supported by the content of the rock art. Eight red ochre subjects have been inventoried in S21_L4, seven of which are counter-clockwise swastikas. The rock art dates to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. As with many other counter-clockwise pictographs on the Eastern Byang thang, this rock art constitutes non-Buddhist sectarian markers. The remote location of the cave may help explain why countervailing Buddhist symbols and inscriptions were not added to it.



Figure 267. Chos lung O rgyan bsam gtan gling (S21_L4). The ruined stone steps, façade, and entrance to the cave are all visible in the image.



Figure 268. The summit of the formation just above Chos lung O rgyan bsam gtan gling (S21_L4). Gzims phug mtsho and the tall, flat-topped sacred mountain, Stang rgyung zom khra (also called Rta khyung gnam gyi ka ba), can be seen in the distance.

³ On this cave and its rock art and red ochre inscriptions, see also Bellezza 2014c: 449, 450; 2020b: 239.

Inventory No: S21_L4_C7

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: MW

Subject: geometric

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject consists of three interlocking rectangles. Photographic coverage of the subject is incomplete and not fully assessable.

Placement: Unfixed.

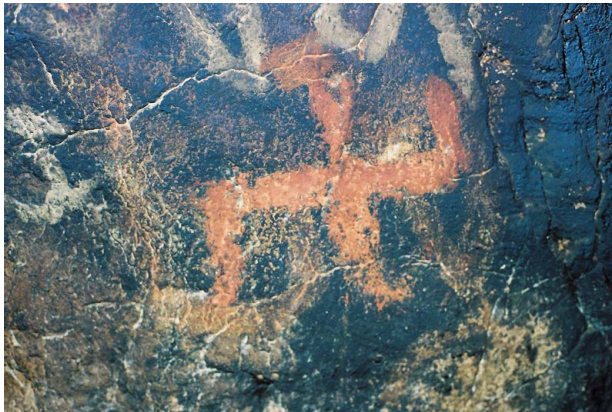


Figure 269. Counter-clockwise swastika in an orange pigment on the south wall of Phug pa smug gdong (S21).



Figure 270. Counter-clockwise swastika (45 cm in height) painted at the base of a natural archway, Glang chen brag khung (Elephant Formation Grotto), Dpal gzims phug. Early Historic or Vestigial periods.



Figure 271. The natural archway (4 m in height) of Glang chen brag khung, Dpal gzims phug. To the right of the archway there are four mouths in the eponymous cave.

Phug pa smug gdong (Purplish Face Cave; 31.393167 N / 88.7005 E / 4690 m / 8 m × 3 m) is the most southerly cave at a Dpal gzims phug site called Brag lung lho ma (Rock Formation Valley South). Brag lung lho ma is the name of a defile a little south of the Dpal gzims phug monastery. On either side of the gorge there are archaic cliff shelters and fortifications. A counter-clockwise swastika was documented in this site (Figure 269).⁴

In addition to the counter-clockwise swastika marking the sectarian affiliation of Glang chen brag khung (31.396667 N / 88.688333 E / 4820 m; Figure 270), there is an historically valuable ritual structure inside the cave (Bellezza 2014d: 495; 2020b: 23). The archway and cave are situated on the summit of a limestone formation high above Gzims phug mtsho.

⁴ On this site, see Bellezza 2014c: 490-494.

Rdo 'khor phug pa (S22)

Survey conducted in 2013

Rdo 'khor phug pa (S22; Rock Sphere Cave; 4700 m) is another ancient residential centre bounding Gzims phug mtsho; it is in the Gzhung smad Township (Shan rtsa County). The cave is on the southwest side of the lake, c. 100 m above the basin. The rock art is contained inside and just outside the southeast-facing cave. The final approach to Rdo 'khor phug pa is via a steep fissure c. 15 m in height. Embedded in this fissure are the remains of stone steps, and near the mouth of the cave are a couple of crumbling revetments that supported the steps and a landing. The cave (9.5 m × 3 m) has a level floor and high ceiling. The erstwhile importance Rdo 'khor phug pa is attested in a collection of pictographs found on its walls, as well as by a relatively large residential complex just below it. The rock art is all non-Buddhist in character. Although Rdo 'khor phug pa may have had a very long tenure of human occupation, beginning perhaps no later the 7th or 8th century AD, it was singled out for artistic treatment. As with other cave shelters hosting religious rock art on the Eastern Byang thang, sectarian and political factors were probably involved in its creation. As we continue to see, although there are many caves in the Lake Mtsho sngon region, Buddhist residents of the 2nd millennium AD concentrated on the substantive occupation of just a few of them. The abandonment of most caves after 1000 AD suggests that the population had a diminished capacity for sedentary patterns of settlement. After the demise of the ancient cliff shelters alternative types of domiciles (such as the black yak hair tent and freestanding buildings at lower elevation) became the cultural norm for most segments of society in the region. 15 red ochre subjects have been inventoried in Rdo 'khor phug pa, three of which are counter-clockwise swastikas, one an anthropomorphic figure and the remaining 11 stepped structures. This rock art is mostly attributable to the Early Historic period. Due in part to the fairly poor quality of the rock surface, many of the pictographs are not very well preserved. No attempt was made by Buddhist adherents to wrest control of the cave through the addition of rock art or inscriptions. The remote location of Rdo 'khor phug pa was probably a major factor in it being ignored by subsequent residents .

Directly below Rdo 'khor phug pa there are the remains of a relatively large masonry structure (Figures 272 and 276). This ostensible residential structure was established on slopes that drop off steeply below it into the lake basin. As the ruin has been reduced to the revetments and lower wall sections only, very little of its architectonic character is appraisable. Nonetheless, the well-built revetments and wall fragments allude to a significant edifice having once stood in this location. Alternatively, it is possible that it simply represents some kind of elaborate enclosure but this seems much less likely. The ruin and cliff shelter are likely to have been closely connected culturally and historically. In the lake basin directly below Rdo 'khor phug pa there are a series of springs: these would have provided an ample source of potable water for the residents of the site. Almost certainly, Gzims phug mtsho as a sacred body of water was a main attraction for those who built the residential structures at Rdo 'khor phug pa. Like nearby S21 and many other archaic residential sites and cave sanctuaries around lakes in Upper Tibet, it was positioned to overlook a large expanse of water to the east.

As with Rdo 'khor phug pa, there is no physical evidence for a Buddhist presence at the ostensible building. If Buddhists had built or used this structure, they would have made their lasting presence known in the way of prayer flags, inscriptions or inscribed plaques, etc. Having a cave full of explicit signs of the archaic religion hovering above the structure would not have been particularly comfortable for Buddhist residents (unless special ritual measures were undertaken to subdue or neutralize Rdo 'khor phug pa; however, as already observed, there are no signs of Buddhist modification in the cave). Furthermore, there are no local Buddhist legends or folklore associated with the edifice, unlike other places on the west shore of Gzims phug mtsho where the Buddhist monastic and sacred geographic tradition took root. As the edifice below Rdo 'khor phug pa probably had a non-Buddhist identity, its establishment is best dated prior to the 11th century AD. What the functional relationship between it and Rdo 'khor phug pa might have been is hard to determine. Perhaps the building was used for domiciliary purposes as a residence. On the other hand, the small cave may have functioned as a ritual sanctuary. If so, this would demonstrate that the site had complementary residential and ritual/ceremonial functions. Evidence for these allied functions is common in archaic sites all over Upper Tibet. Frequently, buildings came up around caves that served as the innermost or most sacred space of the site. Many of these residential structures adjoin caves, whereas others were founded within a few tens of metres of them.

The heavily built structure below Rdo 'khor phug pa measures 12.4 m (north-south) by 8.5 m (east-west). The east wall extends 10 m north of the structure and encloses some of the surrounding rock formation. This wall extension seems to have protected or demarcated access to Rdo 'khor phug pa, enhancing the importance of the cave and



Figure 272. The ruined edifice as seen from the landing in front of Rdo 'khor phug pa (S22).



Figure 273. The ruined limestone hulk below Rdo 'khor phug pa as seen from the southeast. This structure is underpinned by a prominent revetment. Note the extension of the south wall (far left) well beyond the bounds of the building.

more closely linking it to the large structure (Figures 273 and 274). The forward wall of the edifice is up to 2.5 m in height on the downhill side, and only 50 cm tall on the uphill or inner side, the difference in height being made up by the revetment (Figure 275). These walls have a dry-mortar random-rubble fabric and were constructed using variably sized limestone blocks up to 1 m in length. The freestanding wall fragments of the structure are 70 cm – 80 cm in thickness. The south wall at the east corner is 2 m high, decreasing in height as it runs uphill. The south wall continues 4 m west of the main structure, terminating 3 m above it on a line of boulders. This wall extension may possibly have had defence or ceremonial functions. The west (rear/uphill) wall of the building is deeply set into the slope, rising no more than 20 cm above it. The interior of the structure is now sloping, but originally it must have been level.



Figure 274. The ruins of what may have been a building of significant size at Rdo 'khor phug pa as seen from the south. Standing inside the structure is one of the members of our reconnaissance party. Gzims phug mtsho dominates the upper right quarter of the photograph; it is bound by the high limestone formations of Dpal gzims phug.



Figure 275. The forward (east) revetment and freestanding wall fragments of the ostensible building at Rdo 'khor phug pa. Note the orange climax lichen clinging to the stones. In the background two members of the reconnaissance team are taking measurements.



Figure 276. The north (foreground), east wall (left) and south wall (background) of the ostensible edifice at Rdo 'khor phug pa. These walls were built of limestone blocks, some of which appear to have been roughly hewn into shape.



Figure 277. The limestone formation in which the Rdo 'khor phug pa cave sanctuary (S22) and associated ruins are located. The cave site is visible on the left side of the photograph, a vertical slit in the formation above the second rock terrace.

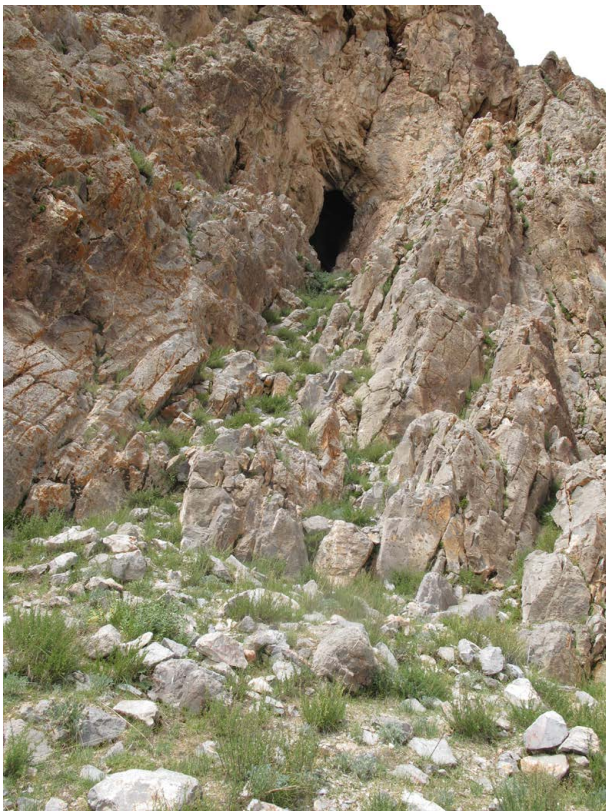


Figure 278. The cave of Rdo 'khor phug pa (S22). Note the steep final approach to the cave.

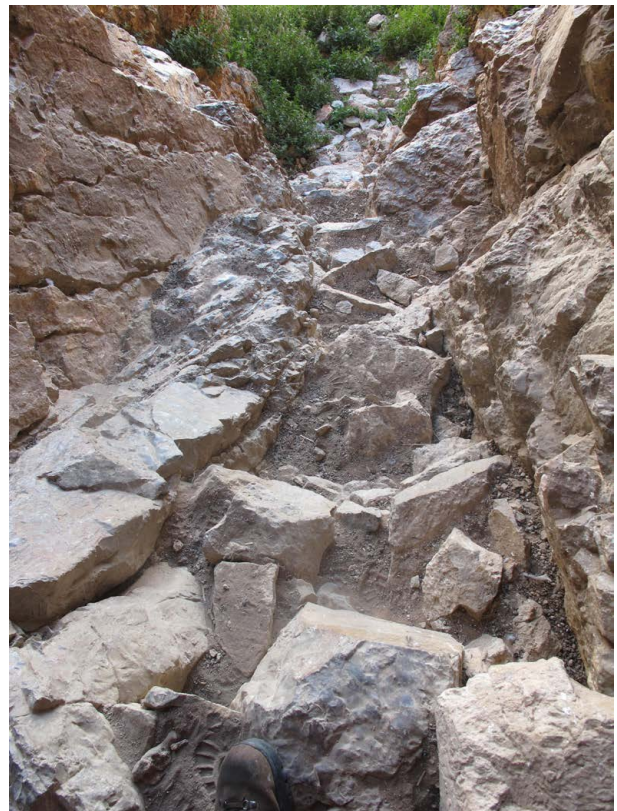


Figure 279. The remains of the stone stairway embedded into the formation below the entrance to the cave.

Inventory No: S22_C1

Type: picto, RO

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: single

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: 20 cm (v)

Condition: HW

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is of a peculiar form. It is uncertain whether it represents a *chorten* or a more rudimentary religious construction such as a *rten mkhar* or *gsas mkhar*. The manner in which each succeeding level is offset from the central axis in opposite directions is a unique design feature.

Placement: On right (east) wall, quite deep inside cave.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18c).



Figure 280. The remains of revetments and a landing just below the mouth of Rdo 'khor phug pa.

Inventory No: S22_C2

Type: picto, RO

Subject: anthropomorph

Arrangement: single

Mode: partially silhouetted

Theme: portrait

Dimensions: 23 cm (v)

Condition: HW

Age (est.): PP/EHP

Image ref: Cat822

Comments: The subject is attired in a long robe gathered at the waist with a sash or belt. The figure also has a V-shaped collar or mantle. The eyes and mouth are discernible. The right arm of the subject is raised over the chest. The left arm is either gesturing or holding upright a long object with a round end. Pictographs of anthropomorphs of this detail are not common in Upper Tibetan rock art; its identity, whether human or divine (ancestral hero, god, etc.), cannot be determined. As other rock art of S22 is religious in nature, the subject is also likely to possess a numinous or sacred identity.

Placement: In close proximity to S22_C1.



Figure 281. The mouth of Rdo 'khor phug pa (S22). The remains of the stone stairway embedded in the formation lead up to the mouth of the cave.

Inventory No: S22_C3

Type: picto, RO

Subject: stepped structure

Arrangement: single

Comments: Digital enhancement of the subject shows that it has a prominent three-pointed finial.

Placement: In close proximity to S22_C1 and S22_C2.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 41 (fig. 10c).

Mode: outlined

Theme: sacred architecture

Dimensions: NA

Condition: HW

Age (est.): EHP

Image ref: Cat823

Dgon ro dmar lding (S23)

Survey conducted in 2002



Figure 282. The extensive ruins and caves of Dgon ro dmar lding (S23) are on the esplanade across the middle of the pictured limestone formation.

Dgon ro dmar lding (S23; Soaring Ruined Monastery; 4700 m), also known as Lcags sgo brag (Iron Portal Formation), is in the Gzhung smad Township (Shan rtsa County). This spectacularly situated site is found on the opposite side (right side) of the Lcags sgo brag lung valley from Lha 'dre tshogs khang (S24). The extensive residential complex of Dgon ro dmar lding is elevated 90 m above the east side of the narrow Lcags sgo brag lung valley.⁵ The precipitous red and white limestone formation in which the residential site was constructed furnishes an isolated and defensible aspect. Many of the ruined foundations of buildings sit on a natural rock esplanade and the steeply inclined slopes that extend below it. Behind these structures there is a line of caves. The site appears to have been utterly abandoned for a very long time. Nowadays, the nearest permanent water source is in the Dar lung valley, c. 1 km away. No efforts were made to materially alter the archaic cultural character of Dgon ro dmar lding with Buddhist monuments and emblems. According to a local religious historical text, the Gtsug lag khang (term indicating a major religious facility) of Lcags sgo brag was brought under the control of Blo gros mtha' yas, the founder of nearby Dpal gzims phug monastery (Bellezza 2014d: 401). This late 11th-century AD takeover of Dgon ro dmar lding appears to mark the relinquishment of the site by non-Buddhist occupants and its nominal absorption into the physical assets of the Rnying ma sect of Tibetan Buddhism. As there are no Buddhist constructions, emblems, inscriptions, or rock art in S23, Buddhist occupation of the site was mainly a symbolic affair. Dgon ro dmar lding is larger and more ambitiously sited and constructed than the monastery of Dpal gzims phug. As with other major archaic residential complexes in Upper Tibet, this strongly suggests that the earlier inhabitants of the region were able to better exploit their advanced architectural knowledge and enjoyed expanded sedentary patterns of settlement and, by extension, a well-developed economy that enabled a social elite to transcend a subsistence level of existence.

All the rock art at Dgon ro dmar lding is in a narrow cave (19 m in length). Near the cave there is a large masonry wall fragment topped by a stepped structure (Bellezza 2014d: 400 (fig. HTCE101.1)). Eight red ochre subjects have been inventoried in S23, which date to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. Six of these subjects consist

⁵ On this site, see Bellezza 2014c: 399–402.



Figure 283. Another view of the esplanade with the remains of Dgon ro dmar lding (S23).



Figure 284. Caves and ruins against the rear wall of the esplanade at Dgon ro dmar lding (S23).

of counter-clockwise swastikas and the other two are circles with radiating spokes. It is clear from the group of counter-clockwise swastikas that non-Buddhists were intent on tagging their tenure of the site, as they commonly did in parietal structures all over the Eastern Byang thang. The creation of the swastikas must have occurred prior to or around the time of the devolvement of Dgon ro dmar lding to Buddhist practitioners. The current name of the site, historical indications, and the non-Buddhist symbolic rock art intimate that the site was originally a major non-Buddhist religious installation, founded either in the Late Prehistoric or Early Historic periods.

Inventory No: S23_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 15 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat829

Comments: The counter-clockwise swastika is accompanied by a Tibetan letter A, and together they seem to form an integral composition (Bellezza 2008: 188 (fig. 352)).

Placement: Right wall of cave.

Inventory No: S23_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: spoked wheel	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: paired?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject has eight spokes. The identity of the subject is uncertain (it may possibly represent a Dharma wheel), as is its sectarian attribution. There is no photographic coverage of the subject.

Placement: Right wall of cave.

Inventory No: S23_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: spoked wheel	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite?	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The identity of the subject is uncertain (it may possibly represent a Dharma wheel). There is no photographic coverage of the subject.

Placement: Right wall of cave.

Inventory No: S23_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 21 cm (h)	Image ref: Cat830

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Right wall of cave.

Inventory No: S23_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 13 cm (h)	Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed. On the left wall of the cave there are three counter-clockwise swastikas and one counter-clockwise swastika near the right side of the mouth of the cave. This subject as well as S23_C6 to S23_C8 belong to this group of swastikas.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: DGON RO DMAR LDING (S23)

Inventory No: S23_C6

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: 10 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat831

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S23_C7

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S23_C8

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The swastika is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: Unfixed.

Lha 'dre tshogs khang (S24)

Survey conducted in 2002



Figure 285. Lha 'dre tshogs khang (S24).

Lha 'dre tshogs khang (S24; Assembly Place of the Celestial and Terrestrial Spirits; 4640 m) is a narrow, 11 m-long, east-facing cave perched in a limestone formation to the west of the limestone formations of Dpal gzims phug. It is in Gzhung med Township, Shan rtsa County. There are no signs of contemporary exploitation of the cave nor any well-articulated Buddhist claims over it. In the rear of Lha 'dre tshogs khang there are 15 groups of vertically aligned red ochre lines painted on a naturally occurring beige-coloured mineral deposit. These lines are all 10 cm – 12 cm long and form groups of ten, except for two larger groups with 20 and c. 25 slashes respectively, as

well as a smaller group of five lines. Given their decimal arrangement, the groups of lines appear to represent a system of notation or tallying. Such a system could potentially have been used to keep track of a ritual or prayer cycle or to mark time. It is not so unusual for meditators to recognize the time spent in caves with marks (*tho*) and this tradition may possibly explain the function of rock art in Lha 'dre tshogs khang. The sectarian affiliation of the rock art maker(s) is unclear. However, the contemporary name of S24 does not have a particularly Buddhist ring about it. In the rear of the cave there are also two red ochre elementary geometric subjects. All the rock art of Lha 'dre tshogs khang is assigned to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods.

Inventory No: S24_C1

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: vertical lines

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat832

Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.

Placement: Upper left wall of rear of cave.

Inventory No: S24_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: vertical lines

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat832

Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.

Placement: To right of and below S24_C1.

Inventory No: S24_C3

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: vertical lines

Theme: unknown

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat832

Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.

Placement: To right of and below S24_C2.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: LHA 'DRE TSHOGS KHANG (S24)

Inventory No: S24_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832
Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.		
Placement: To right of S24_C3.		

Inventory No: S24_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832
Comments: There are five lines in this row of figures.		
Placement: Below S24_C3 and S24_C4.		

Inventory No: S24_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832
Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.		
Placement: Below S24_C5.		

Inventory No: S24_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832
Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.		
Placement: To left of S24_C6.		

Inventory No: S24_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832
Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.		
Placement: To right of and below S24_C7.		

Inventory No: S24_C9

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832
Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.		
Placement: To left of and below S24_C8.		

Inventory No: S24_C10

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832
Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.		
Placement: To right of and below S24_C9.		

Inventory No: S24_C11

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat832

Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.
Placement: To right of S24_C5, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S24_C12

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S24_C13

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: There are ten lines in this row of figures.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S24_C14

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: There are 20 lines in this row of figures.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S24_C15

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: vertical lines	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: There are c. 25 lines in this row of figures.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S24_C16

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The form of this simple geometric subject is unclear as there is no photographic coverage of it.
Placement: Rear of cave.

Inventory No: S24_C17

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The form of this simple geometric subject is unclear as there is no photographic coverage of it.
Placement: Rear of cave.

Dar lung phug pa (S25)

Survey conducted in 2013

Dar lung phug pa (S25; 4670 m), an archaic residential complex consisting of two cliff shelters perched above a rocky ravine, is in Gzhung smad Township, Shan rtsa County. The lower cliff shelter has been reduced to a few stones still clinging to a ledge just above the base of a reddish limestone formation. If other ancient cave sanctuaries in the region are any indication, much of this ledge must have been enclosed by masonry walls. Hence, S25 potentially once supported a group of people engaged in ritual, ceremonial, meditational, and/or other kinds of activities. There is a small stream in the ravine below Dar lung phug pa, a source of water for the ancient inhabitants as well as modern visitors. On the north side of the ledge, c. 10 m above the ravine, there is a recess in the formation around which there are the faint remains of a masonry front wall (1.5 m × 1.5 m × 1.2 m). This is the lower cliff shelter. On the walls of this shallow cavity there are several pictographs as well as the Tibetan letter A and the syllable *Om* painted in red ochre.⁶ These pictographs and inscriptions are heavily weathered, not least of all because the rock surface on which they were made is rough and uneven. Poor rock surfaces tend to foster the uneven application of pigments, higher rates of pigment ablation in more exposed areas, and the reduced bonding of pigments to the stone substrate. The ideal limestone surface for painting has a smooth and shiny mineral veneer, such as is found at some parietal structures around Lake Gnam mtsho. Despite the lack of optimal rock surfaces to paint on, the creators of the red ochre pictographs of Dar lung phug pa still went ahead and modified the lower and upper cliff shelters with symbols of their occupation. As with many other cave sanctuaries on the Eastern Byang thang, residents or visitors to Dar lung phug pa felt compelled to mark the site with seminal symbols as reminders of their presence. Predicated on rivalries or tensions between competing non-Buddhist and Buddhist religious factions, there appear to have been two major motivations for the production of this sectarian rock art and epigraphy: 1) the desire to distinguish one's religious sect from others operating in the same area; and 2) the need to physically, ritually, and/or symbolically secure sites for use by a specific sect or cult.



Figure 286. Dar lung phug pa (S25). The two rock shelters of the site are situated in the central part of the image. The lower rock shelter is on the right side of the ledge in the lower portion of the photograph, while the upper cliff shelter can be seen in the middle of the upper part of the image.



Figure 287. The lower cliff shelter and north part of the ledge at Dar lung phug pa (S25). Very little of the structural assets that once stood on the ledge are still intact.

⁶ On the epigraphy of the cave, see Bellezza 2020b: 242, 243, in which three Tibetan rudimentary A are recorded (fig. 10.271); however there are actually four such letters on this rock panel in the lower cliff shelter of Dar lung phug pa.



Figure 288. The upper cliff shelter at Dar lung phug pa (S25). Note the masonry façade and entrance in the lower portion of the cave. Also visible is a counter-clockwise swastika and the Tibetan letter A on the ceiling of the cave.



Figure 289. The upper cliff shelter and the remains of the stone steps embedded in the formation that access it, Dar lung phug pa (S25).

Seven subjects have been inventoried in Dar lung phug pa, all of which are comprised of non-Buddhist symbolic pictographs. The rock art is attributed to either the Early Historic or Vestigial periods. There are six counter-clockwise swastikas (five in red ochre and one in an off-white pigment) among them and one tree-like symbol. Like other sites in Upper Tibet with cognate rock art, this non-Buddhist handiwork is either associated with pre-existing *bon* cults and/or was directly linked to the Yungdrung Bon tradition.



Figure 290. The lower cliff shelter (lower right) and stone steps accessing the upper cliff shelter (upper left), Dar lung phug pa (S25).

Lower cliff shelter

Inventory No: S25_C1a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 15 cm (h)

Image ref: Cat833

Comments: Consisting of two parallel lines, the subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: A crevice in lower rock shelter.

Inventory No: S25_C1b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: indeterminate

Theme: symbolic?

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: paired

Dimensions: 19 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat833

Comments: The subject may possibly represent a tree or ritual object. It has seven vertical branches and a trunk-like lower portion.

Placement: Below S25_C1a.

Inventory No: S25_C2

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat834

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. Note the four rudimentary examples of the Tibetan letter A in the selected image.

Placement: To right of and above S25_C1a.

Inventory No: S25_C3

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat835

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: To right of and below S25_C1b, at an appreciable distance.

Inventory No: S25_C4

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat835

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. To the right of the subject there is a red ochre linear application that remotely resembles the Tibetan letter *pa* (NIS). Below the subject are two instances of the Tibetan letter A, discernible under digital enhancement.
Placement: To right of S25_C3.

Inventory No: S25_C5

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat836

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed. Lower cliff shelter.
 Upper cliff shelter

Inventory No: S25_C6

Type: picto, WP	Mode: linear	Condition: HW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: Cat837

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Ceiling of upper cliff shelter.
Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 244 (fig. 10.272).

Sgar gsol brag phug (S27)

Surveys conducted in 2002 and 2011

The important ancient cave sanctuary of Sgar gsol brag phug (S27) is perched on a white limestone escarpment overlooking an extensive marshy basin spread out some 100 m below it (4685 m). This basin is called Phug rdzong (Cave Fortress), a toponym probably related to Sgar gsol brag phug and its extensive masonry structures. Sgar gsol brag phug is at the north end of the basin and there is a small lake nearby. As with other rock art sites in the Mtsho sngon region, Sgar gsol brag phug is now under the jurisdiction of Gzhung med Township, Shan rtsa County. With its imposing mouth and a series of natural skylights above, the entrance to Sgar gsol brag phug is unmistakable.⁷ The large south-facing cave is comprised of a single chamber, 48 m long × 4.5 m – 9 m in width. The mouth of the cave is c. 10 m in height. The floor gradually rises towards the rear of the cave and the ceiling tapers downwards, but this grotto remains spacious in all places. The structural remnants found in and around Sgar gsol brag phug are just a small portion of what once stood here. This extensive group of walls and footings may have had both residential and ceremonial functions. The large size of S27 and its substantial anthropogenic modifications point to the existence of a significant archaic cultural installation. It appears that most of the cave was lined with masonry walls and subdivided into several sections or rooms by partitions. The massive front wall set into the outer portion of the grotto was finely built of roughly hewn smaller stones. Although heavily degraded over time, this structure still attains a maximum height of 5 m. The impressive front wall regulated access to the rear of the cave and seems to have integrated various rooms or other spaces within it. This wall presents a good example of the level of architectural sophistication attained by the builders of monuments on the Eastern Byang thang before the introduction and spread of Buddhism in the Early Historic period. Lamaist wall construction in temples and monasteries on the Eastern Byang thang of the Historic era is often more crudely crafted. In addition to the elaborate structural remains inside Sgar gsol brag phug, there is a chute just below the mouth and a rocky ledge below that, both of which contain traces of walls and a stone-stepped walkway.



Figure 291. The limestone formation with Sgar gsol brag phug (S27). The entrance to the large cave can be seen in the middle of the formation.

42 subjects has been inventoried at Sgar gsol brag phug, ranging in age from the Protohistoric to the Vestigial periods, and were painted mostly in red ochre but in a white pigment as well. The pictographs are concentrated on the right wall in the rear half of the cave and are spread over a span of c. 25 m. All the rock art of Sgar gsol brag phug appears to have belonged to non-Buddhist groups that circulated around the Eastern Byang thang, which preserved at least some archaic traditions and practices stemming from the earlier cultural milieu. The non-Buddhist character of the rock art is in line with the situational and structural evidence presented by the cave. Rock art themes at Sgar gsol brag phug are relatively diverse. Among the 42 subjects, there are 10 or 11 counter-clockwise swastikas and two stepped structures. There are also two very large and elaborate anthropomorphic portraits on the right wall of the cave painted above a stone plinth. The remaining selection of pictographs here are comprised of several anthropomorphs, a maximum of three horsemen, various elementary geometric figures, and one wild yak. As the rock art of the grotto appears to have been made over a fairly wide period of time, it could be that some of it was produced while the site functioned as a viable cave sanctuary. Other rock art may have been made after the abandonment of Sgar gsol brag phug. In any event, the establishment of Dpal gzims phug monastery in 1095 AD seems to mark the definitive control of the wider region by Buddhist adherents.

⁷ On this site, see Bellezza 2014c: 397–399.



Figure 292. The approach to Sgar gsol brag phug (S27). The entrance to the cave and a natural skylight visible above it are seen in the middle-right of the photograph.



Figure 293. The entrance to Sgar gsol brag phug (S27) and one of the skylights above it.

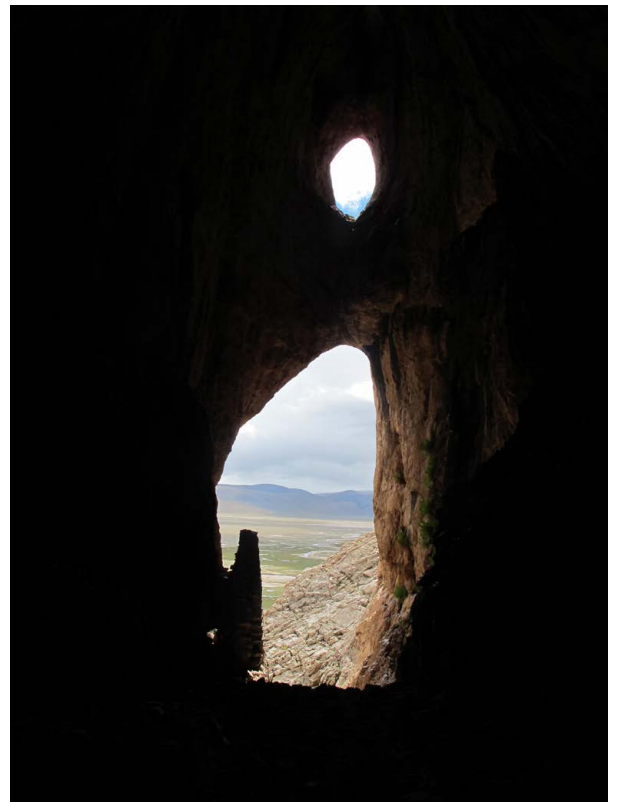


Figure 294. The entrance and the lowest skylight of Sgar gsol brag phug (S27) from the interior.



Figure 295. Massive masonry walls set inside the forward portion of Sgar gsol brag phug (S27).



Figure 296. The central and rear portions of Sgar gsol brag phug (S27). Note the large wall footings that line both sides of the cave.



Figure 297. Looking towards the entrance of Sgar gsol brag phug from the rear of the cave.

This famous 8th-century AD *bon po* is recorded in Yungdrung Bon sources as having spent a considerable amount of time around Lake Gnam mtsho before disappearing into the sky above Se mo do (S10).

Placement: To left S27_C5.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 180 (fig. 322); 2014b: 179; 2017a: 24 (fig. 15).

Inventory No: S27_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction, the bottom portion of which has been obliterated.

Placement: To right of S27_C6.

Inventory No: S27_C8

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: geometric	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject consists of several lines that form a rectangular outline.

Placement: To right of S27_C7.

Inventory No: S27_C9

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat843

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: To left of S27_C6 and to right of S27_C10.

Inventory No: S27_C10

Type: picto, RO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW/HW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 120 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat843

Comments: The subject is another very significant anthropomorphic composition that was created by one or more individuals belonging to a non-Buddhist religious tradition. There are no indications in the rock painting that the figure is wearing clothing. The large two-tiered pointed crown or topknot is a highly unusual iconographic feature, as are the eyes with vertical pupils, and the two long fangs. Arms raised and legs spread, the pose of the figure is one commonly encountered in Upper Tibetan anthropomorphic rock art portraits from the Late Bronze Age onwards. This kind of posturing seems to have communicated strength, confidence, and prestige. Given its fangs and physical attitude, we might assume that the subject is depicted in a wrathful aspect. This may in turn convey a demonstration of religious, magical, and/or mystic power and authority. The wrathful appearance of the anthropomorph may possibly have been inspired by an emerging tantric tradition in Tibet. Nevertheless, the iconography of the figure is unique.

Placement: To left of S27_C6.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 181 (fig. 327); 2017a: 25 (fig. 16). In the former work only the head of the subject is depicted.

Inventory No: S27_C11

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 27 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat844

Comments: The subject is the third major anthropomorphic pictograph at Sgar gsol brag phug. With its arms raised and legs spread, the figure stands in a manner not unlike S27_C10. The subject sports a pair of horn-like motifs on top of its head. The wide chest and big arms impart a robust appearance to the figure. Whether a divine, heroic, or priestly personage was intended by the creator cannot be determined. The subject is part of the non-Buddhist

tradition that circulated around the Mtsho sngon basin before the definitive conversion of the region to Buddhism at the end of the 11th century AD.

Placement: To left of middle portion of S27_C11.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 213 (fig. 368).

Inventory No: S27_C12a

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 38 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat845

Comments: The subject is comprised of at least five graduated tiers and teardrop-shaped vase. More than half of its total height is made up of a single-line mast. The three counter-clockwise swastikas that appear to be part of the same composition confirm that it has a non-Buddhist religious orientation.

Placement: Unfixed. To left of S27_C11.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2008: 184 (fig. 342); 2017a: 16 (fig. 8); 2020b: 43 (fig. 11b). Only in the first work cited is the composition fully illustrated.

Inventory No: S27_C12b

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 20 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat845

Comments: The subject is comprised of seven graduated tiers and what appears to be a teardrop-shaped vase. At the base it is linked to S27_C12a.

Placement: To right of S27_C12a.

Inventory No: S27_C12c

Type: picto, RO

Mode: outlined

Condition: HW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 18 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat845

Comments: The subject is highly obscured but it appears to have an analogous form to its two counterparts.

Placement: To right of S27_C12b.

Inventory No: S27_C12d

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 5 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat845

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: In between upper sections of S27_C12a and S27_C12b.

Inventory No: S27_C12e

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 5 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat845

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.

Placement: In between upper sections of S27_C12b and S27_C12c.

Inventory No: S27_C12f

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: HW

Subject: swastika?

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite

Dimensions: 7 cm (v)

Image ref: Cat845

Comments: The ostensible subject is not fully formed.

Placement: Above S27_C12b.

Chu ro (S28)

Survey conducted in 2013

Chu ro (S28; 4835 m) is inside a spacious overhang set in the middle of a lofty blue and red limestone formation (Figure 298). Once part of the district of Nag tshang in the traditional political geography of Tibet, the site now falls under the Gzhung med Township, Shan rtsa County. In addition to pictographs and residential structures, the cliff sanctuary of Chu ro boasts three built stone and mud brick *chortens* (Figures 299 and 300). This is the only parietal site on the Eastern Byang thang surveyed by the author that boasts fully standing ancient *chortens*. Chu ro is accessed by ascending c. 20 m along the steep lower slopes of formation. The front of the site is demarcated by a L-shaped masonry revetment (7.4 m and 3.9 m). The original entrance to the sanctuary was to the west of the short arm of this L-shaped wall. The revetment is 2 m high on the outer side but forms a level space inside (measuring 19.5 m × 11.5 m), about half of which is underneath the large overhang in the formation. Along a c. 5 m-wide band that abuts the rear wall of the overhang are the remains of several masonry buildings (Figures 301 and 302). These structures have been reduced to footings and small wall fragments; they appear to have been raised for residential purposes. The location of Chu ro away from major pastures suggests that it was developed with an elite socioeconomic purpose in mind. This is supported by the religious monuments and rock art of the site. Given the structural and artistic evidence, we can be quite confident that Chu ro functioned as a ritual, pilgrimage and/or retreat centre. A religious function is supported by the existence of many other cave shelters on the Eastern Byang thang that are embellished with rock art *chortens*, swastikas, and other key symbols of Tibetan faith, as well as mantric inscriptions. And like most of these other parietal sites, Chu ro appears to have been founded by either a non-Buddhist or religiously hybrid group that retained at least some traditions and practices of an indigenous persuasion. A non-Buddhist identity is reflected in the geographic (naturally occurring parietal structures in a rugged limestone formation) and architectural (cliff shelters with façades, revetments, stone passageways) character of the site. While the extant structural evidence is inconclusive, it appears that Chu ro could have potentially accommodated a dozen or more people, who may have lived, worked, and worshipped at the site on a permanent basis.



Figure 298. The rock formation of Chu ro (S28). This archaeological site occupies the hollow in the middle of the face of the limestone mount. The revetment bounding the front of the site is just visible in the photograph. Chu ro is oriented in a southwestern direction and receives plenty of sunlight.

The most conspicuous and unusual structural feature in Chu ro is a trio of built *chortens* planted on the west (left) side of the overhang (Figures 303–305). Although the *chortens*, like the sanctuary itself, may have belonged to a non-Buddhist religious tradition, the adoption of this seminal monument shows that Buddhist architectural symbolism exerted a big influence on their creation. If a non-Buddhist group was responsible for their construction, this implies that they were well versed with the enshrining, cosmological, commemorative, and protective capabilities assigned to *chortens* by Buddhists, furnishing an historic precedent for parallel functions assumed by them in the Yungdrung Bon religion. We might speculate that with the advance of Buddhism in the 7th to 9th centuries AD even the most remote areas of the Eastern Byang thang came into contact with the Dharma (the dissemination of Buddhism in the region was subsequently expressed in a body of localized Gu ru rin po che occupation myths). Along with the *chortens*, ideological elements of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition were probably also introduced at Chu ro. Thus, the construction of the *chortens* may herald the embracing of both conventional and tantric traditions by at least some non-Buddhist groups operating in the wider region. The rich epigraphic tradition in



Figure 299. Chu ro (S28). One of the built *chortens* is visible on the left side of the large indentation in the formation. The front of a retaining wall hems in the bottom right side of the indentation.



Figure 300. The overhang at Chu ro (S28). The three built *chortens* can be seen on the left (west) side of the image while the structural remains of cliff shelters occupy the right side. Two of the pictographic *chortens* on the rock face directly above the masonry *chorten* on the right are visible in the photograph.



Figure 301. The crumbling walls of one of the structures at the base of the rear wall of the huge overhang that shelters Chu ro (S28).



Figure 302. Another structure at the foot of the overhang, Chu ro (S28). Note the stone covered niche at floor level (middle-right of the image).

parietal structures of the Eastern Byang thang clearly says so much. The many Buddhist and non-Buddhist mantras among the ancient rock inscriptions of the region reflect both *sūtrayāna* and *tantrayāna* doctrines. Despite centuries of degradation, it is plain to see that the three built *chortens* of Chu ro were made to very precise architectural specifications, a tribute to the construction skills and capabilities of the Tibetans. That such *chortens* may have been part of a largely non-Buddhist tradition of religious architecture, which spread throughout the region in the Early Historic period, is also intimated by the broad spectrum of stepped structure and counter-clockwise swastika rock art found on the Eastern Byang thang.

11 rock art subjects have been inventoried at Chu ro (S28), which are weighted heavily towards religious themes and symbols (among them are four *chortens*, conch, conjoined sun and moon, swastika, and a Lamaist bust). While the conjoined sun and moon, clockwise swastika and Lamaist bust were probably made by Buddhists, the sectarian identity of the rock art *chortens* and conch is uncertain. Nevertheless, the non-Buddhist religious thrust of most rock art in the parietal structures of the Mtsho sngon basin thang argues in favour of the *chorten* pictographs of Chu ro as likewise having been created by individuals who did not identify as Buddhists, or perhaps did so only marginally. There are two subjects at Chu ro consisting



Figure 303. The three built *chortens* of Chu ro (S28) viewed from the east.



Figure 304. The *chortens* of Chu ro (S28) as seen from the southeast. Note the bichrome pictographs above (upper right side of image).



Figure 305. The trio of built *chortens* were placed on a wide masonry platform. Despite being highly degraded, this structure can clearly be seen elevated above the floor of the overhang.

of groups of vertical lines that may represent an accounting system. Six of the subjects of Chu ro are bichrome and five are painted in red ochre. Nine of the subjects are each dated to the Early Historic or Vestigial periods, while the other two (Buddhist subjects) are assigned to either the Vestigial or Late Historic periods. As with other parietal sites on the Eastern Byang thang, the chronological development of Chu ro is still hypothetical. Like other cave shelters and sanctuaries on the Eastern Byang thang, Chu ro appears to constitute an original nucleus of sedentary settlement in the region. Structural and artistic indications from other cave sanctuaries on the Eastern Byang thang suggest that it was occupied in the Late Prehistoric era. If so, residential structures at Chu ro were first constructed by archaic cultists centuries before the site was modified with built and painted *chortens*.

The three built *chortens* at Chu ro are unusual in form in that they were constructed on top of extremely high masonry bases. The two most westerly *chortens* are interconnected, another rather uncommon architectural feature.⁸ These two *chortens* bound a recess on the outer left side of the overhang. The

⁸ For another pair of *chortens* built on a very high base and also probably belonging to a non-Buddhist tradition, see Bellezza 2014c: 433 (fig. HTWE58.2).



Figure 306. Traces of what appear to be the original embellishment of one of the *chortens*, made with red, yellow, and white mineral pigments.



Figure 307. A *ma ñi* mantra written in red ochre on the north *chorten* in Chu ro (S28). The inscription is of significant age (probably Vestigial period), as indicated by the reverse *i* vowel inscribed above the letter *na*. Also note the considerable wear of the pigment. The mantra obscures other pigment applications, illustrating its adventitious placement on the *chorten*. Below the mantra there is the entranceway to the interior of the *chorten*. This entranceway is spanned by a stone slab lintel.



Figure 308. Across the top of the image there is a *ma ñi* mantra that was sloppily written. What appears to be another *ma ñi* mantra was scrawled below it in the same pale red ochre pigment, which is obscured by a darker red inscription. This superimposition may point to a contested religious ownership of the site.

chortens were constructed primarily with stone blocks, but the rounded vases (*bum pa*) were made of small, unbaked mud bricks. There are also larger adobe blocks interlaced in the base and intermediate stage of the twin *chortens*. From what is visible, the hollow space between the base and upper portions of the structures is spanned with stone corbels, as is also found in some *chortens* in far western Tibet and Ladakh.⁹ These innermost sanctums or tabernacles now lie bare. The interconnected base of the twin *chortens* is 3.4 m in length and they reach c. 3.5 m in height. The south specimen is 90 cm wide at the base and the intermediate stage is 1.2 m in width. The upper stages of the north *chorten* are of similar dimensions, but the base is somewhat narrower than the one on which the south *chorten* sits. Although no longer extant, the *chortens* are liable to have had squat pyramidal spires, like those depicted on the pictographic variants at Chu ro and other rock art sites on the Eastern Byang thang. The high and narrow profile of the structures is more suited to a squat spire than it is to an elongated one. The base of the separate and somewhat smaller *chorten* of the trio has a base measuring 1.2 m × 1.2 m. It now attains 2.7 m in height. The three *chortens* were enrobed in mud plaster and then decorated with mineral pigments of two or more colours (Figure 306). Their non-standard form (at least from a contemporary perspective) notwithstanding, a non-Buddhist identity for the trio of *chortens* is suggested by the absence of Buddhist emblems at Chu ro. There is not even a single inscribed plaque with the *ma ñi* mantra enshrined in the site. Together with prayer flags, these inscribed plaques are almost an ubiquitous presence at Buddhist places. Nor does there seem to be any local Buddhist folklore attached to Chu ro. That no attempt was made to connect Chu ro to Buddhist sites in the region is a very unusual state of affairs if this ancient sanctuary belonged to that religion. However, Buddhist pictographs and mantric inscriptions rendered in red ochre in an adventitious manner appear on the surface of the built *chortens*.¹⁰ These inscriptions were scrawled on the *chortens* probably after their demise, as a kind of graffiti (Figures 307 and 308). Like many Buddhist inscriptions in parietal structures of the Eastern Byang thang, it appears that the mantras of Chu ro were made to subdue the site and bring it within Buddhist auspices (non-Buddhist rock art, and monuments in Upper Tibet are often perceived by local residents as discharging untoward influences). While the hulks of the *chortens* are fairly well preserved the inner tabernacles appear to have been violated long ago. The looting of these monuments may possibly be related to a non-Buddhist identity. As already noted, a monastic history of nearby Dpal gzims plug indicates that the region has been dominated by Buddhism since no later than the end of the 11th century AD.

⁹ For more on these stone-corbelled *chortens*, see the December 2010 online newsletter *Flight of the Khyung*: www.tibetarchaeology.com/december-2010/; Devers 2016.

¹⁰ On this epigraphy see Bellezza 2020b: 241–243.



Figure 309. A ladder-like structure bisecting the four graduated tiers of the north and east sides of the north *chorten*. This structure is related to what is called a *lha babs chorten*.



Figure 310. The twin *chortens* act as a front structure to the recess on the west side of the overhang. A portion of the fire-blackened roof of this sheltered space can be seen at the bottom left side of the image. Note the use of large stone slabs between each main stage of the *chorten*.

The twin *chortens* connected at the base, are each ornamented with a ladder or stairway along the intermediate stage of the structures (Figure 309). The intermediate stage consists of four graduated tiers, bisected by eight rungs or steps on two sides. This design feature was formed from mud bricks and mud plaster. *Chortens* with this design came to be called *lha babs mchod rten* (signifies the Buddha's descent from the heavens), one of eight standard types of this monument in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition.¹¹ This class of *chorten* is commonly represented in the rock art of Ladakh and Northern Pakistan, but seldom in the rock art of Upper Tibet. In Ladakh there are also actual stone and mortar *lha babs chortens* of considerable antiquity, many of which anticipate the standard Buddhist iconometric traditions that emerged by 1400 AD.

The most peculiar structural trait of the twin *chortens* on the far west side of the overhang is the manner in which they create a chamber against the west wall of the formation (Figures 310–313). As this sheltered space (3.5 m × 2 m) is bereft of standing room, it probably functioned as a sanctum or tabernacle. The fires that once burnt here and the animal dung covering the floor are evidence of more recent exploitation by local herders. The entrance (1.2 m × 50 cm) to the chamber is on the east side of the north *chorten*. This *chorten* overlies the enclosed space, while the south *chorten* stands in front of it. The north *chorten* is structurally supported by corbels and bridging stones extending from its forward wall to the rock wall of the formation. That this structure still stands is testament to the durability of this style of construction. By the time the *chortens* of Chu ro were founded, Upper Tibetans already possessed many centuries of experience building all-stone corbelled edifices for both residential and ceremonial uses.

There are five highly degraded stone structures in the valley directly below Chu ro (Figures 316 to 318). These appear to be the remains of non-Buddhist shrines characterized by quadrate bases. Better preserved specimens in Upper Tibet suggest that these may have had bulbous upper sections, but none of those at Chu ro are sufficiently intact to know for certain. There are no Buddhist emblems at any of the ostensible shrines, nor was any local folklore pertinent to them collected, both of which support a non-Buddhist identity.

¹¹ On this type of *chorten*, including rock art versions, in Ladakh and Northern Pakistan, see Bellezza 2020b: 159.



Figure 311. The interior of the chamber. The entranceway to this sheltered space via the north member of the twin *chortens* is visible in the background. Note the corbelled stone ceiling.

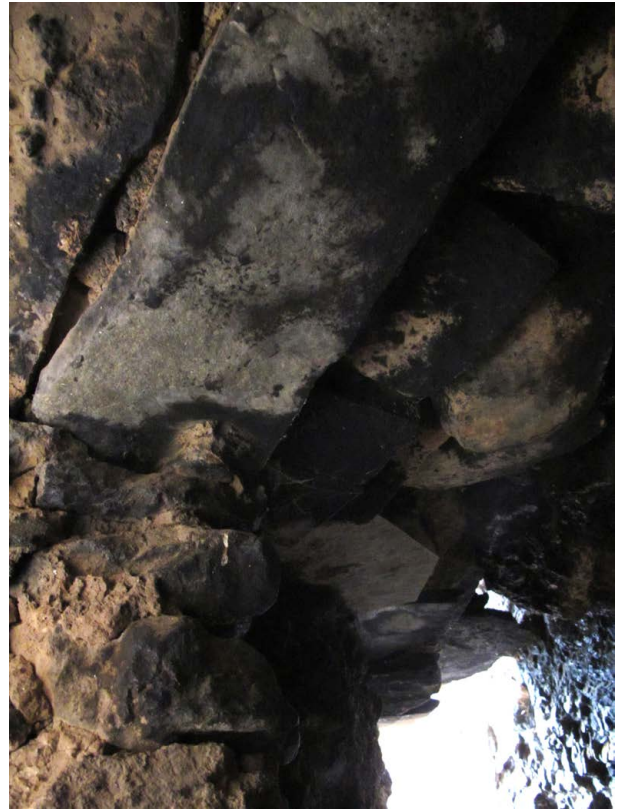


Figure 312. A view of the corbelled ceiling over the chamber created by the twin *chortens* erected at Chu ro.



Figure 313. Note the two tiny caves positioned above and to the left of a panel of bichrome rock art in the upper-middle part of the photograph. These two clefts are suspended c. 6 m up on the rear wall of the overhang. The function of these inaccessible parietal structures may have been ritual in nature. They were potentially reached with long ladders.



Figure 314. A close-up view of the cave on the right in Figure 313. It was equipped with a threshold constructed of stone slabs, while the other cave has blue sheep horns and a masonry structure placed across the mouth.



Figure 315. West of the big overhang at Chu ro (S28) is a smaller unmodified cave perched on the steep slopes of the same limestone formation. This cave must once have been of some importance because a stone-butressed path was built to access it, as can be seen in the photograph.



Figure 316. One of the stone structures in the valley below Chu ro. It has lost most of its morphological integrity and is now nothing more than a tumulus. In the background are members of the reconnaissance team. Also visible on the upper left side of the photograph are two of the other stone structures.



Figure 317. One of the ostensible shrines on the valley floor below the Chu ro formation. Small fragments of intact wall sections have survived near the base of the structure.



Figure 318. Another example of the five stone structures situated in the valley below Chu ro. Very little about the original morphological state of this highly deteriorated specimen can be asserted.

Inventory No: S28_C1a

Type: picto, RO/WP

Mode: silhouetted

Condition: MW

Subject: stepped structure

Theme: sacred architecture

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: composite?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: Cat857

Comments: The subject measures c. 65 cm in height. A section of the red ochre banner flanking the spire of this *chorten* is still discernible. The subject is one of three that may form an integral composition. These pictographs were adeptly conceived and executed. The composition was painted on a mud/clay pargetted surface, indicating that much care went into its creation. To make the composition the artist(s) must have relied on ladders or scaffolding. Placing the composition high up on the rear wall of the overhang meant that they were inaccessible to the casual visitor. This hard-to-reach position may possibly be related to the control of contending religious groups at Chu ro.

Placement: On rear wall of the overhang, suspended c. 4 m above the floor, rising above the three built *chortens* of the site.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18n).

Inventory No: S28_C1b

Type: picto, RO/WP **Mode:** silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat857

Comments: The subject measures c. 65 cm in height. Note the red banner running diagonally from the spire on the left side of the subject. The finial is stylistically intermediate between the sun and moon of the Buddhists and the 'horns of the bird, sword of the bird' (*bya ru bya gri*) of Yungdrung Bon. This type of crowning element is quite commonly seen in stepped-structure rock art of far western Tibet and Ladakh.

Placement: To left of and above S28_C1a.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50, 51 (fig. 18o).

Inventory No: S28_C1c

Type: picto, RO/WP **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: composite? **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** Cat857

Comments: The subject measures c. 25 cm in height. It somewhat resembles a hand pointing downwards. In living Tibetan religious tradition, handprints of religious personages are used to seal a religious quality or blessing on a sacred article (such as a scroll painting). Perhaps a similar function was intended here: the securing of the site for the faction represented by the 'handprint'.

Placement: To left of and above S28_C1a.

Inventory No: S28_C2

Type: picto, RO/WP **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** NA **Image ref:** NI

Comments: The highly deteriorated subject was painted on a pargetted mud/clay surface adhering to the rock wall.

Placement: High up on west wall of overhang.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18f).

Inventory No: S28_C3

Type: picto, RO/WP **Mode:** partially silhouetted **Condition:** MW
Subject: stepped structure **Theme:** sacred architecture **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 65 cm (v) **Image ref:** NI

Comments: The subject has a base of seven graduated platforms (the lowermost of which contains a row of six red ochre circles), a hemispherical vase, a spire composed of five discrete dots, and a finial resembling the 'horns of the bird, sword of the bird' of Yungdrung Bon. There are red ochre pigment applications flanking the subject, none of which are still recognizable (NIS).

Placement: Near ground level on rear wall of overhang, east of S28_C1.

Reference(s): Bellezza 2020b: 50 (fig. 18j).

Inventory No: S28_C4

Type: picto, RO **Mode:** outlined **Condition:** MW
Subject: indeterminate **Theme:** unknown **Age (est.):** EHP/VP
Arrangement: single **Dimensions:** 65 cm (v) **Image ref:** Cat858

Comments: The subject consists of six rows of vertical lines and blotches. From top to bottom, the groups contain ten marks, ten marks, eight marks, twenty marks, nine marks, and nine marks. Although the groups do not all contain multiples of ten, they may still have functioned to record periodic events or activities.

Placement: Unfixed. Rear wall of overhang.

Inventory No: S28_C5**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** indeterminate**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat859**Comments:** The subject consists of a single row of ten vertical lines. It appears to represent some type of tallying system.**Placement:** Unfixed. Rear wall of overhang.**Inventory No:** S28_C6**Type:** picto, RO/WP**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** conch**Theme:** unknown**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat860**Comments:** The whorl of the conch is depicted in the subject.**Placement:** Unfixed. Rear wall of overhang.**Inventory No:** S28_C7**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** linear**Condition:** HW**Subject:** swastika**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** EHP/VP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat861**Comments:** The subject is oriented in a clockwise direction and there is a dot between each of the four arms. There is also an L-shaped line above the swastika and one below it, integral parts of the subject.**Placement:** Unfixed.**Inventory No:** S28_C8**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** HW**Subject:** anthropomorph**Theme:** portrait**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat862**Comments:** The subject consists of the cursorily sketched head of a Lamaist or divine figure wearing a crown surmounted by diadems (it is a kind of graffiti).**Placement:** On one of the built *chortens*.**Inventory No:** S28_C9**Type:** picto, RO**Mode:** outlined**Condition:** MW**Subject:** conjoined sun and moon**Theme:** symbolic**Age (est.):** VP/LHP**Arrangement:** single**Dimensions:** NA**Image ref:** Cat863**Comments:** The sun part of the subject is composed of two concentric circles (it is a kind of graffiti).**Placement:** On one of the built *chortens*.

O rtsal phug (S29)

Surveys conducted in 2002 and 2011

O-rtsal phug (S29; 4730 m) is in the Ma g,yo Township, Shan rtsa County, in the erstwhile Tibetan district of Nag tshang. This south-facing cave (22 m long and 5 m wide) overlooks a broad plain and is in view of Ma g,yo ka ba, a prominent sacred mountain. There are the remains of masonry footings around the cave mouth, which must have once supported a façade. This structural modification and the religiously themed rock art of the cave indicate that it once functioned as a cult site. 14 red ochre, bichrome and polychrome subjects have been inventoried at the site, ranging in age from the Early Historic and Vestigial periods (as many as ten specimens) to as late as the Late Historic period (as many as seven specimens), and document both Buddhist and non-Buddhist activities. That religion was a major preoccupation of the pictograph makers is mirrored in the creation of eight swastikas (six are turned in a counter-clockwise direction) and in a composition that features three skilfully painted Buddhist ritual instruments (thunderbolt, bell, dagger). As with so many other caves on the Eastern Byang thang, the rock art record shows that religious ownership of O rtsal phug was contested by Buddhist and non-Buddhist factions. That Buddhists assumed sectarian control of S29 is illustrated in the most recent phase of rock art, which belongs to this faith, and serves as a final seal of spiritual and territorial occupation in the cave.

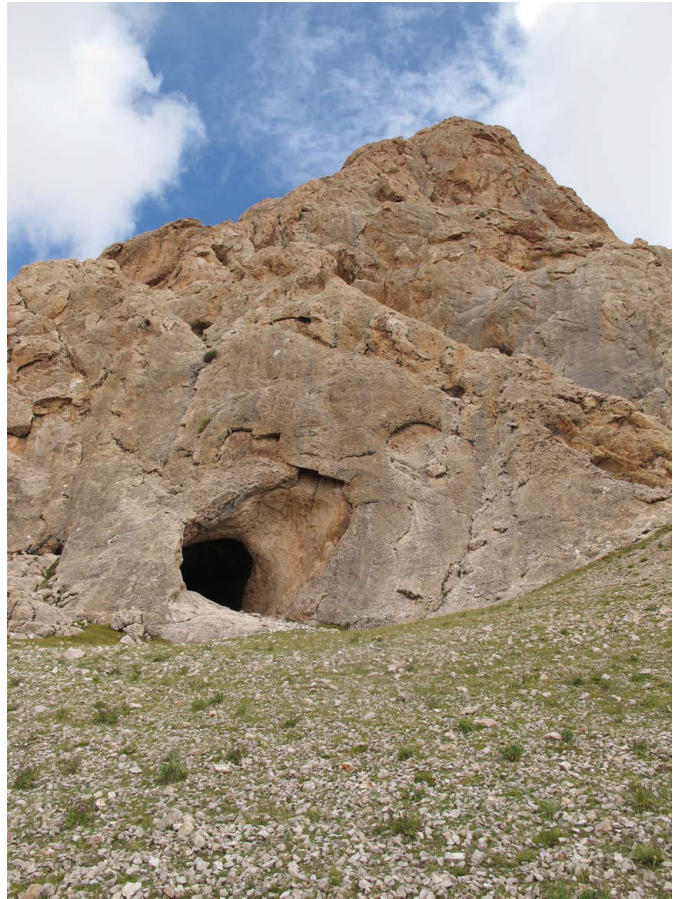


Figure 319. The limestone formation and cave of O rtsal phug (S29).



Figure 320. O rtsal phug (S29).

Inventory No: S29_C1

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 37 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat864

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed. Rear wall.

Inventory No: S29_C2

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: NA	Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed. Rear wall.

Inventory No: S29_C3

Type: picto, YO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 9 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat865

Comments: The subject is oriented in a clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed. Rear wall.

Inventory No: S29_C4

Type: picto, YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat866

Comments: The arms of the subject are held out horizontally and the legs are spread. It is possible that the subject was created in conjunction with S29_C5.
Placement: To right of S29_C3.

Inventory No: S29_C5

Type: picto, YO	Mode: outlined	Condition: MW
Subject: cruciform	Theme: unknown	Age (est.): VP/LHP
Arrangement: single?	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat866

Comments: The subject may represent a poorly executed anthropomorph.
Placement: To right of S29_C4.

Inventory No: S29_C6

Type: picto, RO	Mode: linear	Condition: MW
Subject: swastika	Theme: symbolic	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 6 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat867

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction.
Placement: Unfixed.

Inventory No: S29_C7

Type: picto, RO	Mode: silhouetted	Condition: MW
Subject: anthropomorph	Theme: portrait	Age (est.): EHP/VP
Arrangement: single	Dimensions: 20 cm (v)	Image ref: Cat868

Comments: The subject may be depicted with implements in both hands.
Placement: Unfixed.

INVENTORIED ROCK ART SITES: O RTSAL PHUG (S29)

Inventory No: S29_C11

Type: picto, RO

Mode: linear

Condition: MW

Subject: swastika

Theme: symbolic

Age (est.): EHP/VP

Arrangement: single?

Dimensions: NA

Image ref: NI

Comments: The subject is oriented in a counter-clockwise direction. According to local lore, the subject was drawn by the *lha 'dre* spirits. Special tools and/or other technological aides must have been needed to make this inaccessible pictograph.

Placement: On cave ceiling of the cave, elevated over 3 m above floor.

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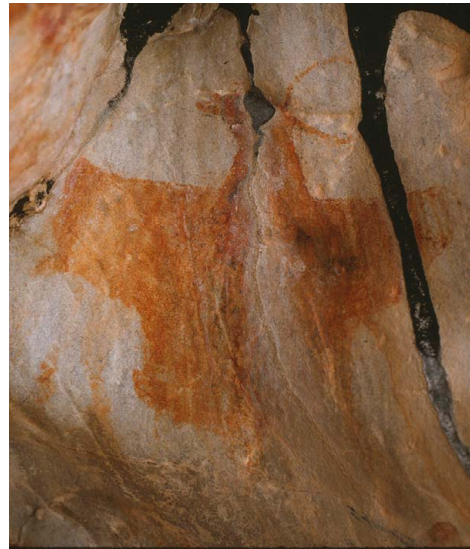
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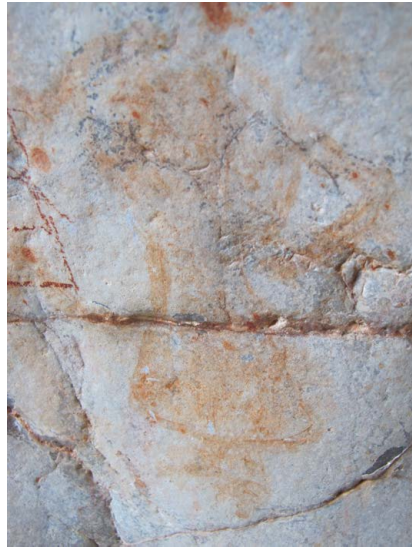
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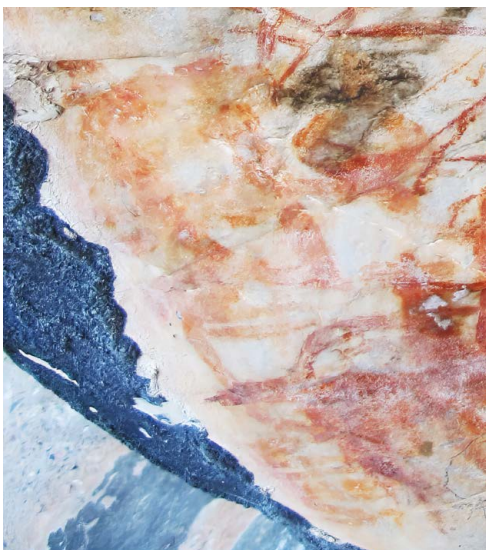
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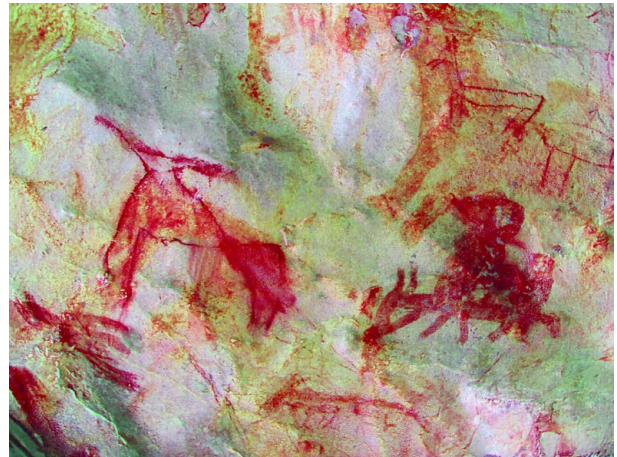
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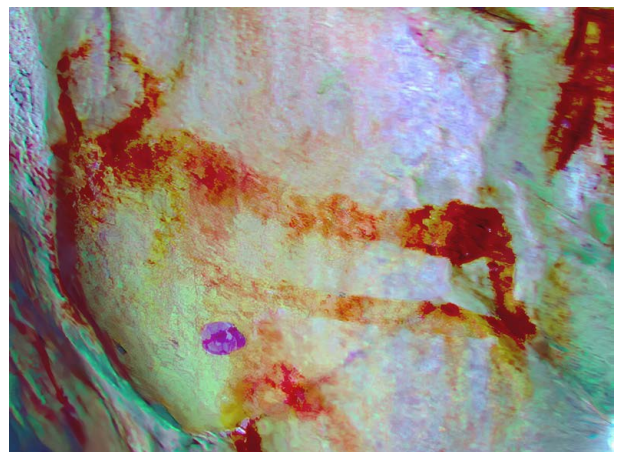
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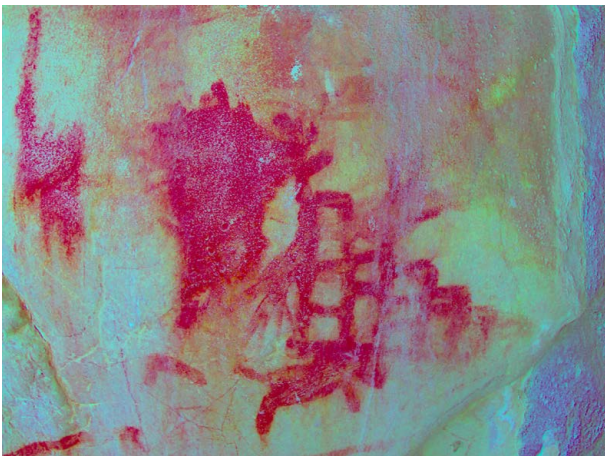
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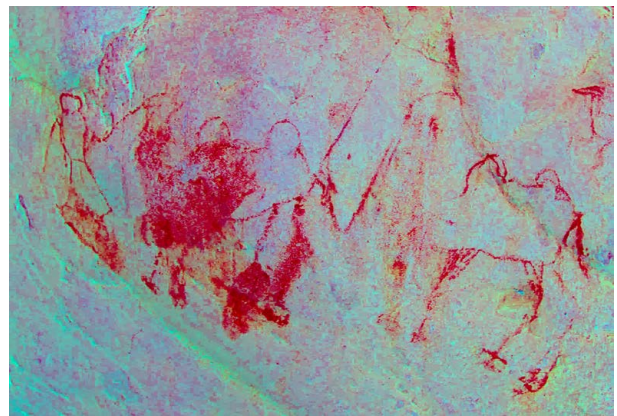
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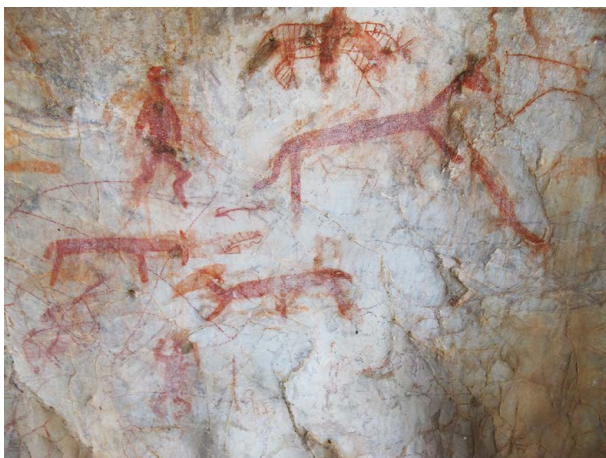
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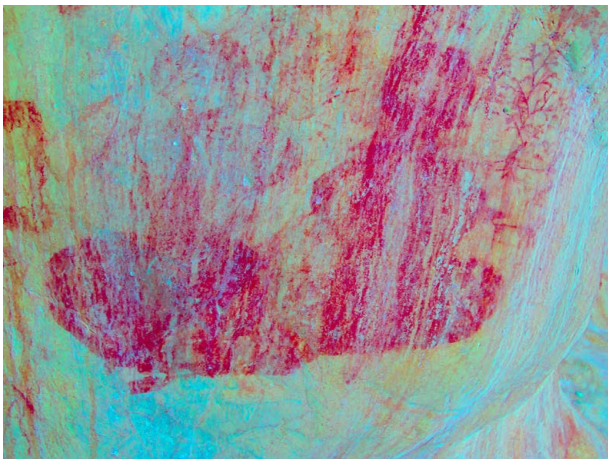
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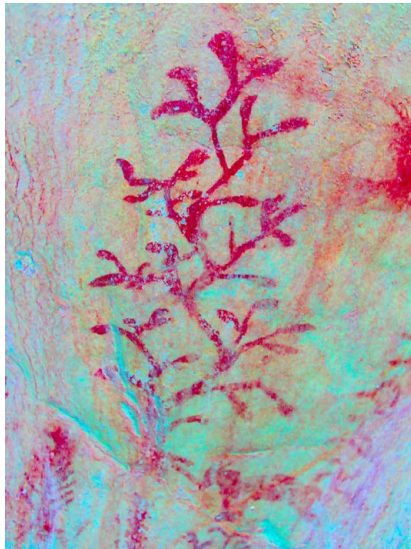
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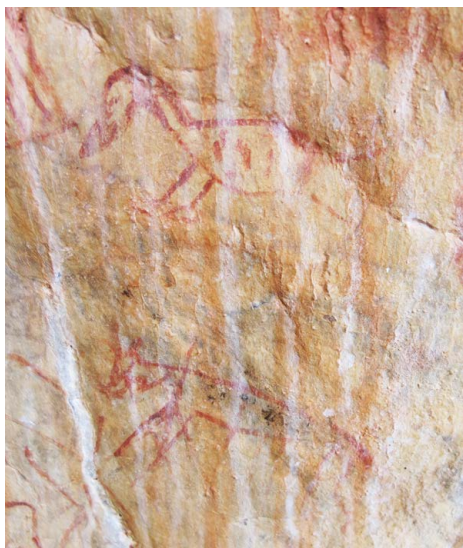
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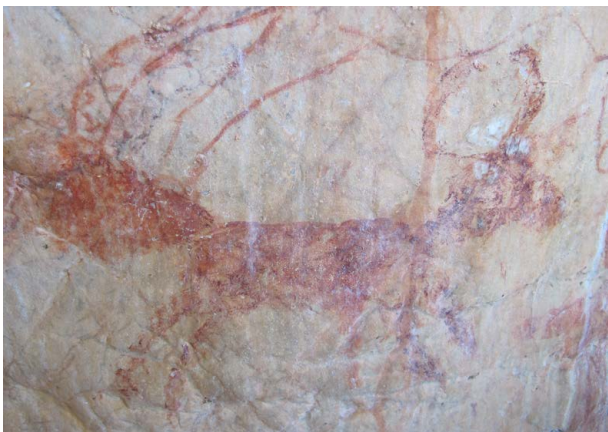
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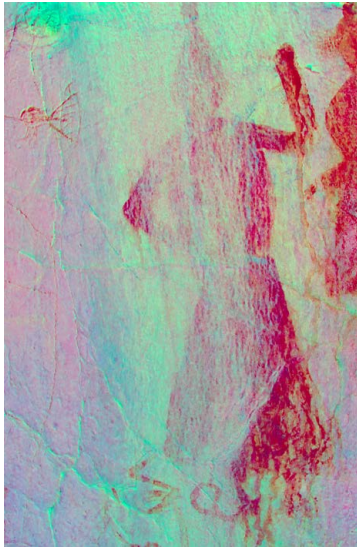
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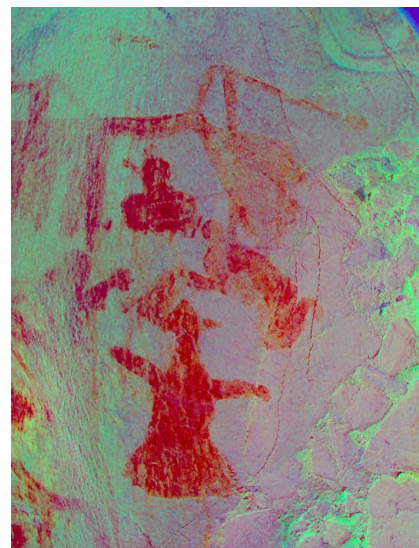
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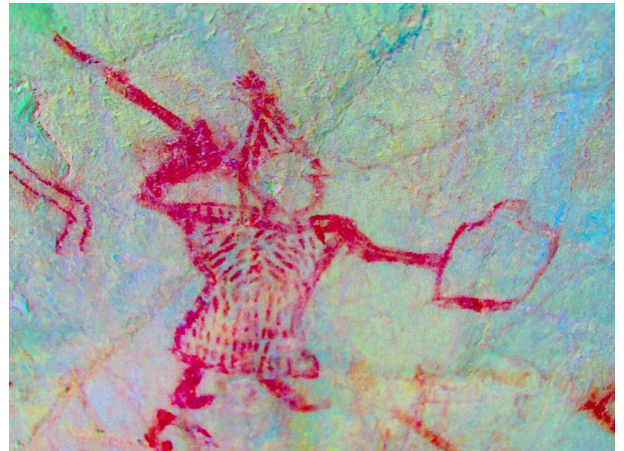
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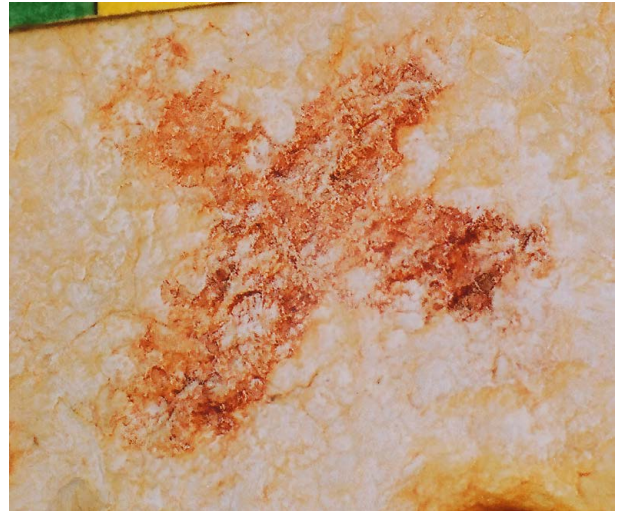
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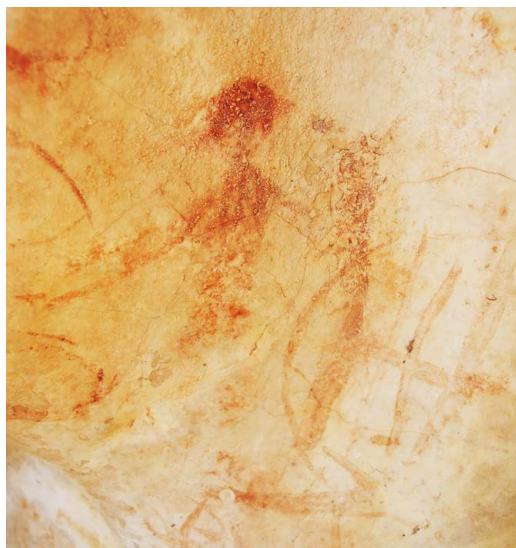
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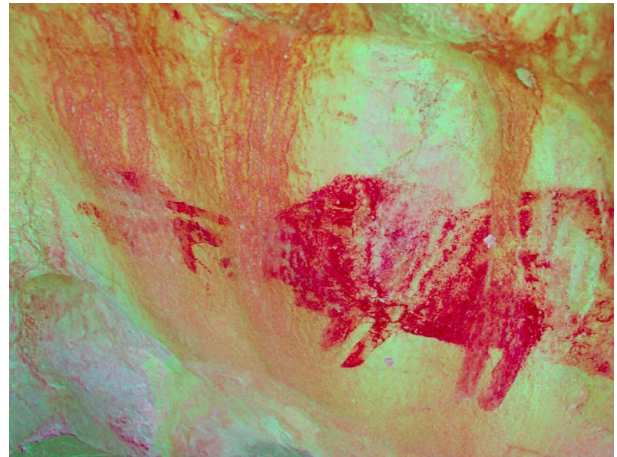
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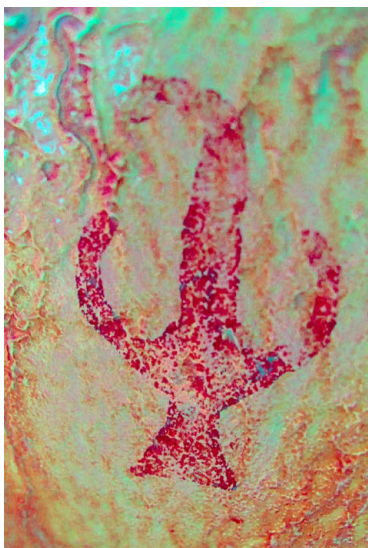
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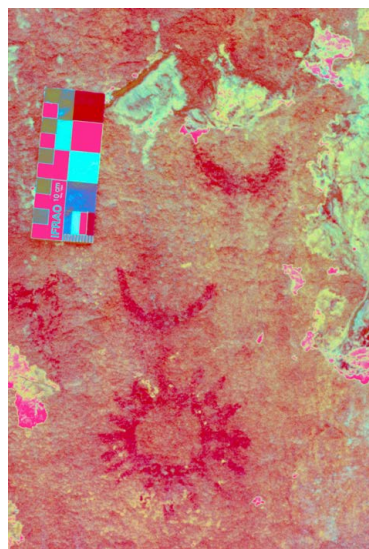
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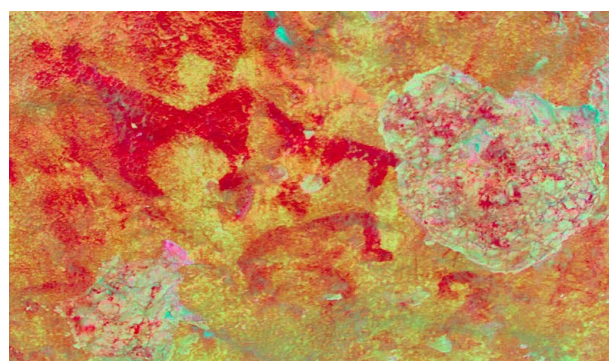
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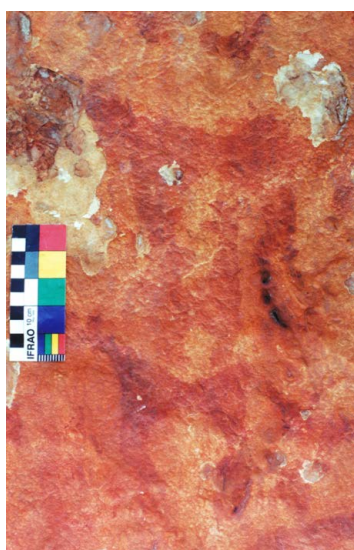
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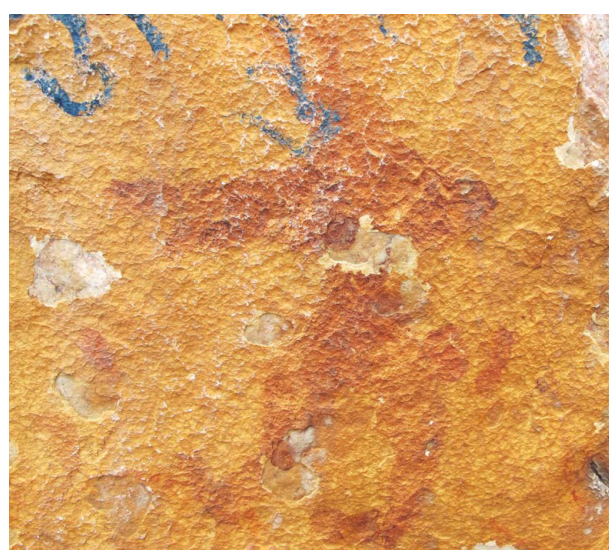
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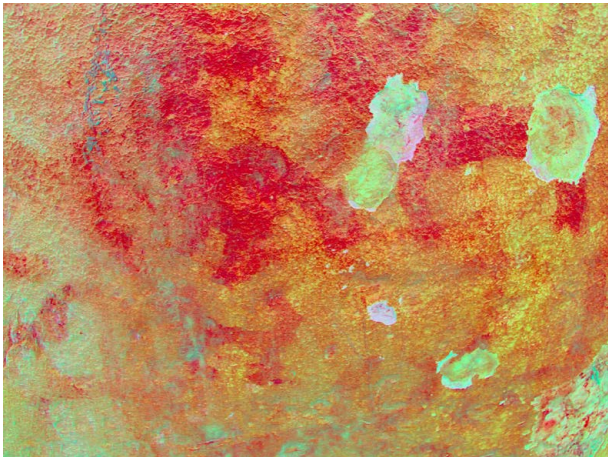
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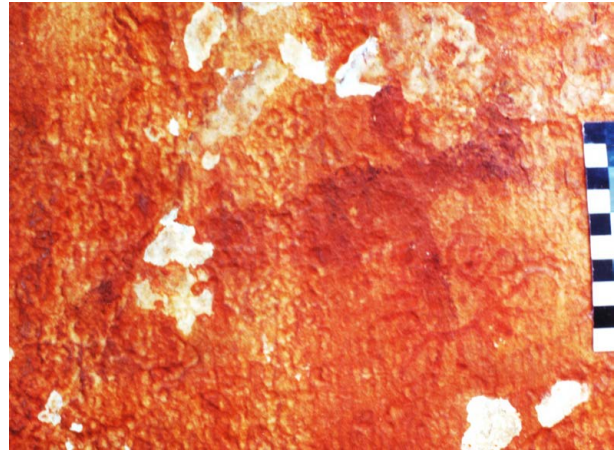
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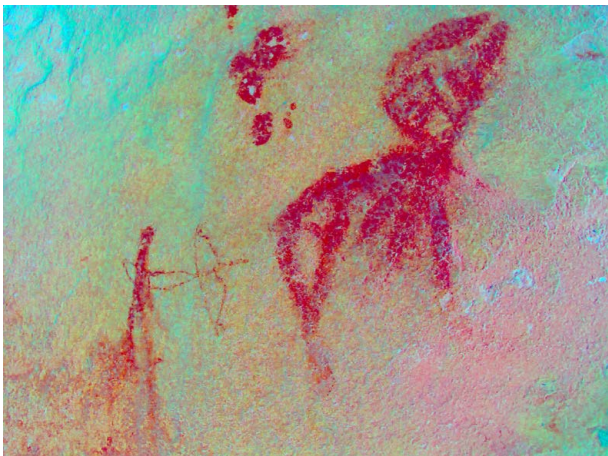
Cat218 DEI



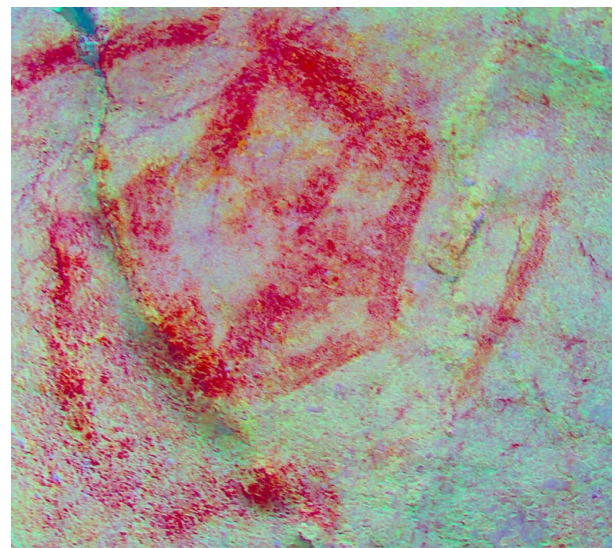
Cat219



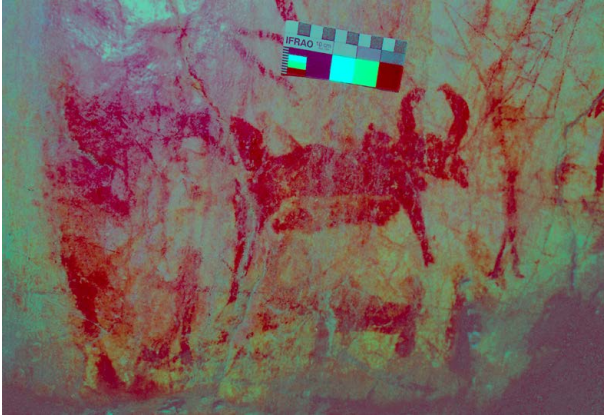
Cat220



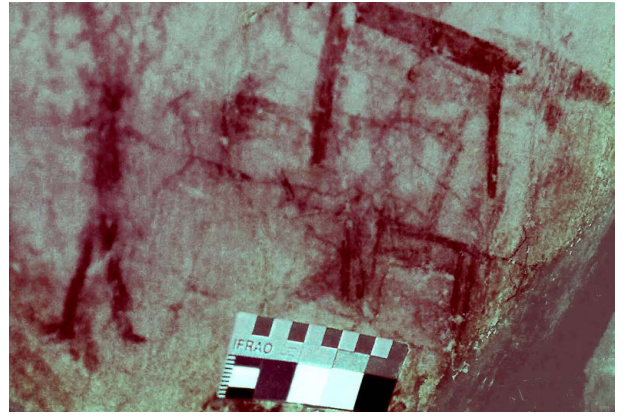
Cat221 DEI



Cat222 DEI



Cat223 DEI



Cat224 DEI



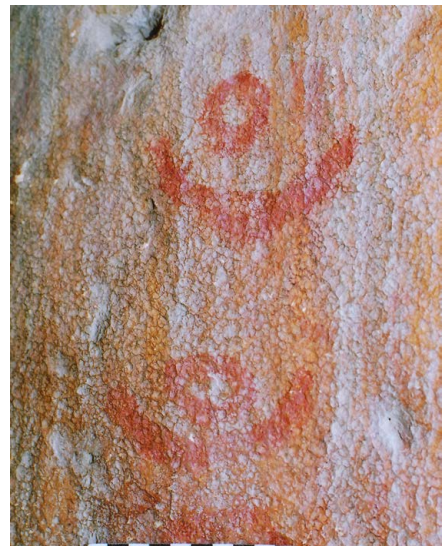
Cat225



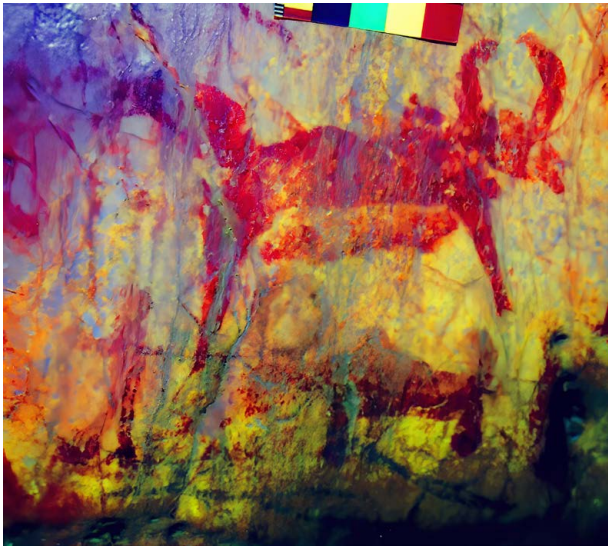
Cat226



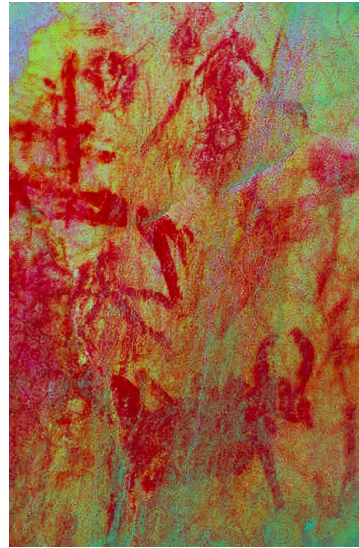
Cat227 DEI



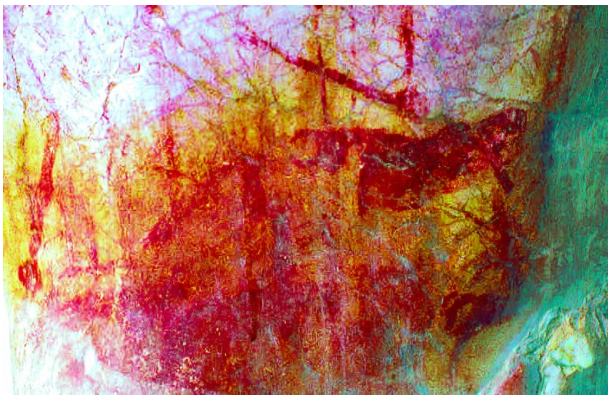
Cat228



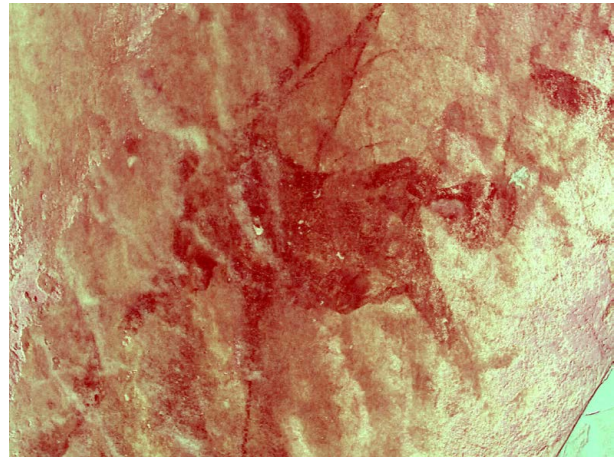
Cat229 DEI



Cat230 DEI



Cat231 DEI



Cat232 DEI



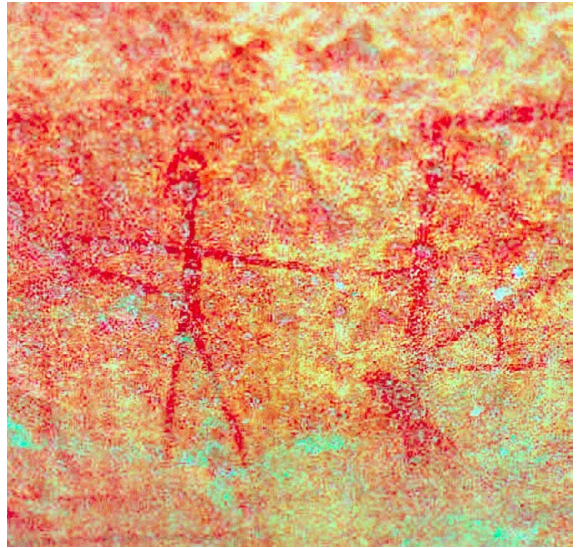
Cat233 DEI



Cat234



Cat235



Cat236 DEI



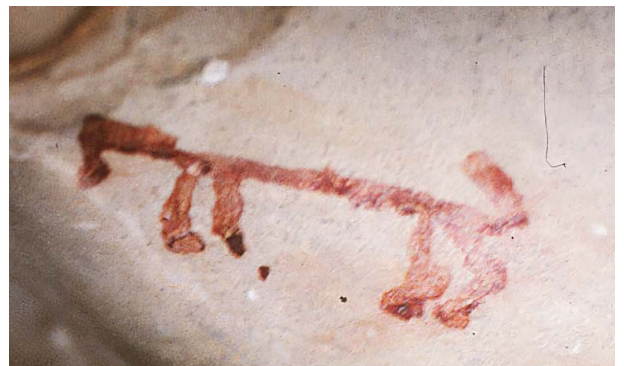
Cat237



Cat238



Cat239



Cat240



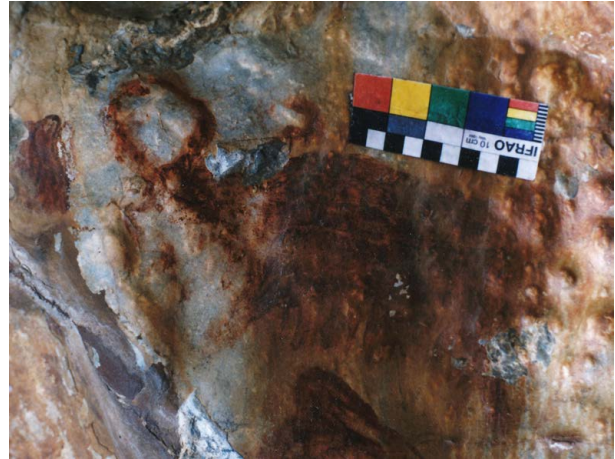
Cat241



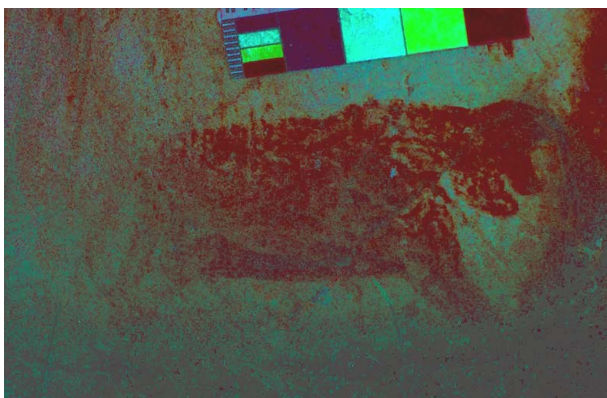
Cat242



Cat243



Cat244



Cat245 DEI



Cat246



Cat247



Cat248



Cat249



Cat250



Cat251



Cat252 DEI



Cat253 DEI



Cat254



Cat255



Cat256



Cat257



Cat258



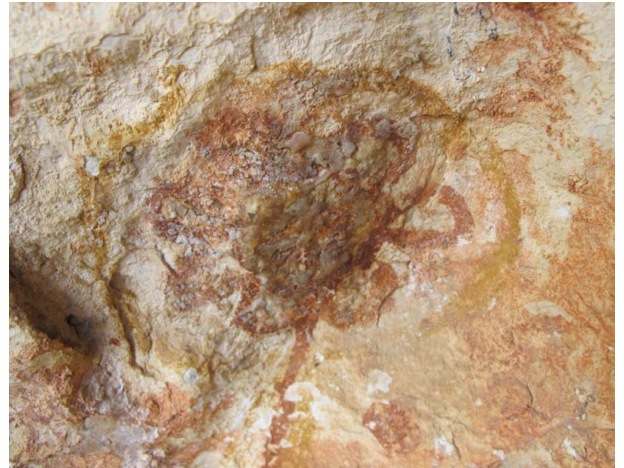
Cat259



Cat260 DEI



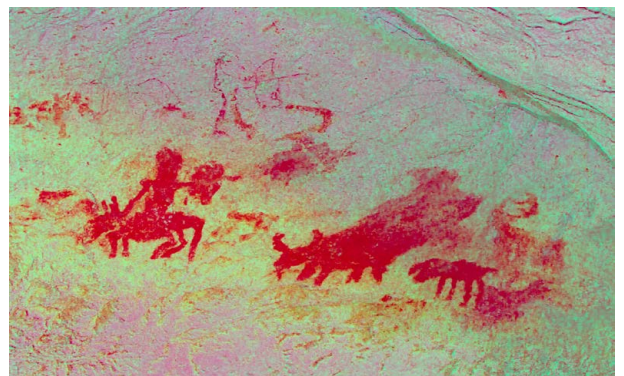
Cat261



Cat262



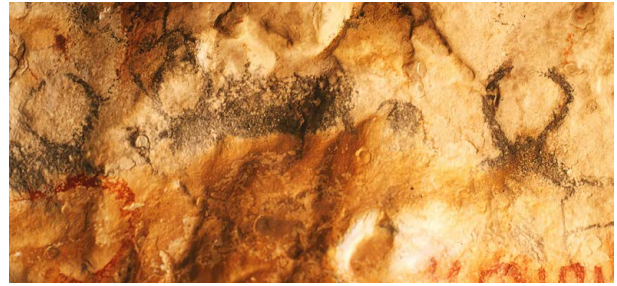
Cat263



Cat264 DEI



Cat265



Cat266



Cat267



Cat268



Cat269



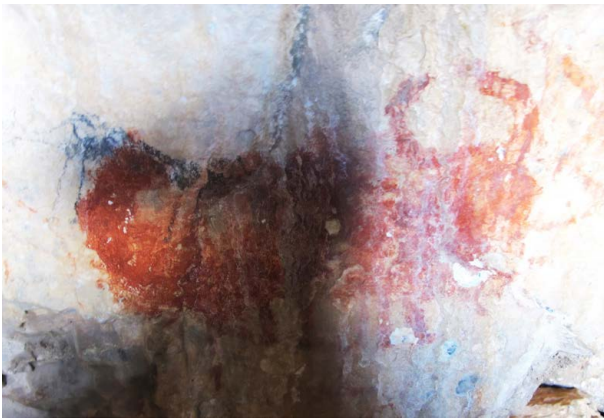
Cat270



Cat271



Cat272



Cat273



Cat274



Cat275 DEI



Cat276



Cat277



Cat278



Cat279



Cat280



Cat281



Cat282



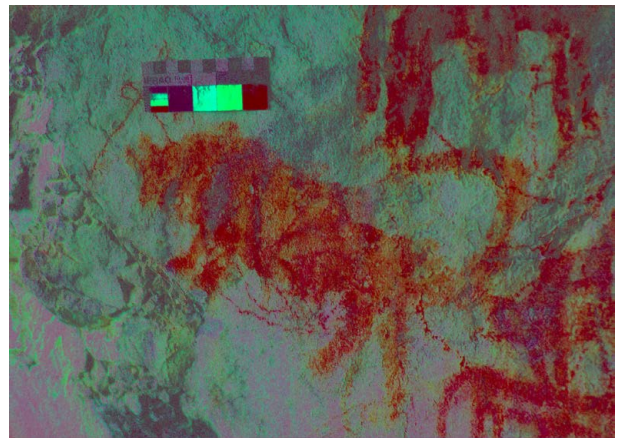
Cat283



Cat284



Cat285



Cat286 DEI



Cat287



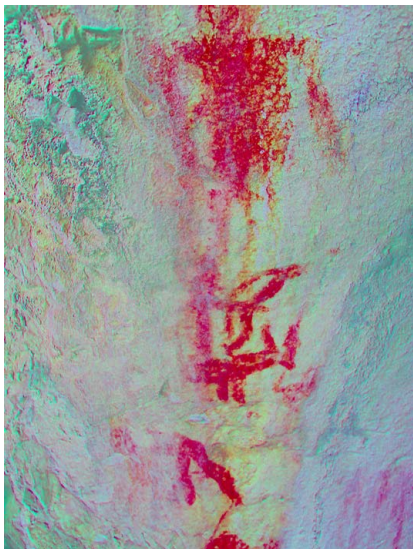
Cat288



Cat289



Cat290



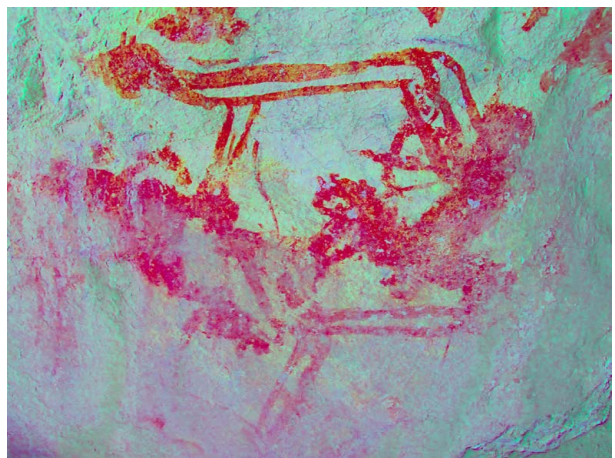
Cat291 DEI



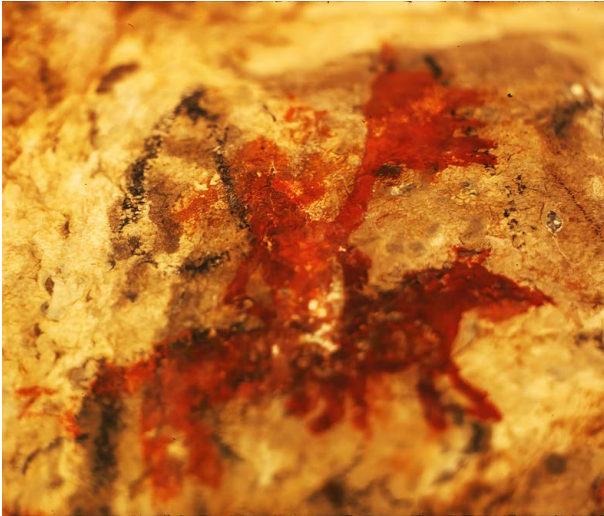
Cat292



Cat293 DEI



Cat294 DEI



Cat295



Cat296



Cat297



Cat298



Cat299



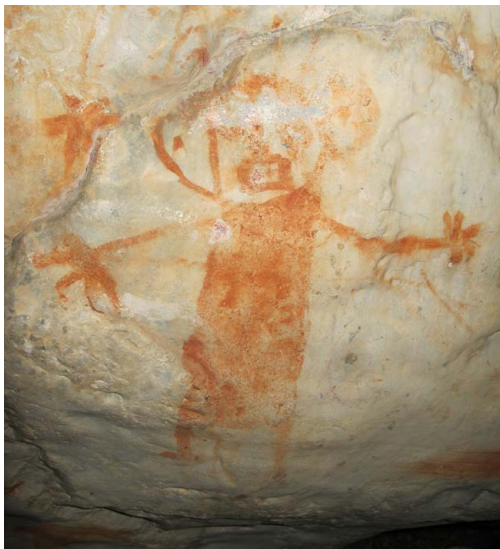
Cat300



Cat301



Cat302



Cat303



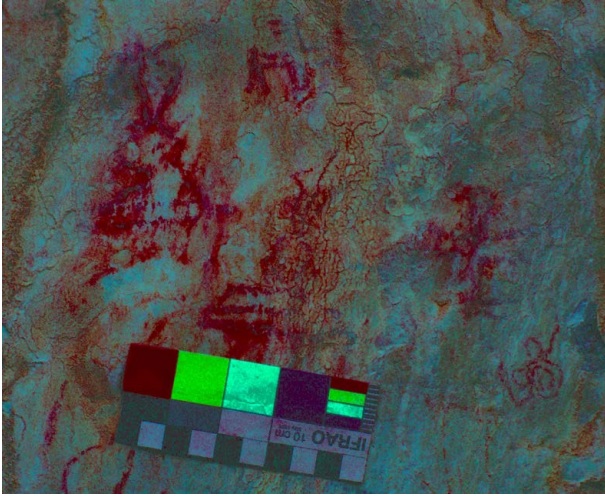
Cat304



Cat305



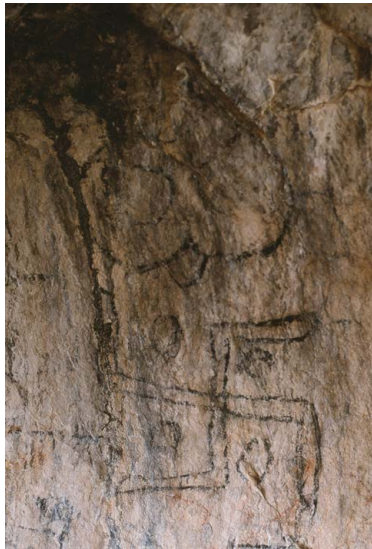
Cat306



Cat307 DEI



Cat308



Cat309



Cat310



Cat311 DEI



Cat312



Cat313



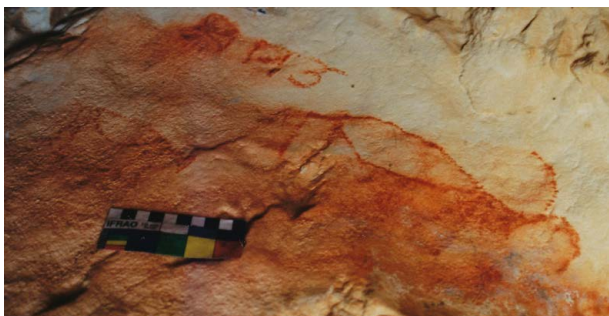
Cat314



Cat315



Cat316



Cat317



Cat318



Cat319



Cat320



Cat321



Cat322



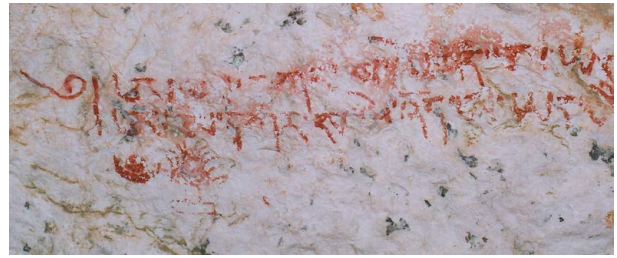
Cat323



Cat324



Cat325



Cat326



Cat327



Cat328



Cat329



Cat330



Cat331



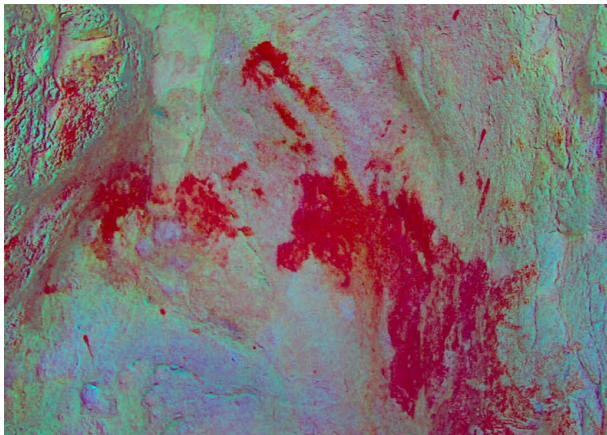
Cat332



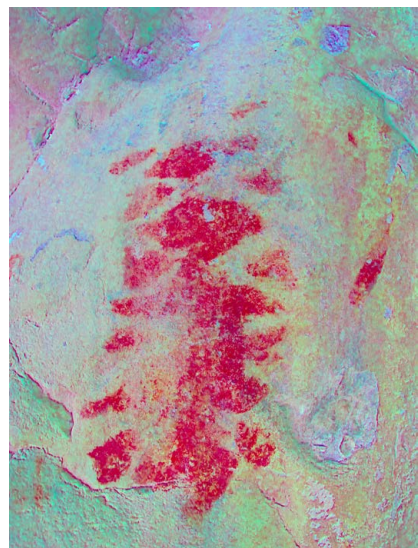
Cat333



Cat334



Cat335 DEI



Cat336 DEI



Cat337



Cat338



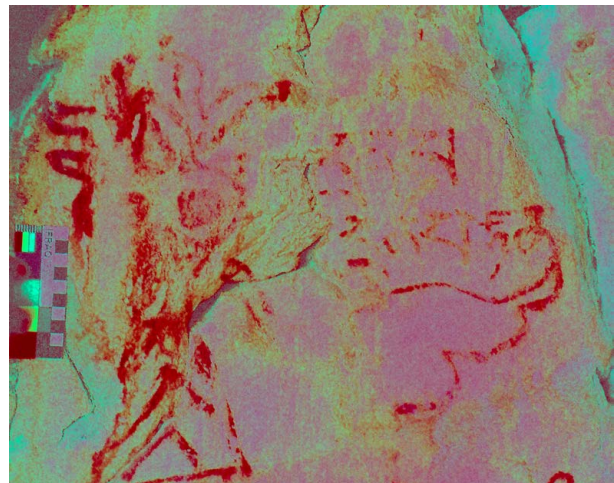
Cat339



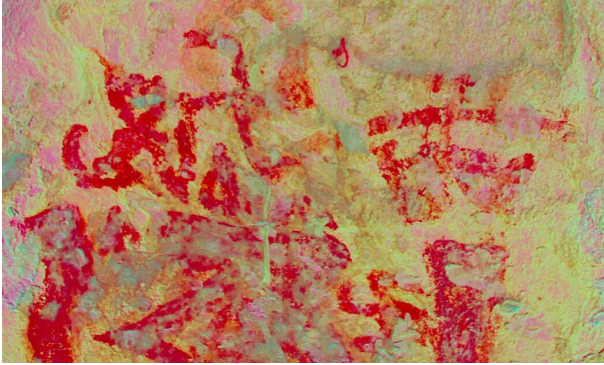
Cat340



Cat341



Cat342 DEI



Cat343 DEI



Cat344



Cat345



Cat346



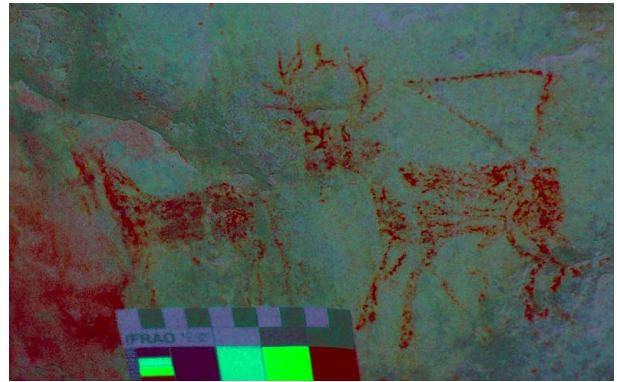
Cat347



Cat348 DEI



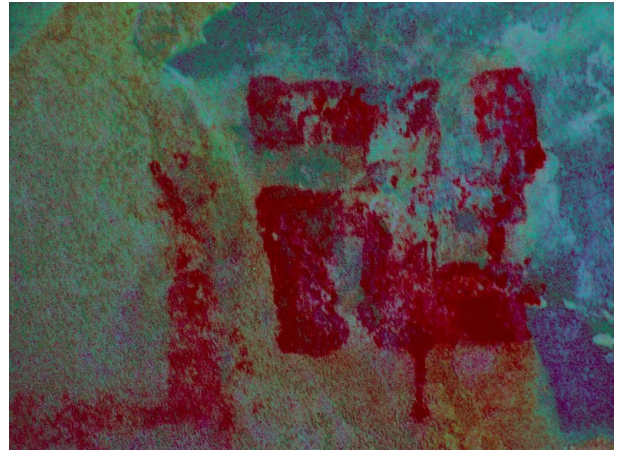
Cat349



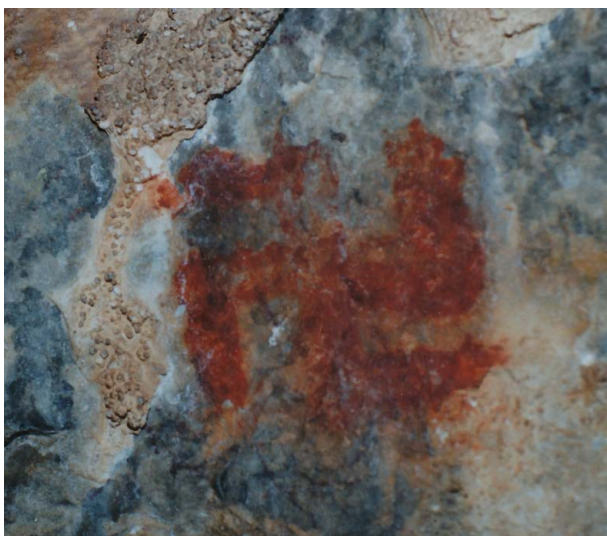
Cat350 DEI



Cat351



Cat352 DEI



Cat353



Cat354



Cat355



Cat356



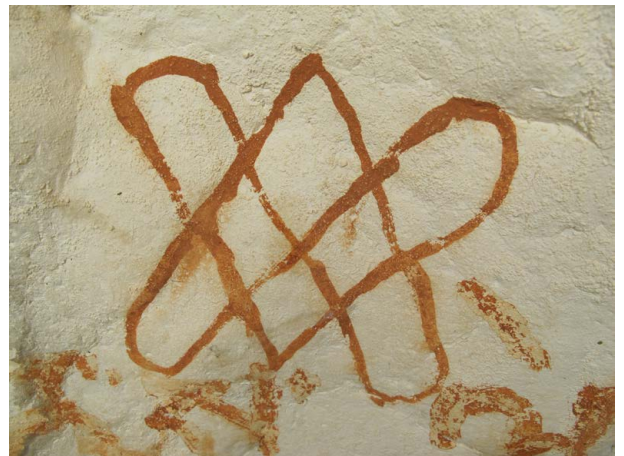
Cat357



Cat358



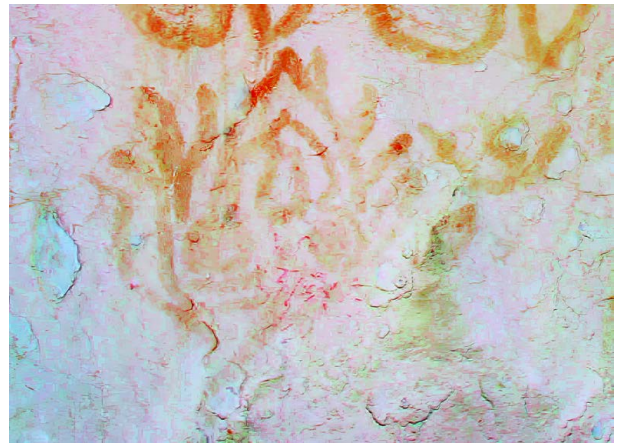
Cat359



Cat360



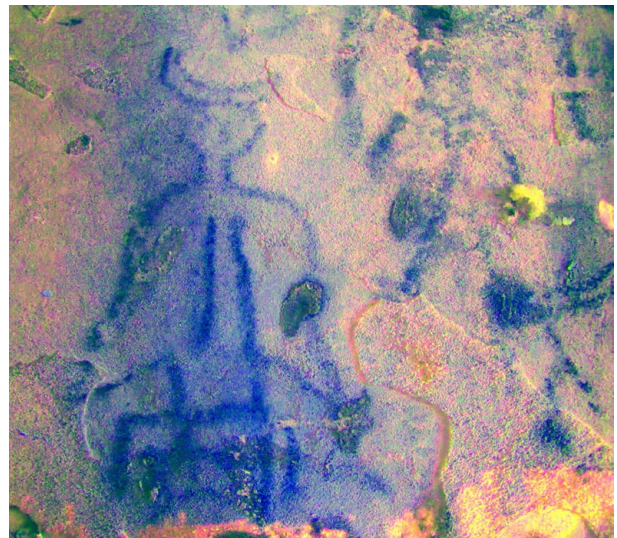
Cat361



Cat362



Cat363



Cat364 DEI



Cat365



Cat366



Cat367



Cat368



Cat369



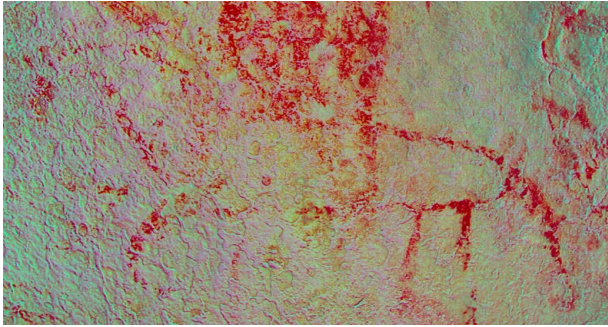
Cat370



Cat371



Cat372 DEI



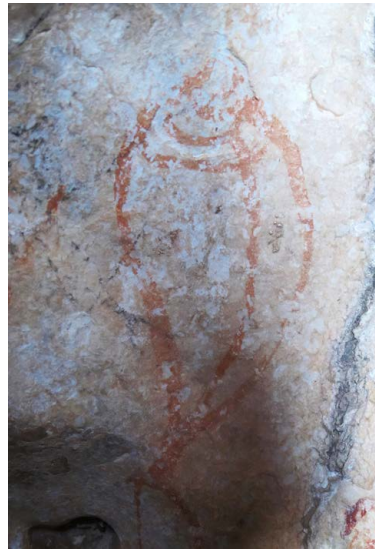
Cat373 DEI



Cat374



Cat375



Cat376



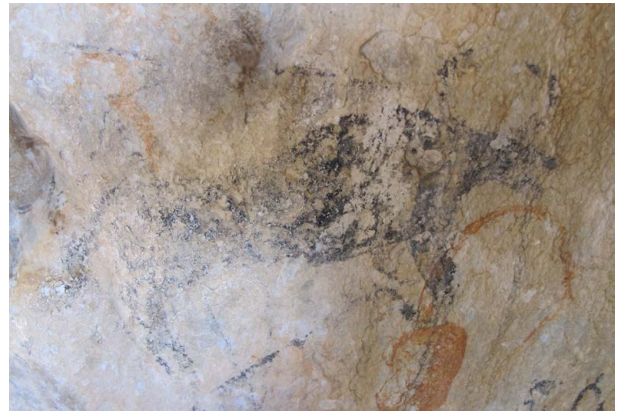
Cat377 DEI



Cat378



Cat379



Cat380



Cat381



Cat382



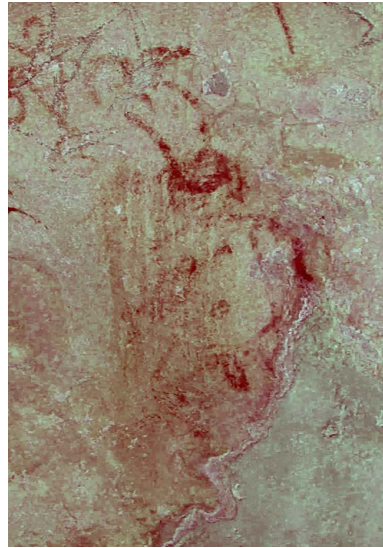
Cat383



Cat384



Cat385



Cat386



Cat387



Cat388



Cat389



Cat390



Cat391



Cat392



Cat393



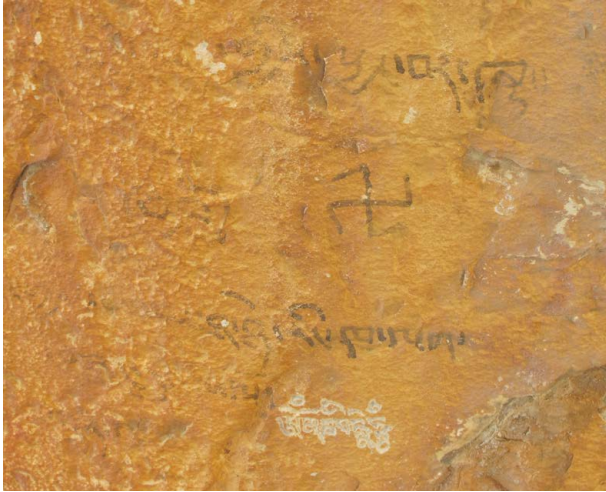
Cat394



Cat395



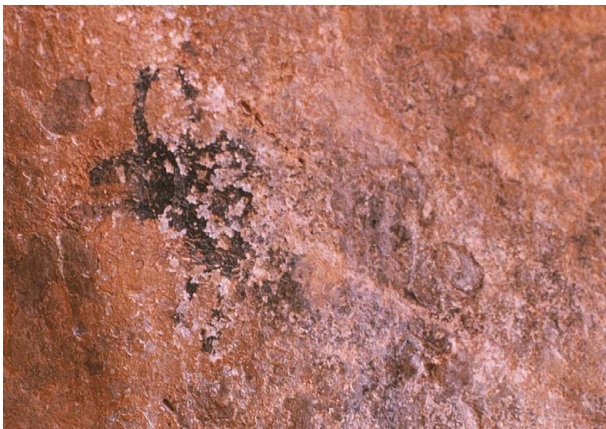
Cat396



Cat397



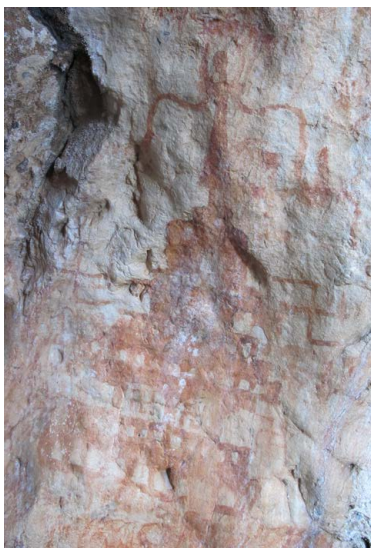
Cat398



Cat399



Cat400



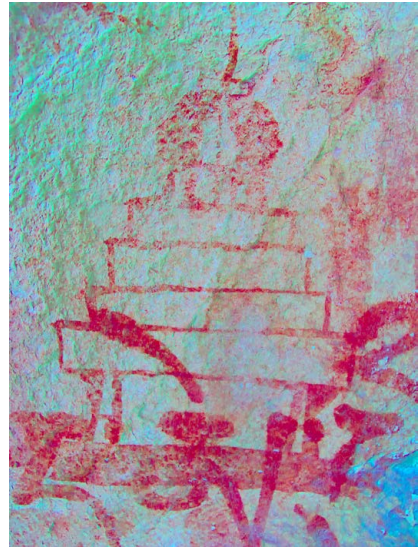
Cat401



Cat402 DEI



Cat403 DEI



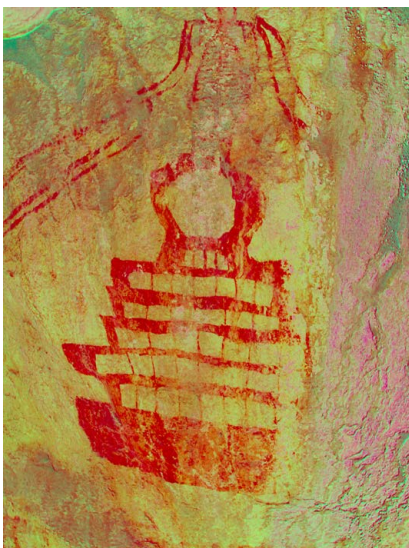
Cat404 DEI



Cat405 DEI



Cat406 DEI



Cat407 DEI



Cat408 DEI



Cat409



Cat410



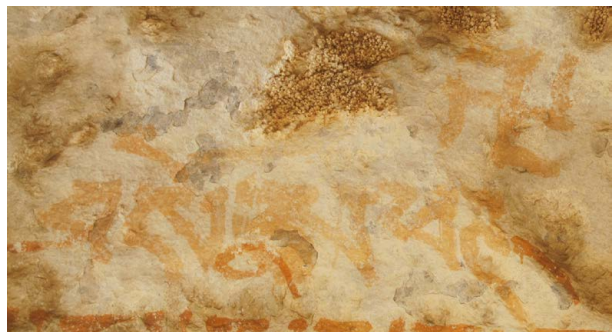
Cat411



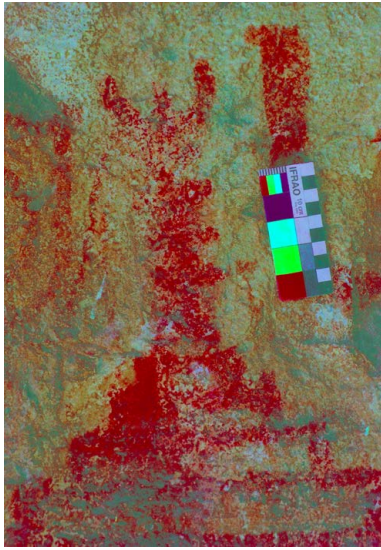
Cat412 DEI



Cat413



Cat414



Cat415 DEI



Cat416 DEI



Cat417 DEI



Cat418



Cat419



Cat420



Cat421



Cat422



Cat423



Cat424



Cat425



Cat426



Cat427



Cat428



Cat429



Cat430



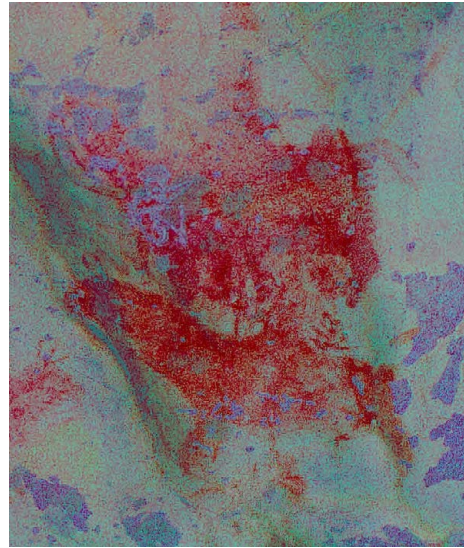
Cat431



Cat432



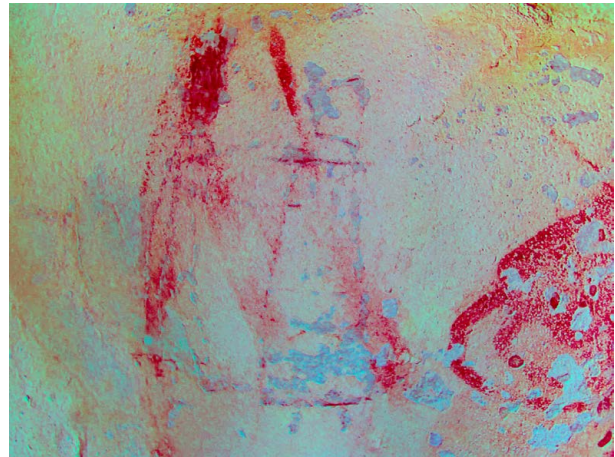
Cat433



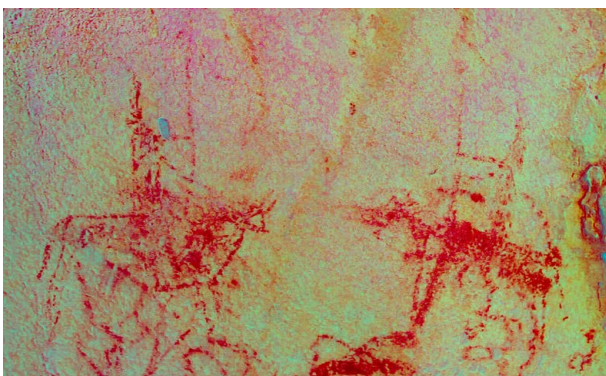
Cat434 DEI



Cat435



Cat436 DEI



Cat437 DEI



Cat438



Cat439



Cat440 DEI



Cat441



Cat442



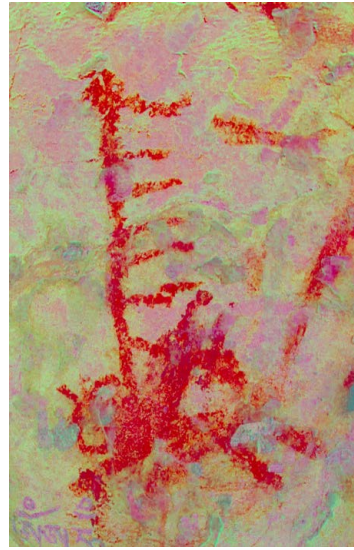
Cat443



Cat444



Cat445 DEI



Cat446 DEI



Cat447



Cat448



Cat449



Cat450

CATALOGUE OF IMAGES: CAT451-CAT456



Cat451



Cat452



Cat453



Cat454



Cat455



Cat456



Cat457



Cat458



Cat459



Cat460



Cat461



Cat462



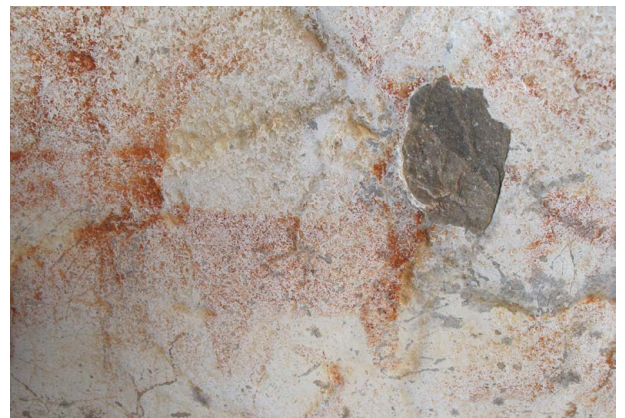
Cat463



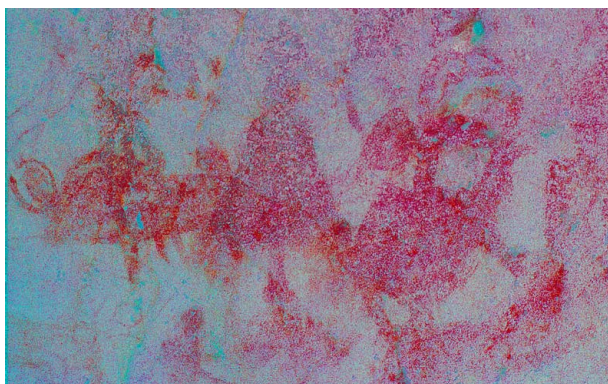
Cat464



Cat465



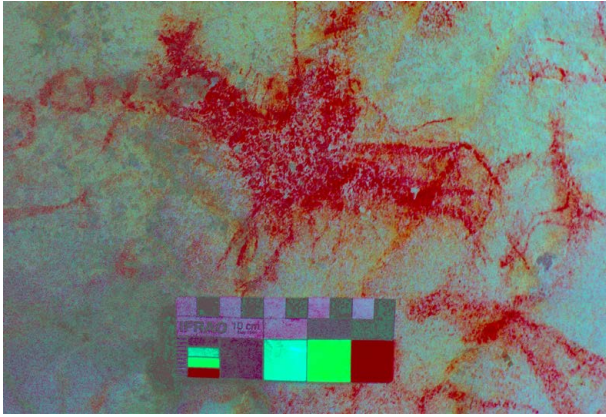
Cat466



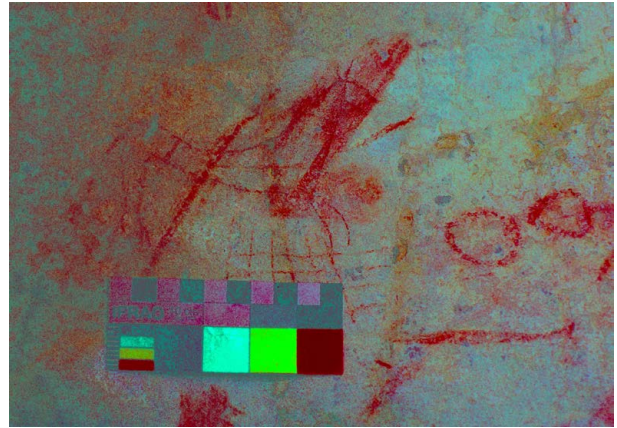
Cat467 DEI



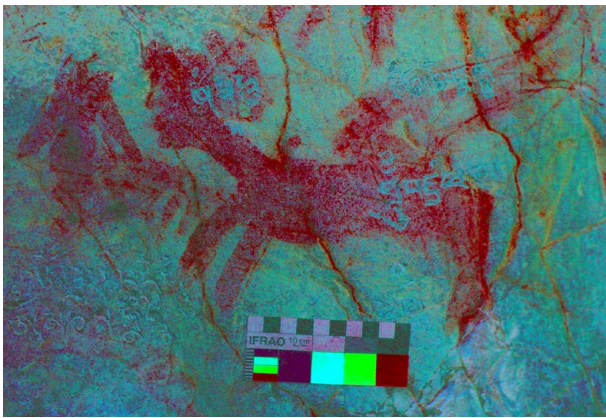
Cat468



Cat469 DEI



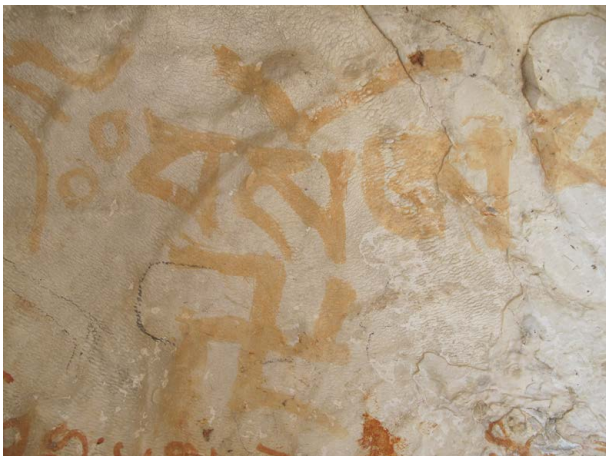
Cat470 DEI



Cat471 DEI



Cat472



Cat473



Cat474 DEI



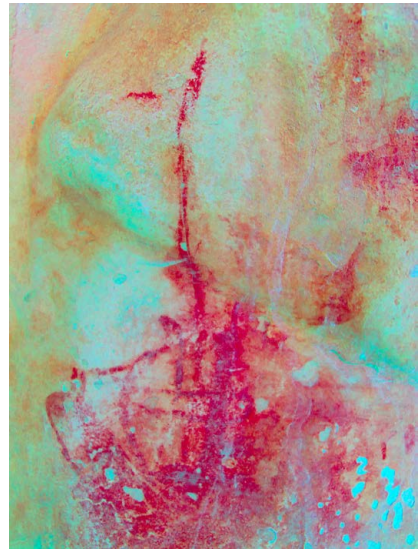
Cat475 DEI



Cat476



Cat477 DEI



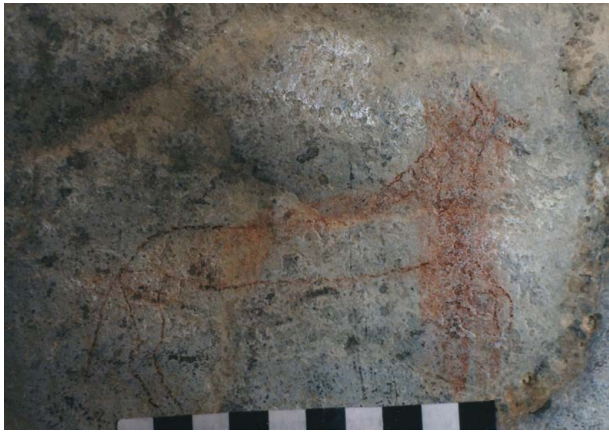
Cat478 DEI



Cat479



Cat480



Cat481



Cat482 DEI



Cat483



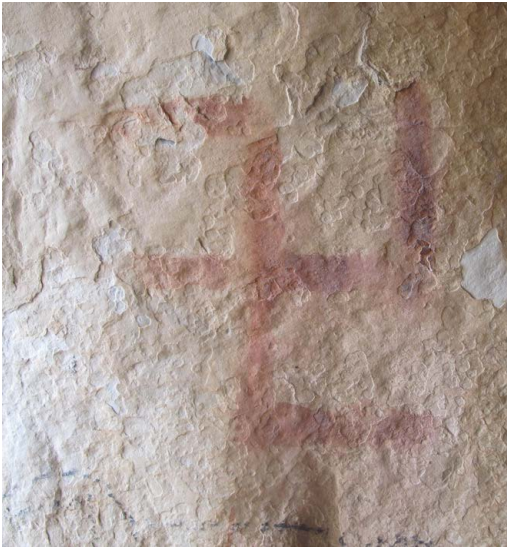
Cat484



Cat485 DEI



Cat486



Cat487



Cat488



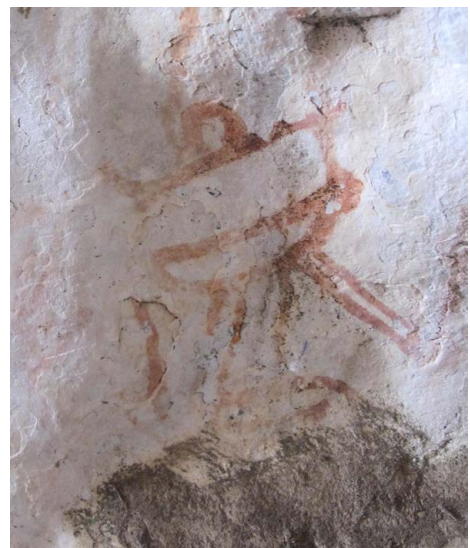
Cat489



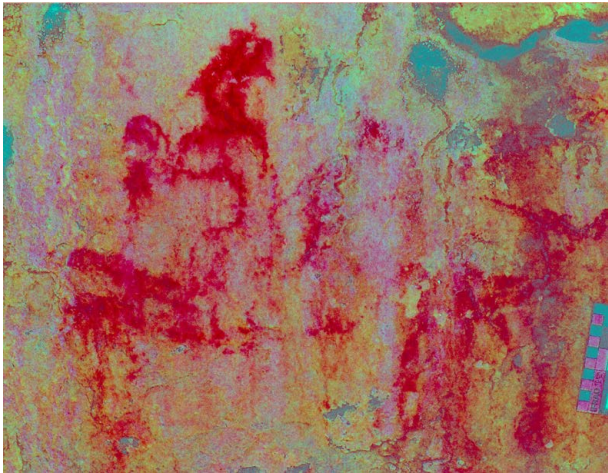
Cat490



Cat491



Cat492



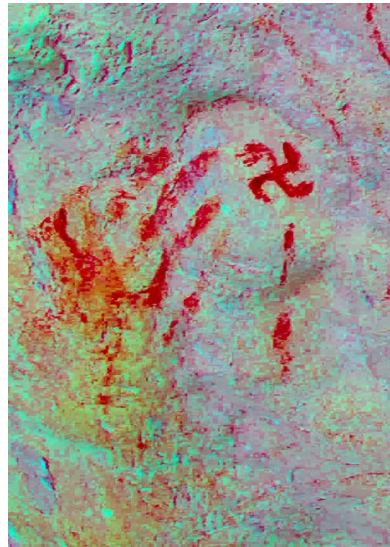
Cat493 DEI



Cat494 DEI



Cat495 DEI



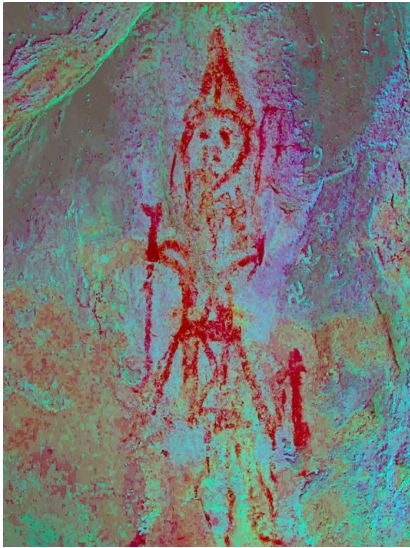
Cat496 DEI



Cat497



Cat498



Cat499 DEI



Cat500 DEI



Cat501



Cat502



Cat503 DEI



Cat504



Cat505



Cat506



Cat507



Cat508 DEI



Cat509



Cat510



Cat511



Cat512



Cat513 DEI



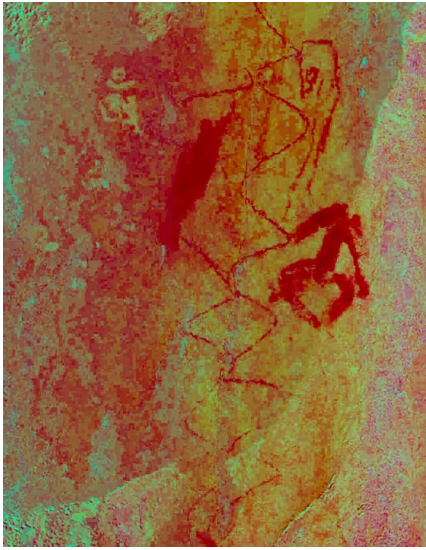
Cat514 DEI



Cat515



Cat516



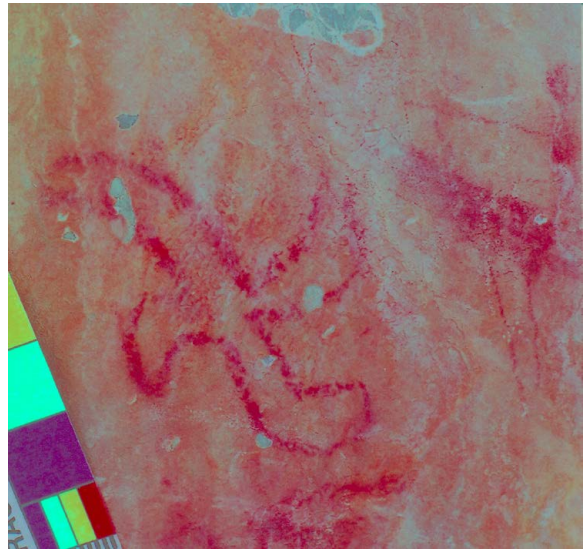
Cat517 DEI



Cat518 DEI



Cat519 DEI



Cat520 DEI



Cat521



Cat522



Cat523



Cat524



Cat525



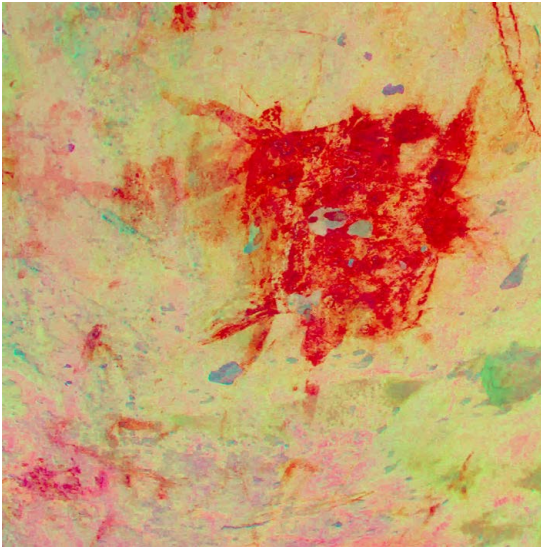
Cat526



Cat527



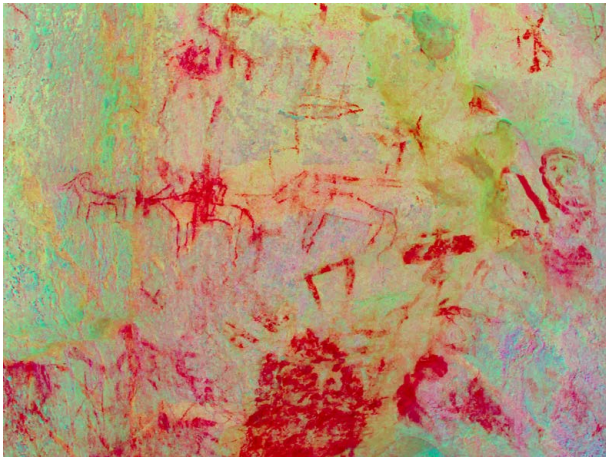
Cat528



Cat529 DEI



Cat530



Cat531 DEI



Cat532



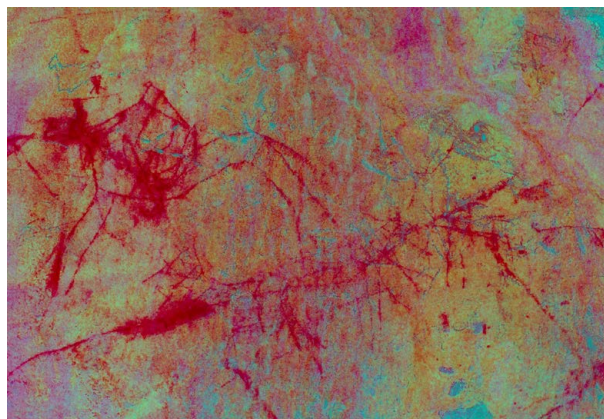
Cat533 DEI



Cat534 DEI



Cat535



Cat536 DEI



Cat537



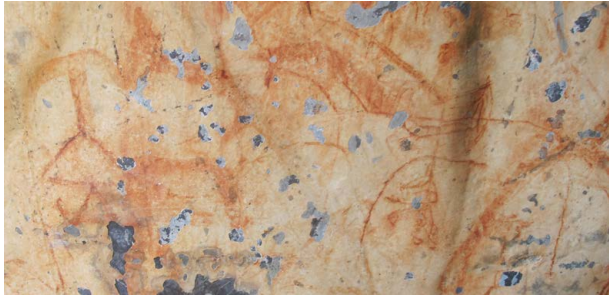
Cat538 DEI



Cat539



Cat540



Cat541



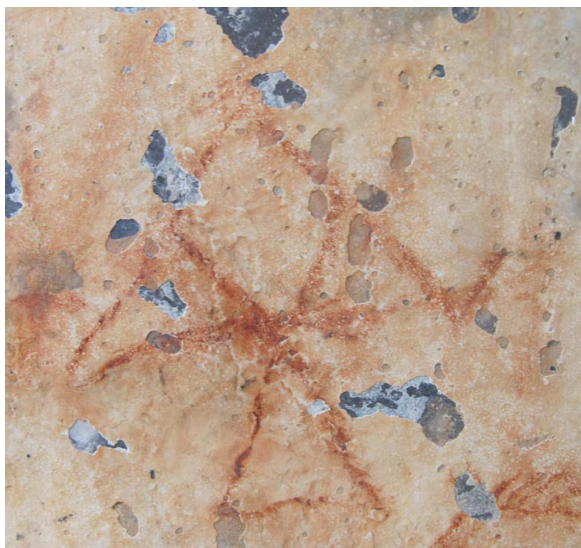
Cat542



Cat543



Cat544 DEI



Cat545



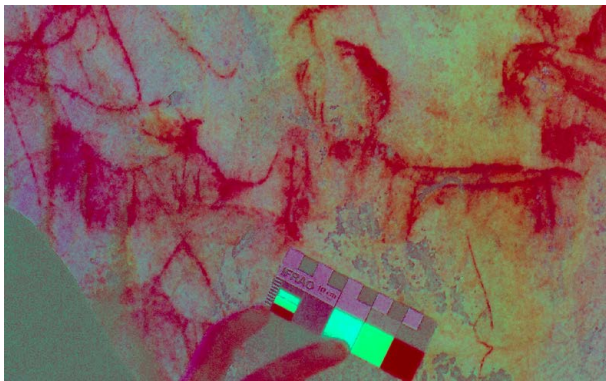
Cat546



Cat547



Cat548



Cat549 DEI



Cat550



Cat551



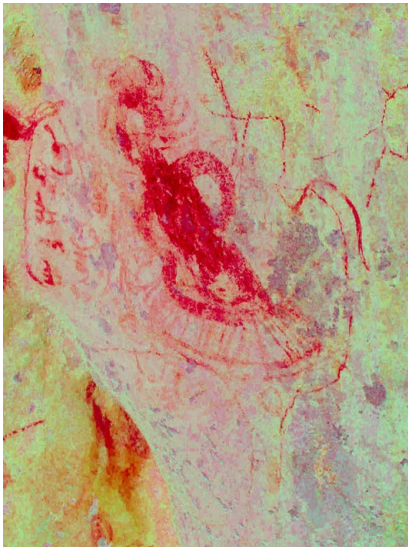
Cat552



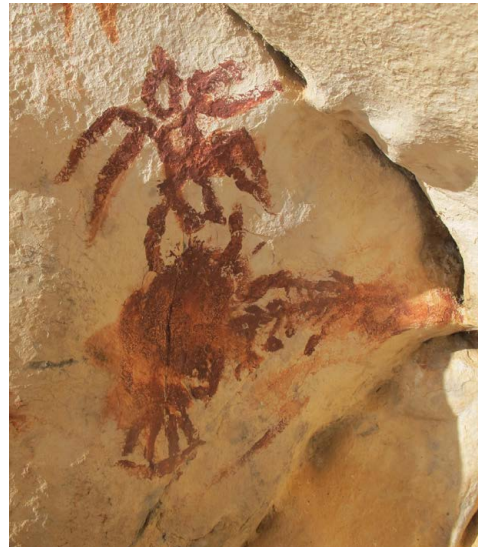
Cat553 DEI



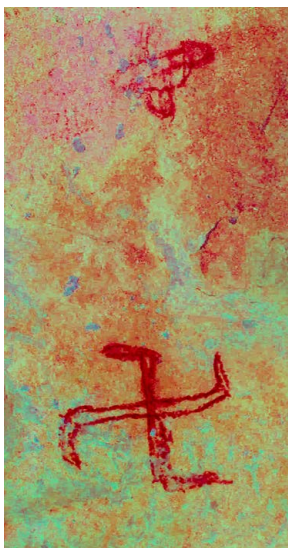
Cat554



Cat555 DEI



Cat556



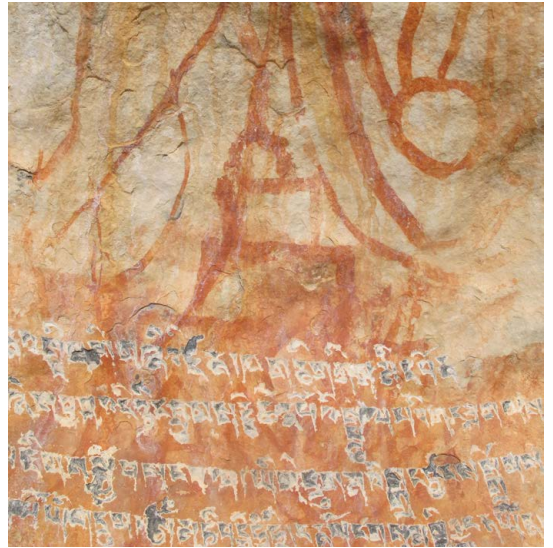
Cat557 DEI



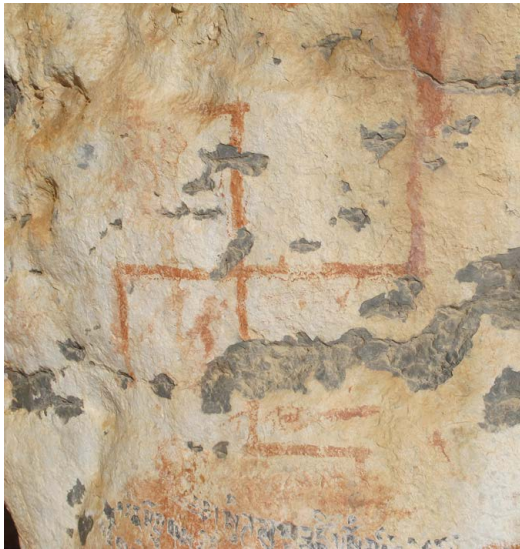
Cat558 DEI



Cat559



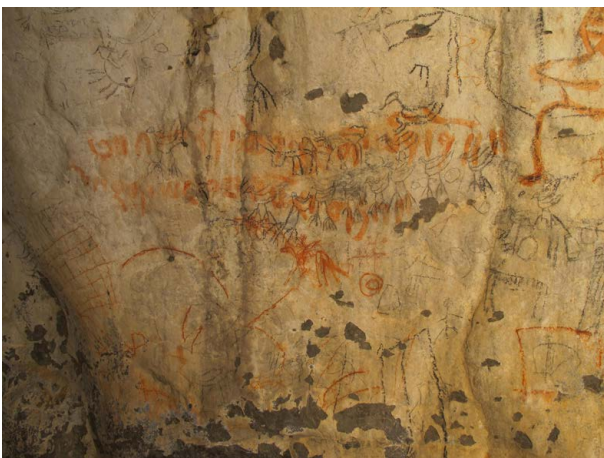
Cat560



Cat561



Cat562



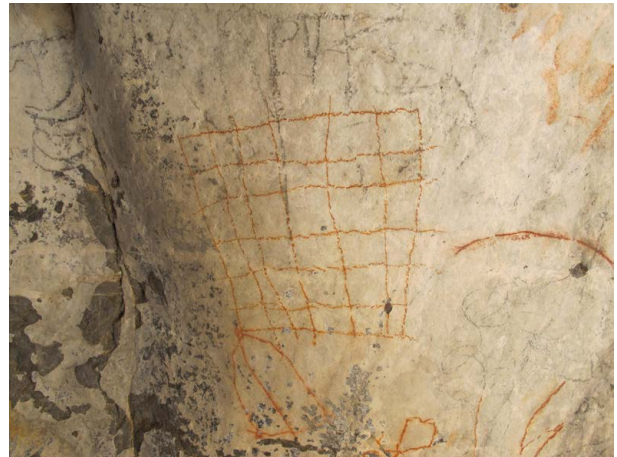
Cat563



Cat564



Cat565



Cat566



Cat567



Cat568



Cat569



Cat570



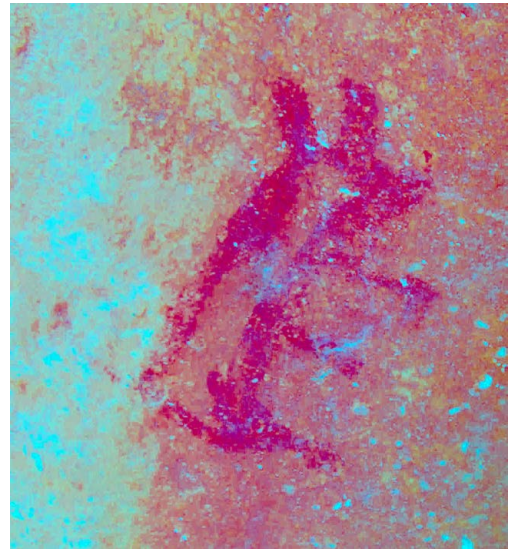
Cat571 DEI



Cat572



Cat573 DEI



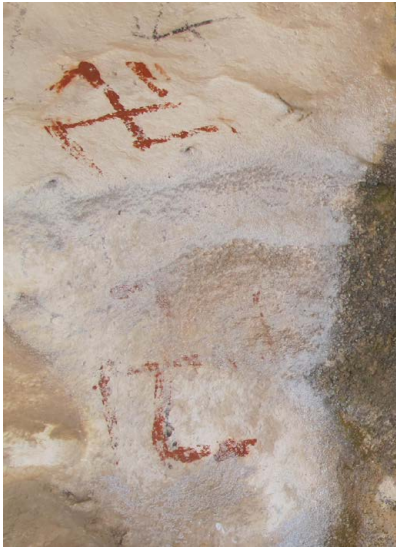
Cat574 DEI



Cat575



Cat576 DEI



Cat577



Cat578



Cat579



Cat580



Cat581



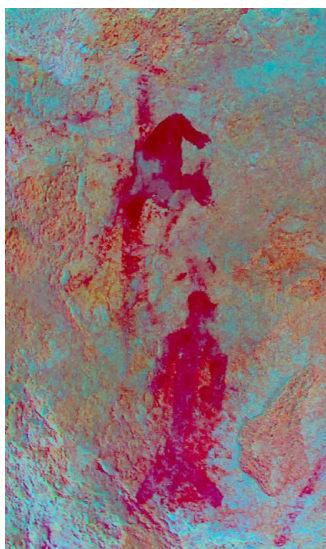
Cat582



Cat583



Cat584



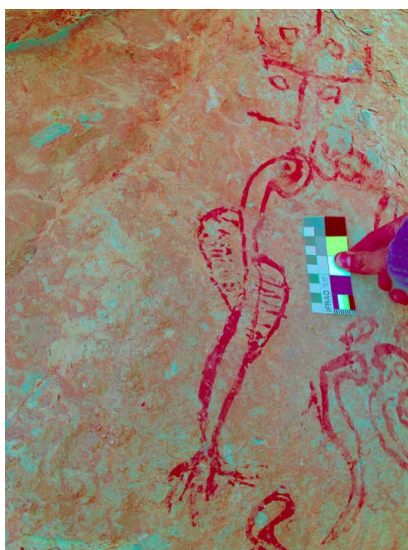
Cat585 DEI



Cat586 DEI



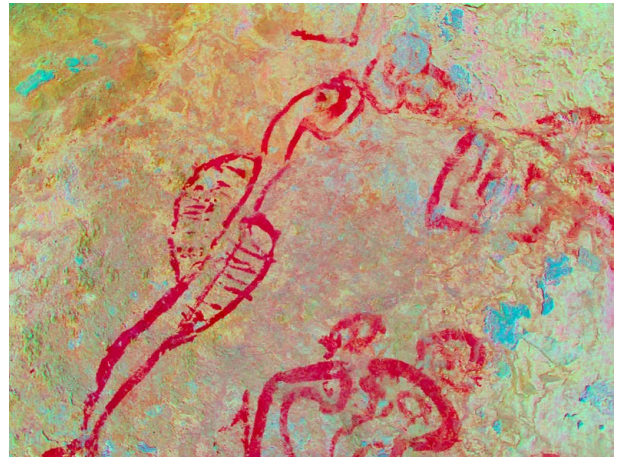
Cat587 DEI



Cat588 DEI



Cat589 DEI



Cat590 DEI



Cat591 DEI



Cat592 DEI



Cat593 DEI



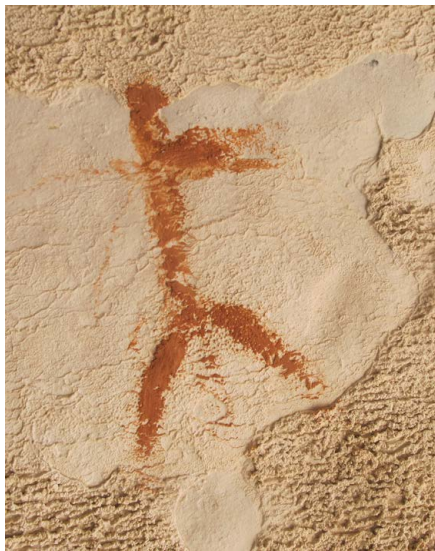
Cat594



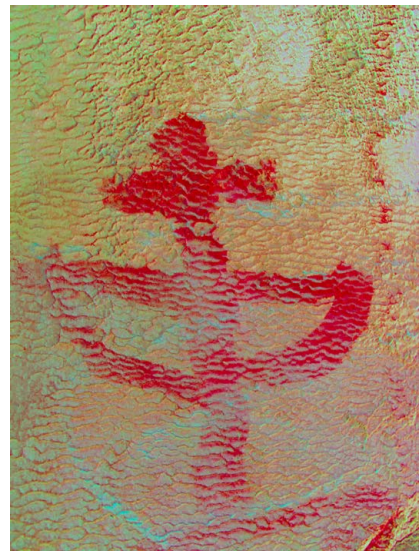
Cat595



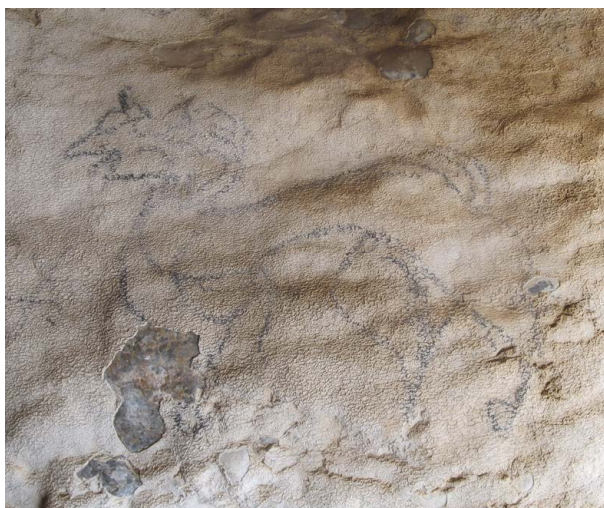
Cat596



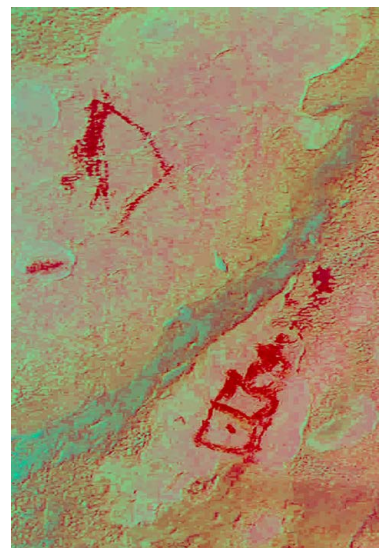
Cat597



Cat598 DEI



Cat599



Cat600 DEI



Cat601



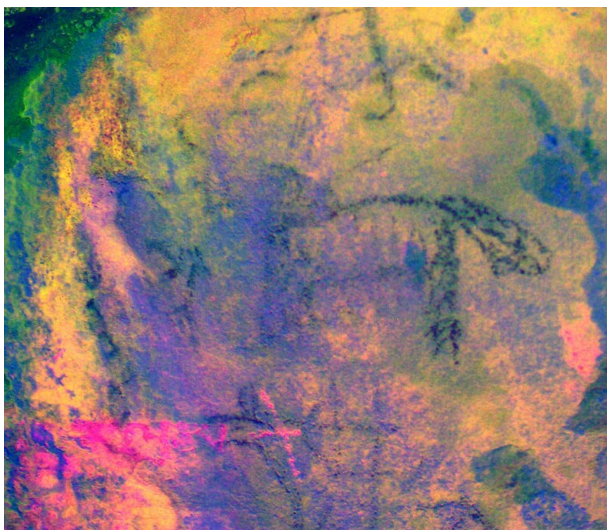
Cat602



Cat603



Cat604 DEI



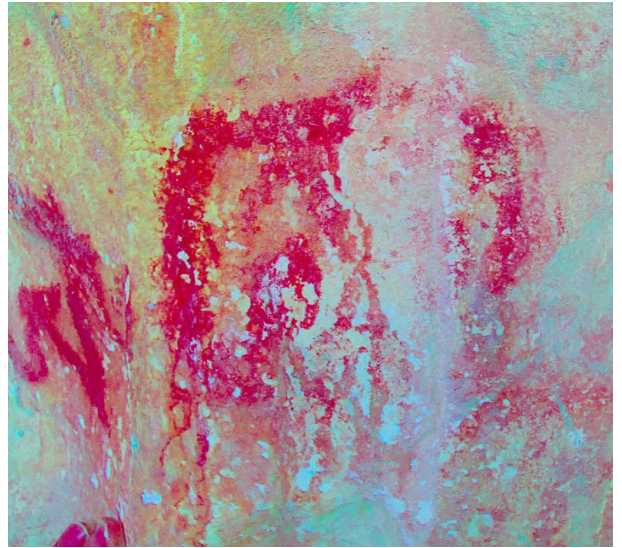
Cat605 DEI



Cat606 DEI



Cat607



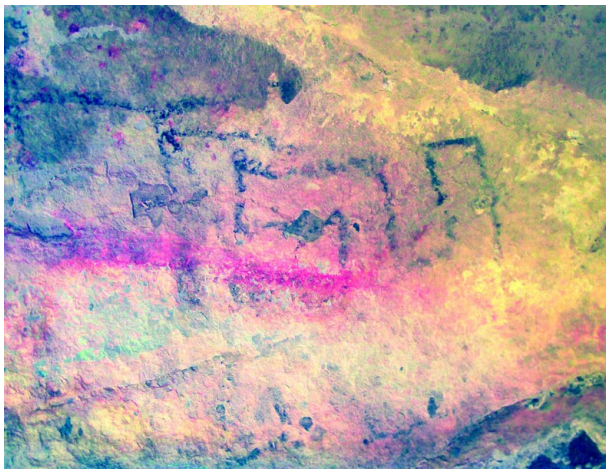
Cat608 DEI



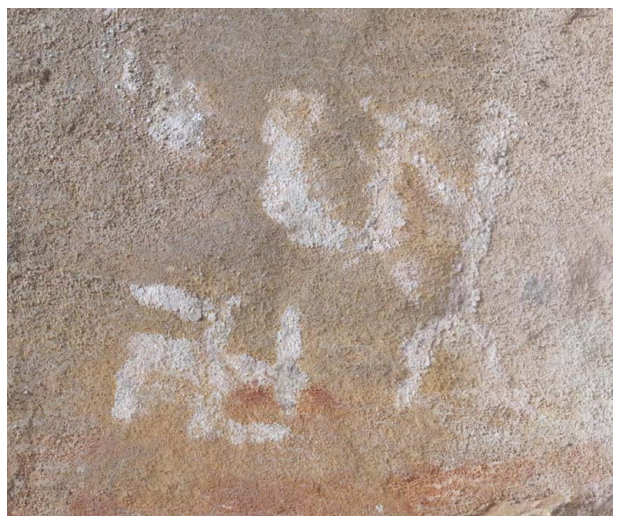
Cat609



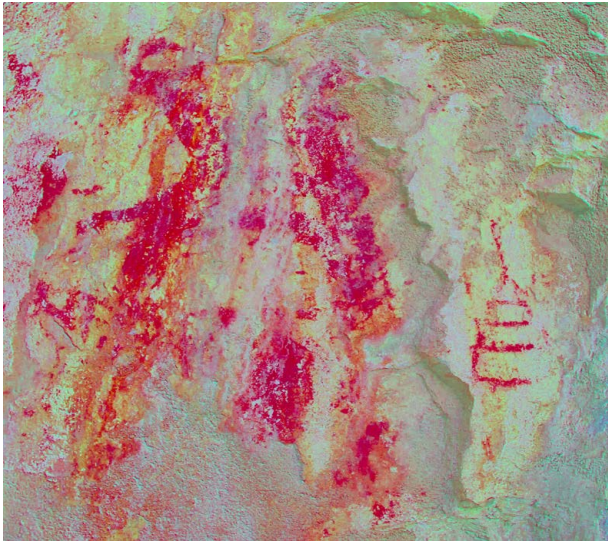
Cat610



Cat611 DEI



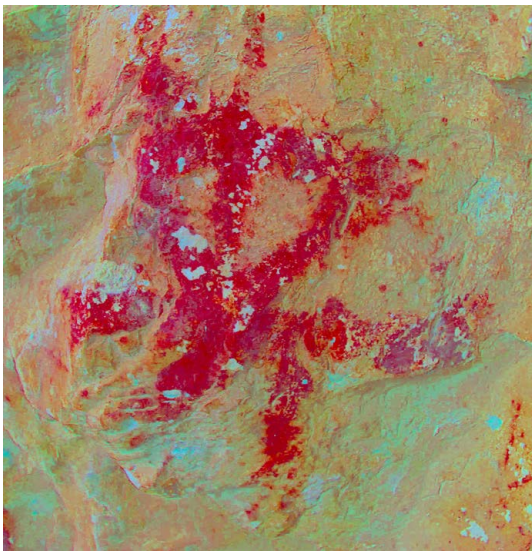
Cat612



Cat613 DEI



Cat614 DEI



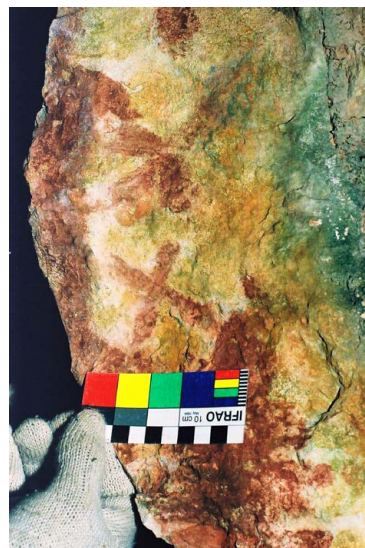
Cat615 DEI



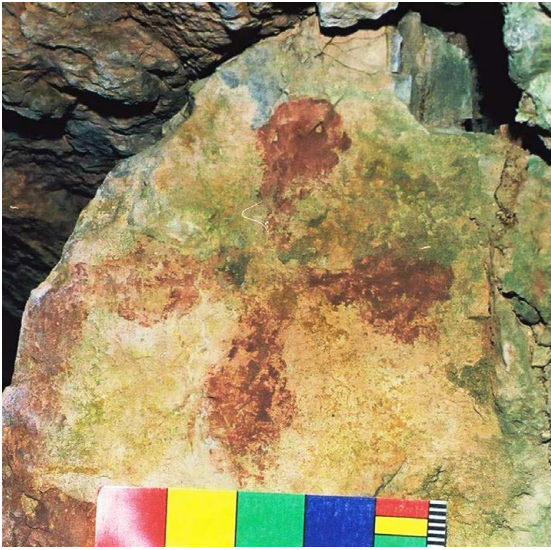
Cat616



Cat617 DEI



Cat618



Cat619



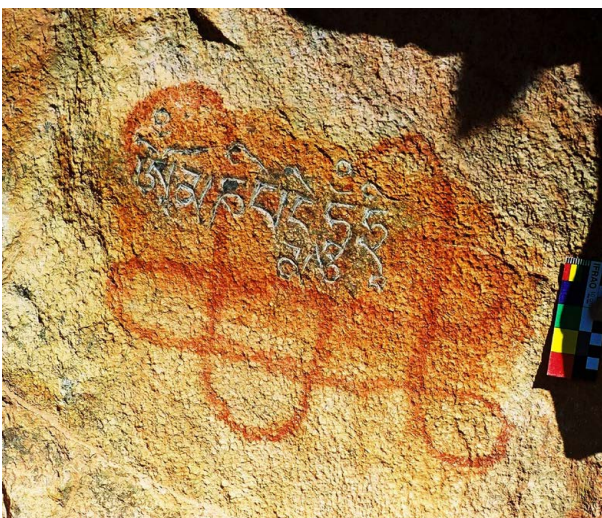
Cat620



Cat621



Cat622 DEI



Cat623



Cat624



Cat625



Cat626 DEI



Cat627



Cat628



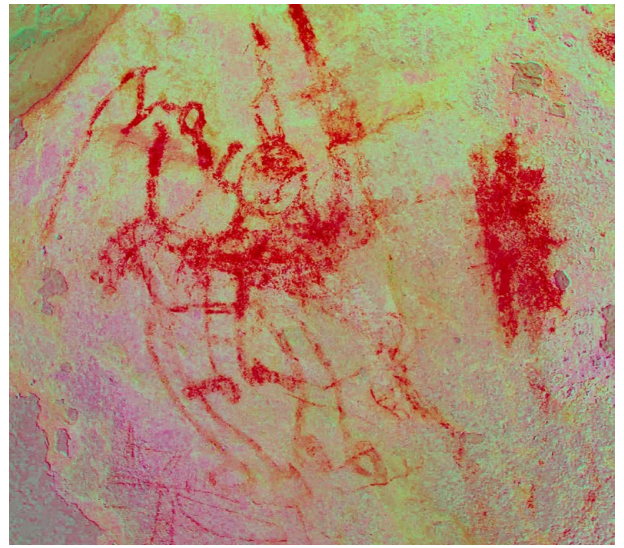
Cat629 DEI



Cat630



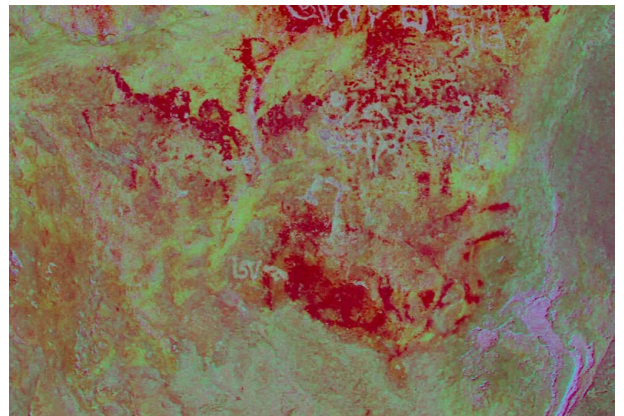
Cat631



Cat632 DEI



Cat633 DEI



Cat634 DEI



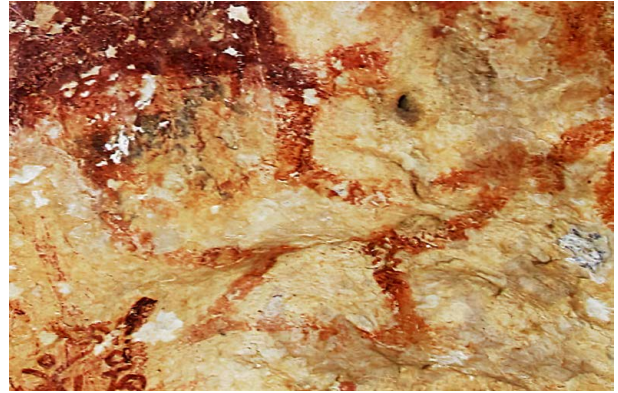
Cat635



Cat636



Cat637



Cat638



Cat639



Cat640



Cat641



Cat642



Cat643



Cat644



Cat645



Cat646



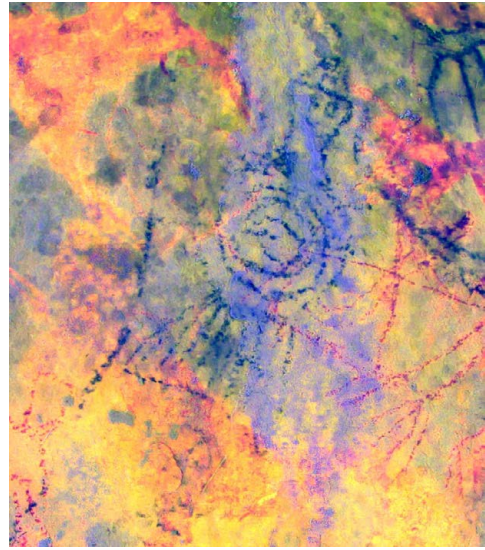
Cat647



Cat648



Cat649



Cat650 DEI



Cat651



Cat652



Cat653



Cat654



Cat655



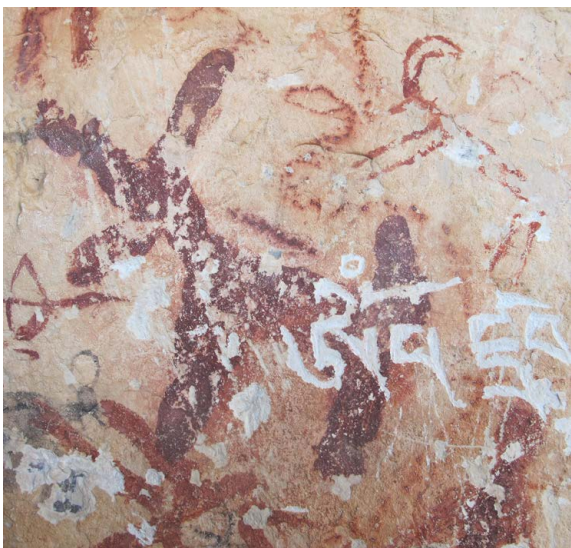
Cat656



Cat657



Cat658



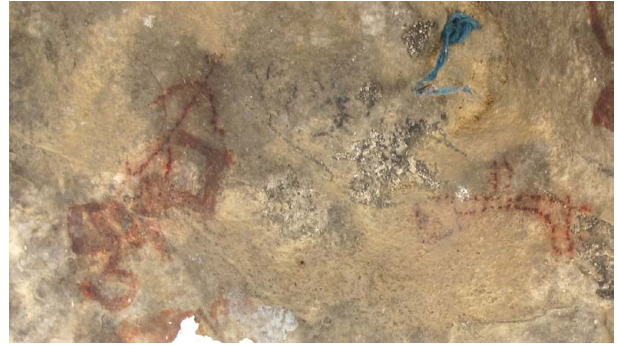
Cat659



Cat660



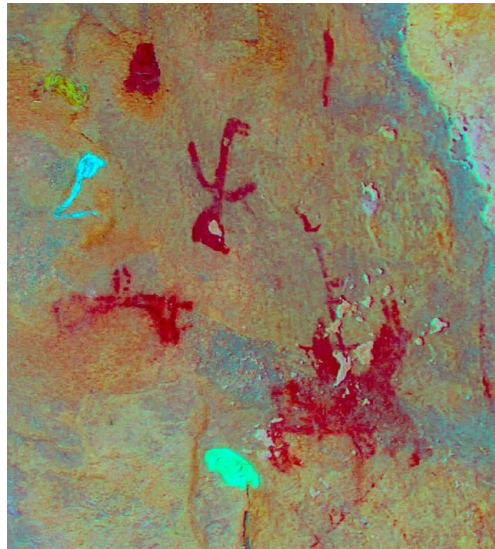
Cat661



Cat662



Cat663



Cat664 DEI



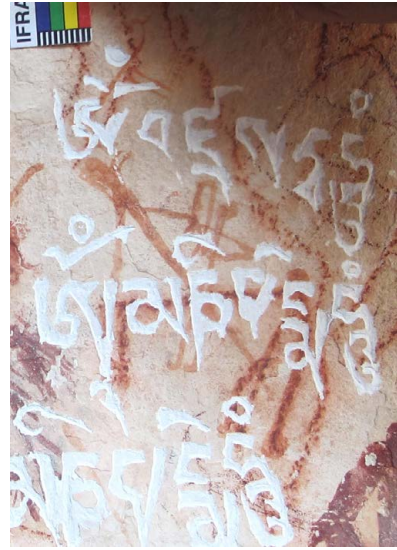
Cat665



Cat666



Cat667



Cat668



Cat669



Cat670



Cat671



Cat672



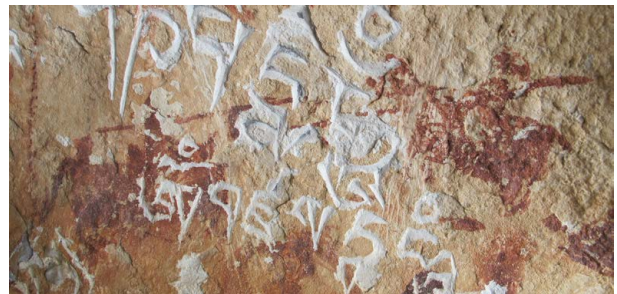
Cat673



Cat674



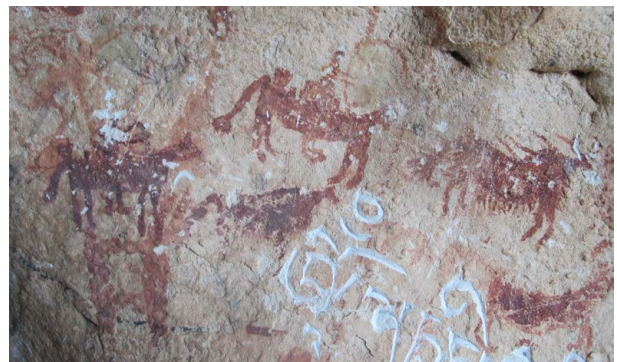
Cat675 DEI



Cat676



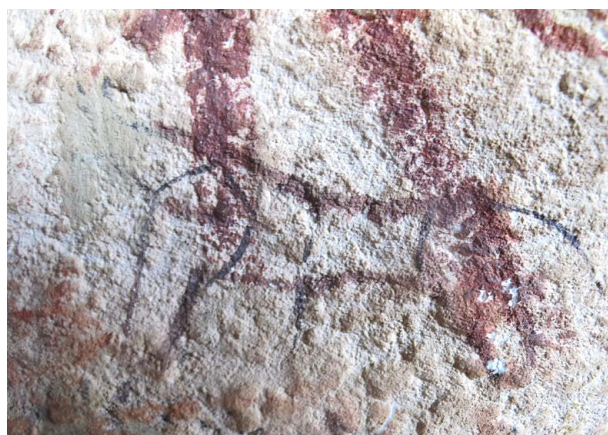
Cat677



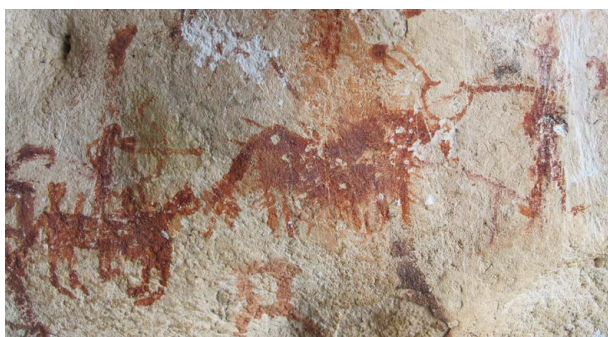
Cat678



Cat679 DEI



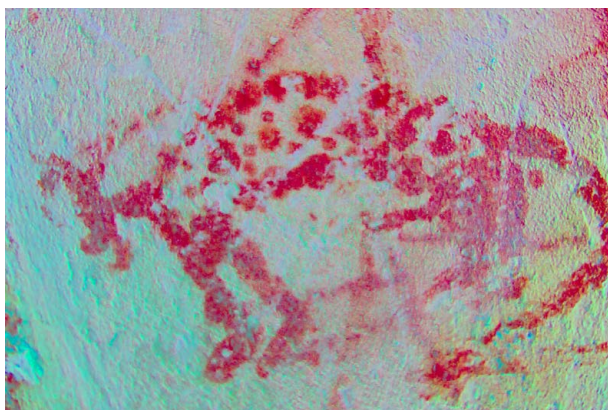
Cat680



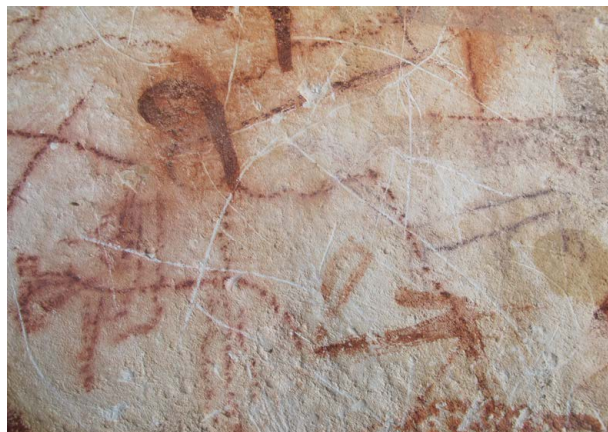
Cat681



Cat682



Cat683 DEI



Cat684



Cat685



Cat686



Cat687



Cat688



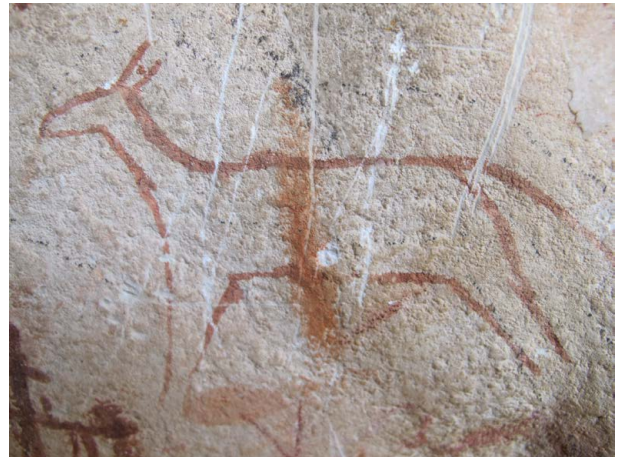
Cat689



Cat690



Cat691



Cat692



Cat693



Cat694



Cat695



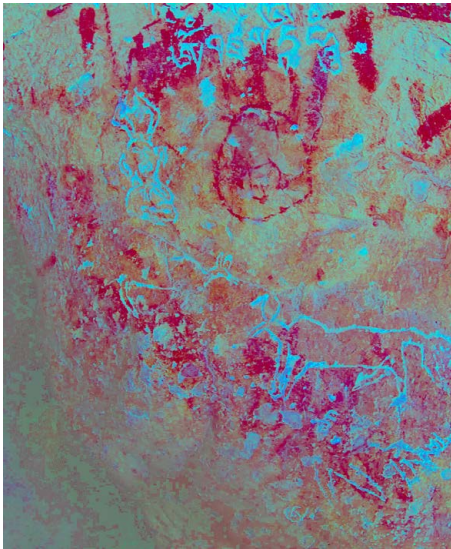
Cat696



Cat697



Cat698



Cat699 DEI



Cat700



Cat701



Cat702



Cat703



Cat704



Cat705



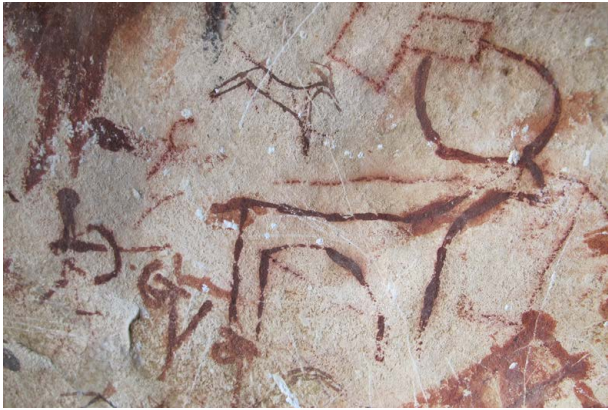
Cat706



Cat707



Cat708



Cat709



Cat710



Cat711



Cat712



Cat713



Cat714



Cat715



Cat716



Cat717



Cat718



Cat719



Cat720



Cat721



Cat722



Cat723



Cat724



Cat725



Cat726



Cat727



Cat728



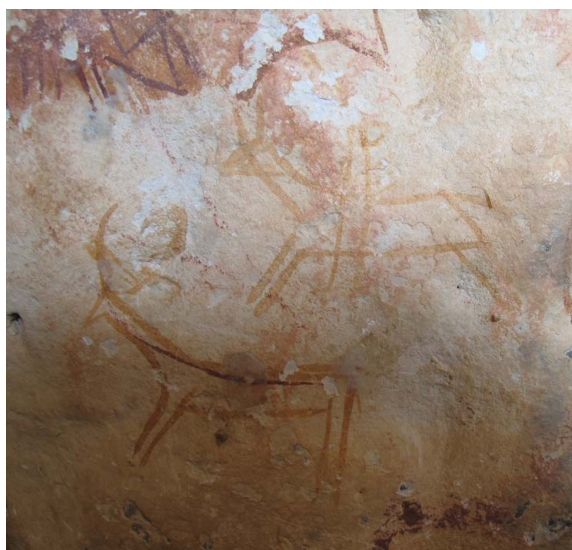
Cat729



Cat730



Cat731



Cat732



Cat733



Cat734



Cat735



Cat736



Cat737



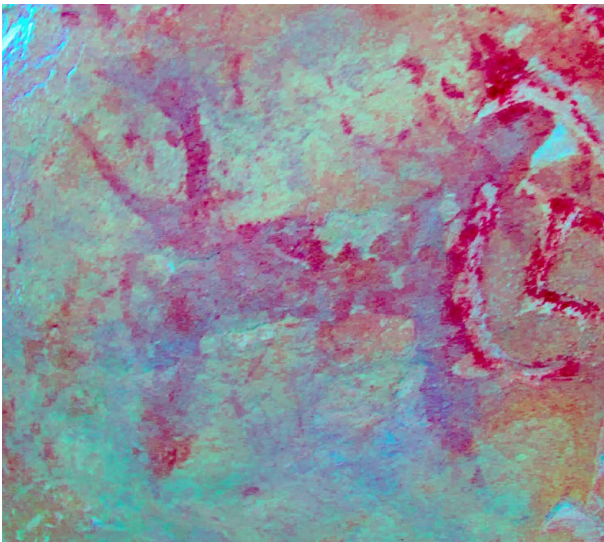
Cat738



Cat739



Cat740 DEI



Cat741 DEI



Cat742 DEI



Cat743



Cat744



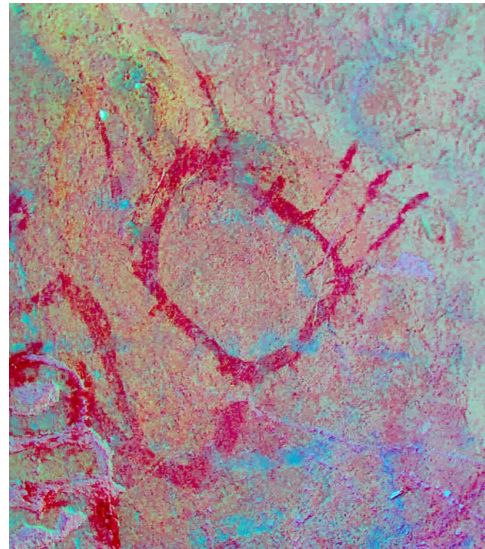
Cat745



Cat746



Cat747 DEI



Cat748 DEI



Cat749



Cat750



Cat751



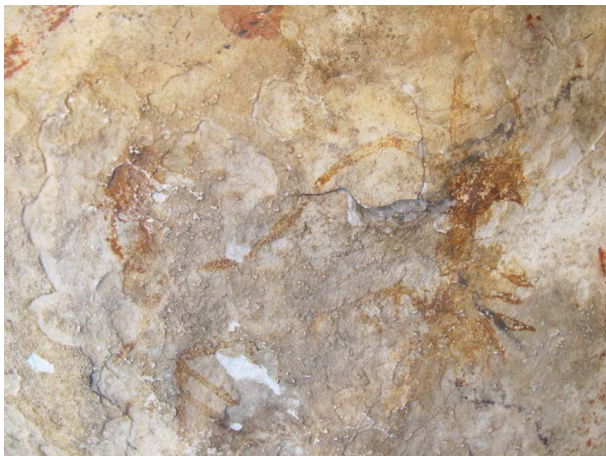
Cat752



Cat753



Cat754



Cat755



Cat756



Cat757 DEI



Cat758



Cat759



Cat760



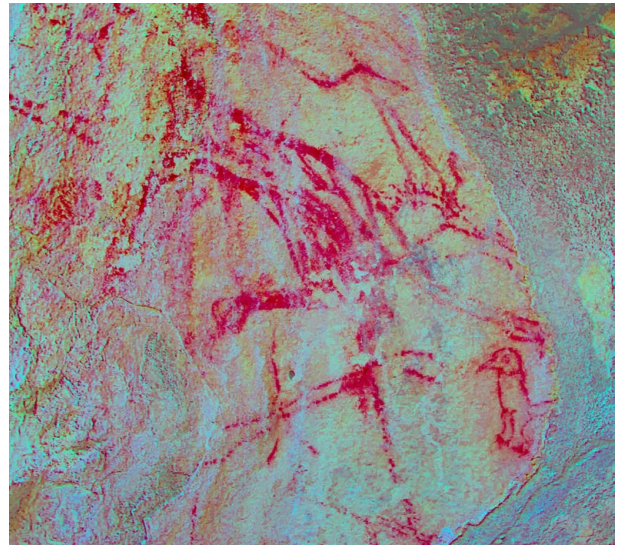
Cat761 DEI



Cat762



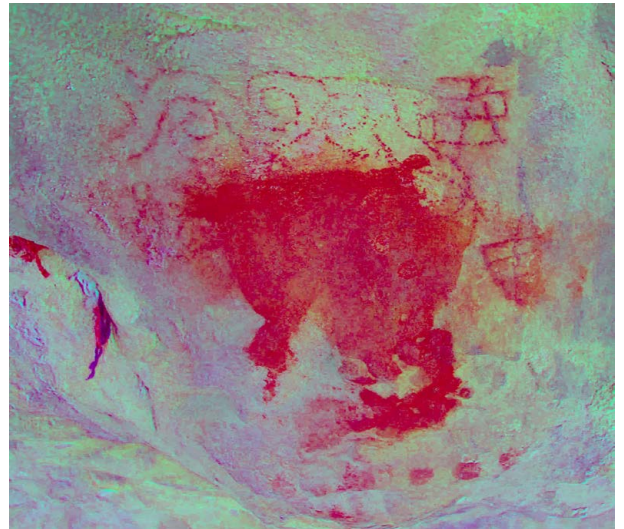
Cat763



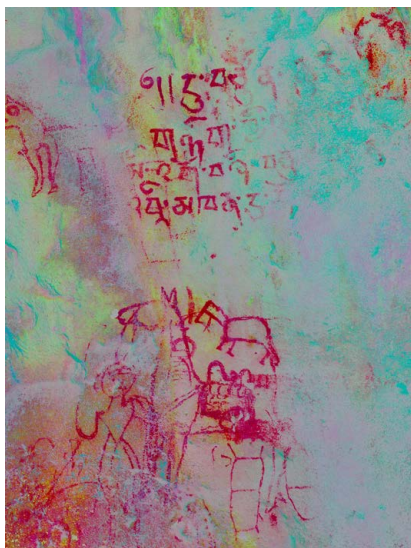
Cat764 DEI



Cat765 DEI



Cat766 DEI



Cat767 DEI



Cat768



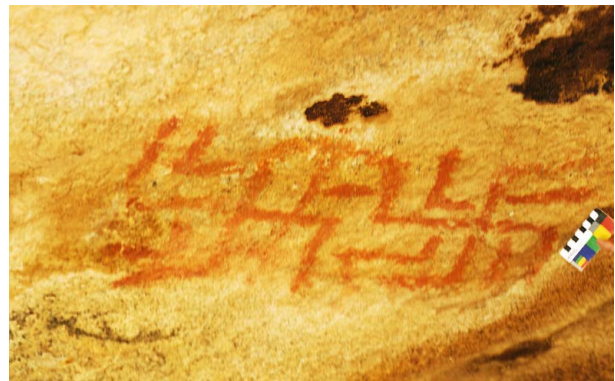
Cat769



Cat770



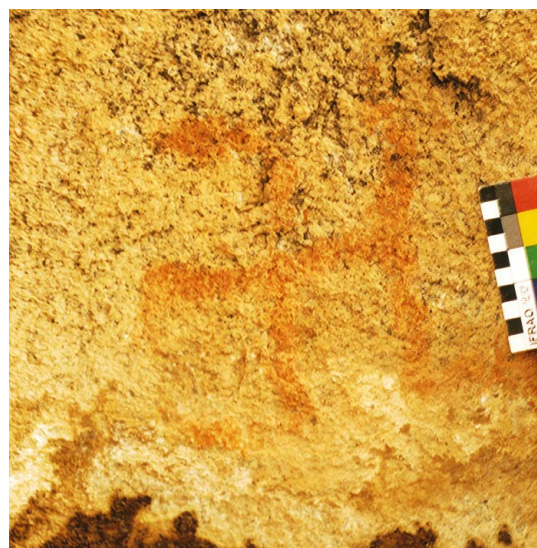
Cat771 Drawing by R. Claire Bellezza



Cat772



Cat773



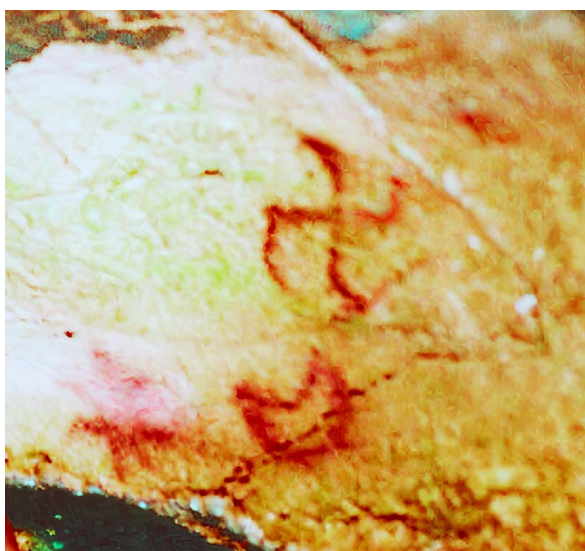
Cat774



Cat775



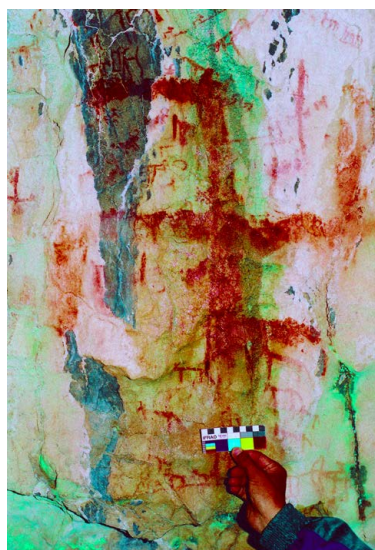
Cat776



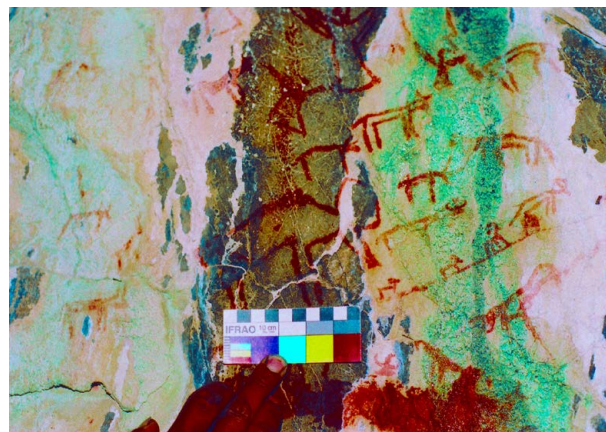
Cat777 DEI



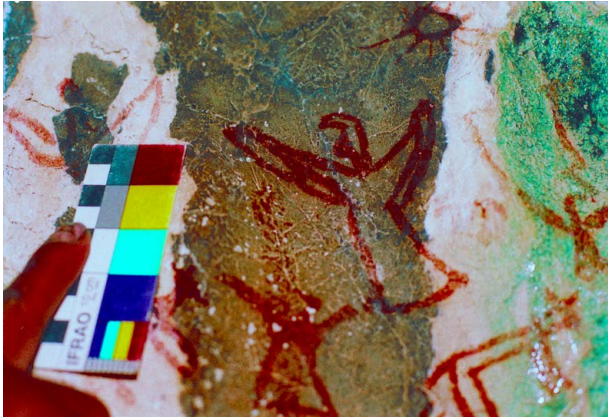
Cat778



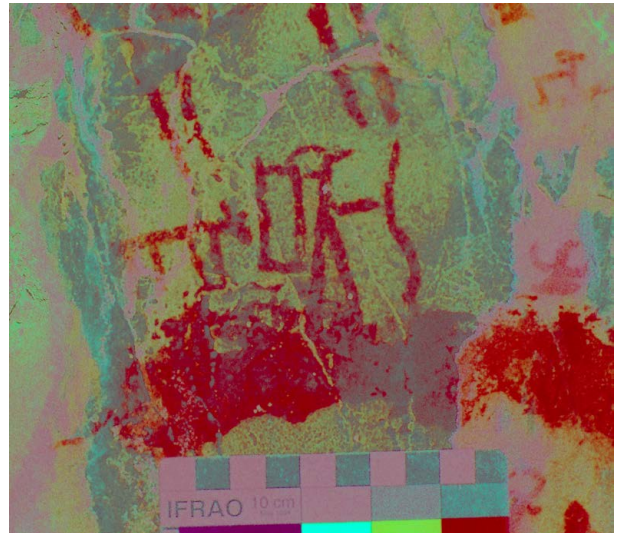
Cat779 DEI



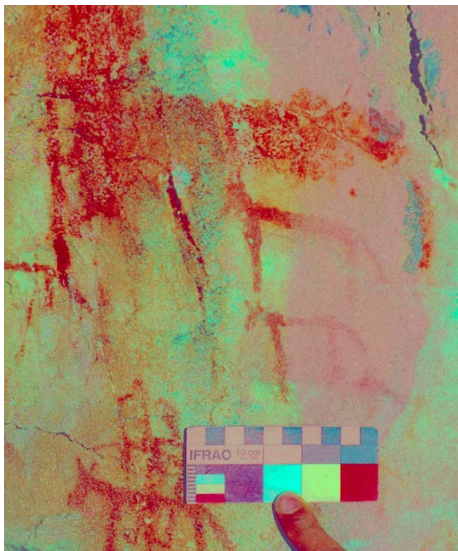
Cat780 DEI



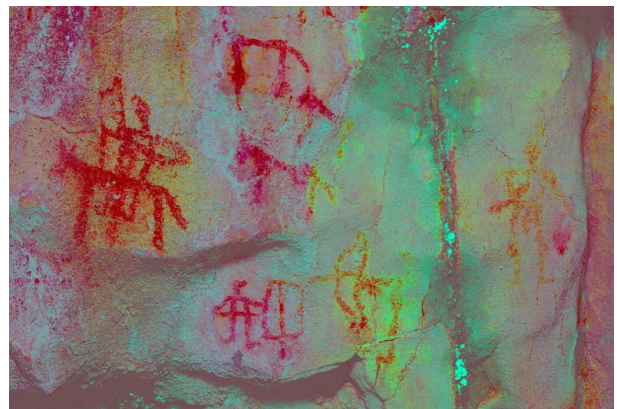
Cat781 DEI



Cat782 DEI



Cat783 DEI



Cat784 DEI



Cat785 DEI



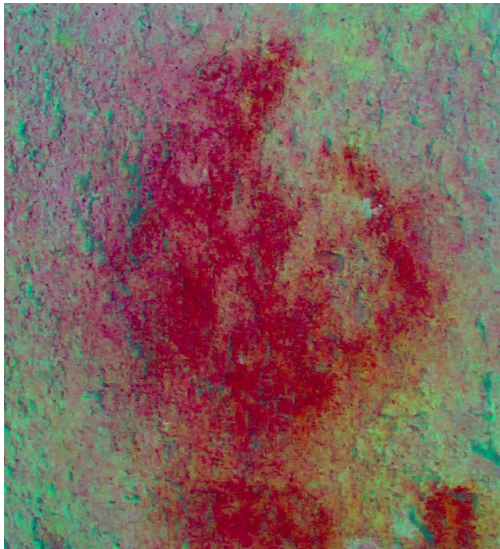
Cat786



Cat787



Cat788



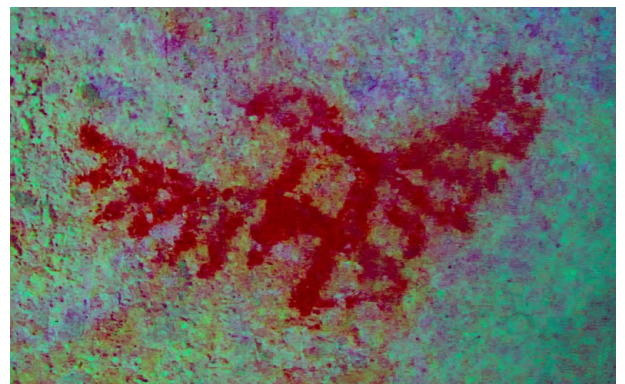
Cat789 DEI



Cat790



Cat791



Cat792 DEI



Cat793



Cat794



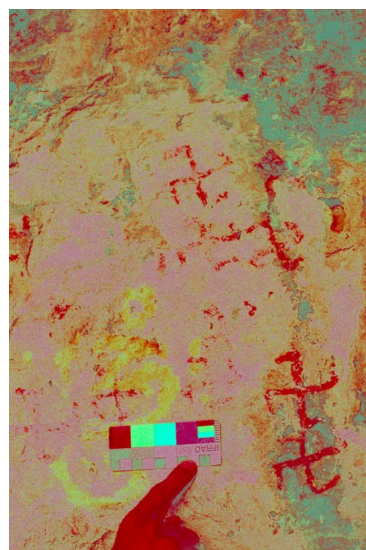
Cat795



Cat796



Cat797



Cat798 DEI



Cat799



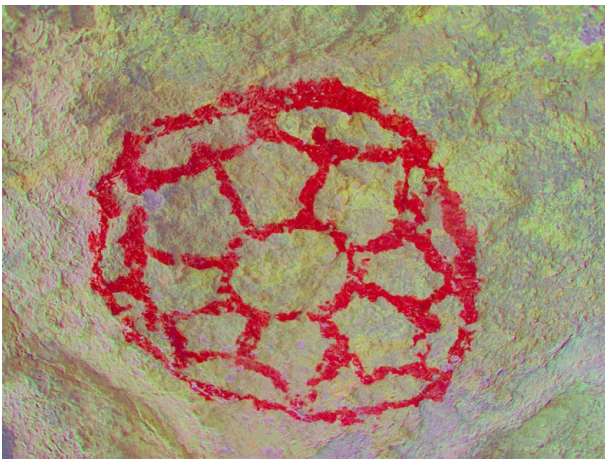
Cat800 DEI



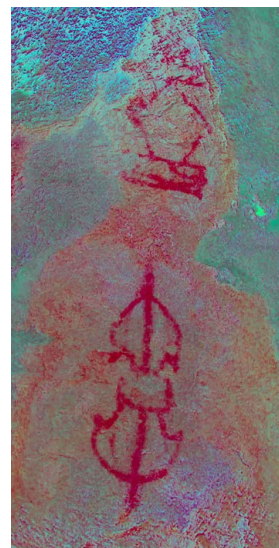
Cat801



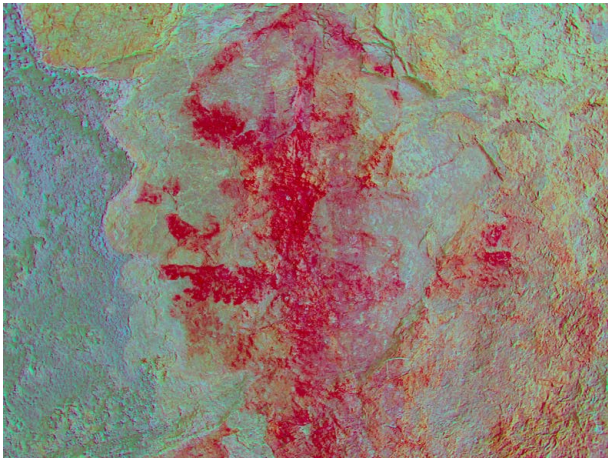
Cat802 DEI



Cat803 DEI



Cat804 DEI



Cat805 DEI



Cat806



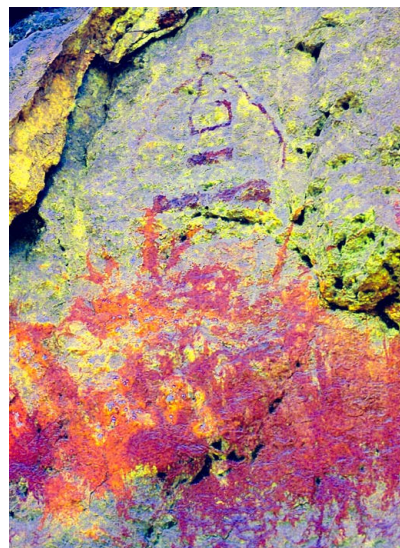
Cat807 DEI



Cat808



Cat809



Cat810 DEI



Cat811



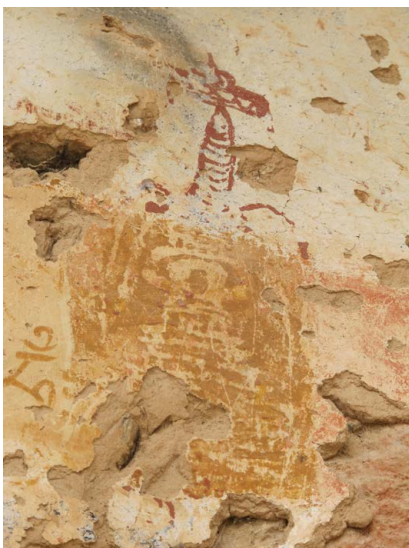
Cat812



Cat813



Cat814



Cat815



Cat816



Cat817



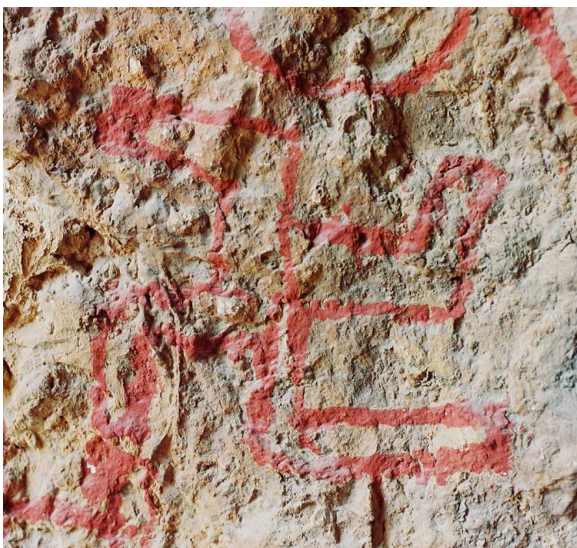
Cat818



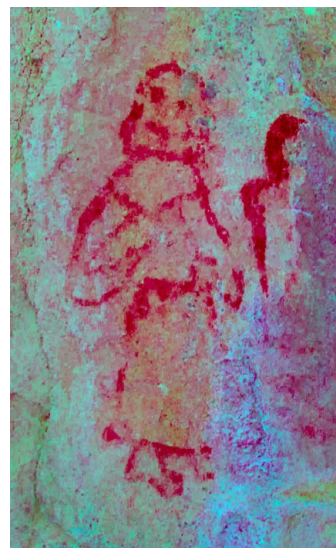
Cat819 DEI



Cat820



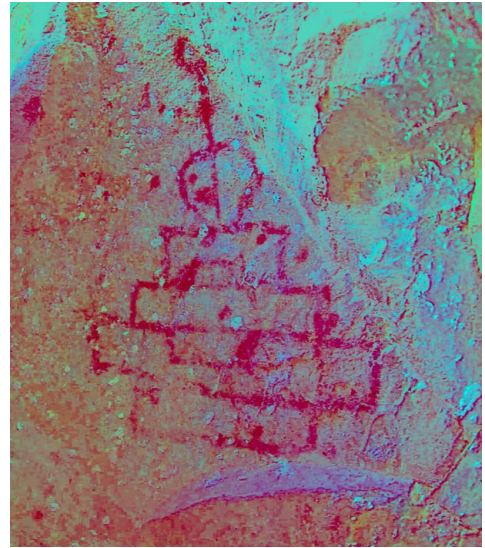
Cat821



Cat822 DEI



Cat823 DEI



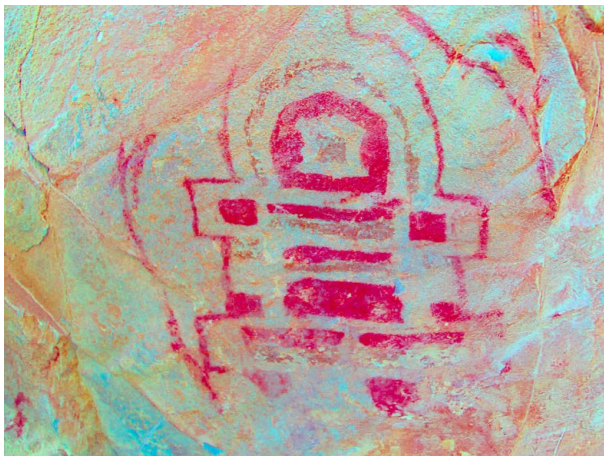
Cat824 DEI



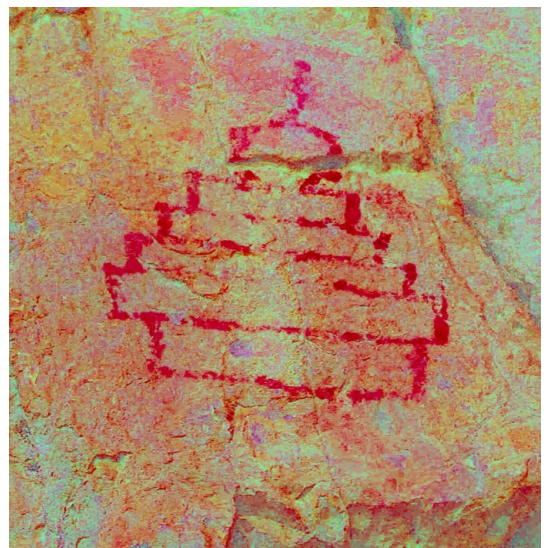
Cat825 DEI



Cat826 DEI



Cat827 DEI



Cat828 DEI



Cat829



Cat830



Cat831



Cat832



Cat833 DEI



Cat834 DEI



Cat835 DEI



Cat836



Cat837



Cat838



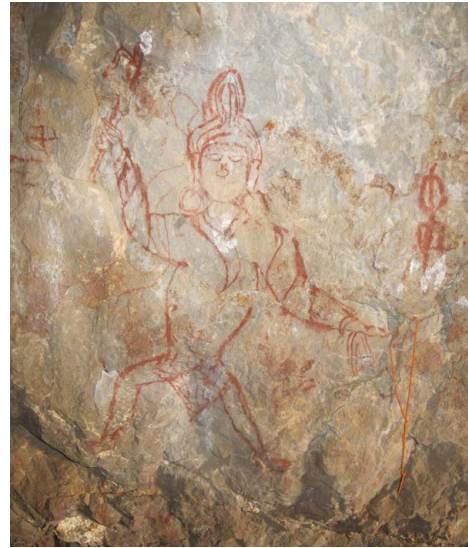
Cat839 DEI



Cat840



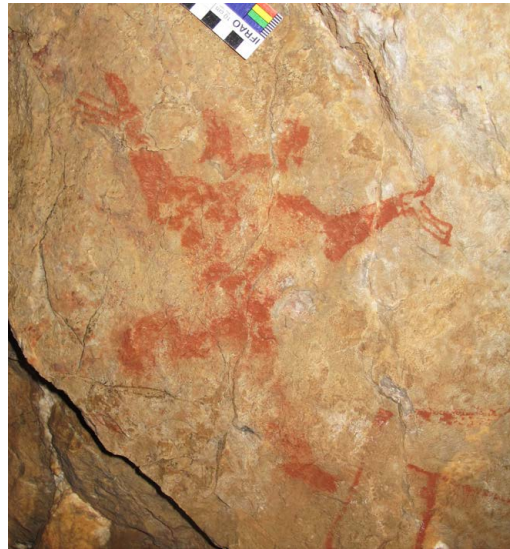
Cat841



Cat842



Cat843 DEI



Cat844



Cat845 DEI



Cat846

CATALOGUE OF IMAGES: CAT847-CAT852 DEI



Cat847



Cat848



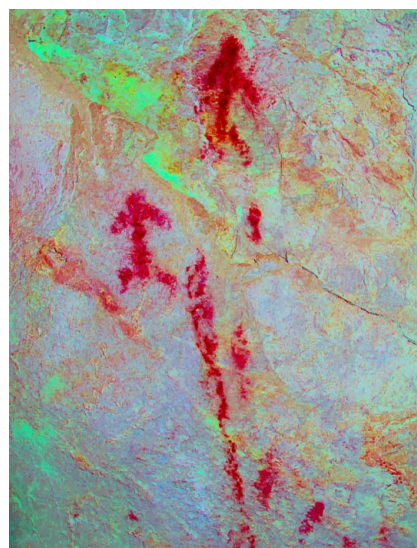
Cat849



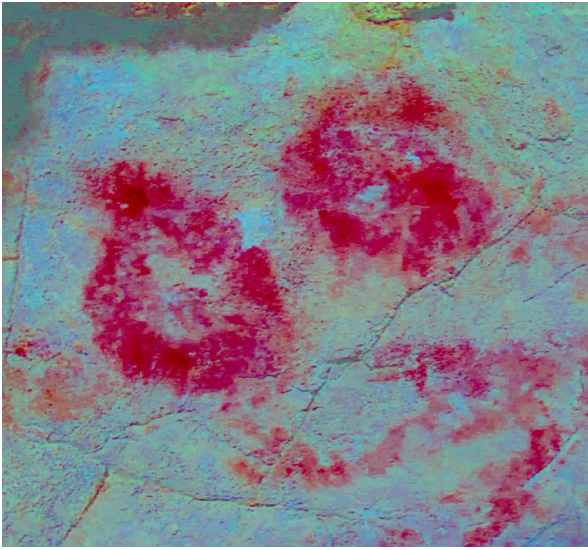
Cat850



Cat851



Cat852 DEI



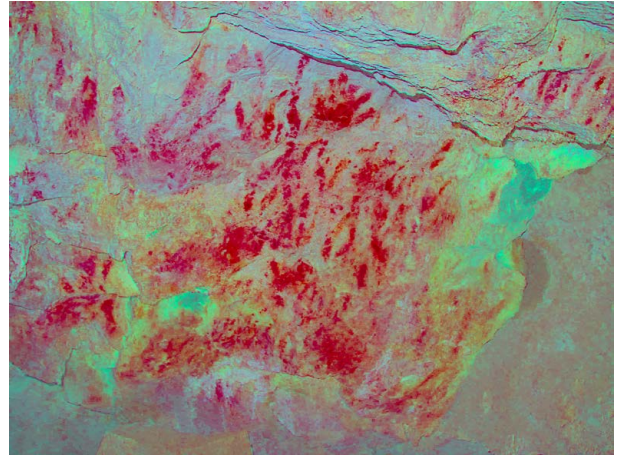
Cat853 DEI



Cat854



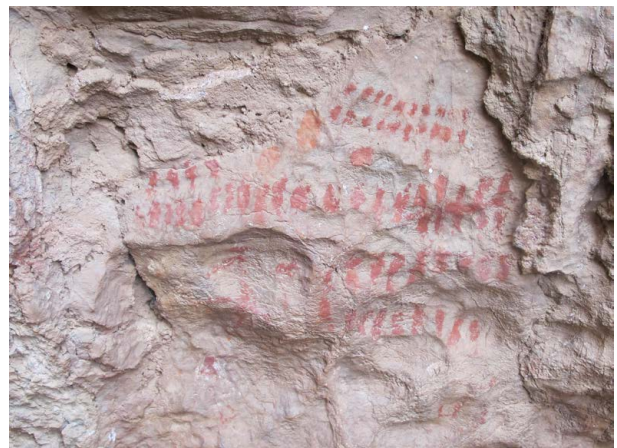
Cat855



Cat856 DEI



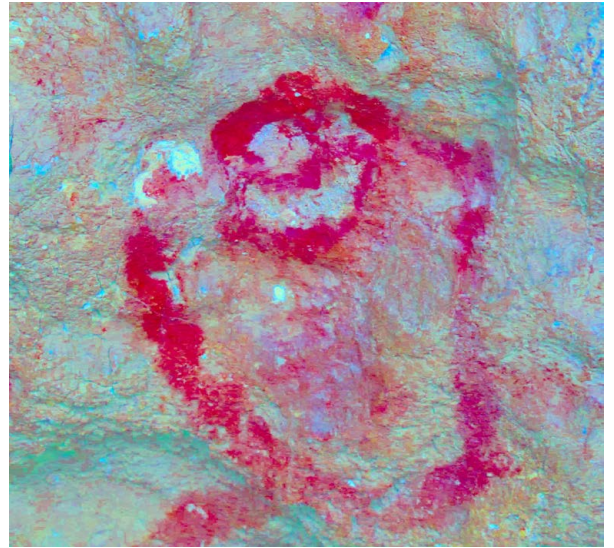
Cat857



Cat858



Cat859



Cat860 DEI



Cat861 DEI



Cat862



Cat863



Cat864



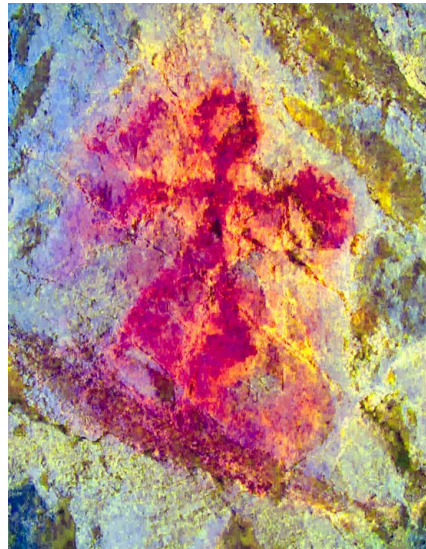
Cat865



Cat866



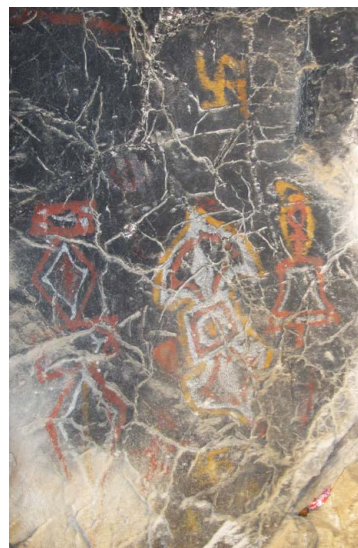
Cat867



Cat868 DEI



Cat869



Cat870



Cat871



Cat872



Cat873

Concordance

Catalogue No. — Inventory No.

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.
Cat1	S1_L1_C1	Cat41	S1_L3_C7	Cat79	S1_L6_C1
Cat2	S1_L1_C2	Cat42	S1_L3_C8	Cat80	S1_L6_C2
Cat3	S1_L1_C3	Cat43	S1_L3_C9	Cat81	S1_L6_C3
Cat4	S1_L1_C4, S1_L1_C6	Cat44	S1_L3_C11	Cat82	S1_L6_C5
Cat5	S1_L1_C5	Cat45	S1_L3_C13	Cat83	S1_L6_C8, S1_L6_C9, S1_L6_C10
Cat6	S1_L1_C7	Cat46	S1_L3_C15	Cat84	S1_L7_C1, S1_L7_C2
Cat7	S1_L1_C8	Cat47	S1_L3_C16	Cat85	S1_L7_C3
Cat8	S1_L1_C9	Cat48	S1_L3_C18	Cat86	S1_L7_C4
Cat9	S1_L1_C10	Cat49	S1_L3_C20, S1_L3_C21, S1_L3_C22	Cat87	S1_L7_C5
Cat10	S1_L1_C13	Cat50	S1_L3_C23	Cat88	S1_L7_C6
Cat11	S1_L1_C14	Cat51	S1_L3_C24, S1_L3_C25, S1_L3_C26	Cat89	S1_L7_C7
Cat12	S1_L1_C16	Cat52	S1_L3_C27, S1_L3_C28, S1_L3_C29, S1_L3_C30	Cat90	S1_L7_C10, S1_L7_C11
Cat13	S1_L1_C17	Cat53	S1_L3_C31	Cat91	S1_L7_C12, S1_L7_C17, S1_L7_C18, S1_L7_C19
Cat14	S1_L1_C17	Cat54	S1_L3_C33	Cat92	S1_L7_C13
Cat15	S1_L1_C19, S1_L1_C20	Cat55	S1_L3_C34	Cat93	S1_L7_C14
Cat16	S1_L1_C21	Cat56	S1_L3_C35	Cat94	S1_L7_C20
Cat17	S1_L1_C22, S1_L1_C26	Cat57	S1_L3_C36, S1_L3_C38	Cat95	S1_L7_C21
Cat18	S1_L1_C23	Cat58	S1_L3_C37	Cat96	S1_L7_C22
Cat19	S1_L1_C24	Cat59	S1_L3_C38, S1_L3_C43	Cat97	S1_L7_C24
Cat20	S1_L1_C25	Cat60	S1_L3_C39, S1_L3_C40	Cat98	S1_L7_C25
Cat21	S1_L1_C27	Cat61	S1_L3_C41	Cat99	S1_L8_C1
Cat22	S1_L1_C28	Cat62	S1_L3_C44	Cat100	S1_L9_C1
Cat23	S1_L1_C30	Cat63	S1_L4_C1	Cat101	S1_L9_C2
Cat24	S1_L1_C31	Cat64	S1_L4_C2	Cat102	S1_L9_C5
Cat25	S1_L1_C32	Cat65	S1_L4_C3	Cat103	S1_L9_C6
Cat26	S1_L1_C33	Cat66	S1_L4_C5	Cat104	S1_L9_C7
Cat27	S1_L1_C36	Cat67	S1_L4_C6	Cat105	S1_L9_C8
Cat28	S1_L1_C39	Cat68	S1_L4_C9, S1_L4_C10	Cat106	S1_L9_C9, S1_L9_C10
Cat29	S1_L1_C40	Cat69	S1_L4_C11, S1_L4_C12, S1_L4_C13	Cat107	S1_L9_C11
Cat30	S1_L2_C1, S1_L2_C2	Cat70	S1_L4_C14, S1_L4_C15	Cat108	S1_L9_C12, S1_L9_C13
Cat31	S1_L2_C3, S1_L2_C4	Cat71	S1_L4_C17	Cat109	S1_L9_C14
Cat32	S1_L2_C5	Cat72	S1_L4_C19	Cat110	S1_L9_C16
Cat33	S1_L2_C6	Cat73	S1_L4_C20	Cat111	S1_L9_C17
Cat34	S1_L2_C7	Cat74	S1_L4_C21	Cat112	S1_L9_C18
Cat35	S1_L3_C1	Cat75	S1_L5_C1	Cat113	S1_L9_C19
Cat36	S1_L3_C2	Cat76	S1_L5_C3	Cat114	S1_L9_C20
Cat37	S1_L3_C3	Cat77	S1_L5_C5	Cat115	S1_L9_C21
Cat38	S1_L3_C4	Cat78	S1_L5_C7	Cat116	S1_L9_C22, S1_L9_C23, S1_L9_C24, S1_L9_C25
Cat39	S1_L3_C5				
Cat40	S1_L3_C6				

CONCORDANCE

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.
Cat117	S1_L9_C22, S1_L9_C23, S1_L9_C24, S1_L9_C25, S1_L9_C26	Cat157	S1_L11_C3	Cat201	S1_L13_C10, S1_L13_C11
Cat118	S1_L9_C27, S1_L9_C28	Cat158	S1_L11_C3	Cat202	S1_L13_C12
Cat119	S1_L9_C29	Cat159	S1_L11_C4	Cat203	S1_L13_C14
Cat120	S1_L9_C30	Cat160	S1_L11_C6	Cat204	S1_L13_C15, S1_L13_C16
Cat121	S1_L9_C31	Cat161	S1_L11_C7	Cat205	S1_L13_C17
Cat122	S1_L9_C32	Cat162	S1_L11_C8	Cat206	S1_L13_C18
Cat123	S1_L9_C33	Cat163	S1_L11_C9	Cat207	S1_L13_C20
Cat124	S1_L9_C34, S1_L9_C35	Cat164	S1_L11_C10	Cat208	S1_L14_C1
Cat125	S1_L9_C35, S1_L9_C36	Cat165	S1_L11_C10, S1_L11_C11	Cat209	S1_L14_C2
Cat126	S1_L9_C37	Cat166	S1_L11_C10, S1_L11_C12	Cat210	S1_L15_C1
Cat127	S1_L9_C38	Cat167	S1_L11_C13, S1_L11_C14	Cat211	S1_L15_C2
Cat128	S1_L9_C39	Cat168	S1_L11_C15	Cat212	S1_L15_C3
Cat129	S1_L9_C40, S1_L9_C41, S1_L9_C42	Cat169	S1_L11_C16	Cat213	S1_L15_C4, S1_L15_C5
Cat130	S1_L9_C43	Cat170	S1_L11_C17, S1_L11_C21	Cat214	S1_L15_C6, S1_L15_C7, S1_L15_C8, S1_L15_C9
Cat131	S1_L9_C44	Cat171	S1_L11_C18	Cat215	S1_L15_C7, S1_L15_C10
Cat132	S1_L9_C44, S1_L9_C46	Cat172	S1_L11_C19	Cat216	S1_L15_C11
Cat133	S1_L9_C45	Cat173	S1_L11_C20	Cat217	S1_L15_C12, S1_L15_C13, S1_L15_C14
Cat134	S1_L9_C48	Cat174	S1_L11_C22	Cat218	S1_L15_C15
Cat135	S1_L9_C50	Cat175	S1_L11_C23, S1_L11_C24	Cat219	S1_L15_C16
Cat136	S1_L9_C52	Cat176	S1_L11_C25	Cat220	S1_L15_C17, S1_L15_C18
Cat137	S1_L9_C54	Cat177	S1_L11_C26	Cat221	S1_L16_C1, S1_L15_C2
Cat138	S1_L9_C56, S1_L9_C57	Cat178	S1_L11_C27	Cat222	S1_L16_C3
Cat139	S1_L9_C58	Cat179	S1_L11_C28, S1_L11_C29, S1_L11_C30	Cat223	S1_L17_C1, S1_L17_C11, S1_L17_C12
Cat140	S1_L9_C59	Cat180	S1_L11_C31	Cat224	S1_L17_C1, S1_L17_C2
Cat141	S1_L9_C60	Cat181	S1_L11_C32	Cat225	S1_L17_C3
Cat142	S1_L9_C62, S1_L9_C63	Cat182	S1_L11_C33	Cat226	S1_L17_C4
Cat143	S1_L9_C64, S1_L9_C65, S1_L9_C66	Cat183	S1_L11_C34	Cat227	S1_L17_C8
Cat144	S1_L9_C67	Cat184	S1_L11_C35	Cat228	S1_L17_C9, S1_L17_C13
Cat145	S1_L9_C68	Cat185	S1_L11_C37	Cat229	S1_L17_C11, S1_L17_C12, S1_L17_C14
Cat146	S1_L9_C69	Cat186	S1_L11_C38	Cat230	S1_L17_C15, S1_L17_C16, S1_L17_C17, S1_L17_C18
Cat147	S1_L9_C70	Cat187	S1_L11_C39	Cat231	S1_L17_C19
Cat148	S1_L9_C71	Cat188	S1_L11_C40	Cat232	S1_L17_C20
Cat149	S1_L10_C1	Cat189	S1_L11_C42, S1_L11_C43	Cat233	S1_L17_C21, S1_L17_C22
Cat150	S1_L10_C1, S1_L10_C2, S1_L10_C3, S1_L10_C4, S1_L10_C5, S1_L10_C6, S1_L10_C7, S1_L10_C8, S1_L10_C9, S1_L10_C10	Cat190	S1_L11_C42	Cat234	S1_L17_C23
Cat151	S1_L10_C8	Cat191	S1_L12_C1	Cat235	S1_L17_C25
Cat152	S1_L10_C3, S1_L10_C5, S1_L10_C6	Cat192	S1_L12_C2	Cat236	S1_L17_C30, S1_L17_C31
Cat153	S1_L10_C7	Cat193	S1_L12_C3	Cat237	S1_L17_C32
Cat154	S1_L10_C8	Cat194	S1_L12_C4	Cat238	S1_L18_C1
Cat155	S1_L11_C1	Cat195	S1_L12_C5	Cat239	S1_L18_C6
Cat156	S1_L11_C2, S1_L11_C3	Cat196	S1_L12_C7	Cat240	S1_L18_C8
		Cat197	S1_L13_C1	Cat241	S1_L18_C9
		Cat198	S1_L13_C2, S1_L13_C3, S1_L13_C4, S1_L13_C5, S1_L13_C6	Cat242	S1_L18_C10
		Cat199	S1_L13_C7	Cat243	S1_L18_C11
		Cat200	S1_L13_C8		

A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF ROCK ART IN UPPER TIBET

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.
Cat244	S1_L19_C1	Cat285	S1_L29_C1	Cat327	S2_L11_C1
Cat245	S1_L20_C1	Cat286	S1_L29_C5, S1_L29_C6	Cat328	S2_L11_C3
Cat246	S1_L21_C1	Cat287	S1_L29_C7, S1_L29_C8, S1_L29_C9, S1_L29_C10, S1_L29_C11	Cat329	S2_L11_C5
Cat247	S1_L21_C2	Cat288	S1_L29_C12, S1_L29_C13	Cat330	S2_L11_C6
Cat248	S1_L21_C3	Cat289	S1_L29_C15, S1_L29_C18	Cat331	S2_L11_C8, S2_L11_C9
Cat249	S1_L21_C4	Cat290	S1_L29_C16, S1_L29_C17	Cat332	S2_L11_C10
Cat250	S1_L21_C12	Cat291	S1_L29_C19, S1_L29_C20, S1_L29_C21	Cat333	S2_L11_C10, S2_L11_C11, S2_L11_C12
Cat251	S1_L22_C4	Cat292	S1_L29_C22	Cat334	S2_L11_C13
Cat252	S1_L22_C5	Cat293	S1_L29_C22	Cat335	S2_L11_C14
Cat253	S1_L22_C7, S1_L22_C8, S1_L22_C9	Cat294	S1_L29_C22	Cat336	S2_L11_C16
Cat254	S1_L23_C1	Cat295	S1_L29_C23	Cat337	S2_L11_C18
Cat255	S1_L23_C2	Cat296	S1_L29_C24	Cat338	S2_L11_C20
Cat256	S1_L23_C3	Cat297	S1_L29_C25	Cat339	S2_L11_C21
Cat257	S1_L23_C4	Cat298	S1_L29_C26	Cat340	S2_L11_C22
Cat258	S1_L25_C1	Cat299	S1_L29_C27	Cat341	S2_L11_C23
Cat259	S1_L26_C1	Cat300	S1_L29_C28	Cat342	S2_L11_C24
Cat260	S1_L26_C1, S1_L26_C2, S1_L26_C3, S1_L26_C4, S1_L26_C5, S1_L26_C7	Cat301	S1_L30_C1, S1_L30_C2, S1_L30_C3	Cat343	S2_L11_C25, S2_L11_C26
Cat261	S1_L26_C5	Cat302	S1_L30_C2	Cat344	S2_L12_C1
Cat262	S1_L26_C6	Cat303	S1_L30_C4	Cat345	S2_L12_C1
Cat263	S1_L26_C8	Cat304	S1_L30_C5	Cat346	S2_L12_C1
Cat264	S1_L26_C10, S1_L26_C11	Cat305	S1_L30_C6	Cat347	S2_L12_C1
Cat265	S1_L27_C1, S1_L27_C2	Cat306	S1_L30_C7	Cat348	S2_L12_C2, S2_L12_C3, S2_L12_C4, S2_L12_C5, S2_L12_C6
Cat266	S1_L27_C4	Cat307	S1_L31_C1, S1_L31_C2	Cat349	S2_L13_C1
Cat267	S1_L27_C5	Cat308	S1_L32_C1	Cat350	S2_L13_C2, S2_L13_C3
Cat268	S1_L27_C6, S1_L27_C7, S1_L27_C8	Cat309	S1_L32_C2	Cat351	S2_L13_C4
Cat269	S1_L27_C11	Cat310	S1_L32_C3, S1_L32_C4	Cat352	S2_L14_C1
Cat270	S1_L28_C1	Cat311	S1_L32_C6, S1_L32_C7	Cat353	S2_L14_C2
Cat271	S1_L28_C3	Cat312	S1_L32_C8	Cat354	S2_L15_C1
Cat272	S1_L28_C6	Cat313	S1_L33_C1	Cat355	S2_L16_C1, S2_L16_C2
Cat273	S1_L28_C8, S1_L28_C9, S1_L28_C10	Cat314	S1_L34_C1, S1_L34_C2, S1_L34_C3, S1_L34_C4	Cat356	S2_L16_C3
Cat274	S1_L28_C11, S1_L28_C12, S1_L28_C13, S1_L28_C14	Cat315	S1_L34_C3, S1_L34_C4	Cat357	S2_L16_C4
Cat275	S1_L28_C15, S1_L28_C16, S1_L28_C17	Cat316	S1_L35_C1, S1_L35_C2	Cat358	S2_L16_C5
Cat276	S1_L28_C18	Cat317	S1_L36_C1	Cat359	S2_L16_C7
Cat277	S1_L28_C19, S1_L28_C20	Cat318	S2_L2_C1	Cat360	S2_L18_C1
Cat278	S1_L28_C23	Cat319	S2_L3_C1	Cat361	S2_L18_C2
Cat279	S1_L28_C25	Cat320	S2_L5_C1	Cat362	S2_L18_C3, S2_L18_C4
Cat280	S1_L28_C29	Cat321	S2_L5_C2	Cat363	S2_L19_C1
Cat281	S1_L28_C30	Cat322	S2_L5_C3	Cat364	S2_L19_C2, S2_L19_C3
Cat282	S1_L28_C31	Cat323	S2_L6_C1	Cat365	S2_L19_C3, S2_L19_C4, S2_L19_C5, S2_L19_C6
Cat283	S1_L28_C32	Cat324	S2_L6_C1	Cat366	S2_L19_C10
Cat284	S1_L28_C33	Cat325	S2_L7_C1	Cat367	S2_L20_C1
		Cat326	S2_L8_C1	Cat368	S2_L21_C1, S2_L21_C2
				Cat369	S2_L23_C1

CONCORDANCE

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.
Cat370	S2_L23_C2	Cat413	S2_L27_C6	Cat457	S2_L34_C39
Cat371	S2_L23_C3	Cat414	S2_L28_C1	Cat458	S2_L34_C40
Cat372	S2_L23_C4	Cat415	S2_L29_C1	Cat459	S2_L34_C42
Cat373	S2_L23_C5	Cat416	S2_L29_C2	Cat460	S2_L34_C43
Cat374	S2_L25_C1	Cat417	S2_L30_C1	Cat461	S2_L34_C44
Cat375	S2_L25_C1	Cat418	S2_L31_C1, S2_L31_C2	Cat462	S2_L34_C48
Cat376	S2_L25_C2	Cat419	S2_L31_C3, S2_L31_C4, S2_L31_C5	Cat463	S2_L34_C50, S2_L34_C51
Cat377	S2_L25_C3, S2_L25_C4	Cat420	S2_L31_C6	Cat464	S2_L34_C52
Cat378	S2_L25_C5, S2_L25_C6, S2_L25_C7, S2_L25_C8	Cat421	S2_L31_C7	Cat465	S2_L34_C53
Cat379	S2_L25_C8	Cat422	S2_L32_C1	Cat466	S2_L34_C54
Cat380	S2_L25_C9	Cat423	S2_L33_C1	Cat467	S2_L34_C55, S2_L34_C56, S2_L34_C57, S2_L34_C58
Cat381	S2_L25_C10	Cat424	S2_L33_C2	Cat468	S2_L34_C56, S2_L34_C57, S2_L34_C58
Cat382	S2_L25_C12	Cat425	S2_L33_C3	Cat469	S2_L34_C59
Cat383	S2_L25_C14	Cat426	S2_L33_C4	Cat470	S2_L34_C60, S2_L34_C61, S2_L34_C62
Cat384	S2_L25_C15, S2_L25_C16	Cat427	S2_L33_C5	Cat471	S2_L34_C65, S2_L34_C66
Cat385	S2_L25_C17	Cat428	S2_L33_C7	Cat472	S2_L34_C70, S2_L34_C71
Cat386	S2_L25_C18	Cat429	S2_L33_C8	Cat473	S2_L34_C79
Cat387	S2_L25_C19, S2_L25_C20, S2_L25_C21, S2_L25_C23	Cat430	S2_L33_C9	Cat474	S2_L34_C80
Cat388	S2_L25_C25	Cat431	S2_L33_C10	Cat475	S2_L34_C80
Cat389	S2_L25_C26, S2_L25_C27	Cat432	S2_L33_C11	Cat476	S2_L34_C82
Cat390	S2_L25_C28	Cat433	S2_L33_C12	Cat477	S2_L34_C83
Cat391	S2_L25_C30	Cat434	S2_L33_C13	Cat478	S2_L34_C84
Cat392	S2_L25_C31	Cat435	S2_L33_C14	Cat479	S2_L34_C85
Cat393	S2_L26_C1	Cat436	S2_L33_C16	Cat480	S2_L34_C86
Cat394	S2_L26_C2	Cat437	S2_L33_C17	Cat481	S2_L34_C87
Cat395	S2_L26_C3	Cat438	S2_L33_C18	Cat482	S2_L34_C88
Cat396	S2_L26_C5, S2_L26_C6, S2_L26_C7	Cat439	S2_L34_C2	Cat483	S2_L34_C89
Cat397	S2_L26_C8	Cat440	S2_L34_C3, S2_L34_C4	Cat484	S2_L34_C90
Cat398	S2_L26_C9	Cat441	S2_L34_C5	Cat485	S2_L34_C91
Cat399	S2_L26_C11	Cat442	S2_L34_C6	Cat486	S3_L1_C2
Cat400	S2_L26_C12	Cat443	S2_L34_C9, S2_L34_C11	Cat487	S3_L1_C3
Cat401	S2_L26_C13	Cat444	S2_L34_C10	Cat488	S3_L1_C4
Cat402	S2_L26_C14	Cat445	S2_L34_C12, S2_L34_C13, S2_L34_C14, S2_L34_C15	Cat489	S3_L2_C1
Cat403	S2_L26_C15, S2_L26_C16, S2_L26_C18, S2_L26_C19	Cat446	S2_L34_C16	Cat490	S3_L2_C1
Cat404	S2_L26_C21	Cat447	S2_L34_C17	Cat491	S3_L2_C2
Cat405	S2_L26_C22	Cat448	S2_L34_C18, S2_L34_C19	Cat492	S3_L3_C1
Cat406	S2_L26_C27, S2_L26_C28	Cat449	S2_L34_C20	Cat493	S3_L4_C1
Cat407	S2_L26_C29	Cat450	S2_L34_C26	Cat494	S3_L5_C1
Cat408	S2_L26_C32	Cat451	S2_L34_C27, S2_L34_C28	Cat495	S3_L5_C2
Cat409	S2_L27_C1, S2_L27_C2	Cat452	S2_L34_C29	Cat496	S3_L5_C3, S3_L5_C4
Cat410	S2_L27_C3	Cat453	S2_L34_C30	Cat497	S3_L5_C5
Cat411	S2_L27_C4	Cat454	S2_L34_C32, S2_L34_C34	Cat498	S3_L5_C6
Cat412	S2_L27_C5	Cat455	S2_L34_C34	Cat499	S3_L5_C7
		Cat456	S2_L34_C35		

A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF ROCK ART IN UPPER TIBET

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.
Cat500	S3_L5_C8, S3_L5_C9, S3_L5_C10	Cat539	S6_L5_C6	Cat581	S8_L1_C6
Cat501	S3_L6_C2	Cat540	S6_L5_C8	Cat582	S8_L1_C7
Cat502	S3_L6_C3	Cat541	S6_L5_C9, S6_L5_C10, S6_L5_C11	Cat583	S8_L1_C8
Cat503	S3_L6_C4	Cat542	S6_L5_C12	Cat584	S8_L1_C9, S8_L1_C10
Cat504	S3_L6_C5	Cat543	S6_L5_C13	Cat585	S8_L1_C11, S8_L1_C12
Cat505	S3_L6_C6	Cat544	S6_L5_C14, S6_L5_C15, S6_L5_C16	Cat586	S8_L2_C1
Cat506	S3_L6_C7	Cat545	S6_L5_C17	Cat587	S8_L3_C1
Cat507	S3_L6_C8	Cat546	S6_L5_C18, S6_L5_C19, S6_L5_C20, S6_L5_C21, S6_L5_C24, S6_L5_C25	Cat588	S8_L3_C3
Cat508	S3_L7_C2, S3_L7_C3	Cat547	S6_L5_C24	Cat589	S8_L3_C2, S8_L3_C3, S8_L3_C4, S8_L3_C5, S8_L3_C6, S8_L3_C7, S8_L3_C8, S8_L3_C9
Cat509	S3_L7_C4	Cat548	S6_L5_C28	Cat590	S8_L3_C3, S8_L3_C5
Cat510	S4_L1_C1	Cat549	S6_L5_C30	Cat591	S8_L3_C7
Cat511	S4_L1_C3, S4_L1_C4	Cat550	S6_L5_C31	Cat592	S8_L3_C9
Cat512	S4_L1_C5	Cat551	S6_L5_C32	Cat593	S8_L3_C10
Cat513	S4_L2_C1, S4_L2_C2, S4_L2_C3	Cat552	S6_L5_C33	Cat594	S8_L4_C1
Cat514	S4_L2_C4, S4_L2_C5, S4_L2_C6	Cat553	S6_L5_C34	Cat595	S8_L5_C1
Cat515	S4_L3_C1	Cat554	S7_L1_C1, S7_L1_C2	Cat596	S9_L1_C1
Cat516	S5_C1	Cat555	S7_L1_C3	Cat597	S9_L2_C1
Cat517	S6_L1_C1, S6_L1_C2	Cat556	S7_L1_C4	Cat598	S9_L2_C2
Cat518	S6_L2_C1, S6_L2_C2, S6_L2_C3	Cat557	S7_L1_C5, S7_L1_C6	Cat599	S9_L2_C3
Cat519	S6_L2_C4	Cat558	S7_L2_C1	Cat600	S9_L2_C4
Cat520	S6_L2_C5	Cat559	S7_L2_C1	Cat601	S9_L3_C2
Cat521	S6_L2_C7	Cat560	S7_L2_C6	Cat602	S9_L3_C5
Cat522	S6_L3_C1, S6_L3_C2, S6_L3_C3, S6_L3_C4	Cat561	S7_L2_C8	Cat603	S9_L3_C6, S9_L3_C7, S9_L3_C8, S9_L3_C9
Cat523	S6_L3_C5	Cat562	S7_L2_C9	Cat604	S9_L3_C13
Cat524	S6_L3_C6	Cat563	S7_L2_C10	Cat605	S9_L3_C14
Cat525	S6_L3_C7	Cat564	S7_L2_C11	Cat606	S9_L3_C17
Cat526	S6_L3_C8, S6_L3_C9	Cat565	S7_L2_C13, S7_L2_C14, S7_L2_C15, S7_L2_C16	Cat607	S9_L3_C18
Cat527	S6_L3_C10, S6_L3_C11	Cat566	S7_L2_C17	Cat608	S9_L3_C19
Cat528	S6_L4_C1	Cat567	S7_L2_C19, S7_L2_C20	Cat609	S9_L3_C20
Cat529	S6_L4_C5, S6_L4_C6, S6_L4_C7	Cat568	S7_L3_C1, S7_L3_C2, S7_L3_C3	Cat610	S9_L3_C21
Cat530	S6_L4_C9	Cat569	S7_L3_C4	Cat611	S9_L3_C22
Cat531	S6_L4_C10, S6_L4_C11, S6_L4_C12, S6_L4_C13, S6_L4_C14	Cat570	S7_L3_C6	Cat612	S9_L3_C23
Cat532	S6_L4_C13	Cat571	S7_L3_C7	Cat613	S9_L3_C24, S9_L3_C25
Cat533	S6_L4_C18, S6_L4_C19, S6_L4_C20, S6_L4_C21, S6_L4_C22, S6_L4_C23, S6_L4_C24, S6_L4_C25	Cat572	S7_L5_C1	Cat614	S9_L3_C26, S9_L3_C27
Cat534	S6_L4_C27, S6_L4_C28	Cat573	S7_L5_C2, S7_L5_C3	Cat615	S9_L3_C31
Cat535	S6_L4_C29	Cat574	S7_L5_C4	Cat616	S9_L3_C33
Cat536	S6_L4_C30, S6_L4_C31	Cat575	S7_L5_C5	Cat617	S9_L3_C35
Cat537	S6_L4_C32	Cat576	S7_L6_C1	Cat618	S10_L1_C1, S10_L1_C2
Cat538	S6_L5_C1, S6_L5_C2, S6_L5_C3, S6_L5_C4	Cat577	S7_L7_C1, S7_L7_C2	Cat619	S10_L1_C3
		Cat578	S8_L1_C2	Cat620	S10_L2_C1
		Cat579	S8_L1_C3	Cat621	S10_L2_C2
		Cat580	S8_L1_C4, S8_L1_C5	Cat622	S10_L3_C1, S10_L3_C2, S10_L3_C3, S10_L3_C4
				Cat623	S10_L4_C1

CONCORDANCE

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.
Cat624	S10_L4_C2, S10_L3_C3	Cat668	S12_C66, S12_C68	Cat711	S12_C131, S12_C141
Cat625	S10_L5_C1, S10_L5_C2	Cat669	S12_C69	Cat712	S12_C132
Cat626	S11_L1_C1	Cat670	S12_C70	Cat713	S12_C133
Cat627	S11_L2_C1, S11_L2_C2, S11_L2_C3	Cat671	S12_C71	Cat714	S12_C133, S12_C134, S12_ C135, S12_C136
Cat628	S11_L3_C1	Cat672	S12_C72, S12_C73, S12_C74	Cat715	S12_C136, S12_C137
Cat629	S11_L4_C1	Cat673	S12_C74	Cat716	S12_C138
Cat630	S11_L4_C2	Cat674	S12_C75	Cat717	S12_C139
Cat631	S11_L4_C3	Cat675	S12_C78	Cat718	S12_C140, S12_C141
Cat632	S11_L5_C1	Cat676	S12_C80	Cat719	S12_C142
Cat633	S11_L5_C2	Cat677	S12_C81	Cat720	S12_C143
Cat634	S12_C1, S12_C2, S12_C3, S12_C4	Cat678	S12_C82, S12_C83, S12_C84, S12_C85	Cat721	S12_C144
Cat635	S12_C7	Cat679	S12_C85	Cat722	S12_C147, S12_C150
Cat636	S12_C9, S12_C10, S12_C11, S12_C12	Cat680	S12_C86	Cat723	S12_C148
Cat637	S12_C13, S12_C14	Cat681	S12_C87	Cat724	S12_C149
Cat638	S12_C15	Cat682	S12_C88	Cat725	S12_C150
Cat639	S12_C16	Cat683	S12_C89	Cat726	S12_C150, S12_C151, S12_ C152
Cat640	S12_C17, S12_C18, S12_C19	Cat684	S12_C90	Cat727	S12_C152
Cat641	S12_C20	Cat685	S12_C91	Cat728	S12_C153
Cat642	S12_C21, S12_C22	Cat686	S12_C92	Cat729	S12_C154
Cat643	S12_C23, S12_C24	Cat687	S12_C93, S12_C94	Cat730	S12_C155
Cat644	S12_C25	Cat688	S12_C95	Cat731	S12_C156, S12_C157
Cat645	S12_C26	Cat689	S12_C98	Cat732	S12_C158
Cat646	S12_C28	Cat690	S12_C99	Cat733	S12_C161
Cat647	S12_C29, S12_C30, S12_C31	Cat691	S12_C100	Cat734	S12_C162
Cat648	S12_C32, S12_C33, S12_C34	Cat692	S12_C101	Cat735	S12_C163
Cat649	S12_C35	Cat693	S12_C102, S12_C103, S12_ C104, S12_C105, S12_C106	Cat736	S12_C165
Cat650	S12_C36	Cat694	S12_C86, S12_C105, S12_ C106, S12_C108	Cat737	S12_C167
Cat651	S12_C37	Cat695	S12_C107	Cat738	S12_C168
Cat652	S12_C38, S12_C39	Cat696	S12_C109, S12_C110	Cat739	S12_C169
Cat653	S12_C39, S12_C40	Cat697	S12_C111, S12_C112, S12_ C113	Cat740	S12_C170, S12_C171, S12_ C172, S12_C173, S12_C174
Cat654	S12_C41	Cat698	S12_C114	Cat741	S12_C175
Cat655	S12_C42	Cat699	S12_C115, S12_C116	Cat742	S12_C176
Cat656	S12_C43, S12_C44	Cat700	S12_C117	Cat743	S12_C178, S12_C179
Cat657	S12_C45	Cat701	S12_C118	Cat744	S12_C180
Cat658	S12_C47	Cat702	S12_C119	Cat745	S12_C181
Cat659	S12_C49, S12_C50	Cat703	S12_C120, S12_C123	Cat746	S12_C182
Cat660	S12_C51	Cat704	S12_C121	Cat747	S12_C184
Cat661	S12_C52	Cat705	S12_C122	Cat748	S12_C185
Cat662	S12_C55, S12_C56	Cat706	S12_C120, S12_C124, S12_ C125	Cat749	S12_C187
Cat663	S12_C57	Cat707	S12_C126	Cat750	S12_C188
Cat664	S12_C59, S12_C57, S12_C58	Cat708	S12_C127	Cat751	S12_C189
Cat665	S12_C59, S12_C60, S12_C61	Cat709	S12_C128, S12_C129	Cat752	S12_C190
Cat666	S12_C62	Cat710	S12_C130	Cat753	S12_C194, S12_C195
Cat667	S12_C64, S12_C65, S12_C67				

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Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Cat. No.	Inv. No.
Cat754	S12_C194, S12_C195, S12_C196, S12_C197	Cat783	S15_L1_C41, S15_L1_C42, S15_L1_C43	Cat822	S22_C2
Cat755	S12_C198	Cat784	S15_L1_C42, S15_L1_C43, S15_L1_C44, S15_L1_C48, S15_L1_C49, S15_L1_C50, S15_L1_C51	Cat823	S22_C3
Cat756	S12_C199, S12_C200			Cat824	S22_C5
Cat757	S12_C203			Cat825	S22_C4, S22_C6, S22_C7
Cat758	S12_C204	Cat785	S15_L1_C52, S15_L1_C53, S15_L1_C54	Cat826	S22_C8, S22_C9, S22_C10, S22_C11
Cat759	S12_C205, S12_C206, S12_C207	Cat786	S15_L2_C1	Cat827	S22_C13
Cat760	S12_C208, S12_C209, S12_C210, S12_C211, S12_C212, S12_C213, S12_C215	Cat787	S15_L2_C2	Cat828	S22_C14
Cat761	S12_C212	Cat788	S15_L2_C3	Cat829	S23_C1
Cat762	S12_C216	Cat789	S16_C1	Cat830	S23_C4
Cat763	S12_C217, S12_C218	Cat790	S16_C1	Cat831	S23_C6
Cat764	S12_C219, S12_C220, S12_C221, S12_C222	Cat791	S16_C1	Cat832	S24_C1, S24_C2, S24_C3, S24_C4, S24_C5, S24_C6, S24_C7, S24_C8, S24_C9, S24_C10, S24_C11
Cat765	S12_C223	Cat792	S16_C1	Cat833	S25_C1, S25_C2
Cat766	S12_C224, S12_C225, S12_C226	Cat793	S16_C1	Cat834	S25_C3
Cat767	S12_C227, S12_C228	Cat794	S16_C1	Cat835	S25_C4
Cat768	S13_C1	Cat795	S16_C1	Cat836	S25_C5
Cat769	S13_C2	Cat796	S16_C1	Cat837	S25_C6
Cat770	S13_C6	Cat797	S16_C1	Cat838	S26_C2
Cat771	S14_C1	Cat798	S17_C1, S17_C2, S17_C3, S17_C4, S17_C5, S17_C6, S17_C7, S17_C8, S17_C9, S17_C10, S17_C11, S17_C12, S17_C13	Cat839	S26_C3
Cat772	S14_C2	Cat799	S17_C14	Cat840	S27_C2
Cat773	S14_C3	Cat800	S17_C17, S17_C18, S17_C19, S17_C20, S17_C21, S17_C22	Cat841	S27_C4
Cat774	S14_C4	Cat801	S18_C1	Cat842	S27_C5, S27_C6
Cat775	S15_L1_C1	Cat802	S20_C1	Cat843	S27_C9, S27_C10
Cat776	S15_L1_C2	Cat803	S20_C2	Cat844	S27_C11
Cat777	S15_L1_C4	Cat804	S20_C3, S20_C4	Cat845	S27_C12, S27_C13
Cat778	S15_L1_C6	Cat805	S20_C5	Cat846	S27_C14
Cat779	S15_L1_C7, S15_L1_C28, S15_L1_C29, S15_L1_C30, S15_L1_C33, S15_L1_C34, S15_L1_C35, S15_L1_C36, S15_L1_C37, S15_L1_C38, S15_L1_C39, S15_L1_C40, S15_L1_C41, S15_L1_C42, S15_L1_C43, S15_L1_C44, S15_L1_C45, S15_L1_C46, S15_L1_C47	Cat806	S21_L1_C1	Cat847	S27_C15
Cat780	S15_L1_C8, S15_L1_C9, S15_L1_C10, S15_L1_C11, S15_L1_C16, S15_L1_C17, S15_L1_C18, S15_L1_C19, S15_L1_C20, S15_L1_C21, S15_L1_C22, S15_L1_C23, S15_L1_C24, S15_L1_C25, S15_L1_C26, S15_L1_C27, S15_L1_C28, S15_L1_C29, S15_L1_C30	Cat807	S21_L1_C3	Cat848	S27_C16
Cat781	S15_L1_C11, S15_L1_C12, S15_L1_C13, S15_L1_C14	Cat808	S21_L1_C5	Cat849	S27_C17
Cat782	S15_L1_C24, S15_L1_C31, S15_L1_C32	Cat809	S21_L1_C6	Cat850	S27_C18, S27_C19, S27_C20, S27_C21, S27_C22
		Cat810	S21_L1_C7, S21_L1_C8	Cat851	S27_C23, S27_C24
		Cat811	S21_L1_C9	Cat852	S27_C26, S27_C27
		Cat812	S21_L2_C1, S21_L2_C2	Cat853	S27_C28
		Cat813	S21_L2_C3	Cat854	S27_C30, S27_C31
		Cat814	S21_L3_C1	Cat855	S27_C32
		Cat815	S21_L3_C2	Cat856	S27_C33
		Cat816	S21_L3_C3	Cat857	S28_C1
		Cat817	S21_L4_C1	Cat858	S28_C4
		Cat818	S21_L4_C2	Cat859	S28_C5
		Cat819	S21_L4_C3	Cat860	S28_C6
		Cat820	S21_L4_C4	Cat861	S28_C7
		Cat821	S21_L4_C5	Cat862	S28_C8
				Cat863	S28_C9

CONCORDANCE

Cat. No.	Inv. No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
Cat864	S29_C1	S1_L1_C31	Cat24	S1_L3_C28	Cat52
Cat865	S29_C3	S1_L1_C32	Cat25	S1_L3_C29	Cat52
Cat866	S29_C4, S29_C5	S1_L1_C33	Cat26	S1_L3_C30	Cat52
Cat867	S29_C6	S1_L1_C34	NI	S1_L3_C31	Cat53
Cat868	S29_C7	S1_L1_C35	NI	S1_L3_C32	NI
Cat869	S29_C8	S1_L1_C36	Cat27	S1_L3_C33	Cat54
Cat870	S29_C9	S1_L1_C37	NI	S1_L3_C34	Cat55
Cat871	S29_C9	S1_L1_C38	NI	S1_L3_C35	Cat56
Cat872	S29_C9	S1_L1_C39	Cat28	S1_L3_C36	Cat57
Cat873	S29_C9	S1_L1_C40	Cat29	S1_L3_C37	Cat58
		S1_L2_C1	Cat30	S1_L3_C38	Cat57, Cat59
		S1_L2_C2	Cat30	S1_L3_C39	Cat60
		S1_L2_C3	Cat31	S1_L3_C40	Cat60
		S1_L2_C4	Cat31	S1_L3_C41	Cat61
		S1_L2_C5	Cat32	S1_L3_C42	NI
		S1_L2_C6	Cat33	S1_L3_C43	Cat59
		S1_L2_C7	Cat34	S1_L3_C44	Cat62
		S1_L3_C1	Cat35	S1_L3_C45	NI
		S1_L3_C2	Cat36	S1_L4_C1	Cat63
		S1_L3_C3	Cat37	S1_L4_C2	Cat64
		S1_L3_C4	Cat38	S1_L4_C3	Cat65
		S1_L3_C5	Cat39	S1_L4_C4	NI
		S1_L3_C6	Cat40	S1_L4_C5	Cat66
		S1_L3_C7	Cat41	S1_L4_C6	Cat67
		S1_L3_C8	Cat42	S1_L4_C7	NI
		S1_L3_C9	Cat43	S1_L4_C8	NI
		S1_L3_C10	NI	S1_L4_C9	Cat68
		S1_L3_C11	Cat44	S1_L4_C10	Cat68
		S1_L3_C12	NI	S1_L4_C11	Cat69
		S1_L3_C13	Cat45	S1_L4_C12	Cat69
		S1_L3_C14	NI	S1_L4_C13	Cat69
		S1_L3_C15	Cat46	S1_L4_C14	Cat70
		S1_L3_C16	Cat47	S1_L4_C15	Cat70
		S1_L3_C17	NI	S1_L4_C16	NI
		S1_L3_C18	Cat48	S1_L4_C17	Cat71
		S1_L3_C19	NI	S1_L4_C18	NI
		S1_L3_C20	Cat49	S1_L4_C19	Cat72
		S1_L3_C21	Cat49	S1_L4_C20	Cat73
		S1_L3_C22	Cat49	S1_L4_C21	Cat74
		S1_L3_C23	Cat50	S1_L5_C1	Cat75
		S1_L3_C24	Cat51	S1_L5_C2	NI
		S1_L3_C25	Cat51	S1_L5_C3	Cat76
		S1_L3_C26	Cat51	S1_L5_C4	NI
		S1_L3_C27	Cat52	S1_L5_C5	Cat77

Inventory No. — Image No.

Inv. No. Image No.

S1_L1_C1	Cat1
S1_L1_C2	Cat2
S1_L1_C3	Cat3
S1_L1_C4	Cat4
S1_L1_C5	Cat5
S1_L1_C6	Cat4
S1_L1_C7	Cat6
S1_L1_C8	Cat7
S1_L1_C9	Cat8
S1_L1_C10	Cat9
S1_L1_C11	NI
S1_L1_C12	NI
S1_L1_C13	Cat10
S1_L1_C14	Cat11
S1_L1_C15	NI
S1_L1_C16	Cat12
S1_L1_C17	Cat13, Cat 14
S1_L1_C18	NI
S1_L1_C19	Cat15
S1_L1_C20	Cat15
S1_L1_C21	Cat16
S1_L1_C22	Cat17
S1_L1_C23	Cat18
S1_L1_C24	Cat19
S1_L1_C25	Cat20
S1_L1_C26	Cat17
S1_L1_C27	Cat21
S1_L1_C28	Cat22
S1_L1_C29	NI
S1_L1_C30	Cat23

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S1_L5_C6	NI	S1_L9_C7	Cat104	S1_L9_C51	NI
S1_L5_C7	Cat78	S1_L9_C8	Cat105	S1_L9_C52	Cat136
S1_L6_C1	Cat79	S1_L9_C9	Cat106	S1_L9_C53	NI
S1_L6_C2	Cat80	S1_L9_C10	Cat106	S1_L9_C54	Cat137
S1_L6_C3	Cat81	S1_L9_C11	Cat107	S1_L9_C55	NI
S1_L6_C4	NI	S1_L9_C12	Cat108	S1_L9_C56	Cat138
S1_L6_C5	Cat82	S1_L9_C13	Cat108	S1_L9_C57	Cat138
S1_L6_C6	NI	S1_L9_C14	Cat109	S1_L9_C58	Cat139
S1_L6_C7	NI	S1_L9_C15	NI	S1_L9_C59	Cat140
S1_L6_C8	Cat83	S1_L9_C16	Cat110	S1_L9_C60	Cat141
S1_L6_C9	Cat83	S1_L9_C17	Cat111	S1_L9_C61	NI
S1_L6_C10	Cat83	S1_L9_C18	Cat112	S1_L9_C62	Cat142
S1_L7_C1	Cat84	S1_L9_C19	Cat113	S1_L9_C63	Cat142
S1_L7_C2	Cat84	S1_L9_C20	Cat114	S1_L9_C64	Cat143
S1_L7_C3	Cat85	S1_L9_C21	Cat115	S1_L9_C65	Cat143
S1_L7_C4	Cat86	S1_L9_C22	Cat116, Cat117	S1_L9_C66	Cat143
S1_L7_C5	Cat87	S1_L9_C23	Cat116, Cat117	S1_L9_C67	Cat144
S1_L7_C6	Cat88	S1_L9_C24	Cat116, Cat117	S1_L9_C68	Cat145
S1_L7_C7	Cat89	S1_L9_C25	Cat116, Cat117	S1_L9_C69	Cat146
S1_L7_C8	Figure 40	S1_L9_C26	Cat117	S1_L9_C70	Cat147
S1_L7_C9	Figure 40	S1_L9_C27	Cat118	S1_L9_C71	Cat148
S1_L7_C10	Cat90	S1_L9_C28	Cat118	S1_L9_C72	NI
S1_L7_C11	Cat90	S1_L9_C29	Cat119	S1_L10_C1	Cat149, Cat150
S1_L7_C12	Cat91	S1_L9_C30	Cat120	S1_L10_C2	Cat150
S1_L7_C13	Cat92	S1_L9_C31	Cat121	S1_L10_C3	Cat150, Cat152
S1_L7_C14	Cat93	S1_L9_C32	Cat122	S1_L10_C4	Cat150
S1_L7_C15	NI	S1_L9_C33	Cat123	S1_L10_C5	Cat150, Cat152
S1_L7_C16	NI	S1_L9_C34	Cat124	S1_L10_C6	Cat150, Cat152
S1_L7_C17	Cat91	S1_L9_C35	Cat124, Cat125	S1_L10_C7	Cat150, Cat153
S1_L7_C18	Cat91	S1_L9_C36	Cat125	S1_L10_C8	Cat150, Cat151, Cat154
S1_L7_C19	Cat91	S1_L9_C37	Cat126	S1_L10_C9	Cat150
S1_L7_C20	Cat94	S1_L9_C38	Cat127	S1_L10_C10	Cat150
S1_L7_C21	Cat95	S1_L9_C39	Cat128	S1_L10_C11	NI
S1_L7_C22	Cat96	S1_L9_C40	Cat129	S1_L10_C12	NI
S1_L7_C23	NI	S1_L9_C41	Cat129	S1_L11_C1	Cat155
S1_L7_C24	Cat97	S1_L9_C42	Cat129	S1_L11_C2	Cat156
S1_L7_C25	Cat98	S1_L9_C43	Cat130	S1_L11_C3	Cat156, Cat157, Cat158
S1_L8_C1	Cat99	S1_L9_C44	Cat131, Cat132	S1_L11_C4	Cat159
S1_L9_C1	Cat100	S1_L9_C45	Cat133	S1_L11_C5	NI
S1_L9_C2	Cat101	S1_L9_C46	Cat132	S1_L11_C6	Cat160
S1_L9_C3	NI	S1_L9_C47	NI	S1_L11_C7	Cat161
S1_L9_C4	NI	S1_L9_C48	Cat134	S1_L11_C8	Cat162
S1_L9_C5	Cat102	S1_L9_C49	NI	S1_L11_C9	Cat163
S1_L9_C6	Cat103	S1_L9_C50	Cat135	S1_L11_C10	Cat164, Cat165, Cat166

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S1_L11_C11	Cat165	S1_L13_C3	Cat198	S1_L17_C3	Cat225
S1_L11_C12	Cat166	S1_L13_C4	Cat198	S1_L17_C4	Cat226
S1_L11_C13	Cat167	S1_L13_C5	Cat198	S1_L17_C5	NI
S1_L11_C14	Cat167	S1_L13_C6	Cat198	S1_L17_C6	NI
S1_L11_C15	Cat168	S1_L13_C7	Cat199	S1_L17_C7	NI
S1_L11_C16	Cat169	S1_L13_C8	Cat200	S1_L17_C8	Cat227
S1_L11_C17	Cat170	S1_L13_C9	NI	S1_L17_C9	Cat228
S1_L11_C18	Cat171	S1_L13_C10	Cat201	S1_L17_C10	NI
S1_L11_C19	Cat172	S1_L13_C11	Cat201	S1_L17_C11	Cat223, Cat229
S1_L11_C20	Cat173	S1_L13_C12	Cat202	S1_L17_C12	Cat223, Cat229
S1_L11_C21	Cat170	S1_L13_C13	NI	S1_L17_C13	Cat228
S1_L11_C22	Cat174	S1_L13_C14	Cat203	S1_L17_C14	Cat229
S1_L11_C23	Cat175	S1_L13_C15	Cat204	S1_L17_C15	Cat230
S1_L11_C24	Cat175	S1_L13_C16	Cat204	S1_L17_C16	Cat230
S1_L11_C25	Cat176	S1_L13_C17	Cat205	S1_L17_C17	Cat230
S1_L11_C26	Cat177	S1_L13_C18	Cat206	S1_L17_C18	Cat230
S1_L11_C27	Cat178	S1_L13_C19	NI	S1_L17_C19	Cat231
S1_L11_C28	Cat179	S1_L13_C20	Cat207	S1_L17_C20	Cat232
S1_L11_C29	Cat179	S1_L13_C21	NI	S1_L17_C21	Cat233
S1_L11_C30	Cat179	S1_L14_C1	Cat208	S1_L17_C22	Cat233
S1_L11_C31	Cat180	S1_L14_C2	Cat209	S1_L17_C23	Cat234
S1_L11_C32	Cat181	S1_L15_C1	Cat210	S1_L17_C24	NI
S1_L11_C33	Cat182	S1_L15_C2	Cat211	S1_L17_C25	Cat235
S1_L11_C34	Cat183	S1_L15_C3	Cat212	S1_L17_C26	Figure 66
S1_L11_C35	Cat184	S1_L15_C4	Cat213	S1_L17_C27	Figure 66
S1_L11_C36	NI	S1_L15_C5	Cat213	S1_L17_C28	Figure 66
S1_L11_C37	Cat185	S1_L15_C6	Cat214	S1_L17_C29	Figure 66
S1_L11_C38	Cat186	S1_L15_C7	Cat214, Cat215	S1_L17_C30	Cat236
S1_L11_C39	Cat187	S1_L15_C8	Cat214	S1_L17_C31	Cat236
S1_L11_C40	Cat188	S1_L15_C9	Cat214	S1_L17_C32	Cat237
S1_L11_C41	NI	S1_L15_C10	Cat215	S1_L18_C1	Cat238
S1_L11_C42	Cat189, Cat190	S1_L15_C11	Cat216	S1_L18_C2	Figure 67
S1_L11_C43	Cat189	S1_L15_C12	Cat217	S1_L18_C3	Figure 67
S1_L12_C1	Cat191	S1_L15_C13	Cat217	S1_L18_C4	Figure 67
S1_L12_C2	Cat192	S1_L15_C14	Cat217	S1_L18_C5	Figure 67
S1_L12_C3	Cat193	S1_L15_C15	Cat218	S1_L18_C6	Cat239
S1_L12_C4	Cat194	S1_L15_C16	Cat219	S1_L18_C7	Figure 68
S1_L12_C5	Cat195	S1_L15_C17	Cat220	S1_L18_C8	Cat240
S1_L12_C6	NI	S1_L15_C18	Cat220	S1_L18_C9	Cat241
S1_L12_C7	Cat196	S1_L16_C1	Cat221	S1_L18_C10	Cat242
S1_L12_C8	Figure 56	S1_L16_C2	Cat221	S1_L18_C11	Cat243
S1_L12_C9	Figure 56	S1_L16_C3	Cat222	S1_L19_C1	Cat244
S1_L13_C1	Cat197	S1_L17_C1	Cat223, Cat224	S1_L19_C2	Figure 70
S1_L13_C2	Cat198	S1_L17_C2	Cat224	S1_L19_C3	Figure 70

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S1_L19_C4	Figure 70	S1_L26_C8	Cat263	S1_L28_C29	Cat280
S1_L19_C5	Figure 70	S1_L26_C9	NI	S1_L28_C30	Cat281
S1_L19_C6	Figure 70	S1_L26_C10	Cat264	S1_L28_C31	Cat282
S1_L19_C7	Figure 70	S1_L26_C11	Cat264	S1_L28_C32	Cat283
S1_L20_C1	Cat245	S1_L26_C12	NI	S1_L28_C33	Cat284
S1_L21_C1	Cat246	S1_L27_C1	Cat265	S1_L29_C1	Cat285
S1_L21_C2	Cat247	S1_L27_C2	Cat265	S1_L29_C2	Figure 81
S1_L21_C3	Cat248	S1_L27_C3	NI	S1_L29_C3	Figure 81
S1_L21_C4	Cat249	S1_L27_C4	Cat266	S1_L29_C4	Figure 81
S1_L21_C5	Figure 71	S1_L27_C5	Cat267	S1_L29_C5	Cat286
S1_L21_C6	Figure 71	S1_L27_C6	Cat268	S1_L29_C6	Cat286
S1_L21_C7	Figure 71	S1_L27_C7	Cat268	S1_L29_C7	Cat287
S1_L21_C8	Figure 71	S1_L27_C8	Cat268	S1_L29_C8	Cat287
S1_L21_C9	Figure 71	S1_L27_C9	NI	S1_L29_C9	Cat287
S1_L21_C10	Figure 71	S1_L27_C10	NI	S1_L29_C10	Cat287
S1_L21_C11	Figure 71	S1_L27_C11	Cat269	S1_L29_C11	Cat287
S1_L21_C12	Cat250	S1_L28_C1	Cat270	S1_L29_C12	Cat288
S1_L22_C1	Figure 72	S1_L28_C2	NI	S1_L29_C13	Cat288
S1_L22_C2	Figure 72	S1_L28_C3	Cat271	S1_L29_C14	Figure 81
S1_L22_C3	Figure 72	S1_L28_C4	Figure 77	S1_L29_C15	Cat289
S1_L22_C4	Cat251	S1_L28_C5	Figure 77	S1_L29_C16	Cat290
S1_L22_C5	Cat252	S1_L28_C6	Cat272	S1_L29_C17	Cat290
S1_L22_C6	NI	S1_L28_C7	Figure 77	S1_L29_C18	Cat289
S1_L22_C7	Cat253	S1_L28_C8	Cat273	S1_L29_C19	Cat291
S1_L22_C8	Cat253	S1_L28_C9	Cat273	S1_L29_C20	Cat291
S1_L22_C9	Cat253	S1_L28_C10	Cat273	S1_L29_C21	Cat291
S1_L23_C1	Cat254	S1_L28_C11	Cat274	S1_L29_C22	Cat292, Cat293, Cat294
S1_L23_C2	Cat255	S1_L28_C12	Cat274	S1_L29_C23	Cat295
S1_L23_C3	Cat256	S1_L28_C13	Cat274	S1_L29_C24	Cat296
S1_L23_C4	Cat257	S1_L28_C14	Cat274	S1_L29_C25	Cat297
S1_L24_C1	Figure 73	S1_L28_C15	Cat275	S1_L29_C26	Cat298
S1_L24_C2	Figure 73	S1_L28_C16	Cat275	S1_L29_C27	Cat299
S1_L24_C3	Figure 73	S1_L28_C17	Cat275	S1_L29_C28	Cat300
S1_L24_C4	Figure 73	S1_L28_C18	Cat276	S1_L30_C1	Cat301
S1_L25_C1	Cat258	S1_L28_C19	Cat277	S1_L30_C2	Cat301, Cat302
S1_L25_C2	NI	S1_L28_C20	Cat277	S1_L30_C3	Cat301
S1_L25_C3	NI	S1_L28_C21	Figure 78	S1_L30_C4	Cat303
S1_L26_C1	Cat259, Cat260	S1_L28_C22	Figure 79	S1_L30_C5	Cat304
S1_L26_C2	Cat260	S1_L28_C23	Cat278	S1_L30_C6	Cat305
S1_L26_C3	Cat260	S1_L28_C24	Figure 79	S1_L30_C7	Cat306
S1_L26_C4	Cat260	S1_L28_C25	Cat279	S1_Lx_C1	NI
S1_L26_C5	Cat260, Cat261	S1_L28_C26	Figure 78	S1_L31_C1	Cat307
S1_L26_C6	Cat262	S1_L28_C27	Figure 78	S1_L31_C2	Cat307
S1_L26_C7	Cat260	S1_L28_C28	Figure 78	S1_L32_C1	Cat308

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S1_L32_C2	Cat309	S2_L11_C12	Cat333	S2_L19_C4	Cat365
S1_L32_C3	Cat310	S2_L11_C13	Cat334	S2_L19_C5	Cat365
S1_L32_C4	Cat310	S2_L11_C14	Cat335	S2_L19_C6	Cat365
S1_L32_C5	NI	S2_L11_C15	NI	S2_L19_C7	NI
S1_L32_C6	Cat311	S2_L11_C16	Cat336	S2_L19_C8	NI
S1_L32_C7	Cat311	S2_L11_C17	NI	S2_L19_C9	NI
S1_L32_C8	Cat312	S2_L11_C18	Cat337	S2_L19_C10	Cat366
S1_L33_C1	Cat313	S2_L11_C19	NI	S2_L20_C1	Cat367
S1_L34_C1	Cat314	S2_L11_C20	Cat338	S2_L21_C1	Cat368
S1_L34_C2	Cat314	S2_L11_C21	Cat339	S2_L21_C2	Cat368
S1_L34_C3	Cat314, Cat315	S2_L11_C22	Cat340	S2_L22_C1	NI
S1_L34_C4	Cat314, Cat315	S2_L11_C23	Cat341	S2_L23_C1	Cat369
S1_L35_C1	Cat316	S2_L11_C24	Cat342	S2_L23_C2	Cat370
S1_L35_C2	Cat316	S2_L11_C25	Cat343	S2_L23_C3	Cat371
S1_L36_C1	Cat317	S2_L11_C26	Cat343	S2_L23_C4	Cat372
S2_L2_C1	Cat318		Cat344, Cat345, Cat346,	S2_L23_C5	Cat373
S2_L3_C1	Cat319	S2_L12_C1	Cat347	S2_L24_C1	Figure 100
S2_L4_C1	NI	S2_L12_C2	Cat348	S2_L24_C2	Figure 100
S2_L5_C1	Cat320	S2_L12_C3	Cat348	S2_L24_C3	Figure 100
S2_L5_C2	Cat321	S2_L12_C4	Cat348	S2_L24_C4	Figure 100
S2_L5_C3	Cat322	S2_L12_C5	Cat348	S2_L25_C1	Cat374, Cat375
S2_L6_C1	Cat323, Cat324	S2_L12_C6	Cat348	S2_L25_C2	Cat376
S2_L6_C2	NI	S2_L12_C7	NI	S2_L25_C3	Cat377
S2_L6_C3	NI	S2_L13_C1	Cat349	S2_L25_C4	Cat377
S2_L7_C1	Cat325	S2_L13_C2	Cat350	S2_L25_C5	Cat378
S2_L8_C1	Cat326	S2_L13_C3	Cat350	S2_L25_C6	Cat378
S2_L9_C1	NI	S2_L13_C4	Cat351	S2_L25_C7	Cat378
S2_L9_C2	NI	S2_L14_C1	Cat352	S2_L25_C8	Cat378, Cat379
S2_L10_C1	NI	S2_L14_C2	Cat353	S2_L25_C9	Cat380
S2_L10_C2	NI	S2_L15_C1	Cat354	S2_L25_C10	Cat381
S2_L10_C3	NI	S2_L16_C1	Cat355	S2_L25_C11	NI
S2_L10_C4	NI	S2_L16_C2	Cat355	S2_L25_C12	Cat382
S2_L10_C5	NI	S2_L16_C3	Cat356	S2_L25_C13	NI
S2_L11_C1	Cat327	S2_L16_C4	Cat357	S2_L25_C14	Cat383
S2_L11_C2	NI	S2_L16_C5	Cat358	S2_L25_C15	Cat384
S2_L11_C3	Cat328	S2_L16_C6	NI	S2_L25_C16	Cat384
S2_L11_C4	NI	S2_L16_C7	Cat359	S2_L25_C17	Cat385
S2_L11_C5	Cat329	S2_L17_C1	Figure 95	S2_L25_C18	Cat386
S2_L11_C6	Cat330	S2_L18_C1	Cat360	S2_L25_C19	Cat387
S2_L11_C7	NI	S2_L18_C2	Cat361	S2_L25_C20	Cat387
S2_L11_C8	Cat331	S2_L18_C3	Cat362	S2_L25_C21	Cat387
S2_L11_C9	Cat331	S2_L18_C4	Cat362	S2_L25_C22	NI
S2_L11_C10	Cat332, Cat333	S2_L19_C1	Cat363	S2_L25_C23	Cat387
S2_L11_C11	Cat333	S2_L19_C2	Cat364, Cat365	S2_L25_C24	NI
		S2_L19_C3	Cat364, Cat365		

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S2_L25_C25	Cat388	S2_L27_C6	Cat413	S2_L34_C12	Cat445
S2_L25_C26	Cat389	S2_L28_C1	Cat414	S2_L34_C13	Cat445
S2_L25_C27	Cat389	S2_L29_C1	Cat415	S2_L34_C14	Cat445
S2_L25_C28	Cat390	S2_L29_C2	Cat416	S2_L34_C15	Cat445
S2_L25_C29	NI	S2_L30_C1	Cat417	S2_L34_C16	Cat446
S2_L25_C30	Cat391	S2_L31_C1	Cat418	S2_L34_C17	Cat447
S2_L25_C31	Cat392	S2_L31_C2	Cat418	S2_L34_C18	Cat448
S2_L26_C1	Cat393	S2_L31_C3	Cat419	S2_L34_C19	Cat448
S2_L26_C2	Cat394	S2_L31_C4	Cat419	S2_L34_C20	Cat449
S2_L26_C3	Cat395	S2_L31_C5	Cat419	S2_L34_C21	NI
S2_L26_C4	NI	S2_L31_C6	Cat420	S2_L34_C22	NI
S2_L26_C5	Cat396	S2_L31_C7	Cat421	S2_L34_C23	NI
S2_L26_C6	Cat396	S2_L32_C1	Cat422	S2_L34_C24	NI
S2_L26_C7	Cat396	S2_L32_C2	NI	S2_L34_C25	NI
S2_L26_C8	Cat397	S2_L32_C3	NI	S2_L34_C26	Cat450
S2_L26_C9	Cat398	S2_L33_C1	Cat423	S2_L34_C27	Cat451
S2_L26_C10	Figure 105	S2_L33_C2	Cat424	S2_L34_C28	Cat451
S2_L26_C11	Cat399	S2_L33_C3	Cat425	S2_L34_C29	Cat452
S2_L26_C12	Cat400	S2_L33_C4	Cat426	S2_L34_C30	Cat453
S2_L26_C13	Cat401	S2_L33_C5	Cat427	S2_L34_C31	NI
S2_L26_C14	Cat402	S2_L33_C6	NI	S2_L34_C32	Cat454
S2_L26_C15	Cat403	S2_L33_C7	Cat428	S2_L34_C33	NI
S2_L26_C16	Cat403	S2_L33_C8	Cat429	S2_L34_C34	Cat454, Cat455
S2_L26_C17	Figure 106	S2_L33_C9	Cat430	S2_L34_C35	Cat456
S2_L26_C18	Figure 106	S2_L33_C10	Cat431	S2_L34_C36	NI
S2_L26_C19	Cat403	S2_L33_C11	Cat432	S2_L34_C37	NI
S2_L26_C20	Cat403	S2_L33_C12	Cat433	S2_L34_C38	NI
S2_L26_C21	Cat404	S2_L33_C13	Cat434	S2_L34_C39	Cat457
S2_L26_C22	Cat405	S2_L33_C14	Cat435	S2_L34_C40	Cat458
S2_L26_C23	Figure 106	S2_L33_C15	NI	S2_L34_C41	NI
S2_L26_C24	Figure 106	S2_L33_C16	Cat436	S2_L34_C42	Cat459
S2_L26_C25	NI	S2_L33_C17	Cat437	S2_L34_C43	Cat460
S2_L26_C26	NI	S2_L33_C18	Cat438	S2_L34_C44	Cat461
S2_L26_C27	Cat406	S2_L34_C1	Figure 113	S2_L34_C45	Figure 115
S2_L26_C28	Cat406	S2_L34_C2	Cat439	S2_L34_C46	Figure 115
S2_L26_C29	Cat407	S2_L34_C3	Cat440	S2_L34_C47	Figure 115
S2_L26_C30	NI	S2_L34_C4	Cat440	S2_L34_C48	Cat462
S2_L26_C31	NI	S2_L34_C5	Cat441	S2_L34_C49	NI
S2_L26_C32	Cat408	S2_L34_C6	Cat442	S2_L34_C50	Cat463
S2_L27_C1	Cat409	S2_L34_C7	Figure 113	S2_L34_C51	Cat463
S2_L27_C2	Cat409	S2_L34_C8	Figure 113	S2_L34_C52	Cat464
S2_L27_C3	Cat410	S2_L34_C9	Cat443	S2_L34_C53	Cat465
S2_L27_C4	Cat411	S2_L34_C10	Cat444	S2_L34_C54	Cat466
S2_L27_C5	Cat412	S2_L34_C11	Cat443	S2_L34_C55	Cat467

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S2_L34_C56	Cat 467, Cat468	S3_L5_C1	Cat494	S6_L2_C6	NI
S2_L34_C57	Cat 467, Cat468	S3_L5_C2	Cat495	S6_L2_C7	Cat521
S2_L34_C58	Cat 467, Cat468	S3_L5_C3	Cat496	S6_L3_C1	Cat522
S2_L34_C59	Cat469	S3_L5_C4	Cat496	S6_L3_C2	Cat522
S2_L34_C60	Cat470	S3_L5_C5	Cat497	S6_L3_C3	Cat522
S2_L34_C61	Cat470	S3_L5_C6	Cat498	S6_L3_C4	Cat522
S2_L34_C62	Cat470	S3_L5_C7	Cat499	S6_L3_C5	Cat523
S2_L34_C63	NI	S3_L5_C8	Cat500	S6_L3_C6	Cat524
S2_L34_C64	NI	S3_L5_C9	Cat500	S6_L3_C7	Cat525
S2_L34_C65	Cat471	S3_L5_C10	Cat500	S6_L3_C8	Cat526
S2_L34_C66	Cat471	S3_L6_C1	NI	S6_L3_C9	Cat526
S2_L34_C67	Figure 117	S3_L6_C2	Cat501	S6_L3_C10	Cat527
S2_L34_C68	Figure 117	S3_L6_C3	Cat502	S6_L3_C11	Cat527
S2_L34_C69	Figure 117	S3_L6_C4	Cat503	S6_L4_C1	Cat528
S2_L34_C70	Cat472	S3_L6_C5	Cat504	S6_L4_C2	Figure 151
S2_L34_C71	Cat472	S3_L6_C6	Cat505	S6_L4_C3	Figure 151
S2_L34_C72	Figure 117	S3_L6_C7	Cat506	S6_L4_C4	Figure 151
S2_L34_C73	Figure 117	S3_L6_C8	Cat507	S6_L4_C5	Cat529
S2_L34_C74	Figure 117	S3_L7_C1	NI	S6_L4_C6	Cat529
S2_L34_C75	Figure 117	S3_L7_C2	Cat508	S6_L4_C7	Cat529
S2_L34_C76	Figure 117	S3_L7_C3	Cat508	S6_L4_C8	Figure 151
S2_L34_C77	Figure 117	S3_L7_C4	Cat509	S6_L4_C9	Cat530
S2_L34_C78	Figure 117	S4_L1_C1	Cat510	S6_L4_C10	Cat531
S2_L34_C79	Cat473	S4_L1_C2	Figure 143	S6_L4_C11	Cat531
S2_L34_C80	Cat474, Cat475	S4_L1_C3	Cat511	S6_L4_C12	Cat531
S2_L34_C81	Figure 117	S4_L1_C4	Cat511	S6_L4_C13	Cat 531, Cat532
S2_L34_C82	Cat476	S4_L1_C5	Cat512	S6_L4_C14	Cat531
S2_L34_C83	Cat477	S4_L1_C6	Figure 143	S6_L4_C15	NI
S2_L34_C84	Cat478	S4_L1_C7	Figure 143	S6_L4_C16	Figure 152
S2_L34_C85	Cat479	S4_L2_C1	Cat513	S6_L4_C17	Figure 152
S2_L34_C86	Cat480	S4_L2_C2	Cat513	S6_L4_C18	Cat533
S2_L34_C87	Cat481	S4_L2_C3	Cat513	S6_L4_C19	Cat533
S2_L34_C88	Cat482	S4_L2_C4	Cat514	S6_L4_C20	Cat533
S2_L34_C89	Cat483	S4_L2_C5	Cat514	S6_L4_C21	Cat533
S2_L34_C90	Cat484	S4_L2_C6	Cat514	S6_L4_C22	Cat533
S2_L34_C91	Cat485	S4_L3_C1	Cat515	S6_L4_C23	Cat533
S3_L1_C1	NI	S5_C1	Cat516	S6_L4_C24	Cat533
S3_L1_C2	Cat486	S6_L1_C1	Cat517	S6_L4_C25	Cat533
S3_L1_C3	Cat487	S6_L1_C2	Cat517	S6_L4_C26	Figure 152
S3_L1_C4	Cat488	S6_L2_C1	Cat518	S6_L4_C27	Cat534
S3_L2_C1	Cat489, Cat490	S6_L2_C2	Cat518	S6_L4_C28	Cat534
S3_L2_C2	Cat491	S6_L2_C3	Cat518	S6_L4_C29	Cat535
S3_L3_C1	Cat492	S6_L2_C4	Cat519	S6_L4_C30	Cat536
S3_L4_C1	Cat493	S6_L2_C5	Cat520	S6_L4_C31	Cat536

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S6_L4_C32	Cat537	S7_L2_C4	Figure 167	S8_L1_C12	Cat585
S6_L5_C1	Cat538	S7_L2_C5	Figure 167	S8_L2_C1	Cat586
S6_L5_C2	Cat538	S7_L2_C6	Cat560	S8_L2_C2	Figure 179
S6_L5_C3	Cat538	S7_L2_C7	Figure 167	S8_L3_C1	Cat587
S6_L5_C4	Cat538	S7_L2_C8	Cat561	S8_L3_C2	Cat589
S6_L5_C5	Figure 154	S7_L2_C9	Cat562	S8_L3_C3	Cat588, Cat589 , Cat590
S6_L5_C6	Cat539	S7_L2_C10	Figure 169, Cat563	S8_L3_C4	Cat589
S6_L5_C7	Figure 154	S7_L2_C11	Cat564	S8_L3_C5	Cat589, Cat590
S6_L5_C8	Cat540	S7_L2_C12	Figure 169	S8_L3_C6	Cat589
S6_L5_C9	Cat541	S7_L2_C13	Cat565	S8_L3_C7	Cat589, Cat591
S6_L5_C10	Cat541	S7_L2_C14	Cat565	S8_L3_C8	Cat589
S6_L5_C11	Cat541	S7_L2_C15	Cat565	S8_L3_C9	Cat589, Cat592
S6_L5_C12	Cat542	S7_L2_C16	Cat565	S8_L3_C10	Cat593
S6_L5_C13	Cat543	S7_L2_C17	Cat566	S8_L4_C1	Cat594
S6_L5_C14	Cat544	S7_L2_C18	NI	S8_L5_C1	Cat595
S6_L5_C15	Cat544	S7_L2_C19	Cat567	S9_L1_C1	Cat596
S6_L5_C16	Cat544	S7_L2_C20	Cat567	S9_L2_C1	Cat597
S6_L5_C17	Cat545	S7_L3_C1	Cat568	S9_L2_C2	Cat598
S6_L5_C18	Cat546	S7_L3_C2	Cat568	S9_L2_C3	Cat599
S6_L5_C19	Cat546	S7_L3_C3	Cat568	S9_L2_C4	Cat600
S6_L5_C20	Cat546	S7_L3_C4	Cat569	S9_L3_C1	NI
S6_L5_C21	Cat546	S7_L3_C5	NI	S9_L3_C2	Cat601
S6_L5_C22	Figure 156	S7_L3_C6	Cat570	S9_L3_C3	NI
S6_L5_C23	Figure 156	S7_L3_C7	Cat571	S9_L3_C4	Figure 189
S6_L5_C24	Cat546, Cat547	S7_L3_C8	NI	S9_L3_C5	Cat602
S6_L5_C25	Cat546	S7_L5_C1	Cat572	S9_L3_C6	Cat603
S6_L5_C26	Figure 156	S7_L5_C2	Cat573	S9_L3_C7	Cat603
S6_L5_C27	Figure 156	S7_L5_C3	Cat573	S9_L3_C8	Cat603
S6_L5_C28	Cat548	S7_L5_C4	Cat574	S9_L3_C9	Cat603
S6_L5_C29	Figure 156	S7_L5_C5	Cat575	S9_L3_C10	Figure 190
S6_L5_C30	Cat549	S7_L6_C1	Cat576	S9_L3_C11	Figure 190
S6_L5_C31	Cat550	S7_L7_C1	Cat577	S9_L3_C12	Figure 190
S6_L5_C32	Cat551	S7_L7_C2	Cat577	S9_L3_C13	Cat604
S6_L5_C33	Cat552	S8_L1_C1	Figure 178	S9_L3_C14	Cat605
S6_L5_C34	Cat553	S8_L1_C2	Cat578	S9_L3_C15	NI
S7_L1_C1	Cat554	S8_L1_C3	Cat579	S9_L3_C16	NI
S7_L1_C2	Cat554	S8_L1_C4	Cat580	S9_L3_C17	Cat606
S7_L1_C3	Cat555	S8_L1_C5	Cat580	S9_L3_C18	Cat607
S7_L1_C4	Cat556	S8_L1_C6	Cat581	S9_L3_C19	Cat608
S7_L1_C5	Cat557	S8_L1_C7	Cat582	S9_L3_C20	Cat609
S7_L1_C6	Cat557	S8_L1_C8	Cat583	S9_L3_C21	Cat610
	Figure 167, Cat558,	S8_L1_C9	Cat584	S9_L3_C22	Cat611
S7_L2_C1	Cat559	S8_L1_C10	Cat584	S9_L3_C23	Cat612
S7_L2_C2	Figure 167	S8_L1_C11	Cat585	S9_L3_C24	Cat613
S7_L2_C3	Figure 167				

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S9_L3_C25	Cat613	S12_C9	Cat636	S12_C53	NI
S9_L3_C26	Cat614	S12_C10	Cat636	S12_C54	NI
S9_L3_C27	Cat614	S12_C11	Cat636	S12_C55	Cat662
S9_L3_C28	NI	S12_C12	Cat636	S12_C56	Cat662, Cat664
S9_L3_C29	NI	S12_C13	Cat637	S12_C57	Cat663, Cat664
S9_L3_C30	NI	S12_C14	Cat637	S12_C58	Cat664
S9_L3_C31	Cat615	S12_C15	Cat638	S12_C59	Cat665
S9_L3_C32	NI	S12_C16	Cat639	S12_C60	Cat665
S9_L3_C33	Cat616	S12_C17	Cat640	S12_C61	Cat665
S9_L3_C34	NI	S12_C18	Cat640	S12_C62	Cat666
S9_L3_C35	Cat617	S12_C19	Cat640	S12_C63	NI
S10_L1_C1	Cat618	S12_C20	Cat641	S12_C64	Cat667
S10_L1_C2	Cat618	S12_C21	Cat642	S12_C65	Cat667
S10_L1_C3	Cat619	S12_C22	Cat642	S12_C66	Cat668
S10_L2_C1	Cat620	S12_C23	Cat643	S12_C67	Cat667
S10_L2_C2	Cat621	S12_C24	Cat643	S12_C68	Cat668
S10_L3_C1	Cat622	S12_C25	Cat644	S12_C69	Cat669
S10_L3_C2	Cat622	S12_C26	Cat645	S12_C70	Cat670
S10_L3_C3	Cat622	S12_C27	NI	S12_C71	Cat671
S10_L3_C4	Cat622	S12_C28	Cat646	S12_C72	Cat672
S10_L4_C1	Cat623	S12_C29	Cat647	S12_C73	Cat672
S10_L4_C2	Cat624	S12_C30	Cat647	S12_C74	Cat672, Cat763
S10_L4_C3	Cat624	S12_C31	Cat647	S12_C75	Cat674
S10_L5_C1	Cat625	S12_C32	Cat648	S12_C76	NI
S10_L5_C2	Cat625	S12_C33	Cat648	S12_C77	NI
S10_L5_C3	NI	S12_C34	Cat648	S12_C78	Cat675
S11_L1_C1	Cat626	S12_C35	Cat649	S12_C79	NI
S11_L2_C1	Cat627	S12_C36	Cat650	S12_C80	Cat676
S11_L2_C2	Cat627	S12_C37	Cat651	S12_C81	Cat677
S11_L2_C3	Cat627	S12_C38	Cat652	S12_C82	Cat678
S11_L3_C1	Cat628	S12_C39	Cat652, Cat653	S12_C83	Cat678
S11_L4_C1	Cat629	S12_C40	Cat653	S12_C84	Cat678
S11_L4_C2	Cat630	S12_C41	Cat654	S12_C85	Cat678, Cat679
S11_L4_C3	Cat631	S12_C42	Cat655	S12_C86	Cat680, Cat694
S11_L5_C1	Cat632	S12_C43	Cat656	S12_C87	Cat681
S11_L5_C2	Cat633	S12_C44	Cat656	S12_C88	Cat682
S12_C1	Cat634	S12_C45	Cat657	S12_C89	Cat683
S12_C2	Cat634	S12_C46	NI	S12_C90	Cat684
S12_C3	Cat634	S12_C47	Cat658	S12_C91	Cat685
S12_C4	Cat634	S12_C48	NI	S12_C92	Cat686
S12_C5	NI	S12_C49	Cat659	S12_C93	Cat687
S12_C6	NI	S12_C50	Cat659	S12_C94	Cat687
S12_C7	Cat635	S12_C51	Cat660	S12_C95	Cat688
S12_C8	NI	S12_C52	Cat661	S12_C96	NI

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S12_C97	NI	S12_C141	Cat711, Cat718	S12_C185	Cat748
S12_C98	Cat689	S12_C142	Cat719	S12_C186	NI
S12_C99	Cat690	S12_C143	Figure 213, Cat720	S12_C187	Cat749
S12_C100	Cat691	S12_C144	Cat721	S12_C188	Cat750
S12_C101	Cat692	S12_C145	Figure 213	S12_C189	Cat751
S12_C102	Cat693	S12_C146	Figure 213	S12_C190	Cat752
S12_C103	Cat693	S12_C147	Cat722	S12_C191	Figure 214
S12_C104	Cat693	S12_C148	Cat723	S12_C192	NI
S12_C105	Cat693, Cat694	S12_C149	Cat724	S12_C193	NI
S12_C106	Cat693, Cat694	S12_C150	Cat722, Cat725, Cat726	S12_C194	Cat753, Cat754
S12_C107	Cat695	S12_C151	Cat726	S12_C195	Cat753, Cat754
S12_C108	Cat694	S12_C152	Cat726, Cat727	S12_C196	Cat754
S12_C109	Cat696	S12_C153	Cat728	S12_C197	Cat754
S12_C110	Cat696	S12_C154	Cat729	S12_C198	Cat755
S12_C111	Cat697	S12_C155	Cat730	S12_C199	Cat756
S12_C112	Cat697	S12_C156	Cat731	S12_C200	Cat756
S12_C113	Cat697	S12_C157	Cat731	S12_C201	NI
S12_C114	Cat698	S12_C158	Cat732	S12_C202	NI
S12_C115	Cat699	S12_C159	NI	S12_C203	Cat757
S12_C116	Cat699	S12_C160	NI	S12_C204	Cat758
S12_C117	Cat700	S12_C161	Cat733	S12_C205	Cat759
S12_C118	Cat701	S12_C162	Cat734	S12_C206	Cat759
S12_C119	Cat702	S12_C163	Cat735	S12_C207	Cat759
S12_C120	Cat703, Cat706	S12_C164	NI	S12_C208	Cat760
S12_C121	Cat704	S12_C165	Cat736	S12_C209	Cat760
S12_C122	Cat705	S12_C166	NI	S12_C210	Cat760
S12_C123	Cat703	S12_C167	Cat737	S12_C211	Cat760
S12_C124	Cat706	S12_C168	Cat738	S12_C212	Cat760, Cat761
S12_C125	Cat706	S12_C169	Cat739	S12_C213	Cat760
S12_C126	Cat707	S12_C170	Cat740	S12_C214	NI
S12_C127	Cat708	S12_C171	Cat740	S12_C215	Cat760
S12_C128	Cat709	S12_C172	Cat740	S12_C216	Cat762
S12_C129	Cat709	S12_C173	Cat740	S12_C217	Cat763
S12_C130	Cat710	S12_C174	Cat740	S12_C218	Cat763
S12_C131	Cat711	S12_C175	Cat741	S12_C219	Cat764
S12_C132	Cat712	S12_C176	Cat742	S12_C220	Cat764
S12_C133	Cat713, Cat714	S12_C177	Figure 214	S12_C221	Cat764
S12_C134	Cat714	S12_C178	Cat743	S12_C222	Cat764
S12_C135	Cat714	S12_C179	Cat743	S12_C223	Cat765
S12_C136	Cat714, Cat715	S12_C180	Cat744	S12_C224	Cat766
S12_C137	Cat715	S12_C181	Cat745	S12_C225	Cat766
S12_C138	Cat716	S12_C182	Cat746	S12_C226	Cat766
S12_C139	Cat717	S12_C183	NI	S12_C227	Cat767
S12_C140	Cat718	S12_C184	Cat747	S12_C228	Cat767

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S13_C1	Cat768	S15_L1_C35	Cat779	S17_C21	Cat800
S13_C2	Cat769	S15_L1_C36	Cat779	S17_C22	Cat800
S13_C3	NI	S15_L1_C37	Cat779	S18_C1	Cat801
S13_C4	NI	S15_L1_C38	Cat779	S20_C1	Cat802
S13_C5	NI	S15_L1_C39	Cat779	S20_C2	Cat803
S13_C6	Cat770	S15_L1_C40	Cat779	S20_C3	Cat804
S14_C1	Cat771	S15_L1_C41	Cat779, Cat783	S20_C4	Cat804
S14_C2	Cat772	S15_L1_C42	Cat779, Cat783, Cat784	S20_C5	Cat805
S14_C3	Cat773	S15_L1_C43	Cat779, Cat783, Cat784	S21_L1_C1	Cat806
S14_C4	Cat774	S15_L1_C44	Cat779, Cat784	S21_L1_C2	NI
S15_L1_C1	Cat775	S15_L1_C45	Cat779	S21_L1_C3	Cat807
S15_L1_C2	Cat776	S15_L1_C46	Cat779	S21_L1_C4	NI
S15_L1_C3	NI	S15_L1_C47	Cat779	S21_L1_C5	Cat808
S15_L1_C4	Cat777	S15_L1_C48	Cat784	S21_L1_C6	Cat809
S15_L1_C5	NI	S15_L1_C49	Cat779, Cat784	S21_L1_C7	Cat810
S15_L1_C6	Cat778	S15_L1_C50	Cat784	S21_L1_C8	Cat810
S15_L1_C7	Cat779	S15_L1_C51	Cat784	S21_L1_C9	Cat811
S15_L1_C8	Cat780	S15_L1_C52	Cat785	S21_L2_C1	Cat812
S15_L1_C9	Cat780	S15_L1_C53	Cat785	S21_L2_C2	Cat812
S15_L1_C10	Cat780	S15_L1_C54	Cat785	S21_L2_C3	Cat813
S15_L1_C11	Cat780, Cat781	S15_L2_C1	Cat786	S21_L2_C4	NI
S15_L1_C12	Cat781	S15_L2_C2	Cat787	S21_L2_C5	NI
S15_L1_C13	Cat781	S15_L2_C3	Cat788	S21_L2_C6	NI
S15_L1_C14	Cat781	S16_C1	Cat789-Cat797	S21_L2_C7	NI
S15_L1_C15	NI	S17_C1	Cat798	S21_L2_C8	NI
S15_L1_C16	Cat780	S17_C2	Cat798	S21_L2_C9	NI
S15_L1_C17	Cat780	S17_C3	Cat798	S21_L2_C10	NI
S15_L1_C18	Cat780	S17_C4	Cat798	S21_L3_C1	Cat814
S15_L1_C19	Cat780	S17_C5	Cat798	S21_L3_C2	Cat815
S15_L1_C20	Cat780	S17_C6	Cat798	S21_L3_C3	Cat816
S15_L1_C21	Cat780	S17_C7	Cat798	S21_L4_C1	Cat817
S15_L1_C22	Cat780	S17_C8	Cat798	S21_L4_C2	Cat818
S15_L1_C23	Cat780	S17_C9	Cat798	S21_L4_C3	Cat819
S15_L1_C24	Cat780, Cat782	S17_C10	Cat798	S21_L4_C4	Cat820
S15_L1_C25	Cat780	S17_C11	Cat798	S21_L4_C5	Cat821
S15_L1_C26	Cat780	S17_C12	Cat798	S21_L4_C6	NI
S15_L1_C27	Cat780	S17_C13	Cat798	S21_L4_C7	NI
S15_L1_C28	Cat779, Cat780	S17_C14	Cat799	S22_C1	NI
S15_L1_C29	Cat779, Cat780	S17_C15	NI	S22_C2	Cat822
S15_L1_C30	Cat779, Cat780	S17_C16	NI	S22_C3	Cat823
S15_L1_C31	Cat782	S17_C17	Cat800	S22_C4	Cat825
S15_L1_C32	Cat782	S17_C18	Cat800	S22_C5	Cat824
S15_L1_C33	Cat779	S17_C19	Cat800	S22_C6	Cat825
S15_L1_C34	Cat779	S17_C20	Cat800	S22_C7	Cat825

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Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.	Inv. No.	Image No.
S22_C8	Cat826	S27_C4	Cat841	S29_C6	Cat867
S22_C9	Cat826	S27_C5	Cat842	S29_C7	Cat868
S22_C10	Cat826	S27_C6	Cat842	S29_C8	Cat869
S22_C11	Cat826	S27_C7	NI		Cat870, Cat871, Cat872,
S22_C12	NI	S27_C8	NI	S29_C9	Cat873
S22_C13	Cat827	S27_C9	Cat843	S29_C10	NI
S22_C14	Cat828	S27_C10	Cat843	S29_C11	NI
S23_C1	Cat829	S27_C11	Cat844		
S23_C2	NI	S27_C12	Cat845		
S23_C3	NI	S27_C13	Cat845		
S23_C4	Cat830	S27_C14	Cat846		
S23_C5	NI	S27_C15	Cat847		
S23_C6	Cat831	S27_C16	Cat848		
S23_C7	NI	S27_C17	Cat849		
S23_C8	NI	S27_C18	Cat850		
S24_C1	Cat832	S27_C19	Cat850		
S24_C2	Cat832	S27_C20	Cat850		
S24_C3	Cat832	S27_C21	Cat850		
S24_C4	Cat832	S27_C22	Cat850		
S24_C5	Cat832	S27_C23	Cat851		
S24_C6	Cat832	S27_C24	Cat851		
S24_C7	Cat832	S27_C25	NI		
S24_C8	Cat832	S27_C26	Cat852		
S24_C9	Cat832	S27_C27	Cat852		
S24_C10	Cat832	S27_C28	Cat853		
S24_C11	Cat832	S27_C29	NI		
S24_C12	NI	S27_C30	Cat854		
S24_C13	NI	S27_C31	Cat854		
S24_C14	NI	S27_C32	Cat855		
S24_C15	NI	S27_C33	Cat856		
S24_C16	NI	S28_C1	Cat857		
S24_C17	NI	S28_C2	NI		
S25_C1	Cat833	S28_C3	NI		
S25_C2	Cat833	S28_C4	Cat858		
S25_C3	Cat834	S28_C5	Cat859		
S25_C4	Cat835	S28_C6	Cat860		
S25_C5	Cat836	S28_C7	Cat861		
S25_C6	Cat837	S28_C8	Cat862		
S26_C1	NI	S28_C9	Cat863		
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Focusing on the eastern part of the region, this is the first in a series of five volumes that comprehensively document rock art in Upper Tibet. It examines a panoply of graphic evidence found on stone surfaces, supplying an unprecedented view of the long-term development of culture and religion on a large swathe of the Tibetan Plateau. The pictographs (rock paintings) and petroglyphs (rock carvings), host sites, and descriptions and analyses presented are the direct result of intensive fieldwork conducted by the author in Upper Tibet between 1995 and 2016. Information on rock art production techniques, subject identification, thematic class, mode of presentation, physical condition, estimated age, and relative location are supplied for each piece of rock art. In addition to the datasets, the book offers rock art site descriptions and assesses the cultural, religious and artistic development of these locations.

John Vincent Bellezza PhD is a specialist in the archaeology and cultural history of the highest reaches of the Tibetan Plateau. Author of 12 previous books and many academic articles on these subjects, he spent altogether eight years in Tibet engaged in fieldwork between 1984 and 2019. During the course of his explorations, he became the first westerner to visit the sources of the four major rivers arising in western Tibet and is perhaps the only person to reach most of the islands in the big lakes of the Tibetan tablelands.

ISBN 978-1-80327-503-1



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