MAURIZIO TADDEI

ON GANDHĀRA

COLLECTED ARTICLES

edited by

GIOVANNI VEKARDI and ANNA FILIGENZI

VOLUME I

NAPOLI 2003
ON GANDHĀRA
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GAIMAT PRATAP CHAND
CREATIVE VISIONS AND THEIR BIRTHDAY

VOLUME I

MARCH 25th
EDITORS' PREFACE

Not long after Maurizio Taddei passed away at the beginning of February 2000, we began to think about what would be the best way for the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" – where he had taught for more than thirty years and of which he had also been Rector – to honour his memory. It seemed to us that the best way would be to collect in a single volume all his writings on Gandharan art, as this was the field of study to which he had mainly devoted himself, both as a scholar and a teacher.

These writings cover the whole course of his scholarly activity, from 1962 to 1999, the year in which his last works, to be published posthumously, were written. Other projects he was working on were left uncompleted: all we have are preliminary drafts or rough outlines, research notes, or an exchange of ideas with colleagues. One of these was his enquiry into a particular aspect of the Gandharan iconography of Skanda which he was to have presented at the Colloque international sur l'art e l'archéologie des monastères gréco-bouddhiques du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie Centrale, that was held in Strasbourg in March 2000.

There is no-one nowadays who could have written a book on Gandharan art better than Maurizio Taddei. It is tricky ground for scholars, as there is such a wealth of material and so little historical and archaeological evidence to help them organize it. Maurizio Taddei was fully aware of these real limits, so much so that this was possibly what kept him from writing a comprehensive work on the subject. Luckily for us this did not stop him from carrying on his research, with great critical judgement and keen insight, which found more suitable expression in the form of an article, a brief note, a paper read at a conference or an occasional debate. Probably he thought that the time was not yet ripe
for producing a credible general work on Gandhāra, although he had welcomed the progress that had been made in the field in recent years and of which he himself was one of the foremost authors (and he was well aware of this, despite his natural reserve). His confidence that the time would eventually be ripe can be read between the lines of his more recent writings, such as *Arte narrativa tra India e mondo ellenistico* (1993) and “Recent Archaeological Researches in Gandhāra. The New Evidence” (to appear shortly in the proceedings of *The Gandharan Conference*, that was held in Hamilton, Canada, in May 1999). These works contain wide-ranging remarks, together with a careful and perceptive examination of all the new evidence that is gradually being provided by the various disciplines in this field of research. So although we regret the lack of the work that Maurizio Taddei probably would have given us, we can nevertheless rejoice in the numerous writings on the many different aspects of Gandharan art that are his legacy to us.

Maurizio Taddei made an early beginning in this branch of study. He was still very young when he won a prize trip to India and this confirmed his choice regarding the direction his university studies were to take. He graduated from Rome University in 1961 with a thesis, supervised by Mario Bussagli, on the jewellery from Taxila. Soon after he joined the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, organized by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (now the Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente) and directed by Domenico Faccenna. At that time the President of the IsMEO was Giuseppe Tucci, who used to visit the mission every year. In 1964 Taddei became a curator at the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale in Rome, a post which he was to hold until 1974. This experience helped to give him greater familiarity with the material from Gandhāra and India. In 1967 he was appointed director of the Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, where he continued to lead the expeditions as long as the situation allowed it. In 1995 he became director of the Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.¹

¹ Maurizio Taddei’s life as a scholar has been fully described by Gherardo Gnoli in the obituary written for *East and West* (vol. 50, 2000, pp. 545-52, followed by a
Maurizio Taddei always remained true to his training as a field archaeologist, without this limiting in any way his interests in iconography and iconology. We can mention briefly here that he took a lively interest in the school of Aby Warburg and it was he who translated into Italian Erwin Panofsky’s *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Rinascimento e rinascenze nell’arte occidentale, Milano 1971). These interests were, if anything, made even stronger by his experience as an archaeologist, which lent a precision and an insight to his work, especially in the examination of the materials, that are rarely to be found in Gandharan studies. The close attention he paid to concrete evidence and his deep-rooted analytical temperament made his approach to Gandharan iconography something that was still quite uncommon in the study of Indian art history, and his commitment was matched by a consistent scholarly output.

Maurizio Taddei’s most innovatory contribution to this sphere of studies was perhaps the history of art in the true sense. Alfred Foucher, the founder of these studies, was not a true art historian and nor were his successors as a rule, though in some fortunate cases they had a flair for iconography. There can be no doubt that Mario Bussagli, with whom Taddei had studied, was an art historian who applied his talent to Gandharan art, but Taddei’s contribution was a deeper knowledge of India and, most of all, a wider and more direct acquaintance with the material. Some of his last writings in particular (for instance, the aforementioned *Arte narrativa tra India e mondo ellenistico*) display an intimate understanding of the specific artistic phenomenon together with a profound comprehension of classical art, which made it possible for him to achieve results of primary importance.

All these things will, we think, be immediately apparent from this carefully selected collection of his works, which we have chosen to devote to Gandhāra *stricto sensu*, leaving out, after some considerable doubts, all the writings on the art and archaeology of Afghanistan, although these represent the other side of Taddei’s complete bibliography of his works, pp. 553-64) and by Giovanni Verardi in the obituary written for the *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli - Sez. Orientale* (vol. 60, 2000, pp. 531-41).
studies on Gandhāra, both of them gaining from a constant inter-relation. Our intention in making this choice was not only to give unity to the volume but also to acknowledge, especially in such a difficult time as this for Afghanistan, the extent and importance of Taddei’s research on this front. It would be well worth another volume, a companion to this one. We hope that it, too, will soon begin to take shape and so help to bring a bit of light back to a country that is so sorely tried and which Taddei loved very much. Such a work would pay a twofold tribute to its author, who would have wanted more than anyone else that the discovery of the past was not merely an intellectual exercise for scholars but a common wealth and a safeguard for the present and the future.

Two works dealing with the cataloguing of Gandharan material have not been included in this volume. They are the important "Descriptive Catalogue", in D. Faccenna, Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, W. Pakistan), Roma 1962-64, and the catalogue of the items, mostly from the same site, in the municipal museum in Turin ("Rilievi del Gandhara", in A. Invernizzi, Museo Civico di Torino, Sezione d’arte orientale, Torino 1966, pp. 31-53). Although these works have been omitted here, we must point out that, while these descriptive catalogues are, in a way, a finishing point as far as the analytical study is concerned, they are also a starting point for important critical remarks, where contexts and comparisons emerge clearly. We have also excluded the article "Taxila" that was written for the Enciclopedia dell’arte antica classica e orientale in 1967 because, understandably enough, it adds very little to the three volumes on Taxila that John Marshall had sent to the press some fifteen years earlier, having been intended as a summary for the Italian general reader. Likewise, we thought it advisable to omit two articles: "Neue Forschungsbelege zur Gandhāra-Ikonographie" (from the volume in honour of Klaus Fischer Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches: Völker und Kulturen zwischen Orient und Okzident; Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indien, edited by J. Ozols and V. Thewalt, Köln, pp. 154-75), and "Was bedeutete der Buddhismus für die frühe indische Kunst?" (from the volume Buddha in Indien: Die frühindische Skulptur von König Asoka bis zur Guptazeit, edited by D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Milano-Wien, pp. 41-49), as they are largely an adaptation in German of the articles

We have tried to keep as near as possible to the character of the original editions of the writings, but we also wanted the volume to have its own unity of form, knowing full well how much Maurizio Taddei appreciated books that were classical or traditional in appearance (he himself created the series of which this volume is part). The texts have therefore been re-typed, though without altering the criteria that were followed in each case for transliteration, notes, illustrations and bibliography, according to editorial requirements. For the reader’s convenience, some slight changes have been made in order to standardize the bibliographical references and, in a few cases, to complete the captions to the illustrations. The criteria followed by the author in the use of diacritical marks have been kept unchanged. The articles that did not appear originally in English are followed here by an English summary so as to make the texts accessible to the widest possible reading public. The illustrations have been reprinted, in the majority of cases, from the original negatives and where this was not possible, they have been reproduced from the texts. The job of editing the first volume was done mainly by Giovanni Verardi, while Anna Filigenzi was responsible for the second.

Our thanks go to all those who have helped to make this volume possible: to Mario Agrimi, Rector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale” from 1998 to 2001, to his successor Pasquale Cirillo, and to the Director of the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici from 2000 to 2002, Paolo Calvetti. We should also like to thank all the copyright holders, both persons and institutions, who have given us permission to reprint the texts, as well as the President of the Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Gherardo Gnoli, and the Director of the Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale, Donatella Mazzeo, for their courtesy in allowing us to reprint the photos kept in their archives. We are also grateful to Fabio Amato, who was in charge of the publications sector of the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, to Barbara Goss who, in translating
the summaries, returned once more to a long tradition of working together with Maurizio Taddei, and to Valeria Benedetti, who assisted us in our search for the negatives. Thanks are also due to Pierfrancesco Callieri and Liliana Camarda for all the help they gave us.

Last but not least, our special thanks go to Stella and Alessandro Taddei, who helped us to assemble all the material necessary for the volume and who encouraged us in our undertaking. We trust that this volume will be for them what we ourselves conceived of it as being: a work that is not only and not so much in memory of Maurizio Taddei, but that will be a way of handing down to future generations of students his great contribution to learning.

Giovanni Verardi       Anna Filigenzi

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NEW YORK

1971

G.R. 2403

The Board of Directors of the New York Stock Exchange have approved the merger of the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange into a new corporation to be known as the New York Stock Exchange Corporation. The new corporation will operate under a single set of rules and regulations, and will have the authority to set its own fees and charges. The merger is expected to be completed by the end of the year.

The Board has also approved the establishment of a new committee to oversee the implementation of the merger. The committee will be composed of representatives from both the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange.

The merger is expected to bring economies of scale and increased efficiency to the stock exchange industry. It is also expected to enhance the competitiveness of the New York Stock Exchange in the global capital markets.

The merger is subject to regulatory approval and other customary closing conditions. The New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange will continue to operate as separate entities until the merger is completed.
ABBREVIATIONS

AAM Arte Antica e Moderna. Rivista degli Istituti di Archeologia e
di Storia dell’Arte dell’Università di Bologna e dei Musei del
ABIA Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology. Leiden.
Afgh Afghanistan. Revue trimestrielle publiée par la Société des études
AGBG A. Foucher, L’art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra (Publications
de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient), 2 vols. and Suppl.
New Delhi.
AJA American Journal of Archaeology (Archaeological Institute of
AMI Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. Berlin.
AnnInst Annali dell’Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. Roma-
Paris.
AnPak Ancient Pakistan. Research Bulletin of the Department of
Archaeology, University of Peshawar. Peshawar
AOr Ars Orientalis. Washington.
Archaeology Archaeology. A Magazine dealing with the Antiquity of the
ArchCl Archeologia Classica. Rivista dell’Istituto di Archeologia del-
l’Università di Roma. Roma.
ArtibAs Artibus Asiae (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University).
Ascona-New York.

XVII
ON GANDHÄRA

ASI  Archaeological Survey of India. New Delhi.
ASIAR  Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports. Calcutta-Delhi.
BArte  Bollettino d’Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Roma.
Berythus  Berythus. Archaeological Studies Published by the Museum of Archaeology of the American University of Beirut. Copenhagen-Beirut.
BMQ  The British Museum Quarterly. London.
CIL  Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiarum Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum. Berolini.
CVA  Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. London.
DDA  Dialoghi di Archeologia. Milano.
EAA  Enciclopedia dell’arte antica classica e orientale. Roma.

XVIII
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>EW</td>
<td><em>East and West. Quarterly Published by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente</em>, Roma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GazArch</td>
<td><em>Gazette archéologique. Recueil de monuments pour servir à la connaissance et à l'histoire de l'art antique</em>, Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historia</td>
<td><em>Historia. Studi storici per l'antichità classica</em>, Milano-Roma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOS</td>
<td>Harvard Oriental Series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JASB</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</em>, Calcutta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JbZMM</td>
<td><em>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</em>, Mainz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCA</td>
<td><em>Journal of Central Asia</em>, Islamabad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNSI</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</em>, Varanasi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MALinc</td>
<td><em>Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura dell'Accademia dei Lin- cei</em>, Milano-Roma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDAP</td>
<td>Memoirs of the Department of Archaeology in Pakistan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Journal Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSe</td>
<td>Notizie degli Scavi di antichità (Accademia dei Lincei). Roma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NumChr</td>
<td>The Numismatic Chronicle. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖJb</td>
<td>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien. Wien.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RARe</td>
<td>Rivista d’Arte. Firenze.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RendLinc</td>
<td>Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Roma.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RendPontAcc</td>
<td>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Roma.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RIASA</td>
<td>Rivista dell'Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte. Roma.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RivItNum</td>
<td>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Milano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSO</td>
<td>Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Roma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Sovetskaja Arheologija. Moskva.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAA</td>
<td>South Asian Archaeology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAS</td>
<td>South Asian Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBB</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the Buddhists.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sculptures Butkara I</td>
<td>D. Faccenna, Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, W. Pakistan) (IsMEORepMem II.2-3), 3</td>
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XX
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>StEtr</td>
<td>Studi Etruschi. Istituto di Studi Etruschi. Firenze.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WissZHalle</td>
<td>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle. Halle-Wittenberg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART I
ARTICLES

[229] The place we have described (Fig. 3 a, b, c, d, e) is an architectural structure of about 400 feet. The upper, rectangular part is the lower, square and round, and is situated to be discovered in the ground in most probably, in a courtyard. The lower part is octagonal, slightly tapered, and bordered by a small terrace. It is designed from the figure shown by a sketch above. The pedestal consists of a simple cylinder rounded at the top, the external details being repeated in a second double line to denote the entablature, cornice, and frieze.

The girl's head is adorned with pretty hair, relief and color somewhat reveal the ears on all four surfaces but only the front part of the neck. The eyes are staring and elongated, and the nose is represented by delicate stippled work over the mouth. A long, white, projecting hood covers half the head, which is supported by an engravng in line. The lower end is not very curved in its form, and in middle between the nostril and the nose-forehead region. The ears are pointed and slightly curved and have partially to the middle and, being a small, crescent, lance-shaped patch.

We provide about the area on the surface of the floor. The black and white, which are situated here, are blackened in an area. A large area is blackened over the edge of the room, and the middle is light, and the area is light, and the door is light. A large area is light, and the middle is light, and the door is light.
AN EKAMUKHALIŅGA FROM THE N.W.F.P.
AND SOME CONNECTED PROBLEMS
A STUDY IN ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

From East and West 13, 1962, pp. 288-310

[288] The piece we have reproduced¹ (figs. 1-4, 7, 9) is an ekamukhalīṅga sculptured in white marble of rather fine grain (h. 42 cm.). The upper, sculptured part is smooth; the lower, coarse and rough and destined to be inserted in the ground or, more probably, in a gaurīpatta. This lower part is octagonal, slightly tapered, and fashioned by a small hammer: it is divided from the figure above by a slender listel. The phallus consists of a simple cylinder rounded at the top, the anatomical details being limited to a carved double line to depict the encircling prepuce and frenum.

The god's head is sculptured in pretty strong relief and consequently reveals the ears in all their outline but only the front part of the neck. The eyes are narrow and elongated and the lids are represented by delicate ridges meeting near the temples. The upper lid is somewhat lowered and covers half the iris which is represented by an engraved line. The third eye is not very different in its form and is midway between the hair-line and the nose-forehead region. The carefully combed and slightly wavy hair is neatly parted in the middle and, except for a small, central lozenge-shaped patch,

¹ My grateful thanks are due to the owner of the piece, Mr Arbab Hidayat Ullah, whose exquisite courtesy I have had the good fortune to enjoy, to Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, who generously invited me to reproduce the piece and comment on it; and to Mr M.A. Shakur, whose help has often been most valuable: we share the same love for the North-West Frontier and I would dedicate these pages to him if I thought them worthy of it.
is folded back upon itself in the form of large parallel-wavy bands which rise from the hair-line and converge in a jaṭā composed of two big tufts twisted into a spiral shape held and separated by a band also formed of hair. On either side of the nape of the neck hang three locks in the form of serpents; these are brought out in low relief on the body of the linga and are arranged in a regular downward-tending pattern. The ears have pierced and markedly elongated lobes adorned with ear-rings bearing external globules. The neck is grooved and bears a necklace of round beads with an oval plaque which is slightly grooved in its turn at the edges.

The nose and mouth are, alas, heavily, and the chin slightly, damaged by a wide gash. The nose, indeed, is gone, but the characteristic fleshiness of the mouth can still be judged from the protruding lower lip.

This object belongs to Mr Arbab Hidayat Ullah, P.S.P., Peshawar, and was found in all likelihood in the Mardan District. This means that it can be related to that group of sculptures in white marble dating from the post-Gupta age and produced in the Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier region. They raise several stylistic and historical problems and should most likely be assigned to the period of the Śâhis of Kabul and Udabhanḍa.

** **

2 With more precision one might localise the place of origin in the area of Hund (Survey of Pakistan 1:50,000 Sheet, 43 B/8, First Edition, U472930), the Udabhândapura of ancient times. Here - so Mr M.A. Shakur, the Curator of the Peshawar Museum, informs me - numerous lingas are conserved, some of them even in the mosques. A linga of the same material, form and dimensions as the one reproduced, but without figurative details, has recently been acquired by Mr M.A. Shakur for the Peshawar Museum.

There are external features about this sculpture, above all the hair arrangement, that indicate very peculiar survivals and influences that we shall deal with later. Such features, however, are – I clearly believe – quite apart from the aesthetic value of the work. The not quite cylindrical linga is for the sculptor a central pattern which determines his treatment of the other diverse elements of the work: the necklace and neck grooves, the swollen rotundity of the chin (they can be more fully appreciated if you cover the lower, and originally not visible, part in the photograph) blend with the rounded surface of the linga and reveal that desire for a balanced arrangement of masses that characterises Indian post-Gupta art. Confining ourselves to celebrated examples we may mention the sculptures of the Elephanta Cave-temple⁴ or the Great Bodhisattva of vibhāra I at Ajanta⁵ [289] with which the linga is, in my view, approximately contemporary (VIII century). Our sculpture reveals the touch of a sensitive, accomplished artist rather than of the artisan reproducing familiar patterns and thereby has specific similarities with classical Indian taste; yet it shows itself to be completely independent stylistically from these celebrated works. At Elephanta, colour is used to break up the surface; at one point the effect is of unexpected shadow, at another, of vibrant chiaroscuro; it is a technique informed by knowing allusions. In the

Archaeological Survey in Swat”, in EW IX, 1958, note 29 on p. 327. Consult also Attività archeologica italiana in Asia. Mostra dei risultati delle Missioni in Pakistan e in Afghanistan 1956-1959 (English Edition: Italian Archaeological Researches in Asia), Torino 1960, pp. 24, 60, nos. 221, 222, pl. XXVII, where the news is given of the discovery of a Brahman stele in the palace of Sultan Mas'ud near Ghazni, and it is defined as “Shahi art, VIII-IX cent.”. About this dating I believe there are serious doubts: see, in fact, what U. Scerrato justly remarks about this stele in “The First Two Excavation Campaigns at Ghazni, 1957-1958”, in EW X, 1959, pp. 39 f., fig. 39.

⁴ Assignable to the VII-VIII cent. See J. Burgess, Rock Temples of Elephanta, Bombay 1871. Good photographs can be seen in St. Kramrisch, “The Image of Mahadeva in the Cave-temple on Elephanta Island”, in AI 2, 1946, pp. 4-8, pls. I-VII.


5
Peshāwar sculpture, on the other hand, colour gives way to a softer use of shading that seems to caress the calm forms of the face as though stressing its geometrical purity. This effect is heightened by the sharp, precise lines of the eyes and eyebrows and the very fine hieroglyphic formed by the coil of hair. And moreover, the hair drawn to both sides as though swollen by the wind and the eyes so unbelievably prolonged are simply an extremely original device to echo and bring out the form of the linga. On the basis of these stylistic features we can say that the sculptor belongs to a local tradition which is exemplified by works like the stele with Hariti (fig. 5) or the royal female donor (fig. 6) both from Sahri Bahol, and later, by products of Kashmir and Nepalese art, particularly those dating from the VIII century. It is this treatment of volume

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{6}} Peshāwar Museum, no. 1773. See A. Stein, "Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol", in ASIAR 1911-12, p. 107, pl. XLII, fig. 16; GAP, pp. 39, 146 f., no. 341, with further bibliography.}}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{7}} Peshāwar Museum, no. 1427. See D.B. Spooner, "Excavations at Sahri Bahol", in ASIAR 1909-10, p. 61, pl. XXIIa; GAP, p. 158, no. 400, for further bibliography. It is odd that the close stylistic relation between this sculpture and the Hariti mentioned above was not perceived by Ingholt, who puts them in two different groups. Group IV, to which the Hariti is thought to belong and very different works are, perhaps, over-confidently assigned, is defined with great surety "as its Leitmotiv is simply the use of paired, parallel lines to indicate the folds of the drapery" (pp. 37-38), a characteristic that Ingholt seems to think originated in Irān - "certainly not in India". It is hardly necessary to point out that it is, instead, a very common motif in India from the Yākṣī of Didargājī to the Pāla stelae of Bengal, and from the reliefs of Amarāvatī to the Cēla bronzes. The use of double parallel lines to indicate the folds of the drapery is, in the Hariti stele, not found as a characteristic of the main figure but only of the smaller figures at the feet of the goddess. This in itself proves the weakness of certain arguments: if the sculptor of the donor had had the idea of placing the figure of an assistant at her feet he would probably have carved double lines on this figure to bring out the folds, thereby passing - unwittingly! - from the III to the IV group. And what would happen if fate had not conserved the two figures at the feet of Hariti?}}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{8}} In particular the statue of the goddess Yamunā at Paśupatinātha, assigned by Goetz to the second quarter of the VIII cent.: H. Goetz, "Early Indian Sculptures from Nepāl", in Arābī As XVIII, 1955, pp. 72 f., fig. 6. Goetz's comparisons are too distant geographically and somewhat general: it is more profitable to see close parallels with the two sculptures mentioned from Sahri Bahol and with the donor (also from Sahri Bahol) in the Peshāwar Museum, no. 1767: Stein, "Excavations at Sahri Bahol", cit., p. 107, pl. XLII, fig. 13; GAP, p. 158, no. 401 (with further bibliography). For Kashmir, see H. Goetz, "The Mediaeval Sculpture of Kashmir", in Marg VIII, 1955.}}\]
as something swollen and distended which shows, above all, that the artist is following a local tradition: and the latter is also manifest in a good deal of the Gandharan stuccoes as well as in later objects probably contemporary with the piece we are considering. For example, a head, perhaps of a Bodhisattva, in unbaked painted clay, and another in terracotta (figs. 8, 10) that I had the good fortune to unearth from the ruins of Tapa Sardār (Ghaznī). This particular taste can always be clearly distinguished from Gupta art along the course of the Ganges and the Jumnā where the masses are more shaped and solid and more severely geometrical; apart from obvious specific differences between one work and another. In both cases there is a tendency to heed the dictates of tradition which is represented by Mathurā sculpture of the Kushan age on the one hand, and by Gandhāra art on the other.

I think I have said enough to show to some extent the rich cultural background of the sculpture we are examining and its individuality of style. We must now consider its religious significance and draw what iconographic conclusions we can from its evident characteristics.

* * *

9 This is not the place even for touching upon the question of the stuccoes: no solution will be found until stylistic data are separated from purely technical ones, thereby avoiding dangerous confusion. I believe above all that artistic manifestations cannot be viewed in the same way as biological or physical ones. Different forms of artistic expression can occur at one and the same time, since what creates art is the artist and not the "epoch" or the "school". The latter idea is now somewhat dated (it was invented, it seems, by Domenichino: cf. C.L. Ragghianti, "Sul metodo nello studio dei disegni", in Commenti di Critica d'Arte, Bari 1946, p. 212), but it is still popular among lethargic scholars. Art criticism should concern itself with the artist and with specific concrete facts, not with so-called general phenomena. An example of critical method that I think overlooks the development of European thought from Croce down to the present time is to be found in the last, and in other respects praiseworthy, book by Sir John Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhara. The Story of the Early School, its Birth, Growth and Decline (MDAP, vol. I), Cambridge 1960, especially Ch. 12, "Conclusion". For a right approach to the problem of the stuccoes, see G. Gullini, in L’Afghanistan dalla Preistoria all’Islam. Capolavori del Museo di Kabul, Torino 1961, p. 57.

10 Missione Archeologica Italiana in Afghānistān, Inv. no. TS 615.
Even in the period when Buddhism flourished most in the region, an effulgence proved by the extent of the output known as Gandhāra art, local Indian non-Buddhist cults are likely to have coexisted with the more widespread religion whether this was "official" or not. I am not referring here to the deities assimilated by Buddhism and amply recorded by Gandhāra artists:¹¹ I have in mind a number of divine figures only occasionally appearing in Buddhist contexts that would seem to show not a true phenomenon of assimilation but merely a knowledge of cults foreign to Buddhism itself. In this connexion a relief representing a six-armed deity recently discovered by the Italian Archaeological Mission at Butkara I (Swāt)²² is of notable interest. The cult of Śiva would seem to have become prominently only at a later date, although

¹¹ Indra, Brahmā and the devas their acolytes, Vaiśravaṇī, the Yakṣas, the Nāgas, Pāṇḍika and Hārīti, nagaрадева́ and bhūmidevi - for these, consult Foucher, AGBG, passim, especially vol. II, pp. 7 ff., 102 ff., 190 ff. The Sun god seems to hold a special position: his portray on the chariot is well-known in Gandhāra, the chariot usually being represented frontally: see, in particular, M. Bussagli, "The 'Frontal' Representation of the Divine Chariot", in EW VI, 1955, pp. 9-25, with preceding bibliography. For fresh matter, see Sculptures Butkara I, passim. In this connexion, two "toilet-trays" are of interest: one from Udigrām, Swāt (Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan, Inv. no. 372(U) (fig. 22), the other, not nearly so fine, at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (M. Bussagli, L'arte del Gandhara in Pakistan e i suoi incontri con l'arte dell'Asia Centrale. Catalogo della Mostra, Roma-Torino 1958, Roma 1958, p. 90, no. 89) (fig. 23). They reveal, on the usual chariot, a couple of busts holding cups, absolutely identical with the couples of the Sirkap "toilet-trays" (Marshall, Taxila. An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934, Cambridge 1951, pp. 495-96, nos. 67-71, pl. 144). Now it does not make sense that a general "drinking scene" should be placed on a chariot drawn by running horses; thus, that the Sirkap "toilet-trays" furnish us with an abbreviated representation of a solar couple is not to be discounted. In support of this I suggest a comparison with a vase with two heads completely in the round found at Rang Mahal, Rajasthān (H. Rydh et al., Rang Mahal. The Swedish Archaeological Expedition to India, 1932-54, Lund 1959, p. 157, pl. 73, and p. 158: "Dr. V.S. Agrawala has sent me the following comment:... most probably they represent a pair of Surya images with the Saka facial type. We have in the Mathura Museum such twin images of the Sun God, e.g. no. 1013".). Although the heads are both male in contrast with the Sirkap "toilet-trays", the resemblance is close. Moreover, even the hands of the extended figures along the edge as though supporting the cup itself are represented.

²² Sculptures Butkara I, pt. 3, pls. CCCXXXVIa, CCCXXXVIIIa.
some—often uncertain—evidence is afforded of a Kushan age
dating by the following discoveries: another Butkara I relief\(^3\) in
which a linga may, perhaps, be recognized; a fragment of relief
representing Śiva with the bull from the Dharmarājika of Taxila,\(^4\)
by a ring found in layer II at Sirkap where Śiva is perhaps rep-
resented dancing,\(^5\) and lastly by a circular seal (defined as "early
Kushān" by Marshall) which is also from Sirkap, layer II, and
bears the image of Śiva accompanied by inscriptions in kharoṣṭhī
and brāhmī characters.\(^6\) Further evidence of importance is naturally
the well-known Kushan coins on which Śiva and the bull figure
indicating a cult that was firmly established in the capital Puṣkara-
lavati (Chārsadda).\(^7\)

With the decay of Hinayāna Buddhism and the abandonment
of a large number of monasteries mentioned by Hsian Tsang, a
revival of the Saivite cult and others of a general Hindu type
occurred in the VI and VII centuries, at least in Swāt. Such a
revival was accompanied by symbiosis: and this is interesting both
as regards the history of the Vajrayāna\(^8\) and the iconography of the
period. Isolated images of Śiva,\(^9\) though much reduced in number,
compete with others—of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajra-
pāṇi\(^10\)—in the Swāt Valley; and at the same time there is the rock

\(^3\) ibid., pl. CDXCIHa. For the diffusion of Saivism in Gandhāra during the age
of the Kuśaṇas, see J.N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Calcutta
1941.

\(^4\) ASIAR 1915-16, p. 8, no. 32; H. Hargreaves in Marshall, Taxila, cit., p. 723,
no. 151.

\(^5\) Marshall, Taxila, cit., pp. 183, 648, no. 49, pl. 198.

193 and 681, no. 26, pl. 208, 56.

135-36, 172-73, 403 and passim. Add some sealings from N.W.F.P. with Śiva images:
one of them is in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome (Inv. no. 797; pre-


\(^9\) G. Tucci, ibidem, p. 314, fig. 26. To be compared, as G. Tucci remarks, with
the so-called "trimūrti" in the Peshawar Museum: see infra.

\(^10\) See Sir Aurel Stein, On Alexander’s Track to the Indus, London 1929; Do., An
Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts (MASI 42); G. Tucci, "Pre-
liminary Report Swat", cit., pp. 322-24. A large number of these images, brought
relief at Supal Banda where Śiva is represented together with other images of Bodhisattvas (figs. 11, 12).

[290] Two other objects date from a somewhat earlier period when the Gandhāra tradition associated with Buddhism’s greatest flowering had lost much of its hold on local craftsmen; they are together by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pākistān and as yet unpublished, are to be found among the collections of the Swāt Museum, Saidu Sharif. They should be compared with analogous Kashmir stelae – with the Pāndrethān one, for instance, of which we shall say more later (see note 78). Evidence of the close links existing between Kashmir and Swāt is afforded by some surviving objects of Swāt craftsmanship. A large number of inlaid in wood (grave stelae, doors, and architectural parts, mainly of mosques) are scattered everywhere in Upper Swāt. They were seen there by Sir Aurel Stein who perceived their great importance (On Alexander’s Track, cit., pp. 63-64, 92-93, and several figs.). In the time of Stein these wood-carvings must have been frequent as well to the south of the confluence of the Saidu Khwar and Swāt river. Today, if we exclude a few remaining items at Saidu Sharif, Gulgrām, in the sīyārat of Pir Bāba and a small number of other Buner sites, the area where they are found has shrunk considerably and tends to go on shrinking. Owing to the gradual abandonment of wood as building material, output is getting smaller and smaller. A dismantling process is going on in the southernmost centres like Bahrain, Madyan, and Khwāzakhela: the precious carvings – often real masterpieces – are used as firewood or allowed to rot in cemeteries. The numerous decorative motifs appearing on these items of superior craftsmanship cannot be studied here. For the question that concerns us – the relations between Kashmir and Swāt – it is enough to notice a decorative detail (fig. 24) of a mosque at Khwāzakhela (it was kindly brought to my notice by my friend, Mr John Terry, Rawalpindi, who reckoned he saw evidence here of a series of stūpas). In my view, the motif, which is repeated with variations, derives from the pāṁaghaṭa. What is particularly significant is the central leaf motif in the form of a fleur-de-lis that seems to me to be peculiar to the Kashmir variant of this symbol; see R.Ch. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London 1938, pls. XX, XXX21, XXXII28 (figs. 25, 26). The repetition of the motif, it should be noticed, is also a characteristic of Kashmir.


21 In the Saidu Khwar valley between Saidu Sharif and Marghuzar. As far as I know the relief has not been pointed out by others. For similar phenomena of syncretism as well as religious peace, see D.L. Snellgrove, “Shrines and Temples of Nepal”, in Arts As VIII, 1961, p. 6, espec. fig. 2. On the general question "des influences, du syncretisme, voire de la confusion" between Buddhist and Hindu iconography, see the bibliography given by M.-Th. de Mallmann, "Un aspect méconnu d’Avalokiteśvara", in Arts As VIII, 1961, p. 203.

22 That is to say, when "the school declines", as certain archaeologists are fond of remarking. Nearly all studies of Gandharan art (it is not an isolated phenomenon) are
the so-called "trimūrti" in the Peshāwar Museum\(^{23}\) and a liṅga in grey schist recently added to the museum.\(^{24}\) Resting against the body of the liṅga are the heads of Mahādeva, in the centre, and Umā and Bhairava at the sides. A curious fact is that while the central head reflects a more Indian, almost Gupta, pattern, the heads of Umā and Bhairava could well form part of a classical Gandhāra relief as at Taxila, for example.

The stele of Hāriti from Sahri Bahlol\(^{25}\) (fig. 5), showing the intrusion of highly interesting Saivite influences, must be more or less contemporary (Ingholt assigns it to the first half of the V century but it is probably later).

The works mentioned above may be augmented by a few in white marble. While almost wholly following patterns similar to those of Mathurā or Sarnāth in the Gupta age, these would seem to be products to be related to the period of the Śaḥis of Kābul and Udabhaṇḍa. Some of these are undoubtedly Saivite: \textit{viz.} a head of Durgā from Tagāo, a head of Śiva from Gardez,\(^{26}\) a very mutilated male statue from Tagāo\(^{27}\) conserved, with the two preceding pieces, in the Kābul Museum; and the so-called "Scorretti Marble"\(^{28}\) that is merely a fragment of an image of Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini as Barrett\(^{29}\) and Goetz\(^{30}\) have proved.

\(^{23}\) No. M 676: V.N. Aiyar, "Trimūrti Image in the Peshāwar Museum", in \textit{AIJAR} 1913-14, pp. 276-80, pl. LXXIIa (from Akhun Dheri, about 12 miles to the north of Chārsadda).

\(^{24}\) Bought on the antiquarian market at Peshāwar by Mr M.A. Shakur, who kindly brought it to my notice. The quality of the stone leads me to think that the piece comes from the region between Peshāwar and Malakand.

\(^{25}\) See p. 289, note 6.

\(^{26}\) D. Schlumberger, "Le marbre Scorretti", \textit{cit.}, p. 114, fig. 2.

\(^{27}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 114, fig. 1. On the Saivite character of this sculpture, see H. Goetz, "Late Gupta Sculptures", \textit{cit.}, p. 14.

\(^{28}\) Acquired at the Kābul bazaar by Mr F. Scorretti; it is at present housed in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome. See D. Schlumberger, "Le marbre Scorretti", \textit{cit.}, p. 113.

\(^{29}\) D. Barrett, "Sculptures of the Shāhi Period", \textit{cit.}, p. 54.

\(^{30}\) H. Goetz, "Late Gupta Sculptures", \textit{cit.}, pp. 13 ff.
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We can probably class with the above the marble linga, devoid of figurative parts, found at Tagāo near Kābul which in form is rather like the one we are writing about; and the other recently acquired by the Peshāwar Museum.

Last of all, we must not forget the Gaṇeśa image, still an object of veneration, which resides in the Hindu temple of Kābul: we learn from the V-VI century characters of the inscription that the image was consecrated by a Śahi king named Kiṃgala.

In Kashmir, too, which is not without Saivite and Vishnuite remains, the ekamukhaliṅga is a subject rarely represented. I know of but one example – that of Bāramula. An ekamukhaliṅga discovered about 80 miles south-west of Lahore (at Coleyana near Okāra) has recently been added to the British Museum collection: Barrett assigns it to the VIII century, and it is one of the most southerly specimens found that can be attributed to Kashmir art.

The exceptional three-in-one image from Sāoza Kala in the

31 A. Foucher and E. Bazin-Foucher, La vieille route de l’Inde de Bactres à Taxila (MDAFA I), vol. I, Paris 1942, p. 149, pl. XXXIb. Foucher’s comment is interesting: “Ce premier et unique (at that time) vestige d’hindouisme jusqu’ici retrouvé en Afghānistān, sans doute antérieur aux raids de Mahmūd de Ghaznī, avait été précipité du haut du tertre à deux reussauts qui se dressait sur notre droite. Au premier étage se trouvait le temple ājīvīta qui l’habitait, et au dessus s’élevait apparemment, dans une touchante promiscuité, un stūpa bouddhique...”. It is the same “touchante promiscuité” that we have already remarked in Swāt and Kashmir. Read also in this book by Foucher the fundamental chapter “Les propagandes religieuses” (vol. II, Paris 1947, pp. 253 ff.).

The remains found at Chagha Sarai (Kunār) are those of a temple, probably Hindu: see L. Edelberg, “An Ancient Hindu Temple in Kunar”, in Afgh XV, 1960, 3, pp. 11 ff., with preceding bibliography.

32 See note 2.

33 G. Tucci, “Preliminary Report Swat”, cit., note 29 on p. 328, fig. 40 on p. 323. For other pieces of the Śahi period, some of them Saivite, see the article by D. Barrett already cited (note 3), which is the best contribution to the study of Śahi art.


35 Kak, op. cit., pl. LIX.

Museum of Mazār-i-Sharif that should probably be identified as Śiva\(^{31}\) belongs to a quite different cultural environment.

* * *

This survey of non-Buddhist and particularly Saivite sculptures found during excavations or by chance is intended merely as an approach to the Peshāwar liṅga viewed as a clue to local cults and history. Coming now to the latter, it must be said that in terms of religious iconography\(^{38}\) it does not embody much that is new apart from the dangling hair which is characteristic of figures in movement like Śiva Naṭēṣa\(^{39}\) or a number of dvārapālas;\(^{40}\) of Cāmūṇḍā;\(^{41}\) Bhairava\(^{42}\) and Gajāurasamāṁhāramūrti;\(^{43}\) that clearly have nothing to do with our image. The hair arrangement, however, would fit another very common type of image perfectly - the ascetic Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti;\(^{44}\) whose conceptual and often iconographic resemblance to the Buddha dharmacakrapravartaka (as well as to Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa) must have favoured its introduction into an area so imbued with Buddhism as Gandhāra. It must be borne in mind, of course, that the flowing locks merely represent the dishevelled appearance of Śiva Mahāyogin, but here the particularly benignant expression of the face is remarkably prominent. May it be that

\(^{31}\) K. Fischer, "Der Śiva-Buddha-Herakles-Stein von Saozma Kala", in AAnz 1957 (1958), cols. 416 ff., Abb. 1. An accurate study of this image, which clarified a number of points, was carried out by a friend of mine, G. Gnoli, in his degree thesis.

\(^{38}\) For Saivite iconography, see above all T.A. Gopinatha Bao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Madras 1914.

\(^{39}\) See C. Sivaramamurti, "Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography", in AI 6, 1950, p. 60.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., fig. 21.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., pp. 32-33, figs. 16-17.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., pp. 53, 59, fig. 38, pl. XXIV A, B.

\(^{43}\) See the specimen from Lakkundi, Dharwār Dist., at the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, which we shall come back to later: R.B. Daya Ram Sahni, in ASIAR 1929-30, pl. XLIXe. Cf. Sivaramamurti, "Geographical and Chronological Factors", cit., pp. 59-60.

\(^{44}\) Sivaramamurti, ibid., pp. 53, 58, fig. 37, pls. XXII B, XXVIII A.
here as in other *ekamukhalīgas* we should catch an allusion to Dakṣināmūrti?

Everything else is quite normal including the third eye vertically situated on the forehead – a constant feature from the Gupta age onwards.\(^{45}\)

Let us pass on to the last part of our study – a consideration of the sculpture’s purely formal aspects.

* * *

We shall begin with the hair style. It can be sub-divided into the arrangement on the forehead, the chignon on top, and the dangling locks at the sides. Such a division may seem arbitrary; yet the style in question seems, in its turn, to be based on traditions that are different for each of the components mentioned.

As for the hair parted in the middle and covered with a part of that brought back from [291] the forehead and embodied in the chignon, a classical origin is apparent in spite of the flattened effect of the whole style and the fact that in the classical world this would seem to be a specially female characteristic. It hardly needs to be pointed out that this style was known in Rome as early as the first century B.C.,\(^{46}\) was revived, and reached its peak in the II-III century A.D.\(^{47}\) Rome naturally derived the fashion from Greece, where it was apparently already manifest in the IV century B.C. appearing in less rigid forms in works of a Praxiteles inspired con-


\(^{47}\) This “melon-like” type of hair style, which includes the one we are examining, came into fashion again with Crispina the wife of Commodus (176-192), rather than with Plautilla the wife of Caracalla (211-217) as has been maintained: see Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 f., no. 243. However, the habit of leaving a free space above the forehead appears earlier, e.g. in a portrait of the Antonine age in the Museo delle Terme, no. 113110; it represents an interesting variant of the hair style of Faustina Senior, the wife of Antoninus Pius (138-161); Felletti Maj, *op. cit.*, p. 110, no. 213.
text. A first undoubted model is afforded by the head of the "goddess of Butrinto" in Rome's Museo delle Terme; it is a variant of the "Apollo of Anzio" type; so-called after another fine piece of sculpture in the same museum. In the latter the locks rise from the forehead in two soft and smartly waved masses, while in the "goddess of Butrinto" there is a more regular arrangement of the locks and surmounting knot as well as the characteristic overlapping of the two bands of hair. At a later date this style is amply


49 Inv. no. 121302: R. Vighi, in NSc 1938, pp. 426-40, tav. XXVII-XXVIII. For the restitution of the original, see M.L. Marella, "Un tipo apollino arecato da una statua scoperta ad Anzio", in Bericht über den VI. Intern. Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin 1939, Berlin 1940, pp. 401-5, Taf. 41.

50 The knot which draws up the hair also seems to date from the IV cent. B.C. or a little earlier. In sculpture it first appears on the base of the Group of Apollo at Mantinea by Praxiteles, as it is remarked by G. Iacopi, "Gli scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana ad Afrodisias nel 1937", in MALine XXXVIII2, 1939, col. 100. Probably of the IV cent. B.C. is a statuette of Nike in terracotta in the Munich Antiquarium, known only from an old drawing (H. Bulle in LexMyth, III, 1897-1909, s.v. "Nike", Abb. 18, where it is assigned to the middle of the V cent.). It is one of the earliest examples of the hair style we are concerned with. To the IV cent. B.C. must be assigned also the prototypes of a large number of images of Aphrodite with her hair gathered into a top-knot; their great diffusion has no doubt influenced the hair style under examination. One should also keep in mind some variants of the "Venere Capitolina" in which the separation between the hair brought backwards and that drawn from the middle to the sides is neatly marked (e.g. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano, Città del Vaticano 1937, pp. 123 f., no. 263 bis, pl. LV). The head of the "Venere Capitolina" is very similar to the one of the Aphrodite attributed to Doidalas (III cent. B.C.). The prototype of such images, either of Aphrodite or Apollo, dates back to the III cent. B.C. This iconographic type had such a great diffusion that it was familiar even to the artists of the Renaissance: Andrea Sansovino employed it in 1505 in a work of his that is one of the richest in classical reminiscences, the tomb of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome (A. Meyer-Weinschel, Renaissance und Antike, Reutlingen 1933, p. 85, Abb. 243).

For examples of hair incorporated in a knot in a way surprisingly like that of the Gandhāra sculptures (see pp. 291 f.), see, for instance, J.H. Iliffe, "Imperial Art in Trans-Jordan. Figurines and Lamps from a Potter's Store at Jerash", in QDAPal XI, 1944, pp. 14 f., nos. 60, 64, pl. IV. Other phenomena of analogy between Gandhāra and Palestine are not rare: see M. Avi-Yonah, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine (Università di Roma. Centro di Studi Semitici: Studi Semitici 5), Roma 1961, passim.
exemplified in Egypt more in popular terracotta works than in official portraits, and also in Asia Minor and in Syria without going outside Hellenistic terracottas in the true sense.

In all these cases the hair style is characterized by a space on the forehead between the two bands of combed back hair, whereas in the Peshawar linga the bands are drawn back from the whole hair-line. Later on, in Egypt and Syria, the space left free gets increasingly smaller until, in Coptic art, specimens are produced that are very close to the sculpture we are considering.


32 Some III cent. B.C. coins of Arsinoe II and Berenice II, queens of Egypt (see F. Imhoof-Blumer, Porträt-köpfe auf antiken Münzen hellenistischer und bellenisierter Völker, Leipzig 1885, Taf. VIII 3, 6) could be deceptively invoked as a valid comparison. But corresponding sculptured portraits show that such an idea is to be discarded outright: see L. Laurenzi, Ritratti greci (Quaderni per lo studio dell’Archeologia 3-5), Firenze 1941, p. 119, nos. 70-71, tavv. XXV-XXVI.


35 With this difference that the hair visible underneath shows no parting: see W.F. Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters, Mainz 1952, p. 47, no. 80, Taf. 26; G. Bovini, in Catalogo della Mostra degli avori dell’Alto Medio Evo, Ravenna 1956, p. 53, no. 44, fig. 61, with preceding bibliography (ivory panel showing Apollo and Daphne, in the National Museum, Ravenna, about 500 A.D.; it is probably an Alexandrian carving under Coptic influence). J. Strzygowski, Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Koptische Kunst, Vienne 1904, pp. 21 ff., Abb. 26; U. Monneret de Villard, La scultura ad Atnás. Note sull’origine dell’arte copta, Milano 1923, fig. 33; G. Duthoit, La sculpture copte. Statues, bas-reliefs, masques, Paris 1931, p. 43, pl. XXVIa (relief with Leda and the swan and an amorpho, in the Cairo Museum, V-VI cent.). Strzygowski, op. cit., p. 75; Monneret, op. cit., fig. 76; Duthuit, op. cit., p. 49, pl. XLIIIa (capital with two amorini that support a masque, in the Cairo Museum, VI cent.). And this is not the only example of convergence (or interdependence?) of Coptic art with that of Gandhāra: see V. Smith, A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, 2nd ed., Oxford 1930, pp. 71 ff., with regard to the type of
AN EKAMUKHALIŊGA FROM THE N.W.F.P.

It may be that a few motifs common to Coptic art filtered into north-west India by way of Īrān, but the parallel that interests us is with Hellenistic art flourishing in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Owing to the relations of such art with this area of India, the source of many classical features that penetrated, if indirectly, into Gandharan art is easily recognized, and of aspects of the oldest Indian medieval art, as well, as our subject of study illustrates.

Contrary to what might be expected the nearest examples are not provided by Palmyra but by Dura, other places in Syria and Mesopotamia and a few centres of Asia Minor. And it is

the ᵀᵃˡᵃᵇʰᵃʳᵃⁿjīkā (for a contrary opinion, see Ph. Vogel, "The Woman and Tree or Salbahaniŋka in Indian Literature and Art", in ActaO VII, 1928, pp. 230-31).

36 For some significant cases of identity of decorative motifs between Coptic Egypt and Iran, see Monneret, La scultura ad Abrās, cit., passim, espec. pp. 66 ff. and Ch. IV.

37 For a general survey of such relations, see GAP. For the preceding bibliography, see H. Deydier, Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra. Essai de bibliographie analytique et critique des ouvrages parus de 1922 à 1949, Paris 1950. Now the main work to consult is D. Schlumberger, "Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'art grec", in Syria XXXVII, 1960, pp. 131 ff., 253 ff. Despite the many faults already mentioned, mainly of critical method, the posthumous work of Sir John Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, cit., should not be forgotten.

38 Usually at Palmyra the hair of female figures is held to the forehead by, and partly covers, a decorative band, and then drawn back towards the nape of the neck. In other cases the general pattern of the hair style may seem similar to the one we are studying, but the differences are manifold and substantial: see D. Simonsen, Sculptures et inscriptions de Palmyre à la Glyptothèque de Ny Carlsberg, Köbenhavn 1889, pp. 33 f., pl. XIII, no. D.7. Ibid., p. 36, pl. XV, no. D.11. Ibid., pp. 37 f., pl. XVI, nos. D.13 and D.14. H. Ingelund, "Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra", in Berytus III, 1936, p. 114, pl. XXIII.1 (Tyche of Palmyra). For other, very much modified types, see H. Ingelund, Studier over Palmyrenisk Skulptur, Köbenhavn 1928, passim.

39 C. Hopkins, in The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Third Season, New Haven 1932, pp. 102 ff., pl. XVII (female head). See also The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Seventh and Eighth Seasons, New Haven 1939, pp. 260 ff., pl. XXXIV.


41 See, for example, SPA, I, p. 408; IV, pl. 133 A (from Hatra).

42 See, for example, G. Mendel, Catalogue des figurines precoce de terre cuite (Musées Impériaux Ottomans), Constantinople 1908, p. 260, no. 2174, pl. VII.4 (from Friene; II-III cent. A.D.). G. Mendel, "Catalogue des monuments grecs, romains et
interesting to note that this type of female hair style that penetrated into Gandhāra by way of Iran has preserved a specific “foreign” character: it is usually a feature of figures that – for reasons which escape us – are stamped by other characteristics as “Greek”. A Shotorak relief showing the conversion of the Kāśyapās by Gotama contains a female figure with a hair arrangement in front like the style under consideration (fig. 13): and at least three other factors confirm that the artist intended to represent a Greek or Hellenized figure – the costume, the two curls like hooks on the forehead and the diadem.

byzantins du Musée Impérial Ottoman de Brousse”, in BCH XXXIX, 1909, p. 293, fig. 20 (funerary stele from the Valley of Altn-tash; III cent. A.D.). Cf. also (even if they reveal marked differences) some hair styles in the Tiberian frieze of the Agora of Aphrodisias in Caria: G. Iacopi, op. cit., cols. 100-1, no. 3, tav. V; col. 108, no. 10, tavv. VII, XLIV; col. 134, no. 80, tav. XXIV; col. 158, no. 89; tavv. XXVI, XLV; col. 157, no. 148, tav. XXXVII; etc. For comparisons between the works of Aphrodisian artists and the vine-scroll reliefs of Gandhāra, see B. Rowland, “The Vine-Scroll in Gandhāra”, in Artibus XIX, 1956, pp. 358 f. and M. Squarciapino, La scuola di Afrodisia (Studi e materiali del Museo dell’Impero Romano), Roma 1943, for the plates.

55 Iran may be the provenance of a Parthian female head in alabaster, in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome, Inv. no. Dep. 19 (privately owned) (fig. 27).

56 J. Meunié, Shotorak (MDAFA X), Paris 1942, p. 47, no. 155, pls. XIX-XX, 62-63 (the figure on the right). Other examples of a like hair arrangement – just to mention the best – are the female head of the Dharmaṛājika Stūpa, in terracotta (Archaeological Museum, Taxila, no. 1823: Marshall, Taxila, cit., p. 469, no. 168, pl. 138c: GAP, p. 184, no. 511), and the one in schist from Butkara I (Missionne Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan, Inv. no. 3222: Sculptures Butkara I, pt. 3, pl. CDL1). A Kuça painting may also be added: Grünwedel, Alt-Kutsha. Archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempora-Gemälden aus buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt (Veröffentlichung d. Preuss. Turfan-Expeditionen), Berlin 1920, Taf. XXIV-XXV (fifth head from the left in the top row).


58 Cf. e.g. Vogt, Samml. E. v. Sieglin, cit., 2, p. 148, Taf. LXI.2. But this is an element that is not exclusively classical in itself; indeed, in the Gandharan reliefs it is present also in figures costumed according to other fashions: witness a relief (former in the Corcos Collection) in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome, Inv. no. 426: M. Bussagli, “Due piccoli alterilievi gandharici”, in RendLinc IV, 1949, pp. 639 ff., fig. 2 (fig. 28).

59 The Hellenistic terracottas reveal a wide range of diadems many of them being fairly similar to the Shotorak one: see e.g. Winter, Die Typen, cit., II, p. 37, no. 6.
This type of forehead hair arrangement derives, then, from Hellenistic prototypes that were transformed by slow evolution and maybe modified by influences originating in the West. The lozenge motif above the forehead would appear to be an absolute novelty, but a study of Gandhāra art will enable us to trace its origin. Figures of the Buddha with a lozenge-shaped hair arrangement are by no means rare, in fact – witness a terracotta head from Jauliānī (fig. 14) where even the chignon is beginning to assume the form of a double knot. Yet it is not images of the Buddha which afford the most striking parallels. For Śiva bears a remarkable resemblance to Maitreya images. The jata typical of the Brahman ascetic is one of his characteristic marks: Śiva is indeed both Mahāyogin and Dhūrjaṭi ("having a burden of a top-knot"); his ascetic appearance belongs to the most ancient literary tradition. And Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, will, according to the Sarvāstivādins, be born into the Brahman caste. Consequently, a singular parallel between the jata and the kamandalu of Śiva on one hand, and the chignon and amṛta-kalaśa of Maitreya on the other make the two images very much alike, especially when they perform ābhayamudrā.

Now the Gandhāra iconography of Maitreya seems to prefer a form of chignon shaped like a double knot that, albeit rarely, appears also in figures of Brahman ascetics – for example, in the relief with unidentified scene (no. 26) in the Taxila Archaeological Mu-

(Tanagra figurine). Ibid., II, p. 107, no. 1 (from Greece). Ibid., II, p. 353, no. 3 (Apollo with lyre of a female type). The main comparisons, however, are with a female figurine from Aegina (Winter, ibid., II, p. 368, no. 1), and a statuette of Athena from Alexandria that also corresponds in the rest of the hair style (Vogt, Samml. E. v. Sieglin, cit., p. 110, Taf. XXVI3). Similar details are apparent in a Taxila relief in the Karachi Museum (Hargreaves, in Marshall, Taxila, cit., p. 718, no. 121, pl. 221; GAP, pp. 106 f., pl. 189), where the figure, top right, dressed in a Greek style, is wearing a diadem exactly paralleled in a terracotta, perhaps from Alexandria (head of an old woman): E. Breccia, Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria, I (Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine publiés par la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie, Tome II1), Bergamo 1930, p. 67, no. 387, tav. XXXIV 3.

68 Sir John Marshall, Excavations at Taxila. Stupas and Monasteries at Jauliānī (MASI 7), Calcutta 1921, p. 51, no. 1, pl. XXIVd.
70 See e.g. the relief from Kosam, Allahābād, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta: Sivaramamurti, "Geographical and Chronological Factors", cit., pl. XIXA. See note 21.
seum. It can be seen without difficulty that the double knot tends to assume a curved shape thus approaching the one visible in the

\[\text{\textsuperscript{71}}\text{From Sirkap: Hargreaves in Marshall, Taxila, cit., p. 721, no. 135, pl. 222; GAP, p. 165, no. 430. Notwithstanding Ingholt's legitimate doubts we can rightly hold that the persons represented at the bottom are Brahmins thanks, above all, to the kamandalu of the figure to the left and to the position of the right hand of the central figure, that seems to be characteristic of Brahman ascetics: see M. Taiddel in Sculpures Butkara I, pt. 3, under pl. CDXLIX (further reliefs may be added: Taxila: Marshall, Taxila, cit., p. 720, no. 130. Peshawar: Gai Collection: GAP, p. 51, no. 10. Lahore, no. 2332: AGBG, I, fig. 150; GAP, p. 51, no. 11. Taxila: Marshall, Taxila, cit., p. 720, no. 132, pl. 222; Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhara, cit., p. 78, fig. 100). I should like here, briefly, to refer to the marginal question concerning the identification of a group of reliefs in which a Bodhisattva with chignon in the form of a double knot and a small flake in his left hand appears in abhayamudrā between two sitting devas. Echoing the opinion of L.L. Scherman ("Die ältesten Buddhaendarstellungen des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde", in Mfβ V, 1928 and VI, 1929), Meunier (Shotorak, cit., pp. 36-38) believes the representation to be of Siddhārtha incited by the devas to leave the Palace (an opinion also accepted by Hargreaves in Marshall, Taxila, cit., p. 712, no. 93, pl. 217), despite the attributes that remind one rather of the Buddha of the future, "puisque la carrière de Maitreya est encore du domaine de l'avenir" (what about the various "Last Judgments", then, that adorn our churches?), and he goes on, following Foucher (AGBG, II, pp. 220-21): "Il suffit d'admettre que le vase à eau, tout comme la robe déjà presque monastique, figurent ici simplement pour signifier que le fils de Roi ne va plus tarder à devenir l'ascète Gautama". Apart from the fact that there is no evident relation between a monastic dress and ascetics, I do not think that the Gandhāra sculptors would have indulged in such an arbitrary act, chronologically, likely only to confound the ideas of the faithful. Marshall (Buddhist Art of Gandhara, cit., p. 79) rightly rejects such an hypothesis arguing that the scene "seems more likely to represent that other occasion in the Tushita heaven when the gods entreated the future Buddha (i.e. Siddhārtha) to return to earth". But in that case the future Buddha, destined to be born as ksatriya would have his head covered by a turban, which is what happens in representations assuredly of this episode (e.g. AGBG, I, figs. 145-46). Even if we admit that Siddhārtha, in the paternal palace or the Tūṣita heaven, is without a turban, the chignon ought to be a normal rounded knot as it is seen - without exceptions as far as I know - in the images of Siddhārtha from birth to parinirvāṇa, and as a rule in all the figures of ksatriyas that for some reason have removed their turbans. A list would serve no purpose, but I should like to point out that even when Siddhārtha finally accepts the invitation of the devas, that is, at the moment of the Great Renunciation, he has a normal rounded chignon. What is the point, then, of establishing an exception in the case of one single episode? I am very much in favour of seeing Maitreya and not Siddhārtha in the Bodhisattva of the reliefs under consideration. Is not Maitreya even now in the Tūṣita heaven, and is he not destined to be born "comme fils du brahmane Brahmāyus et de la brahmine Brahmavatī?".}
Peshāwar linga and not unlike the shape of that in the Bāramūla linga. The evolutionary process might be summarily indicated as follows [292] (without wishing to suggest an exact chronological value):

1. Maitreya standing  Karāchi, National Museum, GAP, nos. 292-93 (fig. 15). no. 444
2. Maitreya sitting   Lahore, Central Museum, GAP, no. 301 (fig. 16).
   no. 1129

This last image is plainly the nearest to the Peshāwar linga on account of its heavy chignon.

We may say that from this point of view, too, there was no interruption in the development of Gandhāra art even in these very late manifestations. Motifs analogous to the ones so far examined exist in Rājasthān, but such parallels are part of the well-known phenomenon of intrusion of Gandhāra elements. 

73 AJAR 1917-18, pp. 22-23, pls. XII-XIII: R.C. Agrawala, “Two Interesting Śāiva Terracottas in the Bikaner Museum”, in ArtibAs XIX, 1956, pp. 61-65, figs. 1-2 (with preceding bibliography: the dating proposed – a late Kushan or proto-Gupta period – is to be accepted without reserve); H. Rydh and others, Rang Mahal, cit., pp. 204 ff., fig. 125. In particular, clear Gandharan elements are visible in the “rural idyllic scene” (Rang Mahal, fig. 125, 3), in the haloed figure (fig. 125, 5) and in the robes of the ṣākū in the plaque with Śiva and Parvati (fig. 125, 6). In the plaque representing the Mahādeva cult (fig. 125, 4) it should be observed that, despite the heightened realism, the structure of the linga is very similar to the piece I am writing about. Referring to this plaque, R.C. Agrawala, op. cit., observes that it embodies more than a simple ekamukhalinga, for “we have, here, a very clear depiction of the yogī symbol just above the linga”. I have never had the chance to examine the piece, but from the published photographs I think an image of Liṅgodhavamūrti may be recognized. Without the need to invoke the Agrawala’s clever but perhaps overbold hypothesis. The terracotta plaque from Behecoa should be added to this group of plaques (R.C. Agrawala, “Two Interesting Terracottas from the Region of Kurukṣetra, East Pañjab”, in ArtibAs XX, 1957, p. 164, fig. 2, with preceding bibliography).
What I have stated above must be re-examined in the light thrown on this problem by a series of Roman busts published in a posthumous volume by Pierre Bienkowski: though it appeared in 1928, it is not well-known to scholars of Indian art. They are works of the age of Trajan or Hadrian (first half of the II cent. A.D.) which, according to Bienkowski’s opinion, portray some Indians sent as ambassadors to the Roman court between 106 and 110, as attested by Cassius Dio. The busts show a hair style quite unusual in the Graeco-Roman world, that we may easily compare with the hair style we have already dealt with: two bands of hair are drawn back and gathered into a top-knot, while a wide portion in the middle is left free; in that portion the hair is brought towards the sides.

Bienkowski compares these busts with the classical Buddha heads from Gandhāra and, though misled by an incomplete knowledge of the matter, he reaches the conclusion that the personages portrayed are Brahmans. Such an assumption seems fairly probable to me.

The problem was taken up by Salomon Reinach with an ungenerous censure of Bienkowski’s work. He rejects the possibility of recognizing Indian ambassadors in those portraits, but he does not supply any true evidence: on the contrary, he only supposes they represented Westerners converted to Buddhism.

It is obvious that neither Bienkowski nor Reinach had any clear ideas about the differences between the iconographies of Buddhists and Brahmans. It is useless to compare the so-called ambassadors, who have a brahmanic hair style, with Gandharan Buddha heads, because Siddhārtha wears a chignon suitable to a man belonging to the caste of warriors, to which he did belong.

If the personages portrayed were either foreigners (probably Indian) or Westerners who took a foreign hair style as their model,

74 P. Bienkowski, Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs gréco-romains, avec des recherches iconographiques sur quelques autres peuples barbares, Cracovie 1928, pp. 228-42 (“Sur quelques têtes sculptées avec le cirrus au sommet”). This work is not even listed by Deydier, Contribution, cit., who knows it only through the article by Reinach (see note 76).

75 Hist. rom. LXVIII 15, 1 (ed. Boissevain).

we must then state to which country such a hair style belonged. Both Bienkowski and Reinach thought it was obviously Gandhāra, but I do not think there is any sure evidence of it.

In fact, Cassius Dio says that one or more missions came to Trajan παρὰ Ἃνδον "from the Indians", not specially from the Gandhārae Γανδῆρα, Γανδῆρων. Male hair styles such as those of the so-called ambassadors are known in India (including the North-West) only much later than the II cent. A.D., as we have already seen. What conclusion may we draw from all that we have said? Perhaps it should be assumed that no testimony of those hair styles has survived in India, chiefly due to the scarcity of art objects of Hindu subject in the first centuries of our era; and yet Gandhāra supplies us with a large number of reliefs in which Brahmans are represented. Even going through the plates of Foucher, of Ingholt, of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, and of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, one can easily see that the hair styles of Brahmans, though very similar to those of the "ambassadors" as to the shape of their top-knots, differ from them in the arrangement of the hair on the fore portion.

Therefore, one would be led to believe that the Indian "ambassadors" came from countries in India different from those on which we have plenty of evidence in the first centuries A.D. The type of their hair styles could have spread later on into Gandhāra.

Anyhow, I think the safest assumption would be the following: since the hair style of the Peshāwar liṅga derives, as I have attempted to prove, from a western fashion, it is not preposterous to believe that it appeared first at Rome, and subsequently in India.

Nobody is bound to believe that a hair style with a symbolical value was adopted only on account of a fashion; but since it is a slight modification of a detail, the fact still lies within the limits of possibility.

In any case, the problem needs a deeper examination than I have been able to present in these pages.\footnote{We are still waiting for a contribution on this subject by M. Bussagli, who believes that the so-called ambassadors are Western brahmanic converts.}

It remains to be seen whether or no this [293] type of hair
arrangement, attested in Kashmir⁷⁸ (fig. 18), penetrated into Gangetic India. In truth, Gupta and post-Gupta art in north-central India favours a vertical-tubular hair style, but examples like those we have in mind are not exceptional. However, they would seem to be confined to the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh,⁷⁹ to Bihār⁸⁰ (fig. 19), and Bengal,⁸¹ such regions affording cases of persistence even after several centuries.⁸² The reason for this is that since the IX century Buddhism remained confined to these areas, while in the heart of the ancient empire of Kanauj Hinduism replaced the religion of Śākyamuni, a change brought about by forces culturally very different from those of north-west India and having a southern provenance – Gurjara-Pratihāra, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Candella. These forces


⁷⁹ An image of Śāri in a relief where planets are depicted, from Sārnāth (VI-VII cent.), in the Calcutta Museum: ASIAR 1935-36, p. 120, pl. XXXV, fig. 2 (hair not parted in the middle). An image of Siddhaikaivira in the Sārnāth Museum B(d)6 (VII cent.): V.S. Agrawala, Sārnāth, 2nd ed., New Delhi 1957, p. 25, pl. Vc.


⁸¹ Several images from Pāḥarpur, East Bengal: Rao Bahadur and K.N. Dikshit, Excavations at Pāḥarpur, Bengal (MASI 55), Delhi 1938, p. 39, no. 4, pl. XXXIb; pp. 48 f., no. 34, pl. XXXIIb; p. 49, no. 37, pl. XXXId; pp. 53 f., no. 60, pl. XXXb; p. 54, no. 61, pl. XXXc. An image of Śyāmā Tarā from Sukhabāspur, Dacca Dist., East Bengal (ca. VIII cent.), in the Dacca Museum: N.K. Bhattacharji, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Dacca 1929, p. 56, pl. XX.

⁸² Image of the Tirthankara Rishabha (XII cent.), in the Śvetāmbara temple of Rājgir, Bihār: ASIAR 1925-26, p. 127, pl. LXIIb. Śiva dancing, on a stone medallion from a temple in the village of Deulberia, Bankura Dist., West Bengal (XIV-XV cent.): ASIAR 1930-34, pp. 306 f., pl. CLIb (hair not parted in the middle).
were soon to make their influence felt in the north-west regions as Goetz truly points out.83

The sure data emerging from our survey may be summarised as follows:

1) The type of hair style has its origin in the classical world.
2) It reaches Gandhāra by way of Syria, Mesopotamia, and perhaps Írán.
3) From Gandhāra where it underwent modification it passed into Kashmir art of the early Middle Ages and into Śāhi art.
4) In India, leaving aside particular phenomena of persistence, it is to be found from the late-Gupta age down to the X cent. about, above all, in the eastern part of U.P., in Bihār and Bengal.

We are dealing with a complex migratory phenomenon in which I believe Kashmir to have had a very important part. For the stylistic characteristics of Kashmir art as Barrett and Goetz have illustrated them are to be found in works scattered well outside the bounds of their region of origin, in areas ranging from Swāt84 to the Panjāb.85 A possible itinerary is that along the valley of the Indus, the Panjāb and the Ganges plain as far as Bihār and Bengal86 and Nālandā in particular: from here the route was to Indonesia owing to the copious and culturally profitable export trade in bronze images.87

There is now a widespread but not wholly legitimate habit of considering the "international" Gupta style88 as largely responsible for the proto-mediaeval artistic phenomena of India. It is my con-

83 "Two Early Hindu Śāhī Sculptures", cit., p. 218.
84 The Department of Archaeology in Pakistan has recently acquired a group of ten bronze Buddhist images coming from Swāt, apparently from Fatehpur: stylistically, they may well be deemed of Kashmir make.
85 See p. 290 and note 36.
86 This is the normal route used by travellers and merchants and the one followed by Fa Hsien.
88 See e.g. Sh.E. Lee, "An Early Javanese Bronze, the Gupta International Style and Clay Technique", in ArtibAs XIX, 1956, pp. 271-78.
tention that such a view needs to be revised at least partially; that we should realize how themes and traditions foreign to the purged "internationalism" of certain works of Mathurā and Sārnāth were conserved in the Gupta age itself. It is not without significance, in this connexion, that the Guptas imitated the Kuśāṇas in the money they coined: it proves how strong was the cultural influence of that empire now dead politically especially if we remember that the diffusion of such coins was not limited to the Gupta northern regions.99

What we have been saying shows how many tendencies originating in the Gandhāra area spread into Gangetic India in an age when the necessary driving force could be provided by Kashmir alone. The phenomenon of mutual exchange that had bound the two parts of the Kushan empire, Gandhāra and Mathurā, was thus continued under a different form.90 And it is my belief that the Kashmir influence must be recognised in Bengal just as it has been in Nepalese91 and Tibetan art.92

Let us now consider the three characteristic locks of hair hanging in serpent fashion on either side of the face of Mahādeva. A curious parallel is afforded by a XI century image of Gaśasūrasamhīramūṭi Śiva93 (fig. 20) from Lakkundi, Dharwār Dist. (Bombay), but it is a somewhat rare feature that we must deem to be non-Indian, Iranian in fact. The most obvious comparison, I think, with these stiff flowing locks is to be found in portraits of Sasanian sovereigns who also share the type of simple necklace worn by our Śiva. In the evolution of the hair style of Sasanian kings the three locks which are clearly separated one from another and studiously held in a lateral position, represent a sub-type that


90 On the problem of the relations between Gandhāra and Mathurā art, see M. Bussagli, L'arte dei Gandhara in Pakistan, cit. New clues have emerged from the Butkara I excavations, Swāt. In this connexion, see Sculptures Butkara I, pt. 1, to be published shortly.

91 See note 8.


93 Already referred to; see p. 290 and note 43.
Figs. 1-4 - Ekamukhalinga. Peshawar, Arbab Hidayat Ullah Collection. (Photo F. Bonardi).
Fig. 5 - Hāritī. From Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum. (From Ingholt, GAP).
Fig. 6 - Royal female donor. From Sahri Bahlol. Peshawar Museum. (From Ingholt, GAP).
Fig. 7 - See figs. 1-4.
(Photograph by F. Bonardi).

Fig. 8 - Head of a Bodhisattva.
From Tapa Sardar, Ghazni.
(Photograph by F. Bonardi).

Fig. 9 - See figs. 1-4.
(Photograph by F. Bonardi).

Fig. 10 - See fig. 8.
(Photograph by F. Bonardi).
Fig. 11 - Supal Banda, Swāt. Rock relief with Śiva and Bodhisattvas. (Photo M. Taddei).

Fig. 12 - Detail of fig. 11. (Photo M. Taddei).
Fig. 13 - The Conversion of the Kāśyapas. From Shotorak, detail. (From Meunié, *Shotorak*).

Fig. 14 - Buddha head. From Jauliān, Taxila. (From MASI 7).

Fig. 15 - Maitreya. Karachi, National Museum. (From Ingholt, *GAP*).
Fig. 16 - Maitreya. Lahore, Central Museum. (From Ingholt, GAP).

Fig. 17 - Maitreya. New York, Metropolitan Museum. (From BMMA, Feb. 1960).

Fig. 18 - Padmapāni. From Pāndreṭhān. (From ASIAR 1915-16).
Fig. 19 - Avalokiteśvara. Nālandā. (Photo M. Taddei).

Fig. 20 - Gajāśurasamhāramūrti Śiva. From Lakkundi, Bombay. (From ASIAR 1929-30).

Fig. 21 - Unidentified deity. Baroda, Museum. (From Baroda III, pt. II).
Fig. 22. "Toilet-tray". From Udigrám, Swát. (Photo F. Bonardi).

Fig. 23. "Toilet-tray". Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde. (Photo Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome).
Fig. 24 - Mosque wooden frieze. Khwāzakhela, Swāt. (Photo M. Taddei).

Figs. 25-26 - Terracotta tiles. From Harvān, Kashmīr. (From Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*).
Fig. 27 - Female head. Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 28 - Dancers and musicians. Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale. (Photo of the Museum).
has its specific importance and is limited, it seems, to a period running from the last quarter of the III to the beginning of the IV century A.D. To find the motif in a region that was characterised by the transit of trade between Irān and China during the first Sasanian epoch is no surprise; but it is remarkable that it endured for so long in an age when Iranian motifs weakened as they were progressively replaced by others from India. However, the fact that it is a survival is confirmed by the image of a haloed warrior in late Gandhāra style housed in the Baroda Museum (fig. 21) that I believe can be dated from the III century here: the side arrangement of the figure’s hair is wholly analogous. Hence, yet again it is sufficiently apparent that Sāhi art is the direct heir of the art of Gandhāra and conserved several of its motifs.

But we should not look upon Sāhi art as something independent and separate; for as far as we know at present it was but an aspect of an art culture covering a wider area. The power diffusing this culture came, perhaps, from Kashmir to whom it seems that Sāhi sovereigns had to submit as vassals at any rate during the reign of Lalitāditya Muktapīda. The expansion of Kashmir under this monarch can be adduced to explain – at least in part –

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94 Cf. Shāpūr, Investiture of Bahram I (273-77): SPA, pl. 156 A. Shāpūr, Bahram II (277-93) and his court: SPA, pl. 157 A. Shāpūr, Triumph of Bahram II: SPA, pls. 156 B, 162 A. Naqsh-i-Rustam, Investiture of Narsē (293-302): SPA, pl. 157 B. As for the coins, see F.D.J. Paruck, Sasanian Coins, Bombay 1924.
95 See Stuart Piggott, "Sassanian Motifs on Painted Pottery from North-West India", in AI 5, 1949, pp. 31 ff. The middle of the III cent. saw the spread of decorated pottery from Irān to regions south of Hindukush and to Bactria: see R. Ghirshman, Bāgram (MDAFA XII), pp. 69-70; J.C. Gardin, Céramique de Bactres (MDAFA XV), Paris 1957, pp. 25, 27, 95.
97 Another example of survival is afforded by the wooden reliefs of the Hindu-Sāhi age published by Goetz ("Two Early Hindu Sāhi Sculptures", cit.). An attentive study of the photograph will show that they conserve the type of Gandhāra bracket in the form of a small Corinthian pillar bent like an 'S'.
98 Beginning of the VIII cent. See Rājat IV 142-43 and Sir Aurel’s commentary, p. 134 (Sāhi), and introduction, p. 89.
99 Lalitāditya’s conquest of almost the whole of India is manifestly legendary (see
the presence of north-west motifs in the eastern regions of the Ganges plain that we have already referred to. One curious fact, however, is that Kashmir should remain a relatively closed and archaic area and yet tend to expand her own culture rather than receive that of other regions.

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In conclusion, I should like, if I may, to go back to a question already raised: to reiterate that the high importance attributed to Gupta art and its very existence as a unity must be carefully discussed. I have no intention thereby of belittling the value of Gupta art in any respect; indeed, I wish to restore it to the independent position it merits which is the only way of really understanding it.

One factor to be stressed is the Indian contribution to the arts of Central Asia and post-Gandharan Afghanistan. One of the artistic phenomena of these regions where the Gupta influence is held to be prominent is Fondukistan which reveals the contrast with Greek or Roman-Buddhist art also flowering in such regions.

This is what Rowland had to say about the famous Bodhisattva from Fondukistan now in the Guimet Museum: it shows "to what a remarkable degree a completely Indian style has at the last replaced the earlier reliance on Classical and Iranian prototypes... The perfect realization of this entirely relaxed and warmly voluptuous body, sunk in sensuous reverie, is as exquisite as anything to be found in the art of Gupta India". While I agree in part with the illustrious American scholar's words (suffused, indeed, more with poetry than criticism), I cannot but remark that in vain in the Gupta art of India do we look for anything that can well be compared with this Fondukistan Bodhisattva, unless we fall back on the

Stein's introduction to Rājat p. 90), but it is fairly probable that the cultural influence of Kashmir over the easternmost regions of the Gangetic basin grew up especially after Lalitāditya's attack upon Kanauj and the dethronement of Yaśovarman (Rājat IV 133 ff.).

Ajanță paintings, above all those in caves I, II, and XVII. Perhaps it was the Great Bodhisattva\textsuperscript{101} that Rowland had in mind in the passage quoted. Apart from the pattern of composition evident in the two figures and the criteria observed in modelling the proportions of the idealized bodies, it is not difficult to sense a close stylistic affinity: the same sensitivity to non-static, asymmetrical masses and their forward-projecting movement in an open space diversified by touches of perspective that can be clearly observed at Ajanța and it is not hard to perceive in the Fondukistān fragment.

Even if for the Ajanță Cave I paintings we accept the early date put forward by Ghulam Yazdani\textsuperscript{102} we have to acknowledge that the influences affecting their author are far removed from the artistic environment that produced “classical” Gupta works (Mathurā, Sārnāth, Deogarh, etc.). The latter are wholly lacking in the spatial vision and the synthesis of composition that are features of the post-Gandhāra sculpture of Afghānistān, and Central Asia, and of the Ajanță paintings. The Gupta sculpture of the Ganges basin, that is, “classical” Gupta – indeed, Indian – sculpture is heir to the tradition of Kushan art of Mathurā from which it excises where possible those elements of Gandhāra style that Mathurā had in part accepted. Those well-shaped masses, impeccably arranged according to extremely simplified geometrical patterns, and the complete absence of perspective and space not embodied between the two parallel plains of the background of the relief and the array of figures, are a far cry from, and could not have engendered, the bold contortions of the Fondukistān images or the rich spatial touches of the Ajanță Cave I paintings. Whence, then, do the latter derive? I believe they are related to a great tradition of painting of which we have only a few shreds of evidence today: Āndhra painting. Gupta art imbibed this most genuinely Indian tradition only superficially absorbing no more than a few iconographic features.\textsuperscript{103} Yet it was Āndhra art, known to us mainly from the Amarāvatī reliefs,\textsuperscript{104} that served as a model for the Ajanță paint-

\textsuperscript{101} See note 5.
\textsuperscript{102} See note 5.
\textsuperscript{103} See B. Rowland, Art and Architecture of India, cit., pp. 138 ff.
\textsuperscript{104} We can, at least in part, see a reflection of the lost Āndhra painting in the
ings and also for a great part of the contemporary artistic output of India in the widest sense from Dandān-Oilīq to Polonnaruva. [295] Similarly, tendencies of clear Āndhra origin can be observed in some of the most beautiful (and less western) of the Ḥadṛḍa stuccoes.  

Returning to our original question: are we to believe that, having excluded “classical” Gupta art, Ajaṇṭā was the inspirer of artistic achievements like the Fondukistān stuccoes? I do not think it was. As with Pompeii in the past, we are running the risk of looking upon Ajaṇṭā as the sole or pre-eminent centre of production, thereby distorting true historical perspective. In reality, Ajaṇṭā must have been just one of many centres where the imagination of Indian painters had free rein, artists who already at that time were bound in vain to figurative canons dictated by so-called “religious

Bagrām ivories: see H. Goetz, Indien. Fünf Jahrtausende indischer Kunst (Kunst der Welt), Baden-Baden 1939, especially the chapter on Sātavāhana art. The attribution to an artistic environment close to that of Mathurā which was put forward by the excavators is to be rejected outright. It is worth while re-reading what René Grousset wrote about this in lyrical tones but with the sure knowledge of the expert: “Surtout les personnages, tout en se rattachant au naturalisme de Sāñči e de Mathurā, ont une intensité de vie, une fraîcheur toutes nouvelles. Par leur mouvement, ils s’apparentent au style d’Amarāvati, mais avec moins d’agitation. Les nus féminins, d’une élégance raffinée, d’une coquetterie digne déjà (comme les figures féminines d’Aḍanatā) du théâtre indien, présentent les caractères qu’on retrouvera à Adjaṇṭā, l’exagération des marques de la beauté féminine selon le canon de l’Inde, – richesse des seins, minceur excessive de la taille, développement du bassin, hanches énormes, prononcé des poses, – et, en dépit de cette sensualité subtropicale, une idéalisation, également déjà adjantienne, qui se traduit, notamment, dans la délicatesse des gestes, dans la spiritualité des mains.” (Les civilisations de l’Orient. L’Inde, Paris 1949, p. 53).

In the iconographical patterns, too, the identity is complete: viz. the female figure kneeling before the angry nāja in Cave II at Ajaṇṭā (Yazdani, Ajaṇṭa, cit., pl. XLV) seems to have been removed bodily from the Amāravati relief in the British Museum depicting Sujātā offering rice to the Buddha (D. Barrett, Sculptures from Amāravati in the British Museum, London 1954, no. 30, pls. XXIb, XXV), or from the fragment in the Madras Museum with a scene of προσκύνης before the Buddha’s throne (C. Sivaramamurti, Amāravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, Madras 1942, reprinted 1956, pp. 30, 206, pl. XXXVI.2).

J. Barthoux, Les fouilles de Ḥadṛḍa, III. Figures et figurines (MDAFA [VII]), Paris 1930, pl. 46.
aesthetics”. The paintings preserved at Ajanṭā are doubly valuable because of their aesthetic worth and the scope they offer for a better understanding of that contradictory mass of artistic phenomena involving the whole Indian world between the decline of the Gupta Empire and the rise of “mediaeval” artistic trends.

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107 I have never understood why scholars attach so much importance to Indian treatises on art as if these could be of use in understanding Indian art more fully. The fact is that canons, directives, limitations, have been imposed upon artistic activity in practically all periods from mediaeval Europe and the Greek-Orthodox world down to the Germany of Hitler and the Russia of Stalin; but no one has ever taken them seriously. More or less in the same class come those directives that Bishops and Cardinals feel it their duty to enunciate solemnly from time to time on the not very serious problem of “sacred art”. The very act of acknowledging the possibility of sacred art (rather than “art with a religious subject”) places us “under the sway of imagination itself and no longer of the science of imagination” (B. Croce, Estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale, 9th ed., Bari 1950, p. 73). Nevertheless, the study of such Indian treatises is of the greatest importance for a better knowledge of Indian religious thought and of the place occupied by artists or artisans in Indian society.
ICONOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS
ON A GANDHĀRA RELIEF IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM
OF ORIENTAL ART IN ROME

From East and West 14, 1963, pp. 38-55

[38] The relief, already known, which I intend to analize here (fig. 1), belongs to the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome (Inv. no. 427), which acquired it from the Corcos Collection in Rome in 1958.1 It was published by Mario Bussagli in 1949,2 then shown in 1958-59 in the Exhibition of Gandhāra Art in Rome, Turin, Paris, Zurich and Lisbon3 and in the Exhibition of Indian Art held in Rome in 1960-61.4

Bussagli, after thoroughly examining the details of the scene (which is complete, as witnessed to by the small trees in the corners) arrived at the conclusion that it must be a rare representation of the episode of the measuring of the Buddha. That is, we are observing the event narrated in the sixth avadāna of the Divyavadāna (ed. Cowell-Neil, p. 75), according to which the Brahman

3 M. Bussagli, L’arte del Gandhara in Pakistan e i suoi incontri con l’arte dell’Asia Centrale. Catalogo della Mostra, Roma-Torino 1958, Rom a 1958, p. 84, no. 54; L’art du Gandhāra et de l’Asie Centrale dans les Collections du Pakistan, de Berlin et de Rome, Musée Guimet 1958-1959, Paris 1958, p. 31, no. 76; Griechisch-buddhistische Plastik aus Pakistan (Gandhāra), Zürich 1959, p. 35, no. 66; A arte de Gandhāra no Pasquistao, Lisboa 1959, Lisboa 1959, p. 47, no. 73. From now on I shall cite only Bussagli, Arte del Gandhara, since the other catalogues are merely summaries of the Italian edition.
ON GANDHĀRA

Indra, "thinking himself to be taller than the Buddha, tried in various ways to 'see the top of his head' (that is, to put himself above the Buddha) without succeeding, so that the Buddha, warning him of the uselessness of his efforts since neither the asuras in heaven nor man on earth can completely see the Tathāgata, advises him to measure a column of santal gośīrṣa buried in the place where the Brahman usually makes his sacrifices to Agni, if he wishes to know the dimensions of his body. The incredulous Indra digs and finds the column... After [39] having become a Buddhist, the Brahman thinks of raising a column of the same wood so as to record the event for the edification of all".

Although the scene represented in our relief seems to adapt itself perfectly to the account of the Divyāvadāna, I do not think that the identification is correct. Various reasons, which I shall state, lead me to this conclusion.

Above all, the iconography of Gandhāra follows a different figurative tradition in its representation of the episode: it prefers to show the attempt to measure the stature of the Buddha with a pole, or a stalk of bamboo, as we see in the Lahore relief examined by Foucher.

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3 Bussagli, "Due piccoli altorilievi", cit., p. 637.

6 AGBG, I, pp. 521-3, figs. 251b, 256c. I give here a list of the Gandhāra reliefs known to me in which the episode of the measuring of the Buddha appears:

1) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 820: AGBG, I, p. 523; GAP, p. 81, no. 112.
2) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 1139, from Mohammed Nari: AGBG, I, p. 523; GAP, pp. 99 f., no. 161 E; Bussagli, Arte del Gandhara, cit., p. 82, no. 47, pl. XXVI.
3) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 1155, from Karamar: AGBG, I, pp. 521 ff., fig. 251; GAP, pp. 100 f., no. 163 A.
4) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 2088, from Sikri: AGBG, I, pp. 521 ff., fig. 256.
6) Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, Cat. no. IC 32840: Museum's photo Neg. no. B 2053.
7) Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, Cat. no. IC 32613 (The Brahman employs a short stick): Museum's photo Neg. no. B 2057.

I do not think we can include in this group the relief in the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome, no. 430 (see Bussagli, Arte del Gandhara, cit., pp. 82 f.) because
It is as well practically impossible that in the representation of the erection of a votive column only the material executors of the holy action should be depicted, leaving out the person to whom belongs the exclusive merit of the action itself, that is, the Brahman dedicator. In fact, the person who appears on the left holding a long stick and who seems to occupy a pre-eminent place among his companions, is like the others a man of low caste, as is shown by his succinct costume. This is composed of a simple subligaculum, a sort of langot, characteristic of wrestlers and commonly worn, in the reliefs of Gandhāra, by bravi (hired assassins).\(^7\)

If we accept the identification proposed by Bussagli, we must face still another difficulty, made up of the extreme lack of interest of the moment chosen for representation; it would remain, that is, as the scholar himself writes, "only a simple historical value for which the art of the Northwest has never shown an excessive appreciation".\(^8\) Nor would there be anything miraculous or wonderful involved, since the only surprising thing in the episode narrated in the Divyāvadāna is the discovery of the wooden column; but it is certainly not this that the sculptor was trying to narrate, since otherwise the absence of the Brahman would be even more absurd than strange. And yet we must be dealing with a fact that calls forth wonder or astonishment: this is made clear to us [40] by the person represented in the background with his left hand raised and his right over his mouth. This figure, which Bussagli thought had "something caricatural in the hand which presses the chin showing hesitation, in the gaze which examines the ground, while the other hand is raised in a directing gesture", has, in my opinion, less narrative originality. This man who does not take part in the work carried out by his companions, but on the contrary averts his gaze and emits an admiring whistle, is the equivalent of a conventional sign whose aim is to call the viewer's attention to something marvellous that is taking place. Figures of this type, which from time to time change their clothing so as to adapt to their environ-

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\(^7\) Cf. AGBG, I, pp. 333, 541; II, pp. 8 ff.

\(^8\) Bussagli, "Due piccoli altorilievi", cit., pp. 636 f.
ment, are extremely frequent in the Gandhāra reliefs (especially in the representations of the Buddha’s miracles) and it would be superfluous to cite examples. The left hand usually served to agitate the shawl or uttarīya in order to render the gesture of admiration more noticeable. Our person, not being in a position to further lighten his scanty dress, contents himself with raising his hand.

Let us then try to suggest a more satisfactory explanation for this exceptional relief. It is offered to us by another series of reliefs in which a group of half-naked men of Herculean build maneuvers a heavy pillar, with the evident intention of killing the Buddha. We are dealing, in my opinion, with the second attempt of his evil cousin Devadatta, which the Enlightened One averts without difficulty. However, while all the other reliefs known to us show only

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10 See *AGBG*, I, pp. 541 f. I know of these representations of the same episode in Gandharan reliefs:

2) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 1289: *GAP*, no. 114.
3) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 1637: *GAP*, no. 113.

9-10) Roma, Collection of Mr. Nikolaos Hadji Vassiliou, the Greek Ambassador: two unpublished reliefs.
11) From Malakand Agency: H. Hargreaves, "Three Unidentified Graeco-Buddhist Reliefs", in *ASIAR* 1924-25, pp. 150 f., pl. XXXIXc (fig. 3).
the culminating moment of this episode, the moment in which the Buddha stops the fall of the heavy square stone or pillar destined to crush him,\textsuperscript{11} in our case the sculptor shows us the moment before, that in which the banni [41] struggle to balance the murder weapon, while the culminating moment must have been depicted in the panel immediately to the left of this one. Here the Buddha and his faithful companion Vajrapāṇi are naturally missing, but the other personages are the same.

It is true that according to Foucher the pillar-like object appearing in the Calcutta relief is the angle (that is, the end) of the wall near which Devadatta’s first attempt was to take place. I should exclude this idea for at least two reasons: first, because the presumed wall is clearly oblique in certain reliefs, so that it seems to be more a balanced object than a wall, and secondly (and above all), because every time a Gandhāra sculptor found it necessary to show a wall, he always showed it frontally, and certainly he did not lack the ingenuity in perspective to explore beyond it.

Foucher undoubtedly did not know reliefs no. 1289 of Lahore and 1844 of Peshawar,\textsuperscript{12} otherwise he would not have hesitated to recognize a pillar rather than a wall in the object which divides the scene in two; in fact, in these two reliefs the eight faces of the pillar are clearly visible, exactly as in our relief in Rome.

On the other hand, H. Hargreaves, in publishing a relief from Malakand Agency (fig. 3),\textsuperscript{13} in which the two scenes of the attempt (raising of the pillar and intervention of the Buddha) appear unified in the same panel, had already shown that the old interpretation had to be abandoned, while still not daring to extend the correct one he proposed to the reliefs discussed by Foucher, if not in the form of a hypothesis: “The question also arises whether the scenes hitherto identified as the attack of the hired assassins cannot be merely the second scene, ... for what has been taken to be a wall, might well be merely the stone in its perpendicular position”.

\textsuperscript{11} In the very verbose version of this story given by the Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādin the Buddha is wounded by a chip of the huge stone.

\textsuperscript{12} See note 10.

\textsuperscript{13} See note 10, no. 11.
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Fabri¹⁴ is of the same opinion, and accepts Hargreaves' hypothesis, which is doubted by Vogel.¹⁵ Lastly Foucher himself, in the supplement to his major work, declares his early interpretation of the scene to be incorrect.¹⁶

The relief published by Hargreaves, which confirms our hypothesis, presents one peculiarity, apart from that already noted of the coupling of the two scenes: the erection of the pillar takes place in fact with the aid of a rope, which is not to be seen in our relief. This links it to an unpublished fragment of the Islay Lyons Collection in Rome (fig. 2).¹⁷ In it a group of men dressed simply in the subligaculum is busy erecting a column, using two thick ropes. In the background there is preserved part of a clothed person whom it is impossible to identify. The missing part, at the top and on the right, is unfortunately very important and we cannot make a sure judgement as to the meaning of the scene. Should we recognize here as well the second attempt of Devadatta to kill the Buddha?

Let us note two interesting details: the lower edge of the pillar is not resting on the ground but seems to be sunk into it; the men who maneuver the ropes are using traction towards the top, not sideways, as would be natural if their aim were to place the pillar in a vertical position. It is also extremely irrational to fix one of the cords so close to the end which serves as fulcrum: the result is a very impractical reduction of leverage. All this makes us think that the enthusiastic youths who are labouring around the large pillar (which, be it noted, must be of wood, since the ropes are knotted to rings fixed in the shaft) intend to extract it from a hole (whose rim seems to be shown in relief) and not erect it.

We must naturally make ample reservations, since only a frag-

¹⁵ Th. Vogel, "Five Newly-discovered Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures", in ABIA 1927, pp. 6-11.
¹⁶ AGBG, II, p. 848: "En d'autres termes ce motif représente la deuxième, ou plutôt combine les deux premières des trois tentatives de meurtre de Devadatta".
¹⁷ Archivio Fotografico del Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome, no. Gandhāra 181 (Neg. Islay Lyons 1958 XVII-2). My grateful thanks are due to Mr Islay Lyons, who has kindly allowed me to publish this relief.
ment of the composition survives, but I should like to suggest the identification of this scene with the finding of the pillar narrated by the Divyāvadāna (the Brahman Indra might be the clothed person in the background), thus utilizing for this relief the learned hypothesis of Bussagli.

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If the interest of our relief from the point of view of the scene represented is undoubtedly far from small, even more stimulating is the investigation into the classical precedents for the scheme of composition. These, or rather those of them that I have been fortunate enough to trace, may be divided into three categories:

** A. Erection of a war trophy. **

1) *Gemma Augusta*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (fig. 4).\(^{18}\) Attributed by Furtwängler to Dioskurides.

To this type should be linked, because of the figure of a warrior who strives [43] to push the trophy, the type with centaurs who raise trophies, on the armour of some Roman statues of generals.\(^{19}\)

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\(^{19}\) Sevilla, Archaeological Museum: R. Thouvenot, *Essai sur la province romaine de*
B. Erection of a Dionysian herma.

1) Sarcofagus formerly in the G. Sangiorgi Collection, Rome, now in the Princeton Art Museum (fig. 5), 20 datable to the 2nd century A.D.

2) Fragment of a bas-relief of Villa Albani, Rome (fig. 6), 21 heavily restored; probably first half of the 2nd century A.D. 22

3) Roman lamp formerly in the Collection of P.S. Bartoli, Rome (fig. 7); 23 perhaps end of the 2nd century A.D. 24

The female figure which pushes the herma with hands outstretched in this series of documents repeats a scheme which is also used in classical art for:

- Theseus who raises the rock at Troezen to discover the signs of recognition left by his father Aegeus; 25


22 See for example, for the style and type of sarcophagus (if the Albani relief is really a sarcophagus), a fragment from Ostia in the Museo delle Terme, Rome: C. Robert, Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, III 3, Berlin 1919, pp. 459 f., fig. 360.

23 G.P. Bellori, Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali figurate raccolte dalle cave sotterranee, e grotte di Roma, nelle quali si contengono molte erudite memorie, disegnate, ed istagliate nelle loro forme da P.S. Bartoli e che ora sono tra le stampe di L.F. De Rossi, Roma 1729, p. 11, no. 28 (of the second part); C.O. Müller and F. Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst, II 2, Göttingen 1860, pl. XLIX 615.

24 For the dating of the Roman lamps, one may still consult, apart from S. Loeschker, Lampen aus Vindonissa, Zürich 1919, H. Dressel, in CIL XV (1899), pp. 782 f.

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- Sisyphus pushing his stone.²⁶

Moreover we must recall a similar Dionysian group on a sarcophagus of the Vatican Museum and a plaster plaquette from Begram,²⁵bis which depicts the erection of a [44] torch. Especially the female figure who pushes the torch is very similar to that on the Sangiorgi sarcophagus.

C. Cupids who play with the club of Hercules.

1) Pompeian paintings showing drunken Hercules with Omphale (fig. 9),²⁷ datable at about the middle of the 1st century A.D.

2) Relief set into a wall of the Cathedral of Le Puy-en-Velay (Haute Loire, France) (fig. 11);²⁸ probably 2nd century A.D.

3) Roman lamps with the inscription adiutare sodales (fig. 8) or adiutare sodales,²⁹ 1st century A.D. (probably Augustean).


²⁵bis O. Kurz in J. Hackin, Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram (MDAFA XI), Paris 1954, p. 118, figs. 403-405 bis.
²⁷ See, for example, Pompeii, House of Siricus: W. Helbig, Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens, Leipzig 1868, no. 1139; G.E. Rizzo, La pittura ellenistico-romana, Milano 1929, p. 61, pl. CXVIII. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 9000 (from Pompeii, House of the Prince of Montenegro): Helbig, op. cit., no. 1137; A. Ruesch (ed.), Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, Napoli 1908, no. 1359; Rizzo, op. cit., p. 61, pl. XIXa; O. Elia, Piture murali e mosaici nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli, Roma 1932, no. 118. For other copies, see K. Schefold, Die Wande Pompeis. Topographisches Verzeichnis der Bild motive, Berlin 1957. For the representations of Herac les at the court of Omphale I know of no work more recent than that by G. Minervini, "L’Ercole Lidio ubriaco e gli amori che ne rapsicono le armi, in alcuni dipinti pompeiani", in Nuove Memorie dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Lipsia 1865, pp. 159 ff., pl. VII; but one should also note the earlier dissertation by the same Minervini, in BullArchNap, n.s., III, 1854-55, pp. 12 f.
²⁹ See the list of them given by S. Loeschke in K. Körber, "Die in den Jahren
4) Vase fragment in the Museum of Nimes (fig. 12); Roman, perhaps 3rd century A.D.

5) Carved gems, among them a red jasper formerly in the Collection of Prince Poniatowski and a cameo in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (fig. 10).

6) Fragment of an hemispherical bowl of Arretine pottery, in the Museo del Castello in Milan, datable to about the beginning of our era. [45]
Fig. 1 - Preliminary phase of Devadatta's attempt to crush the Buddha. Grey schist relief from Gandhāra. Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 427. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 2 - Lifting of a pillar. Grey schist relief from Gandhāra. Rome, I. Lyons Collection. (Photo Lyons, Rome).
Fig. 3 - Devadatta's attempt to crush the Buddha (right) and a scene of invitation. Grey schist relief from Malakand Agency. (From ASIAR, 1924-25).

Fig. 4 - Gemma Augustea. Sardonyx Cameo. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, detail showing the erection of a trophy. (From Eichler and Kris, Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum).
Fig. 5 - Dionysian sarcophagus. Marble. Princeton, Art Museum, detail showing the erection of an image of Dionysos. (From Œph XXXVI, 1946).

Fig. 6 - Erection of a wooden shaft. Stone relief. Rome, Villa Albani. (Photo Bruckmann, Munich).
Fig. 7 - Roman lamp showing the erection of an image of Dionysos. Terracotta. Formerly Rome, P.S. Bartoli Collection. (From Bellori and Bartoli, *Le antiche lucerne* etc.).
Fig. 8 - Roman lamp showing a group of amorini playing with Hercules' club. Terracotta. Dresden, Museum. (From AAzn 1889).
Fig. 9 - Hercules with Omphale. Wall painting from Pompeii, House of the Prince of Montenegro. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 9000. (Photo Anderson, Rome).
Fig. 10 - Roman cameo showing a group of amorini playing with Hercules' club. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. (From Zannoni, *Reale Galleria di Firenze*, V).

Fig. 11 - Hercules and amorini. Stone relief. Le Puy-en-Velay, Cathedral. (From Espérandieu, *Recueil*, II).
Fig. 12 - Fragment of a vase showing Hercules and amorini. Terracotta. Nimes, Musée. (From GazArch VI, 1880).

Fig. 13 - Hercules and amorini. Bronze medallion. London, British Museum. (From GazArch XI, 1886).
Fig. 14 - Calene tray showing scenes from the Odyssey. From Tarquinia. Tarquinia, Museo. (From Pagenstecher, Calenische Reliefkeramik).

Fig. 15 - See fig. 14. Detail showing the Phaeacians lowering the mast of their ship. (From Engelmann, Bilder-Atlas zum Homer, Leipzig 1889, pl. XII 63).
Fig. 16 - Erection of the *ded.* Relief in the Temple of Seti I, Abydos. (From Capart, *Le Temple de Seti Ier*).
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7) Bronze disc in the British Museum (fig. 13),<sup>14</sup> which I should attribute to the 2nd century A.D.

The two cupids who support the club may be compared to those who carry the concha in the relief with Neptune's throne at San Vitale in Ravenna,<sup>35</sup> and those who raise Hercules' quiver in a stucco lunette of the House of the Cryptoporticus at Pompeii.<sup>36</sup>

Lastly, we may record the scene of the Phocaeans who lower the mainmast of their ship, transmitted to us in calenian pottery (3rd-2nd century B.C.) (figs. 14, 15).<sup>37</sup> This as well as C4 and C7 is

161 ff. For a bibliography of Arretine ceramics, see M.S. Fava, “Contributo bibliogra- fico sulla ceramica aretina”, in AAM 1959, pp. 274-82.


<sup>35</sup> C. Ricci, “Marmi ravennati erratici”, in Ausonia IV, 1910, pp. 247 ff., to be consulted as well for other analogous representations. For the imitations by Italian Renaissance artists through a print that Marco Dente of Ravenna incised in 1515 and 1519, see G. De Nicola, “Due marmi ravennati in Firenze”, in RA Arte IX, 1916, p. 223, figs. 7-9; on the other hand, a century before Gentile da Fabriano had already copied the cupids of the relief in San Vitale in a drawing now preserved in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris: A. Schmitt, “Gentile da Fabriano und der Beginn der Antikenachzeichnung”, in MfB XI, 1960, pp. 110 f., figs. 75-76. It is not impossible that the artists of Gandhāra knew the classical models from such procedures. See in general, for cupids who bear attributes of deities, F. Mats, “Ein römisches Meisterwerk: der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York”, in JdI XIX Ergänzungsheft, Berlin 1958, pp. 62 ff. For examples of cupids with the attributes of Hercules, see E. Pottier and S. Reinach, La Nécropole de Myrina (École Française d’Athènes), 2 vols., Paris 1888, p. 346. E. Simon, Dionysischer Sarkophag, cit., pp. 155 ff., pl. 49, suggests to compare two reliefs by Donatello on the left-hand pulpit of the church of San Lorenzo at Florence, that appear to have been inspired by the Sangiorgi sarcophagus (“An einem seiner Spätwerke, dem Paar von Bronzekanzen für San Lorenzo in Florenz, benutzte Dona- tello die linke und die rechte Gruppe unserer Platte als Anregung für die rahmenden Puttenfriese…”). In the scene with the erection of the herma the introduction of the amorini is hardly independent from similar representations comparable with those that we have grouped under letter C.

<sup>36</sup> V. Spinazzola, Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell’Abbondanza (anni 1910-1923), Roma 1953, I, p. 462, fig. 529.

<sup>37</sup> R. Pagenstecher, “Die calenische Reliefkeramik”, in JdI VIII Ergänzungsheft, Berlin 1909, pp. 81 f., no. 126, fig. 36.
an extremely simplified application of the same scheme. The resemblance is not wholly casual, as is also shown in the detail of the rope stretched from the prow of the ship to the top of the mast, but no precise relationship to the other works under discussion can be established.

All these documents might derive, as regards their composition, from works which in their turn refer perhaps to a common prototype, now lost. This has been indicated [46] as a scene showing the erection of a trophy, on the parapet of the temple of Athena Nike in Athens (c. 408 B.C.). In this scene some winged Nikai were busy preparing trophies of arms, allusions to the Athenian successes in the war with Sparta, achieved at Abydos and Cyzicus, before Aegospotami (405 B.C.) marked the final collapse of Athenian military power.

As we have seen, in all the works hitherto examined the personages are completely different, but in the female figure which pushes the herma with outstretched arms in the reliefs which I have classed in Group B, there might be an element more faithful to the "epic" prototype; we might even assume that it is an insert taken from a scene deriving, in the last analysis, from the Nike Temple itself. It is interesting to confront the style of our relief B1 (fig. 5) with the coloristic and plastic richness of the Nike Temple parapet, obtained through the deep movement of shadow in the serpentine grooves of the draperies, and the intricate number of folds with which the chitons and peploi enfold, as in a net, the young Nikai. In the Sangiorgi sarcophagus the peplos which the woman wears is lined with wide and deep folds, as if sectioned by radiating stripes of shadow, so as to form, with the intelligently

38 Thus G.Ch. Picard (see note 57 infra). For the sculptures of the Temple of Athena Nike, see R. Carpenter, The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet, Cambridge, Mass. 1929. None of the marbles from the Temple of Athena Nike can be considered part of the composition that interests us. To justify Picard's affirmation, one might suggest recognizing in fragment 2 of Carpenter ("Nike standing with outstretched arms") the figure of a Nike pushing a trophy. But it is much more likely, as Carpenter sustains (p. 59), that she "was busy at a trophy, perhaps placing a helmet or hanging a light shield".

39 See the preceding note.
foreshortened legs that prevent any distraction due to pleasing naturalness, a solid trapezoid inserted into the cylinder of the torso.

If we have been able to recognize an insertion in the female figure (we shall see later to what degree that is true), it also cannot be excluded that other figures in composition B may be derived from prototypes not directly connected with the subject represented. This is the case with the central male figure which I should say reproduces a very ancient scheme: it may in fact be compared with the figure of a Greek warrior who withstands the assault of an Amazon, in the eastern frieze by Skopas of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus in Caria (Asia Minor). If we then observe how the figures in the Sangiorgi relief are inserted, one into the other, and how the pyramidal pattern of the nymph and the herma within which the contracted body of the Satyr is placed is more than evident, we cannot help recognizing a precedent for this composition in the western frieze by Leochares, or, with less precision, in the southern one by Timotheos, also in [47] the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. We must therefore at least partially modify the judgement of Curtius on the archetype of the Sangiorgi sarcophagus, in the sense that the basic origin of certain schemes must properly be placed in the 4th century B.C. We might on the other hand accept his attribution to the 3rd century B.C. of the work from which the relief effectively derives. At the same time one cannot conceal the existence of a certain affinity to the Hellenistic

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40 P. Wolters and J. Sieveking, "Der Amazonenfries des Mausoleums", in JdI XXIV, 1909, pp. 171-91, no. 28 (British Museum, no. 1013). On the frieze of the Mausoleum, see also B. Ashmole, "Demeter of Cnidus", in JHS LXXI, 1951, pp. 13-28; E. Buschor, Maussollos und Alexander, München 1950. An ample bibliography is to be found in P.E. Arias, Skopas (Quaderni e Guide di Archeologia, I), Roma 1952. For a similar figure in calenian ceramics, see Pagenstecher, op. cit., p. 50, no. 47, fig. 29.

41 These attributions are not at all sure. Wolters and Sieveking, op. cit., particularly groups 55-57 and 59-61 (British Museum, nos. 1020, 1021). Precedents for compositions of the frieze of the Mausoleum may be recognized in that of the so called Theseion of Athens (2nd half of the 5th century B.C.), but the spatial conception of the former is profoundly different. See on the Theseion H. Koch, Studien zum Thesei- stempel in Athen, Berlin 1955, with complete bibliography.

42 Curtius, op. cit., p. 74: "Das alles ist der Kunst des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. unbekannt, ist hellenistisch neu".
reliefs of the 2nd century B.C., for the most part in Asia Minor (Curtius however attributes the prototype to an Attic environment), which with their timid suggestions of landscape preannounce the taste of the 1st century B.C. for pictorial reliefs.\textsuperscript{43}

Elements clearly derived from the frieze of the Mausoleum emigrated as early as the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. from the Hellenistic environment: the fact is documented, for instance, by an Etruscan urn with an Amazonomachia from Vulci, in the Vatican Museum,\textsuperscript{44} and later by some calenian vases.\textsuperscript{45} Such elements were again introduced into Italy in the 2nd century A.D., when during the reign of Hadrian the imitation of ancient Greek masterpieces was encouraged by the Emperor himself.\textsuperscript{45bis}

There is another series of works which also might have influenced the formation of the scene of the erection of the herma:\textsuperscript{46} that is, those works in which some Gauls are busy sacking a sanctuary, which is probably that of Delphi, perhaps devastated by the barbarians in 279 B.C.;\textsuperscript{47} the group of the Gaul throwing down the sacred image is particularly significant.\textsuperscript{48} Then too, figures which in one way or another recall that of the Satyr in the centre of the Sangiorgi sarcophagus are frequently to be found on urns from Chiusi.\textsuperscript{49}

That the urns with reliefs from Chiusi owe a large part of their composition to Near Eastern Hellenistic originals, connected with


\textsuperscript{44} Recently re-examined by G. Camporeale, "L’Amazonomachia in Etruria", in \textit{StEtR} XXVII, 1939, pp. 128 ff., pls. XV, XVI.

\textsuperscript{45} See note 40 supra.

\textsuperscript{45bis} For the Roman sarcophagi with Amazons, see Robert, \textit{op. cit.}, II, Berlin 1890; R. Redlich, \textit{Die Amazonensarkophage im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert nach Chr.}, Berlin 1942; see also V. Scrinari, \textit{Amazonomachia. A proposito di una lastra di sarcofago conservata nel Museo di Trieste}, Archeografo Triestino, s. IV, XVI-XVII, 1951.

\textsuperscript{46} As is pointed out to me by my friend B. D’Agostino, whom I here wish to thank also for other useful suggestions.


\textsuperscript{48} Bienkowski, \textit{op. cit.}, fig. 115.

\textsuperscript{49} See above all Bienkowski, \textit{op. cit.}, fig. 122 (on the left).
the great groups of Pergamene [48] sculpture is an absolutely certain fact. The means which permitted the Etruscan artisans to imitate the Greek originals probably consisted of sketchbooks which furnished the composition of some of the more famous groups, but not always the general composition of the reliefs. The artisan therefore had at his disposition a certain number of figures he might use and compose as he liked, often with no respect at all for their original meaning.  

And yet, notwithstanding the strict relations with the Near Eastern Hellenistic environment that we have noticed, there is an element which leads me to turn my attention rather to the Alexandrian area.

I refer to an Egyptian cult ceremony which involved the erection of the _ded_, or pillar, or rather tree-trunk, symbolising Osiris. The scene is represented with particular evidence in a bas-relief in the Temple of Seti I (19th Dynasty; end of the 14th century B.C.) at Abydos. Here the Pharaoh, aided by the goddess Isis and by a minor personage, raises the _ded_ (fig. 16). In other reliefs the

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30 See Bienkowski, _op. cit._, pp. 79 ff. On the Chiusi reliefs see now J. Thimme, "Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit", in _StEt_ XXIII, 1954, pp. 25-147 and XXV, 1957, pp. 87-160.

Pharaoh proceeds to erect it with the aid of ropes and with the participation of the people.32

The representation in the relief from the Temple of Seti I is evidently of the greatest importance for the purposes of our study, since we can place it as the origin of the tradition of those classical reliefs which show the erection of the Dionysian herma.

It is known that the cult of Osiris gradually became Hellenized thanks to the syncretistic tendencies begun by the Ptolemaic dynasty (one may recall, for example, that Ptolemy Soter probably instituted the cult of Serapis, an interesting and successful attempt to reconcile the Osirian and Dionysian conceptions); but even before the [49] Macedonian conquest of Egypt it was not rare to find Egyptian deities identified with their corresponding Greek types. Herodotus tells us explicitly that Osiris was identified by the Egyptians with Dionysos.33 On the other hand, Dionysos may, like Osiris, be symbolized by a column.34

All this leads us to believe that our Group B may derive exactly from a syncretistic representation of the cult of Dionysos-

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Osiris elaborated in the Alexandrian environment.\textsuperscript{33} The resemblance to the erection of the war trophy must have been obvious, and explains both the fortune of the scene and some of its details.

In fact, in the Sangiorgi relief and in the Bellori-Bartoli lamp the figure pushing the herma at the far end is a woman, which finds a counterpart in the bas-relief from the Temple of Seti I. Then too in the Sangiorgi sarcophagus the herma is being set up on a base, exactly as in the bas-relief of Abydos. Finally, in the Gandhāra relief in the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome, the personage who crouches and pushes the pillar uses his arms and not his back, as in all the other representations that I have mentioned. For this detail too then – as well as for the fact that we are dealing with a pillar and not with a trophy or herma\textsuperscript{36} – our relief must be considered as being particularly close to the Hellenistic prototype.

In the Gemma Augustea, which is worked with cold accuracy, some further elements appear, perhaps partly due to the commemorative uses of the cameo; while in the Sangiorgi sarcophagus the two young Satyrs on the left, in their lively attempt to pull the herma to themselves, make up a very vivid circular movement opposed by the tangent arc of the other Satyr who thrusts on with his back, in the Gemma Augustea the composition is broken up. Note for example the completely gratuitous insertion of the melancholy barbarian woman and the transformation of the elastic figure who is pushing the herma with his back into an insignificant barbarian who sits on the ground, even he, however, with his back to the trophy.

[50] Should we therefore believe that these are innovations brought in by the very author of the Gemma Augustea? Picard

\textsuperscript{33} It is true that one remains perplexed before the vast gap which separates the representation of the erection of the \textit{ded} in the Temple of Seti I from its classical and Gandharan derivations. This gap might seem to be casual, when one realizes the wide diffusion enjoyed by the representation of the races which accompanied the erection of the \textit{ded} in the \textit{sed} festival. For a list of these representations, which go from the First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Age, see H. Kees, \textit{Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs}, Leipzig 1912, pp. 22 f.

\textsuperscript{36} Nor, on the other hand, a simple stone, as the written tradition would seem to require.
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thinks not;\textsuperscript{57} and yet the commemorative nature of the sardonyx must leave us in doubt.

As regards the \textit{Gemma Augustea} there are good reasons in favour of the attribution of the archetype to the Pergamene school.\textsuperscript{58}

Group C perhaps goes back to an archetype with a war subject\textsuperscript{59} directly, but evidently represents a playful adaptation of it. For the Nikai raising the bloody trophies won by Athens are substituted the cupids competing in the raising of Hercules' club;\textsuperscript{60} a real trophy for Omphale, the "\textit{Lydia puella}" who had such power over the hero

\textsuperscript{57} See G Ch. Picard, \textit{Les trophées romains. Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome} (BEFAR CLXXXVII), Paris 1957, pp. 307 f.: "Le thème de l'érection du trophée n'est pas si fréquent; s'il se trouvait sans doute sur le parapet d' Athéna Niké, nous ne connaissons, après ce prototype, qu'un seul monument antique qui le représente: c'est un bas-relief de la Villa Albani où deux Satyres s'affairent à dresser un arbre, probablement pour y placer un trophée dionysiaco... La question se pose de savoir si Dioskourides a dessiné lui-même sa composition [of the Gemma Augustea]. Notre impression, fondée sur la banalité des détails et la qualité de la composition, qui contrastent si évidemment, est qu'il a dû se borner à reproduire exactement une peinture hellénistique". For the addition of the figures of captive barbarians, see \textit{ibid}., pp. 49 ff.

\textsuperscript{58} See note 18 supra.

\textsuperscript{59} One must keep in mind that even the scene of Hercules and Omphale has precise Dionysian implications which might explain the adoption of a scheme perhaps already characterized as Dionysian: Hercules and Omphale, in fact, after having exchanged their garments, observe ritual chastity so as to be able to sacrifice to Bacchus with the necessary purity, as Ovid tells us (\textit{Fast.} II 327 ff.; ed. Merkel, Leipzig):

\begin{quote}
\textit{Sic epulis functi sic dant sua corpora somno, }
\textit{et positis iuxta seculubere toris.}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Causa, repertori utis quia sacra parabant,}
\textit{quae facerent pure, cum fori orta dies.}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{60} Note that on the other hand cupids sometimes substitute for the Nikai even in the scene of the preparation of the trophy: see for example P. Fossing, \textit{The Thorvaldsen Museum. Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos}, Copenhagen 1929, pp. 126 f., nos. 778-780, pl. X (with references). For the fortune of this classical motif of the cupids who play with the club of Hercules in modern European art, let it suffice to recall the \textit{Drunken Hercules} by P.P. Rubens in the Gemäldegalerie of Dresden.
It is evident that we must assume that the relief in the Museum of Oriental Art and the Sangiorgi sarcophagus derive from strictly related archetypes, the second being the more complex as far as its genesis is concerned, since it is not without Anatolian stylistic suggestions perhaps absorbed in the Roman environment stricto sensu. At any rate there are some precisely distinguishable points of contact which it is worth while noting: in the Gandharan relief in Rome the personage who is leaning on a staff on the left near a tree is evidently very much like the plump half-nude figure which appears, in a like attitude, on the Sangiorgi sarcophagus. This clumsy member of the Dionysian thiasos substitutes, in his Indian derivation, the nebris with a langoti; the resemblance is even more accentuated by the branches which appear in the upper angles of the Gandharan relief, and which we will not take into

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61 Propertius III xi 17 (ed. Barber, Oxford).

62 Curtius defines this as a "Satyrputto", but I wonder if it might not be an adaptation of the prophylactic images of Horus in the act of grasping the serpents: these, represented rigidly outstretched, might well have suggested the idea of a stick. Cf. P. Lacau, "Les statues 'guérisseuses' dans l'ancienne Egypte", in MPyot XXV, 1921-22, p. 193, fig. 4, pl. XVI 1 (relief of Ptolemaic age). It seems to me that this figure of a boy on the Sangiorgi sarcophagus, though van Hoorn (op. cit., p. 28) believes that it is "an allusion to the Anhesteria, the Feast of Blossoms", which was celebrated at the beginning of Spring, must undoubtedly be interpreted as a representation of Autumn; it is easy to find other examples, especially in the Roman sarcophagi with the seasons, but I particularly suggest consulting: G.M.A. Hanffmann, The Season Sarcophagi in Dumbarton Oaks, Cambridge, Mass. 1951, II, p. 178, no. 487, fig. 58 (Architectural Sarcophagus. Pisa, Crypt of S. Pierino: late 3rd century A.D.); p. 179, no. 491, fig. 60 (Sarcophagus. Rome, Palazzo Altemps: first quarter of the 4th century A.D.); p. 162, no. 307, fig. 132 (Benevento, Arch of Trajan: after 114 A.D.); where the various representations are catalogued and discussed. Let us add the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, Rome (third quarter of the 3rd century A.D.): M. Lawrence, "Season Sarcophagi of Architectural Type", in AJA LXII, 1958, pp. 273 ff., pl. 72, fig. 4. The detail of the flowers carried in the bent left arm is not however exclusive with the depictions of Autumn; in fact, I wish to mention here an Alexandrian image of a youth, to which a funerary nature is attributed: see E. Breccia, Le rovine e i monumenti di Canopo (Monuments de l'Egypte gréco-romaine publiés par la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie I), Bergamo 1926, p. 64, no. 35, pl. XXVII 2.
consideration because they are an all too frequent motif in the art of Gandhāra.

But there is also another detail of this little figure in the Gandharan relief which must not escape us: the gesture which this strange personage makes with his raised left hand (a gesture characteristic of many Egyptian images) can be found again unchanged in one of the Satyrs of relief B2 (of Villa Albani) (fig. 6). Here the young Satyr raises his right hand to strike the grotesque figure of an old man (Pan?) who flees; but the coincidence cannot be casual, and it is not to be denied that the resemblance of the two figures is very strong.

In regard to our relief from Gandhāra we can only affirm that it is the fruit of the adaptation to the needs of Buddhist iconography of a Hellenistic type, probably Alexandrian, diffused in various forms. The examination we have undertaken leads us to believe that the examples which the author of the Gandharan sub-archetype had before his eyes (and this sub-archetype is not necessarily our very relief) had a Dionysian subject.

Let us try to distribute the documents which we have hitherto collected according to a chronological and topographical order.

The oldest group is represented by A1, C1, C3, C6, and perhaps C5, datable to the 1st century A.D. and all perhaps produced in Italy. The other group in which B1, B2 and B3 enter is later; it is to be placed in Italy, more exactly in Rome, between the first half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. Approximately the same date should be assigned to C2 and C4, which must however be placed in the Gallic provincial environment.

I should then like to call attention to the fact that B1, B2 and B3 are the reliefs [52] with a Dionysian subject that we have been able to bring closest to the relief in the Museum of Oriental Art in Rome. This is not without significance, even if it can only constitute an approximate chronological indication, being a simple symptom of a particular interest for a Dionysian scene with strong Egyptian characterization.

I must state that I was at first tempted to attribute the migration of the motif to the exportation of Arretine pottery which is witnessed to in India by the excavations at Arikamedu (Pondi-
cherry, formerly French Establishments in India)\(^6\) and in which there appears, even if not in the examples found in India, the scene of the cupids with the club of Hercules. Yet we must think that the way was another, since our relief clearly shows that it was derived from a composition inserted into a rectangular panel. We are assured of this by the figure on the left, which is not merely a spacefiller, but reproduces, as we have seen, an analogous figure of the prototype.

I think that the importation of plaster casts from the classical world is responsible for this as for many other similarities between Graeco-roman and Gandharan products, as the Bagram plaquette also induces us to believe.

In conclusion, although the dating of Curtius (3rd century B.C.) for the prototype of the Sangiorgi sarcophagus is substantially acceptable, the frequency of replicas in much later times leads me to think that the motif arrived in northwestern India about the middle of the 2nd century A.D., a period which saw the intensification of commercial and cultural exchanges between the Roman Empire and the Orient, and the constitution of a solid political power in Gandhāra with the rise to the throne of Kaniska.\(^6\) As

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\(^6\) For relationships between the Roman Empire and the Orient, besides Wheeler, Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers, cit., see the accurate synthesis traced by M. Busaglì, Profili dell’India antica e moderna, Torino 1959, ch. VII. See also the recent important contribution by F. Coarelli, "Nuovi elementi per la cronologia di Bagram: cinque recipienti bronzi in forma di busto", in ArchCl XIII, 1961, pp. 168 ff. The importance of Alexandria as the place of origin of many classical motifs that are found
for the dating of our relief – which as far as we can know may not
have been the first in Gandhāra to adopt this scheme of composi-
tion – I do not think it should stray too far from this period.

[53] It is extremely interesting to consider how the Gandhāra
artist knew how to adapt a foreign scheme of composition to the
aim of an original aesthetic expression. The volumes are arranged
with geometric regularity, so that the oblique pillar diagonally
cuts in two an ideal square, perfectly inserted in the square of
the panel which contains it. The artist has accurately avoided the
effects of rapid and centrifugal movement offered by figures such
as the two central Satyrs of the Sangiorgi sarcophagus, perhaps
because linked to a prototype more faithful to the ancient Egyp-
tian scheme. He can thus build his solid architecture of rounded
and well-balanced masses: the heads, in which is to be seen the
essential sphere-shape of the skull, and the muscles, free from
any realistic interest (nothing is further from the intentions of
the artists of Gandhāra than the representation of muscular ten-
sion and the like).

In style our relief might perhaps be compared to another work
from Gandhāra, from the Kušāna strata at Sirkap (Taxila) and

in Gandhāra has yet to be fully evaluated. I wish to observe here that the scene of the
boy Siddhārtha going to school with his companions, using goats as a means of trans-
portation, derives, in my opinion, from the analogous Alexandrian representations on
boxes often made for exportation. These boxes seem to be datable between the end of
the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. See on the matter L. Castiglione,
"A Terracotta Box from Roman Egypt", in ActaAnt I, 1951-52, pp. 471 ff., especially
p. 491. For the representations in terracotta, see E. Breccia, Terrecotte figurate greche e
greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria (Monuments de l’Égypte gréco-romaine publiés par
la Société Royal d’Archéologie d’Alexandrie II), I, Bergamo 1930, pl. XXXIX 4, 6; II,
Bergamo 1934, pl. XVI, 62-64. For an analogous motif on Roman sarcophagi, see F.
XXII bis, 2 and XXXVI.

As regards the importance of Kaniska’s rise to the throne, note that in the early
part of his reign the kharašṭā inscriptions on the coins were substituted for by Greek
inscriptions, at the same time that there was a predilection for Greek or Hellenized
gods, a probable sign that the sovereign was supported by the Hellenic element (J.
Duchesne-Guillemin, La religion de l’Iran ancien, Paris 1962, p. 239): this Hellenic
element must obviously have represented a noteworthy power of attraction for the
products exported from Hellenistic centres.
preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Taxila. The scene still remains unidentified and no other versions of it are known. According to Marshall, though, the exceptional nature of this relief is due to its being extremely rare evidence of Gandhāra art in the late-Śaka period (first quarter of the 1st century A.D.). Marshall does not seem to attribute extreme importance to the archaeological data, nor does he wish to base himself on stylistic considerations: "That this relief is a product of the Gandhāra School is proved by the variety of local Gandhāra schist of which it is made; and that it dates from the late Śaka period is suggested by the character of the carving and the peculiarly distinctive treatment of the hard, staring eyes of the anchorites." In reality, I do not think that any common characteristics can be pointed out between the works most probably assigned by Marshall himself to the Śaka age, while it is not absolutely necessary to recur to the examination of the material to discover that we are dealing with a typical product of Gandhāra art. Nonetheless, the relief certainly cannot be held to be a late work, since the very fact that it [54] comes from Sirkap must make us think of a date not too distant from the transfer of the city from Sirkap to Sirsušk. In my opinion, the date of the relief should be set at the first half of the 2nd century A.D.

Contemporary, or immediately posterior, is our relief in the Museum of Oriental Art, which shares with that of Taxila the same taste for accurately balanced volumes and for limbs whose muscles are lightly swollen, the same lack of interest for the analytical description of detail and even some physiognomical features of the figures.

Once it had penetrated into Gandhāra, the scheme of composition in question may be said to have been definitively absorbed by Buddhist iconography.

If the relief from the Malakand Agency is still very close to ours, notwithstanding the evident simplifications, a complete transformation of the scene takes place in the relief in the Lyons Collect-

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tion. This may be due to the needs of the story, if, as I imagine, it is true that the scene represented is a different one. Above all, however, a new stylistic sensibility has come into play: a way of constructing that is freer from geometrical schemes, evidently inspired by an Indian tradition, substitutes for the classical Gandharan taste which prefers a regular sub-division of the scene according to extremely precise lines. This Indian tradition, which I have tried elsewhere to reconstruct as Andhra, affirms itself in Gandhāra in the last period (the so-called period "of the stuccoes") of that school and may be held responsible for many late products (Fondukistān, Central Asia, etc.), still capable of being carried back to a Gandharan tradition. For the solidly constructed figures with puffed and rounded muscles, there are substituted, in the Lyons relief, others more slender, almost frail, with turned and polished limbs that are still elastic; they distinctly call to our minds the reliefs of Amaravati rather than the "classical" reliefs of Gandhāra and allow us to attempt dating it at about the first half of the 4th century. Indeed it is not difficult to recognize in the figures of the Lyons relief some very close resemblances to the works of Haḍḍa, such as the famous lunette in the Musée Guimet depicting the moment that precedes the Great Departure.

68 J. Barthoux, Les fouilles de Haḍḍa, III. Figures et figurines. Album photographique (MDAFA [VI]), Paris et Bruxelles 1930, pl. 46; J. Hackin, La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet, Paris 1931, p. 10, pl. XIX.
IL MITO DI FILOTTETE
ED UN EPISODIO DELLA VITA DEL BUDDHA*°

From Archeologia Classica 15, 1963, pp. 198-218

[198] A questa ricerca (che intende far seguito a quella sul motivo della erezione del pilastro),¹ sono stato spinto dall’esame di un gruppo di rilievi del Gandhāra rinvenuti a Butkara I (Swāt) dalla Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan.

Essi recano i n. inv. 3982 (Roma, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale; fig. 1), 4100 (Roma, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale; fig. 2),² 5896 (Torino, Museo Civico; fig. 3),³ 7743 (tuttora presso la Missione Archeologica Italiana, Saidu Sharif; fig. 4).⁴⁰

Su ciascuno d’essi è rappresentata una scena che, per quanto mi risulta, non è nota da altri rilievi del Gandhāra. Un giovane, vestito del solo paridhāna, si abbandona a terra privo di sensi mentre un compagno, alle sue spalle, lo sostiene afferrandolo sotto le braccia.

* Ringrazio il Prof. G. Tucci ed il Dott. D. Faccenna che mi hanno permesso di pubblicare i rilievi inediti dello Swāt ed il Prof. R. Bianchi Bandinelli che cortesemente ha voluto leggere il dattiloscritto di questo articolo e mi è stato gentoso di utili consigli.

⁰ Figs. 1-4 correspond to Pls. LXX, LXXI, LXXII, LXXXIII of the original article; figs. 5-6 to Pl. LXXIV 1-2; figs. 7-10 to Pl. LXXV 1-4; figs. 11-25 to Pls. LXXXVI 1, LXXVI 2, LXXVII 1, LXXVII 2, LXXVIII, LXXIX 1, LXXIX 2, LXXX 1, LXXXI 1, LXXXI 2, LXXXII 1, LXXXII 2, LXXXIII 1, LXXXIII 2 [Edd.].


² Sculptures Butkara I, 3, tav. CDLXIIIb.

³ Mostra delle Sculture Buddiste dello Swat, Torino 1963, p. 6, n. 12.

⁴° Oggi al Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Roma (MNAOR 4532) [Edd.]
L’identificazione del gruppo è resa estremamente agevole dai n. inv. 3982 e 7743, in cui esso compare nel contesto d’una scena già nota, quella della gara di lotta, una delle prove con cui Siddhārtha conquista la mano di sua cugina Gopā o Yasodhāra.4


L’opera che maggiormente si approssima ai rilievi dello Swät mi sembra essere uno dei due skypboi d’argento rinvenuti nel 1920 a Hoby, sulla costa meridionale dell’isola di Lolland (Danimarca) ed ora conservati al Museo Nazionale Danese di Copenhagen.5

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Mentre uno degli *skypboi* rappresenta l’episodio del vecchio re Priamo che s’inginocchia a baciare la mano di Achille per ottenere il corpo di Ettore, l’altro, che a noi qui interessa, si riferisce alla leggenda di Filottete, anch’essa parte del ciclo troiano (figg. 5-6). Su di un lato il giovane Filottete, morso da un serpente velenoso, è sostenuto da un compagno, mentre altri due personaggi sono intenti a curargli la ferita; a destra è appeso ad un albero l’arco di Eracle, proprietà di Filottete, che Odisseo cercherà di recuperare, dieci anni più tardi, a Lemno. Sull’altro lato, infatti, Filottete a Lemno, vecchio ed emacito, è seduto su una roccia e si appoggia ad un bastone con ambo le braccia; davanti a lui Odisseo cerca di convincerlo a tornare a Troia.

Questa rappresentazione non deriva dalla tragedia sofoclea che ci è pervenuta, sibbene da una tragedia perduta di Euripide, che noi conosciamo attraverso due scritti di Dione Crisostomo, completati da una favola di Iginio.

I due *skypboi* sono firmati da un autore peraltro sconosciuto, Cheirisophos, il cui nome appare in greco sul vaso di Priamo, in greco ma in caratteri latini su quello di Filottete. Un’altra iscrizione, in latino, sul vaso di Filottete, dà il peso totale dei due *skypboi*; inoltre, sul fondo dei due vasi, si legge anche il nome latino Silius, che quasi certamente designa il proprietario. Non staremo qui a discutere della possibile identificazione di questo Silius. Ci basti ricordare che oggetti del genere, come osservò fino dalla prima edizione degli *skypboi* il Friis Johansen, erano spesso donati dai


8 *Oatt.* LII, LIX (ed. G. de Budé, II, Lipsiae 1919, pp. 135 ss., 167 ss.).

9 *Fab.* CII.

10 Forse il C. Silio che fu legato della Germania Superiore dal 14 al 21 d.C.
Romani a taluni capi barbari. Quest’uso ci è documentato da Tacito\textsuperscript{11} per la Germania e, per l’Oriente, dal \textit{Periplo del Mare Eritreo}.\textsuperscript{12}

Si tratta dunque di un prodotto di artigiano ellenico o ellenizzato per un committente romano. Riguardo all’epoca, si può dire che non vi siano voci discordi, convenendo tutti gli studiosi su una datazione in età augustea o giulio-claudia. A tale datazione sarebbe conferma l’ipotesi recente di C. Vermeule,\textsuperscript{13} che riconosce nella testa di Achille della tazza di Priamo “an unmistakable portrait of Tiberius” e negli altri personaggi della scena altrettanti ritratti di membri della famiglia giulio-claudia. Lo \textit{skyphos} di Hoby con Achille e Priamo è dunque un’opera celebrativa che allude probabilmente al recupero avvenuto nel 19 a.C. delle insegne romane strappate a Crasso dai Parti nella battaglia di Carrhae (53 a.C.).\textsuperscript{14}

Possiamo allora legittimamente porre i due \textit{skyphoi} di Hoby nel periodo del [201] principato di Augusto. Meno agevole è invece stabilire il luogo di produzione, su cui sono state emesse diverse ipotesi. Se l’attribuzione ad ambiente campano sembra essere da escludere perché basata su dati estrinseci estremamente tenui, è arduo decidere tra Alessandria ed il Vicino Oriente, giacché il carattere sostanzialmente classicistico dei due \textit{skyphoi} è di ostacolo all’analisi stilistica. Il fatto che la scena della tazza di Priamo alluda al successo – in realtà piuttosto politico che militare – dei Romani nei confronti dell’impero partico, indurrebbe a credere che il luogo di produzione sia da ricercarsi nel Vicino Oriente greco anziché in Egitto; all’Egitto invece rinvia perentoriamente un particolare della scena di Filottete a Lemno: il giovane che, a destra, introduce le mani nelle viscere d’un uccello appeso ad un albero. E questo un motivo ellenistico alessandrino che si ritrova anche sull’elmo gladiatorio di Pompei, vero repertorio di motivi alessandrini, e che con-

\textsuperscript{11} Germ. V 3 (ed. Lanchantin, Torino 1949): \textit{Est uidere apud illos argentea uasa, lēgatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia utilitate quam quae humo finguntur}...

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Peripl.} (ed. Fabricius, Lipsiae 1883) 24: \textit{τὸ δὲ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὸ τυράννῳ δίδονται... χρυσόματα καὶ τορπιτὰ ἅργυρόματα... καὶ χαλκουργήματα. 28: τὰ πλεῖνα δὲ ἅργυρόματα τετοριεμένα καὶ χρυσόματα τὸ βασιλεῖ. 49: τὸ δὲ βασιλεῖ κατὰ ἐκεῖνους τοὺς τόπους εἰσφέρεται βαρύτιμα ἅργυρόματα.}

\textsuperscript{13} Op. cit. pp. 37 s.

\textsuperscript{14} Per la particolare fortuna di questo tema propagandistico nell’arte augustea, vedi G.M.A. Hanfmann e C.C. Vermeule, “A New Trajan”, in \textit{AJA} LXI, 1957, pp. 244 ss.
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tinuerà ad essere impiegato in vari contesti fino in età copta.  
Inoltre l’arte alessandrina conosce un altro motivo che, seppure 
sostanzialmente indipendente dalla tradizione che andiamo esami-
nando, presenta talune analogie con la scena di Filottette curato: il 
gruppo della pastora cavaspina, infatti, può sembrare ricalcato su 
di essa e testimonia del favore goduto da questo schema nell’arte 
alessandrina.

Torniamo ora ai rilievi dello Swat. Nella forma più completa, 
rappresentata dai n. inv. 3982 e 7743 (figg. 1 e 4), la composizione 
gandharica ci mostra il giovane contendente abbattuto, sostenuto da 
un compagno, ed un altro giovane che rovescia sul suo capo un vaso 
pieno d’acqua, nell’evidente intento di restituirgli i sensi perduti. 
Senza alcun dubbio, questa figura estremamente significativa deriva 
dal *famulus* che nello *skyphos* di Filottete da Hoby porge un vaso 
d’acqua per curare la ferita dell’eroe.

Questo particolare può esser considerato come un’innovazione 
apportata da Cheirisophos o dall’autore di un prototipo da Cheiri-
sophos riprodotto? Tutto lo farebbe credere, come cercherò qui di 
mostrare: se ne potranno forse trarre conseguenze interessanti.

La scena di Filottete morso dal serpente sulla tazza di Hoby 
non si riconnette infatti con un unico filone di tradizione iconogra-
ifica. Si tratta, a ben vedere, di una vera e propria *contaminatio*: per 
assicurarsene basta [202] esaminare il valore narrativo delle singole 
figure. Il giovane eroe seduto sulla roccia porge al compagno intento 
à curarlo il piede ferito. Per far ciò egli solleva la gamba e la tien 
ferma con ambo le mani. L’intera figura di Filottette mostra una 
forte tensione muscolare ed una notevole vivacità fisica e morale. 
Qual è allora il compito dell’altro giovine che premurosamente af-
ferra Filottete sotto le ascelle? Assolutamente nessuno. La inserzi-
one di questa figura è del tutto superflua ed ha la sua giustificazione 
soltanto come puro elemento di gusto compositivo, di stile insomma.

Essa non è però senza precedenti nella stessa tradizione icono-
grafica del mito di Filottete, che ci è testimoniata da una serie di

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15 Vedi A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria*, Roma 1959, p. 14, tavv. XIV-XV.
16 Adriani, *Divagazioni..., cit.*, pp. 34 s., tavv. XLVIII 138 e XLIX 141.
17 Per tutto quanto concerne la tradizione letteraria e sovrattutto le rappresenta-
urne etrusche raffiguranti Filottete a Lemno. È interessante esaminarle in una certa successione:

1) Volterra, Tomba Inghirami (fig. 7). Filottete è seduto e si appoggia ad un bastone; Odisseo cerca di convincerlo, mentre un giovane (Diomede), dietro Filottete, tende le mani per afferrare l’arco di Eracle.

2) Da Volterra; Firenze, Museo Archeologico (fig. 8). Come il precedente, ma il giovane, oltre a tendere le mani, si protende in avanti con tutta la persona.

3) Da Volterra; Cortona, Museo (fig. 9). Odisseo prende in mano la gamba malata di Filottete, come per curarlo; questi si appoggia al bastone solo con la mano sinistra, mentre la destra è tesa verso Odisseo; il giovane Diomede alle sue spalle gli si è di molto appizzato.

4) Da Volterra; Volterra, Museo Guarnacci (figg. 10 e 11). Odisseo tiene non più la gamba ma il piede di Filottete e questi [203] sembra che sostenga la propria gamba con la mano destra. Nel fondo, dietro Filottete, è un grosso vaso deposto a terra.

Se ora confrontiamo quest’ultimo rilievo con lo skyphos di Hoby, osserviamo che Cheirisophos – o l’autore del supposto prototipo – non ha fatto altro che sopprimere l’arco e la faretra, accordando il giovane a Filottete, e porre il vaso con l’acqua in mano ad un famulus. La scena di Filottete a Lemno si trasformava quindi


18 E. Brunn, I rilievi delle urne etrusche, Roma 1870, p. 82, tav. LXXIV; Milani, Il mito..., cit., p. 100, tav. III45.

19 Brunn, op. cit., pp. 82 s., tav. LXXI5; Milani, Il mito..., cit., pp. 99 s., tav. III44.

20 Brunn, op. cit., p. 83, tav. LXXI6; Milani, Il mito..., cit., p. 100, tav. III46.

21 Brunn, op. cit., pp. 83 ss., tav. LXXII7; Milani, Il mito..., cit., pp. 100 s., tav. III47. Come già vide il Brunn, la scena di Odisseo e Polifemo su due urne volterranne di Firenze è un adattamento della scena di Odisseo e Filottete: Brunn, op. cit., pp. 113 ss., tav. LXXXVII.
nella scena di Filottete morso dal serpente, per la quale non esisteva una tradizione iconografica unitaria.\(^{22}\)

Eppure, anche nell’accostare il giovane rapitore dell’arco a Filottete, sì da trasformarlo in un compagno premuroso che presta il suo aiuto all’eroe ferito – che è forse l’innovazione compositiva più felice della scena – Cheirisophos (o l’autore del modello seguito da questi) non ha esitato ad attingere dal più vieto repertorio iconografico.

Come giustamente fu notato,\(^{23}\) egli si è ispirato ad un gruppo celebre, la cui origine è da porre nello scudo di Athena Parthenos, opera di Fidia, e che nella letteratura archeologica è ormai noto con il nome tedesco di “Helferguppe”.\(^{24}\) Questo viene rielaborato sia con due figure maschili, sia con due amazzoni, sia con una figura maschile ed una femminile. Un rilievo neoattico assai noto del Late-rano (il gruppo di “Oreste e Pilade”, [204] di età all’incirca augu-

\(^{22}\) Si deve però tener presente la rappresentazione del mito su uno stamnos ceretano già Campana, ora al Louvre, che è un interessante precedente (prima metà del IV sec. a.C.) della nostra composizione: Milani, Il mito..., cit., p. 68, fig. 4; CVA, Musée du Louvre III, tav. 18 (con bibliografia).


stea) (fig. 12)\(^2\) è particolarmente vicino allo *Helfergruppe* che compare nel frammento di replica dello scudo fidiaco recentemente rinvenuto a Patrasso.\(^2\)

Mentre nelle repliche del gruppo fidiaco e nei rilievi del Gandhāra il giovane sovcorrittore si chiama a sorreggere il compagno, la tazza di Hoby ci mostra invece lo stesso personaggio inginocchiato. Mi sembra assai probabile che siano state esigenze di spazio a imporre a Cheirisophos questa variante; pertanto possiamo postulare l'esistenza di un'opera perduta di stile classicistico, forse raffigurante Filottete morso dal serpente e probabilmente di età augustea, da cui dipendono da una parte lo *skyphos* di Hoby, dall'altra i rilievi del Gandhāra.

Sarebbe certo ingenuità immaginare che il fenomeno complesso delle derivazioni iconografiche possa essere schematizzato in forma di "stemma", così come siamo soliti fare nello studio delle tradizioni manoscritte. Io non conosco che pochi casi in cui uno schema iconografico possa dirsi, *tout court*, derivato da un altro, senza che intervengano fattori estranei: e non solo d'ordine concettuale, com'è ovvio, o di stile o di gusto, ma sovratutto fattori di "educazione" artistica. L'artista che si ispira ad un modello, adottandone lo schema iconografico, è portato ad intervenire con inserti tolti anch'essi da antichi contesti, quasi ad imporre sulla nuova creazione quel crisma di legittimità che solo può esser conferito dalla fedeltà all'antico, al "classico".

Di questo fenomeno è testimonianza, abbiamo visto, lo *skyphos* di Hoby. Ma per meglio rendersi conto della sua complessità, esaminiamo ora il ciclo della natività di Cristo: si vedrà facilmente che una interessante connessione esiste con quanto si è detto finora.

Fra le più antiche rappresentazioni di questa scena scegliamo

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quelle – sono le più – che presentano i seguenti caratteri: San Giuseppe seduto in atteggiamento pensoso accanto alla Vergine recumbente; due levatrici che lavano il Bambino. Eccone l’elenco:37 [205]

1) Una gemma (diastro) paleocristiana al Cabinet des Médailles della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, di difficile datazione.28

2) Un affresco nelle Catacombe di San Valentino, a Roma (seconda metà del VII sec.), dove però manca la figura di San Giuseppe.29

3) Un affresco nella Chiesa di Santa Maria di Castelseprio, di datazione assai dibattuta, ma probabilmente attribuibile al VII-VIII sec. (fig. 13).30

4) Un mosaico dell’Oratorio di Giovanni VII in San Pietro, noto da disegno Grimaldi, datato al 705-707.31

La scena della lavanda del Bambino – un curioso controsenso nella iconografia cristiana32 – che si conserva pressoché invariata nella tradizione medioevale e, più a lungo, in quella bizantina,33

28 R. Garrucci, Storia dell’arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa, VI, Prato 1880, tav. 478, n. 31.
29 Garrucci, op. cit., II I, Prato 1873, tav. 84.
31 J. Wilpert, Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert, 2° ed., Freiburg 1917, 12, fig. 128 a p. 390; III, tav. 113.
33 Cfr. G. Millet, Recherches sur l’iconographie de l’Évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles (BEFAR CIX), Paris 1916. Il Millet (pp. 93 ss.) ha indagato con eccezionale acutezza lo sviluppo della composizione della Natività, individuando le origini orientali, bizantine o italiane di essa. La origine prima sembra debba ricercarsi in Oriente, più precisamente in Siria, come indica anche il mosaico con la nascita di Alessandro, rinvenuto a Baalbek, di cui sarà fatto cenno più avanti (vedi nota 38). Per le origini siriane, vedi anche O. Wulff, Alchristliche und byzantinische Kunst (Handbuch der
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deriva, a concorde giudizio di tutti gli studiosi, dalle rappresentazioni della lavanda del fanciullo Dioniso su sarcofagi romani. Di questi, tre corrispondono assai bene alla scena cristiana: uno di Monaco, uno della Woburn Abbey, il terzo – assai noto – del Campidoglio. Che ciò sia in parte vero non può in alcun modo dubitarsi, tanto più che la scena della γέννησις mostra chiaramente di derivare in parte dal motivo del parto miracoloso di Semele, che, raffigurato su stele del IV sec., dura inalterato fino in età ellenistica. Eppure non è difficile constatare che la corrispondenza non è perfetta, giacché una delle ninfe, nei sarcofagi dionisiaci, tiene il neonato sulle ginocchia, mentre l'altra versa l'acqua nel bacile: il più delle volte la scena della lavanda di Gesù mostra invece il divino Fanciullo in piedi o seduto nella vasca e sorretto da una delle levatrici, mentre l'altra versa su di lui, o nella vasca, l'acqua per l'abluzione. Se ora confrontiamo una di queste scene – ad esempio quella di Santa Maria di Castelseprio, che documenta una corrente di “rinascita” ellenistica – con lo schema di Filottete assistito da Odisseo che abbiamo visto nelle urne etrusche, possiamo legittimamente chiederci, io credo, se le molte coincidenze siano davvero soltanto casuali. D'altra parte, che la scena della γέννησις con la lavanda non derivi esclusivamente da uno schema dionisiaco mi par


36 H. Philippart, "De Sémélé à la Madone", in Епізоди Ἀρχαιολογίας 1937, pp. 256 ss.
dimostrato dal fatto che la figura di San Giuseppe pensoso che costantemente l’accompagna non ha riscontro negli “archetipi” dionisiaci, sembrandomi invero troppo generico un confronto con lo Zeus che partecipa, in alcuni sarcofagi, alla laboriosa nascita del divino Fanciullo.37 Né può dirci, per contro, una innovazione cristiana, ché un precedente interessantissimo ci è fornito da un prezioso mosaico di recente rinvenuto a Baalbek e conservato al Museo Nazionale di Beirut, in cui è raffigurata la nascita di Alessandro. Oltre alla madre dell’eroe semisdraiatà e accompagnata da un’assistente e da una ninfa (vůμη) intenta a lavare il fanciullo, compare qui la figura del padre (sicuramente indicata dalla iscrizione: Φίλαυρος, che è senza alcun dubbio il precedente del San Giuseppe).38

[207] Confrontiamo ora questa figura di San Giuseppe tante volte ripetuta con poche varianti nell’iconografia cristiana con il Filottete delle stesse urne etrusche. Dovremo ancora pensare ad un puro caso o non piuttosto ad una scomposizione della scena classica ai fini d’una nuova iconografia? Ancor più evidente apparirà la somiglianza a chi rilevi come San Giuseppe sia bene spesso assiso su di uno spuntone di roccia, che solo in qualche caso tardo diviene una sedia, allusione al viaggio da Nazareth a Betlemme.39 Vero è però che il Filottete delle urne etrusche, al pari di San Giuseppe, non è che una generica figura di filosofo o di pastore seduto che serve di frequente alla illustrazione di scene bucoliche40 (e ciò do-

39 Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion...", cit., p. 89, nota 30, tav. II.2.
vrebbe a mio avviso porre su di un piano diverso il discorso sulla
presunta derivazione del Filottete vecchio di Hoby da una pittura
di Parrasio); ma la coincidenza è pur sempre singolare e resa più
evidente dalla presenza, non rara, di uno o due pastori davanti a
San Giuseppe, che si riscontra ancora nella produzione tarda di
derivazione bizantina almeno fino al XVII sec.; ma invece manca
nelle scene pastorali generiche di età ellenistica.

La figura del pastore seduto, nell’arte classica, è sostanzial-
mente identica a quella d’uno dei filosofi nel cosiddetto “mosaico
di Platone” da Pompei,\footnote{208} che si fa risalire ad un prototipo del
317-307 a.C.; è noto come da questa composizione derivino, per
diretta filiazione, diversi altri schemi iconografici;\footnote{209} ad essi vorrei
LVIII) e del Museo Nazionale Romano (P.E. Arias, ”Un nuovo sarcofago con scena
mondo romano}, Torino 1961, p. 316, fig. 289), ambedue databili al 270 c., in cui
compare il motivo degli arieti che cozzano tra di loro (vedi anche Wilpert, \textit{I sarcofagi...},
cit., I, tav. CCXXXIII 2; II, Roma 1932, tav. CCXV 4). Lo stesso motivo ritroveremo
nella scena del Natale almeno fino al XV sec. (ad esempio: un vetro dorato di arte
umbra del XIV-XV sec. al Victoria and Albert Museum, n. 1215; F. Rossi, ”Un
reliquiario con vetri dorati del Museo Nazionale di Firenze”, in \textit{Dedalo IX}, 1928-29,
fig. a p. 709; un dipinto di scuola di Novgorod del XV-XVI sec.: K. Onasch, \textit{Icone},
trad. it., Firenze 1961, tav. 55; miniatura con l’\textit{Annuncio ai pastori} del \textit{Cod. Lat. 4452}
della Staatsbibliothek di Monaco, del 1007 o 1014: A. Boeckler, \textit{Deutsche Buchmalerei
vorgotischer Zeit}, Königstein im Taunus 1953, n. 30; Giotto agli Scrovegni lo traspone
dalla \textit{Natività al Sacrificio di Giacobino}.

\footnote{208} Vedine esempi in Millet, \textit{op. cit.}, loc. cit.

\footnote{209} Museo Nazionale di Napoli, n. 24545: A. Ruesch, ed., \textit{Guida illustrata del Museo
Nazionale di Napoli}, Napoli 1908, n. 189; F. Drexel, ”Das Philosophenmosaik von
Torre Annunziata”, in \textit{RM XXVII}, 1912, pp. 234 ss.; O. Elia, \textit{Pitture murali e mosaici nel
Museo Nazionale di Napoli}, Roma 1932, n. 404, fig. 53; O. Brendel, ”Symbolik der
Kugel”, in \textit{RM LI}, 1936, pp. 1 ss.; J.P. Lauer e Ch. Picard, \textit{Les statues ptolémaïques du
Sarapion de Memphis} (Publications de l’Institut d’Art et d’Archéologie de l’Université
de Paris III), Paris 1955, \textit{passim} (dove se ne fa risalire il prototipo pittorico all’esedra
del Sarapion di Memphis; con bibliografia). Per la più tarda replica di Sarsina, a Villa
Albani, vedi anche l’articolo di G.W. Elderkin citato appresso (nota 43).

\footnote{209} Cfr. P. Buberl, ”Die antiken Grundlagen der Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskori-
deskodex” in \textit{JdI} LI, 1936, pp. 128 s.; G.W. Elderkin, ”Two Mosaics Representing the
Seven Wise Men”, in \textit{AJA} XXXIX, 1935, pp. 92-111, tav. XXII; R. Bianchi Bandinelli,
\textit{Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad (Ilias Ambrosiana)}, Olten 1955, pp. 116
s., 143.
aggiungere il gruppo degli Apostoli nel mosaico teodoriciano della Preghiera nell'Orto dei Getsemani a S. Apollinare Nuovo di Raven-
na, che mi sembra l'esito più fedele al prototipo classico: qui i Discepoli son rappresentati desti, mentre più tardi il gruppo di
costoro, dormienti, si distacca dall'originario modello, come - per non citare che alcuni esempi più antichi - nell'affresco di S. Nicolò
di Lido, a Venezia (fine XI sec.), o nel celebre mosaico dugentesco
di S. Marco a Venezia, dove pure l'Apostolo come pastore-filosofo è
rappresentato nell'episodio adiacente. A noi basti qui rilevare an-
cora una volta che talora interi gruppi classici (peraltro composti già
di elementi raccogliti, se se ne vuole spiegare la genesi con rigido
metodo analitico) venivano trasposti in contesti cristiani. D'altra
parte non è da escludere - io lo credo anzi molto probabile - che
al tipo classico del pastore-filosofo si rifaccia la serie assai ricca del
Bodhisattva pensoso, uno dei tipi iconografici più diffusi dall'India
al Giappone.

Esso sembra fare la sua comparsa nel Gandhāra con figure
sedute con le gambe scartate, in atteggiamento pensieroso: si tratta
infatti di solito di personaggi posti di fronte a decisioni di grande
momento.

1) Il Buddha, raggiunta l'Illuminazione, è incerto se predicare o meno la
Legge: rilievo da Butkara I a Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (fig. 15).

2) Siddhārtha medita di abbandonare il Palazzo paterno e la consorta (Grande
Rimanciatura): numerosi rilievi, di cui cito a mo' d'esempio uno dei più evi-
denti, della Collezione S.H. Minkenhoft di New York. [209]

3) Monaco in atteggiamento di dolore nella scena del Parinirvāṇa: rilievo del
Museo di Peshawar, n. 2084.

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44 G. Bovini, Mosaici di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna. Il ciclo cristologico, Firenze
1958, tav. XV e fig. 6 a p. 28.
45 S. Bettini, Mosaici antichi di San Marco a Venezia, Bergamo 1944, p. 21, figg. 1-
2, tavv. LXXVIII-LXXIX,
46 Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan, n. inv. 7206.
47 ArtikAs XVIII, 1955, fig. a p. 78.
48 AGBG, I, fig. 276; GAP, n. 137; J. Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra. The
Story of the Early School, its Birth, Growth and Decline (MDAP I), Cambridge 1960,
fig. 68.
Da questo tipo sembrano derivare talune rappresentazioni cinesi (Yüan) di Śakyamuni come eremita meditante, per le quali c’è da chiedersi se rappresentino davvero una reazione al convenzionalismo delle mudrā, come ritiene il Sirén: questo schema in realtà è stato in stretto contatto con quelli più rigidì e rituali noti come lalitāsana e mahāvajjalāsana. Il Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kwanyin; Kannon) è stato spesso rappresentato in schemi simili, sia in Cina che in Giappone, ed è assai probabile che debba vedersi una relazione abbastanza stretta con i suddetti tipi gandharici.

D’altra parte non è neppure da escludere che ad un medesimo filone appartengano le numerose immagini di Bodhisattva con una gamba appoggiata al ginocchio dell’altra ed il capo reclinato sulla mano destra sollevata, tanto più che questo tipo sorge nel Gandhāra e si diffonde in Asia Centrale, in Cina, in Corea e in Giappone. Non è affatto necessario citare degli esempi; sarà piuttosto interessante notare che questo schema appare in Europa nel XII-XIII sec., soprattutto in Francia. Se anche non è possibile affermare che si tratta di una derivazione dall’arte estremo-orientale,
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mi [210] sembra probabile, o almeno possibile, che un apporto orientale (direi cinese) debba riconoscersi in quella che giudicherei l’opera più vicina ai Bodhisattva con le gambe accavallate, la statua seduta su un leone che adorna il monumento sepolcrale di Philippe de Courtenay (ca. 1285) nella Basilica inferiore di S. Francesco in Assisi (fig. 16):° io credo che il confronto diretto con il famoso Bodhisattva (VII sec.) del Chûgû-ji (fig. 17)°° valga più di qualsiasi descrizione e ci autorizzi ad avanzare – sia pure con ogni cautela – un’ipotesi che per ora non appare purtroppo sostenuta da alcuna prova documentaria. Anche il fatto singolare che la figura principesca nel monumento assiastic è posta su di un leone sembra rinviare ad una iconografia orientale con leone-vâha-

Un altro elemento che avvicina le due serie iconografiche è il motivo della grotta,⁴⁷ che nel mito di Filottete ha un evidente significato ctinio; nelle rappresentazioni della Natività esso dura fino al XII-XIII sec., quando in Occidente viene definitivamente soppiantato da quello della stalla: il suo valore simbolico potrà ben spiegarsi ricordando che la grotta è costantemente associata ai miti di regenerazione.


° W.R. Valentiner, “The Master of the Tomb of Philippe de Courtenay in Assisi”, in Art Quarterly XIV, 1951, pp. 3 ss., figg. 1 e 9, dove si discutono i vari problemi riguardanti il monumento e si tenta di attribuirlo a Ramo di Paganello.


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vita – morte – vita,"38 cui può ricondursi in qualche modo la scena del Natale, non dimentichiamo che le gare atletiche cui si sottopone Siddhärtha non sono altro che parte d’un rituale d’iniziazione, da porsi evidentemente in una medesima categoria di fenomenologia religiosa. In ciò, è appena il caso di dirlo, si può riconoscere una pura coincidenza. Non altrettanto casuale sembra essere l’analogia tra una rappresentazione gandharica del ritorno di [211] Chandaka (fig. 18)39 ed un episodio della vita di Giuseppe ebreo raffigurato sulla cattedra di Massimiano al Museo Arcivescovile di Ravenna (fig. 19).40 Come in questo i fratelli di Giuseppe mostrano a Giacobbe i panni insanguinati del figlio prediletto (Genesi XXXVII 32 s.), così in quella Chandaka reca a Mahäraprājapati le insegne principesche (turbante e parasole) ed i gioielli di Siddhärtha, prova non meno evidente della partenza – vera e propria morte iniziativa – del futuro Illuminato (Lalitavistara 282, 12 ss.). Vediamo infatti che il gesto di disperazione di Mahāprājapati corrisponde a quello altrettanto plateale dell’infelice Giacobbe nell’avorio di Ravenna, che – osserviamolo fin d’ora – è quasi certamente un prodotto egiziano, se non addirittura alessandrino (Cecchelli, Natanson) della prima

38 Untersteiner, op. cit., pp. 128 s.
39 Da Butkara I (Misiione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan, n. inv. 3753): Sculptures Butkara I, 2, tav. CCXXXVI. Per quanto concerne il tipo iconografico della donna a braccia levate per significare disperazione o terrore, si veda il rilievo Wylie con il cavallo di Troia (Allan, "A Tabula Illica...", cit., ove se ne dimostra la derivazione da un motivo classico; Fouche, "Le cheval de Troie...", cit.) ed un rilievo dallo Swät (Misiione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan, n. inv. 4360) in cui ho tentato di identificare lo scena della prima esperienza della morte cui va incontro Siddhärtha (M. Taddei, in Sculptures Butkara I, 2, tav. CCXXXIV). Cfr. anche i rilievi con il Mahāprājapati (AGBG, I, pp. 55 ss.). Per l’arte partica, si veda la bella figurina in collezione privata a Parigi, per la quale il Ghirshman rinvia, certo affettuamente, nientemeno che ai bronzi del Luristan: R. Ghirshman, Iran. Parthes et Sassanides, Parigi 1962, p. 104, fig. 120.
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metà del VI sec. Ma che altro dovremo riconoscere nel Giacobbe dell’avorio di Ravenna se non una modificazione della dolente figura del Filottete dello skýphos di Hoby e chi nei figli o pastori che recano a Giacobbe la prova fallace se non Odisseo ed i compagni delle urne volterranse? È ben certo che non si tratta, in questo caso, d’una vera e propria derivazione: sia il ritorno di Chandaka che l’episodio della storia di Giuseppe (la loro sostanziale identità ci è garantita anche dalla figura di assistente che in ambo le scene appare dietro il personaggio principale) sembrano dipendere da un modello ellenistico, forse alessandrino, per il quale possiamo supporre un qualche legame con lo schema di Filottete.

Prima di tornare ai rilievi dello Swá t e per meglio porre in luce la vitalità del motivo iconografico intorno a cui si svolge la nostra ricerca, poniamo mente ad un altro fenomeno di derivazione che interessa i due cicli, quello del mito di Filottete e quello neotestamentario.

[212] La scena della Lavanda dei piedi, anch’essa ripetuta innumerevoli volte, compare, a vero dire, in forma estremamente schematica nei sarcofagi paleocristiani, ma v’è una serie assai ricca, più tarda, che ci interessa in modo particolare. Il Millet ha mostrato lo sviluppo di questa scena dal tipo più antico (ellenistico) a tre figure con Pietro riluttante a quello cappadoce con la lavanda, a quello bizantino con il Cristo che asciuga i piedi di Pietro.

62 Millet, Recherches..., cit., pp. 310 ss.; cfr. E. Diez e O. Demus, Byzantine Mosaics in Greece. Hostos Lucas and Daphni, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 64 (con riferimenti). È questo il tipo che dura più a lungo; esso addirittura viene impiegato ad altri fini, come in rappresentazioni delle Opere di Misericordia: si veda ad esempio il Governo degli infermi che Domenico de Bartolo (1440) dipinse nello Speciale senese di S. Maria della Scala (C. Brandi, Quattrocentisti sienesi, Milano 1949, tav. 167), dando al gruppo, certo involontariamente, un significato assai più prossimo alla scena di Filottete che a quella della Lavanda dei piedi a cui l’autore stesso rinvia con palese allusione. Né è improbabile che ad una Lavanda dei piedi pensasse Donatello nel comporre il Miracolo del figliolo pentito per l’altare della Basilica padovana (L. Planiscig, Donatello, Firenze 1947, fig. 141), ma la figura che sostiene il giovaneetto guarito dal Santo deve certo essergli stata suggerita da qualche sarcofago con il gruppo di Oreste e Pilade. Per quanto il “classicismo” di Donatello vada ricondotto entro i dovuti limiti (si veda in proposito l’acuta disamina di O. Morisani, Studi su Donatello, Venezia 1952, pp. 57 ss.),
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Quest’ultimo tipo può esser ben documentato dal primo esempio che ne abbiamo, una tavoletta eburnea del X sec. a Berlino (fig. 20). In essa il Cristo si china ad asciugare il piede di San Pietro, sollevato al di sopra del bacino; l’Apostolo siede con la mano destra portata al sommo del capo e la sinistra abbandonata sul ginocchio; dietro di lui sono gli altri [213] undici Discipoli: di questi uno (San Giovanni) si piega a slacciarsi un sandalo guardando verso Pietro, dal quale lo separa la figura d’un altro Discipolo.

Eccoci dunque di nuovo di fronte ad una composizione che ci ricorda quella del mito di Filottete, anche se dovremmo ricorrere a varie redazioni di questa per “ricomporre” idealmente l’avorio di Berlino.

Ritroviamo l’Odisseo delle urne etrusche 3 e 4 del nostro elenco nella figura di Cristo che tiene il piede di San Pietro; in quest’ultimo il gesto della mano portata alla testa ci riporta eviden-


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Fig. 1 - Gara di lotta. Da Butkara I, Swat.
Roma, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale. (Foto F. Bonardi).
Fig. 2 - Gara di lotta. Da Butkara I, Swât. Roma, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale. (Foto F. Bonardi).
Fig. 3 - Gara di lotta. Da Butkara I, Swāt. Torino, Museo Civico.
(Foto F. Bonardi).

Fig. 4 - Gara di lotta. Da Butkara I, Swāt. Saïdu Sharif,
Missione Archeologica Italiana. (Foto F. Bonardi).
Figg. 5-6 - Skyphos d'argento con scene dalla leggenda di Filottete. Da Hoby, Danimarca. Museo Nazionale Danese di Copenhagen. (Copenhagen, Museo Nazionale).
Figg. 7-8 - Urne volterrane con scene del mito di Filottete.
(Da Brunn, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, tavv. LXX 4, LXXI 5).
Figg. 9-10 - Urne volterranee con scene del mito di Filottete.
(Da Brunn, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, tavv. LXXI 6, LXXII 7).
Fig. 11 - Urna volterrana con scena del mito di Filottete (v. fig. 10). Volterra, Museo Guarnacci. (Alinari, Firenze).

Fig. 12 - Rilievo neoattico con raffigurazione di Oreste e Pilade (età augustea). Roma, Museo Lateranense. (Alinari, Firenze).
Fig. 13 - Natività di Cristo. Affresco nella Chiesa di Santa Maria Forisportam di Castelseprio (VII-VIII secolo).
(Da Bagnetti, Chierici e De Capitani D’Arzago, Santa Maria di Castelseprio).

Fig. 14 - Visita del Buddha ad asceta brahmanico. Peshawar, Museo.
(Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Roma).
Fig. 15 - Il Buddha, dopo l'Illuminazione, incerto se predicare o meno la Legge.
Da Butkara I. Saidu Sharif, Swât Museum. (Foto F. Bonardi).
Fig. 16 - Figura seduta su leone nel monumento sepolcrale di Philippe de Courtenay (ca. 1285). Assisi, Basilica inferiore di S. Francesco. (Alinari, Firenze).
Fig. 17 - Bodhisattva pensoso. Nara, Chūgū-ji.
(Da Paine-Soper, *The Art and Architecture of Japan*).
Fig. 18 - Ritorno di Chandaka. Da Butkara I. Roma, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale. (Foto F. Bonardi).

Fig. 19 - Episodio della vita di Giuseppe raffigurato sulla cattedra di Massimiano. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile. (Alinari, Firenze).
Fig. 20 - Tavoletta eburnea con scena della Lavanda dei piedi (X secolo). Berlino, Staatliche Museen. (Da Goldschmidt e Weitzmann, Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen).
Fig. 21 - Visita del Buddha ad asceta brahmanico. Saidu Sharif, Swât Museum. (Foto F. Bonardi).

Fig. 22 - Mahâprajapati si accascia all'annuncio della partenza di Siddhârtha. Da Butkara I. Roma, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale. (Foto F. Bonardi).
Fig. 23 - Rilievo raffigurante la storia di Sarvandada o lo Śibi Jātaka. Londra, British Museum. (British Museum, Londra).

Fig. 24 - Andromaca sviene nell'apprendere la morte di Ettore. Pompei, Casa del Crassoportico. (Da Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza*).
Fig. 25 - Scena non identificata. Da Pānţ, Swāt. Saidu Sharif, Missione Archeologica Italiana. (Foto F. Bonardi).
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temente al Filottete anziano dello *skyphos* di Hoby (o anche soltanto al Filottete dell’urna volterrana 1), mentre il bacile con l’acqua deposto a terra corrisponde a quello dell’urna volterrana 4. Infine l’Apostolo (San Giovanni) che si china per slacciarsi il sandalo, pur ricalcando – come è stato osservato ⁶⁴ – un tipo classico di Hermes, non è lontano dal giovane Diomede che, nelle urne etrusche, tenta di sottrarre l’arco di Eracle. La figura dell’altro Discepolo, inserita tra San Pietro e San Giovanni nella tavoletta di Berlino, è invece assente o è diversamente collocata in altre rappresentazioni ⁶⁵ e può ritenersi un elemento mobile.

Il Millet ha mostrato come lo schema bizantino sia un adattamento di quello cappadoce: il tratto principale in cui i due schemi differiscono è la assenza – in quello cappadoce – del Discepolo che si slaccia il sandalo. Se non si tratta dunque d’una pura coincidenza – il che a vero dire mi appare assai poco probabile – lo schema iconografico ellenistico da cui derivano le urne etrusche con il mito di Filottete era ancora “vivo” nel X sec. in ambiente microasiatico ⁶⁶, parimenti dall’Asia Minore doveva essere giunto [214] lo stesso schema agli autori delle urne di Volterra ⁶⁷ tanto è vero


⁶⁵ Vedine esempi in Millet, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁶⁶ Le stesse urne etrusche, d’altra parte, suggeriscono motivi decorativi figurati all’artigianato tessile peruginxo del XIV-XV sec.: W. Bombe, "Studi sulle tovaglie perugine. Le figurazioni ornamentali e simboliche", in *Rassegna d’Arte*, n.s., 1, 1914, fig. a p. 115; Sangiorgi, "Considerazioni...", *cit.*, p. 84, fig. 6. Sarebbe forse interessante indagare qual relazione vi sia – se pur ve n’è alcuna – tra il classico *Helfergruppe* e talune rappresentazioni in miniature islamiche persiane; non avendo che lacunose conoscenze di arte islamica, ne cito i due esempi che mi sono noti, senza affrontare una ricerca sistematica: SPA, tav. 903 (scuola di Tabriz, 1522); *AO* IV, 1961, tav. contro p. 398 (derivazione indiana da scuola di Herât, XVI sec.).

che da Afrodisia proviene un rilievo con simile rappresentazione del mito.\textsuperscript{68}
L’arte del Gandhāra ha accolto invece una versione diversa, quella con il vaso d’acqua recato da un assistente e non deposto a terra, che l’esame dello skyphos di Hoby ci fa ritenere alessandrino. Ad ambiente alessandrino fa anche pensare la somiglianza tra le nostre scene della gara di lotta ed un gruppo rappresentato su di un vaso, di gusto appunto alessandrino, da Aventicum (Svizzera), con scene dionisiche; fra queste, una baccante sostiene una compagna caduta a terra, su cui incombe una terza baccante che percuote un tamburello.\textsuperscript{69}
Una versione più prossima a quella delle urne di Volterra (e quindi, forse, ad un prototipo ellenistico microasiatico) può anche rintracciarsi nel Gandhāra, in talune redazioni della Visita di Gautama agli asceti brahmanici. Non sarà necessaria una elencazione; ci basti porre a confronto le urne volterranee 1 e 2 e il nostro elenco con i seguenti rilievi gandharici, scelti a titolo esemplificativo:
1) Lahore, Central Museum, n. 1058 (da Rhode, presso Sanghao).\textsuperscript{70}
2) Peshawar Museum, n. 2066 (fig. 14).\textsuperscript{71}
3) Saidu Sharif, Swāt Museum, n. WS 60 (già nella collezione di S.A. Miāngul Jahānzeb, Wali dello Swāt) (fig. 21).\textsuperscript{72}

Almeno tre elementi presenti nelle urne etrusche sono facilmente riconoscibili nei rilievi del Gandhāra: la figura di Odisseo in atteggiamento dialogico corrisponde a quella di Gautama in 2 e 3; la figura di Filottete che si appoggia al bastone è invece ripetuta nell’asceta seduto in 1 e 2, [215] mentre la capanna di tutti e tre i rilievi gandharici si rifà evidentemente alla grotta del mito di Filottete.

\textsuperscript{68} Smirne, Collezione Purser: L. Bloch, \textit{Griechische Wandschmuck}, 1895, p. 37 (non sudi); descrizione in \textit{LexMyth}, III 2, col. 2336 s., su cui mi baso.
\textsuperscript{69} Adriani, \textit{Divagazioni...}, cit., p. 27, fig. 10 (con bibliografia precedente).
\textsuperscript{70} AGBG, 1, p. 377, fig. 191; Marshall, \textit{Buddhist Art of Gandhāra...}, cit., p. 53, fig. 71.
\textsuperscript{71} AGBG, 1, p. 374, fig. 189; GAP, n. 54; Marshall, \textit{Buddhist Art of Gandhāra...}, cit., pp. 47 s., fig. 66. Per un inquadramento stilistico e per il “classicismo” di questo rilievo, vedi M. Bussagli, “L’irrigidimento formale nei bassorilievi del Gandhāra in rapporto all’estetica indiana”, in \textit{ArchCl V}, 1953, p. 75, tav. XXXVI 3.
\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Sculptures Butkara I, 2}, tav. LV.1a.
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Esaminiamo ora brevemente due schemi iconografici del Gandhāra che mostrano qualche affinità con lo Helfergruppe e di cui si può chiarire in qualche modo la genesi:

1) Mahāprajāpatī, all'annuncio della partenza di Siddhārtha, si accascia ed è sostenuta da un'ancella (fig. 22); la storia di Sarvāndada (o Śibi Jātaka?) (fig. 23). Ambedue queste scene sembrano dipendere da un prototipo classico (con buona probabilità una Tabula Iliaca) raffigurante Andromaca che si viene nell'apprendere la morte di Ettore, che ci è noto attraverso una pittura pompeiana (fig. 24), o piuttosto dal motivo di Fedra soccorsa dalla nutrice, che risale probabilmente ad un prototipo del V sec. a.C.

2) Scena non identificata, testimoniata da un solo rilievo da Pānī (Swāt) (fig. 25), in cui una donna sostiene per le spalle un uomo ignudo, calvo ed obeso, in cui potremmo riconoscere un asceta Jaina o un Ājivika, un guerriero si avanza verso i due mentre un vecchio asceta brahmanico, nel fondo, assiste alla scena. Per il prototipo classico di questa variante, potremmo pensare ad una scena di battaglia, ad esempio una amazonomachia; ma il confronto più preciso che possa farsi è con una raffigurazione su cista prenestina: una divinità femminile alata sostiene un guerriero caduto su cui incombe un altro guerriero che brandisce una spada.

75 Roma, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale (da Butkara I: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan, n. inv. 3590); Sculptures Butkara I, 3, tav. CDLXII a.
72 Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan, n. inv. P 742.
71 Cfr. GAP, pp. 82 s., n. 116.
77bis G. Matthies, Die phaenestrischen Spiegel, Strassburg 1912, pp. 36 ss., fig. 5.
Questo confronto mi è stato gentilmente suggerito dall'amico dr. M. Torelli.
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[216] Dei nostri rilievi dello Swāt non è facile tentare una datazione, tanto più che ancora siamo in attesa dello studio stilistico di D. Faccenna sul centro artistico di Butkara I.78 Osserviamo comunque che il n. 5896 sembra essere il più vicino al modello classico e potrà ipoteticamente datarsi al I sec. d.C. Assai simili sono i n. 7743 e 4100; quest’ultimo mostra però quella tendenza alla suddivisione delle parti del corpo in masse enfaticamente staccate da rapidi passaggi di piani, che mi sembra esser propria di una produzione più caratteristicamente gandharica. Ancor più arduo è il discorso a proposito del rilievo n. 3982, che presenta la variante del personaggio principale caduto sul ginocchio destro, con la gamba sinistra distesa: ciò potrebbe essere un’adesione ad uno schema più gradito all’arte indiana, che conosce composizioni da questa non molto dissimili.79 La posizione esatta dello stesso personaggio nei rilievi n. 4100 e 7743 è estremamente incerta: probabilmente era in atto di abbandonarsi piegando ambo i ginocchi.

Dobbiamo a questo punto chiederci quale sia stata la strada percorsa dal nostro motivo classico per giungere alle porte dell’India. È possibile che tramite sia stata l’esportazione di ceramica aretina e che quindi si tratti di una derivazione non mediata.80 Infatti si son rinvenuti diversi frammenti di tale ceramica che replicano particolari dei due vasi di Hoby con alcune varianti. Particolarmente significativo è il frammento di Saint-Bertrand de Comminges, che rappresenta il Filottete vecchio e sofferente che abbiamo visto nello skyphos di Hoby. Anche se non ce n’è rimasta

78 D. Faccenna, Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (ISMEORRepMem II), 1 (di prossima pubblicazione).
79 Vedi ad esempio un avorio di Begrâm: J. Hackin, Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begrâm (MDAFA XI), Paris 1954, p. 231, fig. 78.
traccia, è probabile che pure il gruppo di Filottete morso dal serpente avesse fortuna presso i vasai di Arezzo.

Non dobbiamo però credere che, come di solito si afferma, il modello da cui derivano le replica in ceramica aretina siano proprio gli *skyphoi* di Hoby. Lo stesso Cheirisophos si è probabilmente servito di modelli parziali derivanti da altre opere, componendoli quindi con una certa libertà.

[217] Come è noto, la ceramica aretina rinvenuta ad Arikamedu è databile ad età tiberiana o, al più, agli ultimi anni del regno di Augusto, il che è di ulteriore conforto alla data proposta per l'introduzione del motivo nel Gandhāra.

Non vorrei però che il rinvenimento di Arikamedu ci conducesse ad attribuire un'importanza eccessiva all'importazione di ceramica aretina in India. È un fatto che le regioni del Nord-ovest non ci hanno restituito neppure un frammento di ceramica aretina, mentre l'apporto di elementi classici poteva avvenire facilmente mediante l'importazione di modelli, ovvero calchi di opere di toleutica. Sono esemplari a tal proposito i reperti di Begrām in Afghanistan e di Memphis in Egitto. È evidente che tali calchi permettevano la riproduzione di opere di varia epoca e stile e rappresentavano in sostanza quel che sono i "cartoni" per i pittori.

Alla luce di queste considerazioni, se ci chiediamo di nuovo quando il motivo in esame è stato introdotto nel Gandhāra, è evidente che il dubbio torna ad assalirci: un calco di un'opera della fine del I sec. a.C. può essere giunto nel Nord-ovest dell'India in qualsiasi momento, né, allo stadio attuale della nostra conoscenza,

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81 Ohlenroth, "Zur Datierung...", cit.
83 Per i rapporti commerciali tra impero romano e Oriente, alla luce dei reperti di
l’esame stilistico delle sculture di Butkara può dirsi alcunché di decisivo.

Ad ogni modo mi pare che sia già un buon risultato l’aver riscontrato la possibilità di individuare nelle opere del Gandhāra riflessi di varie correnti dell’Ellenismo. Gli studi sull’arte del Gandhāra penso che potrebbero vantaggiosamente indirizzarsi su questa strada, anziché isterilirsi in assurde polemiche intese a stabilire se si debba parlare d’un’arte “greco-buddhista” o “romano-buddhista”: due espressioni che già nella loro ibrida formazione rivelano una preoccupante mancanza di chiarezza.

SUMMARY

The idea of this work, which is a follow-up to the one on the motif of the erection of the pillar, arises out of the study of a group of Gandharan reliefs that were discovered at Butkara I (Swat) by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan. In them a youth, clad only in a paridhana, lies senseless on the ground while a companion behind him props him up by holding him under the arms (figs. 1-4). The scene, which does not occur in any other Gandharan reliefs that we know of, is represented twice (figs. 1-2) in the context of a wrestling match, one of the trials that Siddhartha has to face to win the hand of Yasodharā. Although the representation in question does not contribute much that is new from an iconographical-religious point of view, our interest is aroused by the schema of the composition, as this goes back to a well-known model that is recurrent in Greek and Roman art from the 5th century B.C. down to Roman times.

The work that comes nearest to the Swat reliefs is on one of the two silver skyphoi that were found in 1920 at Hoby, in Denmark, and are now kept in the National Museum in Copenhagen. It refers to the legend of Philoctetes (figs. 5-6). On one side of the cup the youth Philoctetes, who has been bitten by a poisonous snake, is being propped up by a companion while two others are dressing his wound. To the right the bow of Heracles, the hero's gift to Philoctetes, is hanging on a tree. This is the bow which Odysseus was to try to get back ten years later, on Lemnos. On the other side of the cup there is represented the scene on Lemnos, where Philoctetes, old and emaciated, is sitting on a rock with both arms leaning on his staff while Odysseus is sitting before him, trying to convince him to come back to Troy.

This representation does not come from Sophocles' tragedy, which has come down to us, but from a lost tragedy by Euripides. The two cups are signed by an otherwise unknown author, Cheirisophos, and on one of them there is the Latin name Silius, almost certainly the owner. So the cups must have been a product of Hellenic or Hellenizing workmanship, that were commissioned by a Roman. Scholars are unanimous in dating them to the Augustan or Julio-Claudian age. This date is confirmed by the hypothesis that C. Vermeule puts forward concerning the second skyphos, known as the cup of Priam. According to Vermeule, the characters portray Tiberius and other members of the Julio-Claudian household and the purpose is probably to commemorate an event such as the recovery, in 19 B.C., of the Roman insignia that the Parthians had seized from Crassus in the battle of Carrhae (53 B.C.). The two cups can thus be dated to the rule of Augustus, but there are different theories about where they were produced. An accurate stylistic analysis is difficult owing to the essentially classicistic character of the two skyphoi, and this makes it hard to decide between Alexandria and the Near East. While the scene on the cup of Priam, with the allusion to Rome's
success over the Parthian empire, suggests the Near-Eastern Greek world, there is a detail in the scene of Philoctetes on Lemnos that suggests an Egyptian origin, namely the youth on the right who is putting his hand into the entrails of a bird hanging on a tree; this reminds us of an Alexandrian Hellenistic motif that continued to be used in various contexts until Coptic times. Moreover, the favour that the schema of the scene with Philoctetes being tended found in Alexandrian art is borne out by another motif, namely the group with the shepherdess removing a thorn, which seems to have been taken directly from it.

In the most complete form of the Swat reliefs, the young opponent, who has been knocked down, is being propped up by a companion while another youth is pouring a jug of water over his head to revive him. This last figure is highly significant as it is evident that he derives from the famulus on the Hoby cup who is holding out a jug of water to clean Philoctetes' wound. We can take this detail as an innovation made by Cheirisophos or by the author of a prototype that Cheirisophos copied.

The scene of Philoctetes on the Hoby cup does not fit into a single iconographical tradition but is the result of a contaminatio, as can be seen from the quite superfluous inclusion of the youth who is propping up Philoctetes, an incongruous action if we consider with what mental and physical liveliness the hero is portrayed. In short, it is a mere element of style, though it is not without precedents in the iconographical tradition of the myth, as is shown by a series of Etruscan urns depicting Philoctetes on Lemnos. If we examine the scenes in figs. 7-11, we can see how Cheirisophos, or else the author of the presumed prototype got the schema for the scene of Philoctetes bitten by the snake from the various iconographical versions of the episode of Philoctetes on Lemnos, as there was no consistent iconographical tradition for this scene. All he did was to leave out Heracles' bow and quiver, bring the youth (Diomedes), who was holding out his hands to take them, nearer to Philoctetes and place the jug of water (which is on the ground behind Philoctetes in the reliefs in figs. 10 and 11) in the hands of a famulus.

And yet, even in his most fortunate innovation (the transformation of the youth who wanted to seize Philoctetes' bow into a caring companion), he drew inspiration from a famous group, whose origin can be traced to the shield of Athena Parthenos by Phidias, known as Helfergruppe. Other variations of this group can have two male figures, or two Amazons, or one male and one female figure. A well-known neo-Attic relief in the Lateran, with the group "Orestes and Pylades", that dates more or less to the Augustan age (fig. 12), bears a particularly close resemblance to the Helfergruppe that appears in the fragment of a copy of Phidias' shield discovered recently at Patras.

It would be foolish to think that the complex matter of iconographical derivation can be codified as a 'stemma', as is customary in the study of manuscript traditions. I know of very few cases in which one iconographical
schema can be said to have derived from another *tout court*, without any extraneous factors being introduced. I am not only referring to factors of a conceptual nature, or that concerning style or taste, but especially to those of artistic "education". The artist who draws his inspiration from a model, adopting its iconographical schema, is led to insert other features that are also taken from ancient contexts, in order to give the new creation that stamp of legitimacy that can only be conferred by its being true to "classical" antiquity.

In order to appreciate the complexity of the phenomenon, we might examine the cycle of the nativity of Christ, where there is an interesting connection with our subject. The oldest representations of this scene mostly depict the following characters: Joseph sitting in a contemplative attitude next to the recumbent Virgin Mary and two midwives who are washing the Baby Jesus. These representations are as follows: 1) An early Christian gem in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which it is hard to date precisely; 2) A painting in the Catacombs of Saint Valentine in Rome (second half of the 7th cent.), though the figure of Joseph is missing; 3) A painting in the Church of St. Mary at Castelseprio, which can probably be ascribed to the 7th – 8th cent., though there is some controversy over its date (fig. 13); 4) A mosaic in the oratory of John VII in St. Peter's, known from a drawing by Grimaldi, dated to 705-707.

The scene of the washing of the Christ child – a strange contradiction in Christian iconography – which survives practically unchanged in mediaeval tradition and longer still in Byzantine tradition, derives, as is generally agreed by scholars, from the representations of the washing of the child Dionysus on Roman sarcophagi. The correspondence is not perfect, however, as, on the Dionysiac sarcophagi, one of the nymphs holds the baby on her lap while the other one pours the water into the basin, whereas the scene of the washing of Jesus shows the Christ child standing or sitting in the bath, with one of the midwives holding him while the other pours the water over him or into the bath. Then again, it seems to be clear that the scene of the γέννησις with the washing of the child does not derive exclusively from a Dionysiac schema because the constantly present figure of Joseph in a contemplative attitude has no counterpart in the Dionysiac "archetypes", the comparison with the figure of Zeus who is sometimes present being too general. Nor, on the other hand, can it be claimed to be a Christian innovation, because we have a highly interesting precedent in the mosaic that has recently been discovered at Baalbek and is now in the Beirut National Museum. The mosaic depicts the birth of Alexander, with his father also present, and this is undoubtedly the precedent for Joseph.

The correspondence between Joseph and Philoctetes as he appears on the Etruscan urns is certainly not a coincidence and seems to indicate a breaking down of the classical scene into a new iconography. It is true that the Philoctetes on the Etruscan urns, just like Joseph, is no more than the generic
figure of a philosopher or a shepherd in a sitting position, that is often used to illustrate bucolic scenes, but the correspondence is nevertheless striking.

The figure of the sitting shepherd, in classical art, is basically identical with one of the philosophers in what is known as the "Plato mosaic" from Pompeii, which can be traced back to a prototype of 317-307 B.C.; it is a well-known fact that various other iconographical schemata are direct descendants of this composition. We only have to note here that at times whole classical groups were transposed into Christian contexts. On the other hand, it is very likely that the classical shepherd-philosopher type lies behind the numerous series of contemplative Boddhisattvas, one of the most widespread iconographical types from India to Japan.

This type seems to make its appearance in Gandhāra in the form of figures sitting in a contemplative attitude: as a matter of fact, they are usually characters who are faced with important decisions: 1) The Buddha, having attained Enlightenment, is not sure whether to preach the Law or not: on a relief from Butkara I at Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (fig. 15); 2) Siddhartha contemplates leaving his father's palace and his wife: there are numerous reliefs with this scene, one of the most evident being the one in the S.H. Minkenhof Collection in New York; 3) A monk in an attitude of suffering in the scene of the Parinirvāna: on a relief in the Peshawar Museum, no. 2084.

This type seems to be the source from which some Chinese (Yüan) representations of Śākyamuni as a monk in meditation derive. Similar schemata (which display a close contact with the more rigid, ritual ones known as lalitāsana and mahānājilīlāsana) also inspire Chinese and Japanese representations of the Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The numerous images of a Boddhisattva sitting with one foot placed on the knee of the other leg and his head resting on his right hand could belong to the same tradition, all the more so as this type originates in Gandhāra. It is interesting to note that this schema appears in Europe in the 12th-13th cent., particularly in France. Even though we cannot say for certain that it is a derivation from far-eastern art, this is highly probable in the statue of a figure sitting on a lion that adorns the monumental tomb of Philippe de Courtenay (c. 1285) in the lower Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi (fig. 16), as it bears a close resemblance to the famous Boddhisattva (7th cent.) of Chiūgū-ji (fig. 17). The unusual fact that the princely figure at Assisi is sitting on a lion also seems to point to an oriental iconography with a lion-vahana.

Another element which is common to the two iconographical series is the motif of the cave, which has an evident chthonic meaning in the myth of Philoctetes. In the representations of the Nativity it lasts until the 12th-13th cent., after which it is replaced, in the West, by the stable. Its symbolic meaning could be explained by the fact that the cave is constantly associated with the myths of regeneration.

Although the myth of Philoctetes can be summarized in the life-death-life
cycle, and in a way the Nativity scene can also be linked to this cycle, we must not forget that the athletic competitions to which Siddhārtha must submit are no more than part of an initiation ritual, which comes, of course, into the same category of religious phenomenology. While this is obviously a mere coincidence, there does seem to be more than a chance connection between a Gandharan representation of the *Return of Chandaka* (fig. 18) and an episode from the life of Joseph that is depicted on the throne of Maximian in the Museo Arcivescovile at Ravenna (fig. 19). In this latter representation Joseph's brothers are showing Jacob the blood-stained clothes of his favourite son, while in the former Chandaka is taking to Mahāprajāpatī Siddhārtha's princely insignia and his jewels, no less certain evidence of the departure – that amounts to an initiatory death – of the future Enlightened One (*Lalitavistara* 282, 12 ff.). Mahāprajāpatī's gesture of desperation corresponds to the one made by the unfortunate Jacob in the Ravenna ivory, which was almost certainly produced in Egypt, quite possibly Alexandria, in the first half of the 6th century. But the Jacob in the Ravenna ivory derives from a modification of the figure of Philoctetes in pain on the Hoby cup and, likewise, the sons or shepherds who show Jacob the false evidence remind us of Odysseus and his companions as they appear on the Etruscan urns. In this case it is not a true derivation: both the *Return of Chandaka* and the episode from the story of Joseph seem to come from a Hellenistic, possibly an Alexandrian, model, which we may presume had some connection with the Philoctetes schema.

The vitality of this iconographical motif is revealed by another case of derivation that concerns the Philoctetes myth cycle and the New Testament one. Byzantine versions of the *Washing of the Feet* scene, for instance on the 10th century ivory tablet in Berlin (fig. 20), show Christ bending down to dry the feet of Peter, who is sitting with his right hand held to his forehead and his left hand on his knee, with his foot over the basin; behind him there are the other eleven disciples, one of whom (John) is bending down to undo his sandal while his eyes are fixed on Peter. Once again, the composition recalls the one used in the Philoctetes myth: the figure of Christ corresponds to Odysseus on the Etruscan urns 3 and 4, Peter to Philoctetes on the Hoby cup (or on urn 1), John the Apostle to Diomedes on the Etruscan urns, while the basin full of water on the ground matches the one on the urn 4.

The Byzantine schema is an adaptation of the Cappadocian one, which does not have the figure of the apostle undoing his sandal. This means that the myth of Philoctetes was still alive in Asia Minor in the 10th century; the same schema, which is documented on a relief from Aphrodisias, must also have reached the authors of the Etruscan urns from Asia Minor.

In Gandharan art a different version was used, namely the one where the jug of water is not standing on the ground but being brought by an assistant: an examination of the Hoby cup would seem to indicate that this version is
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Alexandrian. Another version, which resembles more closely the Etruscan urns (and therefore, perhaps, a Hellenistic prototype from Asia Minor), can also be found in Gandhāra, in some versions of Gautama’s Visit to the Brahman Ascetics. It is sufficient to compare the urns 1 and 2 with the following Gandharan reliefs, chosen by way of example: 1) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 1058 (from Rhode, near Sanghao); 2) Peshawar Museum, no. 2066 (fig. 14); 3) Saidu Sharif, Swāt Museum, no. WS 60.

There are at least three elements in the Etruscan urns that can easily be recognized in the Gandharan reliefs: the figure of Odysseus engaged in dialogue corresponds to the figure of Gautama in reliefs 2 and 3; Philoctetes leaning on his staff is repeated in the seated ascetic in reliefs 1 and 2, while the hut in all three Gandharan reliefs is evidently an echo of the cave in the myth of Philoctetes.

Two Gandharan iconographical schemata that display some affinity with the Helfergruppe can be traced back to their genesis:

1) Mahāprajāpāti, after Hearing of Siddhārtha’s Departure, Collapses and is Supported by a Maid servant) (fig. 22); the Story of Sarvandada (or Śibi Jātaka?) (fig. 23). Both these scenes seem to come from a classical prototype (most likely a Tabula Iltaca) representing Andromaca who faints upon hearing of Hector’s death, which is familiar to us from a Pompeian wall-painting (fig. 24), or else from the motive of Phaedra aided by her nurse, which probably goes back to a prototype of the 5th cent. B.C.

2) An unidentified scene, of which there is evidence in only one relief from Pāṇṭ (Swāt) (fig. 25), in which a woman is holding up by the armpits a fat, bald, naked man, whom we could identify as a Jain ascetic or an Ajivika; a warrior is approaching the two while an old Brahman ascetic looks on. As regards the classical prototype of this version, which can be identified as a battle scene, the closest comparison is with a representation on a cist from Praeneste: a winged goddess is propping up a fallen warrior while another warrior, brandishing his sword, bears down on him.

It is not easy to give a tentative date for our Gandharan reliefs. We may remark, however, that the relief no. 5896 seems to be the closest to the classical model and we may conjecture a date for it somewhere in the 1st cent. A.D. There is a great deal of similarity between nos. 7743 and 4100; the latter, however, has that tendency to divide the parts of the body into sharply distinct, disjointed masses, which seem to me to belong to a more typically Gandharan production. We find ourselves in even greater difficulty over relief no. 3982, which varies in that the main figure is kneeling on his right knee with his left leg stretched out: it is possible that this follows a schema that was more greatly appreciated in Indian art, where there are compositions that are not unlike this one.

At this point we must ask ourselves by what route our classical motif reached India. It is possible that it got there through the exportation of
Arretine ware and that therefore the derivation was not an indirect one. As a matter of fact, there have come to light several fragments of this ware that reproduce details of the two Hoby cup scenes with some variations. We must not think, though, that the model for the replicas in Arretine ware were the actual Hoby cups. Cheirisophos himself probably made use of partial models deriving from other works and combined them fairly freely. As we know, the Arretine ware that has been found at Arikamedu can be dated to the Tiberian age or, at the most, to the last years of Augustus' reign, which gives further support to the date proposed for the introduction of the motif to Gandhāra.

In actual fact, however, not even a single fragment of Arretine ware has turned up in the North-West regions, while classical elements could easily have been acquired through the importation of models, that is to say, casts of toretic works. In this connection we have the example of the finds that have been made at Begrām in Afghanistan and at Memphis in Egypt. It is evident that these casts made it possible to reproduce works of various periods and styles and served the same purpose as "cartoons" for painters. In the light of these considerations it is evident that a cast of a work dating to the end of the 1st cent. B.C. could have reached the North-West of India at any time and, in our present state of knowledge, the stylistic examination of the sculptures of Butkara cannot tell us anything conclusive.

In any case, to have discovered the possibility of identifying echoes of various currents of Hellenism in Gandharan art seems to me to be quite a good result already. Research into Gandharan art could, I think, usefully proceed along these lines instead of becoming bogged down in controversy over whether we ought to speak of an art that is "Graeco-Buddhist" or "Romano-Buddhist", two expressions whose hybrid formation in itself reveals a distressing lack of clearness.
ON A HELLENISTIC MODEL USED IN SOME GANDHARAN RELIEFS IN SWAT*

From *East and West* 15, 1964-65, pp. 174-78

[174] During the 1964 excavation campaign undertaken by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan a fragment of a relief came to light in the Buddhist sacred area of Saidu Sharif I (19 x 41 cm.; fig. 1). Although there are hopes that further related fragments will be found during subsequent excavation, I should like, right away, to bring this one to the notice of students of Gandharan art.

It is a curvilinear relief enclosed at the top by a cornice consisting of a "festoon" of lanceolated leaves in the shape of a scaled torus, and a row of dentils and drops. It formed part of a frieze in which scenes from the life of the Buddha were interspaced with panels containing small pseudo-Corinthian columns according to a typical formula in Gandharan architectural decoration.

The upper cornice has been completely preserved, but of the two scenes included in the relief the right one has been wholly destroyed and the left one deprived of a fragment on the lower right-hand side. The dividing panel has been damaged a good deal and the lower half lost.

Despite these missing parts which make exact stylistic appraisal difficult, the scene preserved lends itself to a number of considerations which seem to me to be interesting.

It is easy enough to identify the subject represented. It is, in

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*My thanks are due to Prof. G. Tucci and Dr D. Faccenna who have kindly allowed me to publish the relief from Saidu, and to Miss F. Bonardi to whom the photographs are due.*
fact, a wrestling match – one of those in which Siddhārtha won the hand of his cousin Gopā or Yaśodharā. In a group to the left (fig. 3), a contestant who has been thrown is being supported by a companion while another pours water over him. The classical origin of this group has already been discussed at length by me in an earlier article,¹ and I ask the reader to forgive my frequent refer-

¹ M. Taddei, “Il mito di Filottete ed un episodio della vita del Buddha”, in ArchCl XV, 1963, pp. 198-218 [in this volume. - Eds.]. I take the opportunity now of adding a postscript. When I wrote “né è improbabile che ad una Lavanda dei piedi pensasse Donatello nel comporre il Miracolo del figliolo pentito per l’altare della Basilica padovana, ma la figura che sostiene il giovane in guardo dal Santo deve certo essergli stata suggerita da qualche sarcofago con il gruppo di Oreste e Pilade” (p. 212, n. 62), I was not aware that the relief had already been related to a piece of classical sculpture different from the one I suggested: the killing of Pentheus as portrayed on a Roman sarcophagus in the Camposanto at Pisa (R. Papini, Pisa [Catalogo delle cose d’arte e di antichità d’Italia], II, Roma 1914, pp. 45 f., no. 62). It seems that the first to advance this hypothesis was A. Warburg who – according to what E. Panofsky tells us in his Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, Stockholm 1960, p. 170, n. 3 – "used to cite the case to illustrate what he called ‘energetische Inversion’: the appropriation of a representational type for a purpose diametrically opposed to its original significance". This derivation was upheld, perhaps independently, by F. Saxl, in Bericht über den XII. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Psychologie in Hamburg, G. Kafka, ed., Jena 1932, p. 20 (quoted by H.W. Janson, The Sculpture of Donatello, Princeton, N.J., 1957, II, p. 186, n. 16; I, pl. 306) and accepted by Janson, loc. cit., and by Panofsky, loc. cit. That the Pentheus myth (but not in the version of the Pisa sarcophagus) aroused the interest of Renaissance artists is beyond question (cf. A. Warburg, "Dürer und die italienische Antike" in Die Erneuerung der beidnischen Antike [Gesammelte Schriften, I-II], Leipzig-Berlin 1932, pp. 443 ff.). However, in the case of Donatello’s Paduan relief I still prefer my own hypothesis if only because we are not obliged to invoke the phenomenon of energetische Inversion to explain derivation. Let us not forget, though, that where Donatello is concerned we may well deem legitimate the hypothesis "che non d’imitazione si tratti, ma di pura consonanza spirituale, di un incontro di visioni che necessariamente debbano manifestarsi con procedimenti formali affini, per i quali possono valere da avvio spunti comuni, divergendone poi la ragione intima per la quale sono stati accettati" (O. Morisani, Studi su Donatello, Venezia 1952, p. 61). On the other hand one of the oldest derivations – if not the oldest – from Donatello’s Paduan relief leads one to think that the Pentheus myth was not felt at all to be the idea behind this sculpture: I mean the fresco in the Church of San Francesco at Montefalco (G. Urbini, Spello-Bevagna-Montefalco [Italia Artistica 71], Bergamo 1913, fig. on p. 107, unknown to L. Réau, Iconographie de l’art chrétien, III, 1, Paris 1958, p. 121) where the same treatment in terms of perspective reminds one of Donatello at Padua.
Fig. 1 - Wrestling match. Relief from Saidu Sharif I (Swat). Italian Archaeological Mission, Saidu Sharif [now in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome. – Eds.].

Fig. 2 - Wrestling match. Relief from Butkara I (Swat). Italian Archaeological Mission, Saidu Sharif [now in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome. – Eds.].
Fig. 3 - Detail of fig. 1.
Fig. 4 - Detail of fig. 1.
ences to it. I there considered four reliefs, found by the Italian Archaeological Mission at Butkara I (Swat), in which such a group was portrayed, and I sought to establish the relationship between this and a series of classical patterns of composition. One of the Butkara I reliefs (Inv. no. 7743; fig. 2) portrays, next to the *Helfergruppe*, the same two wrestlers represented in the [175] Saidu I relief (fig. 4); but its bad state of preservation prevented my expounding ideas that can now be developed as a result of the more recent find. What I have to say must perforce relate to these two reliefs together: no. 7743 of Butkara I and no. S 800 of Saidu I (figs. 1, 2).

Let us first of all see how these two reliefs compare with other Gandharan reliefs in which a wrestling match is portrayed. Of the latter, the following are known to me:

2) Peshawar Museum, no. 143, from Sahri Bahi: *GAP*, p. 55, no. 27.
5) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 2031, from Sukri: *GAP*, p. 56, no. 29.
7) Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, from Butkara I: Taddei, “Il mito di Filottete...”, pl. LXX.

We note at once that in all these reliefs\(^2\) the two wrestlers are interlocked in ways but that both have their feet firmly on the ground: in fact, there is no scene in which [176] one of the

\(^2\) The same is true of the scenes representing amorini struggling among themselves that appear, for example, in reliefs no. 161 and 342 of Ingholt’s repertory, and of the two panels with a wrestling scene in the Gai Collection, Peshawar (*GAP*, no. 445) and in the Peshawar Museum, no. 1938 (M.A. Shukur, *A Guide to the Peshawar Museums*, Peshawar 1954, pp. 29, 106). The Bharhut medallion, too (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London 1879, pl. XXV, fig. 2; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris 1956, pl. XXXIII, fig. 90), that is to be considered one of the oldest representations of a wrestling scene in India, does not diverge from the pattern common to the reliefs listed.
contestants is lifted off the ground which is what happens in the
two Swat reliefs. This cannot be without significance, the more so
when we bear in mind that the texts narrating this episode contain
very few particulars.

We are led to believe, then, that these two variations on the
same theme are based on two different models. The fact that in our
two reliefs the group of wrestlers appears next to what I have
termed Helfergruppe[1] is not a valid reason for thinking that the
whole composition has one sole model. Indeed, I think I have
managed to show that in classical contexts the Helfergruppe is not
connected with wrestling scenes: it meets these figurative require-
ments only in Gandharan art. On the other hand, it seems to me
that relief S 800 of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan
clearly reveals the juxtaposition of two groups elaborated inde-
pendently of each other.

A comparison that comes at once to mind for the group we are
interested in – that of the two interlocked wrestlers – cannot, I
think, be denied: the comparison with those portraits of Hercules
in the act of suffocating Antaeus. This scene is so common in
classical contexts that it is useless to try and list all known ex-
amples.[4]

1 M. Taddei, "Il mito di Filottete...", cit., p. 203 and passim.
4 I suggest consulting Oertel in LexMyth, s.a. "Antiox"; C. Robert, Antike Sarko-
phag-Reliefs, III, I, Berlin 1897, pl. XLIII, 138; XXVII, 99. There are numerous ex-
amples on coins and gems especially of the Roman age. As to the gems, the closest
example is perhaps a cameo of vitreous paste, presumably dating from Roman times,
Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos, Copenhagen 1929, p. 261, no. 1917, pl. XXII.
As for the reliefs, we limit ourselves to mentioning É. Esperandieu, Recueil général des
bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine, Complement, Paris-Bruxelles 1931,
no. 231 (p. 152, photo on left); E. Babelon and J.A. Blanchet, Catalogue des bronzes
antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1895, pp. 374 f., no. 1420; S. Reinach,
Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule
romaine, Paris s.a. [1894], p. 312, no. 396. But small bronze statues in the round are
also found: S. Reinach, Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine, III, Paris 1904, p.
155. Two of these are very important because they are probably 2nd century B.C.
products of Alexandrine art, even though they only portray a group of wrestlers that
cannot be surely identified as Hercules and Antaeus, i.e.: a bronze sculpture from
When we come to consider the antiquity of this figurative pattern we should remember that in Stephani’s view the Antaeus-raised-from-the-ground motif (corresponding to the very one we are discussing) did not appear before Roman times. But Furtwängler was right in objecting that such a motif was to be perceived in Tarentine dioboloi of the 4th century B.C. It should not be forgotten, however, that Stephani’s view may be right in this sense: in Roman times the Hercules-raising-Antaeus-from-the-ground motif achieved a diffusion – in coins as well – that was unknown before.

177 It is generally recognised that the group we are considering is typical of Alexandrian art, but its appearance on Alexandrian coins of the Roman epoch does not mean that it remained a feature peculiar to that city: its association with coinage in the Roman period is striking outside Alexandria, especially in Asia Minor, though this fact often goes unstressed.

The popularity of Hercules in Anatolia may be due to his identification with Sandas, while in the case of Alexandria identification with Harpocrates may have been an influential factor, though it has been remarked that Hercules appears on Alexandrian

1913, p. 58, no. 366, pl. 31; and one coming from Alexandria in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore: M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age, New York 1955, p. 151, fig. 644 (with bibliography).

3 L. Stephani, "Erklärung einiger Kunstwerke der Kaiserlichen Ermitage", in Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique, 1867, St.-Petersburg 1868), pp. 15 f.

6 A. Furtwängler, in LexMyth, s.v. "Herakles", cols. 2230, 2246.

7 BMC Italy, p. 208, no. 376; O.E. Ravel, Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Tarentine Coins Formed by M.P. Vlasto, London 1947, p. 151, nos. 1442-4, pl. XLII.


9 See note 8.

coins almost exclusively during the reign of Antoninus Pius, and that therefore his popularity "may rather have been due to an association of the myth of Herakles with solar phenomena, for the novel types introduced by Antoninus Pius probably had their origin in the commemoration of the recurrence in his reign of the beginning of the great Sothiac Cycle".\textsuperscript{11} As for the Antaeus myth we should remember that Egyptian mythology is not devoid of parallels;\textsuperscript{12} moreover, the scene of the myth is very close to Egypt.\textsuperscript{13}

We shall, however, refrain from assigning the Hercules-and-Antaeus motif, remembered by Swat sculptors when carving the reliefs we are examining, to a specific place of origin in some part of the classical world: we are merely inclined to think that Alexandria is the most probable source.

Let us now compare reliefs nos. S 800 and 7743 discovered by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, which reveal such a marked similarity of style that they seem to be the work of one artist or at least the product of the same atelier. We notice that the two wrestlers who form an ensemble are seen from different points of view: that is to say, the victorious athlete (Siddhartha, as is shown by the Saidu relief) is viewed from the side in no. 7743 and from the back in no. S 800.

Now it is a fact that Gandharan sculptors were accustomed to represent groups deriving from classical patterns always from the same standpoint simply because their knowledge of them was acquired by way of sketch-books. We are therefore led on to a deduction of no small importance about the way Gandharan sculptors treated classical models. We may assume that a sculpture in the round (presumably a small bronze statue) was actually present in the atelier that produced the reliefs we are examining, and that the artist copying it was uninhibited by an established bi-dimensional tradition, but instead sought to analyse and utilise the model from various points of view. In this connexion it will be noted that

\textsuperscript{11} R. Stuart Poole, \textit{BMC Alexandria and the Nomes}, p. xlviii.

\textsuperscript{12} P. Barguet, "Parallèle égyptien à la légende d’Antée", in \textit{RHR} CLXV, 1964, pp. 1 ff.

\textsuperscript{13} "Hercule Libycus" is the legend of an aureus of Postumus portraying Hercules and Antaeus; it is now lost: Stevenson, Roach Smith and Madden, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 454.
classical reliefs invariably represent the victorious athlete full-face or almost so. Indeed, it is surprising that the figurative innovation of portraying the principal figure from behind should have arisen in Gandhāra itself [178] where artists took pains to represent Siddhārtha in as visible a way as possible – usually full-face or at any rate in a position of hierarchical pre-eminence in the composition of the relief. This, in my view, is a factor suggesting a fairly early date for the Saidu relief. And taking account also of my observations about relief no. 7743 of Butkara I,14 a 1st century A.D. dating may, I believe, be deemed a reasonably probable one.

I do not claim, in conclusion, to have added greatly to our knowledge of Gandharan art. I have sought merely to stress two little known phenomena: the possible presence of models in the round in Gandharan ateliers, and the absence in the oldest reliefs of a figurative convention that seems to be vigorously observed in the best known Gandharan works of art.

I should like to point out, finally, that a Mathurā relief portrays a group of wrestlers which is very similar to the Swat one and may have been derived from it: it is a balustrade pillar from Bhutesar and is preserved in the Mathurā Museum.15

* * *

The relief we have been examining and those others (there is no lack of them) that are akin to it stylistically reveal a marked classical trait in Gandharan art that deserves particular attention. In an article that no student of this art can afford to ignore, Daniel Schlumberger holds that it was only affected to a limited extent by the classical element in Roman times: "L’art du Gandhara tel qu’il nous apparaît consiste principalement dans le composé triple (legs du vieil Iran des Achéménides, apport grec de Bactriane, apport du nouvel Iran des nomades) que nous avons appris à connaître à

14 M. Taddei, "Il mito di Filotte...", cit., p. 216.
15 No. Add. 151: J.Ph. Vogel, La sculpture de Mathurā (Ars Asiatica XV), Paris-Bruxelles 1930, pl. XXd (bottom). The scene has not been identified.
ON GANDHĀRA

Surkh Kotal, enrichi ensuite de l’apport indien du bouddhisme, soumis enfin à l’influence gréco-romaine”.¹⁶ Although Schlumberger recognises many cases of “influence méditerranéenne”,¹⁷ he never seems to attribute the same importance to it as he does to the Graeco-Bactrian and Iranian elements. Such an attitude by the French scholar is understandable merely as a reaction to the “Romano-Buddhist” tendency in Gandhāra studies, but I do not think it can be justified for other, weightier reasons. Indeed, I do not believe it was possible for classical motifs to be preserved unchanged with all their original flavour in that kind of store-house that the Graeco-Bactrian tradition should represent. Perhaps the problem will be more easily solved if we view the Mediterranean-Gandhāra relationship as a more vital and continuous link than has hitherto been imagined. The existence of an original Graeco-Bactrian well-head is an acceptable hypothesis as such, and every scholar will surely rejoice to see it one day definitely confirmed. But the development of Gandharan art, whatever its particular aspects may be, cannot be understood unless it is incorporated in the history of the relations between the Roman empire and the north-west of the sub-continent; for more than just a casual and discontinuous influence was at work.

¹⁶ D. Schlumberger, “Descendents non-méditerranéens de l’art grec”, in *Syria* XXXVII, 1960, p. 163.
AN INTERESTING RELIEF FROM THE SWAT VALLEY

From East and West 16, 1966, pp. 82-88

I

[82] Mr. G. Gnoli has illustrated a beautiful stone relief from the Swat valley. The third panel from the bottom presents an interesting figure of a standing male divinity with six hands (fig. 1). Only four weapons are clearly discernible: a double-pronged thunderbolt of a Gandhāra type and a sword in the right hands; a long spear and a simple wheel without a tongue in the left hands. Mr. Gnoli suggests that the male figure should be identified as Śiva; but this is not wholly convincing. The typical crown (with crossed lines) over the head and the wheel in the upper left hand suggest association with Viṣṇu; the sword and spear may refer to Śiva; but the thunderbolt is to be associated with Indra. Consequently, this Swat valley relief may present the blending of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra in one form. Further associations like the ones already noted are not easy to establish since it is difficult to make out the remaining two weapons.

The idea of a composite figure may, indeed, be traced back to as early as the Kuśāṇa period. One was noted, for example, by J.N. Banerjea on a gold coin of Huviśka where the three-headed,
standing male divinity is represented with four hands carrying a trident, thunderbolt, wheel and goat. Dr Banerjea’s suggestion is that this is an elegant portrayal of Śiva with a wheel, thunderbolt and trident. Viewed in this light, the Swat relief with a wheel that Mr Gnoli illustrates⁴ should represent Śiva; but the crown (mukūṭa) on the head creates a problem. The Swat relief may, therefore, depict the composite aspect of prominent divinities of the Brahmanic pantheon which was quite popular in the Gāndhāra region. This brings to mind the very important Nicolo Seal. It was thought to represent Viṣṇu,⁵ but R. Ghirshman⁶ has rectified this error by a study of its legend in Tocharian script containing the names of Mihira (Sūn), Viṣṇu and Śiva. Dr J.N. Banerjea accepts these conclusions.⁷ The Swat relief, then, has an important bearing on the cult of composite icons in Gāndharan art of the Swat region. On both sides of the main deity in the Swat relief there appear remnants of subsidiary figures which might have been attendants or weapons shown in human form (āyudha-puruṣas) and in a traditional manner.

[83] A passing reference may also be made to a beautiful male statue carved in the style of Gāndharan art and now preserved in the British Museum in London. Dr B.N. Puri⁸ identified the relief as “a warrior in armour”. This is far from correct. The deity holds a cock (kuṅkuṭa) in the left hand and a long spear (sakti) in the right; two matted locks on the head (i.e. jaṭā-jaṭa) and a halo behind the head are clearly delineated. The statue may, therefore, represent Kānda-Kumāra as also in the early art of Mathurā.⁹ In this group of statues, the peacock carrying the God is altogether absent. Furthermore, the deity in the British Museum piece is wearing a typically designed, long tunic reaching down to the ankles which is also evident in a late Gāndhāra statue now preserved in

⁵ A. Cunningham, NumChr 1893, pp. 126-27, pl. X, fig. 2.
⁶ Les Chionites Hephthalites, pp. 55-58, pl. VII, fig. 1.
⁷ J.N. Banerjea, op. cit., pp. 124-25, pl. XI, fig. 2.
⁸ India under the Kusānas, Bombay 1965, pl. II B.
⁹ Mathurā Museum, no. 2332: R.C. Kar, “An Early Image of Karttikeya from Taxila”, in Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1954, pp. 81-88, pl. II facing p. 84.
the Baroda Museum. The identical long tunic in both these statues may represent the long coat of mail — that is, the dress of a warrior, and Skanda-Kumāra was really the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the gods. This typical dress is therefore quite proper. Viewed in this light, the obscure Baroda Museum relief may represent Skanda who carries a long spear (śakti) in his right hand while the left is placed akimbo; the matted locks of the head and the halo behind also suggest divine associations; the cock is, of course, absent in this particular piece. The association of a spear and a cock with Skanda in Gandhāra sculptures is quite evident from a number of such reliefs from the N.W.F. of India: for example, the tiny statues in the collections of the late Col. D.H. Gordon, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the British Museum (already mentioned).

The cult of Śiva and Skanda-Kumāra was quite popular in the N.W.F. of India, and the Gandhāra artists were quite successful in depicting such themes in their respective works. The Swat relief discussed above deserves careful study once again before any final view is put forward. At any rate it does not depict Śiva because the crown on the head is evident at a mere glance; and it may well be regarded as a composite icon of sufficient iconographic interest.

R.C. Agrawala

11 No. 146 (150) in The Art of India and Pakistan, London 1950, edited by I., Ashton. It has not been illustrated.
12 No. I M-4-1937. This also remains unpublished. Such statues from western India, datable to the post-Gupta period, are also worth taking note of; R.C. Agrawala, “More Unpublished Sculptures from Rajasthan”, in Lalit Kala 10, Oct. 1961, p. 53, pl. XXII, fig. 18.
II

[84] These brief observations which follow the penetrating article by Mr R.C. Agrawala – whose text I was able to read before publication thanks to the kindness of Prof. G. Tucci – are merely a group of random notes put together without a specific research goal. I should probably never have used them if Mr R.C. Agrawala’s article had not offered me the right occasion and, I might say, the justification for my presenting them in this loose form.

Mr R.C. Agrawala justly observes that the relief from Butkara I (Swat), published by G. Gnoli, calls for further investigation from an iconographical point of view. He seems inclined to address the research towards the Indian religious world, to the point of suggesting that in the six-armed divinity may be recognized “the composite aspect of prominent divinities of the Brahmanic pantheon”.

If on the one hand we cannot exclude the fact that India is not extraneous to the formation of its iconography – this is even highly probable – on the other hand I feel certain that the divinity in question, always from the iconographical point of view, has its roots in the Syrian religious world of the first centuries of our era.

I suggest in this regard a comparison that seems to me undoubtedly pertinent: that with the Syrian images of Ba’al Shamîm;¹ pertinent both for the kalaṭhos or tiara (which, be it noted, seems until the Gupta age to have been an exclusive attribute of Indra)² and for the cuirass (few but positive traces of this

remain in the Butkara figure, and are not visible in photographs), as well as for the two attributes they have in common: the spear and the wheel or shield, and also the small figure huddled at their feet. To this may be added the noteworthy stylistic resemblance that links as well other Gandharan products and Western Parthian sculpture.

Obviously such a precise iconographical resemblance also involves resemblances from a more properly religious point of view, resemblances that we can extend too to the images that Mr Agrawala interprets as Skanda-Kumāra, and justly relates to the divinity on the [85] Butkara relief:3 for these images I should like to suggest a comparison with the Palmyran deity Shadrafā, dressed in a cuirass and armed with a spear, as he appears in a votive stele from Palmyra found in the Swiss excavations of 19544 (fig. 3). Just as Shadrafā, the healer god, may well be likened to Skanda, the warrior god, general of the army of the gods, so Ba’al Shamim, “master of the skies”, with a pronounced tendency to become “the anonymous god” and the “one god”,5 may be likened to such a composite form as that found in the excavations at Butkara.

In spite of this, I think there is another eventual possibility, and that is, that the six-armed god on the Swat relief may be considered a more complex form of Skanda-Kumāra, to whom numerous iconographical texts assign as attributes (in the case of the twelve-armed Skanda Śanmukha), šakti (spear), nitrīṃśa (that is, khadga, sword), cakra (wheel) and vajra (thunderbolt). And the

3 Besides the examples cited by Agrawala, I recall one in the National Museum of Pakistan, no. 103, and one in a private collection, in deposit at the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome, Inv. no. 546/Dep. 132, which I reproduce here (fig. 2). I wonder if the same deity is represented on the right of the main female figure on a limestone relief from Hádža in the Kabul Museum which is reproduced in EAA IV, s.s. “Kabul”, fig. 339 on p. 287; B. Rowland, Ancient Art from Afghanistan, Catalogue of the Exhibition, 1966, no. 53. This relief is of a great iconographic importance and is worth of being studied separately. For the identification as Skanda, see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, II2, Madras 1916, p. 425.


Agni-purāṇa (50, 28b) mentions too a form of Skanda with six arms, but does not furnish a detailed description of it.\(^6\)

It would then be extremely interesting to investigate the historical-religious facts that make possible at the same time a Western and an Eastern (Hindu) reading of a “buddhistic” relief from Gandhāra, but I do not intend in this note to face the problem of the relationship between the Syrian environment or Mithraism\(^7\) and Gandhāra from this particular point of view. I merely state here that, in the same Butkara relief, there appear a couple of youths armed with spears, interpreted as Dioscuri by G. Gnoli, whereas I think they are probably related to the Aglibol-Malakbel couple of the Palmyran reliefs.\(^8\) I am led to that conclusion by the fact that the same type of relief with superimposed architectonic panels borne by an Atlas is to be found in the Mithraic environment\(^9\) and also by a series of considerations, apart from the definite formal resemblance. Above all, the fact that Malakbel is a divinity with solar connections – and is even identified with Sol in some inscriptions – and might therefore be linked to the small figure armed with a staff \([86]\) and with a rayed head shown in a curious relief from Swat (fig. 4),\(^10\) a figure which at any rate shows its solar character and its Syrian derivation, even when only confronted with the great number of similar representations (note too the fluttering ribbon and the knob at the end of the staff) furnished by the

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\(^7\) See on this subject my article “A Problematical Toilet-tray from Udegrām”, on pp. 89-93 of this issue of *EW* [in this volume. - *Ed.*]. To the stylistic and compositional comparisons proposed I should like to add the very pertinent one between the toilet-tray of Taxila no. 65 and a Mithraic relief from Dieburg: *CIMRM*, II, pp. 104 ff., no. 1247.

\(^8\) On Aglibol and Malakbel, see H. Seyrig, “Iconographie de Malakbel”, in *Syria* XVIII, 1937, pp. 198 ff. (with bibliography); du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les tessères...*, *cit.*, *passim*.

\(^9\) *CIMRM*, I, pp. 259 f., no. 723, fig. 198 (Trento, Museum). Gandharan parallels can also be found for the various scenes of this relief.

\(^10\) Inv. no. 4479 of the Italian Archaeological Mission; today in the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome, Inv. no. 2273.
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Palmyran tesserae; even the form of the object and the shape of the fracture at the bottom suggest a connection with the Syrian figurations of the semeion or "standard", in which small busts of this kind often appear, though it may have been supported by a pedestal, like a votive relief representing Zeus found in Asia Minor. One may also recall that another deity of the Palmyran pantheon, Allat, has its precise likeness in the famous "Goddess Roma" of Lahore and in a similar image from Swat, so that any comparison with more properly classical divine images (Athena, Roma) is completely misleading. Lastly I should like to inform the reader about a relief in a private collection (fig. 5), in which the image of the standing Buddha with his hand resting on the dhammacakra is taken completely from a Syrian representation of Nemesis, a fact which can suggest unforeseen considerations on the nature of Gandharan Buddhism.

All this leads us then to a different point of view on the iconographic problem of the Swat relief.

11 H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig and J. Starcky, Recueil des tessères de Palmyre, Paris 1955, passim; du Mesnil du Buisson, Les tessères..., cit., passim. There is a surprising resemblance between this relief from Swat and the stucco medallion from Haḍḍa (J. Barthoux, Les fouilles de Haḍḍa, III (MDAFA VI], Paris 1930, pl. 97e) which can also be seen in the particular hair-style; I now think that I must exclude, in the case of the Haḍḍa stucco, the strictly Buddhist interpretation I offered in L’Afghanistan dalla Preistoria all’Islam, Catalogue of the Exhibition, Torino 1961, no. 98, pl. XXXVII; see also B. Rowland, Ancient Art from Afghanistan, cit., no. 62.


15 Italian Archaeological Mission, Inv. no. 1433 today in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif. Cf. GAP, p. 27 and no. 443.


17 Even the problem of the origin of the image of Buddha should, I think, be reviewed and inserted into the historical picture of relations with the Parthian and Syrian worlds.
The comparison with Nemesis – I may mention in particular the example from Khirbet es-San'â 18 – calls forth once again the suspicion that the iconographic similarity is equalled by a religious similarity. May not the dharmacakrapravartaka Buddha have been assimilated, in an environment as strongly receptive as Gandhâra would seem to have been, with an aspect of Nemesis restorer of the order disturbed by hybris and ethical regulator of the universe, κύκλων ἔχουσα πόλον, as she is defined in an epigram on a relief from [87] Piraeus 19. Let us not forget that the wheel alone can symbolize Nemesis 20 as well as Buddha. On the other hand, the habit of showing Buddha sitting down with his hand resting on the cakra is not exceptional in Gandhâra 21 and corresponds to a religious concept similar to that which inspires the imperial images which show the emperor's right hand resting on the wheel of the zodiac, a gesture which places the emperor on the same level as the volvens sidera Mitra. 22

The religious environment that has accepted the images examined up to now seems to be such as to encourage research aimed at the Syrian world, even if we cannot exclude the presence of representational needs connected with Hinduism; let us remember that some of the most ancient images of Viṣṇu show us the god with his hand resting on the cakra, an attitude that can only recall for us our Buddha-Nemesis: 23 a testimony, certainly not isolated, of the

18 G. Ploix de Routrou and H. Seyrig, "Khirbet el-Sané", in Syria XVI, 1933, p. 15, fig. 2 and pl. I V.2.
20 H. Seyrig, "Némèsis et le temple de Maqâm er-Rabb", in Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph XXXVII, 1961, fasc. 15, pl. I.
22 H.P. L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, Oslo 1953, p. 33, fig. 15.
possibility of iconographic exchanges between Buddhism and Hinduism.

We should not be too surprised though to find such close iconographic resemblances between the art of Gandhāra and the reliefs connected with the Oriental cults in the Roman Empire: in fact, the very scene of the slaying of the bull finds precise correspondence in Indian iconography in the representation of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardini. It was no accident that D. Schlumberger, in publishing the "Scorretti marble"\(^{24}\) — which was later to be interpreted as Durgā\(^{25}\) — put forward the hypothesis that it might very well be an image of Mithra: "Le marbre Scorretti nous offre-t-il, pour le première fois, dans le pays d'origine de Mithra, une représentation du tauroctone?"\(^{26}\) Although a link of derivation cannot be established, it is clear that in some cases a Mithraic model is the basis for the Indian representation, as in the well-known relief of Elūra\(^{27}\) in which Durgā's two assistants remind us all too much of Cautes and Cautopates, the two Mithraic torch-bearers. Cumont proposed an Eastern Hellenistic origin for these two personages who do not always appear clearly distinguishable from the god Mithra himself;\(^{28}\) Will is not convinced by Cumont's theory and suggests that the intimate union of the bull-slayer with the torch-bearers realized in a single relief could only have taken place later and only in Europe ("tardivement [88] et en Europe seulement")\(^{29}\), a hypothesis that is to be rejected as regards the geographical indication, when one thinks that the torch-bearers are intimately associated with the bull-slaying god even in the Syrian Mithraic reliefs,\(^{30}\) and seems even less credible if we accept

\(^{24}\) Today on loan at the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome, Inv. no. 34/Dep. 28.


\(^{26}\) D. Schlumberger, "Le Marbre Scorretti", in Arts As II, 1955, pp. 112 ff.


\(^{28}\) F. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, I, Bruxelles 1899, pp. 206 ff.; fig. 14.

\(^{29}\) E. Will, Le relief cultuel gréco-romain (BEFAR 183), Paris 1935, pp. 193 ff.

\(^{30}\) CIMRM, I, no. 71, fig. 25; no. 88, fig. 33.
the hypothesis of a relationship between the reliefs of Durgā (of the Elārā type) and Mithraic iconography.

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We can then only accept with reserve any rigorously “Indian” explanation of the Gandharan images. The far from casual resemblances that tie them to some Syrian representations from the Roman age cannot be explained by a generally assumed “classical taste”, as if we were merely dealing with a fashion that led men to clothe local divinities in Western garments. Every iconographical detail accepted or rejected is a symptom of fluctuation or profound change in religious culture: just as Shi’ite Iran today represents ‘Ali by an iconographical type that is evidently taken from western images of Christ the Redeemer, so Buddhist Gandhāra gave a western form to its religious concepts; in both these cases we must understand that these imported representations carry with them at least a part of their original meaning. It is therefore highly important to define precisely the prototypes of certain Gandharan representations, not limiting ourselves to general references – outside of space and time – to types like “Apollo”, “Athena”, “Herakles”, etc., references that, even when correct, are to be considered indirect and therefore devoid of any value in regard to a historical-religious evaluation.
Fig. 1 - Six-armed divinity on a relief from Butkara I (Swat).
Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome.
Fig. 2 - Skanda (?) from Gandhāra. Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome (loan).
Fig. 3 - Shadrafā, from Palmyra. (From Museum Helveticum).
Fig. 4 - Relief with Solar divinity, from Burkara I (Swat). Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome.

Fig. 5 - The Buddha turning the Wheel of the Law and monks, from Gandhāra. Private collection.
A PROBLEMATICAL TOILET-TRAY FROM UDÆGRÅM

From *East and West* 16, 1966, pp. 89-93

[89] Among the objects found in the so-called "bazar" of Udegråm (Swat) during excavation there carried out by Prof. G. Gullini (of the Italian Archaeological Mission directed by Prof. G. Tucci) a toilet-tray from stratum I deserves our particular attention.\(^1\) Though its existence was made known at the time of the Exhibition of Pakistan and Afghanistan Excavations in 1960,\(^2\) it is still practically an unpublished find (figs. 1, 2).

The tray is divided by four listels into five panels arranged in the form of a cross and into four triangular panels that fill in the remaining spaces. The four arms of the cross are each diversified by lotus petals and each of the triangular zones decorated with a four-petal rosette, while a scene with figures is the motif of the central panel. In fact, three half-bust figures are here represented: the central one is portrayed full-face with hands joined in front of the chest, whereas in the two lateral ones, the face is in full, but the torso in three quarter, view. The latter are holding an object in their hands which is certainly a cup in the case of the figure to the left and probably the same where the figure to the right is concerned.

The execution is somewhat approximate, and of the dress worn by these three persons (they all seem to be male figures) it can only

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\(^1\) Of schist, 16.5 cm. in diameter. On the Udegråm excavations, see G. Gullini, "Udegram", in *Reports on the Campaigns 1956-1958 in Swat (Pakistan)* (IsMEORepMem I), pp. 173 ff.

be said that it is, perhaps, a long-sleeved tunic. As to hair arrangement, it seems to be in the form of a melon in the central and right-hand figures, while the left-hand one has no apparent sign of hair which makes me think it likely that the head is covered by a hat. Below the three busts three bands are visible with beaded edge and central rib. Rather than "drapes", these are to be identified as lotus petals; and a further three can be glimpsed behind the heads of these figures. They were, then, conceived of as emerging from a corolla, and we can thus dismiss the notion that the marks carved in the lower half are meant to indicate haloes. This way of portraying figures is not without a parallel in toilet-trays (e.g. in an unpublished one seen on the Karachi market of antiques and here reproduced in fig. 3): but in this toilet-tray the intention is clearly to depict figures actually surrounded by a corolla.

Let us make the point, to begin with, that this scene has much in common with one familiar in a fair number of Taxila toilet-trays where a pair of figures (usually a man and a woman) bearing cups are portrayed. Here, there is the addition of a third, and central, figure.

Plainly, there is a dearth of characterising features that would allow sure identification of the scene: the comparisons possible are, moreover, numerous and varied, but in none of them is there a regular correspondence in every one of these scanty features. We must, then, be content with a few suggestions relating this object to one religious and cultural background rather than another, but not such as to label it once and for all.

The very composition of the scene with its three frontal, rigid figures performing extremely simple gestures leads us to attribute a liturgical, or at any rate religious, character to it. If, as seems evident, we are here face to face with a libation scene, no thought of anything profane can enter our minds. This is also confirmed by

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3 Ibid. (English ed.).
4 Diam. 15 cm.
6 The fact that the torsos of the two lateral figures are seen in three quarter view does not, of course, affect the "frontal" character of the representation.
the lotus petals from which the figures emerge: these would in no way be justified in the case of three ordinary mortals attending a common banquet. It might well be a scene, then, similar to those already familiar in the Taxila toilet-trays (drinking couples, banquets) with the addition of the lotus corolla of which more anon.

There is, however, a one and only feature that may enable us to push our research a little further: the hat worn by the figure on the left. It is difficult to imagine it to be a chignon, for we would then have to account for the absence of incisions to indicate the hair. Now the only type of headgear that seems plausible is the Phrygian cap that, from a frontal view, has a two-tiered appearance.\(^7\)

This is a detail immediately suggesting a possible connexion with Mithraic iconography. Let us, in fact, examine a Mithraic relief (albeit much later) from 4th century Dalmatia.\(^8\) Cumont has shown that it is a sacred banquet representing the ritual repetition of the feast celebrated by Mithras and Sol before Mithras’ ascent. Two figures are lying on a couch and surrounded by four initiates of different ranks of whom Corax, Persa and Leo may be recognised.\(^9\) Of these, Persa is wearing a Phrygian cap and offering a rhyton to the banqueters. The analogy is evident but we are not for this reason entitled to look upon it as significant.

Let us bear in mind the entire series of Mithras and Sol banqueting scenes so common in Mithraic reliefs\(^10\) which lend themselves so readily to comparison with the drinking couples of the Taxila toilet-trays. In this connexion, it should be observed that one of the latter\(^11\) portrays a couple of busts that could both belong to male figures like those [91] appearing on a Rang Mahal vase.

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\(^7\) Cf. Sculptures Butkara I, pt. 3, pl. DCLXIIb: second from the left, which has been wrongly described by me.


\(^9\) On degrees of initiation, see above all Cumont, Les mystères..., cit., pp. 155 ff.

\(^10\) CIMRM, II, nos. 1648, 1740, 1975, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2181, 2338 and passim; cf. also CIMRM, I, nos. 693, 782 (with three figures).

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(Rajasthan). In the other trays the presence of the female figure may well be due to a tendency to Indianize the subject transforming the solar couple into a mithuna, as is suggested by the Taxila tray no. 70 which appears strongly Indianized as regards style also.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the pair of figures making libation is represented on the solar chariot in two toilet-trays: one from Udegrām, and the other preserved in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. That there is a connexion between the communion scene (the banquet) and that of the ascent (solar chariot) both in a generally religious and funerary context is a detail not worth dwelling upon. But I should like to recall a particularly striking example - that of the large gold triangular plaque from the Karagodeuash mound (Kuban). Here in a panel the Great Goddess is visible in the centre of a communion scene according to a scheme corresponding to the Udegrām tray, and placed above it is a solar chariot whose form, Rostovtsev hesitantly remarks, “is influenced by the type of Helios, but the god... is the great Iranian sun-god, the Sol Mithra of the Roman Empire”. At the top of the Karagodeuash plaque is the standing figure of a Tyche which Rostovtsev believes can be identified “with the Iranian Hvareno”.

We are, then, dealing with a phenomenon of religious iconography whereby “the aniconic Iranian religion... became peoples with divine images, created by the Greek artists and no doubt accepted by the Scythian devotee”; it has its analogy, even though distant in time, with what occurred in Gandhāra Buddhism. We

13 Taddei, op. cit., figs. 22-23.
14 See in particular F. Cumont, Lux Perpetua, Paris 1949, pp. 291 f.
16 Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks..., cit., p. 108.
are, in fact, witnessing an intrusion by Near Eastern iconographical features (ones that are Mithraic or in touch with a Syrian religious environment) that are adapted to meanings inherent in Mahāyāna Buddhism.\textsuperscript{17}

Confining ourselves for the moment to the toilet-trays alone, it seems difficult to admit, as Buchthal does,\textsuperscript{18} that "for the Indian artists these figures and scenes were genre motives of purely decorative value", even if it can be readily accepted that nothing, or almost nothing, of their original mythological significance remains. It is my view that much research still needs to be done into the religious value of the numerous western iconographies assimilated by the north-western region of India: by drawing attention to this toilet-tray I merely wish to add one more piece to the jigsaw puzzle that I hope can in time, though with much labour, be fitted together.

[92] Moreover, that the opinion of Buchthal is not to be adhered to in this instance at least is proved by the lotus corolla from which the three busts emerge – a sure sign that the subject represented is of religious significance.\textsuperscript{19} But it is not easy to say what this significance is: comparisons with figures emerging from flowers or palmettes in classical art or in works deriving from classical models are anything but scarce;\textsuperscript{20} yet to my mind of scant signific-

\textsuperscript{17} Cf. H. Buchthal, "The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture", in \textit{Proceedings of the British Academy} XXXI, 1945.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 7 (of the off-print).

\textsuperscript{19} Regarding divine figures on lotus flowers, see especially: E. Bielefeld, "Eros in der Blume", in A\textit{Anz} 1950-51, cols. 47 ff.; S. Morenz and J. Schubert, \textit{Der Gott auf der Blume. Eine ägyptische Kosmogenie und ihre weltweite Bildwirkung} (ArthAs, Supplemen
tum XII), Ascona 1954; among the latest contributions to the subject: Y. Krishan, "Symbolism of the Lotus-Seat in Indian Art", in \textit{OA} XII, 1966, pp. 36-48. In this connexion, we may perhaps recall the flowers with articulated petals known also in the West: e.g. the one in the Cairo Museum that probably dates from the Prolemaic age and contains a small image of Horus: G. Daressy, \textit{Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Statues de divinités}, I, Le Caire 1906, pp. 63 ff., no. 38222, pl. XI.

ance. It is perhaps more pertinent to make a comparison with some Gandhāra figures (also of classical derivation) which are generally interpreted as kimnaras: they emerge from a lotus flower and are sometimes grouped in three though not within the same corolla. Such semi-divine images gave rise to those analogous Central-Asian kimnaras which grew into a real decorative motif without forfeiting any of their religious meaning.

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dotean Echo in Pompeian Art", in AJA LXV, 1961, pp. 31-35); H. Jucker, Das Bildnis im Blütterkeib. Geschichte und Bedeutung einer römischen Porträtform, 2 vols., Olten-Lausanne-Freiburg i. Br. 1961; D. Schlumberger and P. Bernard, "At Khanoum", in BCH LXXXIX, 1965, pp. 645 ff., and above all note 4 on p. 650 (with further bibliography). Busts emerging from foliage are very frequent in Sasanian glyptic, but are not lacking in toecutics: see e.g. M.S. Dinand, "A Group of Sasanian Silver Bowls", in Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst. Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, Berlin 1959, pp. 11-14. As evidence of the means by which the motif spread, it is worth recalling the hunting putti emerging from foliage or from a flower on fabrics found in Mongolia but imported from the West: Kratkie očetery ekspedicij po isследovaniyo severnoj Mongolii (Akademija Nauk SSSR), Leningrad 1925, pp. 28 ff., fig. 8, pl. 4; M. Rostvortseff, The Animal Style in South Russia and China, Princeton 1929, pp. 85 ff., pl. XXIV A1; S.I. Rudenko, Kultura Hunnov i noimalinskije Kurgany, Moskva-Leningrad 1962 (nun uidi; reviewed by O. Maenchen-Helven, in ArkivAs XXVII, 1965, pp. 365 ff.). I forego quoting examples of Gandhāra art since the subject merits a study of its own; but it may perhaps be recalled that busts of devas and centaurs which, emerging from acanthus and suchlike leaves, decorate brackets and nāgāndantas (false brackets: see e.g. AGBG, I, fig. 89) seem to derive from analogous representations in classical rhyta: see e.g. E. Breccia, Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del Museo di Alessandria (Monuments de l’Egypte gréco-romaine II.2), Bergamo 1930, pp. 73 ff., no. 477, pl. XIX 7; A. Adriani, "Rhyta", in Bulletin [de la] Société Royale d’Archéologie, Alexandrie, n.s., X, 1939, p. 355, fig. 2. But see also the rhyta from Nisa: M.E. Masson and G.A. Pugačenkova, Parfizanskie Ritony Nisy iz kul’turnogo nasledija Turkmenskogo Naroda, portfolio (Južno-Turkmenistanskaia Arheologičeskaja Kompleksnaja Ekspedicija), Moskva 1956, passim; R. Ghirshman, Iran. Parthes et Sasanides, Paris 1962, p. 30, pl. 41.

21 See AGBG, II, pp. 20-22 (for the name); GAP, nos. 255, 366, 368.


23 Suffice it to recall that in Central Asia even the image of the Buddha, repeated countless times, becomes a decorative feature.
[93] What conclusions, then, can be drawn at this stage? Since this object is unique of its kind, it is as well not to go beyond a few sure notions or at least those that are least uncertain.

1) The scene depicted on the Udégrâm tray is embodied in terms that are not human as is shown by the fact that the figures emerge from a lotus flower.

2) Such a scene must be interpreted as a ritual banquet.

3) The presence of a personage with a Phrygian cap (?) is reminiscent of Mithraic environments with which north-west India, as we know, had close ties.\textsuperscript{24}

What we have been studying, then, is probably an Oriental counterpart of the various cenae whose formation and primitive development in Christian iconography is not to be divorced from that Roman funerary symbolism that was likewise closely linked to Mithraic iconography.\textsuperscript{25}

But no solution can now be given to the chief problem concerning both this tray and many other Gandharan reliefs, that is, what connection exists between them and Buddhism. In my opinion only a thorough examination of the three aspects of Gandharan art - stylistic, iconographic and religious - taken as a whole can lead us to a satisfactory solution of it; but too many invaluable documents remain unpublished. I hope that the reader will forgive me for this preliminary approach to the iconographic questions raised by the Udégrâm tray.

\textsuperscript{24} For the relations between Buddhism and Mazdeism, see above all: A.C. Soper, "The Roman Style in Gandhara", in AJA LV, 1951, pp. 301-19; GAP, p. 36; E. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, I. Des origines à l'ère Śaka, Louvain 1958, pp. 783-85; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, La religion de l'Iran ancien, Paris 1962.

\textsuperscript{25} For the parallelism between Christian and Buddhist iconography, see H. Büchthal, "The Common Classical Sources of Buddhist and Christian Narrative Art", in JRAS 1943, pp. 137 ff. For the influence of Mithraism on Roman sepulchral imagery, see E. Strong, Apotheosis and After Life, London 1915, pp. 187 ff.
Fig. 1 - Toilet-tray from Udegrām (Swat). Italian Archaeological Mission, Saidū Sharif.
Fig. 2 - Detail of fig. 1.
Fig. 3 - Toilet-tray from N.W.F.P. Location unknown.
THE HARIŚCANDRA SEAL FROM MOHRĀ MORĀDU.
AN ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTE

From *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 19, 1969, pp. 57-68

[57] A square seal (cm. 6.7 x 6.7 x 1.8) carved on both sides was found at Mohrā Morādu (Taxila) in 1915¹ and is now preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. It shows some iconographical peculiarities which I deem worthy of notice (figs. 1, 2).

It was included among the objects of the Exhibition "Cinque-mila Anni d’Arte in Pakistan", arranged by the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, in March and April, 1964,² when I had the opportunity of examining it carefully, thanks also to a moulding made on that occasion.³

Let us first read the description by Sir John Marshall:⁴ "Square tablet seal of slate-like indurated clay, with deep groove sunk in rim all round and hole pierced from side to side, for attachment. Engraved on both faces. On obverse, conventional *garuḍa* or cock with lotus stalk in beak and trampling on snake. In front of it, a coiled snake with raised hood; behind a lion rampant. In exergue, inscrip-

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² Catalogue *3000 anni d’Arte in Pakistan*, Napoli 1964, p. 120, no. 215; see also the catalogue of the German exhibition, *3000 Jahre Kunst in Pakistan*, Darmstadt-Augsburg-Bonn 1962-63, no. 313.

³ For the moulding and the photographs which are published here, my thanks are due to Mrs Enrica Paolini Pozzi, *Ipettore* at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples, and Mr L. Licciardi, consignee of the Coin Cabinet in that Museum. I also thank Dr G. Stacul for the photograph of fig. 5.

tion in Gupta Brahmi characters of fifth century A.D.;

Hariścandraśya = 'Of Hariścandra'. On reverse, figure of Wind-god (?) blowing horn. In field, to left, foliage; to right, figure with offering (?) in left hand and uncertain object in right. Below, two gaṇas in violent motion, one holding water-pot'.

Even a summary analysis of the scene leads one to look among [58] dionysian iconographies for a prototype of this half-naked figure in rapid motion, the "Wind-god", as it was labelled by Marshall. Nevertheless it will be extremely improbable to find a real prototype, that is, a representation which may be taken as an equivalent to the one on the Hariścandra seal from a strictly iconographical as well as religious point of view.

Let us now examine the different elements which make up the scene. The main figure, much larger than the others, wears only a long transparent scarf which crosses his knees and left arm, a band round his head with a fluttering end behind the nape of the neck and two horn-like projections on the forehead, all elements which are typical of many characters of the dionysian thiasos. The left leg presses against the ground (not shown), whereas the right is lifted and bent in such a way that the heel is close to the genitalia; the left hand is lowered and holds an object which looks like a skin-bottle or part of an animal' (though it seems to be held by a string!), the right hand is raised and holds a long and thin rhyton from which the personage seems to be drinking.

There is no difficulty in finding in dionysian contexts figures that may be compared with this one, in one way or another, but it

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3 But "of fourth to fifth century A.D." ibid., p. 363.

6 For the horn-like projections, see a medallion on a 6th-7th century vase from Khotan (A. von Le Coq, Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, I, Berlin 1922, p. 29, no. 45, fig. on the right; Id., Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens, Berlin 1925, fig. 209) which has a clearly dionysian character (see also infra, note 14).

7 The comparison with a "hunter", probably with dionysian connections, in a relief from Šempeter (Slovenia) – which is also interesting for the figure's attitude (fig. 6) – leads one to think of a couple of birds: J. Klemenc, Rimske izkopanine v Šempetu (Spomeniški Vodniki 1), Ljubljana 1961, fig. 10; Id., "Keltski elementi v Šempetu v Savinjski dolini", in Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana, XVII, 1966, fig. 11 on p. 348. On Dionysos as a hunter and his connections with hunting, see P. Perdrizet, Cultes et mythes du Pangée, Paris-Nancy 1910, ch. I.
is more suitable for our purpose to discuss such comparative material later on. However, even the suggestion of Marshall's to recognize a "Wind-god" in the jumping figure of the Taxila seal leads us again to a dionysian iconographical derivation: a comparison I may suggest is indeed with the *Farnese Cup*, on which the "Winds" are portrayed with satyr-like features, and one of them, who is blowing a long conch, is compared by J. Charbonneaux to the *Satyr with a child* from Myrina.⁸

[59] It is not easy to carry out a thorough etymological examination of the small figure on the right, who wears only a cloth round the hips and carries a large tray;⁹ nor is it possible to find a prototype of the dancing (or worshipping?) figure depicted below the main one: it wears a loin-cloth quite similar to the one worn by the figure on the right and joins its hands above the head, in an attitude which is far from being rare in Indian art.

The half-crouched figure at the bottom left corner is much more interesting: as it turns its face towards the main figure, it holds and almost embraces a vessel which is probably a *lagynos*, though it is not clear whether this is handled or not.¹⁰ Also in this

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⁹ See the British Museum *krater* cited *infra*, note 21.

¹⁰ This figure on the Taxila seal is quite close to a famous Hellenistic work of the end of the 3rd cent. B.C., the *Drunken Old Woman* by Myron of Thebes (M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1955, p. 81, fig. 284, with bibliography): there is also a perfect correspondence in the shape of the vase and torsion of the head. Though I do not know any dionysian representations in which one of the vase-bearing characters is depicted according to a pattern similar to that of the figure on our seal, we may assume that the latter derives from a Hellenistic model connected with Myron's *Drunken Old Woman*. Its type enjoyed a wide diffusion thanks also to small terracotta copies: F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, II, Berlin-Stuttgart 1903, p. 468, no. 8; P. Dikaios, "Recent Acquisitions of the Cyprus Museum", in *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 1935* (1936), p. 29, pl. X 4. For the *lagynos*, see Ch.
case the derivation from a Hellenistic model is evident; it is also noteworthy that a similar figure is represented in a toilet-tray of unmistakably dionysian subject from the second stratum of Sirkap,\(^1\) therefore assignable to a date not later than the beginning of the Kushan period.

The most interesting element in our seal is no doubt the main figure. Though all possible comparisons point to one direction, that is, a dionysian iconography, we must first observe that such comparisons belong to two different iconographical stems and that the Hariścandra seal is a sort of intermingling of two different traditions. This of course enhances its importance.

Among the objects of the first series we must list some finds from the north-west of the sub-continent. One is the silver bowl with a dionysian scene from Buddigharra, Distr Dérah Ismā‘īl Khān, now in the British Museum (fig. 3).\(^2\) It is not earlier than the 3 rd-4 th cent. A.D. and shows [60] a half-naked male figure, similar to that of the Hariścandra seal for the fashion in which the scanty dress is worn, the attitude of drinking from a rhyton, the presence of vine-branches and of a skin-bottle held in the left hand (which may be taken as a useful suggestion for the seal from Mohrā Morādu), as well as the position of the legs which are bent. Notwithstanding all these similarities between the two representations the figure on the Buddigharra bowl as well as the one on the Boston relief with a vine-scroll\(^3\) and the other on a bronze seal from Kuva, Uzbekistan\(^4\) are in a resting attitude, similar to, and at the same time different from, the one which characterizes the main


\(^{1}\) Marshall, op. cit., p. 495, no. 65, pl. 144.


\(^{3}\) B. Rowland, “The Vine-Scroll in Gandhāra”, in Artibus XIX, 1956, pp. 353-61, fig. 1 (top).

\(^{4}\) B. Brentjes, “Antike und vorantike Siegel aus der UdSSR”, in Das Altertum
figure of the Harišcandra seal: there is no contradiction in terms since the Taxilian carver has changed the sitting posture of the Buddigharra bowl into an attitude of violent motion by simply removing any indication of ground and rotating the figure in a clockwise direction. But Foucher and Dalton compared the Buddigharra bowl to a group of “Bacchanalian” scenes of the Mathurā school which have often been considered as derivations from classical prototypes; a variant of the same theme is also to be seen in a very interesting Gandhāra relief in the Peshawar Museum (Inv. no. 2046), showing a naked figure – perhaps a yakṣa – drinking from a rhyton (fig. 5). We may therefore recognize in our seal the representation of a yakṣa or Kubera, as it [61] was suggested for the Mathurā reliefs and, as a consequence, for the British Museum bowl. This assumption seems to be strengthened by the presence of the assistant holding a bowl.

If on the whole it seems justified to label such scenes as “Bacchanalians”, it is also possible to trace the origin of their main figure back to classical prototypes.

We have indeed two kantbaroi, both from Vulci, one in the

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XIII, 1967, fig. on p. 139. Cf. also the “Silenus” on the Khotan vase cited at note 6: von Le Coq, Die buddhistische Spätantike..., cit., pl. 45.

13 V.A. Smith, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, 2nd ed., Oxford 1930, pp. 43-45, pl. 20 A, B. Cf. also some figures of crouching yakṣa – Atlantes (AGBG, 1, pp. 207 ff. and passim; GAP, nos. 381 ff.). The proposed comparison (B. Rowland in J.M. Rosenfield, The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, p. 131) with the classical iconography of the drunken Hercules is of course to be discarded. Not only the relief formerly in the Palazzo Mattei (cited by Rowland, loc. cit., note 22) but all the other representations of the subject have nothing to share with the Mathurā “Bacchanalians”. For Pañčhika-Kubera on Gandhāra reliefs, see AGBG, II, pp. 102 ff.; the cornucopia (quite similar to a rhyton) is the attribute of Hārīti, who often exchanges her attributes with those of her companion Kubera (AGBG, II, pp. 142 ff.). The problem of the connections between bacchic scenes and the “tutelary pair” has been dealt with by Foucher, AGBG, loc. cit.; but see also J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, “Two Notes on Mathurā Sculpture”, in India Antiqua (volume in honour of J.Ph. Vogel), Leyden 1947, pp. 231 ff. On yakṣas and their iconography in the buddhistic reliefs, see A.K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, 2 vols., Washington 1928-31. A squatting naked Dionysos on a vase of the Palagi Collection seems to me a particularly relevant classical comparison: E. Gerhard, in Archäologische Zeitung VIII, 1850, pl. XVI, pp. 162 f.
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Berlin Antiquarium (fig. 4), the other in the Torlonia Collection, in which the same painter has represented in slightly different attitudes a boy, clearly belonging to a dionysian environment, who drinks from an askōs (in the Berlin specimen) or from a phiale, as he holds a rhyton in his right hand (in the Torlonia specimen). These kantbaroi, which provide us with a very close comparison with the Taxila and Buddigharra figures as well as with the aforementioned Kubera or yakṣa type, have been attributed by Beazley\textsuperscript{16} a date in the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C., but it seems that, both for stylistical and technical reasons, they cannot be later than 300 B.C.\textsuperscript{17}

The second series of comparisons is available from classical iconography: it includes some dionysian scenes with figures in violent motion. Dionysos himself is depicted in such an attitude, with a rhyton in his left hand, on a bronze flask from Tarquinia, at Cracow (?);\textsuperscript{18} an attitude which is also similar to that of some Cupids and Psychai on a sarcophagus of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (240 A.D. ca.),\textsuperscript{19} of a Satyr on a vase of the 4th cent. B.C. in the Berlin Museum,\textsuperscript{20} and of another Satyr that, on a fourth-century

\textsuperscript{17} P. Moreno, "Il realismo nella pittura greca del IV secolo a.C.", in \textit{RIA\~{A}A XIII-XIV}, 1964-65, pp. 48 ff., figs. 24, 25, 69; but see also the representations of human komastai following a similar iconography: B. Swoboda and D. Cončev, \textit{Neue Denkmäler antiker Toreutik}, Praha 1956; H. Hoffmann, "The Persian Origin of Attic Rhyta", in \textit{Antike Kunst IV}, 1961, pl. 12, 1; K. Tuchelt, \textit{Tiergefäße in Kopf- und Protomengestalt. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte tierförmiger Gussgefäße} (Istanbuler Forschungen 22), Berlin 1962, p. 113, pl. 26, 1.
\textsuperscript{20} H. Metzger, \textit{Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle} (BEFAR 172), Paris 1951, pp. 75 f., pl. V5.
[62] krater of the British Museum, lifts a kantharos in his left hand and holds an oinochoe in his lowered right.\(^{21}\) the latter example is particularly relevant because, though his feet are both resting on the ground, the Satyr has his counterpart in a female figure that advances from the opposite side carrying a large tray. Other examples are found on terra sigillata.\(^{22}\)

But this iconographical type is peculiar to another divine personage, Pan,\(^{23}\) who belongs to the same dionysian context. As a rule, he is portrayed as a half-human and half-caprine figure and combines the two elements in different ways, though the case is not rare of Pan displaying his goatish nature only in the tail and two short horns.

As a matter of fact, figures of Pan with upraised arms in various attitudes, and legs in a jumping position quite similar to that of the figure on our seal, are easily found even in the 5th cent. B.C.,\(^{24}\) but a really exact comparison is offered only by some images of Pan in the dionysian thiasos on Roman sarcophagi. The most relevant example is provided by the Badminton Sarcophagus with the "Seasons" (beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D.)\(^{25}\) and by the similar and contemporary sarcophagus of Kassel.\(^{26}\) Pan jumps towards the left as he carries a skin-bottle on his left shoulder and holds a

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\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 177, pl. XXV 1.

\(^{22}\) H. Ricken, "Die Bildernschüsseln der Töpferi von Waiblingen-Beinstein", in Festschrift für August Oxe, Darmstadt 1938, pl. 11, no. 46; pl. 12, no. 59; H.-G. Simon, "Terra sigillata aus König (2. Teil)", in Fundberichte aus Schwaben, NF, XVIII, 1, 1967, fig. 9, no. 228.


\(^{24}\) Examples ibid., especially figs. 25, 27, 35 (this is interesting also for the band round the head); for later examples, see Herbig, op. cit., p. 32, pl. XXX and pp. 42, 48, pl. XXIV 1: the last one (Borghese relief, datable to the 2nd cent. A.D.) is particularly worthy of notice because it shows a small tree like the one on the Taxila seal.


\(^{26}\) M. Bieber, Die antiken Skulpturen des Königlichen Museum Fredericianum in Cassel, Marburg 1915, pp. 43 ff., no. 86, pl. XXXIV; Hanfmann, op. cit., I, passim; II, p. 175, no. 461, fig. 28; Matz, op. cit., p. 18, no. 15, p. 147, pl. 3b.
rhyton in his upraised right hand; Dionysos is pouring wine in the rhyton. Another Pan figure of this type is represented on the "Iphigenienpfeiler" of Neumagen on the Moselle (c. 160 A.D.).

The position of the right leg, which is the same as that of the main figure of the Hariścandra seal, is quite [63] normal for the caprine anatomy of Pan but appears unnatural in human figures, even when they are in rapid motion.

Before dwelling upon this rather bulky comparative material I have collected, it is useful, I believe, to take into consideration another iconographical theme which is well-known in Indian art—and chiefly in Gandharan sculpture.

A group of Gandharan reliefs show a scene of submission to the Buddha that Foucher, following a suggestion of Vogel, identified as the story of Aṅgulimālā, a blood-thirsty personage living in the forest. He is often depicted in an attitude of rapid motion very similar to that of Pan and to that of the main figure on the Taxila seal, though he is usually seen from the back instead of facing the onlooker. A female figure bearing a bowl is part of the scene along with the Buddha and his entourage. Foucher provides an explanation also for her (the mother of Aṅgulimālā), following the popular tradition to which testify the buddhistic texts.

Here is a list, I don’t know how far short of completion, of the representations of the Aṅgulimālā story in Gandharan art:

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28 AGBG, II, pp. 11-14, 846, 854, figs. 304-5.

29 But he is shown front-view in a relief from Amarāvati in the Madras Museum (C. Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, Madras 1942, pp. 191 f., pl. XL.2) and in a vedikā-frieze in the same Museum (ibid., p. 156; Ph. Stern and M. Bénisti, Evolution du style indien d’Amaravati, Paris 1961, p. 18, fig. 12, pl. LXb).

30 I do not include in the list the Aṅgulimālā (?) relief in the Indian Museum recorded by N.G. Majumdar, A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, II, Delhi 1937 (which I was not able to check: it is quoted by H. Deydier, Contribution à l’étude de l’art du Gandhāra, Paris 1950, p. 71, no. 107). Cf. also a scene from the "Schatzhöhle", Qyzyl: A. Grünwedel, Alt-Kutseba, Berlin 1920, p. II, 93, pl. XXXIV-XXXV.
THE HARISCANDRA SEAL FROM MOHRÄ MORÄDU

1) Peshawar Museum, no. 1371, from Sahri Bahlo;\(^{31}\)
2) Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, no. IC 34961 (fig. 8);\(^{32}\)
3) Lahore, Central Museum, no. 2361;\(^{33}\)
4) London, British Museum;
5) Peshawar, Gai Collection;
6) Haḍḍā, vihāra B, 56 (mural painting).\(^{34}\)

Of these, the relief in the Peshawar Museum and the one in Berlin are particularly relevant for our purpose.

There may be hardly any doubt that in this curious story of Aṅgulimāla lies concealed a non-buddhistic core, adapted in later times so as to become [64] a pious legend of exemplary character. We may also see in this Aṅgulimāla of the Gandharan reliefs a deity (a yakṣa, I would say) comparable with Pan on account of its silvan character which gives it a "dionysian" flavour:\(^{35}\) a deity terrific and benevolent like so many other divine or semi-divine personages no less common in India than in the classical world. Moreover, from an iconographical point of view, the "mother" in the Aṅgulimāla reliefs is the same figure as the assistant offering a bowl which we have seen in the "Bacchanalian" and cognate scenes discussed above.

We may therefore think of a sort of merging of a local yakṣa into Aṅgulimāla, who was already known in the Pāli Canon but probably had a non-buddhistic origin.\(^{36}\)

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\(^{31}\) GAP, no. 119 (with bibliography).
\(^{32}\) AGBG, II, fig. 305.
\(^{33}\) GAP, no. 118.
\(^{34}\) J. Barthoux, Les fouilles de Haḍḍā, I (MDAFA [IV]), Paris 1933, pp. 163 f., fig. 142.
\(^{35}\) The iconographical detail of the garland of fingers (to which the name itself of Aṅgulimāla would seem to refer), that the personage wears as a head-dress in the Gandharan reliefs, may derive from the basket-like head-dress of some dancers (in an unmistakably dionysian context) depicted in the Arretine pottery (1st cent. A.D.): see e.g. A.C. Brown, Catalogue of Italian Terra-Sigillata in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1968, p. 21, nos. 56-58, pl. XIV.
\(^{36}\) The story of Aṅgulimāla, the stage of which is in the reign of Prasenajit of
If what we have said is true, there is a good ground to suppose that some classical models of dionysian scenes with a jumping personage (whatever the form they did actually assume) were circulating widely in Gandhāra and deeply influenced its buddhistic iconography at a date which can hardly be earlier than the 1st cent. A.D. Indeed it seems extremely difficult to place the iconographical elaboration of the Gandharan Life of the Buddha before such a date, because its peculiar aspects of "spiritual biography" can be fully understood only in the imperial age.\textsuperscript{37}

Such models may also have influenced the "seated yakṣa" type, which, on the contrary, dates back to an earlier period, as it is shown by its wide diffusion in India outside Gandhāra, and chiefly by the fact that its classical prototype appears to have been out of fashion in the dionysian iconographies [65] of the Roman age. One would not be surprised to find evidence of its introduction into the north-west of the sub-continent in the Graeco-Bactrian period.

It is interesting to note that the representations we have examined may be grouped in the following way:

a) "Bacchanalians" of the "seated yakṣa" type: it is a very frequent pattern in the art of Gandhāra and Mathurā from the 2nd to the 7th cent., but – as we have seen – it may well be considered as a classical import firmly rooted in the North-West since the Graeco-Bactrian period.

b) Angulimala scenes: they testify to the merging into a buddhistic context of


\textsuperscript{37} S. Mazzarino, Il pensiero storico classico, II 1, Bari 1966, pp. 239 f.
the myth of a *yakṣa* who was specially known for his sylvan and wild character; the dionysian iconographical repertory – well established in Gandhāra – served as an intermediary.

c) Hariścandra seal: it is the only evidence (5th cent.) of a type in which the seated *yakṣa* of the "Bacchanalians" is changed into a jumping *yakṣa*, suggested by the later dionysian iconography which gives birth to Anāgulimāla.

One should not disregard the possibility of a well-defined connection between the Pan-*yakṣa* and Kubera or Pāñchika: the latter is sometimes undoubtedly influenced by the former, as it is proved by those representations in which the unjustified dynamism in the leg position and bust torsion of the seated Kubera\(^{38}\) reminds us of the figure on the Taxila seal.

Furthermore, the three animals represented on the other face of the Hariścandra seal are to be easily identified as peculiarly Indian religious symbols:\(^{39}\) this makes it even easier to believe that some very well-known Vaishnava or Shaiva iconographies – for instance Varāha,\(^{40}\) Śiva [66] Gaṅadhāra,\(^{41}\) etc. –, in which the

\(^{38}\) See the relief from Shāh-ji-ki-Dheri in the Peshawar Museum (GAP, no. 344) and especially the one in the Lahore Museum, no. 606 (AGBG, II, fig. 364).

\(^{39}\) The bird, rather than as Garuda, might be identified as the vulture Ṣaṭāyau of the Rāmāyana: for its iconography, see G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, Paris 1914, II, p. 91, note 2, pl. XXXIII B; H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York 1955, p. 215, pl. 212 (relief in the Kailasanātha temple at Ellāra). Probably one should not look for a particular meaning besides, or beyond, the one which is illustrated by the *Ṣaparnāḍbyāya* or the *Mabahārata*, i.e. the flight of the solar bird and the earth snake: Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-54. Cf. H. Zimmer, *Mythes et symboles dans l'art et la civilisation de l'Inde*, Paris 1951, pp. 73-78. See also Y. Krishan, "The Naga Cult in Indian Art and Literature", in *OrA XIII*, 1967, pp. 189 ff. But one should remember that the motif of the eagle fighting with, or trampling on, a snake is also to be found in classical antefixes which are a class of objects usually employing dionysian subjects for their decoration (see, e.g., H. von Rohden, *Die Terracotten von Pompeji*, Stuttgart 1880, p. 34, pl. XIII, no. 3).

\(^{40}\) See e.g. N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca 1929, pl. XXXVib. The small tree in the background is also worthy of note. For the meaning of this iconography, see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, Madras 1914, pp. 128 ff.

\(^{41}\) See especially A. Rea, *Pallava Architecture* (ASI, *New Imperial Series*, XXXIV), Madras 1909, p. 35, pl. XLIV, fig. 2 (Kānchipuram); for the meaning of this iconography, see A.H. Longhurst, "Pallava Architecture", in *Annual Report of the Archæ-
deity is shown in an attitude of violent motion (not to be mistaken as a dancing pose, which is similar), are to be connected with dionysian prototypes; and the Harihāra seal is probably a reflection of an intermediate stage. In particular, I wish to lay stress on the surprising similarity between the deity on the Harihāra seal and the image of Śiva Gaṅgadhāra (fig. 7) from Kāñcīpuram.\footnote{42}

We may then conclude by assuming that two waves of dionysian iconographical influence are recognizable in the north-west of the sub-continent. The first one presumably dates back to the Graeco-Bactrian period,\footnote{43} whereas the second wave may be attributed to the 1st-2nd cent. A.D., when a revival of dionysian cults seems to have taken place also in official environments of the Roman empire\footnote{44} and a large number of terracotta plaques and moulds depicting bacchic subjects spread over the most peripheral regions of the empire; they may well have served as vehicles for the diffusion of many iconographies.\footnote{45} Moreover, the close connection which at that time linked to each other the dionysian cults and the soteric religions of the Hellenistic Orient should also be taken into consideration, since it is well-known how deeply these soteric religions influenced – at least from an iconographical point of view – the fertile soil of Gandhāra Buddhism. Also the transformation of Bacchus into a funerary deity,\footnote{46} which took place in the [67] im-

\footnote{42} Cited at note 41.


\footnote{45} See, e.g., some very interesting specimens from Pannonia: B. Kuzsinszky, "A Gázyáry romául fazekecastelep Aquincumban", in Budapest Régiségei XI, 1932, especially fig. 232 on p. 221; A. Radnóti, "Agagyminta Brigetiőböl", in Magyar Múzeum 1945, pp. 2 ff. (being a short but thorough study of this matter).

perial age, is a phenomenon which should be considered in the same cultural frame.

It would also be interesting to investigate on which ethnic or cultural environment these dionysian element had a stronger hold. I only wish to call the reader's attention to the fact that an "Indo-Scythian" man is shown near Kubera in the group from Pāliṅkherā, in the Mathurā Museum, and that even in the ceiling of Cave I at Ajanta (6th-7th cent.) a "Bacchanalian" scene acquires a peculiar flavour and meaning because of the "Bactrian" or "Scythic" (clearly non-Indian and non-Greek) form of the figures attires. Goloubew suggests that the decoration of the ceiling is a representation of the paradise of Kubera.

Any reference to dionysian representations in the Scythic art of South Russia is not strictly pertinent from an historical point of view, though not completely meaningless: they have already been dealt with by Rostovtsev. It is also possible that the use of wine in war rituals by the Scythians, independently of any dionysian influence, may have facilitated the penetration of bacchic cults into a Scythian environment, at the same time leading Greek or Roman artists to give a "Scythic" appearance to dionysian representations.

The last question to be raised concerns the specific character of

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49 V. Goloubew, Documents pour servir à l'étude d'Ajanta: les peintures de la première grotte (Ars Asiatica XI), Paris-Bruxelles 1927, p. 19, pl. LXII.
50 See the plaque from the Siverskaja Stanica in the Taman peninsula: M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia, Oxford 1922, p. 137, pl. XXVII.4. We must also remember that drinking Sileni were often dressed in the "Scythic" fashion by the artists of the Roman period: see the Wilton House statuette (A. Michaelis, Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Cambridge 1882, p. 686, no. 62; S. Reinach, Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine, I, Paris 1920, p. 419, no. 3) and the statue recently found at Athens (G. Dontas, "Ανασκαφή οίκοπεδίου 'Αγγελοπούλου", in Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων XVII, 1961-62, I [1963], p. 94, pl. 39); they date from the 1st cent. A.D.
the yakṣa cults in Gandhāra. Is their dionysian appearance an iconographical phenomenon only, or is it due to some similarity between the two religious worlds?

The theory of dionysian worship being admitted into Gandhāran Buddhism has been set forth long ago and variously discussed by scholars. "It is perhaps possible — Rowland writes52 — to presume that the Kubera [68] cult did absorb certain aspects of bacchic ritual and iconography [...] and that this assimilation would also account for the strongly classical stylistic aspect of this group of reliefs".

Strangely enough, nobody has to my knowledge ever taken into consideration what Coomaraswamy pointed out forty years ago:53 the yakṣa cult must be seen in the frame of the bhakti religious movement since the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of our era.

The bhakti is not only a trend of Vishnuism; it is a movement that involved a much larger sector of the Indian religious world and is responsible for that pax religiosa which was enjoyed by mediaeval India. It is difficult to state whether it was originated in the North-West or elsewhere, but it is out of the question that one of the earliest evidences of bhakti worship is the Besnagar inscription (2nd cent. B.C.), which records the erection of a garuḍa-dhvaja (i.e. a column supporting a garuḍa, or Viṣṇu’s vāhana) in honour of Vāsudeva by the bhāgavata Heliodoros, son of Diya, from Taxila, ambassador of the Indo-Bactrian king Antialkidas.54

It is into a religious environment permeated by Bhaktism that a stream of bacchic influence may have found an easy way of penetration, because of the common ground of unflinching devotion to a personal god, so that we cannot accept the suggestion of Tarn’s that it "looks as if Bhakti, generally speaking, may have been partly the reaction of the Indian mind to, or against, the foreign inva-

52 B. Rowland, in Rosenfield, op. cit., p. xi. For bacchic elements in Gandhāra and India, see now R.A. Jairazbhoy, Foreign Influence in Ancient India, Bombay 1963, pp. 131 ff.

53 Coomaraswamy, op. cit., I, pp. 27 f.

sions, Persian and Greek". I would rather say that bhakti was a reaction against the principle of a centralized imperial power which had found in Aśoka’s government its political fulfilment and in Buddhism its ideology. On the threshold of feudalism, India was elaborating a new ideology which suited it perfectly.66

56 For the political significance of Bhaktism in medieval India, see D.D. Kosambi, The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline, London 1965, pp. 208 f.
Fig. 1 - A square seal from Mohrā Morādu (Taxila). Obverse. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

Fig. 2 - Same as fig. 1. Exergue.

Fig. 3 - A silver bowl with a dionysian scene. British Museum, London.

Fig. 4 - A kantharos with a dionysian scene. Berlin Antiquarium.
Fig. 5 - A Gandharan relief with a "Bacchanalian" scene. Peshawar Museum.

Fig. 6 - A hunter, probably with dionysian connections. Šempeter, Slovenia.
Fig. 7 - Śiva Gaṅgadhāra. Kāñchipuram.
Fig. 8 - A Gandharan relief depicting the story of Aṅgulimāla. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.
The relief that I intend to discuss in the following pages was found by the Italian Archaeological Mission (Inv. no. 6974) in the Buddhist Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, West Pakistan) and is now preserved in the National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome (Inv. no. 2383) (fig. 1).

1) Part of a frieze from the decoration of a stūpa, defined on the right by an empanelled column with Corinthian capital and conventionalized base made up of a torus and a sort of ring. The main panel depicts a full-blown lotus flower with petals in two rows, twelve being in the upper row. A crudely carved crouching figure is shown in the very centre of the flower. It is wrapped in a cloth; only its head and legs (one only is shown) are left uncovered. Its hair is drawn in a fashion which is peculiar to figures of the brahmamic caste; its eyes are disproportionately large and show neither pupils nor even eye-lids. A tenon above, to the right; a rebate on the right.

1 On the Italian Excavations at Butkara I, see D. Faccenna, "Mingora: Site of Butkara I", in Reports on the Campaigns 1956-1958 in Swat (Pakistan) (IsMEORepMem 1), Roma 1962, pp. 1-169; Id., A Guide to the Excavations in Swat (Pakistan) 1956-1962, Roma 1964. I am extremely grateful to Prof. G. Tucci not only for going through the paper but also for his suggestions that have saved me from some misinterpretations. My thanks are also due to Dr. D. Faccenna, Director of the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome and of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan, who has liberally allowed me to publish the reliefs from the Italian excavations in Swat, as well as to the other friends who read the manuscript of this article and were generous in giving me useful suggestions, namely to C. Barocas, F. Coarelli, L. del Francia and D. Mazzeo.
ON GANDHĀRA

Green schist, 15.5 x 21.5 cm.
Corroded; damaged chiefly on the edges.

Human busts, animal figures, and even elaborate scenes are often found in the central portion of decorative lotus flowers in India since the time of the great stūpas of Bhārhut and Sāñchi. Nevertheless our relief does not fall under that class of decorative motifs for several reasons: firstly, because the figure is not represented as framed by a lotus flower but rather as enclosed by it; secondly, because it was part of a frieze decorating a stūpa, presumably along with scenes of the Buddha’s life, a location which involves a much higher rank than a vedikā or railing; thirdly, because the subject itself is exceptional and does not find any parallel in Indian art.

[365] Whenever we deal with a Gandharan relief we are accustomed to look for a prototype of its iconographical elements in the art of the Hellenized world; though I would deem it more profitable to begin such a research only when a complete survey of similar motifs in Gandhāra is carried out, since a very large portion of the Gandharan reliefs in Asiatic, European, and American museums are left unpublished – especially those reliefs that have only a “decorative” interest –, I must content myself, in this preliminary note, with a list of suchlike reliefs from the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan.

2) From Butkara I, Inv. no. 7132 (fig. 2).
Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2052.
A “metope” (bracket-spacer) decorated with a full-blown lotus flower with two rows of petals, twelve in the upper row. A male torso wearing uttarīya, wristlets, band-shaped necklace, turban and ear-ornaments emerges from the flower. It holds a coiled-up garland in the raised right hand and a long-stemmed lotus flower in the left.
Traces of plaster.

Green schist, 12.7 x 16.5 cm.
Chipped especially on face, garland and lotus flower held by the figure. Broken on the right.

3) From Butkara I, Inv. no. 3328 (fig. 3).
Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2213.
A “metope” (bracket-spacer) showing a full-blown lotus flower with twelve petals in the visible row. A naked putto wearing only anklets is depicted on the flower, his right leg bent behind his left; left hand on hip, right hand raised to breast. Hair probably done in a chignon.
Rebates on both sides, at the back.
Green schist, 12.6 x 19 cm.
The figure is badly damaged; both hands and almost the whole of the head are lost; reconstructed from two fragments; left and right bottom corners are broken.

4) From Butkara I, Inv. no. 2432.4855 (fig. 4).
Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2384.
Fragment of a relief showing a full-blown lotus flower with two whorls of petals, both in two rows (sixteen petals were in the upper row of the outer whorl). A crouching naked putto is depicted in the inner corolla. He wears [366] only ear-pendants and anklets; both hands are brought to the breast.
A tenon below. Traces of plaster even on fractures.
Green schist, 26.5 x 21 cm.
Badly damaged on lotus flower and upper portion of figure; reconstructed from four fragments; broken on the right.

Reliefs 2 and 3 belong to the same bracket-and-metope frieze of a stūpa but reflect two different trends in the use of lotus flowers in Buddhist iconography. No. 2 shows an offering-bearer who emerges from the flower: he is probably a semi-divine being coming to the presence of the Enlightened One (symbolized by the stūpa itself) in a devotional mood. The naked putto of no. 3, on the contrary, does not participate in the worshipping of the Buddha; he is just a symbol to be understood independently of any “narrative” aspect of the stūpa’s decoration. The same applies to relief no. 4 and, of course, to the one that forms the main subject of our research (no. 1).

If we now take into consideration our relief no. 3, we feel inclined to identify its classical prototypes in a group of terracotta flowers in the centre of which small figures of Erotes are shown in
a sleeping attitude. They are variously dated within the limits of the Hellenistic period. It is unnecessary to remind here how the sleeping Eros was employed by the Romans as a symbolic representation of death. Indeed, we must rather think that both the Gandharan relief and the Hellenistic terracottas derive from one prototype or rather from one class of objects that have undergone a different process of iconographical adaptation. I refer to the representations of Horus or Harpocrates chiefly from Graeco-Roman Egypt: a comparison that appears even more convincing if we take our reliefs 3 and 4 not separately but as variants of the same subject.

Not only representations of Horus as a naked child (similar to our no. 3) are extremely common in Graeco-Roman Egypt, but there is one of them in the Alexandria Museum that appears as the exact western counterpart of the putto in the Butkara relief no. 4, from the point of view of both iconography and style.

Moreover, the impact of the Harpocrates iconography and its derivatives [367] on Gandharan imagery is not at all surprising

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5 E. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egiziane del Museo di Alessandria* (Monuments de l’Égypte gréco-romaine IIii), Bergamo 1934, p. 22, no. 53, pl. XXI, 88. For a very similar though fully Indianized version of this iconographic type, see a lotus medallion on a railing pillar from Bodhgaya: A. Cunningham, *Four Reports Made during the Years 1862-63-64-65* (ASI I), Simla 1871, pl. XI, top right.
when we recall the statuettes of Harpocrates from Begrām⁶ (fig. 5) and Sirkap⁷ or the gold ear-pendant and medallion brooch (fig. 6) from the latter site, both decorated with a naked Cupid in a lotus flower and dated by Marshall to the 1st cent. A.D.⁸

Facts are known and our reliefs from Swāt only provide us with a further confirmation of the close links relating Gandhāra to Alexandria; it is therefore unnecessary to insist on this universally accepted point. What is more interesting in connection with the iconographical analysis of our relief no. 1 is that also the model of that curious crouching figure is to be traced out in the same class of small Egyptian objects. Many naked figurines of Harpocrates on lotus flowers and in a crouching posture like that of the figure in our relief no. 1 are preserved in the Museums of Alexandria,⁹ Cairo,¹⁰ and Hildesheim;¹¹ another one, in the Alexandria Museum, shows the divine child in (not on) a sort of wreath or corolla made of lotus flowers;¹² iconically it is the most striking comparison for relief no. 1 from Butkara, the only difference in the general scheme being the fact that the figure is front view instead of being shown in profile as in the Swāt relief. Another piece in the Cairo Museum is also worth of mention: it is a bronze portable sanctuary in the shape of a lotus flower with mobile petals in the centre of which

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⁶ J. Hackin, Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bagram (MDAFA XI), Paris 1954, pp. 282 f., no. 153, fig. 322. On the dating of this and the other Begrām finds of Western origin, see the bibliography cited by F. Coarelli in EAA VI, s.v. "Romana, Arte" XI B.


⁹ Breccia, op. cit., II i, Bergamo 1930, p. 55, no. 265, pl. XVII, 6 and passim.

¹⁰ G. Daressy, Statues de divinités (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), Le Caire 1906, pp. 62 f., pl. XI, nos. 38219-38221 bis.

¹¹ G. Roeder, Ägyptische Bronzewerke (Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 3), Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1937, p. 18, no. 60, pl. 9c, d.

¹² Breccia, op. cit., II ii, p. 61, no. 444, pl. CXX, 700.
there is a small crouching Harpocrates. It is dated by Daressy to the Ptolemaic period.\footnote{Daressy, op. cit., pp. 63 f., pl. XI, no. 38222.}

If all these elements point towards a transference of cultural motifs from Egypt to Gandhāra,\footnote{Cf. S. Morenz and J. Schubert, Der Gott auf der Blume, Ascona 1954.} on the other hand one should not disregard the possibility that sometimes the same route was followed in a backward direction, as it seems to be the case with a figurine of Harpocrates seated in the "Buddha style"\footnote{"Alla Buddha": Breccia, op. cit., II, p. 26, no. 100. pl. XXIX, 134; see also P. Perdrizet, Bronzes grecs d'Egypte de la Collection Fouquet, Paris 1911, p. 46, pl. XX. An Indian influence on the Mediterranean world is after all well documented: J. Filliozat, Les relations extérieures de l'Inde I, Pondichéry 1956.} on a lotus flower.

Lastly, I would point out that the extremely simplified features of the figure in relief no. 1 seem to match with Plutarch's description of Harpocrates, "imperfect and premature" (ἄτελής καὶ νεώρος - De Iside 377c), "untimely born and weak in his lower limbs" (ἡμιτόμηνος καὶ ἀσθενής τῶς κάτωθεν γυνοὺς - ibid. 358e).\footnote{Cf. Daressy, op. cit., p. 48, no. 38156 bis ("Mauvais travail ptolémaïque") = Michaïlídis, op. cit., p. 79, pl. XII B: "Enfant né avant terme et faible des membres intérieurs".}

At any rate, it is a matter of course that any interpretation of the [368] figurine on the Butkara relief no. 1 as Harpocrates is to be rejected: the purely Buddhist context to which it belongs is sufficient warrant for excluding such a rough identification. Nevertheless the similarities are so precise that an iconographic derivation, as we have seen, must be accepted; and this derivation can be the reflection of nothing but of a conscious analogy of thought.

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Let us now try to explain the figurine on our relief no. 1, leaving for a moment aside its Egyptian prototypes.
Brahmā is the divine character in Indian religion that appears to be linked to popular belief less than any other deity, being rather the fruit of an abstract cosmological intuition than a personal god; a personification of an abstract principle that must be assumed as the necessary presupposition for the divine character itself. The place occupied by Brahmā in Hindu mythology is clearly explained by Kirfel with the following words: “Von den drei grossen Göttern ist Brahma die blasseste und unbedeutendste Figur [...]. Wie die Lexikographie richtig bemerkt, ist er ‘kein Volksgott’, sondern ‘ein Produkt der Spekulation’; denn die religionswissenschaftliche Erklärung sieht in ihm lediglich eine Personifizierung des neutralen Brahmā-Begriffes”.17

We may even say that the two aspects, religious and philosophical, of this principle coessential with the Universe – Brahma/brāhma – alternate to each other in Brahmanic literature. It is worth of note that in both cases its connection with the lotus flower is given a great prominence; on this Zimmer writes: “Brahmā is called in the literary tradition padma-ja, padma-jata (‘born of the lotus’) and padma-garbha, padma-yoni (‘whose mother’s womb was – or is – the lotus’). And as the creative aspect of the divine substance, he is fully entitled to the lotus seat; for as the first-born of the timeless waters, he is a masculine counterpart of Pādā. But he is also, according to the tradition of Brahmān philosophy and mythology, the highest being itself in its pure, spiritual, and transcendent nature; an anthropomorphic symbol of Brahmā, the essence of the universe, the cosmic, anonymous Self”.18

[369] In the upanishadic thought brahman (the Universal Spirit) is one and the same with ātman, the individual Self, and this being which is made of consciousness (viññāna-mayah purushah) rests in the

17 W. Kirfel, Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jainismus, Stuttgart 1959, pp. 40 f.
inner space of the heart, in the ether which is inside the heart;\textsuperscript{19} the heart itself (\textit{hrdaya}) is identified with \textit{brahman}.\textsuperscript{20}

But in the \textit{Upani\-sads} this philosophical intuition of \textit{brahman} / \textit{ātman} enclosed in the heart of every human being is also expressed with a very lively and colourful description. A passage of the \textit{Chāndogya-upaniṣad} (VIII i 1 ff.) tells us of a small lotus inside the body (\textit{brahmapura}, the city of \textit{brahman}), in which there is a small space (inside the heart), which is as wide as the space that can be embraced by our sight, \textit{i.e.} all-comprehensive. \textit{Ātman} (or \textit{brahman}) is imagined as a small being, not larger than a grain of rice or a thumb;\textsuperscript{21} in the symbolic language of the \textit{Śvetāsvatara-upaniṣad} (III 19 f.) it is handless and footless, it sees without eyes and hears without ears; the same \textit{upaniṣad} compares it to a spider in its nest (VI 10). Though motionless, it is the only one who is able to act;\textsuperscript{22} its state is one of rest (\textit{samprasāda}, a sort of complete appeasement of psychic \textit{dynamis}); in its purest form it is called the \textit{samprasāda}.\textsuperscript{23}

This provides sufficient ground, I believe, to recognize in the crouching figurine in the lotus flower of our relief no. 1, a visualization of a conception similar to the upanishadic one we have now expounded. The brahmanic hair-style and cloth, along with less common details such as the absence of hands, feet and ears, and the utter conventionalization of the eyes, co-operate to the formation of an image of Brahmā that could more exactly be labelled as an image of \textit{brahman}.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Brhad.-up.} II i 17; \textit{ibid.} II v 2; \textit{ibid.} IV iv 22; \textit{ibid.} V vi 1; \textit{Katha.-up.} II vi 17; \textit{Chānd.-up.} III xiv 2 f.; \textit{ibid.} VIII iii 3; \textit{Śvet.-up.} III 11; \textit{ibid.} III 13. For \textit{ātman} as a being made of consciousness, see Günther, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 52 ff. For a recent philosophical analysis of the concept of \textit{ātman}, see N.A. Nikam, \textit{Some Concepts of Indian Culture. A Philosophical Interpretation}, Simla 1967, pp. 63-76.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Brhad.-up.} VIII 1.

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{ibid.} V vi 1; \textit{Chānd.-up.} III xiv 2 f. \textit{Katha.-up.} II iv 12; \textit{ibid.} II vi 17; \textit{Śvet.-up.} III 13; \textit{ibid.} V 8 f.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Śvet.-up.} VI 12.


\textsuperscript{24} Cf. the hypothesis put forth by Bosch, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 109, who explains an icono-
Nevertheless, this explanation involves the identification of Brahmā/brahman with ātman: indeed, there would be no reason to represent Brahmā in this unusual form, were it not in order to indicate his peculiar nature of universal principle present in the space (lotus) inside the heart. And such a psychogram seems to contrast with the gnoseological and ontological fundamentals of Buddhism, as they are formulated in the theory of anātman.

The Buddha clearly rejects the existence of a personal principle similar [370] to the Self (ātman) of Brahmanism, as well as the idea of an eternal god and a creator. Personality, as any other thing in the world of māyā, is nothing but a composition of constituents (skandha), which are in their turn composed.

This doctrine was further developed by the later Buddhist philosophy, particularly by the Mādhyamika school and its founder Nāgārjuna (ca. 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.?). The Mādhyamikas hold therefore a position of almost complete nihilism that leads them to the theory of the unattainability of nirvāṇa, formulated by Nāgārjuna’s pupil Āryadeva. Obviously, a symbolic representation like that of the Butkara relief no. 1 would have very little chance of being conceived in an environment imbued with the thought of the Mādhyamikas.

But Mahāyāna Buddhism did not develop only along the rigorous line of the Mādhyamikas. Asanga (4th cent. A.D.) and his Yogācāra (or Vījñānavādin) followers – though they did not renounce the theory of unreality or emptiness (śūnyatā) they shared with the Mādhyamikas, as it is formulated in the various Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra – advanced less rigid solutions for the problem of per-

graphic phenomenon with "the doctrine of the Upanishads which contrasts the smallness of the Brahman as Ātman with the greatness of the Brahman as Soul of the Universe".

25 Satakasāstra IX: G. Tucci, "Le Cento Strofe' (Çataçāstra), Testo buddhistico mahāyāna tradotto dal cinese", in Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni I, 1925, pp. 181 ff. This article (pp. 66 ff.) should also be consulted for a correct understanding of the Mādhyamika thought. One should remember that for the Mādhyamikas the expression "this is" and its opposite "this is not" are both to be rejected: this school’s fundamental principle is indeed nirodha, i.e. neither yes nor no (cf. Tucci, ibid.). See also, for the non-ātman theory in Mahāyāna Buddhism, D.T. Suzuki, Studies in the Lankavatara Sūtra, London 1930, pp. 166 ff.
sonality, so that Asanga could be charged by the Mādhyamikas with having taken back to life the concept of ātman and introduced the monism of the Upaniṣads into Buddhism.

As far as our present research is concerned, the most interesting theory of the Yogācāras is the one dealing with the tathāgatagarbha, the "womb" or embryo of the Tathāgata (Buddha), that is also called – with a bold expression – the ātman of the Buddhas and identified with the subtlest of the Buddha’s three bodies, the dharmaṃkāya. This tathāgatagarbha is present at the bottom of each being and cannot but remind us of that identification of ātman and brahmaṇa we find in the Upaniṣads. It is the hidden gem of which speaks the Lankāvatāra, the bodhicitta, our interior reality, a λόγος σχερματικός to be eventually re-attained.

Mahāyāna Buddhism has therefore in itself many elements anticipating the soterology of Vajrayāna, but even early Buddhism bears the germ of a development in a soteriological direction, as it is shown by the promise of the coming of the Buddha Maitreya (Pāli: Metteyyo). At the same time, Mahāyāna employs the symbolism of the lotus, the flower [371] of eternity, that – in the religious thought of India – is not only the representation of universe but also a psychic diagram; e.g., according to a Jain text, the Tattvārtha-

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26. The whole question is clearly summarized by A. Barœau in Les religions de l’Inde, III (Les Religions de l’Humanité), Paris 1966, pp. 180-97. Many attempts were made to give a justification to this apparent paradox of Mahayanism; among these we recall the ample discussion in the Lankāvatārasūtra, which "is quite anxious to have us realise that the theory of non-ego does not conflict with that of the Tathāgata’s Womb (tathāgatagarbha), of which mention is made in various connections" (Suzuki, op. cit., p. 137). On the concept of tathāgatagarbha, see J. Takasaki, A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra), Being a Treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha Theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism (SOR XXXIII), Roma 1966; D.S. Ruegg, La théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Goitra (Publications de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient LXX), Paris 1969; G. Tucci in G. Tucci and W. Heissig, Die Religionen Tibet und der Mongolei (Die Religionen der Menschheit 20), Stuttgart etc. 1970, especially pp. 84 ff.

27. For a critique of the hypotheses connecting Indian thought (especially the Upaniṣads) with Western Gnosis, see C. Pensa, Problemi di storia delle religioni indiane (mimeographed), a lecture delivered at the Meeting of the Società Italiana di Storia delle Religioni, Rome 1969.


29. Cakkavattī Sīhabādu Suttaṃa (Dīgha-nikāya XXVI 25 ff.).
sāradīpika,

the meditator must imagine himself as seated on a throne placed on a lotus flower with a thousand petals, as large as the Jambudvīpa, emerging from a huge ocean of milk. We must now recall to the reader’s mind the fact that, according to the tradition, the two Yogācāra masters of the Law Asanga and Vasubandhu (born c. 320 A.D.) were brahmans from Puruṣapura (Peshawar),

that Uḍḍiyāna (Swat) was to become one of the strongholds of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and that it may be considered, up to a certain extent, as the cradle of Tantrism.

It is therefore a place where we can easily expect to find such a religious syncretism that may naturally match with Asanga’s and Vasubandhu’s philosophical eclecticism.

It is almost a matter of course that we cannot reasonably believe that the concept of tathāgatagarbha as it is expounded in the philosophical treatises has directly given birth to a representation like the one on the Butkara relief; nevertheless we must point out that the problem of ātman is constantly brought back into discussion whenever the tathāgatagarbha doctrine is put forth.

On the other hand it is also true that there are some Buddhist sects that openly postulate the existence of an homuncule inside us. This is the case with the avakta tāva pudgala ("undefinable individual") of the Saṃmatīyas, a Hinayāna sect issued from the stem of the Vaipāsaṇīyas, whose individualist doctrine (puḍgaḷavādīna) distinguishes them from the other Buddhists and relates them to Brahmanism. Though we have no evidence of its presence in the Northwest, the Saṃmatīya sect was very vital in many parts of India from the 4th to the 7th cent. A.D., the earliest traces of its existence dating back to the 2nd cent. A.D.

Quoted by Tucci, Teovia..., cit., p. 50.

E. Frauwallner, On the Date of the Budhish Master of the Law Vasubandhu (SOR III), Roma 1951.


A. Barea, Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule (Publications de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient XXXVIII), Saigon 1955, pp. 114-29; É. Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme indien (Bibliothèque du Muséon 43), Louvain 1958, pp. 673-75; Ruegg, op. cit., passim. In spite of the fact that a unanimous tradition links the Gubyasamādhi to
tiyas or some other offspring of the Vatsiputriyas influenced Buddhism in Swāt at an early date.

At any rate, the Butkara relief is at the same time the representation of a "deity", according to the more familiar symbolic use of the lotus flower, which is nothing but a mandala; as A. Rošu writes, "Le mandala, qui est essentiellement un diagramme cosmique constituant le cadre des divinités et de leurs emblèmes, est construit sur le principe du lotus. Tant les [372] anticques diagrammes cosmiques chinois que les mandala indiens ou tibétains sont dominés par la 'fleur de l'éternité', qui abrite dans son coeur la divinité cosmique ou son symbole. La structure lotiforme revêt des aspects différents. Ainsi, dans le premier type de diagramme de Touen-Houang, le monde cruciforme a dans son centre un lotus à huit pétales, au milieu duquel s'inscrit le symbole littéral du Buddha – le caractère Fo, et est entouré de quatre portes orientées d'après les quatre points cardinaux. Dans un yantra de la lune, la divinité est adorée au milieu des étamines de la fleur de lotus, dont les pétales, au nombre de huit, portent à leurs extrémités les planètes, entre lesquelles veillent les gardiens célestes. Le lotus mystique des Upanisad, qui est une fleur aux pétales orientés, devient dans le schéma ésotérique une image du Grand Tout, que la divinité primordiale domine de son centre [...]. Le lotus cosmique du mandala, dont le coeur représente l'Absolu, l'Être pur, offre à la divinité un véritable padmāśana. Ce dernier équivaut au support végétal de Brahmā padmayoni du drame cosmique dont le protagoniste est le 'Seigneur de Māya'. En sa fonction de démiurge, Brahmā padmāja annonce le Buddha padmāśana16 représenté au centre du mandala,

Swāt, I do not dare to connect this text with the Butkara relief because of its uncertain date (cf. G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Roma 1949, pp. 212 ff.; Barea, in Les religions de l'Inde, cit., p. 205). According to the Gubyasamāja, when the mysis in his meditation is at one time spectator and actor of the supreme consecration and the Buddhas come into him from all the points of universe and from him again emanate the boundless mandala covering the space infinite, then the vidyāpurusa issues from the lotus of the heart (cf. Tucci, Teorìa..., cit., pp. 110 ff.).

33 A. Rošu, "Pūrṇaghaṭa et le symbolisme du lotus dans l'Inde", in ArtAs VIII, 1961, pp. 179 ff.
qui s’inscrit ainsi dans l’évolution de l’image cosmique du lotus théophore”.

The deity seated at the centre of a lotus flower is an extremely common device in India and this is not the right place to list examples of such a representation. It is nevertheless useful to take into account this relief (fig. 7) from the Italian excavations in Swât:

From Saidu Sharif I, Inv. no. S 1021.
Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 4224.
Fragment of a relief depicting the adoration of the *triratna*. Two worshippers on the left, the one in the foreground kneeling and wearing an embroidered monastic cloak, the other standing (presumably Vajrapāni) and covered with an animal skin that leaves his right shoulder bare. The *triratna*, on the right, is composed of a lotus flower with two rows of petals (twelve in the upper row), in the centre of which there is a Buddha in *dhyānamudrā*, and of a pelta-like element decorated with a flat foliate device.
A fillet below.
Green schist, 25.5 x 22.5 cm.
Much corroded; broken on top, to the right and at the bottom left corner.

[373] Now, Siddhārtha’s First Sermon may be depicted in Gandharan art according to various patterns: usually the Buddha is seated on the throne and touches with his right hand the *dhammacakrā* (the wheel of the Law), that is either free-standing or supported by the *triratna* (the symbol of the Three Jewels), in other reliefs the same scene is represented aniconically by the *triratna* alone, that is sufficient to evoke both the event and its protagonist. Besides these there are other, though rare, cases in which the Buddha is standing by the *triratna* (in a relief seen in the antiquarian market at Karachi; present location unknown – fig. 8) or standing by the *triratna* and with his right hand resting on a

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37 *E.g., Sculptures Bakara I*, pt. 2, pl. LIVa. A variant of the same scheme shows the Buddha performing a gesture different from that of touching the wheel: *e.g.,* Indian Museum, Calcutta: *AGBG*, I, p. 433, fig. 220; Marshall, *The Buddhist Art...*, *cit.*, pp. 90 f., fig. 117; Lahore Museum: *GAP*, no. 76.
38 *E.g., GAP*, nos. 75, 77.
cakra (in an unpublished relief from Swät) (fig. 9), or even standing with right hand on cakra as in the preceding relief, but with no triratna (in a relief in a private collection).

Thus the Buddha image is not excluded from Gandharan reliefs by the use of the triratna symbol, though this might make it unnecessary, as we have seen.

In the case of the relief from Saidu Sharif (fig. 7), we may safely reject the hypothesis that the Enlightened One was also depicted as dbarmacakra-pravartaka, i.e. with his right hand on the cakra, because the edge of the relief, preserved on the left, is sure witness of the fact that here the triratna alone symbolizes the scene: indeed, there would be no place for an image of the Buddha on top, since in such a case it would necessarily have been of large size, even larger than the relief itself, and disproportionate with regard to the figures (a monk and Vajrapāṇi) visible to the left; nor is it possible that the Buddha was standing on the right, as in the reliefs of figs. 8 and 9, because there would be no place left for the other figures that are usually represented in this scene. It is also likely that the pelta-shaped element constituting the triratna was not crowned by any other element and that the symbol is complete as we see it now.

Therefore, the meditating figure inside the lotus flower is not only a reminder of the First Sermon, but also the buddhatva, the true nature of all the Buddhas, revealing itself through Siddhārtha in that tremendously important moment of the history of mankind. And if in the Saidu [374] relief the buddhatva is depicted in its full realization, in the form of a Buddha, relief no. 1 from Butkara shows it as an embryo in its potentiality. Let us now see whether it is possible to say something more about Brahmā in Gandharan Buddhist iconography in order to better clarify the meaning of our relief no. 1.

We shall first consider the representations of brahmans, who

40 Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan Inv. no. V 461 (from Barikot) = Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome, Inv. no. 4724.
41 M. Taddei, “An Interesting Relief from the Swat Valley”, in EW XVI, 1966 [in this volume. - Eds.], p. 86, fig. 5.
have a place of distinction among the characters that more frequently appear in Gandharan Buddhist reliefs. Buddhism had very often a censorious attitude towards brahmans, an attitude that is sometimes evident also in figural representations, as in a relief from Butkara I in which G. Tucci has recognized a “caricature of a brahman, most probably the representative of a type similar to the vidūṣaka”. Notwithstanding this frequent burlesque attitude, brahmans – and especially brahmanic ascetics – are considered favourably in Gandharan iconography: a brahman interprets Māyā’s dream, a brahman explains the horoscope of Siddhārtha, a brahman leads Yaśodhāra to her spouse, and so on.

After all, it is in the Dhammapada itself that one reads these words of praise and disdain at one time – disdain towards those who are brahmans only by birth, praise for those who have attained true brahmanhood by putting evil aside:

na jaṭāhi na gottena na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo
yamhi saccam ca dhammo ca, so sukhi, so ca brāhmaṇo//
kīm te jaṭāhi dummedha kīm te ajīnasāṭhya?
abhantaram te gahanam bāhīram parimajjasī.

(“Not by matted hair, not by lineage, not by caste does one become a Brahmin. He is a Brahmin in whom there are truth and righteousness. He is blessed. What is the use of matted hair, O fool, what of the raiment of goat-skins? Thine inward nature is full of wickedness; the outside thou makest clean”).

A strain of “social” polemic is as clearly felt here as in other analogous passages of the Pāli Canon where attack is seldom kept within the [375] boundaries of theoretical controversy (cf. e.g. the Brahmajālasutta of the Dīghanikāya).

Brahmans are very often, when in the presence of sovereigns or, a fortiori, of Siddhārtha, in a position of respectful subordina-

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42 A brief but clear discussion of the attitude towards brahmans, chiefly in literature – not only Buddhist – is to be found in A.L. Basham, The Wonder that Was India, London 1956, pp. 140 f.


tion; but also among brahmans there may be a hierarchy, so that the novice can be easily distinguished from the old ascetic.

I believe that Gandharan artists intended to express with a clearly comprehensible mark this position of subordination and deference: young ascetics are indeed often represented with right hand brought to shoulder and palm inwards, a gesture that can only be explained, in my opinion, as an attitude of deference; the same is sometimes true of the old ascetics. Many examples could be cited but it would be pointless to give a list of them here; I shall therefore limit myself to few reliefs, while seizing the opportunity of publishing a few otherwise unknown pieces:

A 1) Taxila Museum, no. 26; from Sirkap. Unidentified jātaka (?). The ascetic in the middle has his right hand brought to his shoulder. The meaning of the scene is unknown but it is clear that all of the five ascetics in the background look at the personage hanging upside down with the greatest deference.

A 2) Trieste, Museo Civico, Inv. no. 3549; from Pānre (Swāt). Fragment of a lunette-shaped relief showing three ascetics (fig. 11). The one standing has his right hand against his shoulder; at the centre of the composition there was probably represented the Buddha, at whom the two ascetics were looking.

A 3) Calcutta, Indian Museum, no. 5041. The explanation of Siddhārtha’s horoscope (fig. 10). A young ascetic standing on the left performs the same gesture as above.

A 4) Location unknown; seen in the antiquarian market at Karachi. Yaśodhārā being introduced to Siddhārtha (fig. 12). The young ascetic standing on the right performs the same gesture as above.


46 Unpublished (15 x 13 cm.); photo of the Museo Civico, Trieste. This Museum possesses a collection of about thirty pieces of Gandharan art, all from the Swāt Valley, donated by the Italian Expedition to Karakorum 1955, in 1956.

47 Indian Museum photo, Neg. no. 1298.

48 Photograph in the archives of the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome, Gandhāra 901.
Fig. 1 - Gandharan relief from Butkara I (Swat). Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2383. (Photo of the Museum).

Fig. 2 - Gandharan relief from Butkara I (Swat). Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2052. (Photo F. Bonardi).
Fig. 3 - Gandharan relief from Butkara I. Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2213. (Photo F. Bonardi).
Fig. 4 - Gandharan relief from Butkara I. Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2384. (Photo F. Bonardi).

Fig. 5 - Bronze statuette of Harpocrates from Begram. Kabul Museum. (Photo J. Powell).
Fig. 6 - Gold medallion brooch from Sirkap (Taxila).

Fig. 7 - Gandharan relief from Saidu Sharif I (Swat) showing adoration of *triratna*. Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 4224. (Photo F. Bonardi).

Fig. 8 - Gandharan relief showing adoration of *triratna*. Location unknown.
Fig. 9 - Gandharan relief from Swât showing Buddha and triratna. Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 4724. (Photo F. Bonardì).

Fig. 10 - Gandharan relief depicting the explanation of Siddhartha’s horoscope. Calcutta, Indian Museum, Acc. no. 5041. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 11 - Gandharan relief from Panjik (Swat) with three ascetics. Trieste, Museo Civico. Inv. no. 3549. (Photo of the Museum).

Fig. 12 - Gandharan relief with Yasodharā being introduced to Siddhārtha, Calcutta. Location unknown.

Fig. 15 - Gandharan relief (stucco) showing the birth of Siddhārtha. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Acc. no. 1935.24.
(Courtesy, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.)
Fig. 16 - Gandharan relief showing the birth of Siddhārtha. Location unknown.

Fig. 17 - Gandharan relief showing the Buddha between two Bodhisattvas. Seattle Art Museum, Inv. no. 11.21; Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 18 - Gandharan relief showing the Buddhas of the past and Maitreya. Rome, private collection. (Photo Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome).

Fig. 19 - Fragment of a Gandharan relief with the Buddhas of the past and Maitreya. Brooklyn Museum, Acc. no. 27.64. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 20 - Gandharan relief showing the Buddha between two Bodhisattvas. London, British Museum, Inv. no. 1958, 5-14, O1. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 21 - Standing Maitreya from Gandhāra. Calcutta, Indian Museum, Acc. no. N. S. 3920. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 22 - Standing Maitreya from Peshawar District. Madras, Government Museum. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 23 - Standing Maitreya from Gandhara. Karachi, National Museum of Pakistan. (Photo M. Taddei).
Fig. 24 - Fragment of a Gandharan relief from Butkara I with seated Maitreya. Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2470. (Photo F. Bonardi).

Fig. 25 - Fragment of a Gandharan relief from Butkara I showing a Buddha and a Bodhisattva seated among worshippers. Saidu Sharif, Archaeological Museum. (Photo F. Bonardi).
Fig. 26 - Gandharan relief from Butkara I showing an erotic scene and a standing Buddha. Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 1163. (Photo F. Bonardi).
Fig. 27 - Gandharan relief with a standing Buddha. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, Cat. no. IC 3389. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 28 - Gandharan relief showing seated Buddha and devotees. Calcutta, Indian Museum, Acc. no. 5107. (Photo of the Museum).
Fig. 29 - Pedestal from Shotorak decorated with Maitreya and devotees. Kabul Museum. (Photo F. Bonardi).

Fig. 30 - Gandharan relief from Shotorak showing seated Maitreya. Kabul Museum. (Photo F. Bonardi).
Fig. 31 - Gandharan relief from Peshawar District showing seated Maitreya. Madras, Government Museum, no. 95-38. (Photo of the Museum).
Other examples I have already cited, still others will be easily found: in the Peshawar Museum, in the Lahore Museum, in the Gai [376] Collection, Peshawar, etc. I know only one case in which this gesture is performed by a personage who does not seem to have any obvious connection with the brahmanic caste: it is a naked male figure in relief no. D.G. 29 in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

But even the god Brahmā himself, whose attire is the same as that of the brahmans, is often represented with the palm of his right hand against his shoulder, in an attitude of respect towards Siddhārtha, both before and after the Enlightenment. In this case, I dare to give a list that, though certainly not complete, aims at being largely comprehensive:

B 1) Peshawar Museum, no. 127; from Sahri Bahlol.
   The birth of Siddhārtha.

B 2) Peshawar Museum, no. 1527; from Sahri Bahlol.
   The miracle of Śrāvasti.

   The miracle of Śrāvasti (figs. 13, 14).

99 Taddei, "An Ekaṃukhaliṇga...", cit., p. 299, note 71; Id., in Sculptures Butkara I, pt. 3, pl. CDXLIX.
50 Nos. 1541 and 1549: GAP, nos. 20, 86.
51 Nos. 101 and 2062: GAP, nos. 21, 22.
52 GAP, no. 431.
53 Subject not identified; the Museum's label reads as follows: "The scene illustrates the shaven-headed five wanderers who had been the Buddha's disciples before His Enlightenment and to whom later on the Buddha preached the First Sermon?". For a relief in which this gesture is performed with left hand by a turbaned male figure, see S.A. Shere, Catalogue of Buddhist Sculptures in Patna Museum, Patna 1957, p. 5, pl. IV, a "Birth of Siddhārtha" in which the god Brahmā himself wears a turban. For Central Asia, cf. the figure of a monk in a painting from Subāshi (Mission Paul Pelliot): J. Hackin, Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale (1931), Paris 1936, pl. XIX.
54 GAP, no. 13.
ON GANDHĀRA

B 4) Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Acc. no. 1935.24.\[37\]
The birth of Siddhārtha (stucco) (fig. 15).

B 5) Location unknown; seen in the antiquarian market at Karachi.\[38\]
The birth of Siddhārtha (fig. 16).

B 6) Peshawar Museum, no. 158; from Sahri Bahlool.\[39\]
The preaching Buddha on a lotus throne (The miracle of Śrāvasti).

The latter relief is particularly relevant because it shows both Brahmā and Maitreya performing the same gesture with the right hand (palm against shoulder); the same is probably true of relief B 2, but Maitreya’s right hand has not survived there.

Let us now examine a list of Gandharan reliefs in which the gesture of raising the right hand to the shoulder with palm turned inwards is performed by Bodhisattvas: [377]

C 1) = B 6.

C 2) Seattle Art Museum, Inv. no. 11.21.\[40\]
The Buddha between two Bodhisattvas. Maitreya on the left shows right hand with palm towards himself and fingers slightly closed; loop-like arrangement of hair (fig. 17).

C 3) Rome, Collection of Mr Asif Sultan.
The Buddhas of the past and Maitreya. The latter has right hand with palm towards his shoulder; hair-style as in the preceding relief (fig. 18).

C 4) Brooklyn Museum, Acc. no. 27.64.
Fragment of a relief showing the Buddhas of the past and Maitreya. The latter is portrayed as in the preceding relief (fig. 19).

\[37\] Fogg Museum Bulletin V, 2, pp. 24-27; it was exhibited at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1960 and at the Asia Society, 1960 (informations kindly supplied by Miss Eliza Mason, Fogg Art Museum, 1965).

\[38\] Photograph of the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome, Neg. no. R. 1375.

\[39\] GAP, pp. 120 f., no. 254.

\[40\] The piece has been in several exhibitions for which catalogues have been prepared: Los Angeles County Museum, Art of Greater India, 1950, catalogue, no. 17, p. 16 and figure; Seattle Art Museum, Handbook, 1951, p. 26; Kranmer Art Museum, University of Illinois, Art of India and Southeast Asia, 1964, catalogue, no. 28, p. 25 and figure (informations kindly supplied by Lucretia Hoover, Seattle Art Museum, 1965).
HARPOCRATES - BRAHMĀ - MAITREYA

C.5) Lahore Museum, no. 1967.61
Seated Maitreya. Hair-style and gesture of right hand as in the preceding relief.

C.6) British Museum, no. 1958, 5-14, 01.
Buddha between two Bodhisattvas. The one on the right is Maitreya whose right hand has palm turned towards his shoulder; his hair is done in a double loop with pear-shaped ornament in the centre (fig. 20).

C.7) Calcutta, Indian Museum, Acc. no. N.S. 3920.62
Standing Maitreya. Hair-arrangement and pear-shaped ornament as in the preceding relief (fig. 21).

C.8) Madras, Government Museum; from Peshawar District.
Standing Maitreya. Loop-like hair-arrangement; left hand holding flask (fig. 22).

C.9) Karachi, National Museum of Pakistan.63
Standing Maitreya. Loop-like arrangement of hair; left hand holding flask (fig. 23).

C.10) Lahore Museum, no. 1211.64
A Bodhisattva among worshippers. Identified as Siddhārtha by Foucher,65 but presumably Maitreya, though his hair-arrangement is none of those peculiar to this Bodhisattva that we have already seen (but see infra).

C.11) Saidu Sharif, Archaeological Museum; from Butkara I.66
A Buddha and a Bodhisattva seated among worshippers. The Bodhisattva’s hair-arrangement is worn out, but it seems to be of the double-loop type (fig. 25). [378]

C.12) Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 2470; from Butkara I.67
Seated Maitreya. Flask in left hand. Headless (fig. 24).

With the only exception of relief C.11, the identification of which is doubtful, all the Bodhisattva figures listed above may be

61 GAP, no. 300.
62 Indian Museum photo, Neg. no. 133/59.
63 Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan, cit., no. 38, fig. 1.
64 GAP, no. 285.
65 AGBG, II, pp. 88 f., fig. 348 and p. 838.
66 Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, Inv. no. 6876.
67 Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, Inv. no. 3404.
labelled as images of Maitreya. And this confirms the close link existing between Brahmā and the brahmanic caste, on one side, and the Buddha-to-be on the other; a link that has been pointed out by several scholars, first of all Foucher,68 so that it is not necessary to discuss it in its already known details.69

If the gesture of the right hand raised to the shoulder with palm turned inwards is peculiar to the Bodhisattva Maitreya, this also provides us with a sure clue to the identification of Maitreya as an accomplished Buddha in some very rare Gandhāra images:

D 1) Rome, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Inv. no. 1163; from Butkara I.70
Standing Buddha (fig. 26).

D 2) Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, Cat. no. IC 33389.71
Standing Buddha (fig. 27).

D 3) Calcutta, Indian Museum, Acc. no. 5107.72
Buddha seated with crossed legs and devotees (fig. 28).

Relief D 3 is of great importance because, besides the gesture of the right hand, also the posture of the legs suggests the identification of this Buddha with Maitreya, as it will be better seen below.

68 AGBG, II, p. 232. Not all theories on this subject are to be accepted. Some of them are sheer oversimplifications of a naturally complicate problem; see e.g. J.Ph. Vogel, in J. Marshall et alii, The Bagh Caves in the Gujrat State, London 1927, p. 36: “It is […] perfectly plausible that the figure of Brahmā has developed into the priestly personage in whom we have recognized Maitreya, and that Śakra the ancient chief of the Devas, finally became the princely figure known among the Buddhists as Avalokitesvara” (italics mine).


70 Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, Inv. no. 3215: Sculptures Butkara I, pt. 2, pl. CCLXXXIX.

71 Museum für Völkerkunde, Neg. no. B 2050.

Let us now take into consideration a group of reliefs (from Shotorak and Taxila) in which a seated Bodhisattva with chignon in the shape of a double knot and a flask in his left hand is shown in abhayamudrā between two devas. I have already discussed the interpretations suggested for these reliefs and rejected both the one which was put forward by Scherman (and accepted by Meunié and Hargreaves) and the more reasonable one advanced by Marshall.\(^{73}\)

In my opinion, the Bodhisattva represented on these reliefs is none [379] but Maitreya in the Tuṣita Heaven. Rosenfield\(^{74}\) gives an interpretation similar to mine, though independently of me,\(^{75}\) and discusses also two other reliefs from Shotorak (fig. 30), following a suggestion of Soper.\(^{76}\) These two pedestals show a Bodhisattva seated with legs crossed at the ankles, hands in dharmacakramudrā and hair done in a chignon parted in the middle, quite similar to the hair-arrangement we have noticed in the Lahore relief no. 1211 (C 10).

If also these Shotorak reliefs represent Maitreya, as it seems to be almost certain, we may safely assume that Maitreya’s iconography includes such a characteristic as the posture of the legs crossed in that peculiar way\(^{77}\) (cf. the Calcutta relief no. 5107 – D 3 in our list –, and relief no. 95/38 in the Government Museum, Madras, from Peshawar District – fig. 31).\(^{8}\) Soper observes that this posture is associated with Maitreya all the way across Central Asia and China, and believes “it no coincidence that a similar pose was assigned at the same period to seated representations of the Sasanian king”, since “Afghanistan was probably a Persian march

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\(^{73}\) Taddei, “An Ekamukhaliṅga…”, cit., p. 299, note 71.


\(^{75}\) Rosenfield’s manuscript was completed in February, 1962 (*ibid.*, p. xviii).


\(^{77}\) Soper, *loc. cit.*: “In the sculpture of Southeastern Afghanistan, Maitreya is further identified by a special seated posture (which thereafter is associated with Him all the way across Central Asia to China). The knees are widely separated, as in the traditional Buddha pose; but the lower legs, instead of being tightly folded against each other, are allowed to hang down on diagonal lines, crossing at the ankles. The feet are supported by a stool”.

\(^{8}\) See the author’s comment on this figure on p. 272, n. 2, in this volume [Eds.].
at the period when these sculptures were executed". Though a connection between the iconography of Maitreya and that of the Sasanian kings is not to be discarded, the problem to be faced is, in my opinion, rather more complicated, because, even if Maitreya very often shows a posture which makes him closely resemble such images as those we see in Sasanian and Kushan royal representations, this may well be due to a secondary assimilation of an early iconography of classical origin to a different conceptual pattern. Moreover, it is also possible that the iconography of the Sasanian king partially depends on that of the Kushans.

But first of all we should point out that other representations of Maitreya with similar iconographic characteristics have very little regal about them: such is the case, for instance, with the Calcutta relief no. 5107 (D 3) and another pedestal from Shotorak showing a fleshy Maitreya seated with legs crossed at the ankles and hands in dharmacakramudrā (fig. 29). Now, frankly speaking, I think that this plump and boyish image of Maitreya shows many more similarities with some [380] Graeco-Egyptian figurines of Harpocrates than with any Iranian or Kushan princely image.

The similarity is also clear between this Maitreya and the

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80 J. Meunier, Shotorak (MDAFA X), Paris 1942, pl. XII, no. 42, p. 53. Now in the Kabul Museum.

81 See, for instance, a mould representing Harpocrates seated with knees wide apart, feet touching each other, right hand raised to mouth, head-gear including pskhent and lotus buds: C.C. Edgar, Greek Moulds (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire), Le Caire 1903, pp. 18 f., no. 32064, pl. XXVI.
naked child in a lotus flower on our relief no. 4 from Butkara (fig. 4), the only relevant difference being the clothes worn by Maitreya and the "regularization" of his leg posture.

This is not surprising after all, if we take into account the conceptual similarities existing between Harpocrates and Maitreya, some of them reflected by their respective iconographies. The lunar character of Harpocrates is depicted, e.g., in a statuette in the Toulouse Museum, cited by Lafay: "Le dieu est vêtu d'une courte tunique et il porte au-dessus du front, non une fleur de lotus, mais un croissant," the lunar symbolism in Buddhism and its connections with Maitreya and Maitreya's iconography have been diffusely expounded by Bussagli. Harpocrates is also the "successor" of the Sun God, in the same way as Maitreya is the successor of the Buddha, whose solar symbolism is well known.

To such similarities, that are not surprising if we consider them in the context of the cultural contacts between India and the West, others should be added which seem to involve only iconography — i.e., with no specific conceptual correspondence —, though the resemblance cannot be taken as merely casual. Such is the case with the vase held by Harpocrates which is also often represented in figurines of the god as a seated child or with the peculiar gesture of raising the right hand to the chin or to the mouth in

82 G. Lafay, Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie... hors de l'Égypte... (BEFAR XXXIII), Paris 1884, p. 283, no. 66.
83 Bussagli, op. cit. I only suggest that a comparison with some female figurines from Central Asia with a clear lunar character, might lead to useful conclusions: see G.A. Pugachenkova, "Margianskaja boginja", in SA XXIX-XXX, 1959, pp. 119-40, especially pp. 136 ff. for the religious meaning of these figurines, and figs. 5.2, 9.1 for some possible comparisions with Maitreya raising his right hand to shoulder height: cf. also, for the peculiarities of Hellenistic influence on terracotta figurines from Margiana, V.A. Meshkeris, "Sogdishkaja shkola koroplastiki v kushanskiju epohu", in Izvestitia otdelenija obshchestvennyh nauk AN Tadzbikskoj SSR 1968, 2 (52), pp. 18 f.
86 Erman, loc. cit. See, e.g., W. Weber, Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten (Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung II), Berlin 1914, p. 97, no. 120, pl. 12.
87 E.g., P. Perdrivet, Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la Collection Fouquet, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg 1921, pls. XXI ff., XXX.
Harpocrates’ images,\textsuperscript{88} to be compared with the analogous gesture of putting the right hand against the shoulder, already discussed with regard to Maitreya. Sometimes Harpocrates’ right hand is raised to his shoulder in a gesture that is very close to abhayamudrā or even to the pose of Maitreya with palm inwards.\textsuperscript{89}

At any rate, the most striking comparison, whatever may it mean from a conceptual point of view, can be established between Harpocrates’ and Maitreya’s hair-arrangements. The former’s includes the pskhent between two lotus buds, while the latter’s often consists – as we have seen – of a double loop-shaped chignon in the centre of which there appears a \textsuperscript{381} pear-shaped jewel (a stūpa in later iconography)\textsuperscript{90} which is very similar to the Egyptian pskhent and may well be derived from it (figs. 20, 21).

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The material I have rather cumbersomely collected in the preceding pages and my attempt to give it an order will certainly appear inadequate to even outline a serious exposition of the many problems I have touched upon. I only hope to have shown with the necessary clarity one of the aspects of the Buddhist thought in Udāiyana in the first centuries of our era, as it can be grasped through a careful reading of contemporary Gandharan iconography.

Even if the work of comparison between iconographic data and religion as it is known through canonical and philosophical texts easily leads to a misunderstanding of the actual cultural environ-

\textsuperscript{88} E.g., Edgar, \textit{op. cit.}, \textit{loc. cit.}; Perdrizet, \textit{Les terres cuites...}, \textit{cit.}, \textit{loc. cit.}; H. Schäfer \textit{et alii, Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten} (Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung I), Berlin 1910, p. 83, no. 139, pl. 19; Weber, \textit{op. cit.}, pls. 4 ff.; etc.

\textsuperscript{89} Weber, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 80, nos. 42-43, pl. 4.

\textsuperscript{90} B. Bhattacharyya, \textit{The Indian Buddhist Iconography}, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1958, p. 80. Even China yields examples of Bodhisattva images with pskhent-like head-dress, but I do not know whether this can be taken as a distinguishing feature of Maitreya’s iconography; see, \textit{e.g.}, A. Lommel, \textit{Buddhistische Kunst} (Katalog zur Ausstellung des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde, München), München 1968, p. 139, no. 275, fig. 33 on p. 57 (10th cent. A.D.; “wahrscheinlich Kuan-yin”).
ment in which those facts took place, I believe that we are not allowed to neglect such a work, but we must consider it and treat it as a preliminary one. When I speak of religious sects or schools such as the Mādhyamika or the Yogācāra, it is obvious that I consider them as "trends" and leave aside all specifically philosophical aspects: these are of course to be taken into account per se but it would be quite useless to look for a direct link between them and any iconographic phenomenon. If we look at facts from this particular point of view, any objection to my suggestion of recognizing a visualization of brahman in the crouching figurine of Butkara will appear as pointless whenever criticism is based on obvious discrepancies with regard to the logically perfect constructions of philosophical treatises and disputes.

Religion (or religiosity) as reconstructed through iconography compels us to use well known terms of philosophic description in a sense which is sometimes different, though this difference is to be accounted for (and the use justified) by recollecting that a sort of dialectical relation exists between the two levels of religious thought, the philosophical and the popular; I would say that both uses of one term are to be considered as only approximately correct if our aim is a reconstruction of religiosity [382] as a whole, with all its social, economic and political implications in a particular moment in the history of a country.  

In this connection, several questions arise. The most interesting is probably the one referring to the meaning of Western influence in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra. We cannot of course content ourselves with a bare description of convergency or derivation phenomena in iconography and style. Nor can we accept facts as mere links of a chain of stylistic evolution under the impact of a foreign artistic culture: this would amount to admitting that Gandhāra was either a sort of cultural vacuum into which anything could be poured (just for the look of the things) or a Hellenized province the inhabitants of which — though Buddhists! — regarded the Me-
dilettante countries as their fatherland. In my opinion, Gandharan sculpture is to be considered as the art of few social groups that needed a foreign model enabling them to distinguish themselves from the majority of the population. Bactrian and Indo-Greek tradition (i.e., the heritage of former leading classes) certainly provided a useful ground but it would have been swept away were it not forcibly retained in the interest of some political (and cultural) élite. Though the particular subject of this article cannot be taken as a starting point for a research in this direction, I believe that only a fairly complete comparative analysis of iconographic motifs can enable us to face the whole problem of Gandharan art. Its dynastic component has already been enucleated (Rosenfield’s recent book is the most important contribution to the understanding of this aspect); much is still to be said about the people (I mean, the social groups) to whom most of the thousands of stūpas with sculptural decoration owe their very existence in Gandhāra.

I only want to suggest an interesting topic for further research. If we assume that Brahmā represents the potentiality of Buddhism, as it appears from what I have said in the preceding pages, i.e. gotra (“germ”) as abudha but also bodhya, “capable of getting bodhi”, 12 we are perhaps allowed to believe that Brahmā’s partner in Gandharan iconography, the god Indra or Śakra, the holder of the thunderbolt (vajra), represents the manifested Buddhisthood. This may be the reason for the two devas being [383] present at the Buddha’s main achievement: even the new-born Siddhārtha is received by Śakra and Brahmā in Gandharan reliefs, not in the other Indian representations of the same subject.

We have also seen that Maitreya is closely and frequently connected with Brahmā, while another Bodhisattva appears as a counterpart to Indra: could this fact help us in better defining the nature of the second “unknown” Bodhisattva?

This dramatic antithesis of potentiality and full manifestation is clearly connected with a new attitude of Buddhism towards the individual self, but it is not enough to say, as Takasaki rightly does, 33

33 Ibid., p. 28.
that "for explaining the possibility of anyone’s acquiring the Buddhahood, the Monistic philosophy was used as the background". We must also explain why these religious phenomena wear Hellenistic clothes in their artistic expressions. Any solution in which a "cultural influence" is considered as if accounting for the many similarities between Gandharan reliefs and Hellenistic and Roman art, is no solution at all: it is only a setting forth of the problem.
The Indian spiritual texture in Buddhist thought generally speaking, as will be shown, although it had some broad and generalized features, was also highly individualistic and often very personal. The evidence for this "personalizing" aspect of Indian thought is overwhelming. As one reviewer put it, "personalising is the keynote of Indian thought". Therefore, in understanding the article cannot be taken as a living process but a framework on this observation. I believe that only a thorough comprehensive analysis of anthropological studies can go further to face the whole problem of Indian thought. As a matter of fact, a study has been undertaken of Indian belief-habits in the rural transport, an important influence on the understanding of this aspect, which is still to be said about the people. If mean, the social aspect, the ethnic mode of life, the变速箱 of stimulus, with the relationship, etc., are the very context of Indian thought.

A word about an interesting topic for further research. It was pointed out that Buddhism represents the particularity of Buddhist thought, an apparent fact even I have said in the previous pages, in some "progress" to absolute but also relative, "progress" of gradual society, we are perhaps also inclined to believe that Buddha's personality, the Indian thought, such as the holder of the Indian thought is more the manifestation of the Indian thought. The mind of the man who was the "progress" concept of the Buddha's dry exterior manner and the manifest Buddha's inner realization, the same, the Indian's inner realization, the manifest Buddha's inner realization, etc., are the same, the Indian's inner realization of the same, the Indian's inner realization, the manifest Buddha's inner realization, etc.

The Indian act seems that Movements is clearly and frequently accompanied with a black, while another Buddhist aspect of a comparator to Indian mode, this was later to be more or less the center of the Indian, "unfound" thought. And as the dramatic conditions of personality and self-conceptualization is deeply exemplified with a new attitude of Buddhist thought for individuation, but it is not enough to say, to the extent of writing to a,
ON THE ŚIVA IMAGE FROM KÛHĀH, MESOPOTAMIA

From Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli 31, 1971, pp. 548-52

[548] We must be grateful to Dr Antonio Invernizzi of the “Centro Scavi e Ricerche di Torino” for readily publishing a report on the small sivaistic relief found at Kûhāh (Ctesiphon), Mesopotamia.¹

It is evident that the exceptionality of this find prevent us from reaching any important historical conclusion, nevertheless I deem it useful to re-examine this piece in order to make it known among a wider public of Orientalists (the journal Mesopotamia is indeed hardly consulted by Indologists). This also offers me the opportunity to discuss a few points in which my opinion diverges from the solutions proposed by Invernizzi.

The reader will of course take into consideration the fact that I have not been able to see the object, which is now preserved in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad (Inv. no C. 3232 of the Italian Mission) and is only known to me through the photographs published (fig. 1).

It is a fragment of a relief of dark grey stone (schist) "with some green tones" and "a greasy appearance"; it measures 7 x 6 x 2.1 cm., has a curious cavity with a central knob at the back, and appears to have been polished through prolonged use even on the fracture at the top.

Invernizzi is certainly right when he assigns this piece to Gandharan art and points out the exceptionality of so western a

finding place for works of this school. Few parallels have indeed been recorded. One is the relief from Susa, now in the Tehran Museum; the other (though apparently much earlier) is the schist lid found at Pasargadæae.²

[549] As far as the problem of a more precise chronological attribution is concerned, the excavation itself provides us with very useful data: "The find was made in the IVth-Vth level and in a room forming part of a working class quarter. This level can be dated with reasonable accuracy to the second half of the fourth century A.D."³ From the point of view of style, any evaluation of this piece on the ground of photographic reproductions can only be an uncertain one, and I should not be surprised if a direct examination of the piece persuaded me of a fourth-century date.

Let us now see if anything is still to be said about its iconography. Invernizzi, before reaching the obvious conclusion that the image is to be identified with Śiva, takes into account an almost endless series of hypotheses (based on elements rather meaningless in themselves, such as the position of the legs or some details of the clothing), thus showing a cautious attitude which is in my opinion far less commendable than surprising.⁴

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² M. Taddei, Indis (Archaeologica Mundi), Geneva 1970, p. 83 (cf. D. Stronach, "Excavations at Pasargadæae. Second Preliminary Report", in Iran II, 1964, p. 38, pl. VIIIc. I have no doubt about the Gandharan origin of the lid from Pasargadæae, since I could examine it thanks to the kindness of David Stronach, Director of the British Institute of Persian Studies, Tehran [see the article on pp. 411-21, in this volume. – Eds.].

³ Invernizzi, op. cit., p. 154 and n. 58.

⁴ Since this short note aims at being deprived of any polemic flavour, I limit myself to pointing out here a few oversights of minor importance I have noticed in the article by Invernizzi. For instance, multi-armed deities are certainly exceptional in Gandhāra, as Invernizzi says (p. 148); nevertheless, beside the Ḥārīti in the Peshawar Museum and the "Trimūrti from Aklun-dheri, one should at least mention the very important relief with a six-armed god from Swāt, on which a fairly large literature is now available (G. Gnoli, "The Tyche and Dioscuri in Ancient Sculptures from the Valley of Swât", in EW XIV, 1963, pp. 29-37; M. Taddei, in Sculptures Balkans I, pt. 3, pls. CCCXXXVIa, CCCXXXVIIIa; R.C. Agrawala and M. Taddei, "An Interesting Relief from the Swat Valley", in EW XVI, 1966 [in this volume. – Eds.], pp. 82-88); not to say of the famous seal with a four-armed composite image, first published by Cunningham in 1893, then again studied by Ghirshman (cf. J.N. Banerjee, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Calcutta 1956, pp. 124 f., pl. XI2). A Gandharan
It is indeed sufficient to look at the photograph to realize that it is Śiva, though the presence of Nandin – which is pointed out by Invernizzi – is not clearly noticeable from the photograph. A very close comparison is possible with the image on the inner side of the linga-shaped portable sanctuary [550] published by Goetz’ and me. This is a later specimen, though still in the Gandharan tradition.

Here is the description I would propose for the Kūḥah image: “Standing Śiva, with left leg crossed on the right one, leaning on his vāhāna Nandin, of which only part of the hind-legs survives on the right; he wears a dhoti, a yajñopavītā and wristlets; he is ithyphallic (ūrdhvalinga) and four-armed: the lower right hand presumably holds a vaïpa, the upper right is raised at shoulder-height with palm turned inwards, the upper left holds a kamāndaḷa, the lower left holds a long staff, presumably the triśula. The relief is broken at the bottom and top (where the fracture has assumed a polished appearance). The head(s) of the image and the top (trident?) of the staff are lost. Part of the framing fillet survives on the right.”

Ūrdhvalinga. The ithyphallic aspect of Śiva is evident and it is useless to dwell upon it, since it is one of the main peculiarities of this god throughout the ages. By no means is it a “point” of the cloth!

four-armed Durgā has been recently found at Chārsada (A.H. Dani, “Shaikhan Dheri Excavation, 1963 & 1964 Seasons”, in AnPak II, 1965-66, pp. 44 f., no. 16, pl. XX12). At pp. 149 f. the identification of the Kūḥah image with a Yakṣa is discarded on the ground that Yakṣas are always dressed in paridhāna and uttariya, which is clearly a wrong assumption (Invernizzi himself, a few lines further on, speaks of Yakṣas wearing a “short skirt”). At p. 154 Invernizzi states that “It is however clear that the figure on the relief from Chooche must belong to the Buddhist world because of certain of its aspects, such as the sacred cord and the kamandaḷa”: this is also wrong, since it is difficult to find two elements that (though also present in Buddhist iconography) are more closely linked with Brahmanism and Hinduism than the yajñopavītā and the kamandaḷa.

3 H. Goetz, “A Kashmirī Lingam of the 10th Century”, in ArthAs XXVII, 1965, pp. 275-79. I do not accept the dating proposed by Goetz and would rather prefer a date not later than the 8th century, as I have maintained in my article quoted in the following foot-note, because of the well perceptible Gandharan flavour of some details that Goetz himself does not fail to notice.


7 Invernizzi, op. cit., p. 146.
Vajra. The identification is uncertain, though it seems that
three points project from the fist (unless this is a misleading effect
produced by the fracture or by the photograph); this would allow us
to compare our image from Küljah with some Kuśāṇa coins of the
Oesho type, in which similarly shaped vajras appear.  

Upper right hand with palm turned inwards. Also in this case I
must dissent from Invernizzi: the fingers are indeed clearly indic-
ated by almost vertical grooves which would be meaningless if it
were a bowl or any other globular object, as Invernizzi believes.
Moreover the hypothesis of a bowl has been suggested to him by
the fact that such an object is often represented in Buddha images
— a very weak argument indeed since, as Invernizzi himself is ready
to admit, in no case can our image be identified with a Buddha!
Beside that, the gesture of the upper right hand, as I have proposed
to interpret it, is also present in other sivaistic image, e.g. in a
group of Śiva and Pārvatī from the North-West Frontier Province,
now in the British [551] Museum, and is closely comparable with
the gesture performed by the image from Akhun-dheřī. It is
anyhow characteristic of images with peculiar brahmanical con-
nections, as I have tried to show elsewhere, and it is not surprising to
find it in images of Śiva, who is the ascetic par excellence, the
mahāyogin.

Kamanḍalu. Also this attribute is not unexpected: it is found in
the relief from Akhun-dheřī, in the one on the inner side of the
already cited liṅga-shaped portable sanctuary, etc.

Trisulā. The most peculiar attribute of Śiva can be recognized
with a sufficient degree of certitude in the long staff which is
unfortunately broken at the upper end. One may compare the al-
ready cited Śiva images, chiefly those on the Kuśāṇa coins.

9 Invernizzi, op. cit., p. 151.
10 Goetz, op. cit., fig. 7.
11 V.N. Aiyar, "Trimūrti Image in the Peshawar Museum", in ASIA 1913-14, pp. 276-80, pl. LXXIIa.
Fig. 1 - A Gandharan relief depicting the god Śiva with Nandin. From Kūhāh, Mesopotamia. Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
Dhoṭī. It is clearly a cloth worn round the hips. Invernizzi uses for it the inappropriate term "skirt" or, alternatively, the frankly wrong one "exomis". On the contrary, it is certainly a dhoṭī (in English it could be translated "loin-cloth"), quite normal in Śiva images.

On the whole I think that nothing can lead us to think of a non-sivaistic religious background for this image, even though nothing is found that make us definitely dismiss the possibility of its being a part of a Buddhist context. I only point out that the small thickness of the objects suggests that it was not much larger in height and width than it is now. In my opinion it is to be considered as an early specimen of those small portable stone images which were fairly usual in Gandhāra chiefly in the post-Kuśāṇa period.

The fact that it was found in a working-class quarter is an interesting datum. We cannot indeed disregard the possibility that some people from Gandhāra were uprooted by the Sasanians in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. and that one of those people succeeded in taking a small image of his god to far-away Mesopotamia. Once fallen into the hands of infidels, the image probably underwent the damages it now shows and was later kept either as an object of curiosity (as Invernizzi suggests) or as an amulet. We know that, especially since the 4th century, the increased need of labour and request of new products in the Sasanian empire were met by the employment of both local people and war prisoners, the latter being encouraged by the king to merge with the inhabitants of the country. In a period during which slaves, [552] under certain circumstances, were acquiring a partial right to private property, one can easily imagine a Śaiva prisoner living the life of the other labourers in a Sasanian town, with a sufficient degree of freedom as to be able to keep his home cults and images.

At any rate there is no ground for the following words: "Whether this be an attempt at absorption of the cult of Śiva on

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14 Ibid., p. 143.
the part of Buddhism, or an expression of Śivaite faith through the adoption of the Gandhāran style common in the region, the assumption of the god into the Buddhist religion seems clear from the iconography, since the Gandhāran art is at the service of Buddhism". The weakness of such an argument is evident, since this is based on the wrongly assumed postulate that Gandharan art, as a stylistic phenomenon, is Buddhist in nature and that all Gandharan reliefs must be Buddhist.

It is true, the problem of Hindu-Buddhist syncretism in the North-West badly needs more documentary evidence to be thoroughly investigated, but I am afraid that the image from Kūnah cannot allow us to make any step towards its solution. *

15 Invernizzi, op. cit., pp. 133 ff.

* My thanks are due to Prof. Giorgio Gullini, Director of the Italian excavations in Iraq, who has kindly sent me the nice photograph illustrating this note.
APPUNTI SULL’ICONOGRAFIA
DI ALCUNE MANIFESTAZIONI LUMINOSE DEI BUDDHA

From Gururajamanjarikā. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci.
Napoli 1974, pp. 435-49

[435] La prima idea di questa ricerca mi venne alla mente dodici anni or sono, rileggendo, all’indomani d’una visita all’Indian Museum di Calcutta, un articolo di Giuseppe Tucci.1 In una sala di quel museo avevo potuto osservare con cura un’immagine del Buddha proveniente dai pressi di Kabul, già pubblicata dal Fou- cher;2 nell’articolo trovai ampio materiale su cui riflettere per meglio intendere il significato di un gruppo di sculture del Gandhāra di cui fa parte anche lo stesso rilievo di Calcutta.

Mi sembra quindi che un articolo su questo argomento, per modesto che sia, a buon diritto possa figurare in una raccolta di scritti dedicati a Giuseppe Tucci. Egli vorrà, spero, perdonarmi l’incompletezza della documentazione e la provvisorietà delle conclusioni.

Il Tucci, nell’articolo citato, prendeva in considerazione un’im- magine del Buddha seduto con fiamme sulle spalle (fig. 1), apparte- nente alla collezione Islay Lyons, esposta nella Mostra di arte del Gandhāra che si era tenuta a Roma e a Torino nel 1958. Il Bus- sagli, nel catalogo della mostra,3 aveva rilevato la particolarità del-

2 AGBG, II, p. 369; fig. 463; J. Meunié, Shotonak (MDAFA X), Paris 1942, p. 48.
3 M. Bussagli, L’arte del Gandhāra in Pakistan e i suoi incontri con l’arte dell’Asia Centrale, Roma 1958, pp. 73-74, n. 3, tav. III; riprodotto anche in J. Naudou, M. Hallade e F. Guérout, L’India e l’Estremo Oriente, Firenze 1969, fig. 140.
l’immagine, la quale, oltre che per motivi stilistici, per il fatto di essere seduta si differenzia dalle raffigurazioni del “miracolo di Śrāvastī” e del Dipamkara-jātaka. Il Bussagli avanzava cautamente l’ipotesi che si trattasse di “un’immagine cultuale di Dipamkara”. A questa ipotesi il Tucci ne contrappone un’altra, che cioè si tratti dell’immagine del Buddha Siddhārtha nella storia della conversione di Apalāla riportata dal Vinaya dei Mūlasārvasvātivādin.

[436] Non intendo per ora discutere di queste interpretazioni o aggiungerne altre, pur possibili, perché temo che i dati posti a nostra disposizione dal rilievo stesso, esaminato separatamente, non siano sufficienti a portarci oltre la pura ipotesi. Desidero piuttosto esaminare nel suo complesso un gruppo di altre immagini del Buddha, sedute o stanti, provenienti per lo più dal Kāpiśa, che ci forniscono qualche altra indicazione e che forse potranno servire a meglio comprendere anche l’immagine della collezione Lyons. Potrà esserci di guida un passo del Suvānnaprabhāsastra, opportunamente ricordato dal Tucci, secondo cui i Buddha emettono fiamme quando si rivelano ai Bodhisattva.

Le immagini del Buddha con fiamme sulle spalle provenienti dal Kāpiśa sono nel complesso ben note ed il loro significato in rapporto con il x'arenah iranico e con la religiosità “dinastica” dei Kuśana è stato più volte posto in evidenza:Iconographically, - scrive il Rosenfield4 – the particular association of the Buddha with flaming shoulders seems to have been a specialty of the monastic workshop at Shotorak and Paivata near Kāpiśa. At Shotorak, flaming shoulders illustrate the miracle of Śrāvastī; they also appear in scenes of the Dipamkara Jātaka and of the Buddha meditating in the dhyānāmudrā – motifs which are elsewhere usually shown without this detail. The fact that these were carved at monastery

4 Tucci, op. cit., p. 288.
temples which served the Kushan nobility at Kāpiṣa would seem to indicate that the flaming shoulders of the Buddha and those of the Kushan kings were closely related in basic significance”.

Quel che invece non è stato, che io sappia, mai osservato con precisione è il fatto che l’elemento iconografico del Buddha con fiamme che escono dalle spalle è spesso associato con un altro episodio dell’agiografia buddhistica, la cosiddetta “elemosina della polvere”, e che quest’ultimo, anche in altri contesti, si accompagna volentieri con il Dipamkara-jātaka.

Avremo dunque i seguenti gruppi di immagini:

A) immagini isolate del Buddha con fiamme sulle spalle;
B) rappresentazioni del “miracolo di Śrāvasti” con immagine del Buddha dalle cui spalle escono fiamme; [437]
C) rappresentazioni del Dipamkara-jātaka con fiamme sulle spalle del Buddha;
D) Dipamkara-jātaka ed “elemosina della polvere” associati a immagini del Buddha con fiamme sulle spalle;

Inutile tentare, per ora, un catalogo completo delle opere comprese in tutti questi gruppi. Per il gruppo A basterà ricordare il già citato Buddha della collezione Lyons; il gruppo B è ampiamente documentato e sarà sufficiente rinviare all’opera del Foucher.²

Per quanto riguarda le rappresentazioni del Dipamkara-jātaka, è stato già da altri osservato che, fra i rilievi di arte del Gandhāra di questo soggetto, solo alcuni del Kāpiṣa presentano la particolarità delle fiamme uscenti dalle spalle del Buddha:

¹ *AGBG*, I, pp. 517-20.
C 1) Stele di Shotorak n. 149, al Museo di Kabul (fig. 2). Il Buddha è stante, in *abbayamudra*, con le fiamme che escono dalle spalle. In alto, Indra e Brahmā in adorazione e, al sommo, cinque fiori di loto. In basso, a sinistra (alla destra del Buddha) il giovane asceta è rappresentato due volte: nell’atto di lanciare verso Dipamkara dei fiori di loto (gli stessi che restano poi sospesi per aria sopra il Buddha) e prostrato ai piedi dell’Illuminato. In basso, a destra, è un Bodhisattva alonato stante, in *abbayamudra*, su piedistallo: “c’est peut-être une image anticipée de la dignité à venir du jeune anachorète, et il faudrait l’identifier alors avec le prince Siddhārtha, ce à quoi nous autorise sans doute l’absence du vase à eau et la présence du turban”.

[438] A questa immagine di Shotorak si possono associare anche le seguenti:


Passiamo ora al più interessante gruppo D:


10 Meunier, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
12 Bussagli, *L’arte del Gandhara ..., cit.*, n. 19, tav. VIII.
13 È l’immagine citata a nota 2.

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D2) Rilievo di Shotorak n. 171, al Museo di Kabul.\(^{14}\)
Buddha seduto in dhyānāsana con fiamme sulle spalle. A sinistra (destra del Buddha) sorge uno stelo con fiore di loto su cui è rappresentata l’”eleosina della polvere”. Manca la parte simmetrica a destra in cui si deve immaginare che fosse rappresentato il Dipamkara-jātaka.

D3) Rilievo di Shotorak n. 197.\(^{15}\)
“Eleosina della polvere” su fiore di loto sostenuto da stelo. Proviene da un nimbo (cfr. D2) e si trovava a destra di un Buddha (sinistra di chi guarda).\(^{16}\) [439]

D4) Stele dal Kāpiṣa, al Museo di Kabul (figg. 4-6).
Buddha stante che compie il cosiddetto ”miracolo di Śrāvasti” con fiamme sulle spalle e acqua che sgorga dai piedi. A sinistra sono due scene sovrapposte entro un pannello sporgente sostenuto da una mensola zoomorfìa: la scena inferiore (fig. 6), forse la più importante – è infatti incorniciata da un fregio foliato –, è l’”eleosina della polvere”; quella sopra (fig. 5) rappresenta una scena di offerta al Buddha che discuteremo più avanti. Manca purtroppo il pannello simmetrico a destra, dove possiamo immaginare la presenza del Dipamkara-jātaka.\(^{17}\)

D5) Immagine del Buddha dal Kāpiṣa, al Museo di Kabul (figg. 7-8).
Buddha seduto con fiamme che escono dalle spalle. A sinistra (destra del Buddha) sorge uno stelo con fiore di loto su cui è rappresentata la scena dell’”eleosina della polvere” (fig. 8). Manca anche qui la parte simmetrica a destra che probabilmente mostrava il Dipamkara-jātaka.

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\(^{14}\) Meunié, op. cit., p. 48, tav. III.10.

\(^{15}\) Meunié, op. cit., p. 48, tav. XXI.65.

\(^{16}\) Da Duldur-āqur (Kuča) proviene un rilievo in legno con il Dipamkara-jātaka, ove la scena, ridotta all’essenziale, è compresa entro una manderla radiata e poggia su di un fiore di loto il cui stelo proveniva, a quel che pare, da sinistra (di chi guarda): mi sembra assai probabile che si tratti di un elemento che doveva comparire in un contesto simile a questo che andiamo esaminando. Vedi L. Hambis (ed.), Doudour-Aqour et Soubachi, Planches (Mission Paul Pelliot III), Paris 1967, tav. XXX, fig. 59.

\(^{17}\) Questa rappresenta una variante all’interno di un gruppo di stele raffiguranti il ”miracolo di Śrāvasti”, fortemente unitario dal punto di vista tipologico, che comprende la stele di Paitāvā al Museo di Kabul (Hackin, op. cit., pp. 59 e ss., tav. IV; Bussagli, ”Osservazioni...”, cit., fig. 38) e la stele del Museum für Völkerkunde di Berlino. In queste, le mensole laterali sostengono pannelli con il busto di Pāṇcika e Hāritī (così almeno credo di dover identificare, seguendo Hackin, op. cit., p. 41, le due figure sulla base dei loro attributi: nṛtyon e cornucopia), sormontati ciascuno da un Buddha seduto con alone fiammeggiante e lingue di fuoco che escono dalle spalle.
Il lettore accoglierà, spero, benevolmente l’ipotesi che il Dipamkara-jātaka fosse rappresentato nella parte mancante dei rilievi D2, D3, D4 e D5 – basata per ora soltanto sul confronto con la fondamentale immagine di Calcutta (D1) – dopo aver esaminato le opere del gruppo seguente:

E.1) Stele da Sahri Bahrol, al Museo di Peshawar, n. 1554.18
Al centro, il Buddha in dharmacakramudrā nella seconda fase del “miracolo di Śrāvasti”. In alto, ai lati di uno stūpa: (a sinistra) “elemosina della polvere”; (a destra) Dipamkara-jātaka.

E.2) Frammento al Museo di Peshawar, n. 1852.
Da rilievo analogo al precedente. [440]

E.3) Frammento al Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, n. D.G. 36.19
Da stele analoga alle precedenti: conserva, del Dipamkara-jātaka, la figura del giovane asceta inginocchiata su un fiore di loto.

E.4) Frammento da Takht-i Bahi, nel Museo di Patna, n. 5867.20
Analogico al precedente.

Questi rilievi gandharici presentano dunque le due scene che affiancano, anziché un’immagine del Buddha con le fiamme, uno stūpa. Lo stesso avviene con due notissimi rilievi Gupta, non sempre correttamente identificati:

[E.5] Rilievi ai lati dell’ingresso della grotta XIX di Ajanta (figg. 9-10).21
A sinistra è il Dipamkara-jātaka,22 con il Buddha in varadamudrā; a

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22 Mi è grato ricordare la conversazione che ebbe in proposito con il Dr P. Banerjee
destra il Buddha con la ciotola, al quale si rivolge un fanciullo, come nella scena che finora abbiamo indicato come “elemosina della polvere”. Tra i due rilievi si apre l’ingresso che lascia intravvedere al fondo lo stūpa.

Dei due rilievi di Ajañṭā, quello di sinistra (fig. 9), sebbene sia stato in qualche caso male interpretato, non presenta reali difficoltà per quanto riguarda l’identificazione del soggetto rappresentato (il Dipamkara-jātaka). L’altro (fig. 10), che presenta analogie stretissime con i rilievi gandharici solitamente etichettati come “elemosina della polvere”, venne considerato tale da una studiosa – Madeleine Hallade – che si era dedicata sovratutto allo studio del Nord-Ovest, mentre per altri si trattebbe dell’incontro tra Rāhula fanciullo ed il padre Siddhārtha durante la visita di questi a Kapilavastu: la scena compare anche in pittura ad Ajañṭā, nella stessa grotta XIX e nella grotta XVII. Questa divergenza nell’interpretazione si deve senza [441] ombra di dubbio all’abitudine o, se si preferisce, alla tradizione degli studi che, nel caso dell’arte del Gandhāra, si basa esclusivamente – per quanto concerne l’iconografia della vita del Buddha – sull’opera fondamentale del Foucher, il quale, sulla scorta di S. d’Oldenburg, identificò la scena con l’“elemosina della polvere”.

Cerchiamo di rievvisare sia pur brevemente questo episodio della vita del Buddha.

Apprendiamo dunque dal Divyāvadāna che il Buddha Siddhārtha andava elemosinando nella città di Rājagṛha quando incontrò due fanciulli, di nome Jaya e Vijaya, che giocavano per via. Uno di questi si mosse per fare un’offerta al Buddha ma, non avendo nulla da donare, prese una manciata di polvere da terra e la pose nella ciotola da elemosine del Buddha. Toccato da quest’atto di ingenua pietà, il Buddha predisse al fanciullo che sarebbe divenuto un po-

a New Delhi nel novembre 1971, nel corso della quale ci trovammo d’accordo su questa che mi sembra essere la corretta interpretazione del rilievo. Esso è molto simile all’altro della grotta XXXV di Kanheri, correttamente interpretato da Burgess, op. cit., p. 66, fig. 23; cfr. A. Grünwedel e J. Burgess, Buddhist Art in India, London 1901, fig. 95; Soper, in Artibus XIII, cit., p. 77, nota 156.

35 Cfr. nota 7.
tente monarca (Aśoka) in una vita futura. La storia è ripresa da Fa-
hsien,\textsuperscript{24} il quale pure la riferisce ad Aśoka.

Le scene su rilievi del Gandhāra identificate con l’“elemosina
della polvere” mostrano in verità il più delle volte due fanciulli
ignudi di cui uno seduto o in piedi, in adorazione, l’altro nell’atto
di porre qualcosa nella ciotola del Buddha. Non vi sarebbe nulla in
contrastò con l’identificazione proposta dal d’Oldenburg e dal Fou-
cher, tuttavia anche l’episodio di Rāhula e Siddhārtha si adatta
perfettamente alla scena.

Leggiamolo nella versione fornitaci dal Mahāvastu: “The
Exalted One [...] entered the dwelling of Yasodhara [...] Then
Yasodhara, Rāhula’s mother, and Mahāprajāpāti Gautamī and the
company of their relatives regaled and served the Exalted One and his
company of disciples with exquisite food, solid and soft. Yasodharā
put some excellent and exquisite sweetmeat, which was good in
colour, smell and taste, in the hands of Rāhula, and said to him,
‘Go, give this sweetmeat to your father’. Rāhula went and put the
sweetmeat in his father’s bowl. He then sat down in his shadow,
and said to his mother, ‘Pleasant, mother, is the shade of the
recluse’. But Yasodharā said to the young Rāhula, ‘Ask for your
father’s wealth’. So the young Rāhula said to the Exalted One,
‘Recluse, give me my father’s wealth’. The Exalted One replied,
‘Rāhula, leave home, then I will give you your father’s wealth’\textsuperscript{25}.

La frequente presenza di due fanciulli sembrerebbe argomento
a favore dell’identificazione proposta dal Foucher. Tuttavia essa
potrebbe essere [442] spiegata vedendo nelle due figure lo stesso
fanciullo in due momenti successivi dello stesso episodio, ana-
glamente a quanto spesso avviene nell’arte del Gandhāra.\textsuperscript{26} Si potrebbe

\textsuperscript{24} A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms (trad. J. Legge), Oxford 1886, cap. XXXII, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{25} The Mahāvastu (trad. J.J. Jones), III (SBB XIX), London 1956, pp. 137-38.

\textsuperscript{26} Una ipotesi simile è stata avanzata dallo stesso Foucher, AGBG, I, pp. 518-19:
’Toutefois un mot du texte peut donner l’éveil à certaines hypothèses: il ajoute en effet
que Jaya, comme tout à l’heure Mēgha ou Sumati, fait, en même temps que son
offrande puérile, le voeu (panjīdhāna) qu’elle lui vaille de devenir un jour un grand
monarque bouddhique, et le Bienhereux énonce la prophétique assurance (vyākarana)
qu’il sera un jour le roi Ačoka. Aussi ne s’étonnera-t-on pas qu’un doublet de cette
gracieuse légende ait été transporté au temps de tel ou tel Buddha du passé, ni que sa
dunque trattare di Rāhula che offre il cibo al padre e, quindi, dello stesso Rāhula che siede dicendo alla madre che gradevole è l’ombra di Siddhārtha; ovvero, quando tutte e due le figure sono stanti, la seconda potrebbe indicare il momento in cui Rāhula si rivolge a Siddhārtha con la richiesta suggeritagli dalla madre. In alcuni rilievi una figura femminile (che sarebbe logico identificare con Yaśodharā) è rappresentata accanto ad uno dei fanciulli, ad esempio in quello di Sahri Bahrol al Museo di Peshawar, n. 1708,27 che difficilmente dunque può esser spiegato come "elemosina della polvere". Nel rilievo n. 2088 del Museo di Lahore, da Sikri (riprodotto dal Fou-cher), costei è nell’atto di sospingere il fanciullo seduto, un gesto che anch’esso si comprende, alla luce dei testi letterari, se lo si riferisce all'"elemosina della polvere". Lo stesso gesto si riscontra nei rilievi di Amarāvati, sicuramente identificati con l’episodio di Rāhula; ne abbiamo due esempi, uno al Museo di Madras,28 l’altro al Museo Britannico;29 una variante del pari interessante è rappresentata dal rilievo dell’Archaeological Museum di Amarāvati.30 Conosco un solo rilievo (gandharico), nella collezione Brundage,31 in cui forse l’artista ha voluto rappresentare due diversi fanciulli: mentre, infatti, la figura seduta è ignuda, quella in piedi che compie

représentation fasse pendant, sur une stèle de Calcutta, à la ‘prédition de Dipaṅkara’. On pourrait même se demander à ce propos s’il ne s’agit pas, en réalité, d’un seul jeune garçon que nous verrions tour à tour ... faire debout son offrande et prononcer son vœu accruip. Fa-hien ne parle que d’un seul héros de la scène’. Il Foucher non esclude che l’autore del Dīvāyadāna possa essere stato tratto in errore dalla ripetizione della figura sulle scene figurate: in questa ipotesi, che io non mi sentirei di riproporre ma che è certamente suggestiva, la tradizione letteraria sarebbe in parte modificata da un’erronea lettura delle opere figurative.

27 GAP, n. 110.
30 Stern e Bénisti, op. cit., tav. XXXa.
31 J. Pope, An Exhibition of the Sculpture of Greater India (C.T. Loo & Co.), New York 1942, n. 2; cfr. GAP, p. 81.

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l'atto di offerta è vestita di tunica (ma anche questo elemento, come vedremo, non può considerarsi risolutivo: vedi nota 37).

Un altro argomento a sostegno dell'ipotesi che si tratti dell'episodio di Râhula ci viene dall'esame della stele D 4, in cui la scena superiore (fig. 5) del pannello figurato potrebbe facilmente spiegarsi nel contesto della visita di Siddhârtha a Kapilavastu: forse possiamo interpretarlo come l'omaggio di Mahâprajâpati e Siddhodana all'Illuminato.

Dobbiamo però a questo punto ricordare che l'episodio di Râhula non è altrimenti sconosciuto al Gandhâra e che lo stesso Foucher lo riconobbe in un altro gruppo di rilievi,32 dove però il Buddha è rappresentato seduto e Râhula vestito, in una composizione completamente diversa da quella della cosiddetta "elemosina della polvere". Vorrei anche ricordare un rilievo la cui iconografia non credo sia mai stata interpretata e in cui penso di poter riconoscere appunto il fanciullo Râhula, in un altro momento dello stesso ciclo narrativo.

Si tratta di un rilievo del Museo di Karachi,33 scompartito in tre registri (fig. 11). Nell'inferiore compaiono tre Buddha seduti; un fanciullo si rivolge a quello centrale porgendo qualcosa; a sinistra è una figura femminile, a destra un personaggio maschile. Si tratta, io credo, di un episodio della visita a Kapilavastu che ci è narrato in un passo del Vînaya dei Mûlasarvâstivâdin ricordato dal Lamotte che così lo riassume: "Lorsque, six ans après [la nascita di Râhula], le Buddha rentra à Kapilavastu, son ancienne épouse tenta de le reconquérir par un filtre. Elle fabriqua un gâteau magique (modaka) et demanda à Râhula de l’offrir à son père. Celui-ci avait compris le manège; il savait que Yasodharâ, en mettant Râhula au monde, s’était attiré des reproches. Voulant mettre un terme à ces calomnies, il produisit par métamorphose cinq cent personnages d’un aspect tout pareil au sien. Râhula, gâteau en mains, passa en revue ce régiment de Buddhas fictifs, mais arrivé devant le Buddha véritable il n’eut pas une hésitation et lui offrit le gâteau. La voix du

32 AGBG, I, pp. 460-64; cfr. GAP, n. 93 e 165.
33 N. 32: Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan, 2ª ediz., Karachi 1964, n. 25, tav. II.
sang avait parlé, le fils avait reconnu le père. Celui-ci accepta le gateau, mais le rendit aussitôt à Râhula qui le prit et l'avala".34
Mi sembra dunque che nel registro inferiore del rilievo di Karachi noi possiamo agevolmente riconoscere Râhula che si rivolge al vero Buddha, quello al centro, escludendo gli altri quattrocentonovantanoce (qui convenzionalmente ridotti a due) che non sono altro che ingannevoli apparenze.

[444] Credo che anche i due altri registri possano leggersi alla luce della storia della visita a Kapilavastu: il Buddha sottrae Nanda alla sua sposa35 (registro mediano); Sudhdodana che odi il grido delle donne quando Râhula riconosce suo padre36 (registro superiore). Anche qui Râhula sarebbe vestito, che è modo certamente più confacente di rappresentare un erede al trono: nulla invece poteva trattenere gli artisti gandharìci dal raffigurare i fanciulli dell’"elemosina della polvere" ignudi come tutti i bambini qualsiasi che si rotolano nella polvere per le vie delle città indiane. (Tuttavia, secondo il Divyāvadāna, anche Jaya e Vijaya erano di nobile nascita).
Ci sono dunque numerosi elementi a favore della identificazione del Foucher ma è anche vero che nessuno può esser giudicato di tal peso da farci scartare l’ipotesi che si tratti invece dell’episodio di Râhula e Siddhârtha, essendo infatti sempre possibile pensare a delle varianti iconografiche (solo il rilievo Brundage sembra essere inespicabile in quest’ultimo contesto37) ed essendoci degli elementi (la figura femminile in rilievi come quello di Peshawar, n. 1708, e di Lahore, n. 2088) che non si adattano all’episodio dell’"elemosina della polvere".
Ma l’argomento principale per sostenere la tesi dell’episodio di Râhula ci è fornito da un passo del Kao Seng Chuan, una raccolta di biografie di monaci buddhisti attivi in Cina compilata da Hui-chiau (497-554 d.C.), citato dal Soper in quella inesauribile miniera di

36 Mahâvastu, cit., III, pp. 242 e ss.
37 Ma non dimentichiamo che nel rilievo G. 67 dell’Indian Museum (Visita a Kapilavastu), Râhula è mostrato ignudo ai piedi del Buddha seduto e, subito dopo, vestito di tunica nell’atto di aggrapparsi alla veste del padre (AGBG, I, pp. 462 e ss., fig. 231).
notizie che è il suo Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China: 
"Interesting iconographic novelties are reported in the Kao Seng Chuan, iii, in connection with the activity of two missionaries from 'Chi-pin' (i.e. Kashmir) who reached China in the early years of Sung. The career of the earlier, Guṇavarman, runs almost like a story from the 'Arabian Nights' [...] When the news of Guṇavarman's prowess spread to neighboring lands, all sent envoys urging him to visit them, including Wen Ti of the Sung in 424. He chose the latter, embarking in an Indian trading-vessel for Canton. There he stayed several years in a mountain hermitage, under a lone, towering crag that he dubbed – from its similarity to a famous Indian original – the 'Vulture Peak'. In a neighboring temple 'on the north wall of the Jewel-moon hall, he painted with his own hand a figure of [Śākyamuni's son] Rāhula, and the scene of the scholar-youth spreading out his hair [on the ground before the Buddha] Dipaṃkara. [445] When finished these emitted light every night, and continued to do so for a long time".  

Il Soper si chiedeva più avanti perché mai Guṇavarman avesse scelto proprio quel soggetto: "I cannot explain why the missionary Guṇavarman should have had a special painting done of Rāhula, except that he must have stood for eager youth, as did the companion subject, the youth Sumedha spreading his hair on the ground before Dipaṃkara [...] Perhaps the two had been chosen as patrons by Guṇavarman in his boyhood, and their representation in the Canton temple was a thank-offering for their guardianship over his travels".

La risposta ce la danno i rilievi che abbiamo fin qui discusso: l'episodio di Rāhula ed il Dipaṃkara-jātaka erano strettamente connesi nell'iconografia indiana e gandharica anche all'epoca cui si riferisce il Kao Seng Chuan (i rilievi di Ajaṇṭā sono del V secolo d.C.), quindi Guṇavarman non faceva che riprendere un tema abbastanza diffuso e per far ciò non aveva bisogno di giustificazioni di ordine personale.

Se si aggiunge che Guṇavarman proveniva dal Nord-Ovest (la

38 A.C. Soper, Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China, Ascona 1959, p. 43.
39 Soper, Literary Evidence ..., cit., p. 239.
parola *Chi-pin* sembra infatti indicare una regione più vasta del Kashmir, comprendendo anche talora l’altra valle del Kabul ed il Kāpiṣa), la utilizzazione del passo del *Kao Seng Chuan* per l'iconografia gandharica ci appare ancora più legittima. Mi sembra dunque che la tesi che la cosiddetta “elemosina della polvere” sia in realtà l’episodio di Rāhula abbia assunto, dopo quanto si è detto, una certa concretezza.

Ma c’è di più: il *Kao Seng Chuan* ci dice che il dipinto di Guṇavarman emetteva luce durante la notte. Ebbene, non è forse lecito collegare questa notizia con il fatto che le due scene sono così spesso associate con l’immagine del Buddha dalle spalle fiammeggianti?

Dobbiamo a questo punto chiederci il perché di questa associazione.

Il caso del *Dipamkara-jātaka* è il più trasparente: abbiamo visto che nella stele di Shotorak è lo stesso Dipamkara che emette lingue di fuoco dalle spalle ed il fenomeno trova riscontro abbastanza preciso nella narrazione del *Mahāvastu*\(^{40}\) che descrive la sublime emanazione di luce che raggiunge gli angoli più ascosi del mondo dopo che Dipamkara ha proclamato che il giovane brahmano Megha raggiungerà l’insuperata perfetta illuminazione. È forse una di quelle manifestazioni di un Buddha ad un Bodhisattva [446] cui si riferisce il già ricordato passo del *Suvanaprabhasasūtra*. Se si aggiunge poi che il nome stesso di Dipamkara contiene un’allusione alla luce (*dīpa* “luce”, *dipamkara* “colui che fa, o causa, la luce”), si comprenderà facilmente l’associazione con le fiamme nei rilievi del Kāpiṣa.\(^{41}\)

Ma come spiegare la presenza delle due scene in questione in un contesto come il “miracolo di Śrāvasti” che, sebbene anch’esso rientri fra le manifestazioni luminose del Buddha, sarebbe in fondo un terzo episodio, legato ad un altro momento della carriera del

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41 “The translations given by the Chinese are such variants as ‘Constant Light’, ‘Universal Light’, ‘Blazing Torch’” (Soper, in *Artibus Asiae*, XIII, cit., p. 76).
ON GANDHĀRA

Buddha Siddhārtha? La risposta è più semplice di quanto si possa pensare perché le rappresentazioni che per tradizione indichiamo come “miracolo di Śrāvastī” mostrano in realtà i cosiddetti “miracoli gemelli” (yamakapratibhayāni) che il Buddha opera non solo a Śrāvastī ma in diverse altre occasioni. Una di queste è proprio la visita a Kapilavastu.42

Non è forse questo un altro motivo per ritenere che, almeno in alcuni casi, l’“elemosina della polvere” si debba leggere come l’incontro di Rāhula e Siddhārtha?

Quanto abbiamo detto fino ad ora mi sembra che possa valere almeno a chiarire un punto di una certa importanza: che le scene rappresentate nei rilievi del Gandhāra non sono generiche episodi edificanti o, per lo meno, non lo sono sempre. I rilievi del Kāpiśa ci mostrano come scene apparentemente caratterizzate come “fiabesche” o “novellistiche” possano essere assunte con un valore emblematico e collocate in un contesto iconografico che è una esplicita presa di posizione teologica e politica.

Sarebbe del tutto inutile ripetere qui quanto da altri è stato chiaramente detto a proposito dell’ambiente “dinastico” in cui si inseriscono queste iconografie “luminose”. Mi si consenta soltanto di aggiungere che l’incertezza tra “elemosina della polvere” ed episodio di Rāhula, incertezza che non siamo riusciti del tutto a superare, può esser dovuta ad una reale ambivalenza dello schema iconografico. La lettura della scena in un senso piuttosto che in un altro potrebbe essere stata determinata dall’affermarsi di una ideologia politico-religiosa che stabiliva un particolare parallelismo tra Buddha e [447] sovranamente ipotesi che non mi sembra avventata dato l’ambiente in cui ci troviamo, il Kāpiśa, cioè uno dei centri del potere politico nell’impero Kuśāna.

42 The Mahāvastu, III, cit., pp. 115-16: “Then the Exalted One standing in the air at the height of a palm-tree performed various and divers miracles of double appearance. The lower part of his body would be in flames, while from the upper part there streamed five hundred jets of cold water. While the upper part of his body was in flames, five hundred jets of cold water streamed from the lower part [...]. And after the Exalted One, standing in the air, had performed various and divers miracles of double appearance, he displayed magic wonders and established many thousands of beings in Aryan states. He then sat down as on an appointed seat”. Ma cfr. AGBG, I, pp. 336-37.
Fig. 1 - Buddha con fiamme sulle spalle. Collezione Islay Lyons.
Fig. 2 - Dipamkara-jātaka. Da Shotorak. Kabul Museum.
Fig. 3 - Frammento di stele raffigurante il Dipamkara-jitaka. Da Shotorak. Musée Guimet, Parigi.

Fig. 4 - Stele raffigurante il “miracolo di Śrāvasti” e soggetti minori. Dal Kāpiša. Kabul Museum.
Fig. 5 - Dettaglio della fig. 4: scena di offerta.

Fig. 6 - Dettaglio della fig. 4: l'"elemosina della polvere".
APPUNTI SULL'ICONOGRAFIA DI ALCUNE MANIFESTAZIONI

Fig. 7 - Buddha con fiamme sulle spalle e soggetti minori. Dal Kāpiśa.
Kabul Museum.

Fig. 8 - Dettaglio della fig. 7:
l’"elemosina della polvere".

Fig. 9 - Dipamkara-jñātaka. Ajanṭā,
ingresso della grotta XIX.

Fig. 10 - L’incontro di Siddhārtha
cön Rāhula, Ajanṭā, ingresso della
grotta XIX.
Fig. 11 - Rilievo gandharico a scene sovrapposte. In basso: l'incontro di Siddhārtha con Rahula. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.
Fig. 12 - Lunetta trilobata raffigurante l’"elemosina della polvere". Collocazione ignota.
Fig. 13 - Pseudo-nichia a scene sovrapposte. Dal basso: Dipamkara-jātaka; “elemosina della polvere”. Collocazione ignota.
APPUNTI SULL’ICONOGRAFIA DI ALCUNE MANIFESTAZIONI

Che per rendere evidente questo parallelismo tra Buddha e cakravartin ci si servisse di due scene di "manifestazione" (di un Buddha ad un Bodhisattva o ad un futuro cakravartin) non deve sorprendere perché, per usar le parole di Émile Senart, Buddha e cakravartin "partagent cette prérogative, d’être annoncés au monde par le Kolāhala [...] Les buddhistes en distinguent trois sortes: le Kalpakolāhala, le Buddhakolāhala et le Cakravartikolāhala, qui annoncent, cent mille, mille et cent ans à l’avance, la fin d’un kalpa, l’apparition d’un Buddha ou la naissance d’un Cakravartin [...] L’Aitareya Brāhmana nous montre de même, dans la personne d’Indra, l’investiture de la souveraineté universelle précédée d’une proclamation bruyante, éclatante, où tous les dieux prennent part. Cette image était assez populaire; car nous la retrouvons appliquée à un personnage aussi historique qu’Açoka".\(^{40}\) La proclamazione di un futuro cakravartin si inserirebbe assai bene nell’ambito culturale del Kapiṣa, ma non dimentichiamo che anche l’episodio di Rāhula può esser letto in chiave “dinastica”, trattandosi pur sempre della trasmissione di certi poteri da padre a figlio e per di più all’interno di una famiglia di guerrieri.

Se, in fine, vogliamo brevemente riprendere in esame la stele di Shotorak n. 149 (C 1) con il Dīpamkara-jiṭṭaka (fig. 2), possiamo giudicarla da un certo punto di vista un *unicum*, un fenomeno estravagante, non soltanto perché non si danno altri esemplari dello stesso tipo (Dīpamkara-jiṭṭaka con fiamme sulle spalle del Buddha: resta il dubbio per la stele [C 3], dato il suo stato frammentario), ma anche perché essa sembra rappresentare una commistione della normale rappresentazione del jiṭṭaka (magari con mandorla fiammeggiante, come in [C 2] e [C 3]) con le iconografie del gruppo D che vedono il Dīpamkara-jiṭṭaka affiancarsi, con la cosiddetta "elemosina della polvere", ad una immagine del Buddha con fiamme sulle spalle.

Queste ultime sono a mio avviso l’espressione iconografica più nuova rispetto al resto della produzione gandharica e, al tempo stesso, “normale”, cioè accettata in pieno dall’ambiente in cui è

sorta. Ed è a questa, più che alle altre varianti che abbiamo esaminato, che dovremo in futuro rivolgere la nostra attenzione per giungere a chiarire meglio certe particolarità culturali dell’antico Kāpīśa; particolarità che trovano peraltro un parallelò al di [448] fuori dell’Afghanistan, nei rilievi del gruppo E che sembrerebbero piuttosto caratteristici della regione di Mardan: un’altra iconografia, questa, che merita certamente un esame molto attento.\footnote{Durante la stesura di questi appunti, ho tratto grande vantaggio dalla consultazione dell’archivio fotografico del Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale di Roma (sezione Gandhāra), strumento prezioso che la Direzione del Museo mette a disposizione di tutti gli studiosi. Le figg. 9 e 10 sono dell’Archaeological Survey of India; le figg. 4-8 sono tratte da foto dell’A. che, insieme con quelle delle figg. 1 e 3, si conservano presso il Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale.}

ADDENDUM

Non ho potuto tener conto di due rilievi, presenti nel 1972 nel mercato antiquario di Karachi, che mi sono stati cortesemente segnalati dall’amico Arch. Emmanuele Lizioli quando ormai questo articolo era stato impaginato. Mi è però consentito riprodurre qui le fotografie\footnote{Ambedue conservate nell’archivio del Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, sez. Gandhāra, n. 1174 (fig. 12) e 1175 (fig. 13).} fornitemi dallo stesso Arch. Lizioli – che cordialmente ringrazio – e aggiungere alcune brevi considerazioni.

Il primo dei due rilievi (fig. 12) è una lunetta trilobata (0,73 x 0,50) in cui è rappresentato l’episodio dell’“elemosina della polvere”. Osserveremo che anche qui i fanciulli sono due e che, come nel rilievo della collezione Brundage (vedi nota 31), quello in piedi è vestito, l’altro ignudo.

Il secondo rilievo (fig. 13) è certamente più importante: si tratta di una pseudo-nichchia (0,76 x 0,38) la cui zona centrale è suddivisa in quattro pannelli a rilievo; li elenco dal basso: 1) Dī̯pamkara-jiṭaka; 2) la c.d. “elemosina della polvere”; 3) la Prima Predicazione; 4) il Bodhisattva Maitreya tra due adoranti. Ancora una volta, dunque, le due scene le troviamo associate, anche se in
un contesto diverso: non più poste ai lati di un'immagine del Buddha ma l'una all'altra sovrapposta e in uno stesso asse con la Prima Predicazione e con l'immagine del Buddha del futuro – riconoscibile per la posizione delle gambe, per la fiaschetta nella mano sinistra e per il gesto della mano destra portata alla spalla con il palmo in dentro\textsuperscript{16} – posta a coronamento del tutto, nella lunetta superiore.

[449] Complessi iconografici di questo genere non sono di immediata lettura né di agevole interpretazione: accontentiamoci per ora di trarne il dato evidente dell'accostamento delle due scene in basso, che è poi quanto interessa l'argomento di questo articolo.

SUMMARY

In one of his articles Giuseppe Tucci took into consideration an image of the Buddha, where he is shown seated with flames on his shoulders (fig. 1). This image, which is part of the Islay Lyons collection, was on display in the exhibition of Gandharan art that was held in Rome and Turin in 1958. Whereas Bussagli, in the catalogue of the exhibition, cautiously put forward the hypothesis that it was "a cult image of Dipamkara", Tucci considers it to be the image of the Buddha Siddhārtha in the story of the conversion of Apalāha as it is told in the Vinaya of the Mulasravastivādins.

Apart from any theories that might be worked out from the examination of this one relief, some useful hints for its interpretation can be got from another group of images of the Buddha, sitting or standing, that mostly come from Kāpiśa. We can get some useful guidance from a passage in the Suvannarhăṣasūtra that Tucci mentions, according to which flames emanate from the Buddhas when they reveal themselves to the Bodhisattvas.

The images of the Buddha with flames emanating from his shoulders that come from Kāpiśa are generally well known and their significance in connection with the Iranian x'arenāh and the "dynastic" religion of the Kuśānas has been pointed out on several occasions. Something that has never been remarked precisely, however, is the fact that this iconographical feature is often associated with another episode of Buddhist hagiography, namely the "alms of the dust", and that this episode, in other contexts as well, is often found together with the Dipamkara-jātaka.

Accordingly we can have the following groups of images:

A) isolated images of the Buddha with flames on his shoulders;
B) representations of the "miracle of Śrāvasti" with an image of the Buddha who has flames emanating from his shoulders;
C) representations of the Dipamkara-jātaka with flames on the Buddha's shoulders;
D) Dipamkara-jātaka and "alms of the dust" associated with images of the Buddha with flames on his shoulders;
E) Dipamkara-jātaka and "alms of the dust" associated in a different context.

With regard to the representations of the Dipamkara-jātaka in Gandharan reliefs, only some from Kāpiśa have the particular feature of the flames issuing from the Buddha's shoulders:

C1) Stele from Shotorak no. 149, in the Kabul Museum (fig. 2): a standing Buddha, in abhayamudrā, with flames emanating from his shoulders. Above, Indra and Brahmā in adoration and, at the top, five lotus blossoms. On the lower left, the young ascetic is shown twice: in the act of throwing
lotus blossoms towards Dipamkara and prostrate at the feet of the Enlightened One. On the lower right there is a haloed Bodhisattva in abhaya-mudrā standing on a pedestal (the future Siddhārtha?).

The following images can be associated with this one from Shotorak:

[C.2] Relief from Shotorak no. 113, in the Kabul Museum: Buddha in abhaya-mudrā with flames surrounding his halo. To the left is the Dipamkara-jātaka, to the right a haloed standing figure (now almost completely missing), perhaps similar to the one in C.1.

[C.3] Fragment of a stele from Shotorak, in the Musée Guimet in Paris (fig. 3): similar to the foregoing one, but only the lower left corner survives.

Let us now go on to group D which is more interesting:

D 1) An image of the Buddha from the Kabul neighbourhood, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Acc. no. A.23220 (formerly K. 1): sitting Buddha, with flames emanating from his shoulders. On his halo there are the representations – on stemmed lotus blossoms – of the "alms of the dust" (left) and the Dipamkara-jātaka (right).

D 2) Relief from Shotorak no. 171, in the Kabul Museum: Buddha sitting in dhyānāsana with flames on his shoulders. On the left there is a stemmed lotus blossom on which is represented the "alms of the dust".

D 3) Relief from Shotorak no. 197: "alms of the dust" on a stemmed lotus blossom. It comes from a nimbus (cf. D 2) and was originally situated to the (proper) right of a Buddha.

D 4) Stele from Kāpiśa, in the Kabul Museum (figs. 4-6): standing Buddha who is performing the "miracle of Śravasti" with flames on his shoulders and water flowing from his feet. On the left there is a projecting panel with two scenes, one above the other: the lower one shows the "alms of the dust" (fig. 6) and the upper one an offering to the Buddha (fig. 5).

D 5) Image of the Buddha, from Kāpiśa, in the Kabul Museum (figs. 7-8): sitting Buddha with flames emanating from his shoulders. On the left there is a stemmed lotus blossom, on which is represented the "alms of the dust" scene (fig. 8).

We can put forward the hypothesis that the Dipamkara-jātaka was represented on the missing part of the reliefs D 2, D 3, D 4 and D 5. This conjecture is based on a comparison with the main image (D 1) and with the works in the following group:

E 1) Stele from Sahri Bahlol, in the Peshawar Museum, no. 1554: the Buddha in dharmacakramudrā, in the second phase of the "miracle of Śravasti", is
in the centre. Above, on either side of a stūpa, there are represented the "alms of the dust" (left) and the Dipamkara-jātaka (right).

E 2) A fragment in the Peshawar Museum, no. 1852: from a relief that is similar to E 1.

E 3) A fragment in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, no. D.G. 36: from a stela that is similar to the foregoing ones. Of the Dipamkara-jātaka scene, we can still see the figure of a young ascetic kneeling on a lotus blossom.

E 4) A fragment from Takht-i Bahi, in the Patna Museum, no. 5867: similar to the foregoing one.

These Gandharan reliefs have the two scenes on either side of a stūpa, instead of having the Buddha emanating flames as the central figure. We come across the same situation in two well-known Gupta reliefs that have not always been correctly identified.

[E 5] Reliefs on either side of the entrance to cave XIX at Ajañṭā (between them we can make out the stūpa at the back of the cave; figs. 9-10): the Dipamkara-jātaka is on the left (fig. 9), while on the right the Buddha with the alms bowl is being addressed by a boy (fig. 10).

The relief on the right closely resembles, in many aspects, the Gandharan reliefs that are usually labelled "alms of the dust", on the grounds of Foucher's basic work, and Madeleine Hallade interpreted it in this way. Others, however, think it represents the meeting between the boy Rāhula and his father Siddhārtha during the latter's visit to Kapilavastu. The scene also appears in a painting at Ajañṭā, in the aforementioned cave XIX and also in cave XVII.

In the "alms of the dust" episode, which is narrated in the Divyavadāna and repeated by Fa-hsien, the Buddha Siddhārtha meets two boys and foretells that one of them (who, not having anything else, had touched him by offering a handful of dust) will become a powerful monarch (Aśoka) in a future life. The scenes on the Gandharan reliefs that are identified as the "alms of the dust" are not in contrast with this account, and yet they also fit in perfectly with the episode of Rāhula and Siddhārtha. The Mahāvastu tells that the Buddha "went to visit Yaśodhārā, who put some excellent sweetmeat in the hands of Rāhula and said to him to give them to his father. Rāhula put the sweetmeat in the Buddha's bowl and then sat down in his shadow, saying to his mother 'Pleasant, mother, is the shade of the recluse'. But Yaśodhārā said to the young Rāhula, 'Ask for your father's wealth'. The young Rāhula did so; then the Buddha replied, 'Rāhula, leave home, then I will give you your father's wealth'.''

The frequent presence of two boys (an argument in favour of Foucher's
proposed identification) could also be explained by taking the two figures as being the same boy in two different moments of the one episode (a common occurrence in Gandharan art): that is to say, Rāhula is seen offering the sweetmeat to his father and sitting in Siddhārtha’s shadow, or, when both figures are standing, addressing Siddhārtha with the request suggested by his mother. Moreover, in some reliefs a female figure (Yaśodhara?) can be seen next to one of the boys, for instance, in the one from Sahri Bahlol in the Peshawar Museum, no. 1708. In the relief no. 2088 in the Lahore Museum, from Sikri (reproduced by Foucher), she is shown in the act of giving the seated boy a push, a scene which would not tally with the “alms of the dust” but can be compared with the reliefs from Amarāvati, that can be identified for certain as the Rāhula episode. The offering scene in stele D 4 (fig. 5) could also be explained, in the context of Siddhārtha’s visit to Kapilavastu, as the tribute paid by Mahāprajāpati and Śuddhodana, which is mentioned in the texts.

The episode of Rāhula is not unknown elsewhere in Gandhāra. Foucher identified it in another group of reliefs, though in a completely different composition. The boy Rāhula, in another moment of the same narrative cycle, can also be recognized in a relief in the Karachi Museum. This relief, which has never been interpreted, is divided into three rows (fig. 11). In the bottom one there are three sitting Buddhas: a boy is turning towards the central one and handing him something, while on the left there is a female figure and on the right a male character. I think this is an episode of the visit to Kapilavastu that is described in a passage of the Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādins, quoted by Lamotte. In this episode the Buddha foils Yaśodharā’s attempt to win him back with a magic spell concealed in a sweetmeat (that she persuades Rāhula to offer him) and at the same time he gives proof of his paternity, so as to free Yaśodharā from false accusations, by emanating five-hundred perfect copies of himself: Rāhula, however, with true filial instinct hands the sweetmeat to the real person, his father.

In the Karachi relief we can easily recognize different moments of the visit to Kapilavastu: in the bottom row Rāhula turns to the real Buddha, ignoring the four hundred and ninety-nine other deceptive apparitions (here conventionally represented by two); in the middle row the Buddha rescues Nanda from his bride; in the top row Śuddhodana hears the women cry out when Rāhula recognizes his father.

But the main argument in favour of the Rāhula episode can be got from a passage of the Kao Seng Chuan, a collection of biographies of Buddhist monks in China compiled by Hui-chiao (497-554 A.D.), which is quoted by Soper. According to this source the missionary Guṇavarman, who, at the invitation of Wen Ti of the Sung dynasty, left Chi-pin (Kashmir) for China in 424, "painted with his own hand a figure of Rāhula, and the scene of the Buddha Dipamkara. When finished the paintings emitted light every night".

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Further on, Soper wondered why Guṇavarman had chosen that particular subject and supposed that it was due to a personal devotion towards Râhula and Sumedha, "that he might have chosen as patrons in his boyhood". The answer can be found in our reliefs. The episodes of Râhula and the Dipamkara-jñātaka were closely connected in Indian and Gandharan iconography, even at the time referred to by the Kao Seng Chuan (the Ajanṭā reliefs date to the 5th century A.D.), so Guṇavarman drew on a fairly widely known subject, without any personal motives. If we add that Guṇavarman came from the North-West (Chi-pin, as a matter of fact, seems to indicate a much vaster region than Kashmir, including at times the upper Kâbul valley and Kâpiśa as well), the use of the passage from the Kao Seng Chuan in connection with Gandharan iconography seems to be even more justifiable. Furthermore, the emission of light from the paintings suggests a connection with the image of the Buddha with flames on his shoulders, with which the two scenes are often associated.

The reason for this association is clearer in the case of the Dipamkara-jñātaka: the Mahâvastu describes the sublime emanation of light that accompanies the prophecy. Perhaps it is one of those apparitions of a Buddha to a Bodhisattva that the aforementioned passage from the Suvamaprabhâsasthâna refers to. In addition, the allusion to light in the name Dipamkara (dīpa "light", dipamkara 'he who makes, or causes, light') further accounts for the association with flames in the reliefs from Kâpiśa. The presence of the two scenes in question in a context such as the "miracle of Śrâvasti" is explained not only because it is one of the luminous apparitions of the Buddha, but also because the representations that we traditionally call the "miracle of Śrâvasti" depict in actual fact the so-called "twin miracles" (yamakapratibhâryânti) which the Buddha does not only perform at Śrâvasti but on several other occasions as well, including the visit to Kapilavastu.

The doubt that still persists, however, between the "alms of the dust" and the episode of Râhula may be due to a real ambivalence in the iconographical schema. The interpretation of the scene in one way or the other could have been due to the increasing influence of a politico-religious ideology that established a particular parallelism between Buddha and sovereign, even more so in a place like Kâpiśa, one of the centres of political power in the Kuṣāṇa empire. The proclamation of a future cakravartin would fit very well into the cultural sphere of Kâpiśa, but we must not forget that the Râhula episode can also be interpreted in a "dynastic" sense, as it was still a matter of transmitting certain powers from father to son and, what is more, within a family of the warrior class.

Coming back to the stele no. 149 from Shotorak (C 1) (fig. 2), we might say that it is, in a way, unique, not only because we do not have any other examples of the same type (Dipamkara-jñātaka with flames on the Buddha's shoulders: there is some doubt about the stele [C 3] on account of its frag-
mentary state), but also because it seems to represent a mixture of the normal representation of the jātaka (possibly with a flaming mandorla, as in [C.2] and [C.3]) with the iconographies in group D, in which the Dipamkara-jātaka and the "alms of the dust" are depicted on either side of an image of the Buddha with flames on his shoulders.

Compared with the rest of Gandharan art, these last-named represen-
tations are, in my opinion, the newest iconographical expression, though at the same time, "normal" or fully accepted by the circles in which it originated. And it is to this iconography, rather than to the other variations that we have examined, that we must turn our attention in future, in order to gain a clearer understanding of certain peculiarities of the culture of ancient Kāpiśa. These peculiarities can be compared, outside of Afghanistan, with the reliefs in group E, which would seem to be characteristic of the Mardan region: it would certainly be worthwhile devoting a careful study to this iconography as well.

ADDENDUM

The two reliefs shown in figs. 12 and 13, that were on the antiquarian market in Karachi in 1972, were kindly pointed out to me by my friend Emmanuele Lizioli when this article was already in the press. In the first (fig. 12) we can see the episode of the "alms of the dust", while in the second (fig. 13), inside the four panels in the central part of a pseudo-niche, we have (from the bottom): Dipamkara-jātaka; the "alms of the dust"; the First Sermon; the Bodhisattva Maitreya between two worshippers. Once again the two scenes are associated, although in a different context, which cannot be readily understood or easily interpreted.
THE STORY OF THE BUDDHA AND THE SKULL-TAPPER
A NOTE IN GANDHARAN ICONOGRAPHY

From Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli 39, 1979, pp. 395-420

[...] those who have deceased in the world of the gods may be reborn among men, and those deceased in the world of men may be reborn in the world of the gods, or anywhere else. In this way the world revolves round the five kinds of rebirth like an ox yoked to an oil-pressing mill.

Visuddhimagga, VIII 34

[395] The representations of skeletons or skulls, though rather unusual, are certainly not unknown in Gandharan and cognate iconographies.

Let us leave aside such peculiar characters as the god Yama in his skeletal form – which is to be seen e.g. in a painting in Cave 254 at Tun-huang¹ or perhaps also in a unique representation of a danse macabre in the Red Cupola Cave at Qizil² –, the emaciated Buddha reduced to just his skin on the otherwise bare bones,³ as well as other figures that have been found in a fragmentary condi-

¹ Figs. 1-2 correspond to Pl. Ia, b of the original article; figs. 3-15 to Pls. IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IV, Va, Vb, VIa, VIb, VIIa, VIIb, VIIIa, VIIIb. [Eds.]
⁴ One should recall the famous fasting Buddhas in the Lahore and Peshawar Museums and the several less known but similar representations of the same subject. See e.g. J. Meunić, Shotonak (MDAFA X), Paris 1942, p. 42, pl. XVI 53; L. Hambis, ed., Toumchouq. Planches (Mission Paul Pelliot I), Paris 1961, figs. 243, 244, 367, 368; Id., Toumchouq (Mission Paul Pelliot II), Paris 1964, p. 380. Cf. also, for cognate
tion and cannot therefore be correctly interpreted — such as the upper part of a skeleton from Hadda, the skulls from Tumšuq, and another one from Khoko.

[396] Some of the remaining known specimens allude to the meditation on death, a practice which was fairly widespread in Indian Buddhism from the early period and underwent a process of systematization in the very centuries in which Gandharan art flourished, so as to find a very noble exposition in the first years of the 5th century in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*.

One of such depictions is the well known painting from Qizil (c. end of the 5th century) in which a monk is seen seated in meditation in front of a human skull. The other that I know is a recent discovery at Hadda, an underground room where a skeleton is represented in painting amidst the Buddha's disciples. This


6 Wood; Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. *Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, Katalog 1971: Ausgestellte Werke*, Berlin 1971, no. 467; Ch. Bhattacharya, *Art of Central Asia*, Delhi 1977, p. 85, no. 99, and figure. Miss Bhattacharya is probably right in surmising that this skull "was either fixed on the shoulder of a figure like the monk painted on the wall of the 'Sea-goer's Cave', at Kizil or on the hand of a monk like the monk from Hadda" (see *infra*).


exceptionally important monument, in all evidence a crypt for meditation, has been the subject of a preliminary publication in which we have been given all the necessary information to understand its meaning fully.\footnote{Z. Tarzi, "Hadda à la lumière des trois dernières campagnes de fouilles de Tapa-\-k\-Shotor (1974-1976)"}, in CRAI 1976, pp. 381-410, esp. pp. 405-8. The skeleton of stucco from Hadda (see n. 4 supra) is probably to be referred to this very class of icons. See also the skulls in a scroll from Qizil: Grünwedel, op. cit., pls. XVII-XVIII3, XIX-XX; Waldschmidt, op. cit., pl. 27a.

If we thus compare the importance of the meditation on death in the philosophical texts with the iconographical representations somehow connected with it, the paucity of the latter appears quite evident.

I shall try here to add to the already known Gandharan iconography a group of reliefs which deal with a cognate though different theme, treated against the background of a story of the Buddha's life.

\[397\] Here is a list of such reliefs and fragments that either are unpublished or, if published, have been misinterpreted.

1) Seen in the antiquarian market, Karachi (1974); now presumably in a private collection.\footnote{Photographs are kept in the archives of the Seminario di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples [now Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L'Orientale”. – Eds.] (Gandhāra 6).} Figs. 1-2.

Fragment of a relief defined above by a cornice composed of a plain fillet, a row of dentils and drops, and a higher, projecting plain fillet; by a plain band below. The scene is framed on either side by a Corinthian pilaster supporting a second capital in the shape of a double volute bracket decorated with a row of saw-teeth, on which the upper cornice rests.

The Buddha is seated in abhayamudrā on a massive grass-strewn seat decorated with a row of saw-teeth, under the branches of a jambu (?) tree (Eugenia jambolana Lam.). On either side of the Buddha stand two personages, depicted one behind the other: on the (Buddha’s) left, in front, a monk holding a skull in his right hand; right, in front, a man with his head wrapped in his mantle (from which a tuft of hair peeps out onto the forehead), holding a skull in his left hand and joining the fingertips of his right hand in mukula-basta; left, on the back, a young man with hair done in an usṣiṇa similar to the Buddha’s; right, on the back, a turbaned male figure. On the lower framing band, just below the Buddha, two incised kharosṭhī
characters of fairly certain reading: a śpa (fig. 3). If this corresponds to Skr. aśva, it may stand for the numeral “seven” and thus indicate the position of the slab (or of the scene?) in the frieze.\footnote{The position of a slab in a frieze is often indicated in Gandharan reliefs by kharosthī numerals or letters incised either on the back or on the smooth surfaces of the front (especially lower fillet), but I know at least one case in which the slab’s position seems to be “described” rather than “numbered”. It is a relief from Butkara I, Swat (M. Taddei in Sculptures Butkara I, part 3, p. 142, pl. CDLXVI), now in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome (Inv. no. 2088), on the back of which there are two incised kharosthī inscriptions, written with the same ductus (figs. 12-15), that I attempted to read as (1) ma jā ma e (centre of slab) and (2) ye ma ne a ni [or, better, te; the reading of the last character is doubtful] (centre of bottom side). I would suggest that this words correspond to Skr. madhyame (“in the middle”) and yena nayate (“beginning is from here”; √ ni “lead”), respectively, thus providing an interesting indication of how the assembling of reliefs in a decorative context was carried out, evidently by people who were learned enough to read at least short inscriptions. It is also noteworthy that the first consonant of the kharosthī alphabet (ka) appears at the top right (i.e. left of the scene represented), thus showing that it actually was the first relief to be placed on the wall. (I am grateful to Dr Donatella Mazzeo, Director of the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, for allowing me to reproduce the very nice photographs of figs. 12-15 which were specially taken for me by Mr Costantino Astuti; I am also greatly indebted to him). - On the other hand, the correspondence between aśpa and Skr. aśva is practically certain and is documented in kharosthī epigraphy by the Jamālgārhī inscription of the year 359, in which Aśpāvika corresponds to Skr. Aśvayuja (S. Konow, ed., Kharosthī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Asoka [CII, II 1], Calcutta 1929, pp. CLIX, 110-13, no. XLV, pl. 127 ff.). For aśva “seven”, see G. Bühler, Indian Paleography, repr. Calcutta 1962, p. 128; D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Delhi etc. 1965, p. 232; etc.}

\footnote{Photographs are kept in the archives of the Seminario di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Universitario Orientale (Gandhāra 5).}

[398] Top right corner partially chiselled out (fashion of chiselling same as on the back surface).

Micaceous schist pearly grey in colour; 29 x 37 cm.; thickness 4.7 cm. (on the left), 4 cm. (on the right); max. depth of relief 3 cm.

Broken on the left.

Provenance: NWFP; allegedly Sahri Bahlol.

1a) Seen in the antiquarian market, Karachi (1974); now presumably in a private collection.\footnote{Photographs are kept in the archives of the Seminario di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Universitario Orientale (Gandhāra 5). Fig. 4.}

Element of a relief frieze with an architectural framing like that of the preceding and almost certainly belonging to the same monument and frieze. Two incomplete scenes are divided from each other by a Corinthian pilaster with a garland represented on its shaft. The scene on the left is presumably connected with the scene in no. 1 of our list.
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Right – Two ascetics standing, turned to right, the first one bearded and emaciated, holding the kamandalu in his left hand, his right being raised; the second younger, his left hand raised with thumb, index and middle finger straight, ring and little fingers folded against palm, his right hand holding the kamandalu in a rather unusual way. Above are the branches of an aśoka (?) tree (Jonesia asoca Roxb. or Saraca indica Linn.).

Left – Six male figures are shown turned to the left and arranged in two rows. Lower row, first from left, a monk with hands in aṅjali; second, a turbaned layman with hands in aṅjali; third, a young man almost similar to the foregoing but having no turban on his hair which is done in an usṇīṣa-like chignon; fourth, a young man with undressed hair done in a top-knot, shown in the act of taking some flowers or other offerings from his own uttariya which he is holding in his raised left hand. Upper row, first from left, a turbaned young layman in the act of offering an object (a fruit?) he has just taken from his own uttariya, a hem of which he grasps with his left hand (as the fourth figure in the lower row also does); second, a young man [399] similar in attire to the figure holding a skull on the Buddha's right in our relief no. 1. At the top right are the branches of a śāla (?) tree (Shorea robusta Gaertner, or Vatica robusta Stend.).

Micaceous schist pearly grey in colour; c. 29 x 42 cm.

Few chippings.

Provenance: NWFP; allegedly Sahri Bahrol.

2) Peshawar Museum, no inventory number. Fig. 5.

A fragment of a relief defined below by a plain fillet. The scene, a part of which only survives, is defined on the left by a Corinthian pilaster within a frame.

The haloed Buddha is seated on a grass-strewn throne, in an attitude of dhyānāsana and abhayamudrā. Two male figures are shown on the Buddha's right: the one below wears a cloak that goes round his neck from where it was drawn up to wrap the head, the right shoulder being left bare, the left hand holding a skull, while the right hand is shown at breast height with thumb against the tips of the other fingers; the one above is a monk holding a fly-whisk.

A tenon below.

Grey schist; c. 15 x 18 x 2.5 cm.

Broken on the right; badly clipped.

Provenance: NWFP.

\[14\] Unpublished; photograph kindly supplied by Prof. Fidaullah Sehrai, Curator, Peshawar Museum.
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3) Seen in the antiquarian market, Karachi (1974); now presumably in a private collection. Fig. 6. A fragment of a relief defined above (?) and below by plain fillets, on the right by a narrow double fillet (possibly part of a frame?). The haloed Buddha is seated in dhyanásana and dharmacakramudrā on a low massive throne, under the branches of a tree (unrecognizable because of heavy chipping). Three male figures are shown standing on his left: the first (from left) is a monk (face lost because of chipping) who holds a human skull in his left hand and raises his right hand above it; the second is a youth with hair done in a chignon, shown in the act of taking something from the uttarārya which he grasps with his raised left hand; the third is a turbaned young man with hands clasped in aṇjali. The feet and a [400] portion of the lower part of left leg is what survives of a standing figure on the Buddha’s right.

Pearly grey schist; c. 45 x 45 cm.

Broken on the left.

Provenance: NWFP; allegedly Sahri Bahlol.

4) Taxila, Dharmarājika. Relief showing the haloed Buddha in dhyānamudrā, his hands hidden in his robe, seated under an aśoka (?) tree on a grass-strewn throne. On either side, a standing figure holds a skull. The personage on the Buddha’s left is almost obliterated save for the skull, the edge of his robe and the legs; but the one on the right is well preserved. He wears a robe, one end of which is drawn up across his bare chest to his left shoulder, wound tightly round the neck and then drawn over his head, hiding all but his ears and a tuft of hair (a forelock) above his forehead. He holds the skull in his left hand and shows mukula-hasta in his right by touching his thumb with the tips of the other fingers.

Grey schist (phyllite); measurements not reported.

Badly chipped on the Buddha’s left.

Provenance: Dharmarājika Stūpa, Taxila, where it is (or was) still in situ “at the side of the steps near N 18 which lead to the monastery area”.

5) Bremen, Übersee-Museum, no. A16131. Fig. 7.

A corner element from a frieze defined above by a cornice decorated with

15 Photographs are kept in the archives of the Seminario di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Universitario Orientale (Gandhāra 7).
17 Ibid., p. 717.
acanthus leaves and half-flowers, below by a plain band. A row of dentils and drops runs below the acanthus cornice. The scene is defined on the right by a corner pilaster with Corinthian capital and a haloed Buddha image seated in dhyanasana on a lotus flower represented in relief on the shaft.

At the centre of the scene the Buddha is shown seated in dhyanamudra on a massive grass-strewn throne with front decorated by an incised geometrical pattern, composed by diagonally cut squares with small triangular incisions in the resulting triangles; above are the branches of a jambu (?) tree. Eight male figures are arranged in two rows on both sides: (the Buddha’s) left, front row, first from left, a youth with hair done in a loop and right hand raised possibly to hold something (unrecognizable because of heavy chipping) at shoulder height; second, a turbaned young man with hands clasped in anjali; back row, two turbaned men, the one on the left with right hand raised; (the Buddha’s) right, front row, first from right, a young man wearing a cloak that leaves right shoulder bare and wraps neck and head (but the cloth that wraps neck and head seems to be separate from the cloak) — though a tuft of hair is visible on the forehead —, holding a skull in his left hand and showing mukula-hasta in his right hand.

The photograph reproduced here is due to Mr Helmut Jäger and was kindly supplied to me by Dr Andreas Lüderwaldt, Übersee-Museum, Bremen.

19 Gropp, loc. cit., wrongly sees "adossierten Tieren" in this capital.

20 This is a pattern somewhat similar to the so-called "ashrays": R.M. Smith, "Bead-and-Reel in India", in EW 25, 1975, p. 453.

21 Gropp, loc. cit., wrongly defines it "papal tree", "mit dem vielleicht der 'Baum der Erlösung' gemeint ist".

22 Gropp, loc. cit., wrongly opines that this and the following character in similar attire "sind in baktische Tracht gekleidet". The suggested comparisons with costumes represented in Achaemenian reliefs (Gropp, op. cit., p. 343) are pointless; the dress worn by the two figures in the Bremen relief as well as in other reliefs of our group is no ethnical peculiarity, rather it is the characteristic feature of a religious sect or community. On the other hand, figures with heads wrapped in cloth as in the Persepolis reliefs are certainly not unusual in Gandhara, but one can easily distinguish them from our skull-handlers.

23 Gropp, op. cit., pp. 356-57, has failed to identify the skull as such because it is represented in an exceptionally crude way in this relief; moreover it is obvious that our identification was made possible by comparison with the other reliefs in this group. Gropp’s opinion that this relief represents the story of Tapussa (Trapusa) and Bhallika is to be discarded because of this very identification. Dr A. Lüderwaldt has kindly written to me (19th Jan., 1977) that he is "inclined to agree that it is a head". But, he adds, "even after looking at the original sculpture, I am not quite certain. Clearly visible is a hairdo, while what might be the face is even and without any protrusions".
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(thumb placed against the tips of the other fingers); second, similar to the preceding but with left hand holding a stick (rather, a bundle of sticks: see infra) and right raised at shoulder height with palm inwards; back row, two young men, the one on the right turbaned, the other one with hair done in a chignon and right hand raised.

Grey schist; 30 x 38 cm.

Acanthus cornice and pilaster on the right corroded.

Provenance: NWFP.

6) Paris, Musée Guimet, no. 17.131.²⁴

A fragment from a relief, including a standing young man turned to left and wearing a cloak fastened at the hips, covering left arm and shoulder; [402] the cloth (a shawl?) passing round the neck, from which it is drawn up to wrap the head, is clearly separate from the cloak. The end of a tuft of hair peeps out on the forehead. The young man holds a human skull in his left hand and his right hand is shown touching the cranium.

Stucco; 29 x 9.5 x 4.5 cm.

Provenance: Tapa Kalan, Hadda (Barthoux excavations).²⁵

Though I have not seen the original, I might suggest that the skull is held with face upwards, so that the smooth round portion is the cranium, while the portion showing what seems to be a "hairdo" actually is the maxillae.

²⁴ Barthoux, op. cit., III, pl. 39b. This figure and the following one are described by Barthoux as "Génies portant un crâne. Têtes d’enfant" (ibid., p. 15). See also the Catalogue of the Exhibition La Route de la Soie, Grand Palais, Paris 1976, p. 39, no. 61; in the descriptive note some hypotheses are cautiously put forward – “Ce thème qu’on trouve en Asie centrale [i.e. ‘moine portant une tête de mort’] a-t-il vu le jour à Hadda? Peut-il être le personnage de la mort, telle qu’elle apparaît au jeune Siddhārtha avant qu’il ne quitte la cour du roi son père? Est-ce un démon bénin des assaûts de Māra? – but none of them seems to be acceptable, nor is the figure that of a monk.

²⁵ The provenance is indicated by Barthoux as "TK, 54, 56", referring to both this and the following fragment (our no. 7), as well as to the other fragments which are reproduced in pl. 39c,d. No more precise information is available from J. Barthoux, Les fouilles de Hadda, I. Stupas et sites. Texte et dessins (MDAA IV), Paris 1933. It is therefore impossible to state whether the two fragments (our nos. 6 and 7) belong to one relief or are only stylistically and typologically cognate. This is confirmed by what M. Robert Jera-Bezard kindly writes to me (17th Nov., 1977) concerning the stucco piece in the Musée Guimet: "Je n’ai aucun renseignement sur l’emplacement qu’il pouvait […] occuper. La ligne droite qui apparaît à droite de la figure 39b [in the book by Barthoux] correspond à une coupure faite certainement quand on a détaché la statuette, mais ne permet pas d’affirmer qu’elle se trouvait au bord d’un bas-relief, ni de fixer sa position dans ce dernier". I am also grateful to M. Jera-Bezard for the information he gave me on the exact measurements.

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7) Kabul, National Museum of Afghanistan, no. 62.3.163 (stolen). A fragment of a relief, including a standing young man turned to left and dressed in exactly the same fashion as the preceding one. He also holds a human skull in his left hand and seems to be touching it with the knuckles of his right hand’s fingers.
Stucco; h. 27.5 cm.
The part of the cloak that was wrapping the head is lost.
Provenance: Tapa Kalan, Hadda (Barthoux excavations). [403]

8) Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, no. I 125. Fig. 9.
A fragment of a relief, including a standing male figure, apparently a monk, wearing a robe that also wraps his lowered left hand and leaves his right shoulder bare. His raised right hand holds a human skull at shoulder height (cf. the monk in our relief no. 1).
The head is that of a monk but its position in relation with the body is wrong; this is either due to a pre-Museum restoration during which the original head was wrongly placed or even to the fact that the head originally belonged to another figure. (See Addendum II).

26 Barthoux, op. cit., III, pl. 39a; B. Rowland, Art in Afghanistan. Objects from the Kabul Museum, London 1971, p. 82, pl. 116. Rowland labels this figure as "a youthful monk" and adds that "The implications of this reminder of the vanities of the flesh are of course identical in Buddhist and Christian iconography", a statement almost nonsensical in this particular case (i.e., if our interpretation of the reliefs discussed here is accepted), but more reasonable if we take into consideration such works as the meditating monk from Qizil or perhaps even the skeleton at Tapa Shotor. A completely different though similarly groundless interpretation was suggested by J. Hackin, L’oeuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (1922-1932), I, Tōkyō 1933, fig. 11 (our no. 6), p. 10: "[...] adolescents aux grâces languides évoquant, avec une préciosité trop proche du maniérisme, une leçon de la mort qui pourrait bien n’être qu’une invitation déguisée au plaisir". See infra and Addendum III.

27 Both this and the following fragment are reproduced by kind permission of Dr Herbert Härtel, Director, Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. I am very grateful to Dr Härtel for the following information (letter of 22nd Nov., 1977): "[...] the two pieces belong to the same group which E. Waldschmidt published in his article "Die Stückplastik der Gandhāra-Schule", in Berliner Museen LIII, 1932, pp. 1-9 (reprinted in the felicitation volume Von Ceylon bis Turfan, Göttingen 1967, pp. 455 ff.). There seems to be no doubt about the Hadda origin". Inv. no. I 125 has been published in Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, Katalog 1971, cit., no. 72, pl. 9 (also Katalog 1976, Berlin 1976, p. 33, no. 79). For the posture of the head ("Der mit betonten Hüftschwenkung nach links geneigte Mönch hält in der erhobenen rechten Hand den Schädel, während sein Blick über diesen hinweg in die Ferne geht.") see my description here. For the interpretation of this and other similar figures as "memento-mori-Figuren", see infra.

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Stucco; h. 19 cm.
Both feet are missing; neck and adjoining portions partially disfigured by a clumsy restoration.
Provenance: Hadda (?)

9) Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, no. I124. Fig. 8.
A fragment of a relief, including a standing male figure completely wrapped in a robe that leaves only hands and right forearm bare. Both hands are raised at breast height, the left holding a human skull (cf. the figure holding the skull in our relief no. 5).
The head is that of a young layman but it obviously belongs to some other figure. (See Addendum II).
Though the treatment of the folds is somewhat different, it is not impossible that this figure belonged to the same composition as no. 8 in our list.
Stucco; h. 17.5 cm. (including head).
Head, feet, left ankle and most of left arm are missing.
Provenance: Hadda (?)

Though the scenes grouped in the above list differ from one another in the gestures of the Buddha images (abhayamudrā, dharmacakramudrā, [404] dhyānamudrā) and in many other details, I deem it reasonable to consider them all as referring to one incident in the Buddha’s life, the encounter with the skull-tapper, the oldest versions of which are those found in Buddhaghosa’s Commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya and in the Dhammapada Commentary.

We follow here the latter. A Brahman named Vaṅgisa who lived at Rājagaha and professed to be able to tell the character of the rebirth of a dead person by tapping the latter’s skull with his fingers, was taken to the monastery in the Jetavana where the Buddha then resided in order to show his skill to the Teacher. The Buddha procured four skulls, one each of men who had been reborn in the four states of existence (the world of men, the world

\[28\] Dhammapada Comm., XXVI 37 = Aṅguttara Comm., III 4, but "the two versions appear to be derived independently of each other from a common original" (E.W. Burlingame; Buddhist Legends, Translated from the Original Pali Text of the Dhammapada Commentary (HOS 30), repr. London 1969, Part 1, p. 51). The version of the same story in Dhammapāla’s Commentary on the Thera-Gāthā (CCLXIV 395-97) is derived from the Dhammapada Commentary (Burlingame, op. cit., part 1, p. 50).
of the gods, the animal world and hell). Vaṅgīsa succeeded in di-
vining the kind of rebirth of each of the owners of the four skulls; 
but when the Buddha asked him to exercise his skill on the skull of 
a deceased arhat, he of course failed to utter a correct reply. Then 
Vaṅgīsa was summoned to join the order, this being the condition 
for being taught how the fifth skull’s owner was reborn (or rather, 
how he was not reborn). So he did and eventually came to be 
known as Elder Vaṅgīsa.

"[...] Monks, – the Buddha said – my son now knows all about the 
passing away and rebirth of beings’. So saying, he pronounced the fol-
lowing Stanzas,

419. He that knows the passing away and rebirth of beings everywhere, 
He that is free from attachment, happy, and enlightened, such a 
man I call a Brahman.

420. He whose future estate is not known to gods or Gandhhabbas or 
men, 
He who has destroyed the evil passions and has attained Arhatship, 
such a man I call a Brahman.29

Similar is the conclusion of each story (the stanzas only change) 
in this Commentary traditionally attributed to Buddhaghosa, so 
that the story is only a frame for one or two stanzas of the Dham-
mapada that are uttered by the Buddha at the end of the story 
itself. As Filliozat aptly puts it, the Dhammapadattthakathā (Dham-
mapada Commentary) "est dans une certaine mesure comparable au 
Nikāya dont les sutta sons eux aussi des exposés de [405] circon-
stances et des sermons souvent conclus par des formules en vers. 
On peut dire qu’elle rétablit, fictivement ou non, les sutta dont les 
vers du Dhammapada pourraient avoir été tirés".30 It is well known 
that the stories narrated in it are very important for the interpre-
tation of the representations on the Buddhist monuments, just be-
cause such representations belong to a popular level of religiosity

29 Dhammapadattthakathā, N. 4.226-228. Translation in Burlingame, op. cit., part 3, 
pp. 334-36, Book XXVI.37. Other references to similar stories may be found in A.F.R. 
Hoernle, "The Sutta Nipata in a Sanskrit Version from Eastern Turkestan", in JRAS 
1916, 2, pp. 731-32.


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that is probably the same level the Dhammapada Commentary and other texts like the Jātakatthavāṇṇana were primarily intended for.

Whether the Dhammapada Commentary is the work of the famous Buddhaghosa or, as most European scholars are inclined to believe, it is not, it is a question that does not affect the relations between our reliefs and the text, since the same story is found in Buddhaghosa’s Commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya and both the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā and Buddhaghosa’s genuine works were written in the 5th century. This means that there is a wide gap to be filled between the earliest reliefs and the literary texts, because it is really very difficult to place our reliefs nos. 1-1a, 2 and 5, in the 5th century or even in the 4th, while I would not hesitate to attribute our relief no. 3 to that very period.

A recent attempt to arrange Gandharan reliefs from stratified excavations in the Swat Valley in a chronological order was made by A.H. Dani and K.W. Dobbins. Though the excavation report by Dani and the data useful for a chronology that Dani himself employs are both far from being a safe ground for further research, it is significant that the reliefs from Chatpat that more closely resemble our nos. 1-1a from the point of view of both style and architectural setting, are from the earliest period of the site, tentatively assigned to c. 50-125 A.D.

Now the following conclusions can easily be drawn from what I have been expounding in the foregoing pages: (i) the story of the skull-tapper, known to us from literary texts not earlier than the 5th century A.D., was [406] indeed already told at least in the 2nd century A.D.; (ii) the story of the skull-tapper, as we know it from

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33 See my review in EW 23, 1973, pp. 380-84 [in this volume. - Eds.].
34 Dani, op. cit., pls. 35b, 36a, b; Dobbins, op. cit., fig. 40. I take here the opportunity to point out that the right-hand scene in relief no. 66 from Chatpat, described by Dani (op. cit., pp. 76 f., pl. 36b) as a “dancing and drinking scene”, actually depicts the story of Aṅgulimāla (cf. AGBG, II, pp. 11-14, 854).
the Dhammapada Commentary, the Commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya, and other slightly later texts (e.g. Dharmapāla’s Commentary on the Thera-Gāthā) is the reflection of the usual controversies between Buddhists and Brahmans; such texts as well as our reliefs seem to reproduce one of these controversies at a much simplified and very popular level.

These are very poor conclusions indeed; actually this is exactly what we should expect from Gandharan iconography and such texts as the Commentaries. It is only interesting to observe that, as far as Gandharan art is concerned, the representations of skulls are not a consequence of a meditation on death as something to be afraid of. Nothing is so different from a Christian *memento mori* than this humorous Buddhist reminder of a possible ultimate extinction, “a consummation devoutly to be wish’d”, where no dreams may come (see n. 26 above). As a matter of fact, no Gandharan schist relief appears to refer to any kind of meditation on death, not even to the four exercises of concentration on the body as they are prescribed by the Majjhima Nikāya;\(^{35}\) death makes its appearance in Gandharan schist reliefs only in one of the Encounters\(^{36}\) and in the *parinirvāṇa* scenes, viz. in purely narrative contexts. The devotee is not entertained to concentrate upon that object of meditation, he is only informed that Siddhārtha did concentrate upon it and drew such and such consequences from his reflections, or that the Master died in such and such circumstances; apart from variants which may have a great importance from an ideological point of view, the Encounter with the Dead – as it is narrated in Gandharan reliefs – does not contain in itself any appeal to the onlooker for a meditation on death through an iconographical approach. What we have in Gandharan schist reliefs is of a much more rationalistic (though elementary) than emotional character.


The same can be said of our representations of skull-holders, once we have correctly interpreted them as the story of Vaṅgisa. The skull, far from being shown to the devotee in order to give him the cue for personal meditation, is only a morphological element necessary to recognize a story.

A change is certainly noticeable when we proceed from Gandharan to Central Asian art, but it is also probable that some relatively late Gandharan iconographies foreshadow the “Central Asian” attitude towards the representation of death. While the skulls in the story of Vaṅgisa are sometimes (as for instance in our relief no. 5) even unrecognizable if taken separately from the syntax of which they are part, there can hardly be any hesitation in seeing an effective stimulus to meditation in such representations as the skeletons of Hadda.

It is noteworthy, anyhow, that even those scholars who have tried to trace the origin of the European danses macabres back to Oriental iconographies, could not point out any Indian or Gandharan example, the comparisons being chiefly found in Central Asian, Tibetan, and Far-Eastern Art. 37

37 J. Baltrūšaitis, Le Moyen Âge fantastique, Paris 1955 (Italian transl., Il Medioevo fantastico, Milano 1973), chap. 7/II, has tried to show how such macabre iconographic themes of the European Middle Ages as the Dict des trois morts et des trois vifs and the danse macabre derive from Oriental art. A. Tenenti, Il senso della morte e l’amore della vita nel Rinascimento (Francia e Italia) (Torino 1957), repr. Torino 1977, p. 466 n. 1, is right in objecting that even if this hypothesis is to be accepted (which is anyhow debatable), this does not necessarily involve the consequence that there is a substantial identity of meaning between the Oriental Buddhist themes and the Western Christian ones. One should add that the comparison suggested by Baltrūšaitis (p. 242) between the painting from Qızıl with a monk meditating in front of a skull (which he describes as a standing skeleton! – but the whole description is visionary: “le squelette [...] se dresse en face d’un moine. Le crâne se tourne vers lui et lui parle [sic]”) and a fresco in the Lower Church of St Francis at Assisi where the Saint himself is shown pointing to a crowned skeleton, is far from being convincing even from a purely perceptive point of view. Also the assumption (p. 244) that the Lahore Museum relief no. 538 (AGBG, I, p. 405, fig. 202; GAP, no. 64) shows a daemon wearing a skull as a mask, is based on the wrong description of the relief given by A. Grünwedel and J. Burgess, Buddhist Art in India, London 1901, p. 99 (“The almost fleshless mask [...] is evidently intended for a death’s head [...]”) and the drawing reproduced ibid., fig. 48. Actually the head of that daemon (one of Māra’s hosts) is certainly “grinning”, “grotesque” and, if you like, “frightful”, but not at all fleshless. (See a good photograph in M. Bussagli, L’arte
Another interesting point is that, according to both the literary texts and the figurative monuments, it seemed perfectly natural that unburnt human skulls were available for the contest of the Buddha and Vaiśravaṇa and that, as a consequence, the practice of inhumating or exposing the corpses was quite widespread; the fact that the skull of an arhat was also easily available is even more interesting because this suggests that those practices of disposal of the corpses were also accepted for the most venerable members of the sangha.  

Del Gandhara in Pakistan e i suoi incontri con l'arte dell'Asia Centrale. Catalogo della mostra Roma-Torino 1958, Roma 1958, pl. XVII.

Arhats had to be cremated, "as the regular rules prescribed", according to Fa-hsien, XXXIX (Legge ed., pp. 107 f.). There is very little chance of a skull being found to have preserved its shape once the funeral fire has died out. Hsüen-tsang, II.15 (Beal transl., I, p. 86) speaks of "three methods of paying the last tribute to the dead: (1) by cremation—wood being made into a pyre, the body is burnt; (2) by water—the body is thrown into deep flowing water and abandoned; (3) by desertion—the body is cast into some forest-wild, to be devoured by beasts"; but none of them is explicitly referred to by Hsüen-tsang as being followed by the Buddhists. This indeed seems to be the state of affairs in Vedic India, if we just add inhumation, which is mentioned in the Ṛgveda as one of the two legitimate alternative methods of disposal of the dead, the other being cremation: see A.B. Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads, II (HOS 32), Cambridge, Mass., 1925, pp. 417 ff. The relevance of the Buddhist legends as far as the practice of desertion is concerned, has already been pointed out (Keith, op. cit., pp. 417 n. 6, 424 n. 6). Much information on funeral ceremonies and disposal of the dead in India and surrounding areas was collected from various sources by Rajendralala Mitra in the Journal and the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and reprinted as chapter XI in R. Mitra, Indo-Aryans: Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Medieaval History (1881), repr. Delhi-Varanasi 1969. Among the sources quoted by Mitra, those concerning the Himalayan regions seem to be particularly important in this connection: "Description du Tübet, traduit de chinois en russe par le père Hyacinthe, et du russe en français par M.***: revue sur l'original chinois, et accompagnée de notes, par M. [J.] Klaproth", in JA IV, 1829, pp. 234-56; R.-E. Huc, Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet pendant les années 1844, 1845 et 1846 (1853), repr. Paris 1962, p. 342; A. Cunningham, Ladakh—Physical, Statistical, and Historical: with Notices of the Surrounding Countries (1854), repr. New Delhi 1970, pp. 308-10. The following may be added: Odoric of Pordenone (1st half of the 14th century), chap. XXXIII 3-4 (G. Pulè, ed., Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Pordenone, Milano 1931, p. 233); Ippolito Desideri (1st half of the 18th century), Relazione, II, chap. XVIII (L. Petech, ed., I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal, VI, Roma 1955, pp. 108-9); E. Schlagintweit, Buddhism in Tibet Illustrated by Literary Documents and Objects of Religious Worship, London 1863, p. 269; further 20th-century
Lastly, a firmly established point may now be considered the identification of that particular iconographical type we have described above with a brahman. In this connection, one may recall what Ingholt rightly writes while commenting upon a fragment of a schist relief from the Dharmarājika Stūpa at Taxila (Taxila Museum, no. 579): "This fragment shows two interesting characteristics: the crown of the head is shaven, except for one lock, and the robe is drawn up so as to cover most of it. The latter feature generally indicates low caste, but the forelock may rather identify the head as that of a wandering ascetic; see Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, New York, 1903, p. 147, and a relief from Taxila [our relief no. 4]; also a relief of the parinirvāṇa in the Freer Art records are quoted by Petech, p. 330 n. 140 ad loc. cit. I am not inclined to attach any importance to the testimony of Nicolò de’ Conti (first half of the 15th century) who says that in the “first” part of India (i.e. between Persia and the Indus River) the corpses are buried in crypts (spelunche; see M. Longhena, ed., Viaggi in Persia, Italia e Giava di Nicolò de’ Conti, Girolamo Adorno e Girolamo da Santo Stefano, Milano 1929, pp. 165-66). Though this record has been taken by some scholars as referred to a custom of the Hindus (e.g., A. De Gubernatis, Piccola enciclopedia indiana, Torino 1867, p. 36, s.v. Anaghadgāba; and perhaps Longhena, n. ad loc. cit.), I am of the opinion that the Venetian traveller actually describes (with some exaggeration) the building of a Muslim mausoleum. A reference to burial grounds where the corpses were interred along with precious objects seems to be in the first chapter of the Pañcatantra (4th-5th century A.D.), as it was pointed out by A. De Gubernatis, Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie Orientali, Livorno 1875, p. 356: wandering in cemeteries is indeed listed among the possible ways of making money! (19: arthāhṛthi jīvaloko’yaṃ śmaśānāmapi sevate); but I prefer to follow the interpretation of this passage that was suggested by Th. Benfey (transl.), Panchatantra. Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen, Leipzig 1859, II, pp. 5 and 368 n. 23: “Auf den Kirchhöfen gehen auch nach indischem Volksglauben Gespenster und Ähnliches um und werden insbesondere Zauberereien getrieben”. I would not accept the translation given by E. Lancereau (transl.), Panchatantra ou Les Cinq Livres, recueil d’apologies et de contes, Paris 1871, p. 8: “Désirieux de s’enrichir, les vivants habitent même un cimetière”. In the field of iconography (in Central Asia), a burial ground or a ground for the execution of capital punishments is depicted in a wall painting from the Treasure Cave at Qizil (Grunwedel, Alt-Kutsch, et al., pls. XXXVIII-XXXIX), in which skulls, ribs and shoulder-blades are shown scattered round a pole to which a monk is tied (the identification of the scene with the Pupparattatā-āgata [Jataka no. 147] is not fully convincing in my opinion: see Grünwedel, ibid., p. II69, p. II95).

It is no. 115 of Hargreaves’ list in Marshall, op. cit., II, p. 717; III, pl. 226. Cf. also Barthoux, op. cit., III, pl. 94b,e.
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Gallery; see Viennot, *Culte de l'arbre*, Pl. XV, Fig. D [but B].

This description clearly shows that Ingholt had rightly rejected Hargreaves’ interpretation of the Taxila relief no. 114 as the story of Trapaṣa and Bhallika, an interpretation that curiously enough found acceptance also in the case of the relief in the Bremen Museum, though G. Gropp does not appear to have been set on the road by Hargreaves’ description of the Taxila relief, since neither this author nor the relief itself are even referred to by Gropp.

[411] It may be of some relevance to compare all the above-mentioned representations of brahmans with the character depicted in a relief from Sanghao in the Lahore Museum (no. 1111), representing the Coffin of the Buddha (fig. 10). The man standing on the right, holding a bundle of sticks, was formerly identified with an “undertaker”, but is now correctly labelled as “Subhadra”, the Buddha’s last disciple, who belonged to a sect of brahmanical ascetics. It is unfortunate that the surface of this and other similar reliefs is not preserved well enough to


41 Mahāparinibbānasutta. – AGBG, II, p. 849, add. to I, p. 558; also p. 850, add. to I, pp. 566-67; GAP, pp. 94 ff., no. 143. See also AGBG, I, figs. 281 (Lahore, no. 1043), 284 (private collection), 285 (Lahore, no. 1111), 286 (Calcutta); II, fig. 437 (Calcutta). Cf. a rail pillar from Amarāvati in the British Museum, no. 4 (D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London 1954, pp. 65 ff., no. 30, pl. XX1b), inner face, lower fluted area (the scene, for reasons that escape me, has been identified as the Enlightenment): the figure standing on the left, close to the Buddha’s footprints, shows a forelock on his shaven head and carries what seems to be a bundle of sticks on his left shoulder. Cf. also an ascetic or wandering mendicant (being the Bodhisattva in a former birth) in a relief from Bhārhatu representing the Mahābodhibaṭṭaka (Cowell transl., no. 528): B.M. Barua, *Bharhut*, Calcutta 1934-37, II, p. 147; III, fig. 132; A.K. Goomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris 1956, p. 85, fig. 137 (the ascetic is represented “tenant le parasol et les sandales de la main droite, la peau d’antilope sur son bras gauche, et le manteau sans douze enroulé autour du bâton qu’il appuie contre son épaule gauche et au bout duquel le bol à aumônes est suspendu dans un filet”); N.P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, n.p. or d. (Varanasi 1968), p. 167, fig. 520 (the ascetic “is seen wearing his scarf in yajnopavīta fashion with an umbrella in right hand and a triple staff in the left, from which is suspended his begging-bowl and a pair of sandals”). A forelock is also visible but no portion of the head is shaven. Fig. 10 is from a photograph of the National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST NO.</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>MUDRĀ</th>
<th>TREE</th>
<th>MAIN CHARACTERS</th>
<th>OTHER (SECONDARY) CHARACTERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-1a</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>abhaya</td>
<td>jambu?</td>
<td>monk holding skull</td>
<td>two laymen (no.1); a monk, a parivrājaka (?) and laymen (no. 1a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Peshawar Museum</td>
<td>abhaya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>a monk...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>dharmakara</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>monk holding skull</td>
<td>two laymen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Taxila</td>
<td>dhyāna</td>
<td>aśoka?</td>
<td>monk holding skull</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Übersee-Museum Bremen</td>
<td>dhyāna</td>
<td>jambu?</td>
<td>a young brahman with</td>
<td>a parivrājaka holding a bun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unshaven hair and forelock</td>
<td>dle of sticks; five laymen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kabul Museum</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9 (?)</td>
<td>Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>monk holding skull</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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keep the forelock visible, but I think that the other points of coincidence (e.g. the bundle of sticks in the Bremen relief) are sufficient for making us fairly sure that by this iconographical type was generally meant a brahman who led the life of a pilgrim (parivrajaka).

In conclusion, the reliefs we have discussed represent a scene known also through the literary texts, the ideological value of which is the following – (i) confutation of the non-Buddhist by argumentation and somehow magic powers (the Buddha enjoys greater powers than Vañgisa but their powers are of the same order); (ii) implicit reminder that nobody can determine that one will be reborn in this or another world; (iii) confirmation of the fact that arhatship means getting rid of the fetters of samsāra.

What is still subject to discussion is the problem of the variants, for which I am afraid that the elements at our disposal are too scanty. For the time being, let me limit myself to few notes that I have tried to put together in a tabulated form (see Table). I trust that my readers will agree that it is wise not to draw any conclusion before more documents are collected. This can be done through fresh diggings both in the field and in the museums’ store-rooms.

[412] A few words might also be added concerning the cloth that wraps our parivrajaka’s heads and often seems to be separate from the robe. Can this be an indication of a misunderstanding by

\[\text{\textsuperscript{42}}\] The forelock is perhaps visible in the relief from Nathu at Calcutta (AGBG, II, fig. 437). The hair seems to be done in a less conventional way in the relief from Nathu at Lahore (AGBG, I, fig. 281; J. Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, Cambridge 1960, fig. 72).

\[\text{\textsuperscript{43}}\] Let us recall the beautiful words of the Visuddhimagga I have put below the title of this article (transl. in Conze, Thirty Years..., cit., p. 92).

\[\text{\textsuperscript{44}}\] I have gone through all the museum catalogues available to me and the very rich photographic archives of the National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome. A Gandharan relief in the Allahabad Museum attracted my attention (P. Chandra, Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, Poona, n.d. [c. 1971], no. 109, pl. XLVII, scene on the right), but the information kindly supplied to me by Dr R.R. Tripathi, Deputy Director, Allahabad Museum, enabled me to rule out the possibility of identifying that relief with the story of the skull-tapper. In the words of Dr Tripathi (letter of 28th Jan., 1978), "...the objects in the hands of the figures are not human skulls. They are pots or bowls" – the description of the relief by P. Chandra being therefore confirmed.

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the artists who, in a later period (see reliefs nos. 5-7 in our list), had no direct experience of people actually dressed in that way and were misled by the insufficiently clear depictions of that fashion of wearing the robe in earlier reliefs?

It may be of some interest in this connection to point out that even Subhadra seated in meditation in the parinirvāṇa scenes undergoes a process of misunderstanding. In the earlier Gandharan reliefs he is very clearly represented as a parivrajaka (i.e., the same way as the standing Subhadra: see supra), either with head covered by the robe (this is the most usual way) or with a forelock of hair falling on to the forehead from below the robe; or even with head bare and hair done in a forelock; in later reliefs the carvers seem to have sometimes interpreted their predecessors’ canonically correct depictions in a wrong way by transforming the beggar Subhadra into a fully accomplished Buddha with usṇīṣa and large flaming halo.

Nevertheless one should be cautious in suggesting that the ancient artists were “wrong” – their “mistakes” may indeed be due to “re-interpretations” of the myth represented. In the case of the meditating Subhadra in the parinirvāṇa scenes, the problem is made even more complicated by the presence of spirits of flame coming out of Subhadra’s shoulders in a painting in Cave F at Bāmiyān (mid-6th century). It is obvious that much [413] care


47 See a small relief from Kashmir (5th century) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: P. Pal, "Two Buddhist Reliefs from India", in AAA XXI, 1967-68, p. 65, fig. 2.

was taken by the monks in order to have such important religious scenes reproduced in the most appropriate (i.e. functional) way, which does not necessarily mean the most traditional one. The Bamiyan iconographical pattern of Subhadra with flames may well have influenced such minor carvings as the one with Subhadra in the shape of a Buddha.49

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An additional note might deal with the rather unusual gesture made by Vaigisa in some of our reliefs - a gesture that I have labelled as mukula-basta in my descriptive notes. A few words will suffice here.

I must confess that when I first wrote those descriptive notes, I gave to that gesture the meaning of "perplexity", before I realized that my reading was due to the fact that I am an Italian, born and bred, and that gesture is typically Italian. It seems that, at least nowadays, it is used in no other country in the world with the particular meaning we Italians attach to it when the fingers keep their tight position and the hand (or both hands) goes up and down obliquely or to and fro almost horizontally from the speaker towards the listener, in a series of quick and short movements,

and Archaeology of Afghanistan", II, in Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, 34, 1976, pp. 295-99, which reads (pp. 297-98): "Similar examples from Gandharan and Indian art do not show any flames around the body of Subhadra, but in the Chinese translation of the Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra by Fa-hsien, and Hsüan-chuang's Ta-t'ang-hsi-yu-chi, there are descriptions of Subhadra entering into a state of being engulfed by flames and dying because he could not bear to witness the death of Buddha". See also S. Gaulier, R. Jera-Bezard, M. Maillard, Buddhism in Afghanistan and Central Asia (Iconography of Religions XIV), Leiden 1976, p. 19, fig. 17.

49 It is to be kept in mind that it is risky to consider an important painting like the one in Cave F at Bamiyan and a small relief like the one in the Boston Museum (see n. 46), as if they were on the same level. The painting at Bamiyan obviously was under the control of the sangha while the Boston relief was not: if one may speak of "mistakes" in the latter case, he cannot certainly do so in the former. It is obvious that I am not suggesting that the Boston relief actually derives from the Bamiyan painting (which would also be impossible on chronological grounds), none of them being necessarily prototypes of the respective iconographical variants.

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usually at breast height, or even in front of the speaker's face when a high degree of aggressiveness is involved (in the latter case, the meaning is "what's this nonsense you are saying?").

It may therefore be an interesting subject for research, whether the gesture represented in our Gandharan reliefs is to be considered as part of [414] the Mediterranean heritage of the North-West or whether it is purely local or even of Indian origin.

I shall confine myself to pointing out that the "Italian" interpretation of that gesture fits very well the situation depicted in our reliefs but the classical Graeco-Roman iconographical tradition does not seem to bear witness of this Italian gesture-concept link having an ancient origin. Greek art usually employs other gestures for depicting perplexity, such as touching one's chin or beard — an obvious meaning for us also — while the level of perplexity involved

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51 A. de Jorio himself, who is so self-confident in surmising an ancient origin for the contemporary Neapolitan gestures, does not suggest any comparison for this particular one. The following passage from Quintilian (XI 3.103) might be taken as a description of it: "Digitos, cum summi coierunt, ad os referre, cur quibusdam displacuerit, nescio; nam id et leniter admirantes et interim subita indignatione velut pavescentes et deprecantes facimus" (apud C. Sittl, Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer, Leipzig 1890, p. 356). Nevertheless, Sittl (ibid., p. 223) does not share de Jorio’s opinion that the gestures used nowadays in Naples are derived from ancient Roman gestures: "So viele Ansätze auch vorhanden waren, und so sehr der betäubende Strassenlärm und die hohen Mietkasernen des alten Roms eine verständigung durch Zeichen wünschenswert machten, scheint doch eine Zeichensprache nach Art der neapolitanischen, welche Jorio (S. 5) beschreibt, nicht ausgebildet worden zu sein, weshalb es unzulässig ist, wie jener begeisterte Verehrer seiner Heimat thut, neapolitanische Gesten zur Erklärung antiker Bilder zu verwenden. Nur die Askese bedurfte von jeher dieses Surrogates der Sprache: im alten Indien spielten die Gesten beim Vedaunterricht keine geringe Rolle" (Italics mine).

Figs. 1-2 - A seated Buddha and, in front, two personages holding a skull. Location unknown.
Fig. 3 - A detail of fig. 1 with incised kharoshthi characters.

Fig. 4 - A relief with two incomplete scenes. Location unknown.
Fig. 5 - A seated Buddha and other figures. Peshawar Museum.
Fig. 6 - A seated Buddha and other figures. Location unknown.

Fig. 7 - A seated Buddha and other figures. Übersee-Museum, Bremen.
Fig. 8 - A fragment of a relief with a male figure holding a skull. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.

Fig. 9 - A fragment of a relief with a monk (?), holding a skull. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.

Fig. 10 - The coffin of the Buddha. Lahore Museum.
Fig. 11 - Ascetics trying to extinguish the supposed conflagration at Uruvilvā. Lahore Museum.

Fig. 12 - A relief from Butkara I, Swat, with a kharosthi inscription on the back side, "describing" the slab's position. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome.
Fig. 13 - Back side of relief in fig. 12.

Fig. 14 - A detail of fig. 13.
Fig. 15 - A detail of fig. 13.
in the gesture made by Vaṅgīsa ("what is that?") as far as I know, finds no expression in the ancient Greek way of gesticulating.

On the other hand, I did not succeed in finding any similar value for such a gesture in present-day India, even though it is one of the twenty-four or twenty-eight basic gestures (mudrās or hāstas) in Indian classical dance, i.e. mukula ("bud")-hasta.\footnote{For a present-day compendium of gestures and poses in classical dance, see Gopinath and S.V. Ramana Rao, The Classical Dance Poses of India, 2nd ed., Madras, n.d. (1955?), mudrā no. 23. For the use of gestures in teaching the Vedas (cf. sāpra, n. 51), Sittl (op. cit., p. 223, n. 8) refers to A. Weber, "Über ein zum weissen Yajurveda gehöriges Compendium", in Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1871, 2, esp. pp. 94 f., 110 f.}

Nandikeśvara’s Abhinayadarpāna — a well-known concise treatise on dance of uncertain date, critically edited by Manomohan Ghosh\footnote{M. Ghosh, ed., Nandikeśvara’s Abhinaya-Darpanam (Calcutta Sanskrit Series V), Calcutta 1934; 2nd ed., Calcutta 1957, p. 38: "Now, to sum up our investigation about the date of the AD, we may say that the work surely existed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and it may have existed even a few centuries earlier. But its existence (in the present form) before fifth century is doubtful, though the kernel of the work may go back to a more remote period still".} — describes [415] mukula-hasta as follows: “161-162. Mukula (blossom). If the five fingers of a hand meet together, the hand is called Mukula. — 162-163. Uses: It is used to denote the water-lily, eating, the god of love [with his five arrows], holding of a signet or seal, the navel and a plantain flower”.\footnote{Ibid., p. 58. Mukula-hasta is depicted in a line-drawing on p. 75.} It would seem that there is no meaning connected with mukula-hasta that could be in any way surmised in the gesture made by our skull-tapper.

Nevertheless the first English translation of the Abhinayadarpāna, that was based on a corrupt text enlarged by the editor who had introduced passages from other treatises, adds the following words to those quoted above: “According to another book: the fingers of the Padmakośa hand are brought together. [...] Usage: charity (dāna), prayer (japa), humble speech, eating, lotus bud, self (Ātman), life (prāṇa), the number five, behaviour of an amorous woman, kissing children, worshipping the gods, umbrella etc., bud, accepting fruits, mixed race, brown colour”.\footnote{A. Coomaraswamy and G.K. Duggirala, transl., The Mirror of Gesture, Being the Abhinaya Darpana of Nandikeśvara, Cambridge, Mass., 1917; 2nd ed., New Delhi 1970,}
were conscientious enough to record in parentheses the term employed in the text for “prayer” of their translation, i.e. japa. Now this word in Sanskrit means “muttering prayers, repeating in a murmuring tone passages from scripture or charms or names of a deity, &c., muttered prayer or spell” (Montier-Williams).

It is thus possible to suggest a different interpretation of the gesture made by Vaṅgisa – he is not showing “perplexity” or “bewilderment” but only muttering the formulae that would help him in guessing the kind of rebirth. This is perhaps a little disappointing, but I feel that this is a more reliable interpretation than the one which first came to my mind. One might also see a confirmation of it in a relief showing the ascetics who try to extinguish the supposed conflagration at Uruvilvā – no. 464 in the Lahore [416] Museum⁵⁷ –, where one of the Kāśyapas is represented at the top right with his right hand apparently making the mukula gesture (fig. 11): is he trying to help the extinguishment of fire by means of religious formulae? This seems to be more reasonable than reading the gesture as “what’s up?” or similar.

We may find here a further confirmation of what was aptly pointed out by M. Ghosh with reference to the Visnudharmottara, that the knowledge of the canons of dance is extremely important for those people who want to become proficient in painting (and

p. 37. This translation is based upon a Nāgarī transcript of the second Telugu edition (1887) of the Abhinayadarpana, published under the editorship of Maṭābhūṣi Tiruvенkaṭa. The colophon (by the editor) reads as follows: “This Mirror of Gesture has been edited by Tiruvenkaṭācāri of Nidāmangalam, a very learned interpreter of Gesture and the like, according to the Bharata Śāstra, and into this work are likewise introduced many extracts from the Bharata Śāstra, for the pleasure of the cultivated public. Thus ends the Mirror of Gesture, with extracts from other books”. The additional passage concerning mukula-basta, quoted in the Abhinayadarpana edition by Maṭābhūṣi Tiruvencekata, was not taken from Bharata’s Natyasāstra, where mukula-basta is described as follows (chap. IX): “116. Mukula (bud) – [...] 117-118. (Uses): It is used to represent the making of offerings in worshipping a deity, bud of a lotus or a water-lily, throwing a kiss (vitacumbana), contempt, miscellaneous things, taking meals, counting of gold coins, narrowing of the mouth, giving away [anything], quickness and bud of flowers” (M. Ghosh, The Natyasāstra. A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy and Histronics Ascribed to Bharatamuni, vol. I, Calcutta 1950, pp. 180-81).

⁵⁷ GAP, no. 83. The photograph reproduced in fig. 11 is from a negative of the National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome (top only).
sculpture) – and this is due to the fact that dancing includes abhinaya “gesture”: “An acquaintance with abhinaya, in fact, gives the student of painting a more or less definite idea about the postures of men according to changes (physical, mental and spiritual) to which they are subjected by the different objects surrounding them”.

But what do we know of the canons of dance and drama in Gandhāra in the first centuries of our era? The obvious reply is nothing.

A systematic study of gestures in the “Graeco-Buddhist” reliefs might help a lot in drawing more precisely the outlines of Gandharan culture. What I have shown in this sketchy note on mukula-basta is only how difficult it is to see one’s way clear in this field, when neither symbols nor meanings are immediately referable to historically defined systems.

A totally different solution of this minor problem is suggested to me by some of the reliefs (e.g. our nos. 2 and 5: figs. 5 and 7), in which the gesture made by Vaṅgisa might be that of tapping the skull with his knuckles; this would be consistent with the texts but apparently contradicted by relief no. 1 (figs. 1-2). The Lahore Museum relief referred to here (n. 57) also induces me to believe that the sculptors of some of our reliefs did not intend to represent Vaṅgisa in the act of tapping the skull. Nevertheless it is also possible that this is true only in the case of our relief no. 1 and the iconography underwent a change in the course of time, thus confirming a comparatively early date for our relief no. 1; the other reliefs would be more in agreement with the literary texts from this point of view – since the texts are also late this is no difficulty. Our fragment no. 7 (which is comparatively late) shows Vaṅgisa in the act of tapping the skull with the knuckles of his fingers, while the same character in our fragment no. 6 (also late) is only touching the skull (or tapping it, but not with the knuckles): in both of them the position of his fingers is far from suggesting mukula-basta.

[417] The following might be the stages in a possible iconographical development: 1) mukula-basta with the meaning of japa or

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58 Ghosh, Nandikeśvara’s Abhinaya-Darpanam, cit., pp. 15-16.
some other meaning, as discussed above (our relief no. 1); 2) mu-
kula-basta misinterpreted by the sculptors — the position of the
fingers is read as “tapping the skull with one’s knuckles” (our
reliefs nos. 2 and 5); 3) the idea of “tapping the skull” is suggested
by various gestures (our nos. 6 and 7), independently of the tradi-
tion.

ADDENDUM I

A small painted clay skull (only 5 x 4.5 cm.) was found in
chapel XXXIV at Adžina-Tepa (Tajikistan). I would have listed it
along with the other skulls such as those from Tumšuq, were it not
found in such peculiar conditions that it is now possible to make
some guess concerning its original significance.

The archaeologists who excavated the sanctuary at Adžina-Tepa
have carefully recorded the exact finding spot of the main sculpt-
tural fragments from chapel XXXIV and this helps us in surmising
that some relation might exist between the skull (fragment no.
XXXIV/S 17) and the head no. XXXIV/S 10 (approximately half
of life size), that the same scholars have interpreted as a female
head, since they were not found so far apart from each other.69
Actually it is not a female head but the head of a young man with
a tuft of hair on his forehead, very similar e.g. to the young
brahmans from Hadda, even from the point of view of their facial
features.

A monk’s head was also found in the same room (no. XXXIV/
S 15),60 a little way away from the two above-mentioned heads. Its
size is given at the same time as “14 cm. in height” and “one third
of the natural size”,61 which is obviously contradictory: it is prob-
ably to be read as “two thirds of the natural size”.

If we take into consideration the fact that the approximate size

69 B.A. Litvinskij, T.I. Zejmal’, Adžina-Tepa: Архитектура, Живопись, Скуль-
60 Ibid., pp. 90-91, pls. 65-66.
61 Ibid., p. 90: “высота 14 см., 1/3 натур. вел.”.
of the head no. XXXIV/S 10 may have been indicated as "half of the natural size" due to the impression it gives of being smaller than the monk's head because it is deprived of its upper portion (which was certainly wrapped by a shawl), it becomes reasonable to take the two heads as belonging to one and the same group. At the same time one should not be misled by the comparatively tiny size of the skull: a mere glance at the reliefs reproduced in this article (and the fragments from Hadda) will suffice to show that the skulls [418] in the representations of the story of Vaṅgisa were usually conceived as smaller than the heads of the skull-tapper and the other characters (apart from the Buddha, of course).

Was the story of Vaṅgisa represented in chapel XXXIV at Adžina-Tepa? This is pure conjecture that I leave to the archaeologists of Adžina-Tepa to verify by a careful checking of the finds.

If this ever proves to be true, the one at Adžina-Tepa will be to my knowledge the latest (7th century) version of this fairly old iconography, and the general religious picture of Adžina-Tepa will be modified since the presence there of terrifying deities similar to those of Tibet is surmised by Litvinskij and Zejmal' only on the basis of the assumption that the skull of chapel XXXIV is the attribute of a deity.62

ADDENDUM II

I expressed my opinion concerning the restoration of the two statuettes nos. 8 and 9 to Dr Herbert Härtel, Director of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. He confirmed (letter of 20th April, 1978) that at the time of their acquisition by the Museum, the two pieces were in the same condition in which they are now, and agreed that "it was quite clear [...] that the heads were not in the original position"; he was also so kind as to hand the pieces

62 Ibid., p. 106 f.: "Определить первоначальное положение черепа трудно, так как он являлся элементом украшения на головах многих устрашающих божеств буддийского пантеона" (p. 106). But see the head from Adžina-Tepa reproduced as pl. 45 in B. Brentjes, Mittelasien. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Völker zwischen Kaspiischem Meer und Tien-Schan, Leipzig 1977 (a daemon's head adorned with three small skulls).
over to the Laboratory of the W. Berlin Museums for analysis. The following report was obtained (10th April, 1978) from the Rathgen-Forschungslaboratorium: "Von zwei Statuetten wurde der Stück vom Kopf und vom Körper untersucht, um die Zusammengehörigkeit zu überprüfen. Dabei unterscheidet sich das Material des Körpers von I/125 (fig. 9) so deutlich von den anderen Proben, dass eine verschiedene Herkunft von Kopf und Körper anzunehmen ist. Auch der Körper von I/124 (fig. 8) besteht aus einem Material, das vom Kopf I/124 schwach verschieden ist. Das Material der beiden Köpfe ist dagegen sehr ähnlich. Wenn anzunehmen ist, dass Kopf und Körper einer Figur aus dem gleichen Stück bestehen, kann festgestellt werden, dass bei beiden Figuren Kopf und Körper nicht zusammengehören. – Riederer".

I feel much obliged to Dr Härterl and the researchers of the Berlin Laboratory for this important and authoritative corroboration of my hypothesis. [419]

ADDENDUM III

Dr H. Härterl kindly called to my attention (letter of 20th April, 1978) "the piece published in Pal's The Sensuous Immortals as no. 6" before a copy of that book was available in any Italian library.

When I managed to see it I was surprised to see that no. 6 (right) in Pal's book is our no. 7, i.e. no. 62.3.163 of the Kabul Museum.

I was also astonished when I read in the descriptive note on p. 26 that "for other similar skull-bearing monks" one is referred to the book by Barthoux on Hadda, pl. 39, i.e. to the very piece described and reproduced!

My astonishment turned into indignation when I realized that the other "sensuous immortal" (a Vajrapāṇi figure) in the same pl. 6

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64 Also Pal is of the opinion that: "In any event his [i.e. the character's] attitude obviously reflects that he his contemplating the transitoriness of life" (p. 26).
is only a fragment cut away from another relief from Hadda, belonging to the Kabul Museum, which is referred to by Pal as an "almost identical representation of Vajrapañi"!

How did the two pieces leave the store-rooms of the Kabul Museum? Who is the present holder of them?

The first question can be only partially answered to-day by a comparison of the photographic documents we have at our disposal: the original photographs published by Barthoux in his *Album photographique*, the brand-new photographs in Pal’s book, and the photographs taken by Frances Mortimer Rice for Rowland’s *Art in Afghanistan* before 1971. These latter give the clue.

If we look at them carefully, we easily see that the surface of the two figurines is scattered with minute cavities left by bubbles, their details are not so sharp as in the other photographs, some fractures are different, and the left hand of Vajrapañi is broken while it is not missing and shows no trace of having ever been damaged either in the original photograph or in the one published by Pal. In a word, the photographs published by Rowland were taken from plaster mouldings, stealthily substituted for the stucco originals.

The damages that these copies underwent (certainly due to the particularly fragile quality of plaster employed) make them slightly different from the originals, but there is no space left for doubt.

The inventory numbers show that the two pieces were entered into the Museum’s registers in 1962: there can hardly be any doubt that the substitution had already taken place at that time.

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65 It is Inv. no. 62.3.35: Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan*, cit., pl. 117. Rowland (p. 82) correctly observed that "As may be seen in the original photograph [published in Barthoux, *op. cit.*, pl. 40a], this figure was once part of a now destroyed relief representing the Buddha with various attendants". The relief had already been broken before 1932-33, when the Vajrapañi figurine was reproduced in a plate between pages 12 and 13 of the *Almanach de Kaboul* (Sânâm-e Majla-e Kâbol 1311). The damage presumably occurred during the troubled days of October 1929 which saw "people from far and near [...] busy plundering what had been left behind" in the Arg (the Kabul Museum was then housed in the Baghcha Palace) by the fugitive Bâchâ-e Saqâo (Sârdar Shah Wâli, *My Memoirs*, Kabul 1970, p. 109).

66 This is indeed confirmed by a note in the Museum Inventory book (Hadda 1962-63, that I consulted in November 1978), in which the newly appointed director,
We know very little indeed about the present holder of the two objects now presented as unpublished Hadda figurines in *The Sensuous Immortals*. As we are informed by a notice printed on the left-hand flap of the dust-jacket, “*The Sensuous Immortals* grew out of a 1977/78 exhibition by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, introducing to the public a vast private collection of Indian and Southeast Asian objects” (the “Pan-Asian collection”), but the person who formed “this extraordinary collection of sculptures [...] over the last decade and a half [...] wishes to remain anonymous” (p. 6).

The exhibition was held at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, an outstanding cultural institution in the USA that certainly cannot be held responsible for the theft. Will its Trustees manage to have the two stolen pieces given back to their legitimate proprietor, the National Museum of Afghanistan? Let us also cordially invite Dr P. Pal, who is a well known and greatly esteemed scholar, to exert his influence on the owner of the Pan-Asian collection.\(^67\)

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Mr A.A. Motamedi, pointed out that a score of Hadda pieces in the Museum were plaster mouldings – among them are the two pieces now in the USA.

\(^67\) In a letter dated 26th February, 1979 Dr Pal informs me that he will undertake to do everything in his power to convince the present holder of these pieces to return them to the Kabul Museum.
ADDENDA TO "THE STORY OF THE BUDDHA AND THE SKULL-TAPPER"
(\textit{AION} 39, 1973, 3)

From \textit{Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli} 43, 1983, pp. 333-39

[333] Since the publication of my note on the story of Vañgisa the "skull-tapper" in Gandharan art I have been receiving friendly letters from many colleagues, some of them containing suggestions on the subject of the note itself or adding further evidence.

I take great pleasure in including such valuable material in this additional note of mine. My heartfelt thanks go to all these colleagues as well as to the others who have simply expressed their agreement with the solutions I had proposed.

* * *

A hitherto unpublished relief was made known to me by Mme Francine Tissot of the Musée Guimet, who has also provided two nice photographs of the piece. This will be our number


A fragment of a relief showing an architectural framing like that of our nos. 1 and 1a. Two incomplete scenes are divided from each other by a "Corinthian" pilaster with a single groove.

Right – Two standing male characters facing right, the one on the right in monastic clothes and with shaven head, the other also wrapped in a cloak but with hair done in a chignon; a third character (a monk) is shown

\footnote{Figs. 1-4 correspond to Pls. I, IIa, IIb, III of the original article [Eds.].}
ON GANDHÄRA

above with shaven head and in the gesture of throwing flowers to the right.
Left – Two monks facing left: the one represented in the foreground has his right hand raised at shoulder level while his left holds a skull, an attitude very similar to that of the same character in our no. 3.
Schist; h. 26.1 cm.
Broken on the right and left.
Provenance: unknown (Mission A. Foucher).

[334] Though this relief adds nothing to what we already know, I am glad to publish it not only for the mere sake of completeness, but also because a satisfactory study of this iconography will be possible only when it is exemplified by a fairly large group of reliefs, so that one can allow for possible variants.

* * *

Professor Dieter Schlingloff, of Munich University, called my attention to the story of Mṛgaśīra, in the Cīravastu of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (272, 5, 1):¹ a gazelle once drank the urine of a rṣī and hence she was delivered of a human child who had a gazelle’s head. When the child was grown up, he became able to tell the kind of rebirth of a deceased man by tapping the latter’s skull with his fingers. The Buddha felt that the time of Mṛgaśīra’s conversion had come and sent to him Ananda with various skulls. As Mṛgaśīra remained speechless when the skull of an arhat was shown to him, he went to the Buddha and joined the Community.

One should point out that, though the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins was well known in the North-West,² it appears that Gandharan art followed a different tradition, namely that of the


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fully human Vaṅgīṣa rather than that of the gazelle-headed Mrga-
sīra.

* * *

Mr Pran Gopal Paul and Mrs Debjani Paul obliged me by
sending me a detailed letter (1st May, 1980) with a pithy comment
on my paper. They write: "[...] we wonder whether the standing
ascetic with a bundle of sticks in Foucher’s fig. 284 and for that
matter in your plate VIa [fig. 10] could be Mahākāśyapa instead of
Subhadra who is shown seated here in a very characteristic manner.
We say this in response to your first paragraph on p. 411 and
despite the fact that this particular personage may [335] sometimes
have a distinct forelock projecting from his covered head, as in the
Nathu panel now in Calcutta: Marshall 1960, fig. 87 on pl. 60. For,
according to the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra VI44, the Buddha’s cremation
had to await the arrival of no one else than the senior monk
Mahākāśyapa (himself also a brahmin by birth [...]!). The already
covered coffin in your plate VIa [fig. 10] and the wrapped up
corporeal frame of the Tathāgata in Foucher’s figure 284 (in con-
trast to summary carvings in most other Gandhāra reliefs of the
type) seem to be both faithful visual renderings of the very moment
narrated in the text”.

I admit that this argumentation has all the distinctive features
of seriousness and soundness; nevertheless I find it too difficult to
accept that the senior monk Mahākāśyapa – even if a brahmin by
birth – was represented as a parivṛājaka and sometimes even with
flowing hair, as in the relief from Nathu in the Lahore Museum.¹ I
would rather keep to my opinion that the character standing on the
right in the Mahāparinirvāṇa scenes – whenever he shows the fea-

¹ Mr and Mrs P.G. Paul also pointed out to me that the relief in Foucher’s fig.
284 (said there to have been in a private collection and cited as such in my n. 41) was
later acquired by the Berlin Museums: see A. von Le Coq, Die buddhistische Spätantike
in Mittelasien, I. Die Plastik, Berlin 1932, p. 20, pl. 15a.
² AGBG, I, fig. 281; J. Marshall, The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, Cambridge 1960,
fig. 72.
tures of a parivrājaka – is Subhadra, also because I do not see any
difficulty in admitting that he could be represented twice in the
same scene – standing and seated –, this being a current feature in
Gandharan narrative reliefs.

On the other hand, I would not be really surprised if some (or
even most) of the Gandharan Mahāparinirvāṇa scenes reflect the
Mahākāśyapa incident, as suggested by my courteous colleagues. As I have shown in my “Skull-tapper” paper, pp. 412 ff., the Gandharan iconography of the Mahāparinirvāṇa underwent profound changes in its interpretation that led to actual iconic changes in the representation itself. Whether the Subhadra meaning is earlier or later than the Mahākāśyapa one I do not know: for that matter, they could also be contemporary.

As for the depiction of parivrājakas, one can now be referred to
the evidence brought forth by Mrs Paul in an article3 that appeared
almost at the same time as mine.

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Professor John C. Huntington, of the Department of History
of Art, Ohio State University, sent me a letter (16th February,
1981) containing such reasonable and methodologically relevant re-
marks that I deem it useful to reproduce them at length: [336]

"[...] I am quite inclined to accept your thesis that the scene is of
Vaṅgīsa, as no other comes to mind that would seem to comply more
strongly with the scene. This is not to say that I have no qualifications
for that acceptance; they are as follows:

1) There are two ascetics holding skulls but no follower of Vaṅgīsa plays
an important role in the narrative.
2) The gesture of tapping (at least for me) is a bit problematic but as you
so aptly pointed out this may simply be a cultural bias.
3) The narrative contains four skulls. The scenes only contain two.
4) It is always problematic (for me) to use specific detailed accounts from

3 D. Paul, "A Mathura Medallion in the Patna Museum", in OvA XXV/2, 1979,
pp. 43 ff.
the Pali canon as evidence for iconographic motifs that occur in other regions of Asia, especially one where we know there was a very strong literary tradition. Thus I would prefer to see a 'pattern' develop where there are many similar incidents or where an incident is repeated several times, best, both in the Nikāyas and the Chinese Āgamas, thereby demonstrating a more general currency. (Frankly, until someone undertakes to translate the Chinese, I think this is really out of the question to deal with the massive comparison of this material that needs to be made).

5) The detail of the forelock on the figure that holds the skull would seem to be a very important element. But again the texts do not seem to account for that.

6) In South India there were Kāpālikas which Lorenzen has written about that would seem to answer the basic description of these figures. However I know of no source that relates the conversion of any of their number by the Buddha.

All of the foregoing may just be displaying my ignorance of some passage that describes the scene perfectly. Most of my reservations can be explained away by parallel demonstrations of 'iconographic convention' where scenes are conventionally rendered with groupings significantly different than any known version of the narrative”.

Professor Huntington’s point 4 is especially important. Gandharan reliefs should never be taken as illustrations of episodes from the Pali canon, nor were they probably mere illustrations of any literary narrative, though I am inclined to agree with John Irwin that what Gandharan artists “give us is literary narrative in stone”.

[337] This notion deserves further probing, since the relationship between literary tradition, oral tradition, and iconography is certainly a crucial one and I would not dismiss the possibility that literary tradition often played a secondary role in the formation of iconographic patterns.

Our task is therefore not that of finding the literary account which might be illustrated by a given iconography but that of

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placing an iconographical rendering in a comparative comprehensive whole together with the known literary accounts. Both classes of records were actually intended (this is my feeling) to help in narrating stories orally and at the same time to avoid a too great or too free unfolding of oral creativity.

* * *

My attempt to explain the hand-purse gesture in the relief in fig. 1 of my "Skull-tapper" article is to be considered only as an indication of how rewarding it would be to go deeper into this particular field of iconology. I am fully aware that I was – and am – very far from reaching any safe conclusion.

It is not perhaps entirely useless to recall that a gesture similar to the one made by Vaṅgīśa in our reliefs is also performed by the Virgin (but fingers are shown open) in the Annunciation by Alessio Baldovinetti in the Uffizi Gallery; as Michael Baxandall has shown in his Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, the gesture expresses the surprise and interrogation at the angel’s words announcing the birth of the Child: "And Mary said to the angel, 'How can this be, since I have no husband?'" (Luke, 134).

I call the readers’ attention to this interpretation especially because the relevant pages by Baxandall are a superlative contribution and a masterly methodological essay. From the point of view of our nukula-basta it cannot be of any use because, as we already knew from the evidence available and as is now confirmed by more systematic survey, "If any symbolic gesture can be said to be truly national, it is this. The hand-purse-query is not only widely understood throughout the Italian-speaking world, it is also largely confined to that world".  

9 AION 39, 1979, p. 413 and n. 50.
11 Ibid. p. 48.
I shall limit myself to adding two pieces of evidence for mukula-hasta to those already collected.

[338] One is a scene on a pillar from Bharhut stūpa, depicting incidents in the Sāmañña-phala-sutta of the Dīghanikāya, as it is openly declared by a brāhmī inscription — ajātasatru bhagavato vandate, "Ajātaśatru pays homage to the Blessed One". According to Coomaraswamy’s interpretation, the personage standing on the right and facing the onlooker is the physician owner of the mango grove — Jivaka by name — who is depicted in the act of showing to Ajātaśatru the place where the Buddha is meditating along with his followers: Jivaka’s right hand is raised in a gesture that Coomaraswamy reads as that of pointing at the Buddha’s seat in the background, but his left-hand gesture — mukula-hasta — remains unexplained.12

Three monks are seated round a low massive table, each holding a scroll, in a Gandharan relief that I know only from a photograph, reproduced here (fig. 3)13 as our second piece of fresh evidence. The character on the left clearly holds his right hand in front of him with finger tips close to one another, i.e. in a gesture that I would not hesitate to label as hand purse or mukula-hasta. Is it here a gesture denoting argumentation?

* * *

Lastly I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Huntington who has also brought to my attention the existence of a Chinese bronze in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco representing an ascetic holding a skull (fig. 4), as well as of other similar representations.14 Seiichi [339] Mizuno, who has studied them carefully,

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13 Taken in 1978 in the antiquarian market, Karachi. The relief is 16 cm. high and is made of gray schist. The photograph is of rather poor quality and does not even include the whole relief.
emphasizes the fact that the skull-holding brahman is often accompanied by a counterpart — a bird-holding brahman — and refers to Hsüan-tsang who, in the 9th chapter of his work, records a stūpa near Nalanda, “where a heretic, holding a sparrow in his hand, asked Buddha questions relating to death and birth”. Watters had already observed that the heretic (a tīrthika) “with the small bird, ch’io, of this passage is mentioned also by I-ching, who calls the man a brahman and represents him as coming to question the Buddha. I-ching tells us also that the chaitya, about ten feet high, at the spot was called in Chinese the Ch’io-li-fu-t’u or the Ch’io-li Tope”. The same name, Mizuno remarks, was given to the Great Stūpa of Kaniska at Puruṣapura by Sung-yün (Lo-yang chia-lan chi, 5).

Mizuno was not able to find out with which literary text this story of the bird-holding brahman is connected. As for the skull-holding one, he refers to two texts — the first one being in my opinion a very different story from the one narrated in the relics referred to by Mizuno himself. The other text is the Ekottarāgama


18 It is the legend narrated in the Fu fa-tsong yin-yüan chuan (T. 50.322). A brahman, who had put together a great number of human skulls, came to Pātaliputra in order to sell them there. Since nobody was willing to buy them, he threatened to spread the rumour that the town was inhabited by a pack of fools. The upāsakas of
Fig. 1 - A fragment of a relief with two incomplete scenes. Musée Guimet, Paris.
Fig. 2 - A detail of fig. 1.
Fig. 3 - Seated monks. Location unknown.
Fig. 4 - A Chinese bronze representing an ascetic holding a skull. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. The Avery Brundage Collection.
ADDENDA TO THE STORY OF THE BUDDHA

(T. 2.650-652), in which the story of the gazelle- (or deer-)headed brahman is recorded.

Mizuno had therefore reached a conclusion very close to mine in dealing with a Chinese iconography which has little in common with our Gandharan scenes, but is certainly connected with the same literary tradition.

One may observe that in such reliefs as that reproduced by Mizuno in his figure 112 (the skull-holding and the bird-holding brahman on either side of a Buddha), there is a clear functional reference to the ultimate meaning of the two stories – the Buddha throws light on the mysteries of death and birth.

Pātāliputra therefore accepted to purchase the skulls but these were valued by means of a copper wire that was thrust through their auditory meatuses. When the wire pierced through both the channels, they inferred that the preaching of the Buddha had been listened to; if the wire could penetrate only half way, the Buddha’s words had not been well understood; when the wire would not penetrate at all, this was an indication that the Law had not been listened to. They took the skulls outside the town and built a stūpa over them. Through the merit so acquired, at the end of their lives, they were reborn among the devas.
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From Le grandi avventure dell'archeologia, vol. VI. Roma 1980, pp. 1943-64

[1943] "Kim fece scattare il cancelletto girevole; il vecchio lo seguì e si arrestò turbato. Nella sala d'ingresso si ergevano le più grandi immagini di arte greco-buddistica, eseguite – gli studiosi sanno quanto tempo fa – da artefici dimenticati le cui mani abili avevano sensibilità per quel tocco d'ellenismo che era stato loro misteriosamente trasmesso. C'erano centinaia di oggetti, reggi di figure a rilievo, frammenti di statue e lastre scolpite affollate di figure che avevano ricoperto i muri di mattoni degli stupa e dei vihara buddhistici del Paese Settentrionale e che ora, scavati ed etichettati, facevano l'orgoglio del museo [...]"

Il vecchio lama tibetano che, accompagnato da Kim, Rudyard Kipling fa incontrare con il conservatore del Museo di Lahore, aveva ben ragione di essere commosso: le sculture che egli aveva di fronte a sé costituivano già allora una delle più grandi raccolte di arte del Gandhara, testimonianza di quel culto buddistico che, fiorenti nei primi secoli dell'era nostra, era del tutto scomparso dalle regioni del Nord-Ovest e dell'Afghanistan. E scomparso anche da quella Lahore hindù e musulmana che ne ospitava le reliquie per volontà dei nuovi dominatori europei – e cristiani! "Il Signore! Il Signore! È lui, Sakyamuni", esclamò il lama quasi singhiozzando [...]"


◊ Numerazione delle figure dei curatori [Edd.].
ON GANDHÄRA

Ma se è facile intendere la gioia del vecchio pellegrino buddista di fronte alle inattese immagini dell’Illuminato, più complesso è il misto di sentimenti e di interessi scientifici che possiamo rintracciare negli osservatori europei.

Storia ideologica

L’arte del Gandhara, definita a volte “arte greco-buddistica”, a volte “arte romano-buddistica”, oggi più spesso e più prudentemente soltanto col nome antico della regione che fu il centro principale della sua produzione, il Gandhara appunto, ha acquistato un carattere di predominanza nei confronti degli altri aspetti archeologicamente documentati dei primi secoli della nostra era, soprattutto nel periodo kushana. Ma la storia della sua conoscenza da parte della cultura moderna non è tanto storia di romanze archiaci esplorazioni o di avventurose scoperte, quanto storia di un concetto, storia dunque ideologica.

L’avventura c’è, ma solo all’inizio. Protagonisti ne sono uomini che dell’avventura avevano fatto il proprio mestiere, anche se di caratteri diversi tra di loro e varia mente impegnati al servizio del regno Sikh e della Compagnia inglese delle Indie.

Ricordiamo lo sprejudicato generale modenese Giovan Battista Ventura che nel 1830 sventrò lo stupa (monumento buddistico a tumolo) di Manikyala, presso Rawalpindi, ricavandone reliquie e monete, ed il generale francese Claude Auguste Court, che continuò lo scavo dello stesso sito. La letteratura scientifica si impadronì dei risultati di queste indagini, ma la qualità non usuale dello stupa di Manikyala era stata compresa fin dal 1809 da uno dei più brillanti funzionari britannici in India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, inviato presso l’emiro di Kabul Shah Shuja. Le brevi note che egli dedica alla descrizione sono di una folgorante chiarezza: “Non vi era nulla di hindu nell’aspetto di questo edificio; i più del nostro gruppo lo giudicarono decisamente greco. In realtà somigliava all’architettura greca come un qualsiasi edificio che gli europei possono oggi costruire in zone remote del paese, servendosi di inesperte maestranze locali”. [1945]
Un disertore archeologo

Se il trovarsi in quelle regioni in quei tempi era già di per sé avventuroso, così per Elphinstone come per Ventura e Court, certamente non era l'amore per le antichità del paese a spinger costoro così lontano. Diverso fu il caso di Charles Masson che, sebbene avesse ottenuto un incarico speciale di informatore da Kabul, nutriva un interesse particolare e sincero per la ricerca archeologica, ricerca che – a quel che pare – egli andava svolgendo in Afghanistan prima ancora che gli venisse affidato alcun incarico da parte delle autorità inglesi.

Egli anzi era entrato dapprima nell’artiglieria del Bengala con il suo vero nome di James Lewis ma aveva disertato e si era rifugiato prima nel Punjab poi a Kabul. La sua posizione era dunque estremamente delicata nei confronti delle autorità inglesi e fu solo grazie all’intuito dell’agente inglese a Ludhyana, il capitano Wade, che egli fu recuperato al servizio del suo paese ed ottenne poi il perdono del re.

Vestito quasi sempre di stracci e spesso senza una rupia in tasca, Masson viaggiò a più riprese in Afghanistan, sventrandone anch’egli stupa e recuperando monete, testimonianze di un ellenismo che, riferito alle conquiste di Alessandro, aveva anch’esso dell’avventuroso. Chi ha qualche conoscenza del paese e delle manifestazioni così frequenti di iconoclastia, potrebbe meravigliarsi che Masson potesse tranquillamente fare i suoi scavi ed estrarne idoli senza far sorgere i peggiori sospetti. Scriveva infatti C. Grey nel 1928: "[...] si stenta a credere che fino a meno di cent’anni or sono anche il più povero e solitario fra gli inglesi potesse viaggiare, quasi senza molestia e più spesso ricevuto come ospite gradito, attraverso le parti più inospitali e selvagge dell’Asia e dell’India". La spiegazione c’è ed è ovvia: siamo negli anni che precedono la prima guerra anglo-afghana, quando ancora il paese non aveva conosciuto gli stranieri in quella che poi apparve come la loro veste consueta, la veste dell’invasore.

Fu così che le prime immagini ellenizzanti vennero alla luce: ombre soltanto per noi, anche se le descrizioni di Masson sono sufficienti a farci capire di che si trattasse. Due di esse – due teste femminili di argilla cruda che Masson aveva recuperato in un tepe presso Kabul – suscitavano l’ammirazione (altro che furia iconoclastica) di Mohammad Akbar Khan, l’abile figlio dell’emiro Dost.
Mohammad Khan, colui che pochi anni dopo avrebbe cacciato l’esercito inglese dall’Afghanistan.

Vale la pena di ricordare che il giovane sardar (principe) sosteneva l’attività di Masson con lettere di raccomandazione a funzionari di provincia e comprese perfettamente che egli non andava cercando tesori ma aveva soltanto interessi scientifici. Possiamo indicare in questo incontro (che divenne quasi amicizia) di Masson con Mohammad Akbar il primo episodio di interesse all’archeologia da parte di un’autorità afghana.

Nell’agosto del 1838 gli Inglesi riportarono Shah Shuja sul trono di Kabul che egli aveva perso trent’anni addietro; nel gennaio del 1842 il corpo di spedizione inglese fu distrutto durante una tremenda ritirata da Kabul verso Jalalabad; nell’autunno dello stesso anno una nuova spedizione inglese riprese Kabul e ne incendiò e saccheggiò per vendetta il grande bazar, ristabilendo – nelle intenzioni almeno – il prestigio britannico. Ma gli Inglesi lasciarono subito il paese e sul trono emirale tornò a sedere Dost Mohammad. Per circa ottant’anni non si parlerà più di ricerche archeologiche in Afghanistan e dovrà passare un secolo perché sia consentito di svolgerle a studiosi inglesi.


Restava, più a portata di mano, la regione del Nord-Ovest, ad oriente del passo del Khyber, che nel 1849 era passata formalmente dalla sovranità Sikh a quella britannica, sebbene vaste aree a lungo non fossero di fatto raggiunte dall’amministrazione inglese.


Furono diversi decenni di scavi eseguiti con mezzi impropri, come quello del complesso monastico di Takht-i-Bahi (presso Mar-
BUDDHA E APOLLO

dan), per conto del Governo del Punjab e ad opera del sergente del Genio F.H. Wilcher, oppure – e furono questi i casi peggiori – di scavi commissionati da studiosi o da collezionisti dilettanti per ottenere sculture.

Pochi furono gli ufficiali ed i funzionari inglesi che resistettero alla tentazione di avere in casa una testa del Buddha o un rilievo di arte del Gandhara, che si potevano ottenere per prezzo certamente modesto. È ben noto il gruppo dei rilievi, oggi al Museo di Peshawar, che adornavano la mensa del Reggimento delle Guide di Sua Maestà a Mardan e che gli attendenti (nei primi decenni del nostro secolo) avevano cura di tener ben lucidi servendosi di cera per scarpe. Molti dei rilievi e delle immagini trovavano fortunatamente la via delle pubbliche raccolte: nel 1864 si inaugurava a Lahore una mostra provinciale che poi si trasformò nel Punjab Museum (quello di Kim), trasferito nel 1893 nell'edificio attuale; solo nel 1901 si inaugurò invece il Museo di Peshawar. Sculture del Gandhara venivano trasferite in musei indiani anche lontanissimi dal Nord-Ovest: a Calcutta, a Bombay, a Madras, a Lucknow, a Patna, quasi in ogni museo indiano di qualche rilievo è presente un gruppo più o meno consistente di sculture gandhariche. Non è altrettanto facile trovare, ad esempio, bronzi dell'India meridionale o stele Pala del Bengala in musei del Nord-Ovest. Si tratta evidentemente di una scelta precisa che ha voluto privilegiare questa produzione di "influenza" classica, utilizzata quasi come materiale di propaganda ideologica.

L'arte del Gandhara va anche conquistandosi uno spazio nei musei inglesi, soprattutto il Museo Britannico ed il Victoria and Albert Museum; una mostra, la prima, si tiene a Vienna nel 1873. L'emozione è grande per Apollo trapiantato ai confini dell'India, ma la lettura iconografica è ancora incerta, quella stilistica assolutamente schematica.

Una eccezionale occasione di esaminare un gruppo consistente di sculture del Gandhara gli orientalisti europei la ebbero in occasione del loro Quarto Congresso Internazionale che si tenne a Firenze nel 1878, occasione in cui furono esposti centoquindici pezzi (fra interi e frammentari) provenienti da scavi che l'etnologo e linguista ungherese G.W. Leitner aveva fatto eseguire nello Swat. Scriveva il Leitner agli organisatori del congresso nell'aprile del 1878: "Ho il piacere di informarvi che ho deciso di mandare per
la vostra esposizione le sculture scavate dai miei dipendenti nello Swat dal 1870 alla fine del mese scorso perché, sebbene non siano molto numerose, queste sculture, che costituiscono l’unica collezione dello Swat esistente, dimostrano l’influenza dell’arte e della mitologia greche – specialmente in frammenti come quello con i centauri – in quella regione oggi inospite e ancora inaccessible agli europei’.

Si trattava dunque di uno di quegli sciagurati scavi per procura che però Angelo De Gubernatis, nel presentare la raccolta inviata a Firenze dal “dottor Leitner, nostro operoso delegato in Lahore”, definisce come i “suoi importanti ultimi scavi fatti nel Nord-Ovest dell’India”.


Lo stupa di Bhallar

Il Cunningham ci ha lasciato una descrizione attenta delle rovine quali apparivano sul terreno, sottolineando l’importanza di quella che egli denominò la “rovina n. 1”, il “Chir Thup”, oggi nota come stupa Dharmarajika, “che è pari in dimensioni al grande stupa di Manikyal” e che traeva il suo nome (“Chir”) dall’ampia fenditura praticata “o dal generale Ventura o da qualche precedente esploratore”.

[1950] Vale qui la pena di osservare che il processo di degrazazione dei resti di Taxila, soprattutto a causa di interventi dell’uomo, era drammatico già nel corso del XIX secolo. Vediamo che,
ad esempio, nel 1832 un altro esploratore inglese, Alexander Burnes, aveva descritto nei suoi *Travels into Bokhara* uno stupa presso Taxila, quello di Bhallar, dandone anche uno schizzo. La forma curiosissima che lo stupa vi assume è dovuta al fatto che la parte inferiore del paramento e della muratura era stata strappata per recuperare materiale da costruzione. Una breccia era già stata prima di allora praticata per raggiungere il reliquiario, ad opera del solito Ventura o di un capo locale. Ma dopo la visita del Burnes, osserva Cunningham, "sono stati fatti altri scavi che hanno abbattuto circa un terzo della struttura sul lato orientale, e l'edificio è ora in uno stato così fatiscente che non potrà probabilmente resistere più di qualche anno. È dunque una fortuna che io abbia potuto visitare lo stupa di Balar quand'era ancora in piedi, sì da poter prendere tutte le necessarie misurazioni e trarne disegni per correggere lo schizzo impreciso di Burnes".

Quando, nel primo decennio del nostro secolo, John Marshall visiterà Taxila, riscontrerà danni ancora maggiori, poiché l'intera parte settentrionale era crollata (sia detto qui a puro titolo di curiosità che questo infelice monumento sarà poi mal scavato e peggio restaurato).

**L'ammirevole e discusso Cunningham**

Sia Burnes sia Cunningham, nel descrivere lo stupa di Bhallar ed il Dharmarajika, fanno riferimento come a termine di paragone a quello ch'era allora il più noto e ammirato monumento del genere, lo stupa di Manikyala, che pure fu rivisitato dal Cunningham nel 1863: anche in questo caso furono aggiunti molti dati precisi alle informazioni del Ventura e del Court e [1951] furono descritte diverse rovine che a questi erano sfuggite. Una più esatta descrizione del grande stupa ed alcuni disegni, che mostrano un lodevole impegno di precisione e di ampiezza di informazioni, il Cunningham ce li darà solo più tardi, dopo la campagna di esplorazione del 1872-73 preceduta da uno sterzo commissionato al suo "vecchio e cortese amico, Sir Donald McLeod, allora vice-governatore del Punjab". Sistematicamente, il Cunningham compiva il suo lavoro di documentazione e rilevamento: nella stessa campagna 1872-73 egli visitò e
descrisse Shabbaz-garhi, già scoperta da Court e visitata da Masson nel 1838 e dallo stesso Cunningham nel 1847; Takht-i-Bahi, già descritta da S. Bellew e poi, come abbiamo visto, scavata *militari* dal Wilcher; Sahri Bahlol, scoperta e in parte sterrata dal Bellew; Jamal-garhi, che il Cunningham aveva scoperto venticinque anni addietro e che era stata scavata dal colonnello Lumsden nel 1852, poi saccheggiata da un altro ignoto colonnello, infine ancora scavata dall'ottimo Wilcher con i suoi genieri.

Rovine di monasteri e di città, stupa, iscrizioni, monete: i documenti che il Cunningham raccoglie per conto dell'Archaeological Survey of India, ricostituito nel 1871, restano a testimonianza dell'entusiasmo, del coraggio e della costanza di quest'uomo ammirabile e pur discusso, per il quale il Nord-Ovest era soltanto una parte, e non la più grande, del territorio sottoposto alla sua giurisdizione: né più né meno che l'intera India.

Cunningham tornò di nuovo a Taxila durante la campagna 1878-79, ma egli non seppe, o non volle, mettersi al passo con i tempi facendo tesoro dell'esperienza dei Nilsson, dei Fiorelli, dei Dörpfeld. L'archeologia rimase per lui soprattutto prospezione: l'indagine storica mediante lo scavo non parve mai interessarlo, sembrandogli forse lo scavo null'altro che [1952] una rimozione di macerie da affidare ad altri. Ed il fine dell'archeologia fu per lui quasi soltanto studio degli stili.

*Due studiosi dell'arte greco-buddista*

Era ormai tempo di mutamenti, ma James Burgess, che assunse la carica di Direttore Generale nel 1886 in seguito alle dimissioni di Cunningham, non aveva un atteggiamento gran che diverso da quello del suo predecessore. L'Archaeological Survey, d'altra parte, non fece che vivacchiare in quest'ultimo quindicennio del secolo e ben poca attenzione prestò al Nord-Ovest. Bisogna perciò attendere l'inizio del Novecento perché qualcosa di nuovo si metta davvero in moto. Tuttavia il materiale scultoreo raccolto in modo così discontinuo e così poco sistematico, esaminato insieme con le monete (spesso recanti caratteri greci più o meno corrotti) e con le iscrizioni (per lo più in alfabeto *kharoshthi*, derivato da quello aramaico),
aveva consentito a due studiosi di tentare una prima seria sistemazione dell’arte “greco-buddista” o “romano-buddista” del Gandhara.


Lo Smith tornerà ancora su questo tema dell’arte che si estingue in India nel IV secolo, una tesi piuttosto singolare quando si pensi alla sterminata e spesso geniale produzione dei secoli successivi, ma che si spiega con la equazione, che allo Smith pareva ovvia, di bellezza e classicità ellenica (o meglio, romana). Probabilmente la stessa motivazione è alla base dei ristretti termini cronologici suggeriti da Senart.

Il primo scavo scientifico


L’opera di Alfred Foucher

In questo momento fervido di iniziative appare in Francia il primo volume dell’opera che è tuttora la più importante sull’argomento, L’art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra (1905) di A. Foucher: il titolo è di per sé una presa di posizione e la chiave interpretativa è
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anch’essa estremamente precisa: si procede, nella evoluzione del-
l’arte del Gandhara, da un massimo di ellenicità (ed un minimo
di indianità) ad un minimo di ellenicità, cioè ad un’ellenicità sempre
più degradata ovvero indianizzata.

L’opera del Foucher resta fondamentale per l’interpretazione
delle strutture architettoniche e per l’intelligente sforzo di lettura
iconografica, basata su una conoscenza diretta dei testi. Da allora ad
oggi l’elenco delle scene identificate con episodi della vita
del Buddha Siddhartha o con jataka (storie delle vite precedenti
del Buddha) non si è arricchito che di pochi titoli e ben poche
delle identificazioni proposte da Foucher si sono poi rivelate ine-
satte.

Il secondo volume de L’art gréco-bouddhique fu completato nel
1922 (un supplemento apparirà molto più tardi, nel 1951), quando
ormai Marshall aveva da quasi un decennio intrapreso lo scavo di
Taxila: finalmente una città indagata stratigraficamente e non sol-
tanto al fine di recuperare sculture. La costruzione del Foucher si
fonda però soprattutto sugli oggetti dei musei e, in parte, su quelli
che era andato recuperando Spooner dai suoi scavi.

Il quadro è ormai completo, l’avventura ellenica in terra buddi-
sta sembra perfettamente definita, ma Foucher si rende ben conto
che il problema della cronologia deve ancora attendere, per essere
risolto, scavi sistematici più estesi. L’ellenismo indiano, infatti,
aveva ancora molti aspetti da rivelare ad una cultura europea sem-
pre più entusiasta e compiaciuta.

Ma i primi anni del secolo avevano registrato, insieme con le
sistemiazioni ufficiali della materia (Smith, Senart, Foucher, Grün-
wedel), anche le prime contestazioni.

Rivalutazione dell’arte indiana

È un inglese, E.B. Havell, che nel 1908, nel suo volume Indian
Sculpture and Painting, esprime sull’arte del Gandhara giudizi di
questo tenore: ‘Il Buddha e i Bodhisattva di questo periodo sono
fantocci senz’anima, modelli andati a male del pantheon greco e
romano, che si atteggiano senza alcuna naturalezza nelle pose del-
l’ascetismo indiano’; e ancora, tre anni più tardi, nel suo diffusis-
On Gandhāra

simo *The Ideals of Indian Art*, come il precedente pubblicato dal geniale Murray, l’editore londinese di Robert Curzon e di Henry Layard, di Cavalcaselle e di Berenson, definiva l’arte “greco-buddhista” come “la volgare, decadente scultura del Gandhara in cui molti critici vorrebbero vedere l’origine dell’ispirazione artistica indiana”.

Havell non è un detrattore dell’arte classica, il suo desiderio è quello di mostrare come l’India abbia prodotto opere d’arte altrettanto valide, anche se rispondenti a ideali diversi. Egli si pone sulla scia di Owen Jones, di Henry Cole e di George Birdwood nell’apprezzamento dell’arte decorativa indiana, ma la sua polemica anti-gandharica dà ai suoi interventi un carattere più incisivo, più mordente. L’arte indiana non gandharica viene da lui rivalutata da tutti i punti di vista (in dura polemica con lo stesso Birdwood che addirittura negava l’esistenza di un’arte figurativa indiana degna di tal nome) ed è importante che Havell abbia identificato nel Gandhara lo schermo da abbattere, l’ostacolo da rimuovere per superare il comodo equivoco di un’India che trae dalla Grecia l’“idea” stessa del bello.

Venuto in India come insegnante negli istituti d’arte, Havell non fu uno storico dell’arte professionale, tuttavia la sua influenza sulla cultura indiana, soprattutto sulle avanguardie culturali, fu profonda. Egli si meravigliava del fatto che, “con una siffatta tradizione ancora viva, con un tal numero di maestri artigiani ancor disponibile, si permetta che il danaro del contribuente indiano sia speso per avere imitazioni meccaniche della scultura gotica o rinascimentale ad un costo dieci o venti volte superiore a quello dell’autentica arte indiana; e questo perché, non lo crederete, alcuni teorici occidentali giudicano che l’arte indiana non sia ‘bella’!”. Così scriveva nel 1911 Havell, ma le sue idee erano già state riprese con intuito felice da un giovane intellettuale indiano, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (nato a Ceylon da padre tamil e da madre inglese), che sollevò grande scalpore contestando al Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti a Copenhagen, nel 1908, la teoria dell’influenza greca sull’arte indiana.

[1958] Non soltanto l’arte del Gandhara è un ibrido infelice sul piano estetico, ma gli scultori gandharici – greci cui veniva affidato dai sovrani kushana l’incarico di rendere dei concetti
BUDDHA E APOLLO

buddistici – si dimostrarono assolutamente impari al compito. Così argomentava Coomaraswamy e con lui la cultura indiana dimostrò di saper reagire alla forzatura ideologica operata dagli studiosi europei. Quello dell’arte del Gandhara era ormai argomento scottante e Coomaraswamy lo rese incandescente intervenendo sulla questione dell’origine dell’immagine del Buddha, trovando in V. Goloubew un alleato nel sostenere che il Buddha non deve nulla ad Apollo, come molti studiosi occidentali invece sostenevano. La diatriba era destinata a trascinarsi per le lunghe, se ancora nel 1949 la studiosa olandese J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw riprendeva le tesi di Goloubew senza peraltro ottenere totale consenso. L’anno dopo, nella sua messa a punto sugli studi relativi al Gandhara (Contribution à l’étude de l’art du Gandhāra), Henry Deydier era onestamente convinto di suggerire un compromesso ammettendo “che l’idea di rappresentare il Buddha è occidentale, ma che questa idea può essere stata messa in pratica contemporaneamente nel Gandhara e a Mathura”.

La questione era evidentemente mal posta, anche perché l’indagine archeologica, limitata com’era alla sola Provincia della Fronda di Nord-Ovest, non aveva ancora mostrato l’ampiezza del fenomeno dell’ellenismo indiano (o, meglio, indo-iranico) in tutta la sua estensione e profondità. Altrettanto mal posta, e per gli stessi motivi, la questione se si debba parlare di arte greco-buddistica (come la maggior parte degli studiosi francesi vorrebbe) o piuttosto di arte romano-buddistica (termine invece preferito per lo più da studiosi inglesi). Mancando dati obiettivi, il filoellenismo anti-roman de dei Francesi (e dei Tedeschi) finiva per contrapporsi al romanesimo ideologico degli Inglesi che si sentivano tutori di quella pax britannica vagheggiata sul modello della pax romana. La confusione era aggravata dal fatto che le poche iscrizioni datate non indicavano l’era su cui era stato eseguito il computo e si aveva il fondato sospetto che le ère impiegate fossero ben più che una, anche se non tutti eran pronti a riconoscere le sette ère (simultaneamente impiegate nel Gandhara) che Sten Konow aveva letteralmente inventato per far quadrate i dati a suo modo, come ebbe poi a dimostrare la van Lohuizen nel suo The “Scythian” Period (1949).
L'avventura afghana


Per quanto riguarda l'arte del Gandhara, i dati di scavo dimostravano che nel I secolo d.C. (cioè in età partica) essa era ancora nella sua "adolescenza" e che non avrebbe raggiunto la "maturità" prima della conquista dei Kushana, i nomadi dell'Asia centrale che avrebbero costituito uno dei più grandi imperi dell'antichità, comprendente l'India settentrionale e gran parte della stessa Asia centrale. Un'acquisizione di enorme importanza fu la constatazione – che si ripeterà poi a Charasada, con gli scavi di Wheeler (1958) e di Dani (1963-64) – che gli strati scito-partici sono ricchi di terrecotte di tipo greco, a dimostrazione di un ellenismo pre-gandharico e post-battriano che non poteva non aver fatto sentire il suo peso nella successiva produzione gandharica.

Anche l'architettura "greco-battriana" trovò una delle pochissime testimonianze allora disponibili nel [1959] discusso tempio di Jandial, i cui capitelli ionicì richiamarono naturalmente gli altri esemplari che Cunningham aveva rinvenuto nella campagna 1872-73 a Taxila, in località Mohra Malikaran, e che V. Smith aveva utilizzato per la cronologia del Gandhara nel suo articolo del 1889, collocandoli tra la fine del I secolo a.C. e l'inizio del I d.C.

"Con l'eccezione delle monete, non risulta che esista un solo resto di arte battriana e quasi nulla sappiamo dei Greci che tennero la regione, a parte i nomi di alcuni di essi". Così aveva scritto Smith e Foucher certamente non avrebbe potuto smentirlo, ma il convincimento che quelle monete non potessero essere l'unico prodotto di una civiltà, che tanti indizi facevano ritenere ricca e complessa, spingeva l'autore de L'art gréco-bouddhique a dare inizio alla grande avventura afghana dell'archeologia francese.
[Fig. 1] - Stupa in schisto dorato, proveniente dal Gandhara. È questa la tipica forma del reliquiario buddistico, riprodotto anche a dimensioni monumentali.
[Fig. 2] - Il Buddha sul trono di loto al centro di un "paradiso". Rilievo di schisto, arte del Gandhara. Lahore, Museo.
[Fig. 3] - Testa in stucco dipinto proveniente da Hadda, arte del Gandhara del IV-V secolo d.C. Kabul, Museo.

[Fig. 4] - Testa di Buddha in stucco proveniente da Hadda, IV-V secolo d.C. Kabul, Museo.

[Fig. 5] - Ritratto dell'archeologo Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893).
[Fig. 6] - Rovine del tempio di Jandial a Taxila, di cronologia e identificazione molto discussa, ma con probabili influenze greco-partiche.

[Fig. 7] - Testa di Bodhisattva, arte del Gandhara probabilmente del II secolo d.C. Parigi, Museo Guimet.
[Fig. 8] - Pianta della zona di Taxila.

[Fig. 9] - Vedute delle rovine dello stupa a Dharmarajika, già noto col nome di Chir Thup, a Taxila.
[Fig. 10] - Particolare dell'interno e dell'esterno delle cappelle di Takht-i-Bahi, tratto dalla pubblicazione di Alexander Cunningham, *ASI Report of the Year 1872-73*, Calcutta 1875.
[Fig. 11] - Sezione ricostruttiva dello stupa di Manikyala presso Rawalpindi. Da una pubblicazione di A. Cunningham edita a Calcutta nel 1875.

[Fig. 12] - Base di stucco di un piccolo stupa, da Jaulian, IV-V secolo d.C. Taxila, Archeological Museum.
[Fig. 13] - Pianta della città di Taxila, a schema ortogonale, corrispondente al II strato della collina artificiale di Sirkap.

[Fig. 14] - Due collane d’oro, provenienti dalla zona di Taxila, riferibili all’arte del Gandhara. Nuova Delhi, Museo Nazionale.
[Fig. 15] - Due orecchini d’oro di epoca partica, provenienti dallo scavo di Taxila. Nuova Delhi, Museo Nazionale.

[Fig. 16] - Particolare delle rovine del tempio di Jandial, a Taxila, forse un tempio del fuoco. Il singolare monumento, di forme ioniche classiche, è probabilmente un tempio zoroastriano.
[Fig. 17] - Frammenti di immagini di offerenti, nella posizione di rinvenimento durante gli scavi nel santuario di Butkara a Mingora, nello Swat. I secolo d.C. circa.
[Fig. 18] - Frammento di pittura murale raffigurante un dedicante, da Butkara, III secolo d.C. circa. Museo di Saidu Sharif, Pakistan.
[Fig. 19] - Gruppo di stupa minori nel santuario buddistico di Butkara nello Swat.
Si datano ad epoca kushana.
Rivelazioni degli scavi francesi

Nel 1919, alla fine di una breve campagna nota come terza guerra anglo-afghana, l'emiro Amanullah otteneva dall'Inghilterra il completo riconoscimento dell'indipendenza del suo Paese e per sé il titolo di re dell'Afghanistan. Il programma di modernizzazione voluto da questo giovane sovrano, destinato peraltro a naufragare nel 1929 sotto i circoli reazionari afghani sostenuti dall'Inghilterra, comprendeva anche l'indagine sistematica delle antichità del Paese. Questa fu affidata nel 1922 alla Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA).

Se la ricerca delle radici dell'arte greco-buddistica a Balkh, in Battriana, dava risultati del tutto negativi, la DAFA, nel giro di pochi anni, arricchiva le nostre conoscenze di un corpus impressionante di sculture Gandhariche (di stucco, di schisto, di calcare, di argilla cruda), che rivoluzionò il giudizio su quel periodo.

Due momenti stilistici non del tutto nuovi ma finora malamente documentati emersero dagli scavi della DAFA. Uno di essi, nel Kapisha, immediatamente a nord di Kabul, rivelò l'esistenza di una corrente stilistica gandharica più rigida, meno "classica" rispetto alla produzione gandharica nota ma non per questo [1960] più "indiana". Le immagini ed i rilievi buddistici di Shotorak, di Paivava, di Begram potranno spiegarsi mediante il confronto con quel gruppo di sculture "dinastiche" cui appartengono le immagini di sovrani e principi kushana che erano state scoperte nel 1911-12 nel santuario di Mat, presso Mathura (la capitale orientale dei Kushana, nell'Uttar Pradesh), e quelle che saranno rinvenute più tardi nel santuario di Surkh Kotal, scavato dalla DAFA (D. Schlumberger) tra il 1952 e il '62.

L'altra grande rivelazione degli scavi francesi furono le sculture di Hadda, presso Jalalabad, identificata fin dal 1836 con la Hi-lo dei pellegrini cinesi Fa-hsien (IV-V secolo d.C.) e Hsüan-tsang e visitata dal Court, poi dal Masson che, nel 1834, vi aprì ben quattordici stupa.

Gli scavi affidati da A. Foucher all'architetto J. Barthoux, sebbene condotti da questi con criteri piuttosto approssimativi dal 1926 al 1928 e in mezzo ad una popolazione locale non sempre favorevole (nel 1926 il cantiere di Barthoux fu completamente di-
struttu) perché sobillata da alcuni capi religiosi, dettero risultati eccezionali. Le innumerevoli sculture di stucco (e, in minor misura, di calcare e di schisto) di chiara ispirazione classica furono accolte dal pubblico europeo come una vera rivelazione per la loro maggiore adesione ai modelli ellenistici rispetto alle sculture gandhariche del Nord-Ovest. Questa nuova prova della vitalità della cultura greco-romana fu salutata con compiacimento ed eccitazione. Oltre ai frammenti di Hadda che furono divisi tra il Musée Guimet di Parigi ed il Museo di Kabul (allora ospitato in un palazzetto all’interno della cittadella reale) e pubblicati in un album fotografico nel 1930, altri ne comparvero provenienti da scavi clandestini, oggi dispersi in vari musei d’Europa e d’America.

André Malraux archeologo

L’esplorazione dell’Asia centrale ad opera di missioni archeologiche francesi, inglesi, russe e tedesche aveva rivelato tracce più o meno consistenti di un’influenza classica sino ai confini della Cina; Foucher esplorava il percorso del ramo meridionale della grande carovaniere che aveva unito l’Europa all’Asia orientale (ce ne resta la relazione nei suoi due volumi La vieille route de l’Inde de Bactres à Taxila, 1942-47); l’immagine di un’immensa area ellenizzata tra l’India e l’Asia centrale si andava consolidando.

Nel 1931 J. Strzygowsky pubblicava un catalogo di stucchi (circa 90 teste e alcune figure complete) appartenenti alla Nouvelle Revue Française e provenienti da scavi eseguiti da André Malraux per conto di quella casa editrice “in una località archeologica del Afghanistan”. Ma una notizia redazionale, evidentemente aggiunta a composizione ultimata, smentiva l’autore: “Questi stucchi sono stati trovati nei pressi di Tashkurgan (Turkestan cinese), a sud di Qizil, ad est del confine afghano”. In articoli successivi Strzygowsky prese per buone queste parole che volevano invece soltanto mettere al riparo la Francia dall’accusa di eseguire scavi in Afghanistan senza garanzie scientifiche e senza partire con il governo afghano gli oggetti rinvenuti. La falsificazione spregiudicata del luogo di rinvenimento, che veniva posto in territorio cinese (nessun pericolo di proteste da parte di quel governo), poteva ingannare
allora studiosi come Strzygowski e Coomaraswamy proprio perché tutti ormai trovavano perfettamente naturale che sculture dai tratti classicheggianti (cioè gandhariche) si trovassero uniformemente diffuse dall'India all'Asia centrale (Auf Hellas Spuren in Osttürkistan, "Sulle tracce della Grecia nel Turkestan orientale", è il titolo di un rapporto della spedizione tedesca diretta da Albert von Le Coq).

La DAFA ebbe anche la ventura di trovare, nello scavo di Bagram, tra il 1936 e il '40, un deposito di oggetti d'arte di varia provenienza che consente di formarsi un'idea del gusto di un ambiente facoltoso probabilmente vicino alla corte kushana: avori indiani, lacche cinesi, vetri, gessi, bronzi classici, il tutto sigillato in due stanze. Materiale delicatissimo che la pazienza degli scavatori, Jean Hackin, sua moglie Ria e l'architetto Jean Carl, riuscì a salvare nonostante le difficoltà obiettive della situazione in cui essi si trovavano a lavorare. La loro opera fu interrotta dalla guerra e tutti e tre morirono combattendo nella Resistenza, Jean e Ria Hackin inghiottiti dall'Atlantico con la loro nave raggiunta da un siluro tedesco.

Il materiale inedito relativo ai loro scavi era stato però messo in salvo a Londra, presso l'Istituto Warburg. Al volume pubblicato dallo stesso Hackin, Recherches archéologiques à Bagram (1937), poté quindi far seguito, nel 1954, il volume delle Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bagram, fonte inesauribile di suggerimenti per l'inchiodamento storico del fenomeno dell'ellenismo kushana.

In quegli stessi anni, alcuni rinvenimenti nell'Unione Sovietica estesero il campo d'indagine, ma a documenti pur importanti come il fregio di Termez (scavato nel 1933 da Mikhail E. Masson) si attribuì una data troppo antica (K. Trever), mancando quindi di stabilire un giusto rapporto con l'arte del Gandhara. La conoscenza della lingua russa era inoltre ancora così poco diffusa negli ambienti scientifici occidentali e la "guerra fredda" rendeva così difficile procurarsi le pubblicazioni sovietiche, che soltanto dalla seconda metà degli anni '50 si riuscì faticosamente a dare inizio ad una integrazione delle ricerche.

Dopo la guerra la DAFA indirizzò verso altri campi le sue ricerche; nel 1964 riuscì finalmente a metter le mani su una città greca, Ai-Khanum sull'Oxus (Amu-Darya), che naturalmente ha riproposto con rinnovata urgenza il problema dei rapporti tra arte greco-battiana ed arte del Gandhara.
La Missione Archeologica Italiana

Qualche anno prima, dal 1956, la Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan aveva intrapreso lo scavo del santuario di Butkara, nello Swat, l’antico Uddiyana, la regione a nord di Peshawar che era stata [1962] visitata da sir Aurel Stein e in cui E. Barger e Ph. Wright avevano eseguito dei brevi sondaggi, i cui risultati, pubblicati nel 1941, non facevano pensare ad un possibile sviluppo della ricerca archeologica in quella regione. Ma Giuseppe Tucci partiva da un esame attento delle fonti greche e cinesi, sanscrita e tibetana che costituivano per lui garanzia dell’importanza dello Swat nel periodo pre-islamico. Un’esplorazione del terreno nel 1955 lo aveva convinto di certe sue ipotesi fatte a tavolino.

Lo scavo di Butkara non è il solo nello Swat e nelle regioni contigue che riguardi il periodo gandharico, ma è certamente il più importante; ad esso si affiancheranno poi quelli di Panr e di Saidu Sharif, altri santuari buddhistici indagati dalla stessa Missione Archeologica Italiana (D. Faccenna), e quelli di Nimogram (Archaeological Department of Pakistan, 1968) e della zona di Chakdara (Dipartimento di Archeologia dell’Università di Peshawar, 1962-65). Quello di Butkara, dicevamo, resta il più importante sia perché condotto con criteri rigorosi (altrettanto non si può dire degli scavi di Nimogram e di Chakdara) sia perché il santuario ebbe lunga vita ed i monumenti (stupa, colonne votive, cappelle) subirono numerosi rifacimenti: la pubblicazione imminente dello scavo metterà finalmente a disposizione una rigorosa tipologia monumentale in chiara successione cronologica (anche se soltanto in termini di cronologia relativa). Per quanto riguarda le sculture, Butkara è uno dei casi più palesi di riutilizzazione del materiale scultoreo, tanto che, si può dire, non un solo rilievo di Butkara fu rinvenuto nella sua posizione originaria. D’altra parte, la produzione scultorea dello Swat, che anche per questo motivo non trae dallo scavo immediati elementi di datazione, è stata una rivelazione per la varietà delle tendenze stilistiche che in essa si manifestano: di enorme importanza è quel gruppo di rilievi che sembrano avvicinabili alla scultura indiana del I secolo a.C.

Se la scultura dello Swat, prima ancora della attesa pubblicazione ufficiale (D. Faccenna), è già oggetto di indagini che tentano

La parola alla ricerca sul campo

Oggi la componente iranica nella produzione gandharica del- l’Afghanistan, soprattutto per quanto riguarda l’architettura, riceve una valutazione eccessiva da uno studioso francese di spiccate tendenze pan-iraniche, S. Mélikian-Chirvani, mentre lo svizzero H.Chr. Ackermann postula nuovamente, ma con scarso seguito, un parallelismo tra l’evoluzione stilistica romana e quella gandharica.

Ma la parola spetta ancora alla ricerca sul campo, soprattutto in Afghanistan e nelle Repubbliche centraasiatiche dell’URSS.


La comparazione del materiale proveniente da questi siti consentirà di riprendere e rivalutare i dati incompleti e lacunosi che ci sono pervenuti da vecchi scavi francesi rimasti praticamente inediti, quali Tapa Maranjān (Kabul) e Kama Dakka (presso il Khyber Pass). Il tempo è ormai maturato per cogliere appieno la funzione ideologica della tradizione ellenica nel Gandhara, strumento nelle mani ora di una dinastia straniera, ora di una classe mercantile e cittadina che identifica nel buddismo la fede religiosa garante dei suoi diritti di classe emergente.

Un tentativo di lettura in chiave di "storia sociale" di una classe di oggetti in parte almeno riconducibili al filone "greco-buddistico", è il volume di prossima pubblicazione di H.-P. Francfort sui cosiddetti piattelli per cosmetici, provenienti soprattutto dagli scavi di Taxila, di Charsada e dello Swat, ma troppo spesso invece recuperati in un mercato antiquario sempre più ampiamente rifornito da scavi clandestini.
SUMMARY

In our modern Western culture, Gandharan art has at times been defined as "Graeco-Buddhist" and at times as "Romano-Buddhist" art, though nowadays it is more wisely denoted only by the ancient name of the region where the main production centre was, namely Gandhara. As we shall see, the history of its knowledge is, more than anything else, the history of an idea.

The story begins with men of adventure, who in one way or another were at the service of the Sikh kingdom or the British East India Company. One of these was the unscrupulous Modernese general Giovanni Battista Ventura who, in 1830, dug recklessly into the stupa of Manikyala getting hold of coins and relics, and another was the French general Claude Auguste Court, who continued digging in the same site. Then there was Charles Masson (whose real name was James Lewis), a deserter from the Bengal artillery who had sought asylum first in the Punjab and then at Kabul. Here he was rehabilitated in the service of his country as an informer. Even before this, however, it seems that he had already been doing some archaeological explorations in Afghanistan. Masson undertook several journeys in Afghanistan and he, too, dug into stupas and recovered coins. In this way the first Hellenizing sculptures also came to light, though we only have Masson's description of them. These images aroused the admiration and interest of Mohammad Akbar Khan, son of the emir Dost Mohammad Khan, who had been deposed by the British in 1838 and restored to the throne in 1842. The events of the Anglo-Afghan war were to prevent archaeological exploration in Afghanistan for some eighty years (a whole century where the British were concerned). All that was left to testify to the immense archaeological wealth of the country, far-off and unattainable, were Masson's accounts of his travels and a book, H.H. Wilson's "Ariana Antiqua," that was destined to become a classic.

At that time there was no official body in India for the protection of Antiquities. It was not until 1861 that the first Archaeological Survey of India came into being, but it only lasted until 1866. In 1849 the North-West had been formally annexed by the British, but the particular situation of tribal independence was such that the nascent Survey lacked the strength to intervene directly. For several decades excavations were carried out irregularly, as in the monastic complex of Takht-i-Bahi, or even commissioned by scholars or amateur collectors (including British officers and civil servants) for the purpose of obtaining sculptures. On the other hand, public collections also began to be formed: the Punjab Museum was inaugurated in Lahore in 1864 and the Museum of Peshawar in 1901. Gandharan sculptures were transferred to Indian museums that were in some cases a long way from the North-West: Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lucknow, Patna. It is not as easy to find South-Indian bronzes, for instance, or Pala stelae from Bengal in museums in the North-West. The Gandharan production, being "influenced" by clas-
sical art, was evidently privileged and practically served the purpose of ideological propaganda. It also found its way to museums in England, especially the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. An exhibition, the first of its kind, was held in Vienna in 1873. The sight of an Apollo that had been transplanted as far off as the Indian border was a moving one indeed, but the iconographical interpretation was still uncertain while the stylistic analysis followed fixed rules. On the occasion of the Fourth International Congress of European Orientalists, held in Florence in 1878, there were placed on display several pieces from one of the disastrous excavations that had been commissioned by proxy in the Swat region by the Hungarian linguist and ethnologist, G. W. Leitner, who placed emphasis on “the influence of Greek art and mythology […] in that inhospitable region that is still inaccessible to Europeans”.

But these were also years of fervent preparation. Alexander Cunningham identified the vast ruins around Shah-dheri, near Rawalpindi, as being the ancient Taxila, mentioned by Strabo and Arrian, although the process of deterioration of the site, mainly caused by man, was already alarming. Cunningham collected a large amount of documentation on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India, that had been reconstituted in 1871. He visited and described several sites that were already known: the stupa of Manikyala, as well as other ruins that had escaped Ventura’s notice, Shahbaz-garhi, Takht-i-Bahi, Sahri Bahol, Jamal-garhi, but to him archaeology mostly meant surveying and excavation was merely a matter of removing rubble, a task to be left to others.

The sculptural material that had been collected in such a haphazard and irregular way did, however, when studied together with the coins and inscriptions, enable two scholars to make a first attempt at giving a serious systematic order to the art of Gandhara. The Englishman Vincent Smith, in 1889, and the Frenchman Émile Senart, in 1890, gave two substantially similar interpretations of Gandharan art, although they differed as far as chronology was concerned. Senart proposed a date of 1st-2nd century A.D., while Smith suggested 200-600 A.D., though he thought that all the sculptures showing greater artistic merit should be concentrated between 200 and 350 A.D. These dates were based on an idea, common at the time, that beauty was equal to Greek or Roman classicality. Official archaeology was to pounce like a bird of prey on the archaeological sites of the North-West, an abundant source of the finest examples of Indian art, the only ones in India that were worthwhile taking into account aesthetically speaking.

In 1901 the North-West Frontier Province was created and in 1902 the Archaeological Survey of India was reorganized and placed under the directorship of a young classical archaeologist, John Marshall. In 1903 Marshall excavated at Charsada the ancient site of Pushkalavati, Peukelaotis in Arrian. The results of the dig were not of the greatest importance, but it was con-
sidered to be "the first excavation in India that has been conducted by modern scientific standards" (J. Ph. Vogel, 1939), an opinion that was later sharply contradicted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. D.B. Spooner followed in Marshall's footsteps, conducting excavations at Sahri Bahol and Takht-i-Bahi (the latter dig was continued by H. Hargreaves, who completely uncovered the famous monastery). Following up a brilliant theory that had been put forward by Alfred Foucher, Spooner undertook excavations in 1908-9 at Shah-jî-ki-dheri, just outside Peshawar, which led to the discovery of Kanishka's stupa and the retrieval of the controversial reliquary of this Kushan king.

In 1905 the first volume of what is still a basic work was published in France: A. Foucher's L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra. A stance is already taken in the title and the keynote of interpretation is also extremely precise: Gandharan art evolves from a maximum of Greekness (with a minimum of Indianness) to a minimum of Greekness, that is to say, a Greekness which becomes more and more debased or Indianized. The second volume was completed in 1922 (and a supplement was to appear much later, in 1951), almost a decade after Marshall had begun the excavation at Taxila: at long last a city had been explored stratigraphically and not only with the aim of retrieving sculptures. Foucher's theories, however, were based mainly on the objects kept in museums and, in part, the ones that Spooner had been recovering in his excavations.

In the early years of the century, however, alongside the official systematic arrangement of the material (Smith, Senart, Foucher, Grünwedel), the first controversies also began to emerge. In 1908 E.B. Havell, in his book Indian Sculpture and Painting, reappraises other Indian art productions (along the line of Owen Jones, Henry Cole and George Birdwood, but with more pungency) and expresses rather unflattering views on Gandharan sculptures, describing them as misfired copies of the Greek and Roman pantheon. The same views were repeated three years later in his popular book The Ideals of Indian Art. Havell’s ideas were taken up by a young Indian intellectual, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, in whose hands the heated argument about Gandharan art became red-hot. In 1908 he disputed the theory of Greek influence on Indian art and intervened in the debate on the origin of the Buddha image, claiming that the Buddha owed nothing to Apollo as many Western scholars maintained (on this subject he found an ally in V. Goloubew). The question was still open in 1950 when Henri Deydier, in his Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhâra, proposed a compromise by acknowledging that the idea of representing the Buddha is Western, but that this idea could have been put into practice at the same time in Gandhara and at Mathura.

The question was evidently not well put, if we also take into account the fact that archaeological exploration, being confined to the North-West Frontier Province, had not yet revealed just how widespread the phenomenon of Indian (or Indo-Iranian) Hellenism was. Likewise, for the same reasons, it was
not clear whether one ought to speak of Graeco-Buddhist art (in keeping with the majority of French scholars) or of Romano-Buddhist art (a term which was generally preferred by British scholars, who looked upon themselves as guardians of a coveted *pax britannica* after the model of the *pax romana*).

The final report on the excavation of Taxila (1951), produced data on the period of Western influence in the North-West. Marshall identified the Bhir Mound as being the city of the Achaemenians and the Mauryas, Sirkap as being the Greek foundation that was later rebuilt by the Sakas and the Parthians, and Sirsukh (which has still not been explored thoroughly) as being the city that was planned by the Kushans after they abandoned Sirkap. With regard to Greek art, the data from the excavation showed that in the 1st century A.D. it was still "adolescent" and did not reach "maturity" until the Kushan conquest. Another extremely important fact that emerged from the excavation (and which was to be repeated at Charsada with Wheeler’s excavation in 1958 and Dani’s in 1963-64) was the observation that the Scytho-Parthian layers contained a great many terracottas of a Greek type. This proved the existence of a pre-Gandharan and post-Bactrian Hellenism that could not have been influential in the Gandharan production that was to follow.

As far as "Graeco-Bactrian" architecture was concerned, one of the few pieces of available evidence was provided by the controversial temple of Jan-dial, whose Ironic capitals recalled the other examples that Cunningham had discovered at Mohra MalIr'an in the 1872-73 campaign at Taxila. The conviction that the coins could not possibly have been the only product of Graeco-Bactrian civilization when several other factors pointed to its having been rich and complex led Foucher to set out on the great adventure of French archaeology in Afghanistan. He was aided in the project for modernizing the country that had been launched by King Amanullah after independence from British rule had been obtained. Part of this policy was the systematic exploration of the country’s antiquities and in 1922 this task was placed in the hands of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA).

Although the outcome of the search for the roots of Graeco-Buddhist art at Balkh, in Bactria, was negative, the work of the DAFA did result in the acquisition of an impressive corpus of Gandharan sculptures (in stucco, schist, limestone and unbaked clay) which dramatically altered the current opinion on that period. Two stylistic trends, that were not completely new but had hitherto been poorly documented, emerged from the excavations of the DAFA. One of them, at Kapisha, revealed a trend in Gandharan style that was more rigid and less "classical" compared with the more familiar Gandharan production, but this did not mean it was more "Indian". It can be compared with the group of "dynastic" sculptures that were discovered in the sanctuary at Mathura, in 1911-12 and with other sculptures that
emerged later from the excavations that D. Schlumberger conducted in the sanctuary at Surkh Kotal between 1952 and 1962. The other stylistic trend was evident in the production from Hadda, the Hi-lo of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang. It had been visited by Court and later by Masson who, in 1834, opened up as many as fourteen stupas. The excavations which were conducted there by J. Barthoux from 1926 to 1928 (although with fairly approximative methods) brought to light an enormous number of stucco sculptures (as well as some limestone and schist ones) that displayed a closer resemblance to Hellenistic models compared with the Gandharan sculptures of the North-West.

The exploration of Central Asia by French, English, Russian and German archaeological expeditions revealed an immense Hellenized area between India and Central Asia (*Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan* is the title of a report of the German expedition led by A. von Le Coq). In 1931 J. Strzygowski published a number of stucco sculptures from the excavations that André Malraux had conducted in Afghanistan on behalf of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. But the author was contradicted in an editorial note which gave the find-spot as being in Chinese Turkestan. The sole purpose of this falsification was to safeguard the French from the accusation of conducting excavations in Afghanistan without sufficient scientific guarantee, but it turned out to be credible because of the extensive finds of the aforementioned expeditions.

In the excavation at Begram which J. and R. Hackin and J. Carl conducted in 1936-40, they discovered a hoard of objets d'art of different provenance which revealed the tastes of wealthy circles that were probably closely connected with the Kushan court: Indian ivories, Chinese lacquers, classical glassware, plaster models and bronzes, all sealed up in two rooms. Hackin's own book, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram* (1937), was followed up by the posthumous publication of excavation material in *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram* (1954), that provided an endless supply of suggestions for fitting Kushan Hellenism into a historical context. In those years discoveries were also made in the Soviet Union which extended the field of research, but the dates attributed to important evidence like the Termez frieze (excavated in 1933 by Mikhail E. Masson) were too early and so missed the mark in establishing the proper connection with Gandharan art. In 1964 the DAFA succeeded at last in coming across a Greek city, Ai-Khanum on the Oxus (Amu-Darya), and this of course brought up once again the problem of the connections between Graeco-Bactrian art and Gandharan art.

In 1956 the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, acting upon an idea of Giuseppe Tucci's, began the excavation of the sanctuary at Butkara (ancient Uddiyana) in Swat. So far this has turned out to be the most important site in the Gandharan area, on account of the scientific methods used in the excavation by D. Facenna and the long life of the sanctuary, which has made it possible at last to draw up a strict typological classification of the
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monuments in chronological order. At Butkara we have one of the most patent cases of the re-use of sculptural material. The sculptures themselves show a variety of stylistic tendencies, one of the most important being comparable with Indian sculptures of the 1st century B.C. The excavations in Afghanistan, on the other hand, have revealed the Iranian connections of Gandharan sculpture, thanks mainly to the interpretation given by D. Schlumberger (L'Orient hellénisé, 1970), who has the merit of not considering Gandhara as an island of "Greekness" surrounded by the rough waves of "Oriental" culture.

But research in the field has still to have its say, especially in Afghanistan and the Central Asian Republics of the USSR. In particular, at Khalchajun (G.A. Pugachenkova) we can see how the early Kushan kings took over Greek tradition. In Afghan territory there are three archaeological expeditions that are working in crucial points. The Afghan-Soviet team (I.T. Kruglikova, G.A. Pugachenkova) has discovered at Dilberjin a lot of valuable evidence concerning painting and sculpture which, although not exactly Gandharan, provide an important point of reference. The Italian expedition (Ch. Silvi Antonini, M. Taddei, G. Verardi) is working at Tapa Sardar, where the Kushan layers, as yet excavated only in part, are promising as regards the iconography and the stratigraphical connections between sculpture and architecture. The Afghan expedition (Sh. Mostamandi, Z. Tarzi) is digging at Hadda. The comparison of the new finds that are being made with the incomplete evidence of the past will give us a better understanding of the ideological purpose that Greek tradition served in Gandhara, where it was made use of by foreign dynasties and emergent social classes alike.
A NEW EARLY ŚAIVA IMAGE FROM GANDHĀRA


[615] The formative period of Hindu iconography certainly owes much to the Buddhist tradition in the North-West, and we possess clear evidence that, in the first centuries of our era, Buddhist and Hindu image-makers employed the same lexical units, though we are not in a position to state whether such lexical units had similar semantic values as well.

We are sometimes led to suggest identifications that are in themselves not only labels for particular icons, but implicitly also interpretations of a whole religious and cultural context whose features need a much safer approach for being correctly outlined than the purely empirical one we have too often followed (cf. Maxwell 1983: 43).

Yet it is my firm belief that, for the time being, rather than of a theory we are in need of a wider documentation; I only venture to suggest that even in purely Buddhist Gandharan iconography the seeds of a possible "Hindu" reading can be easily recognized. I do not allude here to the all too obvious fact that Brahmā and Indra are two usual characters in Gandharan representations of Buddhist stories – I would rather refer to those Gandharan iconographies in which the two Vedic gods are taken to symbolize the two highest constituents of Indian society, i.e. the Brahmans and the Kṣatriyas, and seem to reflect the same bipolarity on the pair of Bodhisattvas that form with a centrally placed Buddha the so-called Buddhist "triad" (Taddei 1969).

Be it as it may, I think everybody will agree with me that what we need is a larger corpus of "syncretic" images than we have now
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— and I put the word “syncretic” within inverted commas in order to make it clear that reference is made only to iconographic syncretism, the field being left open to any kind of [616] speculation as far as religious syncretism stricto sensu is concerned.

This is why I felt it was my duty to publish this small Gandharan image at the earliest opportunity I could get, even before I could draw any sound inference from the comparative material and the other references I was able to collect (figs. 1-5).

As it happens very often in Gandharan art, this is not a figure in the round but only an image executed according to the technique of the reliefs and cut out along its outline except in its lower part where a portion of the background has been left in order to strengthen the legs which otherwise would provide too weak a support. The result is therefore something between a statue and a stele, its back (fig. 2) being roughly hewn by means of a chisel and showing two grooves for cramps, both vertically placed, one at the top, the other at the bottom. That a part of the back surface was removed by chiselling at a date later than the carving of the sculpture is made clear by the fact that the two grooves, as they are now, would not be deep enough for holding their respective cramps soundly.

The image is standing on a plain socle. It is a three-headed and four-armed deva, wearing a dhotī that reaches down to the knees, an uttarīya on the left shoulder, and a flat necklace. There is a characteristic knot in front between the knees, a detail that sometimes distinguishes the hermits in Gandharan art but is rather inconsistently shown here as a hanging appendix which has no natural connection with the dhotī. This is actually a hermit’s loincloth with straight vertical grooves which are supposed to depict its folds or fibres; it covers the hips and the upper part of the legs but the god’s erect phallus remains visible though covered by it.

Of the god’s three visible heads, the central one is human, with moustaches, wavy hair bound by a string or ring and done in a double loop decorated by a small crescent; the forehead is marked by a biconvex (lens-shaped) third eye, while the two normal eyes are shown half closed under heavy lids (fig. 5).

The two side heads have animal features, the one on the right proper being that of a boar with protruding tusks, the other resembling that of a bovine. Both have small globular eyes.

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Of the god’s hands – all adorned with wristlets – the upper left one holds a beamed disc at head height, the lower left holds [618] a water-flask, the lower right is placed against the chest and holds a rosary, the upper right holds a long trident. The two lower hands can also be described as belonging to the front (or “natural”) arms, the upper ones to the back arms.

The heads are topped by a globular feature slightly flattened above.

The piece, which apart from some minor chippings is complete, measures 33 cm. in height, 13 in width, and 6 in thickness; it is made of gray schist and is kept in a private collection in [619] Rome, that of Dr Virgilio Pontecorvo, a distinguished scholar and a diplomat now retired. Both the quality of the stone and its typical “silken” texture and the information provided by the present owner lead me to point to the Taxila area as to the source of this interesting and somewhat puzzling image.

I would suggest that a 4th-century date is assigned to our image on the ground of stylistic comparison. I would indeed recognize a clear similarity with the Gandharan image of Śiva [620] and his vābana the bull1 found in Mesopotamia, which cannot be dated later than the 4th century thanks to the stratigraphical evidence (Invernizzi 1968-69; Taddei 1971); on the other hand the typological details do not help us so much in solving the problem of chronology – e.g. the trident can be compared to the weapon held by a daemon of Māra’s army in such Gandharan reliefs as the one in the Freer Gallery (Lippe 1970: fig. 11) or the somewhat later one in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (Catalogue 1976: no. 62, fig. on p. 164), but it can also be compared with the [621] trīśāla held by Śiva in the “portable sanctuary” published by Goetz (1965) and presumably not earlier than the 7th century (Taddei 1964-65).2

1 In an earlier paper of mine (Taddei 1971) I called Śiva’s vābana “Nandin”, but Dr G. Bhattacharya kindly pointed out (letter dated 7.9.83) that “vṛṣa” would be a better label and referred to a paper of his for discussion of this topic (Bhattacharya 1977: 1545).

2 For the disc (or shield), a possible comparison is provided by a Gupta terracotta
I think it is more useful to dwell upon the various parts that compose the image and try by way of analysis to show how the image itself was obtained by progressive addition of lexical units.

The front part of the figure with its central head and lower arms can be easily isolated: this is the basis on which the rest has been built, a model that the Buddhist iconographic tradition handed over to the carver ready for use. We cannot fail to notice that this is just a modified image of Maitreya, the Buddha-to-be who was represented so often in Gandharan art with a water-flask in his left hand, moustaches, hair done in a double loop and decorated with a crescent (Bussagli 1949), while his right hand is not seldom brought to shoulder or breast height with palm inwards (Taddei 1969) – all features that were borrowed by early Hindu iconography for depicting the god Śiva.

It would be easy to provide examples of this type of Maitreya, chosen among the best known pieces of Gandharan art, but, for the sake of publishing an otherwise unknown specimen, I prefer to reproduce this relief from the antiquarian market (fig. 6) in which two Bodhisattvas are standing: the one on the right is presumably Avalokiteśvara, the other is certainly Maitreya with water-flask in left hand and right hand brought to shoulder with palm inwards.

It would be useful to know whether the rosary was at that time a feature characteristic of Maitreya or was introduced later; it appears as early as the second half of the 5th century at Ajañṭā (Cave 26; see e.g. Taddei 1977: fig. 67) and in such late Maitreya images as the 9th or 10th century ones in Ladakh (Fontein 1979; also Klimburg-Salter 1982: fig. 16) as well as in few other images mostly not earlier than the 8th or 9th century. Let us look at this nice relief from Swat which was collected by the Italian [622] Archaeological Mission in Pakistan and is still unpublished (fig.

figurine of the Mahiṣamardini in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (Catalogue 1976: no. 59 and fig.).

3 The photograph was taken at Karachi in 1973 and a print is kept in the archives of the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome (no. Gandhāra 1155). The present location is unknown to me.
Fig. 1 - Gandharan composite image. Private collection, Rome. (Photo C. Astuti; courtesy, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome).

Fig. 2 - Back view of the image in fig. 1. (Photo C. Astuti; courtesy, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome).
Figs. 3-4 - Side views of image in fig. 1. (Photo C. Astuti; courtesy, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome).
Fig. 5 - A detail of fig. 1. (Photo C. Astuti; courtesy, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome).

Fig. 6 - Schist relief depicting two Bodhisattvas. Location unknown. (Courtesy, IsMEO, Rome).
Fig. 7 - Stone stela with Maitreya and worshippers, from Swat. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome. (Photo F. Tucci Bonardi; courtesy, IsMEO, Rome).
7). The kalaśa in the left hand and the stūpa on the mukuta make the identification sure (Bhattacharya 1980).4

To come back to our four-armed god, the only modifications brought to the Maitreya model are the erect penis and the type of dhoti, which obtain the result of emphasizing the hermit-like aspect of the image.

[623] The upper (or "back") arms are rather clumsily added and so are the two animal heads.

While the trident is an attribute to be found easily in Śaiva iconography, this is not the case with the sun-disc, which is rather associated with Viṣṇu. Of the two animal heads, the boar is known for its Vaiṣṇava connections, the bovine — if it is a bovine — points rather to a Śaiva direction.

The general Śaiva flavour of the image is confirmed by its globular topping in which we are obviously prone to recognize a linga, though I do not know any other specimen of this peculiar form. Even if the Śiva-linga has been represented by Indian sculptors well before our statuette was carved, it seems that the [624] man who conceived its iconography had much less in mind the Indian examples than some other, perhaps Mediterranean, iconographic feature. In any case, this appears to be an iconographic creation independent of the Indian linga, even if the concept may be, and most probably is, the same.5

Actually I can remember only one Śiva image which is topped by a globular feature similar to the one in our statuette: it is the standing and ithyphallic Śiva from Mathurā in the Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, that Coomaraswamy (1927: fig. 80) described as a Bodhisattva because the globular feature is placed just behind the god’s head in such a way that it can be

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4 Another nice Maitreya image with aksamālā and flask is the Nepalese one published by Slusser and Vajrācārya (1973: fig. 12).

5 Representations of lingas are to be considered as extremely rare in Gandharan reliefs. I remember only one, from Butkara I, Swat, in which what seems to be a āṅgirīg appears between a man seated in a pensive attitude and a court-bearer (Sculptures Butkara I: 148, pl. CDXCIIIa). It is a fragment of a "false niche" that was certainly part of a Buddhist context: it now preserves only a portion of one of the crescent-shaped friezes surmounting the main lunette, a position therefore of subordination.
easily mistaken for a halo when it is seen frontally, and Śiva’s erect penis is much abraded. Nevertheless other details visible on the back make the allusion to a liṅga much clearer than in our image (Joshi 1972: 43-44, figs. 5-6; Kreisel 1981: 244-45, pl. 10a-b).

Lastly, I want to call the attention of the reader to a minor detail that may turn out to be of the utmost importance, viz. the third eye. This is not placed vertically in the middle of the forehead as one would expect it to be. Rather surprisingly it is inclined towards the god’s right in a very conspicuous way, so much as to make us doubt whether this peculiarity is simply due to the carver’s slip or it has an explicit meaning.

If it is so (one may compare a Kushan Ardhanārī in the Victoria and Albert Museum – Srinivasan 1978-79: no. 14,6 and a Harihara in a private collection – Pal 1985: fig. 11), we could try to interpret our image as a composite one, its right and dominant half being Śiva, its left half being Viṣṇu. This is identified by the sun-disc and the flask, the latter being an attribute which is certainly more closely connected with Śiva but was also present in some early Viṣṇu images in the place (lower left hand) [625] which was to be taken later by śaṅkha (e.g. Agrawala 1965: 255, fig. 170; Joshi 1966: 30; also Slusser and Vajrācārya 1973: 94 ff.).

An altogether different solution of our iconographic problem is suggested by a comparison with some images of six- or four-armed ithyphallic deities of various ages that have been identified as Śiva by P. Pal (1973-74: 39 ff.). The most interesting one for our discussion is in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar (Pal 1973-74: fig. 10). Dr Pal describes it as follows: “Although damaged, the arms can be recognized as six in number. Of the three left hands one holds a waterpot, a second is placed on his wife’s back, and the third supports a disc. The only remaining right hand carries a rosary, and [...] the other two hands may have held a second disc and the trident”.7 That one of the lost right hands held another disc (the lunar one, i.e. a crescent within a disc) is deduced by Pal

6 I owe this important reference to Professor Doris M. Srinivasan who kindly read the manuscript of this paper and commented on it.
7 The description is confirmed even more strongly in a later paper by P. Pal (1981: 260
from the fact that other images, such as one in the British Museum, the well-known one from Rang Mahal in the Bikaner Museum, and two from Chinese Central Asia have the same attributes and seem to be recognizable as representations of Śiva. These identifications are perhaps to be submitted to a closer scrutiny (cf. Maxwell 1983); whatever the case, our statuette does not show the peculiar balancing of sun and moon in the upper pair of hands, and does not therefore fall within the same class as the images discussed by Pal.

On the other hand, it is also to be kept in mind that, at least on some Kushan coins, a beamed disk or a cakra is among the attributes of Oesho/Śiva, the better specimen being a three-headed and ithyphallic standing image of Indian type on a coin of Huvishka (Rosenfield 1967: 92, coin 163). This is not the only case in which Oesho is seen adopting a weapon usually characteristic of Viṣṇu: e.g. one can be referred to another Huvishka coin on which Oesho appears as holding a danda or gada in his lower left hand (Rosenfield 1967: 93, coin 164). The great variability of Oesho’s attributes is a clear symptom of his still vague conceptual definition in the Kushan period.8

[626] I am not ready to suggest any conclusion; nevertheless I would not see any difficulty in identifying the image as a composite deity (I dare not call it “Harihara”) because of the differentiation of the two halves entrusted only to the attributes. One may recall in this connection some Nepalese images that show this same attitude in expressing the Harihara concept – images that are indeed “undifferentiated except by [their] cognizances, two of Śiva on the right, two of Viṣṇu on the left” (Slusser and Vajrācārya 1973: 115-6, fig. 7). One may also compare the 9th-century four-headed Harihara from Kashmir in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, recently discussed by HärTEL (1983: figs. 33-34), on whose forehead the third eye has one side convex (Śiva), the other straight (Viṣṇu),

9) where he states that two of the god’s hands “support the sun and the moon as he does in Central Asian images and in the Bikaner relief”.

8 I am greatly indebted to Dr G. Bhattacharya for the precious suggestions he gave to me in the course of a fruitful epistolary discussion we had on this subject (letters of 7.9.83 and 22.10.83). The reader is now referred also to the Oesho-type coins reproduced by Gobel 1984: pl. 169.
as it becomes usual in later imagery. On the contrary, the Nepalese image published by Slusser and Vajrācārya has a full biconvex third eye.

A difficulty that I am not able to surmount is given by the two animal heads — were their places inverted we would certainly feel more at our ease.

Let me only point out that, while I have tried here to show how deeply were the early representations of Śiva connected with Maitreya, V.S. Agrawala (1965: 255) could write that “the earliest form of Vishnu is exactly similar to that of the Bodhisattva Maitreya and both must be taken to be the products of the same formula”, and for other scholars it is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that shows the most striking similarity with Śiva (see for discussion de Mallmann 1948: 111 ff.). When everything can indifferently be anything else, there must be something wrong in the very approach.

One of the first points to be emphasized in this connection is that we cannot be sure that every “Hindu” image in Gandhāra actually is an object of Hindu cult. There is indeed a gradation from purely Hindu images such as the Śiva from Mesopotamia mentioned above, on one side, and the six-armed god in a relief from Swat that was variously interpreted by G. Gnoli (1963), R.C. Agrawala, and myself (Agrawala and Taddei 1966), on the other. The latter, like several other representations of deities, may also be due to a carver and a donor who intended to show that non-Buddhist deities (whatever their Buddhist name might be) pay homage to the Buddha or form a celestial frame within which the Buddha holds an undisputed central position. By no [627] means can we feel sure that the Swat image exactly reproduces a definite Hindu god according to a canon accepted by the god’s devotees.

Our three-headed and four-armed god is too small for being an object of public worship; nor can it be a domestic image, the two cramps on the back being too complicate a device for holding such a small image in its position. The two cramps clearly show that the image was placed in an architectural context — whether in a subordinate position close to a Buddhist dominant image or in a purely Hindu place of worship, is only a matter of conjecture.

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TWO NOTES ON GANDHARAN ICONOGRAPHY

From *East and West* 35, 1985, pp. 271-76

1. More on the Meditating Monkey from Tapa Sardār

[271] In a note published in this same section (*EW* 34, 1984, pp. 535-54), Pratapaditya Pal re-examines a fragment of clay sculpture from Tapa Sardār (Taddei and Verardi 1978: fig. 237) depicting a meditating monkey together with another work on the same subject from the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome. The latter is an example of Gandharan art in schist which I published some years ago (Taddei 1974) and utilized, together with other sculptures from various ages and settings, for the purpose of general comparison with the monkey from Tapa Sardār (Taddei and Verardi 1978). Pal attempts to identify the two pious monkeys with the aid of a story told by the Buddha in the *Āsokāvadāna* and set on Mt. Urumunḍa. However, he prudently points out that: "It must, of course, be remembered that one can never be certain of the identification of such isolated figures without knowing the context in which they were placed".

Pal's hypothesis is one worth bearing in mind (along with other possibilities). I should, however, like to draw attention to certain factors whose importance he appears to have underestimated.

I shall take the two pieces separately because, as I shall attempt to demonstrate, they can only have originated in completely different contexts.

Let us begin with the Tapa Sardār piece. It must first be pointed out that this is not an isolated figure and that its context is not unknown. Pal has read the inventory entry (Taddei and Verardi 1978: 125, no. TS 1225), but overlooked what our report
has to say about the background decoration of chapel no. 37, where our monkey comes from (ibid.: 118): “Taking into account the exact find-spots, we may state with a fair amount of certainty that practically all the fragments found in the ruins belong to the decoration at the back of the chapel, i.e. to the group around the Buddha and the nāgas. This was characterized by the presence of animals which, together with the rocky landscape and the leaves, give this chapel an appearance which is in some ways similar to chapel no. 23 (see above). Of these animals, we have a fragment [...] (muzzle) of a lion’s head, a wild boar’s head [...] and a monkey sitting in a meditating position [...]”. The scene can, to some extent, be reconstructed (ibid.: 116-21): in the centre of a rocky landscape we have a Buddha with a flaming halo seated on a lotus flower which emerges from a pool between two nāgas. He is flanked by two Bodhisattvas and other minor personages, among whom a monkey and two more animals, a lion and a boar. The iconographical context suggested is therefore an epiphany and not the narrative scene conjectured by Pal.

It cannot even be said that the more general context of the chapels on the southwest side of the Main Stūpa of Tapa Sardār is completely unknown. The monkey discussed by Pal is not, in fact, the only one found at Tapa Sardār. In chapel no. 23, fragments of figures of various animals were found, among them a meditating monkey. I can add nothing to what I wrote in the Second Preliminary Report (Taddei and Verardi 1978: 48 f., n. 27, figs. 57-58), but this already seems sufficient to make the idea of a narrative scene very unlikely, also in the case of chapel no. 23.

If we were to accept the hypothesis that the monkey discussed by Pal comes from a representation in chapel no. 37 inspired by that particular story told in the Aśokāvadāna, we should therefore be obliged to suppose that the same story was represented in chapel no. 23, where the other monkey was found. This seems somewhat excessive. It would be much more reasonable to view the two monkeys as part, together with the lion, pig, boar and peacocks, of the setting of two epiphanies, as our Second Preliminary Report sought to demonstrate.

As regards the date of the Tapa Sardār monkey, I cannot accept Pal’s conjecture of the 3rd century (1984: 354). Given the
Fig. 1 - Gandharan relief depicting the punishment of the naked ascetics (?). Formerly Lahore Museum; now National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. (Photo Count A. van der Burght, 1905; courtesy, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels).
Figs. 2-3 - Gandharan relief depicting the punishment of the naked ascetics (?). Present location unknown. (Photo E. Lizioli, Karachi).
present state of research, I should think that the date we suggested, approximately 7th-8th century, is still preferable (see Taddei and Verardi 1978: 131-35).

The schist monkey from the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale in Rome does present us with a fragment without a context. However, in this case too, it seems to me that Pal’s conjectures can be ruled out. What function would be served by the triangular element decorated with a full-blown flower if it were a narrative relief?

As I wrote, “A feature giving the object particular interest is the triangular flower-shaped element. This, in fact, provides a basis for an attempt to place the image in a precise architectonic context” (Taddei 1974). I should think that the triangular element is to be interpreted as the apex of a carinated arch, such as may be seen in various niche-shaped Gandharan reliefs.

For the sake of example, let us take the one in the Detroit Museum of Arts which Coomaraswamy reproduces in his handbook of Indian art (Coomaraswamy 1927: fig. 91). In this, as in many analogous examples, at the apex we find a small figure of a meditating Buddha. However, the relationship between this and the point of the carinated arch closely resembles the proportions of the piece in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale in Rome.

For these reasons, I am not inclined to follow Dr Pal’s interpretation, or to take any interpretation into consideration unless it first takes into account the possible position of the figure in an architectural setting.

2. On the Relief in the Karachi National Museum traditionally interpreted as “The Story of Sumāgadhā and the Naked Ascetic”

This is one of the most beautiful and best known Gandharan high-reliefs. It comes from Sikri and was kept for a time in the Lahore Museum, first in two separate fragments (nos. 2124 and 1601), then as a reunited whole (GAP: no. 116). It subsequently entered the collection of the Karachi National Museum (Dept. of Archaeology 1956: no. 33, fig. on p. 20) “on long term loan”.

The photograph reproduced here (fig. 1), by kind permission of Mme Janine Schotsmans of the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire

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of Brussels, was taken in 1905 by Count Adrien van der Burght and shows the two fragments of the relief united (but given the number 1348, which does not appear in subsequent publications).

Alfred Foucher (AGBG: I, 528-33, fig. 261) interpreted the scene as the story of Sumāgadha, the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada, a wealthy and devout banker of Śrāvasti, who [274] married into a family devoted to a sect of naked ascetics in a distant country. Our relief is supposed to show the moment when, her patience exhausted, Sumāgadha hurled herself against the “heretics”, thus scandalizing her father-in-law, portrayed on the terrace of the house (ibid.: 552).

When I visited the National Museum in Karachi for the first time back in 1958, housed as it then was in the beautiful and sadly-missed Frere Hall, I realized that Foucher’s interpretation was ungrounded. The reason is simple: the figure seen from behind in the act of striking a “heretic” is not a woman but a vigorous and muscular young man. By looking from the side, one can verify the lack of breasts, which makes it unnecessary to fall back on arguments involving the lack of pudeur du sein (ibid.: 533) of ancient Indian women.

Foucher’s interpretation was, however, accepted by practically all those who subsequently studied this relief up to the last few years (Basham 1951: pl. IV; GAP: loc. cit. and previous bibliography given there; Pugačenkova 1982: 135, fig. 141; Bussagli 1984: fig. on p. 118; Catalogue 1984: no. II-13; Tsuchiya 1984: 47, pl. IX).

The explanation of such a glaring mistake seems to me that a fin de siècle gentleman like Foucher could not see a youthful figure with shoulder-length hair as anything but female: an unwitting reaction to an iconographical element that Foucher, for all his great knowledge of Gandharan art, did not think to put into context. It would have been enough for him to recall to mind one of the countless Bodhisattvas with similarly flowing locks to find the right interpretative key, whereas it would have been by no means easy for him to find a female figure to tie in with his interpretation.

The subsequent writers were obviously victims of their excessive respect for the great French scholar.

It is also surprising that Foucher was so bent on his interpreta-
tion as to see a well-to-do landowner, as the father-in-law of Su-
māgadha must have been, in the bearded figure in the top right,
whose tunic is absolutely out of character with such a personage.
This figure is, in fact, Vajrapāni, as appears evident on comparison
with the relief in the Museum of Peshawar no. 2069 (GAP: no. 59),
or the one in Berlin published by Foucher himself (AGBG: II, fig.
326).

Foucher was, however, right in seeing the Sikri relief as an
edifying tale in which “heretics” are put to shame and beaten. This
is a recurrent theme in Buddhist literature, an example of which is
the story of Sirigutta and Garahadinna as told in the Dhammapada
Commentary (Burlingame 1969: II, 92-99). I am not in a position to
suggest a convincing literary reference, but should like to draw the
attention of colleagues to the question and stress that the Sikri
relief is still an open problem from the iconographical point of
view.

The only contribution I can offer is the reproduction of a relief
(figs. 2-3) seen in the Karachi antique market by the late Mr E.
Lizioli who, in May 1983, kindly furnished me with the two photo-
graphs and the accompanying note: “Dark gray schist; 38 x 53
cm.”.

In my opinion, this relief, whose present whereabouts are un-
known to me, could be fruitfully studied together with that of the
Karachi National Museum, even though it cannot yet be affirmed
that they portray the same scene.

From the point of view of the history of the transmission of
iconographical models, it may be of some interest to point out that
this is a new application of a Graeco-Roman Helfgruppe, widely
used in Gandhāra in other narrative contexts (Taddei 1963).

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NON-BUDDHIST DEITIES IN GANDHARAN ART
SOME NEW EVIDENCE


[349] I have thought it useful to collect in this paper a few notes concerning some unpublished or even unknown reliefs that, though certainly not all of the same kind, can nevertheless be classified under one label — "non-Buddhist deities in Gandhara". This is a subject that is certainly dear to Professor Härtel.

In an earlier paper (Taddei 1985) I stressed the point that we cannot feel sure that every "Hindu" image from Gandhara actually was an object of Hindu worship. Even the small image in the Pontecorvo collection that I was then publishing cannot be labelled as such: — "Our three-headed and four-armed god is too small for being an object of public worship; nor can it be a domestic image, the two cramps on the back being too complicate a device for holding such a small image in its position. The two cramps clearly show that the image was placed in an architectural context — whether in a subordinate position close to a Buddhist dominant image or in a purely Hindu place of worship, is only a matter of conjecture".

During a recent visit to Peshawar Museum (September, 1985) I noticed for the first time a small fragment of a relief. It seems also to have escaped other students of Gandharan art: I do not know of its having been either published or reproduced (fig. 1).

It is a fragment from a much larger composition: it measures 18.5 x 16 x 9.5 cm.; the original edge of the stela is preserved on
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the right only; the registration no. 850 is clearly written on it in white paint.¹

At first sight it appears to be an example of the well known and widely documented Gandharan iconographic entity, namely a meditating Buddha from whom radiate either six or eight standing Buddha images. Two specimens are exhibited in the Peshawar Museum, one bearing no. 1296 (Marshall 1960: fig. 151), the other – which was entered under no. 1859 – is reproduced in the handbook of the Museum by Professor Sehrai (1985: no. 41; also Catalogue 1984: no. I-10); one more specimen, which is badly damaged, formerly in Peshawar Museum (no. 1734), is now kept in the National Museum, Karachi (GAP: pl. XX2; Catalogue 1984: no. I-9; Bussagli 1984: fig. on p. 188); one more piece, described as formerly in Peshawar Museum, was reproduced by Ingholt: it had been found at Takht-i-Bahi (GAP: 38, pl. XX12). Finally, one must add a fragment of a relief (fig. 2) kept in the Government Museum, Madras, where the radiating Buddhas were probably more than eight (Taddei 1969: fig. 31).²

The most impressive piece in this group is certainly the large and splendid stela from Mohammed Nari (fig. 3) in Lahore Museum, no. 1135 (GAP: no. 255), on which we find two representations of a meditating Buddha within what we may call “Buddha lotuses”. – It was recently considered in a quite new perspective by John Huntington in an article that upset the earlier interpretations of the subject (Huntington 1980).³

To stelae similar to this one certainly belonged such fragments

¹ The photograph reproduced here is from a negative kept in the archives of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University (Neg. no. IAP-GA 5718). I obtained it through the courtesy of Professor Shoshin Kuwayama. My thanks are due to Professor Fidaullah Sehrai for permission to publish this interesting piece.

² I take this opportunity to apologize for having reproduced this relief in my paper of 1969 [in this volume. – Ed.] in the place of another and quite different one from the same Museum (to which the caption of fig. 31 actually refers). This unforgivable mistake was due to a series of accidental and curious circumstances that took place when the article went to the press and I was engaged in field work at Ghazni. The responsibility in any case is mine.

³ The photograph reproduced here was taken in 1905 by Count A. van der Burght. The negative is kept in the collection of the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire,
as the two in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, Acc. nos. 19 and 20 (Chandra 1974: nos. 40 and 39 respectively); the one (fig. 4) also from Mohammed Nari formerly in Lahore Museum, no. 1137 (AGBG: fig. 78), with two "Buddha lotuses"; and the one (fig. 5) in the Náprstek Museum, Prague (Plaeschke 1963: 45, fig. 11).

The last-mentioned piece and the right-hand "Buddha lotus" in the Mohammed Nari fragment no. 1137 (fig. 4) at Lahore differ from the other specimens I have listed in one point – the central figure, instead of wearing the monastic dress of a Buddha, shows all the characteristics of a Bodhisattva. A Bodhisattva is also the central figure of our fragment no. 850 in Peshawar Museum. So far as hair-style, jewels, and mudrā are concerned, the fragment in Peshawar and the one in Prague are very close as indeed they are stylistically.

Six Buddha figures emanate from the Bodhisattva in the Prague fragment and the same seems to happen in fragment no. 1137 of Lahore Museum. Our fragment in Peshawar Museum on the other hand shows six figures all different from one another, apparently standing on lotus flowers and emanating from the central Bodhisattva. Some of them are easily identifiable, some need to be examined more carefully.

From the top left proper and in a clockwise direction we find:

1) A male youth with right hand in a gesture vaguely similar to abhayamudrā, wearing a large cloak that leaves his right shoulder bare and falls in a wide fold from his right arm.

2) Śiva, unfortunately headless, ithyphallic, holding trident in his right hand and kamandalu in his lowered left. [352]

3) A bearded man, with hair in a spiral knot at the top of the head, wearing a large cloak: apparently the god Brahmā or a Brahman.

4) A half-naked male figure wearing only a narrow loincloth round the hips, his right hand raised at chest height. This figure is unfortunately headless with the left hand that perhaps held some object damaged; it is also the only one of the six radiating figures that does not show the clear outline of a halo. I am inclined to see a yakṣa in it.

Brussels; it is reproduced by courtesy of the Musées Royaux and thanks to the kindness of Mrs Janine Schotsmans.
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5) Kumāra, wearing a coat-of-mail on a parīdhāna, holding a long spear in his right hand and a bird in his left raised against the chest. The figure is headless but the outline of a turban is recognizable against the halo.

6) A Buddha in abhaya-mudrā.

It is well known that the interpretation given by Alfred Fouche of the stela from Mohammed Nari as well as of other Gandharan reliefs of the same type – the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī – has been called in question. I have already mentioned the contribution by John Huntington (1980) that explains the stela from Mohammed Nari as a representation of Amitāyus’ Sukhāvatī, as it is described in the two Sukhāvatī-vyūhas and in the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra. Therefore, the two “Buddha-lotuses” at the upper corners of the Mohammed Nari stele (and all the similar representations listed at the beginning of the present paper) can thus be interpreted as meditational reflections of the Buddha, emanations that [353] go and teach the Dharma in every direction, especially on the ground of the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha, a text that seems to have been translated into Chinese by An Shih-kao in the third quarter of the 2nd century and is preserved in any case in several Chinese translations dating back to the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (Huntington 1980: 654-55).

I think it is reasonable to suggest an interpretation of our Peshawar fragment, owing to the close similarity in iconographic arrangement, linked with a religious concept similar to the one expressed by the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha. I do not pretend to have identified the literary text itself which is reflected in our relief, because I have limited myself to an unsystematic search with only the guidelines provided by earlier reading; nevertheless I think we can reasonably point to the following texts as possible literary sources for our relief.

First of all, let us consider a well-known passage of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, concerning the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. It is available in several translations from both Sanskrit and Chinese; I choose the one from Sanskrit made by Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann (1948: 28 ff.) under the guidance of Louis Renou because it is by a scholar interested in iconographic problems. In any case, the differences between this and the other translations from Sanskrit, such as
those by Burnouf and Kern, and from Chinese, such as those by Beal and Soothill, are slight:

"O fils de famille, il est des mondes où le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara enseigne la loi aux créatures sous la figure d’un Buddha; il est des mondes où le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara enseigne la loi aux créatures sous la figure d’un Bodhisattva; à certaines créatures, le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara enseigne la loi sous la figure d’un pratyeka-buddha; à certaines créatures le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara enseigne la loi sous la figure d’un grāvaka; à certaines créatures le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara enseigne la loi sous la figure de Brahmâ; à certaines créatures, le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara enseigne la loi sous la figure de Çakra; à certaines créatures, le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara enseigne la loi sous la figure d’un gandharva; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par un yaksha, il enseigne la loi sous la figure d’un yaksha; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par Içvara, il enseigne la loi sous la figure d’Içvara; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par Mahेçvara, il enseigne la loi sous la figure de Mahèçvara; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par un roi à la roue, il enseigne la loi sous la figure d’un roi à la roue; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par un démon cannibale, il enseigne la loi sous la figure d’un démon cannibale; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par Vaiçravâra, il enseigne la loi sous la figure de Vaiçravâra; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par Senâpati, il enseigne la loi sous la figure de Senâpati; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par un brahmane, il enseigne la loi sous la figure d’un brahmane; à ceux qui sont susceptibles d’être convertis par Vaijrapâiśi, il enseigne la loi sous la figure de Vaijrapâiśi. Ainsi, o fils de famille, le Bodhisattva Mahâsattra Avalokiteśvara est pourvu de qualités inconcevables." (de Mallmann 1948: 31-32).

The passage, certainly later, of the Kârânda-vyâha-sûtra, also concerning Avalokiteśvara (de Mallmann 1948: 41), presumably derives from the passage of the Saddharma-puṇḍarîka quoted above.

Now this ability of the Bodhisattva to reveal himself in practically infinite forms in order to convert all sentient beings is not peculiar to Avalokiteśvara. The Saddharma-puṇḍarîka itself, in the preceding chapter (XXIII) attributes it to the Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara in very similar terms (Kern 1884: 400 ff.).

A similar description refers to Avalokiteśvara in a Sûtra that most scholars consider as "apocryphal" — the Sûrangama-sûtra (Lu K’uan Yü 1966: 136 ff.) — that I prefer not to take into account for
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that very [354] reason. It seems to be a Chinese composition of the beginning of the 8th century (Demiéville 1952: 43-52 n.).

I would not rule out that the same capability for multiple manifestations is attributed elsewhere to other Bodhisattvas. We do indeed have descriptions of other Bodhisattvas that can be considered as theoretically equivalent to the livelier description of Avalokiteśvara in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka: I shall limit myself to a reference to the Śūraṇīgama-samādhi-sūtra (155–157), concerning Maitreya (Lamotte 1975: 258–60).

It is clear that the fragment in Peshawar Museum we are discussing is a synthesis and very effective depiction of the many forms in which the Bodhisattva can manifest himself, as listed in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and other Mahāyāna texts.

Some uncertainties will obviously remain concerning the Buddha figure emerging from the central Bodhisattva – is it to be identified as a Buddha or a Pratyekabuddha? I am inclined to believe that the artist intended to represent a Pratyekabuddha, i.e. a “private” or “lonely” Buddha. In Mahāyāna texts the Theravāda school is often described as “the vehicle of the Śrāvakas ("disciples") and Pratyekabuddhas”. Thus the first two possible manifestations listed by the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka – Buddha and Bodhisattva (obviously in the Mahayana sense of the words) – are better left out of this visual transposition which seems to include only the lower forms of manifestation. The highest among these lower forms follow immediately in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka list – Pratyekabuddha and Śrāvaka. And these we find represented in the Peshawar fragment by the first and more meaningful of them, the Pratyekabuddha.

Another source of uncertainty is the image emerging at the bottom right – is it a member of the Brahmanical caste or the god Brahmā himself? Here too I can only express my own inclination to interpret it as the god Brahmā for he certainly fits much better than a simple Brahman with the other divine characters in the same “lotus”.

The obscurest of the six emanating figures is in my opinion the one at the top right. I venture an hypothesis though I am aware of its being intrinsically weak.

It would not be difficult to find in Gandharan imagery figures
that are fairly similar to this miniature one, but none of them provides a satisfactory explanation for our image in its actual context. Here too I wish to point out that in the iconography under scrutiny it is reasonable to recognize pre-eminent characters such as gods or demigods rather than generic characters.

One should not forget that a literary text can dwell on a list of characters and be effective by its very prolixity; the visual image contained in a small relief, on the contrary, must concentrate the maximum of meaning in a minimum of space to the same end.

Be that as it may, I would also suggest that the two first figures from the top right represent the two separate aspects of the god Śiva in the *Saddharma-pundarika*, namely,Īśvara and Maheśvara. This hypothesis is supported by a coin of Huviṣka in Lahore Museum on the reverse of which appears a figure very similar to the one at the top right in the “lotus” under discussion. Whitehead (1914: 206, no. 204, pl. XIX) identified this figure with Mao of the Kuśāṇa monetary pantheon, but Göbl (1984: no. 944, pls. 98, 170) reads the accompanying inscription as Oešo.

It is also known that Kuśāṇa coins provide a great variety of iconographic types for Oešo/Śiva and I should not be surprised to find the verbal distinction between Īśvara and Maheśvara reflected in two distinct iconographic forms.

This suggestion may be thought worth further investigation; in any case, reference to Kuśāṇa coins seems to be the only way to a solution.

By scrutinizing the reliefs I am considering, we can understand how Hindu iconography in its formative phase was reflected in Buddhist art and how the most daring concepts of literary texts could be visualized by drawing elements from the common repertory of images of Indian culture.

Indeed, it is known that Buddhists were [355] fairly familiar with the main tenets of Brahmanism and even more with what can be called popular Brahmanism – for the knowledge of this, Buddhist Mahāyāna texts can even be considered as sources of primary importance. I only wish to recall here the excellent article by Constantin Regamey (1971) who discusses the attitude of Buddhists towards Brahmanism and Hinduism in a very clear historical perspective. He writes (p. 416):
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"En ce qui concerne les êtres semi-divins – les apsaras, les gandharva, les yakṣa et les démons – les asura, les rākṣasa, les nāga, les kimnara, etc., l'identité avec les croyances hindou est presque complète; mais il s'agit en l'occurrence du folklore indien général, ne se rattachant à aucune religion particulière."

My next piece of evidence is therefore biased by the circumstance that the character represented is not necessarily to be labelled as Buddhist or Hindu, being rather one of those semi-divine beings that belong to the common tradition of Indian culture.

I avail myself therefore of this opportunity to reproduce an unusual “false bracket” in the shape of a winged centaur (figs. 6-8). I saw it in a private collection at Karachi in 1980 and, to judge from its style and the quality of the green schist of which it is made, it appears to be a product of the Swat valley.4

The curious mixture of a centaur’s body and some features of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (hair in a double-loop knot and left hand holding kalaśa) might perhaps find an explanation in some text similar to the passage of chapter XXIII of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka in which the possible manifestations of the Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara are listed, if not in this very passage (Kern 1884: 400 ff.):

"The Lord said: [...] this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law under many shapes he

4 It has an irregularly shaped tenon, reduced in thickness in an unusual way if compared with the sculptured portion and roughly hewn by means of a straight-edged chisel. The sculptured portion represents the forepart of a winged centaur with legs raised as if prancing. The upper and human part of the centaur is shown emerging from an acanthus; its features are those of the Bodhisattva Maitreya with halo, kalaśa in left hand and right hand raised to shoulder either in abhayamudrā or with palm inwards (as often happens in Maitreya images – cf. Taddei 1969); it wears moustaches, uttariya, a short collar-like necklace and a longer with central gem or relic-container, hair in thick curls round the face and in a double loop at the top; its eyes are small and globular in shape. The lower side is mostly flat and shows no discontinuity between the front portion and the tenon, on which is incised the Kharoṣṭhī aṣṭa ra. Green schist. Measurements: 8.5 x 5.8 x 10 cm. (without tenon), length of tenon 6.5 cm. The front portions of the legs are broken, as well as the right arm and hand; nose and chin chipped. The photographs reproduced here were kindly given to me by the late lamented Dr Emmanuele Lizioli.

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assumes; sometimes under the shape of Brahmat, sometimes under that of Indra, sometimes under that of Siva [...]. With so [356] many variations in the manner to show himself, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. He has even assumed the shape of a goblin to preach this Dharmaparyâya to such as were to be converted by a goblin. To some he has preached this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law under the shape of a demon, to some under a Garuda’s, to some under a Kinnara’s, to some under a great serpent’s shape. [...] Under so many shapes, assumed at will, has the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara preached this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures.’

It is not so important, after all, to decide whether kinnara is to be interpreted as a sort of centaur or as a being half-man and half-bird, because the list we find in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is comprehensive enough to give room to every and any sort of being. Nevertheless I should like to suggest that this false bracket represents the Bodhisattva manifesting himself in the shape of a kinnara, perhaps among the kinnaras. This must obviously remain an hypothesis because the architectural context of the bracket is lost.

If we return to our fragment in Peshawar Museum (fig. 1), a few more points are to be emphasized. The Skanda image reproduces almost precisely the free-standing ones of the same god that have already been published (for instance, the one in the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome – Agrawala and Taddei 1966: 85, n. 3, fig. 2 – where the deity is also shown standing on a lotus).

[357] May we speculate that they were meant to be placed beside a Bodhisattva according to an iconographic pattern similar to the one of the Peshawar Museum? May we even surmise that the other Gandharan statuettes of Brahmanical gods that cannot be interpreted as portable images were also intended to be so placed? Among these one should include the composite image in the Pontecorvo collection. I have already pointed out that the grooves for cramps on its back seem to be too complex a device for such a small image (Taddei 1985: 627). A position similar to that occupied by the gods and other emanating figures in the Peshawar fragment could well account for such a complexity, even if I cannot indicate how the various pieces were assembled.
Let us now turn our attention to another unusual iconography, represented by an unpublished piece (figs. 9-11) recently acquired by the Fujii-Yürinkan Museum of Chinese Art, Kyoto.  

[358] It is an image worked with the well-known Gandharan technique that aims at giving the impression of a sculpture in the round. Actually the back of this image is not sculptured and shows only chisel marks. We are therefore dealing with a relief image cut out along its outline.

It represents a female deity, vaguely similar to the many so-called Hāritī figures from Gandhara. She is seated on a throne with cushions, her feet resting on a very low stool. She has a round halo behind her head and wears a turban with which a garland is entwined; in her right hand she holds a large and rather flat footless bowl, while her left holds a ram’s severed head on her left knee. A lion’s head protrudes from the deity’s right temple. A worshipper, with a long cloak, stands beside the goddess’s right leg; he joins his hands though the gesture does not seem to be anjali.  

I know of only one image that can be tentatively classed with that at Kyoto. It is a seated female image in Lahore Museum (?), fairly similar to the many seated devīs of Gandharan iconography, who holds a bowl in her left hand and what appears to be a horned animal’s head in her left. Two poorly modelled lions (or lionesses?) are seated on their hind legs beside the devī looking up at her.

This goddess was reproduced by B.N. Mukherjee (1969: 23 n. 44, 110, fig. 6) who sees in her left hand “an indistinct object”. My next visit to Lahore will certainly also include an examination of this interesting piece, though during the Seminar I was lucky enough to find an old plaster cast, reproduced here (fig. 12), in the beautifully arranged reserves of the Museum für Indische Kunst. For the time being I shall rely only upon the image in the Fujii-Yürinkan Museum and try to find an explanation for it by

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5 I am grateful to the Director of the Fujii-Yürinkan Museum for kindly providing a set of photographs of this image and allowing me to reproduce them. My thanks are also due to Professor Shoshin Kuwayama who first accompanied me on a visit to that Museum and was later instrumental in obtaining the photographs.

6 The piece is in a very good state of preservation but the worshipper’s head is lost. It is made of grey schist and measures 17 cm. in height, 9 cm. in width.

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examining the few attributes displayed by the goddess – the bowl, the ram’s severed head and the additional lion head on her right.

The latter might be interpreted as a link with Durgā, the Hindu goddess who is accompanied by a lion; at the same time I would remind you that a “wine-cup” is held in one of her right hands by the so-called Hāritī with four arms from Sahr-i-Bahlol in Peshawar Museum (GAP: no. 341). This image has been labelled Hāritī only because of the naked child seated on the goddess’s lower right hand, but the trisūla in her upper left has been perhaps too hastily explained by Ingholt as a possible “transformation of Panchika’s lance”.

It is not unreasonable to think that the awe-inspiring goddess in Peshawar Museum, if she has any connection with Hāritī, is the product of a time in which Hāritī was being assimilated with a Śaiva goddess – the flask in her lower left hand being one more hint in this direction.7

But what about the ram’s head?

I am afraid we should be helpless and compelled to rely on mere speculation were it not for a post-Gandharan stela from [359] Guligram, Swat (fig. 13), published by Giuseppe Tucci in one of his masterly “Oriental Notes” (Tucci 1963). The stela, which is in very poor condition and probably the victim of iconoclasm, depicts “an aṣṭabhuja-mūrti which has great similarity with aṣṭabhuja Durgā, or a goddess of this kind, but she is not aṣṭabhuja Durgā Mahiṣāṣu-ramardanī. She is not, because the animal which she kills is certainly not a buffalo: but doubtless a caprid” (Tucci 1963: 152).

I must confess that, though the severed animal head on the Guligram stela undisputably appears to be that of a caprid, I have always felt that Tucci had gone a little too far in denying even the slightest possibility that it was a bovine head clumsily carved by an unskilled artist – “it is always dangerous to argue from ancient sculpture to ancient skulls”, Stuart Piggott said; and, we may add, from ancient sculpture to animal species. But now I am glad to provide this indirect confirmation of the interpretation given by

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7 For a fresh and more sensible discussion of this image, see now Paul 1986: 135 ff. I have left this passage of the present paper as read at the Berlin Seminar, before Dr Paul’s dissertation was circulated.
Tucci – the small image in the Fujii-Yûrinkan Museum and perhaps the one in Lahore are clear witness that in the Gandharan period there was a goddess connected with the killing of a ram and that such a goddess shared attributes with Durga, as the lion’s head in one piece and the two seated lions in the other perhaps show.

Though we are dealing with two different species – a ram, presumably *Ovis orientalis* Gmelin, or Urial, in one case, a goat, *Capra ibex* Linn. in the other – it is clear that both refer to one environment that gave a greater symbolic value to the wild animals of the mountains than to such bovines as bulls or buffaloes typical of the lowlands.

The image in the Fujii-Yûrinkan Museum is evidently the product of a period in which “Hindu” iconographies were being created, the stela from Guligram is on the contrary the ripe, even “extravagant” fruit of a soundly established iconographic tradition.

Between the Gandharan attempts I have discussed so far and the Guligram stela there are such achievements as the Durgâ from Tapa Sardar, the Scorretti Marble, and the other Śâhi sculptures, as well as the many small-scale Hindu images, perhaps to be dated in the 6th-7th century, that have been found in Afghanistan, the NWFP, and Kashmir (among the most recent contributions, see Pal 1981). The one (figs. 14-15) I reproduce here to illustrate this kind of production is an unpublished fragment from Tapa Skandar, presumably depicting Umâmahâseśvara⁴ – a purely canonical image, at least in its surviving portion.

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⁴ It is a fragment of a portable image in the round, depicting the god Śiva, four-armed, haloed, and slightly turned to the proper left (therefore a fragment of an Umâmahâseśvara pair or of a Śiva-and-vâhana group). It preserves the upper part of the torso, including the head and the joints of the lower (and front) right arm, the latter as far as the middle of the humerus; the upper right arm, which is badly chipped and lacks its elbow, raises its hand with *nâlā* (the only surviving attribute) at the height of the hair-knot; the halo is also broken. The muscles of the chest are delicately and neatly modelled so as to show that the lower (and front) left arm was raised higher than the corresponding right one. A string made of three threads of beads crosses the chest and passes behind the neck, between halo and shoulders, but shows a curious discontinuity between right shoulder and right side. It also shows a sort of knot in front, a device that appears to be unusual in Śiva images but is often found in Gâñâsâ images, where it denotes the snake-like sacred cord (e.g. Paul 1986: pls. 55, 78, 79 –
Fig. 1 - A meditating Bodhisattva from whom radiate six different figures. Peshawar Museum.
Fig. 2 - A meditating Buddha within "Buddha lotus". Government Museum, Madras.
Fig. 3 - The Mohammed Nari stela, with meditating Buddhas within "Buddha lotuses" on the upper corners. Lahore Museum.
Fig. 4 - A fragment of a stela from Mohammed Nari, with meditating Buddha (left) and Bodhisattva (right) within “Buddha lotuses”. Lahore Museum.

Fig. 5 - A meditating Bodhisattva within “Buddha lotus”. Náprstek Museum, Prague.
Fig. 6 - A "false bracket" in the shape of a winged centaurus. Location unknown.
Fig. 7 - Same as fig. 6.

Fig. 8 - Same as fig. 6.

Fig. 9 - A female deity holding a bowl and a ram's severed head. Fujii-Yürinkan Museum, Kyoto.

Fig. 10 - Same as fig. 9.
Fig. 11 - Same as fig. 9.

Fig. 12 - A female deity holding a bowl and a horned animal's head. Lahore Museum. (From a plaster cast in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin).

Fig. 13 - A female deity killing a caprid. From Guligram. Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif.
Fig. 14 - A fragment of a relief, presumably depicting Umâmaheśvara. From Tapa Skandar. Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University.

Fig. 15 - Same as fig. 14.
If the goddess in the Fujji-Yûrinkan Museum is to be attributed, as I feel, to the 4th century, and the Guligram stèle to a much later date, perhaps the very end of the Buddhist period in Swat, i.e. the eve of the first Muslim invasion, one should conclude that some non-canonical divine entities (to [360] be placed in a cultural area influenced by both Buddhism and canonical Hinduism) had a fairly long life in the Northwest, and reached a maturity of visualization by progressively adapting themselves to the great iconographies created by Gupta and post-Gupta India. Other, and more canonical, deities (figs. 14-15) were readier to share their iconographic features with India proper. The contribution of the Northwest to this creative process was certainly remarkable (Tucci 1963: 179-82) though it has still to be described in all its details.

are we in presence of an iconographic inconsistency, by reason of the cord being here of strings of beads?). A palmette(?)-shaped keyâna decorates the right front arm. Though nose, mouth, eyes, and right eyebrow are badly corroded, the head can be described in its details - slightly bulging eyes with neatly marked eye-lids; long and bow-shaped eyebrows indicated by a ridge between two grooves; third eye in relief and lenticular in shape, slightly inclined towards the proper left; hair in snail-like curls bound by a plain band and falling in wavy curls on the shoulders (but they appear to the fore on the right shoulder only, not on the left one, perhaps in order not to overlap with the cord); elongated ear-lobes showing conspicuous holes. At the top of the head there is a very large knot produced by one coiled tress of hair; on the right proper the crescent is shown against the hair-knot. On either side of the god's head two smaller human heads are shown - they are rather summarily carved and not easy to distinguish from each other on account also of their being much corroded (chiefly the one on the proper right). The back is rather flat and only adds a wristlet at the upper right hand to the details of the image. The broken halo allows us to see that the hair-knot was carefully carved even on its back, despite the small space left between it and the halo itself. Green potstone. Measurements: 8.5 x 7.2 x 3.2 cm. The piece was bought in 1977 by the Kyoto University Mission to Afghanistan from a peasant who had found it at Bâlâ Ab, on the southern slope of Tapa Skandar, while tilling his field. I reproduce it thanks to the kindness of Professor Shoshin Kuwayama and by courtesy of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies of Kyoto University, where it is at present kept.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am greatly indebted to Wladimir Zwalf for kindly revising my English manuscript.
DELLA COSIDDETTA “PROSPETTIVA ROTANTE” NELL’ARTE DEL GANDHÁRA


[71] Fu nel 1964, quando venne organizzata al Museo Nazionale di Napoli la mostra 5000 anni d’arte in Pakistan, che il com- pianto Mario Bussagli avanzò – allora soltanto a voce (ma un ac- cennò è in Bussagli, s.a., cit. in bibl.) – l’idea che si potesse parlare, per l’arte del Gandhára, di una serie di accorgimenti di correzione ottica raggruppabili sotto la comune etichetta di “prospettiva ro- tante”.

Alcuni spunti, nell’ambito della scuola romana del Bussagli, furono ripresi, per la verità con molta prudenza, da Maria Spagnoli (1970), poi, più specificamente, da Anna Maria Di Pascale (1971), in un articolo che si presentava come “studio preliminare” sull’argomento. Ancora nel 1981 la Di Pascale ci dava un secondo articolo che, se non proprio uno “studio definitivo”, deve considerarsi uno sviluppo e, a suo modo, un approfondimento del precedente. Più di recente lo stesso Bussagli, nel suo lavoro di sintesi sull’arte del Gandhára (Bussagli 1984: 228-44), riprese l’argomento seguendo in gran parte le linee espositive e l’apparato documentario della Di Pascale e formulando la sua teoria della “prospettiva rotante” in maniera organica. La stessa è brevemente riproposta in un saggio di ampia diffusione (Bussagli 1986: 12). Non intendo qui discutere punto per punto i contributi citati della Di Pascale e del Bussagli (oltre tutto l’immatura scomparsa di Mario Bussagli renderebbe la cosa particolarmente penosa), dai quali peraltro dissenso assai più di quanto con essi non concordi. Quel che mi sembra necessario e doveroso è dimostrare l’inconsistenza degli stessi fondamenti empi-
rici della teoria, utilizzando in buona misura l’apparato illustrativo fornito dai suddetti studiosi e in qualche caso le loro stesse parole.

Questa mia nota potrebbe quindi essere priva di illustrazioni. Se ne introduce qualcuna è solo per render più agevole la lettura.

Vediamo dunque che cosa si intenda per “prospettiva rotante”.

La più compiuta definizione ce la dà il Bussagli (1984: 273):

“Sistema di organizzazione dello spazio figurativo in base al quale, con particolari accorgimenti e deformazioni prospettiche, una scena rappresentata risulta fruibile non da un punto di vista unico e privilegiato, ma per un arco di circa 160°. L’arco viene calcolato ponendo la verticale dell’asse mediano della scena in corrispondenza del centro di un ideale cerchio piano che sfiori il punto più basso della composizione stessa. La prospettiva rotante nasce da conoscenze prospettiche ed illusioni, in parte verosimilmente di origine greca, utilizzate in funzione di una visibilità prolungata in corrispondenza del rito della circumambulazione dello stūpa praticato dai buddhisti, detto rito della pradaksīna.”

Essa ricalca peraltro quella che ne dava nel suo primo saggio la Di Pascale (1971: 51):

“L’aspetto essenziale di questa soluzione prospettica (i.e., della “prospettiva rotante”) consiste nell’inalterata validità espressiva che le immagini conservano allorché il punto di osservazione si sposta lungo un arco di cerchio, corrispondente al perimetro circolare dello stupa, che il fedele percorreva durante il rito della pradaksīna. La sapiente realizzazione di accorgimenti necessari a produrre l’illusoria rotazione della scena rivela, accanto ad una straordinaria abilità tecnica, la conoscenza, non soltanto dell’immenso patrimonio figurativo dell’Occidente, ma anche dei suoi studi sull’ortica e sulle proporzioni del corpo umano variabili secondo il movimento e lo scorcio.”

È dunque lecito considerare i due autori come un solo interlocutore.

Queste formulazioni possono essere, per chiarezza, scomposte in due osservazioni empiriche che solo in parte possono considerarsi valide: 1) nei rilievi del Gandhāra le figure (in particolare i volti) subiscono talvolta una deformazione (nella parte rivolta verso il fondo); 2) i medesimi rilievi non sono godibili soltanto in una veduta frontale ma anche se l’osservatore si sposta, circolarmente, intorno ad essi.

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La prima osservazione trova facile riscontro in un gran numero di rilievi (ad es., figg. 1-2 e 3-5) e la accettiamo dunque senza ulteriore discussione, pur precisando che bisognerebbe ben distinguere tra le varie botteghe o gruppi stilistici. La seconda, invece, senza dubbio valida se si si limita ad un arco molto ristretto (fig. 3), è errata se la si estende, come fanno gli autori, ad un arco di dimensioni maggiori (figg. 2 e 4-5); e certamente mai si potrebbe arrivare a 160°, che significherebbe una declinazione di almeno 80° a sinistra o a destra della normale, un angolo cioè adatto alla lettura di uno scherzo anamorfotico!

Dalle suddette osservazioni gli autori fanno scaturire il postulato che le deformazioni di cui all’osservazione 1 sono funzionali agli effetti di cui all’osservazione 2. I postulati, si sa, son principi la cui validità si ammette a priori; ma temo che in questo caso non ci siano davvero i presupposti minimi per accogliere quella affermazione come postulabile.

Cominciamo con l’osservazione terra terra di alcuni documenti portati dagli [72] autori ad illustrazione del loro postulato.

Prendiamo le due foto riprodotte in Bussagli (1984: 230; qui figg. 6-7). Si tratta di un frammento di stele proveniente da Shotorak, raffigurante il Dipamkara Jātaka, oggi al Musée Guimet: la prima foto, frontale, ci offre una visione abbastanza corretta della scena (ma il punto di vista originale doveva essere un po’ più basso); l’altra, ottenuta spostando l’obiettivo di circa 35° a destra della normale, ci presenta una visione delle due figure distorta fino al grottesco: in particolare la figura inginocchiata si accorcia penosamente nella parte inferiore del corpo e la testa diventa un buffo oggetto cilindrico coperto da una colata di spaghetti. È più che evidente che quella veduta è sbagliata, cioè non prevista dallo scultore, esclusa dalle vedute possibili; eppure il Bussagli così scriveva nella didascalia: "Le due vedute [...] mostrano come la composizione rimanga perfettamente valida anche se l’osservatore si sposta rispetto all’asse della scena’’!

Questo è il caso più sconcertante di errata osservazione empirica; tanto più sconcertante perché il frammento in questione fa parte di quel gruppo di stele del Kāpiša che lo stesso Bussagli (1956-57: 198-205) aveva descritto come rigorosamente "basate sulla visione frontale [...] necessaria all’adorazione [...]" (ibid.: 199), una
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valutazione questa ribadita altrove nello stesso volume in cui sono riprodotte le due foto (Busaghi 1984: 109) e davvero difficilmente contestabile.


Un’altra bizzarra lettura è quella che la Di Pascale (1971: 61; 1981: 20) suggerisce per il rilievo n. 427 del Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale di Roma. Ella vi vede un effetto illusionistico che ci darebbe l’impressione che il pilastro si sollevi veramente di mano in mano che ci si sposta intorno al rilievo: “Du côté gauche du relief nous percevons l’effort dans sa phase de tension maximale, puis nous le voyons lentement se rassoir dans la vision frontale et latérale droite, tandis que le pilier semble se soulever progressivement”. È abbastanza comprensibile e naturale che, in una veduta da sinistra, le figure in atto di sospingere il pilastro, trovandosi oltre il pilastro stesso, appaiano come compresse da questo, che su di esse incombe. Ma se questo effetto fosse stato davvero voluto dall’artista, dovremmo credere che questi si proponesse un risultato che fosse esattamente l’opposto di quello descritto dalla Di Pascale; infatti la veduta da sinistra è l’ultima e non la prima che il devoto avrebbe avuto nel compiere la circumambulazione rituale che, per l’appunto, si svolge tenendo lo stūpa alla propria destra e quindi in senso orario. Il risultato sarebbe quello di dar l’impressione che i due sciagurati giovaniotti, ormai sul punto di farcila a sollevare il pilastro, rischino alla fine di essere da questo travolti e schiacciati!

Eppure la Spagnoli (1970: 339, figg. 12-14) aveva messo sul-l’avviso, pur senza trarre le ovvie conseguenze, quando esaminava un rilievo dello Swat al Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale (n. 1125): “The photograph taken from the left shows the relief from a point of view that the observer performing the rite of the pra-daksīṇā could hardly have enjoyed, unless he turned to look back-
ward; it would already have been out of sight. Nevertheless, this view is as interesting as the others because it too gives a perfectly valid effect, except for the back part of the head of the personage carrying the offering” [corsivo mio]. Peccato che la studiosa non abbia abbandonato qui la descrizione di questa veduta da lei stessa riconosciuta impossibile o almeno assai improbabile. Ella invece osserva che in essa il Buddha acquisita una torsione che non ha nella veduta frontale né in quella da destra ed aggiunge che “The aim of this curve is to permit a complete view of the figure of Vajrapâni, which otherwise would have been hidden”. Che l’artista, per consentire una migliore visione della figura di Vajrapâni (personeggi certamente importante ma pur sempre di contorno) da un punto di osservazione improbabile se non impossibile, abbia co-stretto il Buddha ad un inedito passo di danza, mi sembra davvero difficile da mandar giù.

La stessa Di Pascale, anche senza leggere le osservazioni della Spagnoli, avrebbe dovuto nutrire dei dubbi. Ad esempio, quando si accorge con gran sorpresa del fatto assolutamente ovvio che, girando intorno ad una testa, la si vede prima di dietro, poi di profilo, infine di fronte: qui, parlando del solito rilievo con il sollevamento del pilastro, ella scrive (Di Pascale 1981: 20): “La tête de ce personnage, examinée par un observateur qui se place à droite du relief, apparait en position de trois quarts, car elle laisse voir une grande partie de la chevelure et de la nuque; examinée de face, elle semble en position de profil; enfin, examinée de l’angle opposé, c’est-à-dire de la gauche, elle montre tous ses traits du côté intérieur allongés sur le plan”. Quest’ultima è un’elegante espressione per dire qualcosa come “schiacciata”: quanto basta per [74] rendersi conto che qualcosa non funziona. La Di Pascale, invece, aggiunge che “On peut s’étonner [e perché mai?] de ce que ce côté du visage, qui était auparavant complètement caché, soit si clair dans tous ses détails quand on l’examine de la gauche”. Il volto è, sì, chiaro in tutti i suoi particolari, ma indubbiamente distorto.

Rinuncio ad ogni ulteriore commento, invitando il lettore a utilizzare gli articoli della Di Pascale per quanto di positivo essi contengono, e cioè soprattutto l’esame della dislocazione in profondità delle figure nei rilievi, esame che, se esteso ad un più vasto campione, potrà forse portare a risultati interessanti.
Per quanto riguarda la “prospettiva rotante”, mi sembra di aver detto abbastanza: si tratta di una teoria da abbandonare. I fatti obiettivamente rilevati dagli autori citati, e che non son poi esclusivi del Gandhāra, sono più modestamente accorgimenti tecnici – pur ingegnosi –, vere e proprie anche se “innocue” anamorfosi, che consentono di tener ben ferme le parti aggettanti di un altorilievo, senza disturbare l’occhio con parti non lavorate fungenti da sostegno (come nel caso rilevato dalla Spagnoli). Certamente gli scultori del Gandhāra cercarono di avvicinarsi per quanto possibile al tutto tondo nel lavorare le teste dei loro personaggi, ma se si fossero spinti troppo oltre avrebbero corso il rischio di rendere troppo fragile il manufatto e molto più laboriosa la sua esecuzione, che avrebbe dovuto comportare un più forte sottosquadro: con quelle deformazioni prospettiche essi trasformavano le parti delle figure verso il fondo in sostegni delle figure stesse, ottenendo così il risultato di una discreta tolleranza alla deviazione di pochi gradi dalla veduta prevista ed una buona solidità del rilievo.

La veduta prevista dall’artista resta il più delle volte quella normale. In alcuni casi (ad esempio, nelle stele del Kāpiśa) si tratta di veduta frontale rigorosa, in altri invece non si escludono deviazioni più o meno marcate dalla veduta normale e questo è naturale, come gli autori citati hanno giustamente rilevato, dal momento che intorno ad alcuni dei nostri rilievi si doveva compiere la pradaksīṇā e che non tutti erano collocati ad altezza d’uomo. La Spagnoli ha mostrato come, almeno in alcuni casi, sia possibile che l’artista abbia previsto una veduta da destra e non una da sinistra, proprio in connessione con la direzione della pradaksīṇā, come pure una dal basso e non una orizzontale, in connessione con la collocazione architettonica del rilievo stesso.

Le “deformazioni” intese a evitare il sottosquadro (o, in alternativa, la superficie grezza) – che, come dicevo, non sono davvero una prerogativa del Gandhāra – possiamo riscontrarle in numerosissimi casi nell’arte ellenistica e romana. Basta una passeggiata, ad esempio, ai Musei Vaticani per trovare confronti pertinenti soprattutto in rilievi funerari repubblicani e in sarcofagi di varia epoca. Naturalmente numerose sono le varianti, perché diversi erano i materiali, le tecniche di lavorazione, le tradizioni di bottega, le collocazioni architettoniche dei rilievi. Il lettore potrà forse trovar
Figg. 1-2 - Testa virile, da Burkara I (Swat, Pakistan). Roma, Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale (Sculptures Burkara I: tav. CCLXXIV). La fig. 2 riproduce il frammento sotto un angolo "impossibile".
Figg. 3-5 - Frammento di rilievo con testa del Buddha, da Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan). Roma, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale (Sculptures Butkara I; tav. XXXV). La fig. 3 riproduce il frammento con una declinazione tollerabile rispetto alla normale; la fig. 4 e, ancor più, la fig. 5 mostrano come una più marcata declinazione renda meno accettabile l'immagine.
Della cosiddetta "prospettiva rotante"

curiosa la notizia che uno dei rilievi più vicini agli esempi gandharici per gli accorgimenti anamorfotici è il sarcofago porfiro di Santa Costanza, opera egiziana del IV secolo.

In conclusione, possiamo affermare – e la cosa non è priva d’interesse – che il Gandhāra si propone per ciascun rilievo un punto di vista fisso o mobile entro un arco ristretto, adottò cioè quella che saremmo tentati di definire polemicamente una "prospettiva non-rotante". In realtà, le osservazioni del Bussagli e della Di Pascale non toccano neppure il problema della prospettiva nell’arte del Gandhāra: esse riguardano soltanto l’ambito degli accorgimenti tecnici e sono, si, utili ma solo per individuare il punto di vista previsto dall’artista per ciascun rilievo. Il percorso del devoto intorno al fregio figurato non è dunque un continuum ma una successione discreta di punti, almeno se ci si limita all’esame dei rilievi considerati dal Bussagli e dalla Di Pascale; e ciò non deve sorprendere perché la stessa narrazione della vita del Buddha è concepita nell’arte del Gandhāra quasi sempre come una successione di episodi staccati, ciascuno con una sua compiutezza ed una sua morale. (E – sia detto di passata – sarebbe interessante vedere quanto questa tecnica corrisponda alla tecnica narrativa delle Vite letterarie).

D’altra parte, se vogliamo fare un riscontro su quelle opere scultoree del mondo greco-romano, la cui natura richiedeva per ovvii motivi una godibilità continua delle immagini, ci accorgeremo che esse non presentano alcuna delle deformazioni osservate sui nostri rilievi gandharici: è il caso, ad esempio, della Colonna Traiana.

Ringrazio l’Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, il Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale e il dott. Domenico Faccenna, direttore della Missione Archeologica Italiana nello Swat, per avermi cortesemente fornito le fotografie delle figg. 1-5 (Archivio fotografico MNAOR, nn. 4982/1-2, 5403/3-5) e per avermi permesso di riprodurle.

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI:


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SUMMARY

Mario Bussagli was the first to voice the idea that, in Gandharan art, a number of expedients, which could be labelled as "rotating perspective", were used for the purpose of optical correction. This was in 1964 and at the time Bussagli did not commit anything to writing, but some suggestions were taken up later by Maria Spagnoli (1970) and then in two articles by Anna Maria Di Pascale (1971, 1981). Bussagli himself (1984: 228-44) took up the matter again, stating the theory in a more organic fashion, and repeated it also in a widely-read essay (Bussagli 1986: 12). I think it necessary to demonstrate the inconsistency of the empirical observations on which the theory is based and, in doing so, I shall use to a large extent the illustrative apparatus provided by the aforementioned scholars and, in some cases, their very words.

The most complete definition of "rotating perspective" is given by Bussagli (1984: 273):

"A way of organizing the figurative space so that, by means of particular expedients and perspective distortions, a scene can not only be viewed from the one privileged point but for an arc of about 160°. The arc is calculated by placing the vertical of the median axis of the scene at the centre of an ideal circle that just touches the lowest point of the composition. The rotating perspective comes from an understanding of perspective and illusion, probably of Greek origin in part, that was used to obtain a prolonged visibility in the ritual circumambulation of the stūpa as practised by Buddhists, namely the pradaṇḍina."

Since this definition echoes the one given by Di Pascale (1971: 51), we may legitimately reply to the two authors at the same time. The ideas they express can be broken down into two empirical statements which apply only in part: 1) in the Gandharan reliefs the figures (especially the faces) are sometimes subject to distortion (in the part facing towards the background); 2) these same reliefs can not only be appreciated when viewed from the front but also if the onlooker moves around them in a circle. The first statement is borne out by a large number of reliefs (e.g. figs. 1-2 and 3-5). The second, on the contrary, applies only if limited to a very narrow arc (fig. 3) and is wrong if extended, as the authors do, to a wider arc (figs. 2 and 4-5); it could certainly never apply to an arc of 160°, which would mean a declination of at least 80° to the right or left of the normal, an angle which is more suitable for looking at an anamorphosis.

We have no grounds for accepting the statement that the distortions mentioned in (1) are aimed at producing the effects named in (2). Fig. 6, which is a frontal photo, gives us a fairly correct view of the Dipamkara Jātaka scene shown in a fragment of stele from Shotorak (but the original viewing point must have been a bit lower). Fig. 7, in which the photo was taken by
moving the camera roughly $35^\circ$ right of the normal, gives us a view of the two figures which is so distorted as to be grotesque. Bussagli wrote that "The two views [...] show that the composition is still perfectly valid even if the observer changes position in relation to the axis of the scene", but it is obvious that that is not the right view, or not the one intended by the sculptor. Things are not so obvious in other reliefs belonging to other stylistic groups. All the same, the relief in figs. 6-8 can be appreciated perfectly well when seen frontally and loses credibility when seen obliquely: note in particular the monk next to the Buddha, who, when seen from the right, seems to be suffering from a very bad toothache in an upper left molar.

In the relief no. 427 in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale in Rome, Di Pascale (1971: 61; 1981: 20) notices an illusionistic effect which would seem to give the impression that the pillar is raised higher as one moves round the relief. It is natural that, when seen from the left, the figures who are pushing up the pillar seem to be squashed by it as they are on the other side of it and it is leaning over them. But if this effect had been intended by the artist, he would have set out to obtain exactly the opposite result. In fact, the view from the left is the last and not the first that the worshipper would have had as, in performing his circumambulation, he would have had to keep the stūpa on his right. Otherwise it would give the impression that the two young men, after having almost managed to raise the pillar, risk being knocked down and crushed by it!

Spagnoli (1970: 339, figs. 12-14), in her study of a relief from Swat, warned us that "The photograph taken from the left shows the relief from a point of view that the observer performing the rite of the pradakṣīṇā could hardly have enjoyed, unless he turned to look backward; it would already have been out of sight. Nevertheless, this view is as interesting as the others because it too gives a perfectly valid effect, except for the back part of the head of the personage carrying the offering" [my italics]. It is a pity that Spagnoli goes on to remark that the Buddha, seen from here, acquires a twisted position, the purpose of which would be to allow "a complete view of the figure of Vajrapāni". But it is doubtful that the artist, in order to allow a better view of Vajrapāni from an unlikely position, would have had the Buddha perform an uncovstumary dance-step.

Di Pascale (1981: 20) is surprised by the obvious fact that, if we walk around a head, we see it first from the back, then in profile and lastly from the front. Speaking of the usual relief with the raising of the pillar scene, the writes that "La tête de ce personnage [...] examinée de l’angle opposé, c’est-à-dire de la gauche, [...] montre tous ses traits du côté intérieur allongés sur le plan", an elegant way of saying something like "squashed": sufficient to realize that there is something that doesn’t work. The face is clear in every detail, but undoubtedly distorted.

The "rotating perspective" theory must be dropped. The facts to which
our attention has been drawn, that are not confined to Gandhāra, are tech-
nical tricks, anamorphoses in the true sense of the word, which make it
possible to fasten one’s gaze on the projecting parts of a high-relief without
disturbing the eye with unworked parts which serve as a support to the rest.
The Gandharan sculptors certainly tried to come as near as possible to
working the heads of the figures in the round, but if they had gone too far
they would have run the risk of making the article too fragile and much
harder to work as it would have involved a more pronounced undercutting.
By means of the distortion in perspective they turned the parts of the figures
nearer the bottom into supports of the figures themselves, thus achieving the
result of a fairly tolerable deviation of a few degrees from the intended view-
point and a reasonably solid relief.

The viewpoint that the artist intended is usually the normal one. In some
cases we cannot exclude more or less marked deviations from the normal,
since the *pradaksīna* had to be performed around some of the reliefs and
not all of them were placed at eye level. Spagnoli has shown that, at least
in some cases, the artist intended that the relief be viewed from the right and
not the left, precisely in connection with the direction of the *pradaksīna*. The
"distortions" that were meant to avoid the use of undercutting can also be
found in a large number of cases in Hellenistic and Roman art. One relief that
closely resembles the Gandharan sculptures in the use of anamorphosis is the
porphyry sarcophagus of Santa Costanza in Rome, an Egyptian work of the
4th century.

In Gandhāra each relief had its own viewing point, that was either fixed
or mobile within a narrow arc, in short, what we might polemically call a
"non-rotating perspective". The worshipper did not proceed around the frieze
in a continuum, but in a discrete succession of fixed points. This is not
surprising as, in Gandhāra, the narration of the Buddha’s life is seen as a
succession of distinct episodes, each of which is complete in itself with its own
moral.

On the other hand, if we wish to draw a comparison between the
Gandharan reliefs and the Greek and Roman sculptures whose very nature
required a continuous appreciation of the images, we can see that they have
not got any of the distortions we have observed here: a good example, for
instance, is Trajan’s Column.
A FLAMING BUDDHA AND HIS DEVOTEES FROM FAR-AWAY COUNTRIES


[43] Eight years ago Katsumi Tanabe published a rather unusual Gandharan relief (fig. 1) kept in the Mr and Mrs K. Ishiguro Collection, Tokyo. It represents a standing Buddha under a carinated arch, with water flowing from his feet and flames concealing his shoulders and head.

In Tanabe’s opinion the relief “might be the central part of the frieze, and there must have been attached two panels framed by the same Indo-Persian pilasters”. He adds that “the supposedly left-side panel is also kept by the same private collector” and depicts “something like Zoroastrian priest or Indra” (Tanabe 1981: 71, pl. X). This companion panel was not reproduced by Tanabe and remained therefore practically unnoticed by scholars.

In 1985 I had the opportunity of visiting the beautiful Ishiguro Collection and it is thanks to the courtesy of Mr Kojiro Ishiguro himself that I can reproduce Tanabe’s second panel here (fig. 2).

It is not so easy to find a close comparison for this impressive figure, but everybody will agree that it has nothing in common with any known Indian iconography (I do not understand what connection with Indra Tanabe could ever suggest). It is rather surprising that Tanabe, who thinks of a “Zoroastrian priest”, has not used this panel as an argument in favour of his claim that the Buddha figures emanating flames and water have an Iranian background.

It was only in 1987 that I came across an old photograph taken
in Pakistan by an amateur who had been so kind as to show it to the people working at the IsMEO in Rome. The photograph shows the two panels now in the Ishiguro Collection along with a third one very similar to the other two in size, shape of the arch, etc., but depicting an emaciated and pot-bellied character leaning on a staff (fig. 3).

The present location of this third panel is unfortunately unknown to me, but the photograph is clear enough to make the iconographic analysis of the relief quite certain.

[44] There is not the slightest shadow of doubt that the three panels belong to one frieze. Unfortunately the three of them have been obtained by cutting them off a longer row of arches. The tool employed seems to have been a common saw, as it appears from the striae I could see on the sides of the Ishiguro panels. Both the inclination of the striae and the portions that are left of the side columns allow us to exclude that the two Ishiguro panels were contiguous to each other. The same seems to be true of the third panel.

Let us try to describe the three panels together.

Three fragments of a frieze showing a flaming Buddha and attendant figures enframed by carinated arches.

The three panels belong to one frieze but not necessarily to one single element of it. If the frieze was part of the decoration of a stūpa, the three pieces might even have been taken from three different sides of it.

The frieze consisted of a row of alternating carinated arches or toraṇas and “Indo-Persepolitan” columns, all resting on a plain fillet. The incurved projecting frames of the arches are supported by beams, of which the heads only are visible, and end in volutes, each enriched by a hanging pinecone-like element.

The two jambs of each toraṇa are connected to each other by a continuous band that follows the curvature of the projecting frame and in its turn enframes one or two crescent-like panels. The jambs are slightly slanting outwards at the base, in such a way that the toraṇas acquire a vague key-hole shape.

The columns, of the so-called “Indo-Persepolitan” type, have a pot-shaped base resting on a three-stepped socle, a tapering shaft,
an elaborately carved capital (as high as the base and shaft together) consisting of a bell-shaped element made of acanthus leaves pointing downwards, a second element that appears to be shaped more or less like an *āṇālaka* or an inverted bowl, and two couchant bulls, the whole topped by a stepped pulvinus or dosseret.

1) Door-jambs decorated with an interweaving pattern; crescent-shaped panel(s) almost completely hidden. A standing figure clad in what seems to be a monastic dress; left hand holding up a hem of the robe, right raised at the same level as the left with fingers clenched or holding (under the robe?) some unidentifiable object. Water flows from the feet on to the fillet below; large spurs of fire hide both shoulders and head. Two tenons above and two below.

2) Door-jamb decorated with a conventionalized scroll pattern; upper crescent-shaped panel showing a "honeysuckle" palmette, the leaves of which end in tendrils; lower crescent-shaped panel decorated with a row of overlapping lotus flowers. The volutes of the arch frame end in birds' heads. A bearded and moustached old man turned to the right, his left hand raised and opened in what might be a gesture of respect; it is not so clear whether he wears a long-sleeved tunic (right hand hidden in the sleeve), and a fur-trimmed cloak, or whether the two parts are actually one single article of clothing, *viz.* a long-sleeved fur-trimmed caftan; he also wears a hat consisting of a stiff cylindrical outer shape with two horizontal grooves and a skull-cap visible on top. Two tenons above and two below.

3) Door-jambs decorated as in no. 1; upper crescent-shaped panel showing an acanthus leaf; lower crescent-shaped panel smooth. An emaciated male ascetic (a *parivrajaka*) with swollen belly and [45] ankles, leaning on a long staff with both hands and walking towards the right; he wears only a cloth that is drawn over his head.

Green schist (phylite): 1) 32 x 23 cm.; 2) 31.5 x 22.5 cm.; 3) —. Carved surface fairly well preserved; the three panels have recently been cut on both sides by sawing; no. 2 is damaged on the upper part of the capital and the basis of the left-hand column; no. 3 is broken at the top right and the bottom left. Provenance: presumably Swat Valley.

The provenance from Swat was rightly suggested by Tanabe (1981: 71) on the ground of both the technique employed and the quality of stone.

Our three panels therefore fall within an otherwise well documented class of relievo friezes depicting long lines of characters of various descriptions, one under each carinated arch, that proceed
towards the central *torana* where an object of devotion is portrayed.¹

Most of the decorative details we have noticed in our three reliefs are also found in other reliefs from Swat, e.g. the interweaving pattern of nos. 1 and 3 (Sculptures Butkara I: pl. DCLXVIIIa), the crescent-shaped panel decorated with a palmette (*ibid.*: pl. DCLXIXb), the overlapping flowers (*ibid.*), the scroll pattern (*ibid.*: pl. DCLXVIIa), etc.

The variety of characters enframed by the *toranas* is also considerable – monks (*e.g.* *ibid.*: pls. CLXXa, DCLXXIIa; here, fig. 4), naked youths (*ibid.*: pls. DCLXXIb, DCLXXIIb; Dani 1968-69: pl. 27a; Ackermann 1975: pls. LXXXIVc, LXXXVb, b; Mizuno and Higuchi 1978: pls. 119-21; here, fig. 5), male characters in *parināna* and *uttariya* (Sculptures Butkara I: pls. DCLXVIIa, DCLXIXa; Ackermann 1975: pl. IIIb; Dani 1968-69: pl. 11a; Mizuno and Higuchi 1978: pl. 120.12) or clad in a mantle (Sculptures Butkara I: pl. DCLXVIa, b), hero-like half-naked figures (Dani 1968-69: pls. 19a, 26b), a female garland-bearer (*ibid.*: pl. 26a), even a camel (Sculptures Butkara I: pl. DCLXVIIIa). As for the "object of devotion", *i.e.* the figure or symbol enframed by the central *torana*, towards which the above-described characters converge, we may suppose that the Buddha was often represented,² as he appears to

¹ I only refer here to this particular class of friezes. Other reliefs, though very similar from the viewpoint of both style and architectural setting, but showing groups of figures apparently unrelated to a central "object of devotion", are not taken into consideration. See *e.g.* the well-known *mithunas* from Butkara I (Sculptures Butkara I: pls. CLXVI-CLXVII and CLXVIII; Faccenna 1974: fig. 40), the dancer and the harp-player also from Butkara I (Faccenna 1974: fig. 39), the "Bacchanalian scene" in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Pal 1986: 165, no. S42), and the frankly erotic groups in a relief in a private collection (Fischer 1985: fig. 4). See also the two figures conversing, in a fragment from Swat in the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste (Ruarlo Loseri 1973: 18).

² A haloed male figure turned to the left in one of the reliefs of this class from Butkara I was labelled by me as "Buddha [...] standing in *abhaya-mudrā*" (in Sculptures Butkara I: pl. DCLXIXb; here, fig. 7). The figure is very badly damaged, but I would certainly hesitate to accept such an identification now, not because of its being turned to the left instead of being shown frontally (you can easily find the same attitude in (? Pratyeka-)Buddhas approaching a central Buddha (*e.g.* Rau 1986: fig. 38), but because the right hand seems to be holding an object rather than performing a *mudrā*. Another
be in our relief no. 1 and in a few others (e.g. Mizuno and Higuchi 1978: pl. 120.8).

It will be interesting to note that sometimes we have a solar disk under the branches of a tree (Sculptures Butkara I: pl. DCLXXa; Mizuno and Higuchi 1978: pls. 120.10, 138.42; here, fig. 4), sometimes we find an alms bowl (Ackermann 1975: pl. LXXXVc; Mizuno and Higuchi 1978: pls. 120.10, 121.10), a turban (ibid.: pls. 120.10, 121.7), a relic-casket (ibid.: pl. 119.3), etc. (some of them are placed in a row, and no worshippers are represented, at least in the surviving portions); in one relief there appears a rather puzzling haloed image that I tentatively described as "a Buddha seated in padmāsana and abhayamudrā (?) with a curious trilobate device on his halo" (Sculptures Butkara I: pl. DCLXXIa; here, fig. 5). The great number of symbols representing the Buddha (among them a very unusual one – an empty hut, Mizuno and Higuchi 1978: pl. 121.7) seems to be peculiar of this type of relief, at least at Thareli, even though anthropomorphic images of the Buddha(s) are also found.

The seated "Buddha" referred to above must be left aside because of its poor state of preservation that prevent us from suggesting any convincing interpretation. The solar disks are worthy of the greatest attention because there is an obvious substantial identity between them and the flaming Buddhas (Verardi 1988: 1542).

If we now turn our attention to the two characters who we suppose were paying homage to the flaming Buddha of the Ishiguro Collection, we immediately realize that they belong to two altogether [46] different environments, no. 3 being an Indian figure – a parivṛṣaṣaka, as I have already suggested above –, no. 2 showing the characteristics of a man living in a cold climate. I have not been able to place the bearded man of no. 2 in a precise context. If my guess is right, his home was somewhere in Central Asia, rather than in the Near East or Iran. One might perhaps compare the caftan made of felt and silk from kurgan no. 6 at Noin-Ula (Ru-

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3 From parivṛṣakas (or "homeless recluses") in Indian art, see e.g. Paul 1979: 233.
denko 1962: 41, pl. XV) and the cylindrical hat made of silk from
the same site, kurgan no. 24 (ibid.: 44, pl. XVIII 2), that are
attributed to the beginning of our era. The way in which the caftan
is folded is very strongly reminiscent of the caftan (if it is a caftan!)
in our panel no. 2. Anyhow, I think we can reasonably surmise that
what the frieze meant to the devotee was that people from dif-
ferent regions (and different creeds) felt the appeal of the Enlight-
ened One and went to his abode in order to see him, eventually to
pay homage to him.

There is no reason to believe that the figures represented
within the toranas were necessarily representative of the various
"clergies" (and there is no reason to think of a Zoroastrian priest
for our panel no. 2) – they only depicted different classes or groups
of people, though it is obvious that their original creeds were im-
mediately perceivable to the devotees.

It is well known that a chronology of Gandharan art is far
from being agreed upon by scholars, though some recent contribu-
tions have thrown fresh light on the date of at least some stylistic
groups of Gandharan reliefs – I refer especially to the paper by the
late lamented J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1981), based on com-
parisons between the arts of Gandhāra and Mathurā, and those by
D. Faccenna (1985), who uses the archaeological evidence, and G.
Fussman (1985, 1987), who argues from both the epigraphic and
the numismatic evidence. An even more recent article by Ch. Fa-
brègues (1987), based on the evidence of the Italian excavations at
Butkara I as well as on a stylistic and typological analysis, outlines a
group of sculptures that appear to be proto-Gandharan and can be
placed later, but not much later, than the end of the 1st century
B.C. This group includes the friezes of stūpas 14 and 17 at Butkara
I as well as some from the Dharmarājīka complex at Taxila. They
share several stylistic peculiarities with most of the reliefs depicting
human figures under toranas that we are discussing here.

A distinguishing feature of the group is the "honeysuckle"
palmette. A typological study of its evolution has not yet been
made but it is very interesting to observe that the same palmette
is found in the Ishiguro panel no. 2 and in other reliefs from
Butkara I with the same architectural setting, such as the one
reproduced here as fig. 7 (Sculptures Butkara I: pl. DCLXIXb; cf.
here, n. 2). Sound comparisons are found even at Bharhut not only for this (e.g. Coomaraswamy 1956: fig. 120) but also for other details, such as the row of overlapping lotus flowers (ibid.: fig. 27, on a torana; fig. 66, on a cakra) and the interweaving pattern (ibid.: fig. 87).

The most recent standard handbooks of Indian art place the vedikā sculptures from Bharhut either in the 2nd century B.C. (Harle 1986) or c. 100-80 B.C. (Huntington 1985). Moreover, the overlapping lotus (or rosette) motif is also found in other early Indian sculptures and carvings – at Bodhgaya, Begram, and Sanchi; in Davidson’s opinion, it “disappeared after 50 B.C.” (Davidson 1972: 6-7).

They are all consistent pieces of typological evidence pointing to an early date for our panels, even if these appear to be slightly later than the group discussed by van Lohuizen (1981), Faccenna (1985), and Fabrégues (1987), because of their more Hellenizing stylistic trend (Faccenna, personal communication).

Can we thus place our three panels within reasonably acceptable chronological limits? Let us first recall that the row of carinated toranas enframing figures has its most illustrious specimen in the Bimaran relic casket, an object that, notwithstanding the many arguments brought forward against an early dating, is to be attributed to the late 1st century B.C. (Huntington 1985: 113; Fussman 1987: 69-71). [47] The differences are many but one should not place our panels and the Bimaran casket too far from one another.

Another possible hint, if we accept (at least in this case) the chronology suggested by Ackermann (1975), is given by the comparison with a relief from Swat in the Victoria and Albert Museum that he dates tentatively in the 1st century A.D. (Ackermann 1975: pl. III). Here several details correspond to those of our panels, even if the latter are of a far better quality – the shape of the arches, the slanting jambs, and the various elements composing the Indo-Persepolitan columns. On the other hand, if we examine the folds in the Buddha image of our panel no. 1, we easily find a comparison in a relief of unknown provenance in the Victoria and Albert Museum that Ackermann (1975: pl. LXIa) attributes tentatively to the early 4th century A.D.
But this kind of conventionalization of the folds in the Buddha’s robe does not appear to be so late, since it is found in images from Swat that also belong to an early group (e.g., Sculptures Butkara I: pls. CCIV, CCV, CCXXa, CCXXIII, etc.), close to those reliefs that – as we have seen – both van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1981) and Faccenna (1985) have placed in the late 1st century B.C. – early 1st century A.D. Moreover, some of the most typical reliefs of what the Huntingtons label as the “Parthian period” of Swat reproduce the same carinated torana that we have in our panels – I have already referred to the mitunas and the dancer and the harp-player from Butkara I (see n. 1).

Though the ratio 1:1 between the height of the capitals and that of the shaft plus the base and socle might be a slightly later feature,⁴ I think that a date within the 1st century A.D. can reasonably be attributed to our reliefs. This is not without interest as it allows us to place in such an early period an iconography (the Buddha with head hidden by flames) that certainly had a great religious and ideological significance and is even more explicit than the more widely documented Buddhas with flames issuing from their shoulders.

I do not think it is a mere chance that also the other known specimen of this rare iconography (Verardi 1988: 1540, pl. IIb; here, fig. 6) belongs to the same stylistic trend, and to an even earlier group of the same trend (Faccenna, personal communication).

This relief is known to me only through the photograph reproduced here (the same that illustrates Verardi’s article), that is sharp enough for us to understand that the Buddha’s right arm is held straight down and hidden by the cloak – it does not perform any mudrā. The same (though with hand raised) is true of the Buddha in the Ishiguro Collection:⁵ was it a permanent feature of this iconography?

⁴ Cf., e.g., some reliefs from Hadda (Dagens 1964: 30, nos. 70-72, pls. XVI, XVIII).

⁵ Buddhas with right hand hidden by the robe are rare: e.g., in a relief formerly in the Berlin Museums (Rau 1986: 98, fig. 38), showing two Buddhas approaching a central one; the latter has his right hand under the robe and is therefore performing no
One final remark about the relative chronology of the flaming Buddhas. From the evidence I have brought up to now it seems possible to argue that the Buddhas with the head hidden by flames are earlier than the Buddhas with flaming shoulders. The latter reflect the iconographical practice that was eventually established in Gandhāra. So much the more interesting would it have been to know the complete frieze of which we only have three misplaced fragments. It is really a pity that an unscrupulous dealer cut such an important (and beautiful!) document into pieces, perhaps in the naive conviction of making the fragments “nice looking” or in the more likely one of finding a buyer more easily.

mudrā; the one on the right shows what might be abhayamudrā (but this is not sure—cf. Hārtel 1985: 667-68); the one on the left holds his right hand at shoulder height with palm inwards. Curiously enough Rau has failed to notice these interesting variations (“Die drei Buddha figuren stehen zentral komponiert in Abhayamudrā”).

REFERENCES


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Fig. 1 - A flaming Buddha, from Swat (?). Mr and Mrs K. Ishiguro Collection, Tokyo. (Courtesy, Mr K. Ishiguro).
Fig. 2 - A devotee in foreign dress, from Swat (?), Mr and Mrs K. Ishiguro Collection, Tokyo. (Courtesy, Mr K. Ishiguro).
Fig. 3 - The two relief of figs. 1-2 and a third one from the same frieze, depicting a parivrajaka.

Fig. 4 - The solar disk and devotees, from Burkara I, Swat. Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome, no. 2499. (Photo IsMEO, Dep. CS Neg. LA 5047/8 F. Bonardi).
Fig. 5 - A Buddha (?) and worshippers, from Butkara I, Swat. Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif. (Photo IsMEO, Dep. CS Neg. LA 5387 F. Bonardi).
Fig. 6 - Part of a niche jamb. Below, Indra and Brahmā entreat the Buddha to preach; above, the flaming Buddha and two worshippers, from Swat (?). Location unknown. (Photo IsMEO, Dep. CS Neg. R 4835/12 F. Bonardi).
Fig. 7 - A Bodhisattva (?), from Butkara I, Swat. Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif. (Photo IsMEO, Dep. CS Neg. LA 5402/4 F. Bonardi).
THE UŚNĪṢA AND THE BRAHMARANDHRA: AN ASPECT OF LIGHT SYMBOLISM IN GANDHARAN BUDDHA IMAGES

From Akṣāyanīti. Essays Presented to Dr. Debala Mitra in Admiration of her Scholarly Contributions, ed. G. Bhattacharya. Delhi 1991, pp. 73-93

[73] Gandharan representations of the emaciated "Fasting Buddha" have been known to the scholarly world for almost a century – since 1890, when Émile Senart published the now famous specimen from Sikri in Lahore Museum (Senart, 1890: 140-41, 151-52, pl. II; here, fig. 1). None the less nobody to our knowledge ever noticed a detail in that impressive image that is found also in other less famous representations of the same subject and which perhaps conveys a meaning capable of substantially enriching our understanding of the scene itself – a small hole in the top of the uṣṇīṣa sometimes obtained by drilling, usually almost round in section and slightly deeper than it is wide.

Before we attempt any explanation, let us list the specimens known to us of Gandharan Fasting Buddhas.

A) Free-standing Images of Fasting Buddhas

1) Head.
   Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, no. IC.32630.
   Schist, h. 14 cm.
   Prov.: unknown.

* Written in collaboration with D. Klimburg-Salter.

1 Those marked ** have a hole on top of the uṣṇīṣa; those marked * have no hole; the other are unchecked or even uncheckable (A19, A20).

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**2) Head.
Schist, 22.2 x 12 x 18.4 cm.
Prov.: "Rawalpindi District" (Col. F.G. Mainwaring Collection).
Publ.: Bussagli 1984: fig. on p. 27 left.

3) Head.
Location unknown.
Gray schist, h. 25 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Christie 1980: 42-43, no. 250. [74]

4) Head.
Location unknown.
Stucco, h. 14 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: OrA XX 1, Spring 1974, p. 29.

**5) Head.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, no. M. 85.213.3.
Stucco, h. 14 cm.
Prov.: unknown.

**6) Head.
Varanasi, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Acc. no. 735.
Schist, 26 x 15 x 15 cm.
Prov.: unknown.

**7) Head.
Varanasi, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Acc. no. 738.
Schist, depth of hole 0.5 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Unpublished?

**8) Head.
Zürich, Werner Coninx-Stiftung.
Schist, h. 18 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Russek 1987: 45, no. 40.
THE UŚṆĪṢA AND THE BRAHMARANDEERA

*9) Head.
Zürich, Russek Collection.
Schist, h. 21 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Russek 1987: 45, no. 41.

**10) Complete image (fig. 1).
Lahore Museum, no. 2099. [75]
Schist, h. 84 cm.
Prov.: Sikri.
Publ.: GAP: 62, no. 52 (with earlier bibliography); Pugačenkova 1982: 118-20, fig. 123; Catalogue 1984: 225, no. I-1 (with earlier bibliography). Good photographs in Nabi Khan n.d.: 24; Mārg XXXVII.2, p. 8; the best ones are in Catalogue 1984: figs. on pp. 18-19.

**11) Complete image (figs. 2-7).
Location unknown (formerly in the Collection of the late Prince Ahmad Zeb, Saidu Sharif, 1985).
Schist, h. 23.5 cm.

12) Complete image.
Schist.
Prov.: unknown.
Unpublished.

**13) Complete image (figs. 8-10).
Stuttgart, Linden-Museum, no. SA 36 792 S.
Schist, h. 32.4 cm.

Karachi, National Museum (formerly Peshawar Museum, no. 1911).
Schist, 30.3 x 18 cm.
Prov.: Jamal Garhi.
Publ.: Catalogue 1988: 185, no. 41.

*15) Complete image.
Peshawar Museum, no. 799.
Schist, h. 82.5 cm.
Prov.: Takht-i-Bahi.
Publ.: GAP: 62, no. 53 (with earlier bibliography); Pugačenkova 1982: 118-20, fig. 124. Good photographs of the head alone in Tucci 1967: 174-75. [76]
16) Complete image.  
Bumper Collection.  
Schist, h. 52 cm.  
Prov.: unknown.  

*17) Complete image.  
Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, no. I10117.  
Schist, h. 31.50 cm.  
Prov.: unknown.  
Publ.: Berlin 1979: 82-83, no. 13.

**18) Upper part of image.  
Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, no. 79.53.  
Schist, with gilding, h. 25 cm.  
Prov.: unknown.  

19) Headless image.  
Prof. Samuel Eilenberg Collection.  
Schist, h. 27.3 cm.  
Prov.: unknown.  
Publ.: Pal 1984: 95, no. 39(b).

20) Headless image.  
Schist, 47 x 39 cm.  
Prov.: Shotorak.  
Publ.: Meunié 1942: 42, no. 154, pl. XVI.53; Verardi 1988: 1536, pl. Ib.

B) Relief Images.

1) Fragment of a panel.  
Calcutta, Indian Museum, no. 5052.  
Schist, 32 x 23 cm.  
Prov.: Loriyan Tangai.  
Publ.: Majumdar 1937: no. 43. [77]

2) Fragment of a panel.  
Peshawar Museum, no. 1912.  
Schist.  
Prov.: unknown?

3) A panel in a frieze.  
Peshawar Museum, no. 1841.
Schist.
Prov.: Takht-i-Bahi.

4) Fragment of a panel. Māravijaya (?).
Stuttgart, Linden-Museum, no. SA 32606.
Schist, h. 32.5 cm.
Prov.: unknown.

5) Fragment of a panel.
Mathura, Archaeological Museum, no. 1550.
Schist, h. 30.5 cm.
Unpublished?

6) A panel in a frieze (fig. 11).
Location unknown (formerly private collection, Karachi).
Schist, h. 27 cm.
Prov.: Dir (?).
Unpublished.

7) Top panel in a niche.
Chandigarh Museum, no. 624.
Schist, h. 46 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: AGBG, I: fig. 192c.

8) A panel in a row of superimposed scenes.
Chandigarh Museum, nos. 87 + 235.
Schist, h. 65 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: AGBG, I: fig. 200b. [78]

9) A panel.
Schist, h. 13 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: AGBG, I: fig. 193; Marshall 1960: fig. 84.

10) Fragment; headless.
Paris, Musée Guimet.
Schist, 19 x 13 cm.
Prov.: Shotorak.
Publ.: Meunié 1942: 43, no. 53, pl. XVII.55.

11) Segment of a frieze.
Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, Inv. no. 179.
Schist, 30 x 68 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Coomaraswamy 1928: 250, pl. LIX fig. 6; Berlin 1980: 16, no. 22; Fischer 1980: 267, fig. 23.

12) A panel.
Lahore Museum, no. 1871.
Schist, 26.70 x 25.40 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: GAP: no. 55.

13) Segment of a frieze: left-hand panel.
Madison, Elvehjem Art Centre of the University of Wisconsin.
Schist, 23.5 x 71.75 x 8.25 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Narain 1985: 73, pls. 113-14.

14) Fragment of a frieze: left-hand panel.
Fischer Collection.
Schist, 22 x 55.9 cm.
Prov.: unknown (Swat?).

15) On a pedestal.
J. Sherrier Collection.
Schist, 13.3 x 30.5 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Fisher 1980: 268-69, fig. 25. [79]

16) On proper left of standing Buddha with flaming shoulders.
Kabul Museum.
Gray schist.
Prov.: Païtava (Kāpiša).
Publ.: Rowland 1953: pl. 33.

17) On an umbrella disc.
Tokyo, National Museum.
Schist.
Prov.: unknown.

We have taken into consideration those reliefs that show a badly emaciated figure of the Bodhisattva, reflecting a tradition such as that embodied, e.g., by the Lalitavistara. We have excluded those reliefs that, even if they depict the same episode, do not
show the main character as skeleton-like: such reliefs seem to be confined to Swat and to an early period (see, e.g., the lunette from Butkara I in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale, Rome – Tucci 1967: 182-83; Faccenna 1974: fig. 38); it may be interesting to note in this connection that no free-standing (cult) image of the “Fasting Buddha” has ever been found in the sites excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat.

Though none of the “Fasting Buddhas” in our list B appears to have any hole in his usṇīṣa, it is important to point out that eight out of the fourteen specimens in list A that we had the opportunity to check show the curious hole either at the very centre of the usṇīṣa or (in one case only – A 18) behind the usṇīṣa, on the head itself. But there are also other Buddha images in which the same hole is found:

C) Buddha Images (Other than Fasting Buddhas) with a Hole in the usṇīṣa.

1) Standing Buddha in abhayamudrā (fig. 12).
   Paris, Musée Guimet, no. MG 17281.
   Limestone, h. 42 cm.
   Prov.: Hadda.
   Unpublished?

2) Buddha in dhyanamudrā.
   Peshawar Museum, nos. 1160 + 1008.
   Gray schist, h. 84 cm.
   Prov.: Takht-i-Bahi.
   Publ.: GAP: 116, no. 235 (with earlier bibliography). [80]

3) Head of Buddha.
   Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, no. I 520.
   Schist, h. 19 cm.
   Prov.: unknown.
   Unpublished?

2 Though not all of these specimens were checked, it seems almost sure that none of them shows any hole on top of the usṇīṣa.
4) Standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā*. 
   Schist, 91.5 x 30.5 cm. 
   Prov.: Loriyan Tangai. 
   Publ.: Majumdar 1937: no. 258.

5) Buddha in *diryānamudrā*, on a leaf-covered throne. 
   Lahore Museum, no. 2349. 
   Schist. 
   Prov.: unknown. 
   Unpublished.

6) Standing (?) Buddha. 
   Lahore Museum, no. R 2200. 
   Schist. 
   Prov.: unknown.

7) Standing Buddha (fig. 13). 
   Schist, h. 74 cm. 
   Prov.: unknown.

8) Buddha in *abhayamudrā* seated on *simhāsana*. 
   Peshawar Museum, no. 489. 
   Schist. 
   Prov.: Dagi (Peshawar District).

9) Standing Buddha. 
   Peshawar Museum, no. 1164. 
   Schist, h 140.50 cm. 
   Prov.: Takht-i-Bahi. 
   Publ.: GAP 113, no. 221 (with earlier bibliography); Tissot 1985: fig. 148. [81]

10) Standing Buddha. 
    Peshawar Museum, no. 406. 
    Schist. 
    Prov.: Kalighund, Mian Khan.

11) Standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā* (fig. 14). 
    Schist, 152.5 x 53.5 cm. 
    Prov.: Sahri Bahlol (Cunningham's excavations, 1871-73). 
    Publ.: Majumdar 1937: no. 255.

12) Standing Buddha. 
    Chandigarh, Government Museum, no. 12.
THE UŚNĪṢA AND THE BRAHMARANDEHRA

Schist, 52 x 23 cm.
Prov.: unknown.

13) Head of a Buddha (fig. 15).
Stuttgart, Private Collection.
Schist. (Face restored in plaster).
Prov.: unknown.
Unpublished.

14) Head of a Buddha.³
Schist.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Tissot 1985: fig. 150.

15) Seated Buddha in dharmacakramudrā (fig. 16).
Chandigarh, Government Museum, no. 19.
Schist, 92.5 x 48.5 cm.
Prov.: Ranigat.

16) Head of a colossal Buddha (fig. 17).
Chandigarh, Government Museum, no. 1759.
Schist, 39.5 x 24 cm.
Prov.: unknown.

17) Head of a Buddha.
Chandigarh, Government Museum, no. 511.
Stucco, 20.5 x 13.5 cm.
Prov.: Sahri Bahlol. [82]

18) Standing Buddha.
Schist.
Prov.: Takht-i-Bahi.
Unpublished.

³ A head very similar to this is kept in the Denver Art Museum (no. 0.292; h. 19 cm.), but the depression in the very centre of its usnīṣa is not deep enough to be labelled as a "hole" (Denver 1961: 8, fig. on p. 9). Another head, from Kafir Kot, kept in the British Museum (no. 1899.6-9.44), has an "irregular hole, almost conical, off centre and somewhat to the back of the usnīṣa where there is little indication of hair: it has none of the regularity of the other [...] examples. [...] it is referred to in Barger and Wright 1941: 21-22 and cf. pl. IV 1, and published in Hallade 1968: 59" (W. Zwalf, personal communication, 22.07.1988).
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19) Standing Buddha.
Schist.
Prov.: unknown.
Unpublished.

In a few cases the small hole appears in Bodhisattva figures.⁴

D) Bodhisattva Images with a Hole on Top of Their Heads.

1) Standing Maitreya.
Karachi, National Museum.
Schist.
Prov.: unknown?

2) Maitreya seated in abhayamudrā.
Calcutta, Indian Museum.
Schist, 61 x 35.6 cm.
Prov.: unknown.
Publ.: Majumdar 1937: no. 308.

3) Bodhisattva standing in abhayamudrā (fig. 18).
Schist, 96.5 x 30.5 cm.
Prov.: Loriyan Tangai.
Publ.: Majumdar 1937: no. 311.

4) Maitreya seated in abhayamudrā.
Private collection.
Schist.
Prov.: unknown.
Unpublished. [83]

⁴ The reader will notice that we employ the term “Bodhisattva” in the sense of “princely Bodhisattva”, while we prefer the firmly established phrase “Fasting Buddha” to the more precise “Fasting Bodhisattva” because, from an iconographical point of view, those images are closer to the bare-headed, meditating Buddhas than to the pre-illumination Bodhisattvas of the narrative scenes. Also among the Bodhisattva figures there is one in which the hole seems to be rather functional than symbolical – it is the seated and haloed Maitreya in the British Museum, no. 1880-190, of unknown provenance: it shows “a simple straited hair style falling onto the shoulders and surmounted by a low chignon with a large almost rectangular hole slightly off centre. Greatest height 35.6 cm.” (W. Zwaal, personal communication, 20.08.1988).

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5) Bodhisattva (Maitreya?) head.  
   Milan, Museo Civico di Archeologia.  
   Schist.  
   Prov.: unknown.  
   Unpublished.

Both lists C and D are certainly far from being complete though they may well represent a useful sample.

Now the question naturally arises, what was the use, or meaning of such a hole?

Several hypotheses can be put forth:

   i) The hole was intended to contain a *śarīra* (either a relic or a passage from the Scriptures) that was placed in it during a consecration ceremony;

   ii) The hole served for mortising some projecting feature made of a different medium, such as a flame finial made of metal;

   iii) The hole served to hold a gem;

   iv) The hole was an iconographic feature deriving from the literary narrative of Śākyamuni’s penances;

   v) The hole had a symbolic meaning, *i.e.* was an independent iconographic feature.

The fourth hypothesis does not necessarily exclude the others, since an iconographic/narrative and a symbolic meaning frequently coexisted in Buddhist art, though the fact that the hole was not visible to the devotee obviously excludes that it might have a narrative relevance.

If all the holes we have noticed served the same purpose (we are well aware that this premise may turn out to be false), the first and the second hypotheses are to be discarded because some of the holes (*e.g.* C 11 = fig. 14 and C 16 = fig. 17) are too shallow to be able to contain anything or to hold a feature of any weight.

The third hypothesis cannot be ruled out even though some of the holes seem to be unnecessarily deep if they were intended to hold a piece of glass or “precious” stone. We shall return to these later on.

It is the very variability in shape and size of the holes that
makes us prefer the fifth hypothesis, though, as we shall see, this is to be tempered by blending it with the fourth one.

[84] We have seen that eight out of the fourteen Fasting Buddhas we had an opportunity to check have a hole at the top. The ratio among the other Buddha images is certainly much lower, given the modest number (nineteen) of the images in which a hole was noticed in comparison with the enormous amount of Buddha images, both seated and standing, in Gandharan art. Nevertheless we cannot say that it is an exceptional device – the number of specimens known will certainly rise if a systematic check is extended to all the main museums and collections, though we do not think that the ratio among the Fasting Buddhas can ever be reached among the other Buddha images.

This suggests that we look for an explanation in those qualities of the Tathāgata that were enhanced when he underwent his penances. And here we find evidence for the fourth hypothesis.

Now, the Buddha is a perfect yogi – a yogi who has gone a long step farther than his more traditional colleagues – and the most characteristic stage in his yogic life are the penances (e.g. Eliade 1982: 140 ff.).

Śākyamuni’s penances consisted of two parts both deriving from ancient Indian ascetic practices (Bareau 1963: 50) – the Yoga breathing techniques and fasting. The literary explanation for the small hole already exists in the Theravādin Sutta, “[... ] des souffles extrêmement violents soulevèrent le dessus de ma tête. Tout comme, o Agrivessana, un homme vigoureux peut percer le dessus d’une tête avec une pointe acérée” (Theravādin Sutta, Majjhimanikāya 1888-99, vol. I, pp. 242-47; transl. Bareau 1963: 45). The final phase of this six year period as described in the Mahāvastu is an excellent description of A.10 from Sikri (fig. 1):

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3 Later Buddhist texts deal more explicitly with the relationship of yogic practices and the awakening of extra-normal powers. It is thus interesting to note that the life of Naropa (an Indian yogi who was the main teacher of the Tibetan tantric teacher Marpa, 1012-96), which is patterned after the stages in Śākyamuni’s progress to enlightenment, discusses the activation of the cakras in the section dealing with Naropa’s penances (Guenther 1963: 53-67, 158-74).
"Then, monks, I said to myself, 'Let me now practise the breath-holding meditation'. So, monks, I stopped breathing in and out through the mouth and nostrils. And when I thus stopped breathing in and out through the mouth and nostrils, a loud and great roar rushed within both my ears. Just as when a smith's forge is blown a loud and great roar is set up, so, monks, when I stopped breathing in and out through mouth and nostrils, there rushed through both my ears a loud and great roar.

"Then, monks, I said to myself, 'Let me now practise the breath-holding meditation to a still greater degree'. So, monks, I stopped breathing in and out through mouth, nostrils, and both ears. And when I had thus stopped breathing in and out through mouth, nostrils and both ears, winds beat upon and passed through my skull. Just as, monks, when a butcher or his apprentice with a sharp hatchet rends, splits open, cleaves, pierces and penetrates a cow's skull, in just the same way, monks, when I had stopped breathing in and out through my mouth, nostrils and both ears, winds beat upon and wrecked my skull.

"Then, monks, I said to myself, 'There are people here who, prescribing what is pure, make their meals of jujube fruit and of jujube bark; they drink water in which jujube has been boiled and subsist on these and various other confections of jujube. Let me now, then, take one single jujube fruit for my meal'. So, monks, I took one single jujube fruit for my meal. Then this body of mine became exceedingly lean. Like the joints of creeping plants did my limbs become. My buttocks became like a goat's or a buffalo's hoof. Just as in a tumble-down stable the rafters within [85] on both sides are uncovered and stand revealed and disclosed, so did my gaunt ribs stand out revealed and disclosed. Like the plaits in a braid of hair curving this way and that were my spinal vertebrae, curving this way and that. Just as in the last month of summer the stars reflected far down, deep in the water of a well appear dim to the sight, so my eyes, buried far down deep in their sockets, could only with difficulty be seen. Just as an autumnal gourd plucked when unripe becomes withered, shrivelled and shrunk. I would try, monks, to grasp the front of my body, but it would be my backbone that I held in my grasp. [...]" (Mahāvastu, Jones, vol. II: 120-22).

Not all texts contain the description of the piercing of the top of the skull. However, the Lalitavistara follows very closely this description (Foucaux, vol. I: 218-19), but it is not so clear that a simile is implied. Rather, one gets the impression that the extreme breathing technique may indeed cause the skull to open – for it is

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6 Kramrisch (1936: 82) discusses this phenomenon in yogic practice. Bureaucratic notes in some of the early texts the descriptions of the penances seem to reflect personal experience and observation.

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at precisely this point in the Lalitavistara that a devaputra fears Śākyamuni has died. Other gods inform Māyādevī that his death is near and she descends to earth and weeps for him, reminding him of his auspicious birth and his vow to obtain enlightenment.

Thus, we see that within the narrative description of the “Fasting Buddha” image, the small hole serves two functions. It is an integral part of the Buddha’s condition at the final stage of his penances and a sign of his being a completely accomplished yogi, for according to yogic philosophy, reintegration of the energies occurs at the top of the head. Thus, in this context, the hole in the top of the uṣṇīṣa is the sign of his supra-normal energy (the awakened bodhicitta) being ready to emanate through the uppermost cakra (the sahasrāra-cakra) of his perfectly trained body, i.e. through the brabhmarandhra, the mystical hole at the top of the head (cf. e.g. Eliade 1982: 170 ff.).

G. Verardi in one of his most recent contributions has very aptly emphasized the substantial coincidence of uṣṇīṣa and brabhmarandhra (Verardi 1988: 1534 ff.). We can add to his evidence that it is through the uṣṇīṣa that the rays which have enveloped the Universe with their splendour, return into the Bhagavat according to a well-known passage of the Avadānaśataka (quoted by Burnouf 1876: 181). In the Lalitavistara this light is called pūrvabuddhānu-pamṛṣṭyaśaṅgajñānalokālamkāra (Lefmann 1874: 62; Edgerton 1970: s.v.).

References to the uṣṇīṣa as the abode or passage of light in the Buddha’s body become more and more numerous in Mahāyāna texts from Central Asia and China (e.g. Yamada et al. 1984: 114 and n., III 24 and n.) as well as in Tantric texts where the bodhicitta takes the place the kundalini holds in brahmanical Yoga literature.

7 “Thousand-spoked (or petalled) wheel”: the cakrā, or “centre”, placed at the top of the head, “représente par un lotus à mille pétales couleur de diamant, où ne s’inscrit aucun symbole et où le yogin n’entend aucun son” (Herbert and Varenne 1985: s.v.). Mahācittācāra-Tantra, pātala VII: 53-54, transl. M. Meisig 1988: 169.
8 “Brahmā’s crevice”, a suture or aperture in the crown of the head (through which the soul is said to escape on death), Pur.” (Monier-Williams: 739c).
Do the holes we have noticed at the top of the usnīsa in so many Gandharan images actually represent that luminous opening in the mystical anatomy of the human body? This seems to be highly probable. And now we understand how our hypotheses iii and iv are substantially one – a hole may represent the brahmārandhra with no need of having any separate device fitted into it, but the brahmārandhra, and the usnīsa for that matter, is an eminently luminous part of the Bodhisattva’s body (e.g. Senart 1882: 126-28). Therefore it is quite reasonable to surmise that some glittering stone was placed in the usnīsa of some of the images in order to emphasize the meaning of luminescence (i.e. heat and/or light) that is peculiar to it.

[86] If we think that the hole was an inconographical feature by itself, then its piercing or drilling was due to the urge of having a "complete" image to be worshipped (something like the "opening of the eyes"), even if that feature remained practically invisible in most cases. On the other hand, if we imagine a "gem" placed in the hole (and this seems to be possible only in some of the specimens we have listed above), then we are dealing with the forerunners of so many later images with a flame on the usnīsa (Zwalf 1985: 147, no. 206; Kramrisch 1935: 155).

The inconsistent appearance of this iconographical feature can be understood within the larger context of the evolution of the Buddha image. Although the earlier phases of experimentation are the best known, the addition of a flame- or jewel-like protuberance in later Buddhist art is evidence of the continuing struggle to make manifest an aspect of the Buddha’s qualities which had not yet adequately been described.

There was a variety of approaches to the problem of giving visual form to the ineffable qualities of the Buddha (Schlingloff 1987). It was early agreed upon that only a few of the 32 major signs of a Mahāpuruṣa would be represented. The 80 lesser characteristics, which were often more abstract, must have presented an even greater problem. In addition, there were the "inner" psychic qualities of the enlightened being, which presented the greatest challenge to the artist. The brahmārandhra was understood in later iconographic manuals as a central, although invisible organizing principle of a Buddha image, as it is from this point that the
middle line — the line of Brahmā — is drawn,⁹ when sketching the image.

As we have already noted, in addition to the idea of the brahmarandhra the artist also had the problem of representing the notion that the top of the head emits light (Schlingloff 1964). A related notion in Yoga (most clearly expressed in the Tantric texts) is that in this region is found the uppermost cakra, the seat of invisible psychic energy. In this case, the artist is confronted with creating a symbolic form, which represents the idea that “[...] consciousness develops in ascending order [...] up to the supramundane consciousness of enlightenment which has its base in the crown cakra of the head (sahasrāra-cakra). This cakra is symbolized by a flame-like protuberance on the head of the Buddha [...]” (Govinda 1976: 85).

However, the Sanskrit term sahasrāra itself would appear to generate another visual image (Monier-Williams: 1196 c): “m.n. a kind of cavity said to be found in the top of the head and to resemble a lotus reversed (fabled as the seat of the soul)”. There may indeed be a literary reference to this phenomenon: “[...] madhye cānāmātabhāsārām nānāratnacitaṁ sahasrāracakra [...]” (Schlingloff 1964: 131),¹⁰ which we would tentatively translate as — “in the middle [of the Buddha’s head] is a shining sahasrāra-cakra set with precious stones”.

To summarize, from an early period, there is a convergence of ideas which identify a point at the crown of the head of a yogi where there is a release and absorption of psychic energy, whether one speaks of an aperture (brahmarandhra) or a centre (cakra) of radiating energy (sahasrāra), at the top of the head. It seems that the artist is confronted with two related but separate problems, that of depicting the aperture and the flow of energy (or light) at the top of the head.

¹⁰ Schlingoff (1964: 131) has tentatively translated the sentence as follows: “In [ih rer] Mitte (erscheint) ein unendlich [weit] leuchtendes, mit verschiedenen Edelsteinen besetztes taudscheidiches Rad”. The difference in our translation is the interpretation of the lacunae, and the sahasrāra-cakra.
Fig. 1 - From Sikri. Lahore Museum, no. 2099.
(Courtesy, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan).
Fig. 2 - From Shamoza (?). Present location unknown.
(Photo IsMEO/MNAOR, Neg. no. L 15740/16 F. Noci).
Fig. 3 - Same as fig. 2: back view.
(Photo IsMEO/MNAOR, Neg. no. L 15740/26 F. Nocl).
Fig. 4 - Same as fig. 2: a detail.
(Photo IsMEO/MNAOR, Neg. no. 15740/5 F. Noci).

Fig. 5 - Same as fig. 2: a detail.
(Photo IsMEO/MNAOR, Neg. no. 15740/20 F. Noci).
Fig. 6 - Same as fig. 2: a detail showing the hole in the usṣīṣa. (Photo IsMEO/MNAOR, Neg. no. L 15740/31 F. Noci).

Fig. 7 - Same as fig. 2: a detail. (Photo IsMEO/MNAOR, Neg. no. 15740/24 F. Noci).
Fig. 8 - Stuttgart, Linden-Museum, no. SA 36 792 S.
(Photo U. Didoni; courtesy, Linden-Museum.)
Fig. 9 - Same as fig. 8: back view. (Courtesy, G. Kreisel).
Fig. 10 - Same as fig. 8: a detail showing the hole in the usṇīsa. (Photo U. Didoni; courtesy, Linden-Museum).

Fig. 11 - From Dira. Present location unknown.
Fig. 12 - From Hadda. Paris, Musée Guimet, no. MG 17281. (Courtesy, Musée Guimet).
Fig. 13 - Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (West), no. 1217. (Courtesy, Museum für Indische Kunst).
Fig. 14 - Calcutta, Indian Museum, no. A 23214 NS. 3938.
(Photograph A.M. Quagliotti; courtesy, Indian Museum).
Fig. 15 - Stuttgart, private collection. (Courtesy, G. Kreisel).
Fig. 16 - Chandigarh, Government Museum, no. 19.
(Photo A.M. Quagliotti; courtesy, Government Museum, Chandigarh).
Fig. 17 - Chandigarh, Government Museum, no. 1759.
(Photo A.M. Quagliotti; courtesy, Government Museum, Chandigarh).
Fig. 18 - Calcutta, Indian Museum, no. A 23184/5006.
(Photo A.M. Quagliotti; courtesy, Indian Museum).
From early Buddhist texts, as well as the later Buddhist art of all countries, which show numerous artistic ornamentations at the top of the usṇīṣa, it is clear that the top of the head was considered the seat of one of the supreme powers of the Buddha. It thus seems reasonable that Gandharan artists also would have attempted to represent this aspect of the yogic power of a Buddha.

Our concern has been to relate this feature to a doctrinal context, which might have been present in northern Pakistan during the Gandharan period and which would be consistent with the iconographic pattern represented at relevant sites such as Sikri. Although it is not unlikely that Tantric practices existed, these concerns have not yet been identified in Gandharan monastic sculpture. Thus, while we are aware of the Tantric interpretations of the cakras, there is no indication that a Tantric interpretation is relevant to our images. Indeed, since Yoga was important in earlier Buddhism as well, it would not seem necessary in this historical context to consider the theory of the cakras as an indication of Tantric philosophy (see Verardi 1988: 1536 for a somewhat diverging view). The Yoga of breath control has ancient roots in India (Bareau 1963: 51). These, among other yogic practices, were simply adapted and elaborated upon by Tantric practitioners (Snellgrove 1988: 1371-72).

If we take now again into consideration our list A, we are able to identify a small group of images that share some interesting characteristics. They are the famous Buddha from Sikri (A 10 = fig. 1), the small image formerly in the collection of Prince Ahmad Zeb (A 11 = figs. 2-7), in which M. Taddei first noticed the hitherto unreported hole, the large one in the collection of Gen. N. Babur (A 12), and the piece recently acquired by the Linden-Museum, Stuttgart (A 13 = figs. 8-10).

See Schopen 1987 for an interesting discussion of the relationship between Gandharan monastic sculpture and contemporaneous Mahāyāna.

For instance the two veins which are shown on some of the sculptures of the Fasting Buddha may be the two nādis (noted also by Verardi) through which the breath passes along either side of the body to be integrated at the top of the head. However, it would not seem necessary to identify this apparent dualism with upāya and prajñā as interpreted by Tantric sexo-yogic ideas (Nanayakkara 1972: 187-88).
Unfortunately we had no opportunity of checking whether there is any hole in the usṣṣiṣa of A 12 – for the rest, they are very similar to one another and seem to derive from one prototype. (Cf. the hair-style, the two veins on the forehead that do not converge into the ūnā, the worshipping monks and the fire-altar below the Buddha).

Among them, A 10 (fig. 1) is the only one found in regular excavations, but the circumstances in which the authors came to know of A 11 (figs. 2-7) make also this one a presumably genuine piece. Though we do not intend here to study our images from the point of view of art history, it will be clear to the reader that those images that have a hole in the usṣṣiṣa are genuine or have a good chance of being recognized as such – A 2, A 6, and A 7 being very old acquisitions, A 8 and A 13 (figs. 8-10) due to their high quality. Moreover, it seems unlikely that a modern forger is so well acquainted with a detail that has even escaped the attention of scholars. This does not mean that the others are necessarily forgeries! – some of them belong to a different tradition. Among considerations may be the fact, as already noted, that not all literary traditions contain the detail of the piercing of the top of Śākyamuni’s skull. However, other sculptures actually leave room for doubt – especially A 9 and A 17 (to which A 16 is to be added, though it was not checked).

A 10 to 13, as we have noted, belong to one stylistic and iconographic group. The exceptionally high quality of A 10\(^{13}\) might be an indication that this is the closest one to a supposed prototype, if not the prototype itself!

\[88\] We shall now leave aside this problem, that can only be confronted following a much more accurate examination of the many representations of this type of image that have appeared on the art market in recent years, including those that have certainly

\(^{13}\) We cannot share the opinion expressed by Senart (1890: 151, n. 1), "[...] on remarquera l’écart qui s’accuse entre la figure principale et le bas-relief qui décort le socle et qui est traité assez sommairement, sans doute comme une scène conventionnelle multipliée en nombreuses répliques par des artistes inférieurs". One should remember that Senart had not seen the piece and was writing on the basis of a photograph.
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escaped our attention. Those we have listed here may represent a useful starting point.

Only a few words are to be added concerning our lists B, C, and D.

C-D: These are images that appear to be related in no way to Gautama’s “austerities”, but the presence of holes is none the less quite understandable. Though this iconographic detail is particularly appropriate in the case of Fasting Buddhas, its presence matches very well with the very profound nature of both Buddhas and Bodhisattvas – their Buddhahood (Kramrisch 1935: 150).

B: Though, as we have already pointed out we had no opportunity of checking all the pieces in this list, it seems that most of them (and presumably all of them), have no holes in their usnīşas. This is also not surprising because these images belong to narrative scenes – they are not cult images nor, if you prefer, are they “icons”, which implies that “completeness” is not required in their case.14

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14 The stucco head in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (A 5), which shows no hole in the usnīş, should perhaps better be included in our list B. Some previously unknown images and reliefs of the Fasting Buddha are reproduced in the book by I. Kurita, Gandhāran Art, I. The Buddha’s Life Story (in Japanese), Tokyo 1988, that we were able to consult only after our text had gone to the printer. Our conclusions remain, however, unaffected.
ON GANDHĀRA

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