

## Chapter 26. STUCCO SCULPTURES

THE ART of modelling in plaster appears to have been introduced into India from the West<sup>1</sup> by the Śakas or Parthians, most probably by the latter. No trace of moulded plaster-work has been found among the ruins on the Bhir Mound or in the Greek strata of Sirkap. The earliest example of it may be the bold acanthus-leaf decoration on the small stūpa in Block E of the latter site (Pl. 27, *a* and p. 158), which, as already stated, dates from the beginning of the Christian era or from a decade or two earlier, though it is possible in this case that the decoration is substantially later than the body of the monument. Of figural work in stucco the oldest specimens I have found at Taxila or that are known to exist anywhere in India are the sculptures which adorned the two small stūpas in front of the apsidal temple in Block D of Sirkap.<sup>2</sup> The exceptional value that these sculptures possess for the history of early art in the Panjab has already been stressed. Taken in conjunction with other antiquities of the same age from Taxila, they give us for the first time a correct idea of the character and quality of art in this part of India in the middle of the first century A.D., when the nascent art of Gandhāra was beginning to make its appearance at Taxila. Of true Indian art, such as was then prevalent in Hindustān and Central India, there was next to none. Under the Parthian domination the only art that counted was the Hellenistic, and in nine cases out of ten the efforts of the local sculptors were directed to producing something in imitation of that art.

Of the stucco figures from the apsidal temple that we are here considering a few are so characteristically Hellenistic that they might equally well have been turned out at Seleucia or at Antioch as at Taxila; and it is reasonable, therefore, to infer that they are the work of some foreign artist, who, if not a Greek himself, had at least been trained in a Hellenistic School. Most of the figures, however, are evidently the handiwork of local craftsmen who were doing their best to copy Hellenistic models but without properly grasping the essentials of Hellenistic art, and whose efforts, therefore, are rarely very successful and not infrequently border on the grotesque.

The stucco of which these early sculptures are made is composed of lime mixed freely with small, broken stone (*bajri*) and other foreign matter. It is much coarser than the stucco found on the later monuments at Jauliāñ, Mohrā Morādu, etc., nor is there any trace of the fine finishing coat or of the colours which in the later stuccos were used to pick out certain details.

The next landmark in the history of stucco-work at Taxila is furnished by the remnants of a few reliefs on the pylons and west façade of the stūpa-plinth R<sub>3</sub> at

<sup>1</sup> For Graeco-Roman stucco-work, see Dar. et Sag. *s.v.* 'Tectorium' and figs. 3233, 6760.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. I, pp. 154-5.

History of  
stucco-work  
in North-  
West  
Earliest  
examples at  
Taxila

Stucco figures  
of Parthian  
period from  
Sirkap and  
their classifi-  
cation

Composition  
of stucco in  
Parthian  
period

Stucco reliefs  
of Kushān  
period at  
Dharmarājikā

the Dharmarājikā. As already stated, the pylons were added to the plinth in the early part of the second century A.D., and there can be little doubt that the stucco ornamentation was contemporary with them. The figures are in the same style as the stone Gandhāra reliefs which were preserved in chapel L close by, and it is not unlikely that they were executed by one or other of the artists responsible for those sculptures, since it is quite clear that the sculptor who designed and executed them must have come from Gandhāra itself. (Cf. pp. 253-4 *supra*.)

Then, two or three generations later, we have the remains of some stucco images enshrined in the plinth niches of stūpas K 1 and N 4, likewise at the Dharmarājikā site. The best preserved of these is the figure of the Buddha on the north face of K 1 (p. 262 *supra*, and Pl. 57, b), but even this is headless, and all that can be said of the draped body is that it is gracefully modelled and quite in keeping with the date assigned to it (late second or early third century A.D.).

With these few exceptions, however, there are no surviving specimens of stucco figures at Taxila between the first and fourth centuries A.D., nor have any examples of sculptures in this material been found at other contemporary sites in the North-West. During the Kushān period a vast amount of sculpture was, as we know, turned out in this part of India, but it seems to have been mainly executed in schist or phyllite from the region of Swāt or in a white calcareous stone from the neighbourhood of Jelālabād in Southern Afghānistān, or else in clay, which, save in very rare cases (where fire has intervened to preserve it), has inevitably perished in the course of the ages. Before the discoveries at Taxila had thrown new light on the subject, it used to be thought that the remains of numerous stucco reliefs found at Sahrī-Bahlōl, Takht-i-Bāhī and other sites belonged to the Kushān period and were contemporary with the familiar stone reliefs of the Gandhāra School. It is now clear that this was a mistake. All the reliefs in question are in precisely the same style as the fourth- to fifth-century work at Taxila, and there can be no question that they are of the same age.<sup>1</sup> The same is true also of the numerous stucco figures unearthed by the French Mission at Hadda and other sites in Afghānistān.<sup>2</sup>

'Indo-Afghān'  
School of  
fourth and  
fifth centuries  
A.D.

Increasing  
popularity of  
stucco and its  
causes

At this time stucco, as a material for sculpture, was assuming an importance which it had not known before and has not known since. In the new School which began to take shape in the fourth century—a School which we may conveniently designate the 'Indo-Afghān'—stucco was coming to be used not only in place of stone but largely in place of clay as well. Over stone it naturally had a signal advantage in that it needed no chisel for its carving, could be easily manipulated

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Stūpas and Monasteries at Jauliāñ* (A.S.I. Mem. no. 7), p. 33, where M. Foucher accepts the late Dr D. B. Spooner's interpretation and dating of certain stucco reliefs. The head from Takht-i-Bāhī said by the latter to have come from a Temptation Scene was in all likelihood that of a grotesque atlant, and the two mutilated figures at the side of a Buddha from Sahrī-Bahlōl may well have represented the donors. At the best their evidence is very questionable. Cf. A.S.R. (1907-8), pp. 136-7 and *ibid.* (1909-10), p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *L'Œuvre de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (Tokyo: Maison franco-japonaise, 1933), sér. A, tome 1, Pls. 1-4, 6-8, 10-25, 31 and 32.

by hand, and, if desired, even cast in a mould. On the other hand, though less plastic than clay, it was far more durable, especially in positions exposed to the weather. This convenience in handling and this durability of stucco go far to explain its growing popularity among the Indo-Afghan sculptors, but there were other reasons also for this popularity which must not be lost sight of. One was that since the eclipse of the Gandhāra School under the Kushāns, the chief centres of art in the North-West had shifted from the spots where stone could be readily procured for sculpture. At Taxila itself, which was certainly one of the most important of these centres, the only kinds of stone available were an excessively hard limestone, which was too refractory to be carved into statues, and a soft porous kañjūr, which was too soft and coarse to be cut into subtle and delicate forms. In Southern Afghānistān sculptors seem to have been little better off. The fine hornblende- and mica-schist stones which had been used by the sculptors of Gandhāra, were not to be found there, and in default of these they had to fall back on a local variety of white porous limestone, which was by no means so well suited to their purpose. With the rise, however, of the Indo-Afghan School they proceeded to follow the same course as their brethren at Taxila and to make use almost exclusively of stucco, clay and terra-cotta.

Another reason for the freer use of stucco at this period was the facility it offered for the reduplication of Buddha or Bodhisattva images, to which increasing importance had come to be attached. Under the early Kushāns, the decoration of stūpas and chapels had consisted largely of scenes from the previous births or from the last life of the Buddha, but these scenes, so familiar in Gandhāra art, had fallen out of fashion, and by the fifth century A.D. the creation of an image of the Buddha or of one of the Bodhisattvas had come to be regarded as a work of merit in itself, and the more images of this kind that a man could get fashioned, the more likely was he to attain the goal of his salvation. Hence arose the practice of erecting an ever-increasing number of stūpas and of decorating them from head to foot with countless repetitions of these sacred figures. And in the fashioning of them stucco was an invaluable agent, since with its aid it became possible to turn out figure after figure (many, it might be, from one and the same mould) with the greatest possible expedition and at the smallest cost.

Reduplication  
of sacred  
images

Among the thousands of stucco reliefs recovered amid the ruins of the later Buddhist monuments at Taxila, it goes without saying that all are not of the same age. The destruction of most of the monuments to which they belonged took place, as we have seen, in the latter part of the fifth century A.D., and at the time when it happened some had no doubt been standing for several decades, some had survived from Kushān times or even earlier, and others had probably been erected in quite recent years. It is tempting, therefore, to try and arrange these Indo-Afghan sculptures in some sort of chronological sequence, and since we have no precise evidence of their respective dates, to endeavour to do so on the basis of their style alone. It is questionable, however, if such an attempt can ever succeed. Without doubt, there are many striking differences in the style of these reliefs.

Age and  
varying merit  
of stucco  
reliefs of Indo-  
Afghan School

Some are as beautiful as any examples of the sculptor's art found in India; others are crude and spiritless efforts, which have little claim to be called art at all. But the differences between them are due, less to the progress or decay of art, than to the varying skill or idiosyncrasies of their authors. To take but one example, namely, the reliefs on the south side of the Mohrā Morādu Stūpa, we know that all these reliefs belong to the same period. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt. But if we had not known this, and if the figures of which they are composed had not been found *in situ*, we might well have concluded that the coarse and nerveless reliefs in the outer bays belonged to a more decadent phase in the history of the Indo-Afghān School than the magnificent group in the fourth bay. Until, then, further and more precise evidence comes to light, it is clear that we must beware of using the style of these sculptures as a criterion of their age, and be content, meanwhile, to treat them all as belonging to one indivisible group,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding that they vary greatly in style and merit.

and their  
technique

As to the technique of these sculptures, the bodies, legs and arms of the larger figures were usually composed of soft kañjūr stone and mud, covered with a thick coat of the same coarse and friable plaster with which the walls were faced. On the other hand, the heads were made of a finer and more lasting kind of plaster, and then mortised into the neck, sometimes with a piece of wood to strengthen the joint, sometimes without. Thanks partly to their shape and partly to the stronger material of which they were made, the heads were naturally able to resist the pressure of the fallen debris or the percolation of rain-water better than the bodies; and this explains why, on many sites on the North-West Frontier, the heads unearthed have far outnumbered the bodies and led some excavators to infer that heads alone may sometimes have been set up on the walls of the shrines. From the excavations at Taxila it is now clear that this inference was mistaken, and that originally the number of heads was equal to the number of bodies. This observation is true of smaller as well as larger figures, but the bodies of the former are usually composed of plaster throughout and are proportionably stronger than the bodies of the latter. In the case of the smaller reliefs,<sup>2</sup> the entire body was separately modelled and then impaled on a stick and so affixed to the still fresh coating of plaster on the wall; and even the tolerably large figures on the plinth of stūpa A 15 at Jauliāñ seem to have been treated in this way. In the modelling of the figure, a common practice seems to have been to work the plaster freely into shape with the boasting tool, and then to finish it off, when dry, with a chisel. This procedure, however, was by no means invariable. Many of the reliefs, especially the smaller ones, retain a fine slip of lime or shell plaster, which was applied before the final definition was given to the features, and it is evident from the fine lines impressed with a modelling tool round the nostrils, etc., that the paste below the slip must have been still moist when the latter was applied. The slip itself was white or cream coloured. Red was commonly used to pick out the lips, edges and folds of

<sup>1</sup> On this subject, see also *The Stūpas and Monasteries at Jauliāñ*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. XIX, a, b.

eyelids, edges of nostrils and hair, and wrinkles of the neck, forehead and ear-lobes. Black or grey-black was used for the hair, eyebrows, and pupils of the eyes. In some figures of atlantes, however, red instead of black is found on the hair, beard and moustache; and red was also used on the robes of the Buddha and for indicating the wheels (one of the *mahāpurusha lakshanas*) on the soles of his feet. It is to be noted, however, that in some cases the red colouring on face and garments served only as a groundwork for gilding, which time has since destroyed. In attempting, therefore, to visualise these stucco figures in their pristine beauty, we must remember always to take into account the polychromy and gilding with which they were freely embellished.

Let it be added that moulds were used on occasion by the sculptors of Taxila, as they were used also by the sculptors of Central Asia, but with one signal difference; for whereas the latter endeavoured to get the entire front view of the head, including head-dress and ears, out of a simple mould and were compelled in consequence to flatten the faces of their figures, the artists of Taxila were content to employ the mould merely for the most difficult part of the head, viz. the mask, leaving the remaining parts—ears, hair, head-dress and neck—to be executed by hand, and thus achieving an altogether more varied and artistic result.

Use of moulds

The following are the respective sites where the sculptures described below were unearthed. The precise findspot of each is given in the catalogue itself.

Sirkap, Block B: no. 11; Block D: nos. 1-10, 12-29.	Mohrā Morādu: nos. 30-8. Jauliāñ: nos. 39-71.
Dharmarājikā: nos. 72-85.	Kālawāñ: nos. 86-96.
Giri: nos. 97, 98.	Bhamāla: nos. 99-102.

#### GROUP A. STUCCO SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHIAN PERIOD

(Cf. ch. 5, pp. 154-5.)

#### CLASS I. *Sculptures in the Hellenistic style* (nos. 1, 2)

1. One of the best examples of sculptures in this style is the bearded head, no. 1, from the apsidal temple D in Sirkap = Sk. '13-2,043; sq. 56·63'; stratum II. The head, of which the height is 8·12 in., is that of a typical Greek satyr, with pointed ears, broad flat nose, moustache, beard and free-flowing locks. There is nothing mechanical or crude about the workmanship. The features are modelled with feeling, and there is an intensity of expression in the knitted brows and half-parted lips and a boldness in the treatment of the hair and beard that bespeak a thorough mastery over the material, but at the same time a proper understanding of its limitations. The strong, almost portrait-like individuality that characterises the countenance is typical of Greek art in its later phases; it is never found in early Indian art; nor is it a characteristic of the Gandhāra School. With this and the following head the reader should compare the little head of Dionysus in silver repoussé figured in Pl. 209, *a*, which is equally characteristic of Hellenistic craftsmanship. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xvii, *c*. (Pl. 148, no. 1.)

2. Another head in the Hellenistic style, is that figured in Pl. 148, no. 2. (Sk. '13-2,065; sq. 55·62'; stratum II; height 4·5 in.). It, too, is bearded, but the beard in this instance is treated in simpler masses, and there is a quiet dignity and repose about the features that find

their nearest parallel among cult statues of the Greek pantheon. Unfortunately, the upper part of the head is mutilated, but what remains is quite enough to show that the sculptor had an intimate knowledge of Hellenistic art. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xviii, c.

### CLASS II. *Sculptures in bastard Hellenistic style* (nos. 3-18)

These are the sculptures executed by local craftsmen in more or less imitation of Greek or Graeco-Roman models. Some of them resemble the small terra-cotta figurines of this period found at Akra and other contemporary sites, including Sirkap itself. ('Terra-cottas', ch. 24, nos. 46-9; Pl. 133.) On the top of the head there is commonly a topknot encircled with a bandeau or wreath, which is often much too small for the size of the head.<sup>1</sup> In front, the hair either falls over the forehead in short strands or is rolled back over the ears. Sometimes it is plaited or braided or curled along the front edge, as in archaic Greek statues.

The sculptures of this class fall into the following five subdivisions, the characteristics of which appear to be mainly due to the idiosyncrasies of the sculptors.

Type a. *With nose of normal size, short upper lip and small, rather insignificant mouth.* The eyes are carelessly modelled.

3. Sk. '13-2,088; sq. 54·62'; stratum II. Height 6 in. Female head with heavy laurel wreath. Hair parted from centre and rolled back over the ears, with two rosettes over the left ear. Right side of forehead and part of nose damaged; topknot missing. Lime-wash. (Pl. 148, no. 3.)

4. Sk. '13-2,118; sq. 54·61'; stratum II. Height 5 in. Female head. Hair parted in centre and rolled back over ears; the topknot being bound round with a twisted kerchief. Ear-pendant missing on left side. (Pl. 148, no. 4.)

5. Sk. '13-2,107; sq. 54·62'; stratum II. Height 6·37 in. Female head. Hair arranged in corkscrew curls falling like a wig over forehead and ears, and surmounted by a high topknot tied at the base with a bandeau. Small ear-pendants. (Pl. 148, no. 5.)

6. Belonging to the same class as the above but in sharp contrast with them, by reason of the different treatment of the eyes, is the head Sk. '12; Trench A 481; stratum II (height 4·12 in.). In this case the eyes are wide open and staring, with highly arched eyebrows, while the hair is arranged in ringlets with a topknot above, as it was on heads of the Buddha. For the wide-open, staring eyes, cf. ch. 25, no. 63, and ch. 36, pp. 693-4. (Pl. 148, no. 6.)

Type b. *With nose of normal size, full lips, and short upper lip.*

7. Sk. '13-2,021; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 4·2 in. Female head, with rather short hair combed from the crown over the forehead, and with a topknot which was once encircled with a wreath. Rosette over right ear. Long cylindrical pendants in ears (preserved in left ear only). (Pl. 148, no. 7.)

8. Sk. '13-2,008; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 4·5 in. Female (?) head, with highly arched brows and slightly smiling lips. Wears heavy ear-pendants; hair combed on to forehead and plaited or braided at the fringe. Above, smooth plain wreath, which may have been painted. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xviii, b. (Pl. 148, no. 8.)

9. Sk. '13-2,006; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 4·75 in. Female head. The eyes are carelessly modelled and the shape of the face is irregular, as if intended to be seen from one side only, like many of the later stuccos. The hair falls thickly from the crown over forehead and ears;

<sup>1</sup> It seems not unlikely that the *ushnisha* of the Buddha image evolved in Gandhāra had its origin in these topknots.

crowning it is a segmented wreath, encircling the topknot. Cf. *A.S.R.* Pl. xviii, e. (Pl. 148, no. 9.)

10. Sk. '13-2,025; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 3·75 in. Bearded head, with eyes deep-set, but sketchily drawn, overhanging brows, and long oval face. The modelling under the eyes is cleverly done. Top of head and ears missing. (Pl. 148, no. 10.)

Type c. *With shortish nose and short upper lip, but wider mouth, heavier jaws and a squarer shape of head.* The workmanship is crude, and the modelling of the eyes especially defective.

11. Sk. '12-165; sq. 36·65'; stratum I. Height 6·5 in. Hair in crescent over forehead and plaited at edge. Topknot and twisted wreath. Mouth wide and smiling. Ear-ring in right ear. Left ear missing. (Pl. 148, no. 11.)

12. Sk. '13-2,034; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 5·5 in. Female(?) head. Short hair falling over forehead. Heavy wreath with smooth surface (? painted) round topknot. Ear-rings in both ears. Trace of lime-wash. (Pl. 148, no. 12.)

13. Sk. '13-2,027; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 6 in. Hair cut across forehead. Topknot, bandeau and left ear missing. Large eyes and mouth; teeth visible; short wide nose. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xvii, b. (Pl. 148, no. 13.)

14. Sk. '13-2,026; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 5·75 in. Hair curled at edge across forehead and over the ears. Part of wreath and topknot missing. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xviii, a. (Pl. 148, no. 14.)

Type d. *With bulging forehead, very short nose, and short upper lip.*

15. Sk. '13-2,080; sq. 54·62'; stratum II. Height 6·25 in. The head is shaved except for a single tuft of hair which falls from the crown over the forehead and is tied in a ball at the end. Wears heavy ear-rings. Eyes very sketchily modelled. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xvii, d. (Pl. 148, no. 15.)

16. Sk. '13-2,051; sq. 56·63'; stratum II. Height 5·25 in. Hair parted over forehead and taken back over ears. Topknot and wreath missing. Eyes sketchy and somewhat slanting. Mouth small. (Pl. 148, no. 16.)

Type e. *Heads of Parthian(?) type, wearing moustache.* With them may be compared the relief in shell no. 12, illustrated on Pl. 208, no. 51.

17. Sk. '19-1; south-west of D; stratum II. Height 3 in. Wears short hair falling in strands over forehead. The top and back of the head being broken, it is uncertain whether there was a topknot and wreath or not. (Pl. 149, a.)

18. Sk. '13-2,050; sq. 56·63'; stratum II. Height 5·25 in. The hair is curled in a double line of ringlets over forehead and falls over the ears like a wig. The top and back of the head are missing. Ear-ring in left ear; right one is missing. (Pl. 149, b.)

### CLASS III. *Heads of Bodhisattva(?) type with turban and moustache, carelessly modelled eyes, long thin nose, and rather heavy jaw (nos. 19-22)*

19. Sk. '13-2,105; sq. 54·62'; stratum II. Height 13·5 in. Indian turban in three rolls, crossing in the centre of the forehead and finished with a fantail ornament above. Eyelids carelessly put in. Nose thin and 'wooden'. The moustache, which is missing, was affixed separately. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xvii, a. (Pl. 149, h.)

20. Sk. '13-2,007; sq. 63·62'; stratum II. Height 4·75 in. Turban as above. Ear-pendant in left ear; right ear missing. The nose is better modelled, but the eyes are very sketchy. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. xviii, d. (Pl. 149, c.)

21. Sk. '12-247; sq. 63·65'; stratum I. Height 4 in. Similar to preceding, but with large open eyes. Ear-rings in both ears. (Pl. 149, d.)

22. Sk. '13-2,158; sq. 54·60'; stratum II. Height 5·5 in. Similar, but without moustache. The ears and part of right cheek are missing. Observe the circular indentation in the short upper lip. (Pl. 149, e.)

#### CLASS IV. *Torsos and limbs* (no. 23)

23. Few pieces of the torsos or limbs belonging to these heads have been preserved. The biggest fragment is no. 23 (=Sk. '13-2,125; sq. 54·61'; stratum II; height 8 in.). It belongs to the figure of a well-developed woman, with her left arm bent double and leaning on a cushion. The head and lower part of the body are missing, as well as the left shoulder and left hand. The modelling is vigorous, but coarse and clumsy, with little feeling for plasticity.

#### CLASS V. *Architectural fragments* (nos. 24-9)

These comprise part of a lotus capital, no. 24 (=Sk. '13-2,100; sq. 54·62'; stratum II; height 8 in.), with bead-and-reel moulding below the leaves, and fragments of various swags or garlands used to decorate the sides of the stūpas. Of the latter, no. 25 (=Sk. '12-815; sq. 65·64'; stratum II; length 10 in.) is adorned with six-petalled flowers overlapping one another; another (no. 26=Sk. '12-1,027; sq. 66·66'; length 7·5 in.), with five-petalled flowers between crossed bands; a third (no. 27=Sk. '12-820; stratum II; length 7 in.), with clusters of grapes and acanthus leaves; a fourth (no. 28=Sk. '12-815; sq. 65·64'; stratum II; length 10 in.), with simple obcordate petals; and a fifth (no. 29=Sk. '12-815; sq. 65·64'; stratum II; length 11·75 in.), with quatrefoil blossom in reticulated pattern. (Pl. 149, f, g, i, j.)

### GROUP B. SCULPTURES OF THE INDO-AFGHĀN SCHOOL

(FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES A.D.)

The sculptures of the Indo-Afghān School, which are represented by the following examples, fall into certain well-defined categories. In the first come the figures of the Buddha, which, as we have already seen, retain, generally, the traditional characteristics which distinguished them in the Gandhāra School. In the second are the Bodhisattvas, which are generally recognisable at a glance by their elaborate head-dresses and the profusion of their jewellery. To the third category belong the monks, who wear the same robes as their Master but, unlike him, have shaven heads; and along with the monks a few specimens of Brāhmanical ascetics. The fourth category comprises a multitude of *devas* and lay-worshippers, both male and female, who are represented making offerings or doing obeisance to the Blessed One or to the Bodhisattvas. In the fifth category is included an equally numerous and varied company of *yakshas* or genii, which share, with the lions and elephants, the burden of supporting the tiers of the stūpa-plinths. These atlantes, as we may rightly call them, since the original conception of them was certainly derived from Greek prototypes, are depicted with an endless variety of grotesque faces and in every kind of writhing and tormented posture. The lions and elephants, as well as the bulls which crown the Persepolitan pilasters, make up the sixth and last category.

## STUCCO RELIEFS OF MOHRĀ MORĀDU. Nos. 30-8, a. (Cf. ch. 18, pp. 358-64.)

*A. Reliefs on the main stūpa.* Among the most beautiful sculptures of the Indo-Afghān School, whether of stucco, clay or terra-cotta, are the reliefs already referred to, on the south face of the main stūpa at Mohrā Morādu. This face was divided by slender pilasters into eight bays, each of which was subsequently adorned with a group of figures, comprising one or more images of the Buddha with attendant Bodhisattvas or *devas*, while the faces of the pilasters themselves were enriched with two seated figures of the Buddha, one above the other, some enthroned on lotuses, some on simple seats. Of these eight groups the most arresting is the one in the fourth bay from the western end, to which the premier place was evidently given in virtue of its being opposite, or virtually opposite, the central north-south axis of the stūpa drum. The group in this bay, nos. 30, 31 (Pls. 150, a, 151), comprised a seated Buddha in the middle with a standing Bodhisattva on either side, two celestial beings (*devas*) coming out of the background, on each side of the Buddha's head, and two other figures—probably Bodhisattvas—enthroned on lotuses in the top corners. The image of the Buddha in the centre is seated in the Teaching attitude (*śikshā-mudrā*) on a lion-throne (*simhāsana*), in front of which are four miniature figures of lay-worshippers, including perhaps the donor of the group, two on one side of a bowl, two on the other. All the reliefs are coated with a thin slip of fine plaster, and there are traces on them of the buff, red and black paints with which such figures seem to have been invariably embellished. The beauty of the group is necessarily much impaired by the damage it has sustained, especially to the head and hands of the central image, but the attendant Bodhisattvas and the *deva* above the left shoulder of the Buddha give us a splendid conception of what the Indo-Afghān School, at its best, was capable of achieving. In the whole range of Indian sculpture it would be difficult to point to figures more beautifully conceived or more perfectly executed than these. Observe the Bodhisattva on the right (Pl. 151); how dignified his posture, as he stands slightly inclining towards the central image; how calm his expression; how delicate the modelling of his features. And notice, too, with what consummate skill the sculptor has handled his garments, draping the *dhotī* ever so lightly and gracefully about his legs, turning the long scarf in stylish folds about his arms, and giving to the whole a delicate suggestion of movement, as if the Bodhisattva were being borne insensibly towards the Buddha. Then turn from this figure and observe the *deva* above, emerging out of the background. Nothing could be more tender than the attitude of his hands or more gentle than the expression on his face, as he descends from heaven to do homage to the Great Teacher. It is not only that these figures are nobly conceived; they are finished in every detail with exquisite grace and feeling.

The draperies merit special notice. Although more formal and stylish than Hellenistic draperies, they exhibit the same technical methods as the latter in the treatment of their folds; that is to say, the mass of the material between the folds is cut away, and the folds themselves left standing out in relief, as they naturally

do in any thin material. Roman sculptors, as is well known, made a practice of cutting away only the narrow folds and leaving the mass of the material between them unchiselled, thereby saving much labour but producing an effect which was not true to nature. Obviously it is much easier to adopt the Greek method when modelling in plaster or clay than when chiselling stone or marble, and, provided that a sculptor is conscientious in his work, it is the method to which, irrespective of tradition, he must inevitably be led, since it is the only one that is correct. But in the case of the Indo-Afghān School, there can be little room for doubt that in this, as in many other features, it inherited the Hellenistic tradition through the Gandhāra School. That does not mean, of course, that this phase of art was merely a derivative or later reflexion of Gandhāra art. It owed many of its motifs and ideas and much of its hieratic character to that art, but it went far beyond it, both in pure decorative beauty and in the expression of religious sentiment, and in these spheres it established new and far-reaching traditions which profoundly influenced the character of the Gupta and later medieval art of India.

Compared with the foregoing, the reliefs in the other bays are of little interest. It might have been expected that the groups to the right and left would have been made to balance or at least to correspond in some measure with one another. But this was not the case. The bay on the left, i.e. the third in order from the south-west corner, contains the seated Buddha (no. 32=Pl. 150, *b*) in the Teaching attitude, and on each side of him a Bodhisattva seated cross-legged on a lotus, while between them were smaller standing figures<sup>1</sup> and other Bodhisattvas and *devas* above. The group is not unattractive, but it misses altogether the fine feeling and masterly handling of the central one. The modelling of the Buddha is less sympathetic, his draperies coarser and more formal, and the two seated Bodhisattvas have none of the dignity and grace that belong to their standing counterparts in the other bay. Their drawing and modelling are weak, their ornaments not so refined, and the countenance of the one on the right (the only countenance preserved) wears an almost fatuous expression. In the second and fifth bays (nos. 33, 34=Pl. 152, *a, b*) the inferiority is still more marked. In each bay there are three seated Buddhas in the attitude of Teaching or of Meditation, and between them stand two Bodhisattvas. None of the figures, either seated or standing, has any pretension to artistic merit, let alone to spiritual beauty; they are merely stock types turned out, as it were, and repeated mechanically at so much a figure, as we shall see presently that thousands of miniature figures were repeated on the smaller stūpas. A typical specimen is the standing Bodhisattva on the right hand of panel 34, which is illustrated on a large scale on Pl. 155, *c*. Setting it by the side of the corresponding figure of the central group, one can see at once how weak and ill-proportioned it is, the head and feet too big for the rest of the body, the features awry, the expression devoid of meaning, the ornaments and drapery clumsy and overdone.

*B. Detached heads, etc.* Nos. 35-8. Besides the reliefs *in situ* many detached heads and other fragments of stucco were found among the ruins at Mohrā Morādu, among which the following are deserving of special notice:

35. Mm. 15-297; cell 19; 8 ft. below surface. Height 7 in. Small head of the Buddha, in a fine state of preservation and remarkable for the beauty of its high-caste and finely modelled features. Only the ear-lobes are damaged. The *ūrnā* is small, but prominent; the hair waved back from the forehead. Traces of red paint on lips, eyelids, forehead and neck. This head

<sup>1</sup> One of these standing figures—between the Buddha and the seated Bodhisattva on his right—was too decayed to be replaced when the panel was set up in the museum.

affords a good opportunity of examining the technique of these figures. Over the plaster is a fine slip of lime or more probably fine 'shell' plaster, applied before the final definition was given to the features. The paste must have been still soft when the slip was put on, and it was not until after the application of the latter that the fine lines were impressed with a modelling tool around the nostrils, etc. The face is left white, but the lips, edges of nostrils, rims and folds of eyelids, edges of hair, folds of neck and ear-lobes, are picked out in red, and the hair is coloured grey-black. Observe the long and narrow eyes, slanting upwards at the outer corners, the small and sensitive nostrils, the full lips and prolonged ear-lobes. Cf. p. 362 (4) *supra*; A.S.R. (1915), Pl. xx, d. (Pl. 153, a.)

36. Mm. '18-4; east of main stūpa; ground-level. Height 5·37 in. Stucco head of a Bodhisattva. Wavy hair parted in the middle and confined within a fillet, and curled above the ears. Crown of the head missing. Tip of nose damaged. Lime-wash. Note the elongated and oblique eyes. For this and the three following, cf. p. 359 *supra*. (Pl. 153, d.)

37. Mm. '27-9; between stūpas I and II; 2 ft. 3 in. below surface. Height 6·75 in. Stucco head of a lay-figure, wearing long moustache. The right eye, ears, forehead and hair are missing. The jaw is heavy and the cheeks well modelled. (Pl. 149, l.)

38. Mm. '15-292; east of main stūpa; 12 ft. below surface. Height 5 in. Stucco head of Bodhisattva. Ears and head-dress damaged. No *ūrṇā*. Traces of crimson paint on lips. Hair grey-black; roughened with age. Cf. A.S.R. (1915-16), p. 26, no. 3. (Pl. 153, c.)

38, a. Mm. '15-16, 216. *Harmikā* of kañjūr, coated with stucco, 22·5 in. wide × 10 in. high. Traces of blue and red paint. From the small stūpa. Cf. A.S.R. (1915-16), p. 29, no. 6. (Pl. 149, k.)

#### STUCCO RELIEFS OF JAULIĀÑ. Nos. 39-71. (Cf. ch. 20, pp. 371-84.)

For variety and extent the collection of stucco figures found at the *sanghārāma* of Jauliāñ is by far the most important at Taxila. It does not contain anything up to the standard of the finest reliefs at Mohrā Morādu, but, on the other hand, it comprises countless examples of every kind of figurine employed in the fifth century to adorn the smaller class of stūpas. In describing these stucco sculptures of Jauliāñ we shall start with the large and medium-sized images found *in situ*, then proceed to the smaller figurines also *in situ*, and close our account with the detached heads and other *disjecta membra* which were lying among the fallen debris.

A. *Large and medium-sized sculptures in situ*. Nos. 39-42. These are found either in the image-shrines (e.g. no. 39 *infra*) or decorating the bases of stūpas (e.g. nos. 40, 41 and 42) or in niches let into the monastery walls or on pedestals in front of some of the cells. On the base of the main stūpa the images are, as usual, divided one from the other by pilasters; on the smaller stūpas the pilasters are sometimes absent.

39. Jn. '27-F 585. A fine group of stucco figures found in chapel E 1 at Jauliāñ, and now in the museum. In the centre is seated the Buddha in the attitude of Meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*) with a standing Buddha to his right and left and two attendant figures behind. Of the latter, the one to his right is carrying the fly-whisk (*cauri*); the other, as suggested by his head-dress, is Indra, holding the thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his left hand. On the central image are still many traces of the red and black paint and of the gold-leaf with which it, and doubtless the other

figures also, were once bedecked. All five figures are of lime plaster, on a core of kañjūr, rubble and clay. In style they are not on a par with the reliefs in the fourth bay of the main stūpa at Mohrā Morādu (p. 521 *supra*), and the attendant figures are especially stiff and formal, but the central figure of the Buddha is an impressive example of the conventional images of this period and the finest, in a complete state, at Taxila. Soon after its discovery this group was shattered to bits by a fanatic, but reconstructed with infinite skill and unwearying patience by my assistant, Mr M. Gupta. Cf. p. 377 *supra*; *Jn. Mem.* Pl. XIII, b. (Pl. 155, a.)

40. Jn. '27-F 586. Seated colossal Buddha in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, occupying the bay between a pair of pilasters on the south face of the main stūpa opposite to stūpa A 11. Four smaller figures of the Buddha, one in the *śikshā-* and the others in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, are seated, one above the other, on lotuses, on the faces of the pilasters. All of these figures, large and small, belong to the fifth century A.D. The central image, like all such large images of this period, is composed of a core of large blocks of kañjūr stone covered with clay, and finished with a thick coating of lime stucco. The workmanship is rough and the style mechanical. (Pl. 154, a.)

41. Jn. A 15. A row of Buddhas in the attitude of Meditation, seated side by side on the plinth of stūpa A 15. This is probably one of the earliest of the smaller stūpas at Jauliāñ, and it is not unlikely that the form of decoration found here represents an earlier stage than that found in most of the neighbouring stūpas (e.g. D 1, D 4, A 16), but, if this is so, the images of the Buddha must have been remade in the fifth century A.D. since it is quite certain that, as they stand, they are among the latest reliefs on the site, being both stereotyped in style and coarse in workmanship. Cf. p. 372 *supra*. (Pl. 155, b.)

42. Jn. '17-F 589; east face of stūpa A 11. Height 23 in. Stucco image of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, in the attitude of Meditation, holding an unguent-flask in the fingers of his left hand. Wears ear-pendants, necklaces and bangles. The state of preservation is excellent, but the modelling is mechanical and the features heavy and soulless. As a rule, Maitreya is seated in European fashion, and is seldom portrayed in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. Cf. p. 373 *supra*. (Pl. 155, d.)

*B. Small sculptures in situ.* Nos. 43-8 (cf. ch. 20, pp. 372-3). These are found on a large class of stūpas at Jauliāñ and elsewhere. The stūpas commonly have a square base, circular drum, dome and a range of umbrellas, but from most of them the superstructure has now perished and the bases only remain. The latter are generally divided into three horizontal tiers, diminishing in width and height as they ascend, and divided one from the other by dentil cornices. The principle of decoration is the same for all three tiers; it consists of a series of stunted pilasters with shallow niches between them. In the two lower tiers the pilasters are usually in the debased Corinthian style; in the uppermost, in the debased Persepolitan. The niches are in the form either of a trefoil arch or of a portal with sloping jambs, which was the form in fashion at this time for the doorways of monastery cells. These two forms of niches alternate with one another on the faces of the stūpas, both horizontally and vertically. Within the niches are seated Buddhas or Bodhisattvas—the former in the attitude either of Meditation or of Teaching; on either side of the niches, between them and the pilasters, are pairs of figures bringing offerings to or worshipping the Buddha. In order to increase the height of the two lower tiers without diminishing the number of niches, an extra row of figures was added at their base. In the lowest tiers these figures commonly consisted of the foreparts of lions alternating with atlantes, which are shown supporting the weight of the superstructure above them. In the second tier the lions were frequently replaced by elephants.

To the above description it should be added that: (a) In the second and top tiers the forefronts of lions and elephants were sometimes added at the base of the portal jambs and trefoil arches which enclosed the niches. (b) The Persepolitan pilaster-capitals were usually crowned with bulls, back to back. (c) The atlantes generally took the form of warriors or musicians or figures holding wine-cups. (d) The figures beside the Buddha rest, as a rule, on a kind of lotus stool. Sometimes they are two Buddhas, seated and meditating; sometimes they are two monks or two lay-worshippers, kneeling and praying or bringing offerings of fruit or flowers in their robes or in a basket, or occasionally with caskets in their hands, containing treasures of one kind or another (no. 43=Pl. 156, *a*). (e) Figures of seated Buddha are sometimes substituted on the face of the Corinthian pilasters in place of the usual small incised panels, e.g. on the pilasters on the west face of stūpa D 4 (no. 44=Pl. 154, *b*). The above was the scheme of decoration on the majority of these small stūpas, but in some cases it was varied by inserting a row of seated Buddhas or Bodhisattvas side by side and without any adventitious decoration beneath the lowest course of lions and atlantes, as in stūpa A 11. In a few cases, as in A 15, the whole plinth was occupied by such figures, but as already stated, this may represent an earlier type of decoration.

Such intensive repetition of figures is not found in stūpas of the earlier Gandhāra School. The new fashion was to some extent the result of the stereotyping and commercialising of art; but it arose still more from the ever-growing practice of repeating the figures of the Blessed One in countless numbers, so that the donor of them might achieve a corresponding increase in the volume of his merit.

The general appearance of these stūpa-bases will be clear from the illustrations of stūpas A 16 and D 4 (nos. 45-7) on Pls. 156 and 157.

The former, which is the smaller of the two, is now in the local museum; the latter still stands on the spot where it was unearthed. Although the description given above applies accurately to both, there are certain features that merit further attention. One of these is that, while in stūpa A 16 all the figures in the niches are Buddhas seated in the attitude of Teaching or of Contemplation, in the upper section of D 4 as well as in D 1, Bodhisattvas are substituted for some of the Buddhas. Another noteworthy feature is the sloppy and unconvincing postures of the atlantes, not only on these, but on all the stūpas of this period. It is a natural and logical expectation that any supporting figures of the kind, whether atlantes or caryatids or animals, should be sufficiently big and strong to appear to support the superincumbent weight; but these atlantes are not only absurdly small in proportion to the size of the structure, but they are in attitudes which suggest that, instead of sustaining the mass above them, they are being crushed beneath its burden.

A third point of interest is that among the many pairs of attendants on the Buddhas or the Bodhisattvas we encounter here and there some women. One such pair of women occurs in a panel in the lower row on the north face of stūpa D 4 (no. 48=Pl. 154, *c*). In the centre, is a meditating Buddha, and to right and left of his trefoil niche a woman seated on a high seat in European fashion. The one to

the proper right of the Buddha holds in both hands a covered vessel, the bottom of which rests on her left hand, while with her right hand she seems about to lift off the tall lid. The other one holds in her right hand a drinking-cup and in her left a spear. These are distinguishing attributes of Kubera, the dispenser of riches, in his capacity of leader of the *yakshas*, and later on were transferred to his consort Hāritī, the demon mother of children and giver of prosperity. We may be sure, therefore, that these women are meant to be *yakshinīs*, embodying some popular superstition or other.<sup>1</sup> Hāritī herself, so the legend goes, was converted by the Buddha and became an *upāsikā* or lay-disciple; and to feed her 500 children, whom she had formerly fed on the flesh of human children, Buddha told her that the *bhikshus* in the monasteries should every day offer her food from their portions. Hence, I-tsing tells us, an image of Hāritī was placed either in the porch or in the corner of the dining-hall of Indian monasteries, and abundant offerings of food were made to it.<sup>2</sup>

*C. Miscellaneous detached sculptures. Nos. 49–71 (cf. ch. 20, pp. 371, 384).*

Buddhas

49. Jn. '16–57; north-east of main stūpa. Stucco head of the Buddha. Height 21·5 in. Lime-wash. Traces of red paint on edges of hair and on right ear. No slip preserved. This and the following head belonged to two of the colossal Buddhas which adorned the walls of the main stūpa, and are fine specimens of their kind, both probably by the same hand. The hair is treated in much the same way as on the small head from Mohrā Morādu (no. 35 *supra*) but the features are not so refined and delicate as in that example. The *ūrnā* was probably composed, as it appears to have been in most of the colossal heads, of a round piece of rock-crystal cut *en cabochon* and sunk in the surface of the plaster. *Jn. Mem.* p. 42, no. 57. (Pl. 149, *m.*)

50. Jn. '16–32; north-east of main stūpa. Stucco head of the Buddha. Height 21·75 in. Back of head partly missing and ears damaged. Lime-wash. Traces of red paint on hair and ears. Slip not preserved. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. iv, *b* (Pl. 149, *n.*)

51. Jn. '16–F563. Height 6·12 in. This was once a head of exceptional beauty, showing great delicacy in the modelling of the lips and cheeks. Unfortunately, the *ushṇīsha* is missing and the nose and ear-lobes are damaged. There is a buff slip and traces of red paint on lips and eyes, and of black paint on the hair and eyebrows. (Pl. 153, *b.*)

The remaining Buddha heads from Jauliāñ, illustrated on Pl. 158, are much inferior in style and execution to the preceding, but they are the work of various hands and represent several characteristic types of which there are many more examples at Taxila. Thus, no. 52 belongs to a class of heads which are distinguished by a rather small chin and largish mouth, with the underlip defined by a simple curve at the lower edge, giving a slightly supercilious look to the face. In this type, too, both the upper and lower eyelids are bordered by simple instead of reflex curves, and, as a rule, the cheek-bones are wide and pronounced, though more so in other examples than in the one illustrated. No. 53 on the other hand, has a narrower face with higher forehead, more rounded cheeks and a small mouth, which imparts to it a rather insipid and soulless expression; and the same remarks

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foucher in *Jauliāñ Mem.* p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 105.

apply also to no. 54, only that in this type the face is broader, the cheeks fuller and the eyelids heavier. In no. 55, again, we have a more unconventional cast of countenance, with dull, fleshy features in which no spark of inspiration or beauty is visible.

52. Jn. '16-119. West of main stūpa. Stucco head of the Buddha. Height 7·12 in. Buff slip. Traces of red and black paint. This head has been struck from the same mould as the two heads illustrated in my *Memoir on the Stūpas and Monastery at Jauliāñ*, Pl. xix, d, e, but it is noteworthy that the hair in each case is differently treated, showing that it was modelled by hand; and there are other small differences as well, due to retouching. The cast of features distinctive of these heads has already been remarked on. (Pl. 158, a.)

53. Jn. '16-168, a. Main stūpa-court. Stucco head of Buddha. Height 8·5 in. Right eye-brow and *ūrṇā* damaged. Lime-wash. The eyebrows are highly arched; the eyelids more than half-closed and doubly flexured but not oblique; the mouth small and lacking in character. The modelling of all these features and of the cheeks and nose, is refined and delicate. On the other hand, the hair is treated in a very perfunctory manner and evidently relied upon colour to help out its definition. *Jn. Mem.* p. 43, no. 14. (Pl. 158, b.)

54. Jn. '16-F12. Main stūpa-court. Stucco head of the Buddha. Height 7 in. Ears slightly damaged. The hair in this example is treated more effectively than in the preceding, but is still somewhat crude. On the other hand, the definition of eyebrows, eyelids and mouth is not so delicate and there is little mobility in the modelling of the cheeks. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xix, g. (Pl. 158, d.)

55. Jn. '16-192, b. From between stūpas A11 and A12. Upper part of Buddha figure in the *śikshā-mudrā*; with *sanghātī* over both shoulders. Height 9·37 in. The features are full and fleshy and devoid of all spirituality. The hair is disposed in ringlets, which are perfunctorily indicated by small, round depressions. The hands are well modelled and natural. Traces of red paint on hands, lips, ears, eyes, forehead and *sanghātī*. The left ear is damaged. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xix, b. (Pl. 158, c.)

56. Jn. '16-10. Main stūpa-court. Stucco head of a Bodhisattva. Height 7 in. Right ear missing. Hair confined within a fillet and waved from forehead over the ears. Wears *kundala* in left ear. This is a particularly fine head with classic but not over-conventionalised features; at once dignified and reposeful. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxi, s and p. 47, no. 71. (Pl. 158, e.)

Bodhisattvas

57. Jn. '16-56. Between chapels C1 and D1. Upper part of Bodhisattva figure, with damaged halo and head-dress. Height 6·75 in. He wears an elaborate head-dress and numerous ornaments, including ear-rings, torque and necklace. The hair is bound by a *taenia* with rosettes in front and to either side; above, ends of ribbon bow. A fine decorative piece, recalling to mind some Roman imperial figure. Unfortunately, the surface of the stucco is very rough, and its appearance much impaired thereby. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xx, a and p. 44, no. 29. (Pl. 158, h.)

58. Jn. '16-103, b. West of stūpa D4. Upper portion of a female devotee, with face turned to her right. Height 6 in. Hair in corkscrew curls confined by fillet, with fan-tailed head-dress on top. Wears ear-rings and bracelets. Is offering flowers from a fold in her shawl. Observe that the features are slightly lop-sided, owing to the face having been turned partly towards the wall—a defect seen in a great many of these figural reliefs from the sides of stūpas, e.g. nos. 60, 61, 66 *infra*. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xx, d and p. 44, no. 32. (Pl. 158, g.)

Lay and other attendants

59. Jn. '16-545. Female figure, with head and legs missing. Height 7·37 in. Wears sleeved tunic and scarf, a necklace with pendant in front and bangles on her wrists. The tunic is fastened with a band above the waist, and falls over it much like the Greek *kolpos*. On scarf and tunic are traces of red paint. The figure is well and vigorously modelled and affords a good illustration of the dress of the period. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxii, a, and p. 47, no. 79. (Pl. 158, k.)

60. Jn. '16-5. West of main stūpa. Upper half of a male attendant, with head turned to right. Height 7·25 in. Hair curled back over forehead and ears. Wears torque and cylindrical ear-ring. What appears to be a twisted scarf is thrown over the right shoulder. *Jn. Mem.* p. 48, no. 89. (Pl. 158, *i*.)

61. Jn. '16-34. South of main stūpa. 1 ft. 6 in. below surface. Head of a devotee with elaborate head-dress and *ushnīsha*-like top-knot. Height 2·5 in. Wears ear-rings. Red paint on lips, nose and eyelids, and black paint on eyebrows, eyeballs and hair. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xx, *h*, and p. 44, no. 38. (Pl. 158, *l*.)

**Atlantes** 62. Jn. '16-F25. Upper half of an atlant, holding club or sword in right hand and strap in left. Height 7·62 in. His hair is confined within a bordered cap, and falls in wig-like masses over both ears. Note the large prominent eyes, strongly modelled brow, full, fleshy cheeks and lips. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxii, *j* and p. 48, no. 90. (Pl. 158, *n*.)

63. Jn. '16-23. Between stūpa and chapel. Stucco head of a figure with a prominent brow and cheek-bones. Height 3·37 in. A medallion on *taenia* over forehead. Left side damaged. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxiii, *g*, p. 49, no. 95. Observe the exceptional vigour and freedom in the modelling of the features. (Pl. 158, *j*.)

64. Jn. '16-161, *d*. Between main stūpa and A13. Upper half of atlant. Height 2·87 in. With wide-open eyes and thick moustache. Mace in right hand and straps in left, with which he is holding his burden. Cf. no. 26. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxii, *c*. (Pl. 158, *o*.)

65. Jn. '16-114, *b*. From north of D3. Stucco head of atlant. Height 1·75 in. Hair confined within a cap turned back in front and looped on right side. Thin buff slip and traces of red paint on lips, eyebrows, eyelids, forehead and head-dress. The eyes are wide-open and prominent, the nose flat, the chin very small. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxiii, *b*, p. 49, no. 100. Like the faces of most of the atlantes, the face is meant to be a caricature. (Pl. 158, *f*.)

66. Jn. '16-159, *b*. Between main stūpa and A10. Head of atlant, turned slightly to proper left. Height 1·75 in. Shaggy hair in coarse locks, bulbous nose and misshapen mouth, with prominent teeth. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxiii, *f*, p. 49, no. 94. (Pl. 158, *m*.)

67. Jn. '16-186, *b*. North of D4. Head of atlant. Height 1·5 in. Elephant ear on left side, deep-sunk eyes, thick flat nose, and half-open mouth. For the immense ear, cf. the head from Haddā in Afghānistān, illustrated in Hackin, *L'Œuvre de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (1922-32), fig. 23. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxiii, *e*, p. 48, no. 93. (Pl. 159, *a*.)

68. Jn. '16-4, *c*. West of main stūpa. Head of atlant. Height 1·87 in. Buff slip. Hair in ringlets, falling over forehead and ears; moustache and beard indicated by red paint. Red paint also on lips, nose, eyelids, eyebrows, and hair. Left side broken. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxiii, *k*, p. 49, no. 99. (Pl. 159, *d*.)

**Animals** 69. Jn. '16-160. Main stūpa-court. Half of a seated humped bull. Length 2·75 in. From top of Persepolitan capital. Horns missing. Traces of red paint on forehead. (Pl. 159, *b*.)

70. Jn. '16-180. Head of elephant with uplifted trunk. Height 5·25 in. Right tusk and left ear damaged. Red paint on trunk, neck, eyelids and mouth, and black paint on eyes. Buff slip. From base of the second tier of small stūpa. (Pl. 159, *c*.)

**Miscellaneous** 71. Jn. '17-1, *a*. East of stairway of main stūpa. This head (height 10·37 in.) has been reserved to the end because it has a place apart from all other heads on the site. The treatment of the hair in small ringlets suggests that it may have been meant for a Buddha, but the features conjure up some Roman portrait. Certainly there is little Indian about it. The exceptional breadth of the face and lowness of the forehead are noteworthy. The surface, unfortunately, is much damaged and the back of the head broken. *Jn. Mem.* Pl. xxiv, *a*; p. 44, no. 35. (Pl. 159, *e*.)

## STUCCO FIGURES OF THE DHARMARĀJIKĀ STŪPA

Nos. 72-85. (Cf. ch. 10, pp. 249, 254, 257, 267, 269, 271.)

72. Dh. '15-893. From inside chapel N17. Head of the Buddha belonging to a colossal standing figure. Height 13·25 in. Conventional type, with hair taken back from forehead. Finely modulated mouth. Circular dimple in upper lip; highly arched eyebrows; eyelids half-closed. *Urṇā* originally painted on plaster, not in relief or inlaid. Cf. p. 269 and nos. 49, 50 *supra*; A.S.R. (1915), Pl. III, g. (Pl. 159, f.) Buddhas

73. Dh. '14-824. From B23. A fine Buddha head of conventional type with hair waved sideways from central parting. Height 11·25 in. Face proportionately broader and nose shorter than in preceding example. *Urṇā* originally painted on forehead. Illustrated in A.S.R. (1914-15), Pl. IX, a.

74. Dh. '13-1,536. From east of G3. Head of the Buddha. Height 8 in. *Ushnīsha* missing. *Urṇā* mark in relief. Upper eyelids more open and mouth more fleshy than in preceding examples. Base of nostrils emphasised by impressed lines. Cf. p. 257 (1) *supra*; A.S.R. (1912-13), Pl. VI, b and p. 20, no. 1. (Pl. 159, g.)

75. Dh. '12-1,955. From stūpa J, west side. Stucco head of the Buddha with elongated face, highly developed forehead, oblique eyes and eyebrows. Height 8·37 in. Slightly smiling mouth, with full under-lip. Conventional curly hair indicated by small incised circlets. *Ushnīsha* and ears missing. Traces of red paint on lips. Buff slip. (Pl. 159, j.)

76. Dh. '16-352. From north-west side of stūpa Q1. Stucco head of Buddha, with eyes smaller than usual and eyebrows flatter. Height 6·87 in. *Ushnīsha* missing; tip of nose and ear-lobes damaged. Lime-wash. No *urṇā*. (Pl. 159, h.)

77. Dh. '12. From chapel B12. Stucco head of Bodhisattva with face slightly more elongated than usual and well-rounded chin. Height 9 in. Eyes half-closed. Hair disposed in strands falling from the *ushnīsha* and ending in curls suggestive of bronze technique; round the forehead it is confined in a circlet. *Urṇā* mark in relief. Cf. p. 249 *supra*; A.S.R. (1912), Pl. V, c. (Pl. 159, i.) Bodhisattva

78. Dh. '16-918. From debris of stūpa U1. Stucco head with skull-cap. Height 6 in. Observe the fleshiness and mobility of the features and the relative breadth of the nose, which is less conventionalised than in the Buddha and Bodhisattva heads. The pupils of the eyes are rather prominent. Left ear and rosette of cap are missing. (Pl. 160, a.) Lay and other attendants

79. Dh. '14-686. From chapel R3. Stucco head of a lay-figure, intended to be seen from the right side. Height 3·85 in. Hair and ears damaged. Lime-wash. Buff slip. Observe the well-arched eyebrows, open horizontal eye, somewhat short nose and long upper-lip, with a rather pronounced under-lip. The expression is a very homely and natural one. Cf. p. 254 *supra*; A.S.R. (1914-15), Pl. VI, d and p. 6, no. 2. (Pl. 160, b.)

80. Dh. '14-666. From debris west of main stūpa. Stucco head of a lay-figure, intended to be seen from proper right. Height 4·25 in. Wears moustache. Eyes deep-set, and nose broad at base. Kerchief covering the head and knotted over right ear, like skull-cap. Buff slip. Traces of red paint on kerchief. (Pl. 160, c.)

81. Dh. '13-1,800. From P4. Stucco head wearing elaborate cap with jewelled rosette on right side. Height 6·37 in. Features somewhat conventional, suggesting a Bodhisattva or *deva*; eyes slightly oblique, modelling of cheeks delicate, chin small; lips full and pleasing. Buff slip. Traces of paint on cap, rosette and lips; nose damaged. Cf. p. 267 *supra*; A.S.R. (1912), Pl. VI, e. (Pl. 160, d.)

82. Dh. '14-174. From R2, debris. The figure wears a *dhotī* and shawl and is seated in the *lilāsana* attitude, holding in the left hand a bowl containing some uncertain object. Height 6·75 in. Round the neck are two necklaces. Right foot missing. It is evidently the figure of an

attendant from the right side of a Buddha or Bodhisattva image. Cf. p. 254 *supra*; *A.S.R.* (1914), Pl. vi, b. (Pl. 160, e.)

82, a. Dh. '15-1,490. From east gate of main stūpa; 2 ft. below surface. Torso and right leg of standing male figure. Height 7·25 in. Well modelled. Nude, except for scarf and collar. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1915-16), p. 8, no. 3. (Pl. 156, b.)

Monks and ascetics  
83. Dh. '13-189. From north-east of main stūpa. Stucco head of monk with bald head, shaggy eyebrows and wrinkles on cheeks and forehead. Height 5 in. Deep-set, wide-open eyes. Tip of nose and ears damaged. Observe the dreamy, distant look obtained by drawing down the under-lids of the eyes. Cf. *A.S.R.* (1912), Pl. vi, d. (Pl. 160, f.)

Amorini  
84. Dh. '15-1,141. From north side of stūpa P8. Height 4·75 in. Stucco head of an ascetic with drawn features, deep-set eyes and haggard expression. Ear-lobes protracted. Right side of skull missing. Cf. p. 271 *supra*; *A.S.R.* (1915), Pl. iii, f. (Pl. 160, g.)

85. Dh. '14-552. From chapel P4. Stucco head of boy, shaven except for three tufts of hair over ears and centre of the forehead. Height 3·5 in. Ear-pendant in left ear. Right ear missing. Probably a garland-bearing Amorino. Cf. p. 267 *supra*; *A.S.R.* (1914), Pl. XII, 14. Closely resembling it are two other heads also from the same site, viz.: Dh. '16-12 (height 3·5 in.) and Dh. '16-295 (height 3·25 in.). (Pl. 160, h.)

#### STUCCO FIGURES OF KĀLAWĀN

Nos. 86-96. (Cf. ch. 14, pp. 324-5, 332.)

Buddhas  
86, a, b, c. Three heads of Buddha images struck from the same mould, but exhibiting slight differences in the finishing of the hair and other details. The facial type represented by these heads, with its rather short nose, full cheeks and chin, and pronouncedly curved lips, is characteristic of many of the stucco sculptures found at Kālawān, as well as of one or two from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa, but not represented at other sites.

86, a=Kn. '31-86. Found to the north of A4; 3 ft. 6 in. below surface. Height 5·5 in. Nose and left eye and cheek damaged.

86, b=Kn. '31-234. From east of A4; 5 ft. below surface. Height 6 in. Tip of nose and right ear-lobe damaged. (Pl. 160, i.)

86, c=Kn. '31-464. From south of A4; 4 ft. 6 in. below surface. Height 5·6 in. (Pl. 161, a.)

Bodhisattvas  
87. Kn. '31-141. From south of A7; 3 ft. 6 in. below surface. Height 5 in. Head of Bodhisattva with *ushnīsha* and long hair taken back behind the ears. Wears large ear-pendants. Front of hair missing. For facial type, see above, no. 86, a, b, c. (Pl. 161, b.)

88. Kn. '31-431. From east of A12; 6 ft. 6 in. below surface. Head of Bodhisattva wearing ear-pendants and fillet band over hair, with small peak above. The expression is gentle but weak. Height 5 in. (Pl. 161, c.)

89. Kn. '31-473. From west of A4; 8 ft. below surface. Statue of Bodhisattva wearing *dhotī*, shawl, necklace and neckband. Head and legs below knees missing. Height 14 in. In his left hand he holds an uncertain object, probably a flask; if so, the Bodhisattva portrayed may be Maitreya. The modelling is refined and effective, though the edges of the draperies tend to be slightly cumbersome. (Pl. 161, e.)

Lay-worshippers and attendants  
90. Kn. '31-136. From south of A6; 3 ft. below surface. Head of a lay-figure. Height 3·5 in. The hair, which falls over the forehead, is finished with a fringe of curls or braided border. On the crown is a cap with band and frontlet attached—the latter in the form of a cylinder, intended probably to contain a relic. (Pl. 161, d.)

91. Kn. '31-287. From south-east of A14; 4 ft. below surface. Head of figure with Persian(?) head-dress and lappet covering the ears. Height 4·25 in. Broken on left side. Observe the large eyes and mouth and the full cheeks and chin, typical of sculptures at Kālawān. Cf. nos. 86, 87 *supra*. (Pl. 161, f.)

92. Kn. '31-442. From west of A 4; 4 ft. below surface. Height 5·3 in. Head of a lay-worshipper with ear-pendants and fillet over the hair. Below fillet, in front, is a crescent, and above it, a small peak. Tip of nose and right side of hair damaged. (Pl. 161, g.)

93. Kn. '31-507. From east of A 12; 3 ft. below surface. Height 3·6 in. Head of ascetic(?) with hair coiled on crown of head, moustache and beard. The eyes are large and prominent and the lips full. Traces of a yellowish slip and of red paint are observable on the beard, moustache and cheek. There is a breadth and freedom in the modelling of this head which distinguishes a number of the Kālawān sculptures, notably nos. 86, 87, 91. (Pl. 161, i.)

94. Kn. '31-440. From west of A 4; 4-7 ft. below surface. Head of ascetic with long hair drawn back over ears, *ushṇīsha*-like topknot and fillet over brows. Height 5·6 in. Wears pendants, moustache and beard. Tip of nose and front of fillet damaged. If this is a Brāhmanical ascetic, it is not clear why he should have a fillet and ear-rings. Observe the same wide-open eyes and full lips as in the previous example. (Pl. 161, h.)

95. Kn. '31-446. From west of A 4; 4 ft. below surface. Head of grotesque atlant figure or of one of the warriors from Māra's army. Height 3·25 in. Observe the protruding teeth and prominent eyeballs and rough matted hair, standing on end. Tuft of hair at each end of the lips. Traces of red paint on hair. Chin damaged. (Pl. 161, j.)

96. Kn. '31-300. From west of A 4; 2 ft. below surface. Height 10 in. Part of body and legs of a warrior, wearing a *dhotī* and coat of mail. Probably a warrior from Māra's army. (Pl. 161, k.)

Ascetics and  
monks

Atlant

Warrior

#### STUCCO FIGURES OF GIRI

Nos. 97, 98. (Cf. ch. 15, p. 345.)

97. Gr. '27-329. From near the southern outer wall. 6 ft. 2 in. below surface. Head of the Buddha with chrome yellow slip over the face. Height 7·75 in. Traces of black paint on the brows and of red on lips. Left side of head damaged and *ushṇīsha* missing. A very conventional type, of little distinction. (Pl. 161, l.)

Buddha

98. Gr. '27-321. From main stūpa, panel 5; 4 ft. 4 in. below surface. Head of a Bodhisattva with ornamental head-dress bunched into a topknot on the crown. Height 9 in. Left ear and tip of nose damaged. (Pl. 161, n.)

Bodhisattva

#### STUCCO FIGURES OF BHĀMĀLA

Nos. 99-102. (Cf. ch. 22, pp. 392, 396.)

99. Bl. '29-340. Panel from the plinth on the south-east side of the main stūpa, 28 x 18 in. It depicts the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāna*. Between two Corinthian pilasters the Buddha is lying at full-length on his right side. Behind him are four mourning figures, of whom the one near his feet seems to be a woman. Below, on the face of the plinth, are four other small figures, of which the one near the head is a Dhyāni Buddha, and the one near the feet a devotee kneeling with folded hands. The two central figures appear to have swooned with grief at the sight of their dying Master. This is the only stucco panel from this part of India which depicts the Buddha's death-scene. (Pls. 118, b; 161, m; the latter showing the relief as set up in the museum.)

Dying  
Buddha

100. Bl. '29-56. From debris on the east steps. 3 ft. below surface. Head of a lay-worshipper(?) of exceptionally good workmanship. Height 5·5 in. But observe the inordinate height of the forehead and the relative smallness of the eyes, nose and mouth. The modelling is free and plastic, the technique being that of terra-cotta rather than stucco. This is very noticeable in the curls of the hair, which are made separately and stuck on, as they commonly are in terra-cotta heads. (Pl. 161, o.)

Lay-  
worshippers(?)

101. Bl. '29-55. From debris on the east steps. 3 ft. below surface. Height 6·37 in. Head of a lay-worshipper(?) with conical cap or helmet over long hair. The sparse moustache and oblique eyes suggest a Mongolian type. The nose is damaged and left ear missing. There is a hole in the neck intended for a wooden dowel for securing the head to the body. (Pl. 161, *p.*)

102. Bl. '29-193. From north of the east steps; 12 ft. below surface. Head of a lay-worshipper. Height 5·62 in. Wears moustache and fillet band across the forehead. Right ear and part of hair missing. There is a dowel-hole in the neck for securing the head to the body. The eyes are wide-open and prominent; the eyebrows highly arched and well marked, the nose small and bulbous, the cheeks full and the under-lip loose. Possibly it is a portrait head. (Pl. 161, *q.*)