

SHOSHIN KUWAYAMA

Tapa Shotor and Lalma: Aspects of Stupa Court at Hadda

Following the various amateur excavations in Jalalabad of the last century, which inevitably took only relics from the centers of stupas, the importance of the Buddhist sanctuaries at Hadda, Jalalabad, first became known because of archaeological work of Alfred Foucher and André Godard *. Subsequent extensive digs by Jules Barthoux made Hadda famous as a center of stucco sculptures, and yet infamous too for his concealing the fact that schist sculptures also figured among the finds. Gradually scholars have come to realize just how far his published excavation reports fall short of modern standards. Lacking any description whatsoever of excavation techniques, they cause anyone intending to re-examine the sanctuaries afresh to encounter many difficulties. Every one who therefore turns his eyes to examine the spots themselves will be distressed to see desolate ruins, which have not been protected in any way since Barthoux left the area.

The prolonged excavations and restorations at Tapa Shotor, Hadda, therefore, not only help to make up for deficiencies resulting from past digs at other sites in the area but also, because well-executed specimens of clay images are still intact in every niche and chapel, to enlarge our knowledge concerning sculpture at Hadda. It is the clay figures at Tapa Shotor that shed light on Buddhist plastic art. The sculptures found here should be compared with those found at the Basawal cave monasteries, Tepe Maranjan, Gul Dara in Logar and Tapa Sardar in the south of the Hindu Kush, and Fondukistan in the mountains, or even with those at Surkh Kotal and known from the sites beyond the Oxus. In Jalalabad too, we have evidence for the import of sculptures from Mathura. Two fragments of Mathura sandstone depicting drapery were collected by me both in 1964 and 1972 at Shah Nasr Ghundai of Chahar Bagh, some 10 km. to

* Numbering of stupas at Tapa Shotor in this article is that given by Mustamindi (1969a) and the designation of niches and chapels such as A, B, D, ... is given by me as done in the original Japanese text.

the west of modern Jalalabad bazaar, where the capital of ancient Nagara-hāra may have been located. The importance of Jalalabad therefore is that Buddhists there decorated their temples with images made of various kinds of materials such as schist, stucco, clay, limestone, and even sandstone from Mathura. No Buddhist sanctuaries elsewhere provide us with examples of Buddhist art in these different media.

It should be particularly noted, moreover, that Tapa Shotor was the first site to be excavated by a team of all Afghan archaeologists. Shahibai Mustamindi began excavating the site during the period 1965–1973, and Zemaryalai Tarzi conducted the last six campaigns in 1974–1978 with exemplary thoroughness. Thus this sanctuary, so unusual in many ways, had been put by 1976 into the context of modern Afghan archaeology, or more generally, of Gandharan archaeology. Detailed site reports, apart from a few summaries published by both the then Directors General of Archaeology, Afghan Institute of Archaeology, Kabul (Mustamindi 1969a: 15f., 1969b: 119f., 1971: 43f.; Tarzi 1976: 381f.), might well have been expected. Yet all those knowledgeable about Afghan archaeology realize that, since 1980, the site has been destroyed.

In 1967, when the stupas in the courtyard had almost been entirely uncovered, the present writer, then completing the third and last campaign of the excavations at Chaqalaq Tepe near Kunduz, was given generous permission by Mustamindi to examine the site freely with the help of Mr. Ehsan Aram, a member of the above-mentioned Institute. Observations of the stupa court at this extraordinary site suggested comparisons with that of Lalma. The Lalma site was excavated in 1965 by the Kyoto University Archaeological Mission to Afghanistan under the direction of the late Prof. Seiichi Mizuno of the Kyoto University Institute for Humanistic Studies, to which I also belong (Mizuno 1968). With the permission of Mustamindi who kindly supplied with necessary photographs, my views and observations about Tapa Shotor were published in Japanese in No. 45 of the *Tohogakuho* (The Journal of Oriental Studies), Kyoto, 1973, under the title 'Hadda Saikin-no Hakkutsu-ni kansuru Mondai' (Several Problems concerning the Recent Excavations at Hadda), with intention of introducing this Buddhist temple of vital importance to the Japanese scholarly world.

This short note, published by an archaeologist who affectionately thinks of Afghanistan as his second home, both archaeologically and personally, is an English adaptation of the original article with slight modifications mainly resulting from the passage of time and the still increasing evidences from Chinese classical documents of which I have for these several years been in search. This version, moreover, would not come about without the encouragement of Prof. Maurizio Taddei who is deeply con-

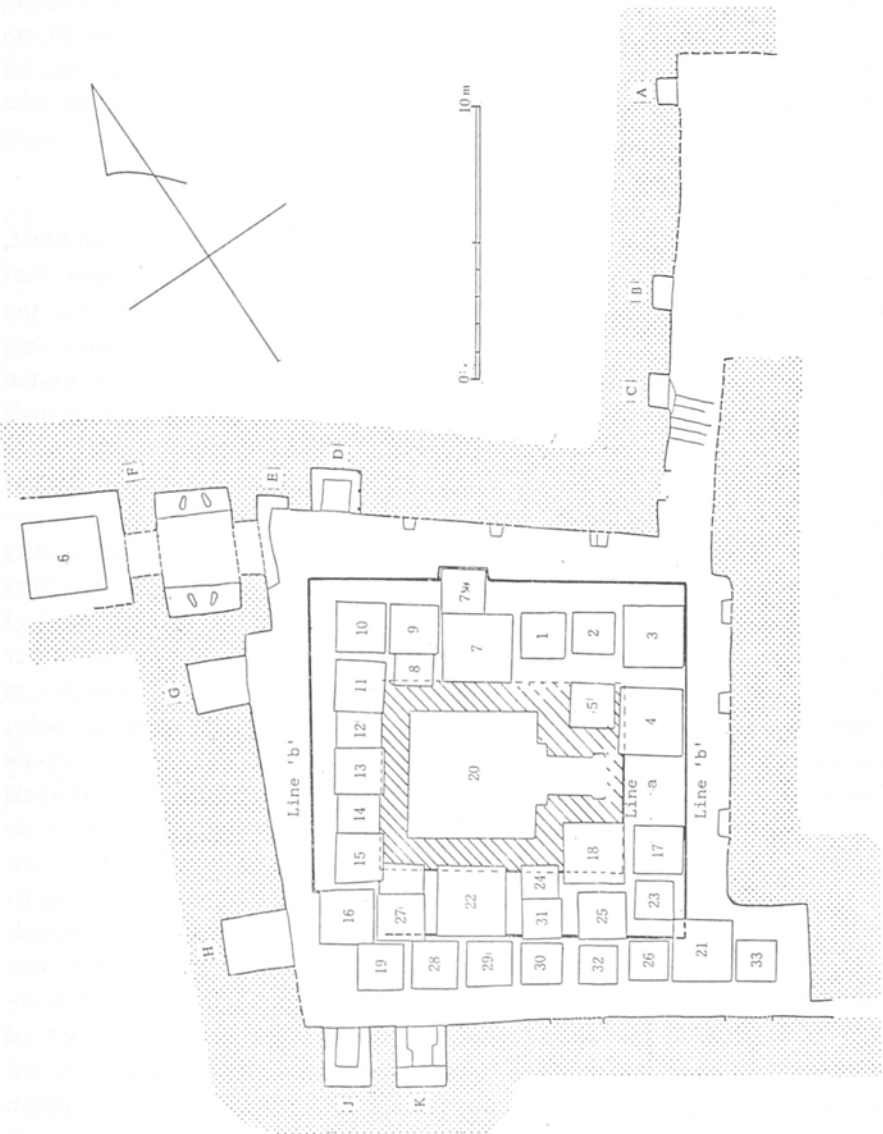


Fig. 1 – Plan of the Stupa Court at Tapa Shotor (After Mustamindi 1969a).

cerned, too, about current situation in Afghan archaeology where any information collected in the past is now vitally important and virtually irreplaceable. Hence to him many thanks are due. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Zmaryalai Tarzi, now in Strasbourg, for his advice during my stays in Afghanistan and also for his earlier suggestion to do this translation.

Stupa Court

The main stupa at Tapa Shotor, square in plan and facing southeast, is surrounded on all four sides by rows of small subsidiary stupas that are separated from the main stupa by a procession path. Around the rows of small stupas there is another procession path which is also surrounded by rows of chapels limiting the area of the stupa. All of the small stupas had been uncovered by 1967, but only seven of the chapels were visible. The whole courtyard is only accessible from outside through a narrow and short passage at the east corner (Fig. 1, Mustamindi 1969a: fig. 2).

The cores of all stupas including the main stupa are constructed usually of the squared conglomerates, but sometimes of boulders from riverbeds laid in mud. The facings of the plinths and drums are composed of schist slabs, carved sandstone, or squared limestone. In most cases either two or three kinds of stone are associated in one stupa: for example, in stupa No. 3 the base mouldings and pilasters are formed of schist slabs, and the niches between pilasters are carved out of a block of sandstone. The faces of stupas are coated, as usual, with stucco, while the chapels and the images enshrined in them are made of mud bricks and clay respectively. So, the stupas and the chapels contrast strongly with each other.

In Taxila and the Peshawar plain as well as Swat valleys, Buddhist temples are without exception masoned. Even at Basawal the chapels built of schist slabs seem to have housed both stucco and clay images (Mizuno 1971: 109–111, pls. 17–22). In the district to the west of Jalalabad and south of the Hindu Kush the main stupas are always built of stone, even if the temple has chapels and monastic buildings constructed of mud bricks. The example of Top-e Rustam mud brick stupa at Balkh makes it clear that stone is not the only suitable material for building stupas. Whether stupas were constructed of stone or mud bricks may have depended on local doctrinal tradition or regional variation in the accessibility of materials.

Along the east wall, which limits the stupa court and measures 14.8 m. long, were excavated three low bench-like projections of similar dimension, square or trapezoidal in plan, laid on the floor at regular intervals of about 3 m. Similar but larger projections, three in number, are also set

along the southwest wall. These might be thought to be pedestals for images, but they are flush with the wall, and no trace of anything on top of them remains. Similar pedestals are found at Tapa Kalan, where Barthoux reported finding only the feet of the images (Barthoux 1933: 115–116. See the plan of Tapa Kalan.). The use of these objects at Tapa Shotor is still open to further inquiry.

Chapels

First of all, chapel D deserves particular mention because of various important features. Its width measures 1.8 m. at the front and 1.9 m. at the back with a depth of 1.6 m. On the floor, which is a little higher than the level of the procession path, is a 40 cm. wide low bench set along the side and back walls. Each wall is divided into upper and lower parts by a horizontal band projected from the wall (Plate I). On the band are standing the square pilasters carved out of mud, the presumably 'Corinthian' capitals having already been demolished. The extant shafts of pilasters, which are supported by a socle consisting of coarse layers of mouldings, are simply decorated with a usual pair of vertical incised lines terminating at both ends with a concave incision.

For the lower portion of the wall still indispensable are the pilasters that support the pointed arches reaching the band. A standing Buddha image was enshrined under each arched space. Under one of the arches his halo and bare feet only are extant and under another his upper body is missing (Plate II). The ornamental flutings on the shaft look as if they were cast, the topmost of them turning over in form of flower petals. The base is trapezoidal in elevation form, horizontally incised with the two rush lines that recall torus and scotia mouldings. The appearance of the walls of this chapel thus leads us to suppose that the composition is more similar to that of some of the caves in Bamiyan rather than to the outer decoration of still standing huge stupas at Top Dara, Shewaki, Shankardar, and so on.

Also in this chapel, the triangular space formed by the band and two neighbouring arches is filled with an eagle-like bird with his wings half-extended and with feathers depicted in great detail (Plate I). Birds in 'Gandharan' reliefs are usually carved on both sides of a gable (Ingholt 1957: No. 168), and there are few examples where they fill such a space as found on the Bimaran casket (Wilson 1841: pl. IV). The specimens close to Tapa Shotor are found in Gul Dara monastery in Logar (Fussman and Le Berre 1976: 19–20, pls. XXXVIII–XL, designate the birds as *garuḍa*), and, even closer, on the front of the square plinth of fire altar in the shrine B at Surkh Kotal (Schlumberger et al. 1983: pl. 69, Nos.

235 and 236). The Surkh Kotal birds, also in clay, are cut off from the breast up and they almost reach the top of the pilasters between which the birds stand. Their current condition as published by the above authors suggests that the pilasters had originally supported two arches, i.e. that the arches and the upper halves of the birds have since been cut off.

The chapels tentatively called J and K and located at the southwest corner of the courtyard also deserve mention. Both measure 2.2 m. deep by 2.0 m. wide and are covered with the barrel-vaulted roofs, which are mostly decayed but traceable along the top of the remaining side walls.

As far as we know, the real barrel-vault does not seem to have been known to the builders who designed Buddhist monuments in the Peshawar plain and farther east. In every site where the ceiling is structured as a semi-circle in cross-section, schist slabs are vertically laid one over another to form a tapering top (Foucher 1095: 109 f.; Mizuno 1978: pls. 56-57). In addition, only the end that is destined to face outward when the slabs are piled together is sharply chiselled to make a shape of a single-edged blade, and so achieves an effect of gentle curving. In short, architects were familiar with corbelling technique, but not that of the real barrel-vault. This is also the case with the construction of domes in the Peshawar plain and beyond as depicted on the ceilings of the chapels in Takht-e Bahi, Ranighat, and Thareli as well as sites in Swat. No squinch-arches are found in these districts.

The excavations at Tapa Shotor done subsequent to my first visit have shown that some of the corridors in the monastic quarter are covered with barrel-vaulted roofs, and this type of ceiling is known from another site in Jalalabad (Mizuno 1970: pl. 32, Nos. 2 and 3). In the districts west of Jalalabad the dome (herewith 'squinch-arch') and the vault are usual device for ceilings. Hence Jalalabad can be thought of as the easternmost boundary of this architecture.

The Buddha Dissuading the Nāga King (Chapel H)

This chapel deserves special mention because all the images are carved in round as those in other niches on the walls of monastic halls are and because their composition is not a random collection of different figures but represents one of the legends from the Buddha's life.

The chapel located near the westernmost corner of the courtyard is a small oblong in plan, measuring 2.9 m. deep by 2.4 m. wide, and extant walls reach a height of about 2 m. Regrettably a fire caused the beams of ceiling to fall to the floor and the damage to the clay images extended even to their wooden cores.

The restored images and the cavities that once contained images sug-

gest a scene from a story to which a fountain, or a pond, or even a lake is closely related. The sculptors succeeded in effectively utilizing both walls and floor to express a water scene; lotus leaves are trembling in whirling flow of water in which a kind of fish, among which a two-headed one is particularly noticeable, swimming from the back wall to the floor (Plate III). Against such background about fourteen figures were performing a legendary scene. The seated Buddha had completely decayed. On the back wall only he leaves a trefoil-shaped aureole of his, within which some cavities having supported the image by means of tenons remain and around which are carved in mud heaps of flames that look identical to the whirls and flows of water depicted below (Plate III). In front of the Buddha, two characters seem to have originally been laid face-to-face in the center of the floor. But only one figure to the left of the viewer remains, and he is easily identified as a *nāga*, as a serpent is creeping up on his back from the floor (Plate IV). Another crucial character in this scene is a figure whose upper half is decayed. He is standing facing to and along the left wall with his legs straddled, and with his short tunic tucked up at his waist, and with his left arm vigorously stretched out (Plate IV). His gesture, his clothes, and his location suggest that he may be identified with Vajrapāṇī. Whoever the other figure opposite to the *nāga* may be (possibly a *nāgiṇī*), the subject shown by at least two restored images, *nāga* and Vajrapāṇī, and by the flow of water is definitely one of the legends where a *nāga* (or a *nāga* king) converted himself to the Buddha's faith.

Among various legends in which the *nāga* figures as a chief actor, the most common in 'Gandharan' reliefs is the *nāga* Kālīka who worshipped the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha because he realized that Siddhārtha's enlightenment was imminent. The scene in this chapel, however, does not give any specific evidence suggesting this interpretation.

In the North-West one of the most popular and localized stories was the legend of malicious *nāgas* who were in turn to be persuaded by the Tathāgata to cease their evil ways. For example, two legends from the *Ta Tang Siyui* (Records of Western Countries by Xuan Zang) can be singled out as closely related to this in geographical context. The following is one of the stories for which Nagarāhāra was famous.

About 20 *li* to the southwest of the city Dīpaṃkara we come to a small ridge, where there is a saṅghārāma. (...) To the southwest of this saṅghārāma a deep torrent rushes from a high point on the hill and scatters its waters in cascading falls. The mountain faces stand like walls. On the eastern side of one is a great cavern, where the *nāga* Gopāla resides. (...).

In old times, when the Tathāgata was in the world, this *nāga* was a shepherd who used to provide the king with milk and cream. On one

occasion he unexpectedly failed to serve him politely. Already blamed for this falling of his, he bore anger in his heart, purchased an offering of flowers with gold coins, and proceeded to the predicative stupa with the prayer that he might become a destructive nāga so as to afflict the country and injure the king. Then going to a cliff, he threw himself down and died. Fortwith he became a great nāga king, occupied this cavern, and wanted to go out from there in order to accomplish his original wicked purpose.

When this intention had risen within the nāga, the Tathāgata just observed the exact object of the nāga and was moved with pity that the people in this country were about to be destroyed. He came from middle India via his spiritual power to where the nāga was.

When the nāga saw the Tathāgata, his murderous purpose was stayed, and he accepted the precept not to kill and vowed to defend the true law. (...). (Original translation from the classical Chinese).

In the section regarding Uḍḍiyāna in the same book is a story of the conversion of the nāga Apalāla.

To the northeast of the city Mengjieli (Mingora) we enter a great mountain and arrive at the fountain of nāga Apalāla. (...) This nāga, in the time of Kāśyapa Buddha, was born as a man and was called Kingki (Gaṅgi). He was deeply learned in the ways of magic and used magic to restrain the power of the wicked nāgas so that they could not afflict the country with violent storm of rain. Thanks to him, the people were thus able to reap harvest and, both having a sense of gratitude and being influenced by his virtue, made an offering of grain collected one *dou* per house as a yearly tribute. After a lapse of some years there were some who failed to pay their tribute. Gaṅgi was so angry with them that he prayed that he might become a poisonous nāga and injure them with storms of rain and wind which would destroy their crops. After the end of his life he became the nāga of this country. As the result a fountain emitted a white stream which damaged the fertility of the soil. Śākya-muni-Tathāgata, his great pity guiding the world, was moved with compassion for the people of this country who were singularly afflicted with this calamity and intended to descend to this country in order to convert the violent nāga. When Vajrapāṇi beat with his weapon against the mountain cliffs, the nāga king, trembling with terror, came out of the fountain and converted himself to the Buddha's faith. Listening to the Buddha who preached the *dharma*, his heart became pure and his faith was awakened. The Tathāgata forthwith forbade him to injure the crops. (Original translation from the classical Chinese)

These stories in the *Ta Tang Siyuji* seem to be the closest to our theme. Mustamindi opined that the conversion of the nāga Gopāla is the theme in this chapel, admitting that the scene at Tapa Shotor is not a faithful version of it. His identification solely depends on the facts that the cavern actually existed in Jalalabad at the time of Xuan Zang, and that Tapa Shotor is nearby.

In the Gopāla story told in this Chinese document, Vajrapāṇi does not

appear. Another version of the story is recorded in the *sūtra* named the *Guanbo-Sanmei-Hai Jing* (The *Buddhānusmṛtisamādhisāgarasūtra*). This *sūtra*, usually believed to have been translated from the original Indian text, is supposed to have been edited in China in early 5th century by Buddhahadra who was born at Nuoheli (Nagarahāra) in North India, according to the *Biographies of Virtuous Priests* edited by Hui Jiao, and learned Buddhism in Gandhara and its environs. So, it is highly possible that Buddhahadra was so well informed of the Gopāla legend as to describe it very long and in great detail. Vajrapāṇi in this *sūtra* vigorously sways his weapon in order to awake the wicked nāga and his family as well as the rākṣasas to convert themselves to the Buddha's faith. In the Gopāla legends of both sources, however, Gopāla is linked with a natural background of steep cliffs and falls as well as caverns. The scene of this chapel at Tapa Shotor does not show such circumstances but rather a lotus pond or a fountain. The *Sūtra* tells that the Tathāgata entered into the wall of the cavern and was seated in meditation at the request of the nāga who would otherwise become wicked even after his conversion. The seated image on the back wall at this chapel might reflect such a legend, but we cannot be sure for this interpretation.

Mustamindi rejected the Apalāla legend as a possibility since it had been told in the Swat valley, not in Jalalabad. We have to keep in mind that even though not a single specimen of sculpture showing the Dipamkara Jātaka has ever been found in Jalalabad, the action of this Jātaka took place there. It is necessary, too, to remember the fact that the reliefs or stelae depicting this Jātaka have mainly been produced (or at least found) in the neighbouring districts like Kāpīśi and Gandhara. With this in mind the Apalāla legend should not be excluded as a possibility for the scene chapel H shows. In this connection we refer to a paragraph on Apalāla's conversion translated from the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* by J. Przyluski (1941: 511), as cited by Giuseppe Tucci (1958: 227). The *Vinaya* says that since Apalāla did not show any willingness to be subdued by the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi smashed with his *vajra* the mountain overlooking the lake where stood the palace of the nāga; the Tathāgata sat in meditation, then entered the meditation of fire so that from every side there was nothing but a heap of flames. This version also seems to be closer to our Buddha and scene, especially in the illustration of the Buddha sitting among flames.

Classification of Stupas

Small stupas, thirty-one in number, are supported by square plinths classifiable into two types determined by process of composition: a single

lofty plinth and a two-layered one with a high plinth on a low base. Mustamindi divided the stupas into two chronological groups, depending on their location, structural characteristics, and stylistic details. According to him, those in the earlier group (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 9–11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 25–27, 31 and 32. See Fig. 1) are laid more closely to the main stupa. The cores of these stupas are of stones joined together with mud, and those of pilasters are of schist slabs covered with stucco. The top of the central acanthus leaf of the capital is turned downwards with a central vein that has many horizontal nodes notched in it (Plate V). Of the later group (Nos. 4, 7, 7 bis, 8, 12, 14, 17, 19, 23, 24, 28, 29 and 30) the pilasters and base mouldings are chiselled out of sandstone blocks and then finished off with a coat of stucco. The schist slabs are not included in this type of stupas. The leaves of the capital are arranged in double layers, the upper reaching the abacus without turning downwards, and the shaft is usually incised with two vertical parallel lines closed at each end with a semi-circular line (Plate VI).

Mustamindi maintained that the acanthus leaves with a notched vein and the incised lines of the shaft could provide clues for dating each group: the former originated from those found at Ai Khanum (Bernard 1968: pl. XIII) and the latter were stylistically similar to those excavated at Surkh Kotal (Schlumberger et al. 1983: pl. 7). According to him, the techniques characteristic of different sites in different periods must have been transmitted to Tapa Shotor in its earlier and later periods respectively. This is a forced explanation of the chronology of small stupas. So the following is a list of the details of small stupas as I observed them.

(1) The group identified as earlier by Mustamindi:

- No. 1: The drum is faced with small squared limestone, but all details including brackets, cornices, pilasters and mouldings are of schist slabs. The facing of the plinth cannot be visible, as it is covered with stucco.
- No. 2: Same as No. 1.
- No. 3: The lower plinth is completely covered with a coat of stucco, so the facing and details cannot be detected. The pilasters and mouldings of the second plinth are made of schist slabs, but the niche between them is carved out of sandstone.
- No. 9: As for the lower plinth, the sides are faced with slightly finer rubble of limestone and finished off with stucco, while the pilasters, the trefoil-shaped arches between them, and the mouldings as well as cornices are built of schist slabs, then finished off with stucco. The shaft of the pilaster is decorated with vertical incised parallel lines with an incised semi-circle at both ends.

- No. 10: The walls of the lower plinth are neatly faced with small blocks of limestone. The techniques used in the other details are the same as in No. 9, but without decoration on the pilasters (Plate V).
- No. 11: All details are schist slabs, while the facings cannot be observed because the seated Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are still intact.
- No. 13: Same as No. 11.
- No. 16: Same as No. 10.
- No. 18: The sides and all details are built of schist slabs, while stupa No. 5 to the opposite of No. 18 is faced with limestone blocks, and the details are of schist slabs.
- Nos. 26 and 32: The pilasters are carved out of sandstone blocks, and the mouldings and cornices are of schist slabs.

(2) The group identified as later by Mustamindi:

- No. 4: The four sides of the lower plinth are faced with dressed blocks of limestone, roughly squared, the interstices between them being filled with neat piles of small pieces of limestone. The cornice and the base mouldings are composed of the sandstone blocks worked out in great detail. Some of the pilasters are carved out of one block, the others being fixed together on the base mouldings after each part, such as the capital, the shaft and the base, were separately carved (Plate VI).
- No. 7: The core of the cornice and pilaster is of schist slabs. The other details cannot be detected.
- No. 12: Certainly this stupa is later than both stupas Nos. 11 and 13, as it is inserted into between them. The only characteristic detail I noticed is that the cornice of both plinths are made of schist slabs.
- No. 14: This lies between Nos. 13 and 15 and is later than them. The core is of rubble and river boulders. The facing is untraceable for the second plinth. Nevertheless, the base mouldings are laid with schist slabs, and the trapezoidal niches on them are carvings of sandstone blocks. The schist slabs are used for the cornice of the lower plinth.
- No. 19: The facing and the pilasters are cut from different sandstone blocks.
- No. 28: Same as above.
- No. 29: The facing is of schist slabs, while only the pilasters are carved out of sandstone.

The examination of small stupas reveals that the classification given by Mustamindi is quite unacceptable. The associations of many kinds of stone and their usage do not seem to point to such a simple conclusion, albeit a tentative one. To make his scheme even less valid, the ornamen-

tation of incised lines on pilasters is, according to him, an indication of the later group, but it occurs on stupa No. 9, which he included in the earlier group.

Composition of the Main Stupas

All that is left of the main stupa at Tapa Shotor in its composition is a high square-shaped plinth, 4.7 m. square in plan, approached from the southeast by a long flight of steps. The superstructure including the dome and the drums has now disappeared, but the lofty plinth is still standing at its almost full height with no stucco coating over the top portion that has been damaged. The core of the structure is of conglomerate with its facing of the same material covered with coarse stucco. The figural decoration on the northeast (right), northwest (back) and southwest sides of the plinth consists of a standing Buddha, cast in stucco without attendants, occupying the bays between each pair of pilasters. Six pilasters divide the sides but the façade into five bays.

Turning our eyes to the Lalma site, we notice that the main stupa there has a high plinth of the same appearance as that of Tapa Shotor. It measures 8.5 m. square in plan. The core of the structure and the facing are of blocks of conglomerate. The remnants of the sides are observed to have been coated with lime plaster, which is more whitish and finer than that used at Tapa Shotor. On some bays, however, coarser plaster mixed with sand and similar in quality and colour of material to that of Tapa Shotor was used, after the original fine face had been cut off along the pilasters with a sharp knife. A marked contrast between the repaired bays and the original ones on each side can be seen even from a long way off (Mizuno 1968: pls. 18, No. 6 and 19, No. 1). The figural decoration between each pair of pilasters dividing each side except the front one into seven bays is originally a Buddha, standing on a low socle supported with base mouldings of the plinth, with smaller Buddhas who also stand as attendants on each side of the central Buddha and are fixed a little higher than the base mouldings (Mizuno 1968: pls. 20–21). Though the type of coated plaster at Tapa Shotor and Lalma differs, the style and expression of the Buddha images on both stupas show close similarities. Attention should be paid to the bays repaired with coarse plaster, where the figures are neither carved nor cast but drawn in brush work of coarser vermilion lines that have almost faded away. Thus at Lalma following its renovation the statues in stucco on the main stupa were replaced by this type of drawing. The coarser plaster similar in quality used at both sites suggests that Lalma and Tapa Shotor co-existed for some time.

Seven other statues of the Buddha, seated or standing, are laid along

the base of the plinth at Lalma (Mizuno 1968: pl. 18), while such arrangement of images is not visible at Tapa Shotor. However, the interstices between the step and the pilaster at the corner on the front façade are punctuated by trefoil-shaped niches which house the seated Buddhas. In one niche to the right of the step is the Buddha in *dhyāna-mudrā* attended by a worshipper who is kneeling in adoration outside of the niche (Plate VII). In the left niche the Buddha preaching is carved without followers (Plate VIII). Both niches look as if they are similar in their shape, but differ in minor points as follows. In the right niche, the ratio of height of the central arch to that of the side foils is slightly greater than in that of the left niche: and the whole left niche is supported with dwarf pilasters set on the base mouldings of the plinth, but the right niche is directly based on the base mouldings. Along with such ornaments, the seated Buddha on a high throne is fixed to the right and left sides of a projection formed at the corners of both step and main square body of the stupa (Plates VII–VIII). The left façade of the projection is adorned with a standing Buddha image whose style is the same as those punctuating other bays. On both sides of a flight of steps the Buddha and his attending images, both of them standing on socles, are fixed.

The main details such as the pilasters, the mouldings and the niches are formed of schist slabs carefully selected in order to serve as the basis for the desired forms and then finished off with a coat of coarse lime plaster. The device is also same as in the cases of the small stupas Nos. 1 and 2 as well as of the main stupa at Lalma. Also common to each main stupa is the feature that the cores of the plinth and pilasters were not built at the same time: namely, first the cores of the plinths were made, leaving spaces for the pilasters to be loaded, then the schist slabs were carefully inserted one on another into the moulds for the pilasters. Elaborately cut slabs for this technique seem to have been necessary.

Elements of the Mouldings

The plinths of the main stupas at Lalma and Tapa Shotor are supported by double sets of mouldings of the usual torus-and-scotia pattern (Fig. 2, Nos. 3 and 4). But it is worthy of note the upper scotia of Tapa Shotor is finished off in bevelled facets (Fig. 2, No. 4). Though the lowest scotia and the lower part of the upper base are also of bevelled facets at both main stupas, the only difference is in the faceted scotia seen at Tapa Shotor. As shown in Fig. 2, if we view the pattern of the mouldings at stupa No. 141 of Tapa Kalan, Hadda, as more rounded and more faithful to the original style, then such angular details may be regarded as the product of the decision to bypass the extensive labour needed to

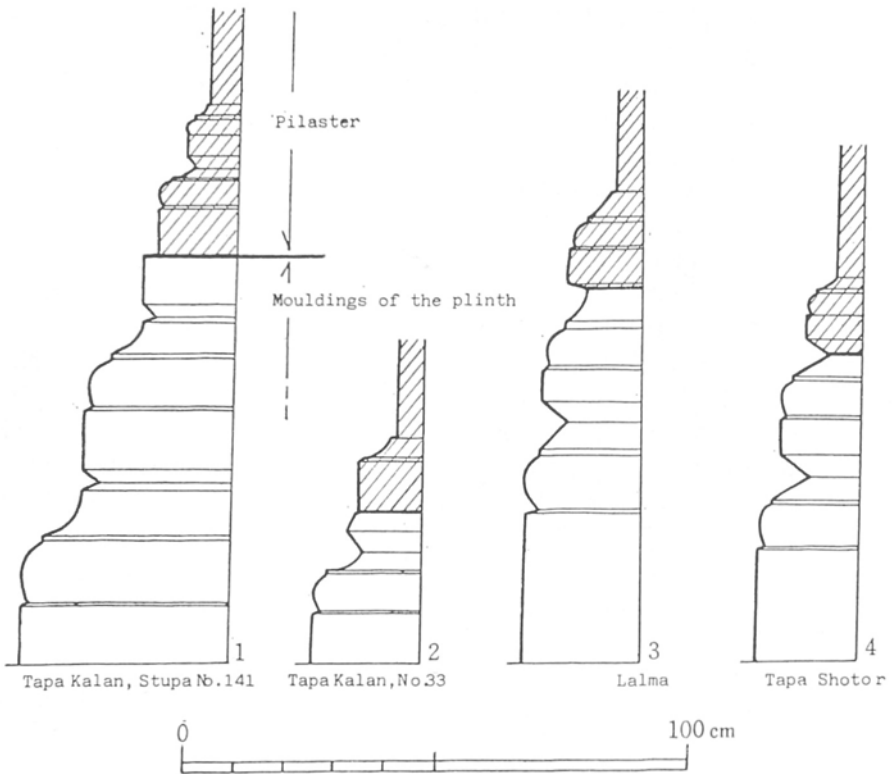


Fig. 2 – Mouldings: 1 – Stupa No. 141, Tapa Kalan; 2 – Stupa No. 33, Tapa Kalan; 3 – The Main Stupa, Lalma; 4 – The Main Stupa, Tapa Shotor (Drawings: Kuwayama).

carve such rounded mouldings. If indeed such a stylistic difference can be ascribed to the passage of time, stupas may be arranged into chronological order. In other words, such stylistic difference should be taken into consideration as a way to reconstructing a history of monastic architectures.

Styles of Plinths: An Enigma of the Stupa Court at Tapa Shotor

Excavation revealed that the stupa court at Lalma underwent two successive stages. During the first stage the aforesaid high plinth of the Lalma main stupa, which resembles that at Tapa Shotor, was actually the second (upper) plinth which was supported by a low basic plinth: that is, in the later stage the second plinth of the first stage still survived, but the lower plinth of the first stage had been filled up with debris (Fig. 3).

In the first stage the main stupa at Lalma had two-storeyed plinths. A lofty upper plinth, the extant height being 4.3 m. above the floor, is supported by a low basic plinth of bigger dimension measuring 9.32 m.

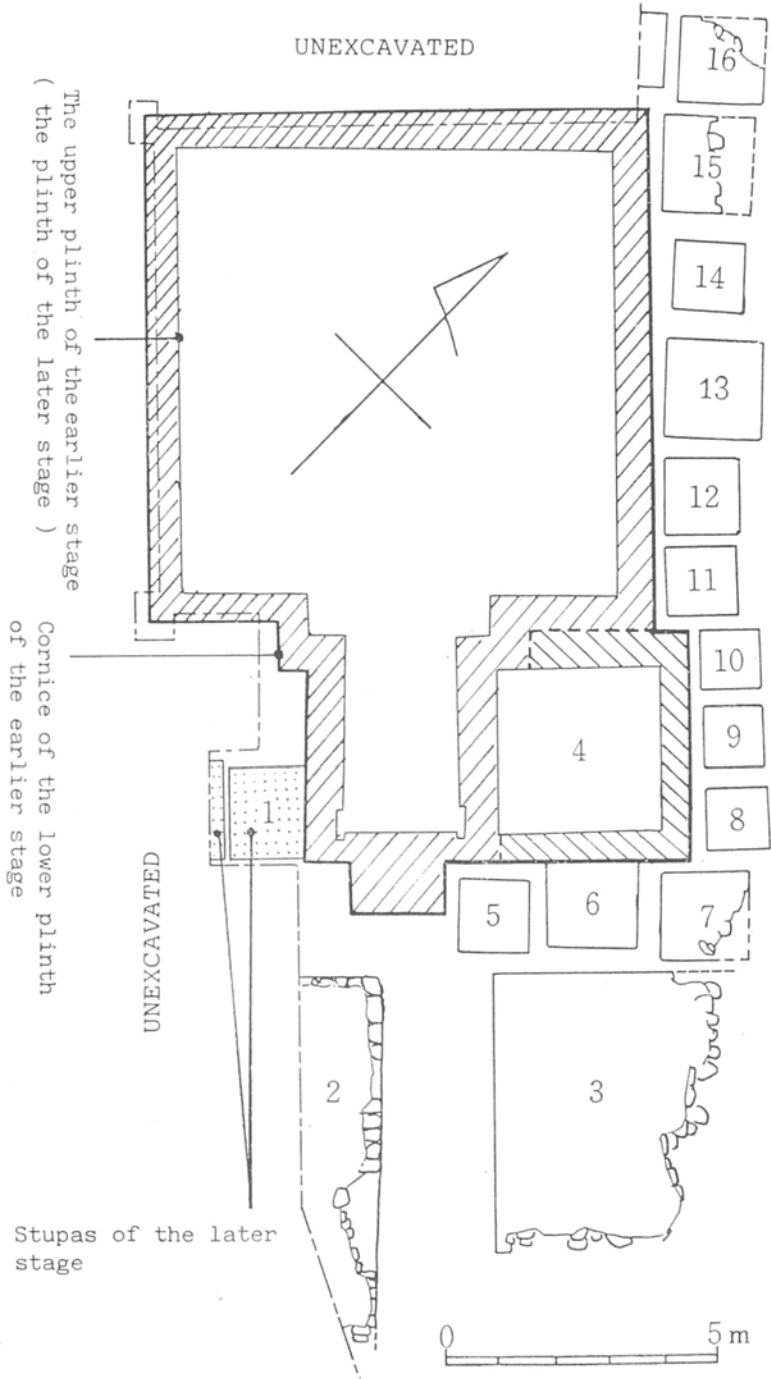


Fig. 3 – Plan of the Stupa Court at Lalma (After Mizuno 1968).

long on the back side and 0.82 m. high above the floor. The small subsidiary stupas, fifteen of them along the eastern half of the main stupa having been excavated so far (Nos. 2, 3, 5-17), are laid out so closely to the main stupa and also to one another that one cannot make a procession through the space lying between them. Accordingly the procession around the main stupa might only have been made on the lower plinth. Another possibility is that a procession was made along outside of the whole small stupas.

The cores of almost all the small stupas at Lalma are of boulders laid in mud with the facings of sandstone blocks (Mizuno 1968: pl. 26). Each block is well-shaped in order to fit with its required position. Lime plaster covers the facings as usual. The pilasters and the niches between them are also carved out of sandstone blocks (Mizuno 1968: pl. 27, Nos. 1 and 2).

At the last phase of the earlier stage the small stupas, Nos. 5-17 in particular, had been cut off leaving their square plinths (Mizuno 1968: pl. 27, No. 6). The height of the remaining plinths corresponds to that of the lower plinth of the main stupa. The cutting off resulted in the paving of a new floor at this level, which was filled with mud, rubble, Buddha images, and dismembered blocks of sandstone (Fig. 4). As a result, the main stupa took a new appearance, which retained only a lofty plinth that had previously served as the upper or second plinth. Close to the cornice of the southwest side of the previous lower plinth of the staircase, a small stupa, No. 1, was built of sandstone blocks, and another stupa, southwest of this, was also made of the same kind of stone blocks (Fig. 3). All that is left of these small stupas of the later stage are the lowest courses of the plinths, namely the lowest courses of sandstone blocks, but notable is the fact that these stupas were made in the same fashion and material as those of the earlier stage. So without data concerning stratification noted above, one can not dispute which stupa is earlier or later. Solely typologically, we cannot solve any problems of chronological order of stupas.

Such a clear stratification in the courtyard of stupas does not occur elsewhere. But Tapa Shotor seems, to my mind, to be an exception. The thickly plastered floor of the stupa court at Tapa Shotor shows the sharp lines resulting from the difference of levels on the existing floor, which regularly surround the main stupa (Fig. 1: Lines 'a' and 'b'). I would argue that one of the lines seems to be no other than the margin of the cornice of the lower plinth: the main stupa, and accordingly the stupa court, at Tapa Shotor might have undergone two stages, earlier and later, as that at Lalma did.

The floor is divided by the lines into different levels: the floor closer to the main stupa is slightly higher than the floor outside of the lines.

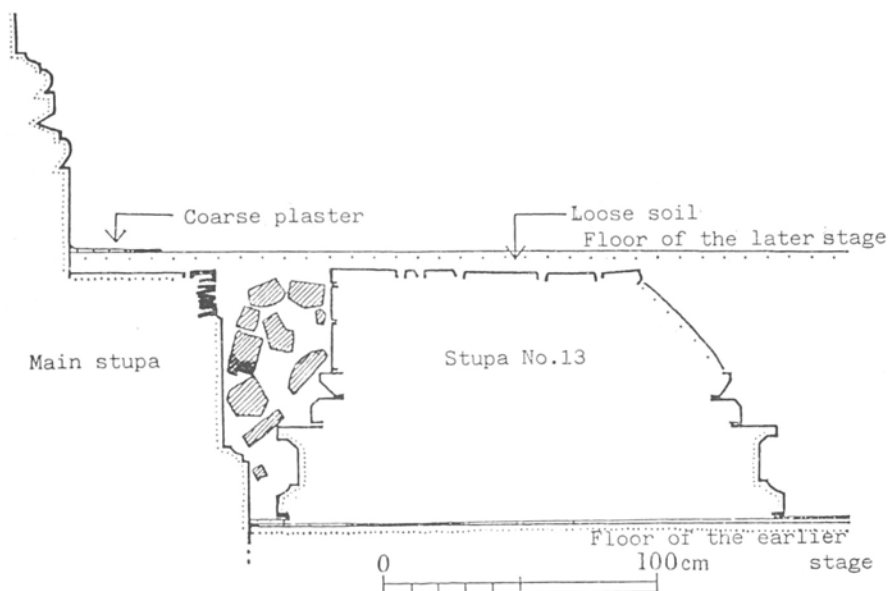


Fig. 4 – Cross-section between the Main Stupa and Stupa No. 13, Lalma
(After Mizuno 1969).

Beginning from the west corner of stupa No. 4 in front of the main stupa, a line runs clockwise to the east angle of stupa No. 18, and reappears between No. 22 and the annex of No. 27 (Line 'a'). It is observable that this line keeps running parallel with the main stupa and that all stupas except No. 18 are laid outside of the line. When we keep in mind that the later small stupas at Lalma were constructed on a new level, and that they abutted what had been the cornice of the lower plinth, this line at Tapa Shotor becomes very significant in that it might indicate the cornice of the lower plinth of an earlier stage of construction. The narrow regular space between the main stupa and small ones at Tapa Shotor can only be explained if it is the upper surface of the lower plinth from a previous phase of construction. Certainly and actually this space had been and was for circumambulation in both stages, and it had to remain without small stupas even after a new floor was laid. Because the builders knew well the dangers of building even small stupas on earth surfaces of varying hardnesses that resulted from the filling-up of the area outside of the original body of the stupa and the original body itself, they did not build stupas here.

Outside the line 'a' separating the earth of the original stupa from the area that was filled in later is another line (Line 'B'). It surrounds rows of stupas on all four sides except on the southwest, where several stupas (Nos. 19, 28–30, 32, 26, 21, and 33) lay beyond this line. These two lines

mark off different levels. The area between the two lines is slightly lower than the center area and also slightly higher than the surrounding area on which the southwestern row of small stupas lies. The area between the two lines is supposed to have been filled up after the initial phase of construction. In it, most probably, lie the remains of the flight of steps which led up the façade of the original lower plinth. All of this suggests that the existing floor, where the edifices are intact, belongs to a later stage of the stupa court at Tapa Shotor while the floor or floors of earlier stupa or stupas are sealed beneath it. Whether the outer line of the two may delimit the boundaries of an earlier courtyard or not is only a matter of guess.

Relative Sequence of Stupas

During the earlier stage at Lalma the floor of the stupa court underwent three successive coatings with coarse lime plaster (Fig. 5), which we designate the floor IA (earliest), IB and IC (latest). On the earliest floor IA are laid out the three small stupas Nos. 2-4.

Special mention should be made of stupa No. 4: the lower plinth adorned with five pilasters on the sides is an extension of the lower plinth of the main stupa which is not decorated with any pilasters. This extension is built between the square body and the staircase leading to it. The second plinth of stupa No. 4 on this base has facings, extant only on both sides facing the staircase and the right façade of the main stupa, which are punctuated by five pairs of pilasters standing on the base mouldings built of schist slabs. The bays are adorned with the *dhyāna* and *dharmacakra* Buddhas respectively, and on the side facing to the staircase, the *dhyāna* Buddha is enshrined in a semi-circular arch built of very thin slabs of schist and the *dharmacakra* Buddha in the trapezoidal one, while on the other side the arches are only semi-circular. All arches are supported by the dwarf pilasters with 'Corinthian' capitals on which other more slender 'Indian' pilasters rest. The core of this stupa consists of bigger round boulders from river-beds, and the details such as pilasters are coated with stucco which is very weathered.

Although stupas Nos. 4 and 8-10 are all on level IB, the fact that the northwest borders of stupas Nos. 8-10 run flush with stupa No. 4 suggests that stupa No. 4 was built earlier. On the floor IC, or the latest floor of the earlier stage, are stupas Nos. 5-7, 11-17. The cores of these stupas are made of boulders from river-beds with facings of sandstone blocks, from which the pilasters, cornices and mouldings as well as the niches on the bays have been carved out. Such facings are the same as those of stupas Nos. 8-10 on the floor IB and of stupas Nos. 2 and 3 on the floor IA. So, even on the earlier stage of Lalma there were two kinds of

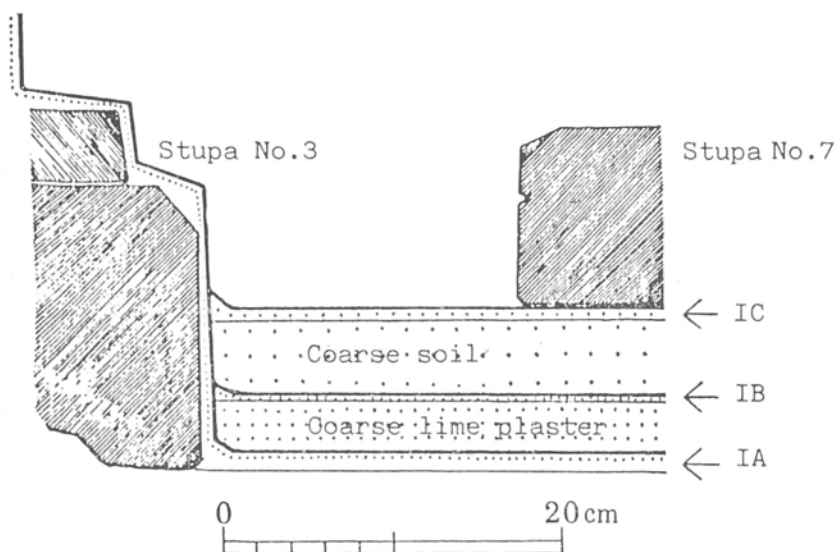


Fig. 5 – Cross-section of the floors in the earlier stage, Lalma (After Mizuno 1968).

construction which are also observable at the later stage of the courtyard at Tapa Shotor, though boulders were rarely used for the cores at Tapa Shotor.

The development of stupas at Hadda was once discussed by Barthoux, who maintained that schist-faced stupas were earlier than the others (Barthoux 1933: 157 f.). A forced chronology of the stupas at Tapa Shotor was also proposed by Mustamindi (1969a: 17–18). The excavation at Lalma, however, cannot support any of their views. The composition of the main stupas at both sites is very similar, but they differ in details such as the scotia of the mouldings and the quality of applied plaster. And if we take the later stages of both sites as contemporaneous, then we cannot agree with those regarding the schist-made stupas as predating others. Even in a restricted area such as Hadda, putting stupas into more reasonable chronological order is not a simple matter. At this point what should be re-examined is the prevailing view that holds that schist predates stucco not only as a building material for stupas but also as a sculptural one. Nothing stratigraphical from the Peshawar plain, Swat, Jalalabad, or Taxila has proved Marshall's hypothesis (Marshall 1951: 75 f.). In Taxila the reserve may even be true. Among the earliest known stupas in Taxila (Sirkap) some were neither constructed of nor decorated with schist, but were built of the *kañjūr* stone which made stucco easier to adhere.

For Absolute Dating

Lastly our review touches on a system of absolute dating as proposed by Mustamindi (1969 a: 23–24). In stupa No. 24, which, according to him, belongs to a later group, was found a pottery vessel in which a lump of copper coins had been deposited. The coins include one copper coin of Menander and small copper coins attributable to the Sassanian Shapur III (383–388). Based on the latter, he opined that the later group of the small stupas might date from the end of the 4th century. And he supposed that the earliest possible date was given by many Kushan coins found in the courtyard. However, the Sassanian coins of Shapur III only give clue to the *terminus a quo* for the construction of stupa No. 24 and they cannot be used as evidence to date the site itself. Mustamindi also defined the end of the site as the Hephthalite trampling of Buddhist temples that has generally been maintained as a plausible explanation since Marshall adopted it in his excavation report on Taxila (1951: 76).

To my mind, the Hephthalite destruction of Buddhism and Buddhist temples in Gandhara remains sheer conjecture. Song Yun's record edited in the *Loyang Gielan-ji* (A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Loyang), which Marshall cited as providing conclusive evidence for the Hephthalite sacking of Buddhist temples in Gandhara, gives no such account:

In the middle of the fourth month in the first year of the Zhengguang era (A.D. 520) they entered Gandhara (...), previously known as the state of Yeboluo. It was conquered by the Hephthalites who installed a *tegin* as the king (of Gandhara). Now two generations of Hephthalite kings have reigned (since the occupation). The nature (of the present king) is violent and cruel, and he often conducts massacres. He does not believe in Buddhist faith but devotes himself to non-Buddhist creeds. As all the inhabitants are Brahmans who respect Buddhist teaching and enjoy reading *sūtras*, so it is deeply against their wishes that they suddenly have such a king. Relying on his bravery, the king has been fighting against Kashmir for control of territories for three years. (...) The king stays on the border without returning at the end of the day. The soldiers become weary and people grow tired. All the inhabitants sigh with resentment. (...)

After five days journey to the west of the Buddhist temple (where Song Yun and Hui Sheng were sent by the king to lodge), (Song Yun and Hui Sheng) arrived at the place where the Tathāgata cut his head and gave it to an old Brahman. There is a stupa and a monastery where about twenty monks reside. Again travelling westwards for three days, they reached the great river Xintou (the Indus). (...) Travelling again westwards for three days, they arrived in the city Boshafu (Shahbaz Garhi). The land on the rivers are fertile and the fortified city is well-ordered, the population large and flourishing, the woods and the springs lush and numerous. The land is rich with precious articles, and the customs are refined and good. In and out of the city there are old temples where virtuous

priests and monks reside and their devout conducts are highly excellent. One *li* to the north of the city is a temple called the White Elephant Palace, where all of the Buddhist statues are of stone, extremely fine in decoration and very many in number. The entire body of each statue is covered with thin leaves of gold, producing a dazzling effect on the viewers. (...)

(Original translation from the classical Chinese).

Who can demonstrate the Hephthalite sacking on the basis of the above passages?

The Hephthalites occupied Gandhara and beyond, as the nomadic peoples from the north of the Hindu Kush had always done so, and claimed the territories extending from the west bank of the Indus to the Salt Range in the south and to the regions around modern Jhelum in the south-east. Their claim brought them into frequent conflict with the king of Kashmir, who also wanted to be politically influential in the regions. We have no positive evidence for the point that the Hephthalites destroyed Buddhist temples and killed monks when they first came into the North-West. The above passages only inform us of the fact that Song Yun met either the second or third tegin (king of Gandhara), not the first, and moreover, that the king conducted massacres and did not believe in Buddhism, not that he massacred Buddhist monks! Not accepting Buddhism and massacring are two different matters that should not be regarded as one and the same. It would be natural to suppose that the Hephthalites had their own religion and hence gave no support to the thriving Gandharan Buddhism and temples. Their main interest was presumably to tap the richness and fertility of the Gandharan lands.

In Tokharistan the Hephthalite headquarters were first attacked in A.D. 555 by the Turkish chieftain, Mugan Khaqan, then in A.D. 558 by the joint expedition of Sinjibu, the Khaqan of the West Turks, and Khusraw I, the Sassanian king who was the son-in-law of Sinjibu. Also in A.D. 568 Sinjibu again struck a blow against the Hephthalites and extended his sway over Tokharistan (Altheim 1969: 260-261; Haussig 1956: 23). The Chinese Annals (the sections of the Hephthalite state in the *Zhoushu* and the *Suishu*) also inform us that the Hephthalite tributes to the Chinese court ceased after they had sent the last mission in A.D. 558 and that they were defeated and occupied by the West Turks. The Hephthalites in the North-West, who are naturally supposed to have had close connections to their headquarters in the north of the mountains, in consequence, became helpless and disintegrated with the loss of their homelands. The North-West gradually declined after Song Yun's visit in A.D. 520, and certainly by A.D. 570s had completely lost its former fame and fortune.

Conclusion

Here I have touched on several different points concerning specifically Tapa Shotor and Lalma, and more generally Gandharan archaeology. I have described different stylistic features of the stupa such as the presence of corbelled or barrel-vaulted roofs, suggested which nāga legend may be depicted in chapel H at Tapa Shotor, and challenged the historicity of the Hephthalite destruction of Buddhism in Gandhara.

The importance of, as well as the difficulties in, establishing reliable chronologies for the Gandharan region should be clear to the reader by now. I have reviewed Mustamindi's classification of stupas at Tapa Shotor partially in order to demonstrate where his scheme breaks down and partially to suggest how such an analysis might be done. Different stylistic features as well as varying composition of the stupas makes dating them far from straightforward.

The similarity of certain stupas at Lalma to those at Tapa Shotor suggests that the two sites were contemporaneous for some duration, and, accordingly, some of our findings about the Lalma site may apply to Tapa Shotor as well. Lalma is an unusual site in that the different layers of occupation are so clearly distinguishable. There are slight variations in depth which accord with different periods of construction. Most importantly, a floor of mud, rubble, Buddha images, and dismantled blocks of sandstone lie over the earlier level and clearly mark a second stage of occupation.

This pattern at Lalma enables us to make sense of the unusual configuration of stupas at Tapa Shotor. The sharp lines surrounding the main stupa mark off the cornice of the original lower plinth, which, as in Lalma, became the new floor level in the later phase of construction. The varying hardnesses of the earth – a solid original stupa and a softer filled-in area – supports my contention; as does the fact that the builders, fully cognizant of the danger of building on surfaces of different hardnesses, did not construct any stupas there. Careful comparison of the composition of the stupas reveals that some of the building techniques that characterize the earlier Lalma stupas also characterize the later Tapa Shotor stupas. Marshall's argument that schist predates stucco as a building and sculptural material simply does not square with the data from Tapa Shotor and Lalma.

Finally, I would like to raise a point of particular concern to me. Given the enormous difficulty involved in establishing a chronological sequence for Gandharan sites, and so Gandharan art objects, I think we ignore the potential of pottery as a means of dating at our own peril. Even today excavators often tend to slight, if not neglect, pottery vessels

found in temples, which are, to my mind, indispensable for placing Buddhist temples in relative chronological sequence. Pottery was always a necessity in the daily lives of monks, without whom one cannot discuss the history of Buddhist temples. Closely related to temples, moreover, are lay-people who lived in towns and in cities. Archaeological examination of both types of sites, religious and secular, is vitally important for establishing a comparative sequence of pottery that will illuminate the relative chronology of Gandharan temples. Even though this method may not produce immediate results, it may be the only way to determine a chronological sequence.

If only we could establish guidelines for recording pottery. As it is now, with the classification of pottery left to the whim of individual archaeologists, it is impossible to use published reports to analyse pottery. Determination and designation of different pottery types vary as do even the words used to describe the colour of clay. I suggest that we form a committee that will help to coordinate our future excavations and set up strict guidelines for all aspects of archaeological investigation, even including the recording of pottery types. The chronology of Gandhara is simply too important. Pottery analysis may be the only way to get at that chronology.

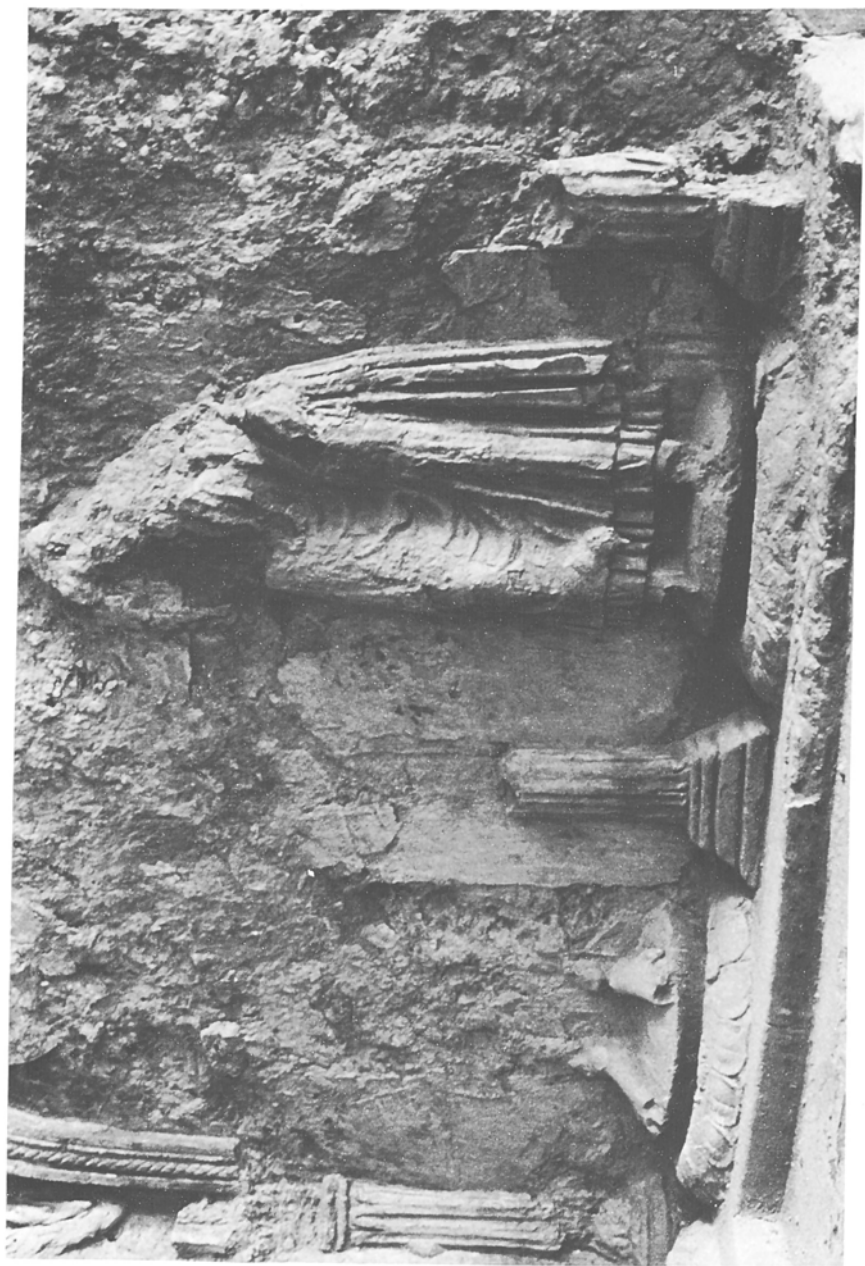
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East corner of Chapel D, Tapa Shotor (Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).



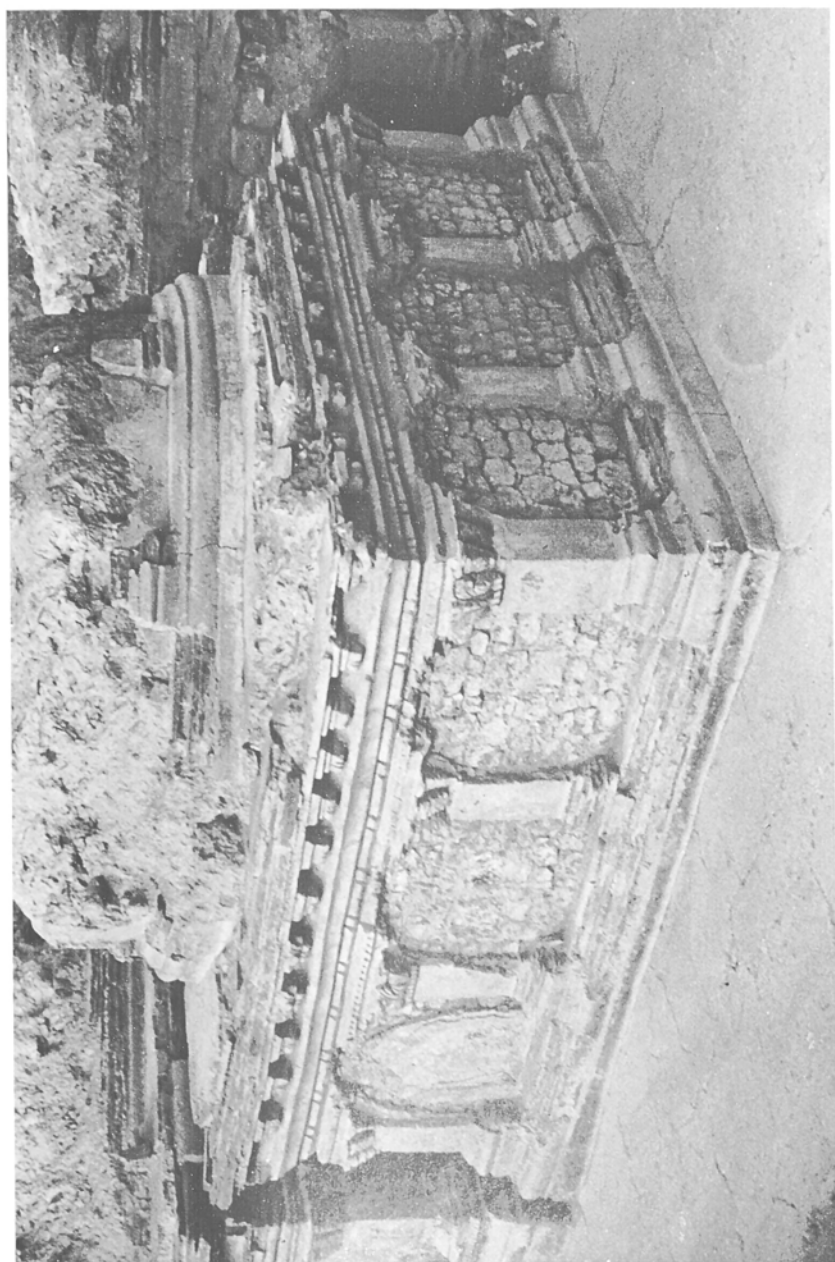
Standing Buddhas between pilasters, Chapel D, Tapa Shotor
(Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).



Back wall depicting the whirls of water, fish, aureole, Chapel H, Tapa Shotor
(Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).



The Nāga and Vajrapāṇi, Chapel H, Tapa Shotor
(Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).



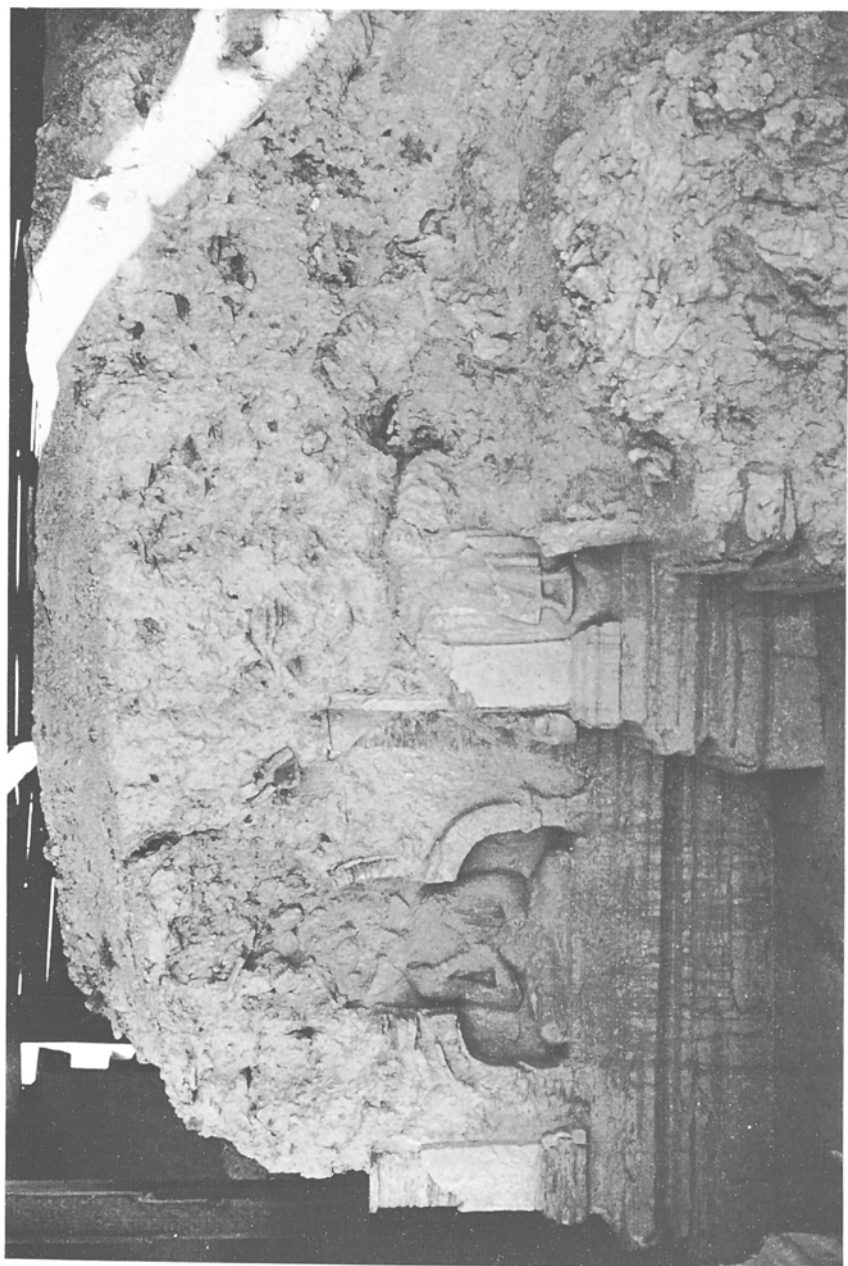
Stupa No. 10, Tapa Shotor (Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).



Stupa No. 4, Tapa Sotor (Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).



Right bay of the façade of the Main Stupa, Tapa Shotor
(Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).



Left bay of the façade of the Main Stupa, Tapa Shotor
(Photo: Afghan Institute of Archaeology).