

Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art

Edited by
Wannaporn Rienjang
Peter Stewart



Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art

**Proceedings of the First International
Workshop of the Gandhāra Connections Project,
University of Oxford, 23rd-24th March, 2017**

Edited by
Wannaporn Rienjang
Peter Stewart

ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY



ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD
Summertown Pavilion
18-24 Middle Way
Summertown
Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978 1 78491 855 2
ISBN 978 1 78491 856 9 (e-Pdf)

© Archaeopress and the individual authors 2018

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

Positioning Gandhāran Buddhas in chronology: significant coordinates and anomalies

Juhyung Rhi

In tackling the bewildering complexity surrounding the chronology of Gandhāran Buddhist imagery, we are naturally tempted to start with dated images, although we have to admit simultaneously that those dates are at the very centre of the complexity. Numerous scholars have examined, or at least commented on, the problem in previous scholarship,¹ and I am going to add yet another attempt to the list on this occasion (see further Stefan Baums's paper in the present volume, especially his Appendix 4). My approach may differ in that I will try to explore the problem in relation to five major visual types I have identified among Gandhāran Buddhas in my previous work (Rhi 2008). In particular, I am interested in positioning the dated images in conjunction with the five groups and discussing the ramifications of this placement for drawing a large chronological picture of Gandhāran Buddhist imagery. The following discussions will take two premises into consideration. First, the development of Gandhāran Buddhist imagery probably did not unfold in a single, linear process, which often formed an implicit basis of previous discussions on chronology. We have to take into consideration that there were a number of small and large formal series that had different origins temporally or spatially. Second, these formal series could often have coexisted chronologically, thus overlapping or being interrelated to one another, rather than a single, unified visual form monopolizing a given period of time.



Figure 1. *Indraśailaguhā*. From *Mamāne Dherī*, Peshawar basin.
Dated year 89. H. 76 cm. Peshawar Museum. (Photo: J. Rhi)



Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1. (Photo: J. Rhi)

* I would like to thank Professor Richard Salomon for making valuable comments on this paper, especially in the epigraphic assessment of the inscriptions.

¹ Some of the noteworthy attempts include: Vogel 1905; Foucher 1922: 490-491; Konow 1929; Rowland 1936; Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949; Deydier 1950: 223-241; Soper 1951; Dobbins 1968; Fussman 1974: 41-42; Khandalavala 1985.

Although a fair number of objects from Gandhāra are known to bear inscribed dates, the majority of them are potsherds or reliquaries, and among Buddhist images it is commonly agreed that there are only five examples: (1) a seated Buddha stela from Mamāne Ḍherī (year 89; CKI 161) (Figures 1 and 2); (2) a standing Buddha from Loryān Tangai (year 318; CKI 111) (Figures 9 and 10); (3) a standing Buddha from Hashtnagar (year 384; CKI 124) (Figures 7 and 8); (4) a standing Hārīti from Skārah Ḍherī (year 399; CKI 133; Lyons & Ingholt 1957: pl. II.3);² (5) a Buddha triad stela (year 5; CKI 232) (Figure 12).³ Among them, perhaps the most secure reference point is the stela from Mamāne Ḍherī inscribed with the year 89. It represents the Buddha meditating inside Indra's cave, the theme of the so-called *Indraśailaguhā*. Its base is carved with an inscription in a single line, which reads:

*saṃ 20 20 20 20 4 4 1 Margaśiraṣa masi 4 1 iṣe kṣunami niryāide ime deyadharme Dharmapriena ṣamanena
piduno arogadakṣinae upajayasa Budhapriasa puyae samanuyayaṇa arogadakṣinae*⁴

(In the year 89, in the month of Mārgaśiras, [the day] 5, at this term was bestowed this religious gift by the *śramaṇa* Dharmapriya, for the welfare of his father, in honor of his teacher Buddhapriya, for the bestowal of health on his fellow disciples.)⁵

Despite some damage in the middle, the inscription is clearly legible. In particular, the reading of the year of its dedication is clear enough (Konow 1929: pl. XXXIV.1). With regard to the era to which it belongs, the majority of specialists agree that it was probably counted in the Kaniṣka era.⁶ Among rare exceptions, Harald Ingholt suggests that the year 89 meant the year 489, with the omission of the digit 4 for hundreds, and converts it to AD 432 by applying the Vikrama era (Lyons & Ingholt 1957: 41). But his reasoning based on the presence of drapery folds consisting of paired, parallel lines in small subsidiary figures, which he interprets as a borrowing from Sasanian Persia, ignores many other elements in the configuration of this stela, and the omission of the digit for four hundreds seems groundless. Gritli von Mitterwallner (1987: 214, 220-221) dates it in the Gupta era, thus to AD 408, on the basis of its stylistic affinities she claims to find with Buddha images of the Gupta period from Mathurā, which seems dubious to me, not to mention the implausibility of the use of the Gupta era for such Gandhāran images.⁷ There seems little possibility that this date was counted in anything other than the Kaniṣka era, and this is partly supported on the palaeographic grounds.⁸ If we accept that it belongs to the Kaniṣka era and apply Harry Falk's suggestion regarding the era, which places its epoch in AD 127/8 CE (Falk 2001), the year 89 in this inscription will correspond to AD 216, as the month Mārgaśiras approximately coincides with November and December in the Gregorian calendar.⁹

² The Skārah Ḍherī Hārīti will not be discussed in this paper because I wish to focus on Buddha images, which are more homogeneous in formal configuration and thus will be more useful in comparing their traits, in addition to the fact that the Hārīti is stylistically a rather isolated piece.

³ B.N. Mukherjee (1991) claims that there are two more examples in the Indian Museum, Kolkata: a seated bodhisattva (year 56) and a sculpted panel of Buddhas and bodhisattvas (year 400) (both reproduced in the last pages of the volume where Mukherjee 1991 is included). But Richard Salomon (personal communication) questions the interpretation of these inscriptions as recording dates.

⁴ Konow 1929: 171-172; Konow 1933-1934; CKI 161; *IBHK* I: 982-983.

⁵ Based on Konow (1929: 171-172), but modified according to Konow's revised reading in Konow (1933-34). In Konow's 1929 translation, the date is mistakenly printed as '85' instead of '89'.

⁶ Konow 1929: 171-172; Rowland 1936: 396; Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949: 111-115 (as in the Śaka era that she equates with the Kaniṣka era); Soper 1951: 308; Rosenfield 1967: 104; Dobbins 1968: 285-286; Harle 1974: 131; Czuma 1985: 35; Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1986: 4. See also Joe Cribb's paper in the present volume.

⁷ Khandalavala also says that the Mamāne Ḍherī Buddha 'has a feeling of Gupta classicism' and suggests the Gupta era for the Buddha. But his points on the Buddha's formal affinities with Gupta images are simply based on mere uncritical impressions, as in the case of Mitterwallner—despite his claim of viewing the actual image, not photographs of it. Salomon (personal communication) suggests that the inscription cannot be that late on the palaeographic grounds. The Gandhāran catalogue of the 2008 Bonn exhibition dates it as '216 or 316' AD, implying the possibility of the omission of 100 in the year 89 (*GBHP* 232).

⁸ Salomon (personal communication) points out, supporting the Kaniṣka era for the year 89, that the use of the dating formula *iṣe kṣunami* ('at this time') is typical of (though not unique to) the Kaniṣka era.

⁹ I deliberately count 'year zero' in calculating these dates in the Common Era throughout this paper.

The Buddha in the stela shows features quite common among Gandhāran Buddha images (Figures 1 and 2). It closely matches standard examples of a type that I identify as one of five major visual types of Gandhāran Buddhas, i.e. Type III (Rhi 2008: 57-63). The type is principally characterized by the hair arrangement in a wavy pattern, broadly undulating over the head, which is usually carved in low, flat ridges or incised lines. A close parallel to the Buddha in the Mamāne Ḍherī stela is found in a Buddha head from the site Sahrī-Bahlol Mound B in the Peshawar Museum (Figure 3). Though the Mamāne Ḍherī stela is only 96 centimeters high and thus its central Buddha is smaller than independent statues of usual sizes, the drapery folds are delicately rendered, consisting of alternating higher and lower ridges. In the drapery and the contour of the body, a seated Buddha in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh is close to the best comparison (Figure 4). Slight differences are noticeable in the drapery covering the lower part of the body, especially that flowing from the left forearm, but they may be due to a smaller size and an optional variation in the Mamāne Ḍherī stela. Equivalents of this type among standing Buddhas can be found in such examples as one in Lahore Museum (Figure 5) and another in Peshawar Museum (Figure 6). Numerous images of this type exist in diverse qualities of craftsmanship, marking the most productive period of Gandhāran Buddhist icons.¹⁰ The Mamāne Ḍherī stela is among the better specimens of this type, and those of similar quality may be considered contemporary with it. Most of them were discovered in the Sahrī-Bahlol and Takht-i-Bāhī areas near Charsadda, which I consider as the heart of the production of Gandhāran Buddhas in stone (Rhi 2008: 74-75), while Mamāne Ḍherī is also located in the Charsadda Tehsil. They must have been produced during decades around AD 216, though it may be hard to measure precisely how far they are spread in duration.

With this reference point in mind, we move to two other points of interest: two standing Buddhas inscribed with the years 318 and 384 respectively. The former (Figures 9 and 10) was discovered at Loriyān Tangai and entered the Indian Museum, Kolkata, along with a number of other finds from this site (Senart 1899) (Figure 11). The latter (Figure 7) was from Pālāṭū Ḍherī in Hashtnagar (near Charsadda), thus commonly called the ‘Hashtnagar Buddha’ (Smith 1889a; Smith 1889b: 144-146; Marshall & Vogel 1904: 160), but its current whereabouts are unknown except for its base acquired by the British Museum (Zwalf 1996, I: no. 172) (Figure 8). The inscriptions on the bases of these two images read:

Loriyān Tangai Buddha

sa 1 1 1 100 10 4 4 Proṭhavadasa di 20 4 1 1 1 Budhaghōṣasa daṇamu[khe] Saghorumasa sadaviyarisa¹¹

(In the year 318, the day 27 of Prauṣṭhapada, gift of Buddhaghōṣa, the companion of Saṃghavarma.¹²)

Hashtnagar Buddha

saṃ 1 1 1 100 20 20 20 20 4 Proṭhavadasa masasa divasaṃmi paṃcami 4 1¹³

(In the year 384, on the fifth, 5, day of the month Prauṣṭhapada.)¹⁴

The reading of the date in the Loriyān Tangai inscription is quite clear (Konow 1929: pl. XXI.1), and that of the Hashtnagar inscription is most plausible (Konow 1929: pl. XXII.10). It seems most likely that the years 318 and 384 were counted in the same era. The chronological positioning of these two Buddhas, and by corollary the era in which they are possibly dated, was often treated as holding a key

¹⁰ Rowland (1936: 396) calls the phase of the Mamāne Ḍherī stela as ‘the mature period’, and Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1949: 113) as ‘a flourishing period’. Soper (1951: 308) regards the stela as representing a more formalized stage when compared with another stela depicting the same theme from Jauliān at Taxila, a point with which I agree.

¹¹ Konow 1929: 106-107; CKI 111; IBHK I: 980.

¹² Based on Konow (1929: 107) with modification.

¹³ Konow 1929: 117-119; CKI 124; IBHK I: 962.

¹⁴ Based on Konow (1929: 119) with modification.



Figure 3. Buddha head. From Sahrī-Bahlol Mound B, Peshawar basin. H. 34 cm. Peshawar Museum. (Photo: J. Rhi.)



Figure 4. Buddha. Provenance unknown. H. 110.5 cm. National Museum of Scotland. (Museum photo.)



Figure 5. Buddha. From Jamālgarhī, Peshawar basin. H. 158 cm. Lahore Museum. (Photo: J. Rhi.)



Figure 6. Buddha. From Sahrī-Bahlol Mound A, Peshawar basin. H. 165 cm. Peshawar Museum. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

in understanding the development of Gandhāran Buddhist imagery in the early scholarship. Besides rather outrageous suggestions such as the Seleucid era (321 BC; Vogel 1905: 259; Bachhofer 1929, I: 82-83), a noteworthy candidate supported by a number of scholars was the so-called 'Old Śaka era', which was first proposed by Sten Konow (1929: xci) as starting in 84/3 BC on the basis of a calculation by W.E. van Wijk (Konow & Van Wijk 1924: 79-83) and later revised by Konow himself to c. 145 BC (Konow 1933: 4). Benjamin Rowland (1936: 391) and Alexander Soper (1949: 253, n. 4; as noted by Dobbins 1968: 283) followed Konow's later date with a slight change to c. 150 BC, and J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1949: esp. 95-96) presented another alternative of 129 BC. According to these old theories, the dates of the two Buddhas would be placed in AD 233 and 299 in Van Wijk's and Konow's initial assessment, or AD 167 and 233 in the revised theory based on c. 150 BC, or AD 188 and 254 in Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's alternative theory, the last of which I once thought to be reasonable.

However, Richard Salomon (2005) recently proposed, based on a reliquary inscription of Queen Rukhuṇa recording triple dates, that five Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions known to us as bearing the years from 303 to 399 should be dated in the Yoṇa or Indo-Greek era of 186/5 BC. Salomon's suggestion has gained a wide acceptance, but Joe Cribb (2005: 213-15) and Harry Falk and Chris Bennett (2009, cf. Falk 2007[2012]) suggest slightly different dates, 174 and 175 BC respectively on the basis of their diverging assessments of the Azes era, which apparently dates 128 years later than the Yoṇa era according to the Rukhuṇa inscription (Salomon 2005: 363).¹⁵ Cribb and Falk/Bennett's suggestions seem to make sense, and especially the latter seems more plausible to me.¹⁶ If we apply this to the years 318 and 384, they will correspond to AD 143 and 209.

The Hashtnagar Buddha (dated year 384), or rather the statue itself, is known only through a single photo taken at the time when it was still worshipped as a Hindu icon (Figure 7). Not counting the head, which is not original, the body of the statue, even when seen in the photo alone, shows considerable affinities with the standing Buddha in Lahore (Figure 5) that I compared above with the Mamāne Ḍherī Buddha. The year AD 209 calculated through the application of the Yoṇa era is only seven years apart from the Mamāne Ḍherī Buddha and seems reasonable to accept.¹⁷

The Loriyān Tangai Buddha (dated year 318) (Figure 9), dedicated 56 years earlier if the date was counted in the same era, is very different from the Hashtnagar Buddha. It was discovered by Alexander Caddy

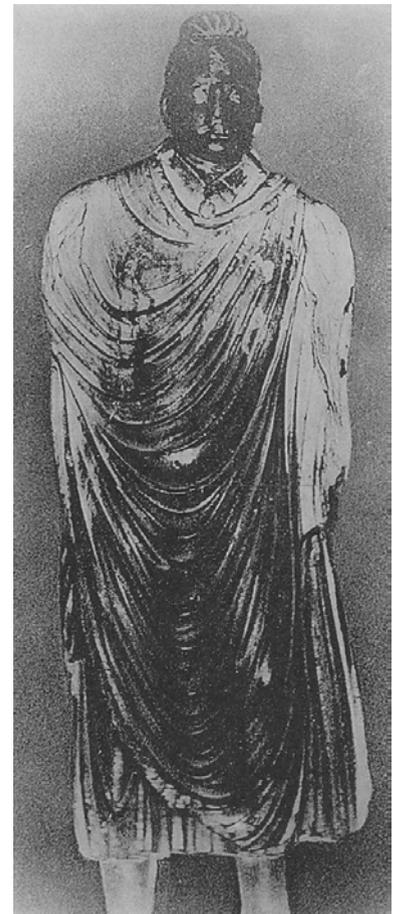


Figure 7. Buddha. From Pālātū Ḍherī, Peshawar basin. Peshawar basin. Current whereabouts unknown.

¹⁵ Salomon's 2005 paper was originally presented at a conference held at Lattes in 2003 and published in the conference volume two years later. Cribb's 2005 paper was initially presented at the same conference, but its published version in the same conference volume of 2005 includes his alternative suggestion regarding the Yoṇa era in response to Salomon's original paper.

¹⁶ Salomon (personal communication) is now inclined to agree with the revision proposed by Falk and Bennett.

¹⁷ Citing Konow's assessment that the Hashtnagar Buddha is not notably different in style from the Mamāne Ḍherī Buddha, Rowland (1936: 396) assigns the two Buddhas to the mature period of Gandhāran art together with the vast quantity of finds from Jamālgarhī. Mainly based on the observation on small figures on the pedestal of the Hashtnagar and Loriyān Tangai Buddhas in comparison with subsidiary figures in the Mamāne Ḍherī stela, Dobbins (1968: 285) states that the Mamāne Ḍherī stela has more affinities with the Loriyān Tangai Buddha, but it is the Hashtnagar Buddha that is more comparable in the overall configurations of the body and drapery with standing Buddhas that can be grouped together with the Mamāne Ḍherī stela.



Figure 8. Pedestal of the Buddha (Figure 7). H. 20.5 cm. British Museum.
(Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.)

at the site in 1896, and a now well-known excavation photo shows the Buddha standing in the right in the middle of dozens of images (Figure 11, marked A). Compared with the Hashtnagar Buddha and also with Mamāne Dherī Buddha, this Buddha is shorter and broader in proportion and thus looks heavier and more massive. The drapery is not as three-dimensional, and its folds are arranged in a monotonous way without the alternation of higher and lower ridges (Figure 10). The Buddha's head, which was already missing at the time of excavation, would have been relatively big and broad-jawed, perhaps as in another standing Buddha found at this site (Figure 11, marked B). These are features we commonly witness in the majority of the finds from Loriyān Tangai. I have had an impression that the finds from Loriyān Tangai show relatively late features, which may be characterized as reflecting the degeneration in quality in the process that gradually moved away from more classical prototypes and increasingly absorbed influence from India proper.¹⁸

However, the year AD 143 which we may assign for our Loriyān Tangai Buddha is more than seven decades earlier than the Mamāne Dherī Buddha and its related specimens, which apparently mark a high period in the production of Gandhāran Buddhist images. How do we explain this anomaly? There could be three possibilities. First, the Loriyān Tangai Buddha must be dated actually much later than

¹⁸ Because of the probability that the dates were counted in the same era, most scholars simply accepted the precedence of the Loriyān Tangai Buddha and did not raise a question about this anomaly. But Vogel (1905: 259) already candidly noted its inferiority to the Hashtnagar Buddha. Bachhofer (1929, I: 82-83) notes, '... the drapery had been conceived as a separate volume. It is reproduced such as it is meant to be, namely as a piece of heavy, coarse stuff' but, probably due to the chronological inevitability, he adds, 'It is certainly older than the Chārsada Buddha, for it unmistakably manifests a clear and incorruptible sense of reality, the legacy of Bactrian Hellenism to its Central Asiatic heirs.' Rowland (1942: 224-226) notes: '... the canon of the proportions ... must have been something like five heads to the total height; the robe of the figure falls in a series of loops, or swags of drapery, trailing from the left shoulder in a series of curves across the chest and then in more deeply cut folds falling over the lower limbs in a monotonously repeated succession of ridges and depressions. The garment has a hardness and stiffness that makes it look as though it had been hammered out of metal and is a far cry from the soft, clinging togas of the Hellenistic and Augustan periods.'



Figure 9. Buddha. From Loriyān Tangai, southern Swat. H. 168 cm. Indian Museum, Kolkata. (Photo: John C. Huntington.)



Figure 10. Detail of Figure 9. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

AD 143, perhaps to the late third or the early fourth century AD, and the era used in counting its date is not the Yoṇa era, but some later one, like the Azes era (46 or 47 BC) or the Vikrama era (58/7 BC), which would give the year AD 271/72 or AD 258/59, some fifty to forty years later than the Mamāne Dherī Buddha. In this case, we should be able to answer why the Yoṇa era, which seems neatly to explain a number of inscriptions dated with years in the 200s to 300s, may not be applicable to the Buddha images of the years 318 and 384. Another problem with this alternative is that, if we apply an era like the Azes era or the Vikrama era to the two Buddhas, the Hashtnagar Buddha would end up at the year AD 335/36 or 325/26, moving away from the Mamāne Dherī Buddha by as much as some 110 to 120 years. It is not impossible that this particular visual type persisted more than a century, but it seems unlikely. Second, there is a possibility that the two separate eras were used for the Loriyān Tangai Buddha and the Hashtnagar Buddha, but common sense tells us that this is only theoretically possible. Third, if the Loriyān Tangai Buddha indeed dates from AD 143, much earlier than the Mamāne Dherī Buddha, this may mean that there was a phase in Gandhāran Buddhist imagery in which a crude adoption or adaptation of classical prototypes took place around this time in the vicinity of Loriyān Tangai or which was already showing the signs of degeneration in standard. In this case, we still have to explain why many visual features displayed in the finds from Loriyān Tangai seem to look like later variations of those found in such images as the Hashtnagar Buddha or numerous finds from the Takht-i-Bāhī, Sahrī-Bahlol, and Charsadda area, and why iconographical features we may consider as a later phenomenon



Figure 11. Excavated sculptures from Loriyān Tangai. Photo by Alexander Caddy, 1896. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library.)

in Gandhāran art already appear in this period.¹⁹ I have to note that Loriyān Tangai is located to the north of the Peshawar valley beyond Buner and at the entrance to Swat valley and formed a regional unit in sculptural style distinct from that of the Takht-i-Bāhī, Sahrī-Bahlol, and Charsadda group. I do not rule out a possibility that some activity was going on in the Loriyān Tangai area during the first and second centuries AD preceding the major surge of sculptural activities in the Takht-i-Bāhī, Sahrī-Bahlol, and Charsadda group, while the local trend in the Loriyān Tangai area continued with maintaining its idiosyncratic features.²⁰

¹⁹ Sculptural finds yielded in the excavations conducted by the Italian mission at Barikot in Swat include several small stone images found in situ (Olivieri 2014: figs. 66, 85, 91, 119). They show features that we may usually consider to be distinctively late in the faces, contours and draperies, but the stratigraphical evidence indicates that they are datable to the second half of the third century AD, somewhat—at least a century—earlier than our usual presumption. Though they are not markedly early as the Loriyān Tangai Buddha, this also seems to support the possibility that carvings of rather clumsy or crude execution that we have often attributed to a chronological factor may actually, in some if not all cases, reflect regional variations at diverse technical levels. See also Filigenzi’s and Olivieri’s paper in the present volume.

²⁰ Rowland (1942: 226) explains the transition from the Loriyān Tangai Buddha to the Hashtnagar Buddha as elaborating a rigid formula of drapery design.

There is yet another interesting but controversial point among dated examples: a Buddha triad inscribed with the year 5 (Figures 12 and 13), commonly called ‘Brussels Buddha’ after the location of its initial collection.²¹ The triad was first introduced in an advertisement published in 1973 (*Oriental Art*, spring 1973) and received the first scholarly treatments by Gérard Fussman (1974: 54-58) and James Harle (1974) in the following year. It drew attention for its dated inscription as well as its interesting iconographical configuration, especially a bodhisattva in the right bearing small Buddha in the headdress. The inscription reads:

sa[m]41Phagunasa masasa dipam̐cami Budhanadasa trepiḍakasa danamukhe madapidarana adhvadidana puyaya bhavatu²²

(In the year 5, on the fifth day of the month Phālguna: the pious gift of Buddhananda, learned in the three *piṭakas*: may it be for the honoring of his deceased [?] father and mother.²³)

The inscription is clearly legible. Though the first *akṣara* may look somewhat ambiguous, there is no difficulty in reading it as ‘*saṃ*’ meaning ‘year’. Numerals for 5 are also clear.²⁴ Many specialists instantly linked the year 5 to the Kaniṣka era (Fussman 1974: 54; Harle 1974: 129; LA 1984: 191; Bussagli 1984:



Figure 12. Buddha triad. Provenance unknown. H. 62 cm. Agonshū, Japan. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

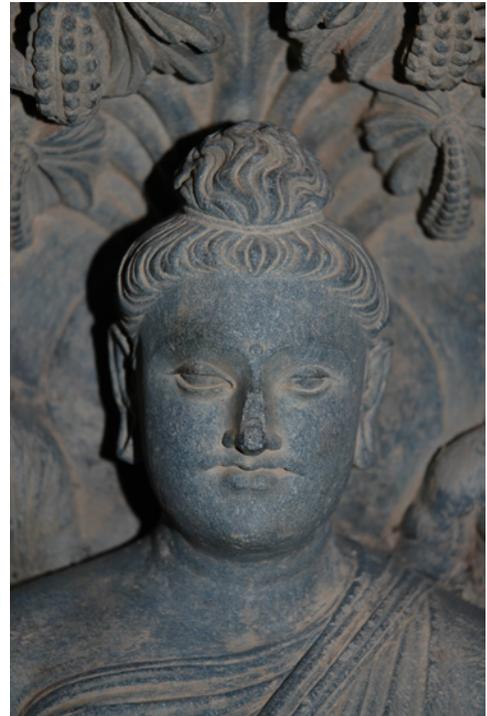


Figure 13. Detail of Figure 12. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

²¹ When its existence first became publicly known, the triad was in the collection of Claude de Marteau in Brussels and thus has been commonly called ‘Brussels Buddha’. Actually, it is now in the collection of a new Japanese Buddhist sect called Agonshū (GBGI 2007: 61), so the name ‘Brussels Buddha’ may not be appropriate. But respecting its first place of origin in modern collecting history and the common usage in previous scholarship, I will continue to use this appellation.

²² Fussman 1974: 54; Harle 1974: 128; CKI 232; IBHK I: 961-962.

²³ Based on John Brough’s reading and translation cited in Harle 1974: 128, with slight modification, in comparison with Fussman 1974: 54 and Salomon’s suggestion.

²⁴ Harle (1974: 128-129) cites Brough as having reservations about the year, whether 4 or 5, but thinks that it appears to be 5. Fussman (1974: 54) excludes any doubt about the reading of the date.



Figure 14. Buddha. From Sahrī-Bahlol Mound B, Peshawar basin. H. 264 cm. Peshawar Museum. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

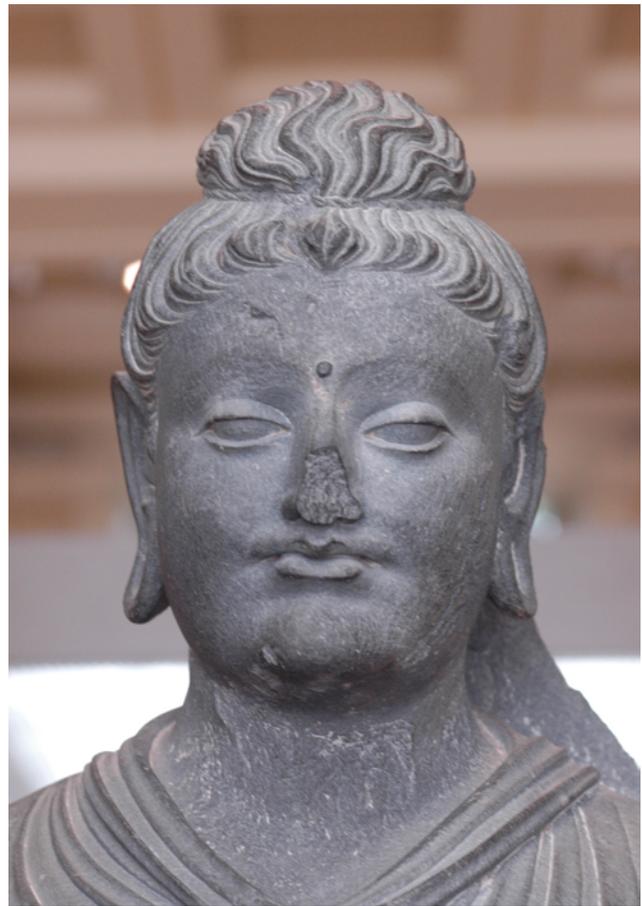


Figure 15. Standing Buddha (detail). Provenance unknown. H. 104 cm. British Museum. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

considering the year 5 as actually the year 105 of the Kaniṣka era (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1986: 7) or treating the Kaniṣka era as an era allegedly founded by Kaniṣka II almost a century after the original Kaniṣka era (Czuma 1985: 198). Some scholars even dated it to the fourth or fifth century AD by applying other eras,²⁵ but this seems too late.

The grounds for some scholars' reluctance to accept its date as the fifth year of the Kaniṣka era is that the triad shows a number of features in style and iconography that seem too advanced for the date: for instance in iconography, the gesture of *dharmacakramudrā*, the lotus seat, and the bodhisattva

106), which thus could be converted to AD 82 when AD 78 is applied for the Kaniṣka era, as a number of specialists then believed, or to AD 132 according to the more popular estimation of the era in recent scholarship. But there was also hesitation based on concerns over whether the date might be too early for the stela. Therefore, some scholars attempted to push its date down by about a century by applying the so-called omitted-hundred theory and thus

²⁵ Khandalavala (1985: 68-69) links the Brussels Buddha to the Gupta era, thus dating it to AD 324, and Mitterwallner (1987: 221-222) to the era of the Sita-Hūṇa king Khiṅgila, which she assigns to around AD 448, thus dating it to around AD 453.

image on the right bearing a small Buddha in the headdress.²⁶ The Buddha in the centre is stylistically related to the group that I identify as Type II (Rhi 2008: 50-57). A pair of gigantic standing Buddhas from Sahrī-Bahlol Mound B, currently in Peshawar Museum, are the most magnificent examples in this group (Figure 14). I would not be surprised if those two Buddhas can be dated to around the first decade of the Kaniṣka era, that is to say the era of Kaniṣka I. The Buddha in the Brussels triad appears to stand in the same line of development. However, as to whether or not such sophistication of iconography would have been possible around the first decade of the Kaniṣka era I cannot be certain. I should be more tempted to see such sophistication as coming somewhat later and to side with those who suggest a later date, perhaps year 105 of the Kaniṣka era (AD 232) with the admission of the omitted-hundred dating practice, or year 5 of the second Kaniṣka era (AD 229). Still, I admit that my supposition is based on a number of speculations and do not entirely exclude the possibility that such advancement in iconographical configurations was already current a century earlier.²⁷

Initially, I even had a suspicion about the authenticity of the triad because it has so many details too good to be true. I was all the more surprised to see that such an exquisite piece was brought to public attention as late as 1973, and its history before that date had never been clearly stated despite the claim that it came from near Peshawar, which is simply a handy attribution of a source for a new Gandhāran object on the market. Katsumi Tanabe and Francine Tissot also raised the possibility of forgery.²⁸ Yet I cannot but concede that such an inscription, though conventional in content, would have been very hard to simulate even if any forger had a masterful knowledge of Kharoṣṭhī and Gāndhārī on the basis of available epigraphic materials; moreover, virtually no manuscript remains, except for the famous Gāndhārī *Dharmaṇāda*, had been known by the 1970s, and I respect the assessments of authorities in epigraphy such as Fussman and Salomon.²⁹ When I examined the piece in 2008 for a second time,³⁰ I thought that it looked better than in photos. The Buddha with its delicate face seems to compare better with such images as a standing Buddha in the British Museum (Figure 15) than the two Sahrī-Bahlol Buddhas (Figure 14). If the stela dates from the 105th year of the Kaniṣka era, it would date sixteen years later than the Mamāne Dherī Buddha. But this remains no more than a provisional speculation for now.

²⁶ Harle 1974: 129; Czuma 1985: 198.

²⁷ Fussman (1987: 72-73) staunchly defends a position to accept the date of the Brussels Buddha as it is.

²⁸ Tanabe (1988: 100, n. 18) presents the following three reasons for his doubts: (1) the reversal of the positions of two different types of bodhisattvas unlike the usual composition in similar triads, (2) the lack of a halo for a seated Buddha in the headdress of a bodhisattva, (3) the engraving of the beginning of the inscription in a slightly slanting position to avoid the broken part. Of the three, I do not think that the first point can be taken seriously because the placement of two bodhisattva types was not always consistent. The second point is interesting because small Buddhas in a bodhisattva's headdress in Gandhāra (though there exist only a handful of examples) are invariably marked with halos. There may be a possibility that the figure is actually not a Buddha because the place was not reserved only for a Buddha. The third point is notable because the inscription starts at the right end of the base of the stela slightly towards the upper side, but it is hard to tell whether this was due to a forger's deliberate arrangement, though one could have a suspicion. Tissot (2005: 396-398) also points out the reversed positioning of two bodhisattvas, which cannot be an indication of forgery. A more forceful reason for her suspicion is the Brussels Buddha's 'almost total similarity' with a triad stela in the Peshawar Museum (Tissot 2005: fig. 2; Lyons & Ingholt 1957: no. 253). However, despite many apparent similarities, the two pieces show differences as well in a number of features, and I cannot agree with her judgment that they are identical. Furthermore, even though there may be a significant degree of similarity, they cannot be a sign of forgery because a workshop or an artisan in the period could have produced a number of such small objects in the same shape for dedication. We have to keep it in mind that carvings from Gandhāra were not supposed to have the uniqueness as a work of art that is associated with modern and contemporary art.

²⁹ Fussman (1974; 1987) never expresses any reservation about the authenticity of the inscription of the triad; Salomon (personal communication) is of the opinion that no forger would be capable enough of composing an inscription in such expertly Kharoṣṭhī. Recently, Ingo Strauch (2009[2013]: 209-212) notes a very special nature of the word *adhvādida* (*adhvatīta*) found in the Brussels Buddha's inscription and implies that the inscription, thus the triad itself, must be genuine if the problem of its 'astonishing similarity' with a triad stela in Peshawar (see n. 28 in this paper) can be resolved. As I have already pointed out, the 'astonishing similarity' cannot be a problem.

³⁰ The piece was shown in the exhibition of 'Gandhāran Art and the Bamiyan Site' held in Japan from December 2007 to July 2008 (*GBGI* 2007: 61).

There is another inscribed Buddha image worth considering here, though it is not dated. It is a standing Buddha in the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum in Yamanashi, Japan (Figures 16 and 17; cf. Tanabe 2007: II.2). The inscription, carved on a halo, was first reported by Harold Bailey in 1982 without referring to the image.³¹ Bailey read the inscription as follows (Bailey 1982: 150-151):³²

*dhramatithaṇa-ṇagaraṃmi dhamara'i'ammi aśo-roya-
pra'iṭhividami momadara'e bala-soma-bha-
ya'e saṃ-'aṇakara-bhaya'e daṇa-mukhe 'imiṇa kuśāla-
muleṇa
sarva-śatva ṇiva'iti
para*

(In the city [*nagara*] Dharmātiṣṭhāna, at the Dhamrā-
rājika-[*stūpa*] established by Aśoka-rāja, the donation
of the wife [*dara*] Moma, the wife Bala-soma, together
with the wife 'Aṇakara. By this root of good all beings
are brought to *nirvāṇa*.)

In 2007, Richard Salomon presented a revised reading and translation (Salomon 2007: 283; cf. CKI 256):

*[tra]matithaṇaṇagaraṃmi dhamaraiaṃmi aśoraya-
praistavidami momadatae balasoma-bha-
yae suaṇakara-bhayae daṇamukhe imiṇa kuśalamuleṇa
sarva śatva <para>nivaīti*

(The gift of Momadata, wife of Balasoma, wife of a
goldsmith, in the Dharmarājika [*stūpa*] established
by King Aśo(ka) at the capital city Trama. By
this root of merit all beings are caused to attain
nirvāṇa.)

Salomon reads [*tra*]matithaṇaṇagaraṃmi where Bailey read *dhramatithaṇaṇagaraṃmi*, and translates it as 'at the capital city Trama' instead of 'in the city Dharmātiṣṭhāna'. Then, he equates Trama with Tramaṇa/Tamaṇospa/Tramaṇospa, which he considers as the capital of the Apraca/Avaca dynasty. Based on the supposition that the dynasty was active in the Bajaur area during the first century AD, he suggests that the Buddha may also be dated to the period (Salomon 2007: 273-276, 281-282).³³

To a number of specialists, this date may seem too early for the Hirayama Buddha. It is no surprise that some art historians expressed doubts about such an early date when Salomon first presented the idea at a conference in 2000 (Salomon 2007: 281). When I first saw the Buddha in publications from 1984 (Tanabe

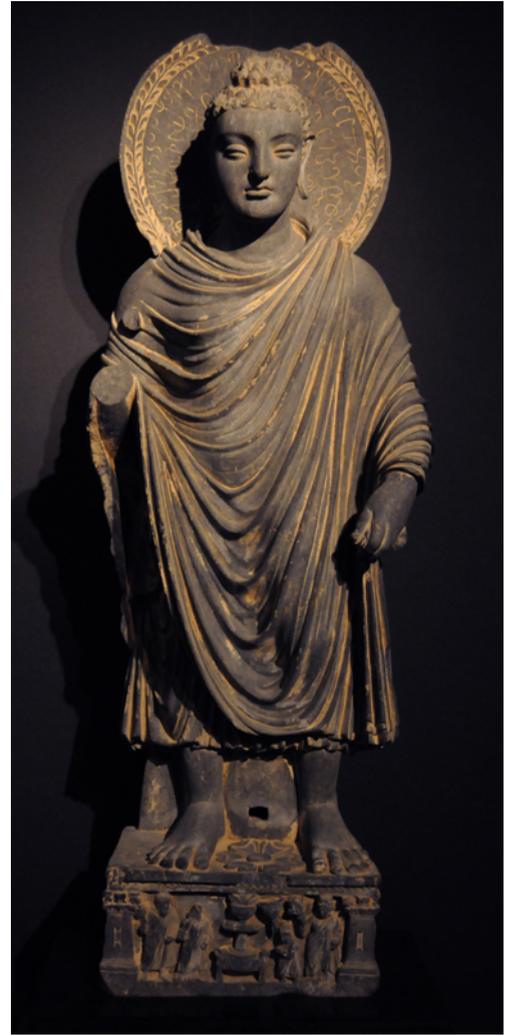


Figure 16. Buddha. Provenance unknown. H. 98 cm. Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Yamanashi. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

³¹ The image seems to have arrived in Japan in 1984, and in the same year Katsumi Tanabe wrote two articles: one (1984a) is a short note, which dated it to the late Kushan period, the latter half of the second century to the third century AD, and the other (1984b) is a monograph, which is devoted to the discussion of the Iranian features of the scene on the pedestal along with remarks on the content of the inscription.

³² Cf. CKI 256; *IBHK* I: 1012-1013.

³³ Tsukamoto Keishō (*IBHK* I: 1012-1013) mistakenly equates 'Dharmarājikā' in the inscription with a monastery site in Taxila named as such by John Marshall (Marshall 1951, I: 234-235). Tanabe (1984B: 11) is also aware of the problem.



Figure 17. Detail of Figure 16. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

1984a; 1984b), I even wondered about its authenticity owing to its somewhat unfamiliar and clumsy-looking facial features and drapery as well as the long inscription carved on the halo, a peculiar arrangement very rarely noticed for such a long inscription in Gandhāran images.³⁴ However, I admit that it would have been very hard for a forger to compose such an inscription that contains quite specific information of a sophisticated nature about the circumstances of dedication.³⁵ If it is indeed genuine, this Buddha is comparable in hairstyle to Buddhas that I have identified as Type V (Rhi 2008: 69-74). Also, in proportion and overall drapery pattern, it is similar to a standing Buddha in Lahore Museum (Figure 18) among Type V Buddhas, although the drapery is more deeply carved. The Hirayama Buddha has a hole on the *uṣṇiṣa*, as a number of examples in Type V (Rhi 2005). Yet the face seems significantly different. Another interesting parallel is found in a standing Buddha in the Matsuoka Museum in Tokyo (Figures 19 and 20).³⁶ Especially the profiles of the heads show remarkable similarities, while they differ from other, more commonly found types of Gandhāran Buddhas. The Matsuoka Buddha is quite a refined piece both in expression and craftsmanship. It does not seem easily matched with any of the five visual groups I have identified and may form a small, separate group. The

Hirayama Buddha might be related to the Matsuoka Buddha and loosely linked to my Type V, although this does not mean that Type V Buddhas are necessarily as early as the Hirayama Buddha (and perhaps the Matsuoka Buddha) – even if the last two Buddhas can be dated to the first century AD. Bajaur is located to the north-west of the Peshawar valley separated by the Malakand Range and to the west of the Swat valley. We know little about Buddhist art production there. Still, some reliquaries and scriptural manuscripts found in the area indicate that Buddhists were active in the area around the beginning of the Common Era (Falk & Strauch 2014). If we accept Salomon's suggestion, could the Hirayama Buddha as well as the Matsuoka Buddha have been among the early attempts in creating Buddha images in the Northwest, which did not leave a lasting impact? I do not think that this is entirely unlikely.

³⁴ I can recall three more examples: (1) the bust of a bodhisattva (Fussman 1980: 56-58 and pl. VII); (2) a standing bodhisattva (first on the market at Christie's, London on 12 April 1988, lot 212); (3) a seated Buddha (on the market at Christie's, New York on 16 September 2008, lot 341). Of these, Fussman treats the inscription of piece (1) as genuine, and I think that the image is also genuine; pieces (2) and (3) seem to me clearly fakes, while Salomon considers them so on epigraphic grounds.

³⁵ Conscious of the criticism about the dating of the Hirayama Buddha as contemporary with the Apraca dynasty, Salomon (2005: 281-282) takes a somewhat cautious stance at the end of his discussions on the Hirayama Buddha, saying: '... in light of the many uncertainties of the chronology of Gandhāran sculptures, a relatively early date for this piece should not be ruled out. Although the apparent connections of the Aśo-*raya* Buddha [as he calls the Hirayama Buddha] inscription with early inscriptions and documents cannot be claimed to prove an early date for it, they do suggest linkages with the pre-Kuṣāṇa world of the first century. But as to whether the image itself can be this early, I decline to give any opinion, and leave it to art historians to consider the issue further,' but he adds that the inscription probably dates from the first or second century on palaeographic grounds (Salomon 2005: 281, n. 55). If the Buddha was made at the former Apraca capital after the Apraca period, we should be able to explain the historical background for the information stated in the inscription. Regardless of this, Salomon is confident that the inscription is genuine, though he notes that Fussman disagrees with him (personal communication).

³⁶ This Buddha was originally in the Hagop Kevorkian collection in New York (Lyons & Ingholt 1957: pl. XVII4) and later purchased by the Matsuoka Museum (Matsuoka 1994: no. 2).



Figure 18. Buddha. Provenance unknown. H. 139 cm. Lahore Museum. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

Problems with the last two examples remind us of a thorny question: to what extent can we trust the expert opinion on the authenticity of inscribed objects? As an art historian, I tend to think that it would be far more difficult to forge an inscription in a convincing manner because it seems to require more sophisticated and articulated knowledge and any problems can be more easily detected—unlike visual images, which essentially resist reduction in verbal or quantitative terms—and that the task would be even harder when one works in an obsolete language and script. Therefore, I have felt compelled to give greater weight to the assessment of epigraphical specialists when the issue of forgery arises, as I did for the Brussels Buddha and the Hirayama Buddha. But when the opinions of most reliable epigraphical experts diverge, this makes me wonder how good the modern forgers are in their command of this ancient language and script.

On the premise that the Brussels Buddha and the Hirayama Buddha are genuine, the five examples I have discussed in this paper may be arranged in the following chronological order.

The Hirayama Buddha – first century AD?

The Loriyān Tangai Buddha (year 318) – 143 AD

The Hashtnagar Buddha (year 384) – 209 AD

The Mamāne Ḍherī Buddha (year 89) – 216 AD

The Brussels Buddha (year 5 = 105?) – 232 AD?

However, this could be misleading because it gives an illusion that they appeared in this linear sequence. If we consider the factor of provenances, we may have a more sensible picture.

Table 1. Comparison of dated Buddha figures by region.

Bajaur	Loriyān Tangai area in Swat	Charsadda, Takht-i-Bāhī, Sahrī-Bahlol area in the Peshawar basin		Chronological comparisons
• Hirayama Buddha, first century AD?	• Loriyān Tangai Buddha, 143 AD	Rhi Type III • Hashtnagar Buddha 209 AD • Mamāne Ḍherī Buddha, 216 AD	Rhi Type II • Brussels Buddha 132 AD? • Brussels Buddha 232 AD?	• Bīmarān reliquary, first century AD (Jalalabad) • Buddha on Kaniṣka coins (Peshawar?)



Figure 19. Buddha. Provenance unknown. H. 130 cm. Matsuoka Museum, Tokyo. (Photo: J. Rhi.)



Figure 20. Detail of Figure 19. (Photo: J. Rhi.)

From this table I may be able to draw the following picture. The most standard specimens of my Type II Buddhas, as seen in the Mamāne Dheri Buddha and the Hashtnagar Buddha, were made in large numbers in the Charsadda, Takht-i-Bāhī, Sahrī-Bahlol area of the Peshawar basin during several, possibly more, decades spreading around AD 200. In the first half of the second century AD, a cruder type, as seen in the Loriyān Tangai Buddha, was produced in the Loriyān Tangai environs in the north, though we cannot specify the origin of the type; it may have continued in this area as a distinctive local style for another century while it was stylistically interacting with the dominant type from the Peshawar basin just mentioned. Perhaps during the first century AD, one of the early attempts of making Buddha images, as seen in the Hirayama Buddha, may have taken place in

Bajaur. This may have been contemporary with another early attempt in the Jalalabad valley as witnessed in a famous reliquary from Bīmarān. It is interesting to note that Loriyān Tangai, Bajaur, and Jalalabad are all located at rather marginal areas when viewed from the Peshawar basin, but they were active in the dedication of relics, and possibly also of images, as well as the creation of Buddhist manuscripts from around the beginning of the Common Era. Back in the Peshawar basin, the production of some of my Type II Buddhas, such as the two gigantic standing Buddhas from Sahrī-Bahlol (Figure 14), may have been made during the second century and overlapped with that of the Type III Buddhas because the former often show indistinguishable affinities with the latter in the rendering of the body and drapery despite deliberate distinction in hairstyle (Rhi 2008). But whether more delicate-faced examples of this type, such as the Brussels Buddha, were products from the early third century AD or a century earlier remains a question. We must, of course, keep it in mind that this is only a provisional picture delineated on the basis of a handful of examples as well as some presumptions regarding the evolution of visual form.

In closing, I would like to stress again that Gandhāran Buddhist imagery probably did not unfold in a single, linear process. There must have been a number of different trends in diverse regional units, some dying out in a short span and some persisting for a longer period. Contacts with classical prototypes were

not made at a single moment and did not proceed in a linear way. A new impact may have come later, and a new process could have started at a later date. The picture I have drawn on basis of the examination of dated images may seem complex and confusing, but I believe that this is exactly what we have to expect in charting the development of Gandhāran Buddhist imagery. Perhaps we need to be prepared to expect and tackle even greater complexity in sorting it out in as coherent a picture as possible.

References

- Bachhofer L. 1929. *Early Indian Sculpture* (2 volumes). Paris: The Pegasus Press.
- Bailey H.W. 1982. Two Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 142–155.
- Bussagli M. 1984. *L'Arte del Gandhara*. Torino: UTET.
- CKI *Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, by S. Baums & A. Glass. https://www.gandhari.org/a_inscriptions.php
- Cribb J. 2005. The Greek Kingdom of Bactria, Its Coinage and Its Collapse. Pages 207–225 in O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Turnhout: Brepolis.
- Czuma S. 1985. *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Deydier H. 1950. *Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Dobbins K.W. 1968. Gandhāra Buddha Images with Inscribed Dates. *East and West* 18-3/4: 281–288.
- Falk H. 2001. The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of the Kuṣāṇas. *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7: 121–136.
- Falk H. 2007(2012). Ancient Indian Eras: An Overview. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21: 131–145.
- Falk H. & Bennett C. 2009. Macedonian Intercalary Months and the Era of Azes. *Acta Orientalia* 70: 197–216.
- Falk H. & Strauch I. 2014. The Bajaur and Split Collections of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts within the Context of Buddhist Gāndhārī Literature. Pages 51–78 in P. Harrison & J.-U. Hartmann (eds), *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Foucher A. 1922. *L'Art gréco-bouddhique de Gandhāra* II.2. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Fussman G. 1974. Documents épigraphiques kouchans. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 61: 1–66.
- Fussman G. 1980. Documents épigraphiques kouchans (II). *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 67: 45–58.
- Fussman G. 1987. Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Gandharan Art. Pages 67–88 in M. Yaldiz and W. Lobo (eds), *Investigating Indian Art*. Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst.
- GBGI 2007. *Gandāra bijutsu to bāmiyan isekiten* (The exhibition of Gandhāran art and the Bamiyan site). Shizuoka: Shizuoka shinbunsha.
- GBHP 2008. *Gandhara, The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan: Legends, Monasteries, and Paradise*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Harle J.C. 1974. A Hitherto Unknown Dated Sculpture from Gandhāra: A Preliminary Report. Pages 128–135 in J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J. M. M. Ubaghs (eds), *South Asian Archaeology 1973*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- IBHK Tsukamoto K. 1996–98. *Indo bukkyō himei no kenkyū* (Study of inscriptions of Indian Buddhism) (3 volumes). Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten.
- Khandalavala K. 1985. The Five Dated Gandhāra School Sculptures and Their Stylistic Implications. Pages 61–71 in F. M. Asher and G. S. Gai (eds), *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies.
- Konow S. 1929. *Khroshtī Inscriptions*. Calcutta: Manager of Publications.
- Konow S. 1933. Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology. *Journal of Indian History* 12/1: 1–46.
- Konow S. 1933–34. A Note on the Mamane Dheri Inscription. *Epigraphia Indica* 22: 14–15.
- Konow S. & Wijk W.E. van 1924. The Eras of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. *Acta Orientalia* 3: 52–91.
- LA 1984. *Light of Asia: Buddha Sakyamuni in Asian Art*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
- Lohuizen-de Leeuw J.E. van 1949. *The 'Scythian' Period*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

- Lohuizen-de Leeuw J.E. van 1986. The Second Century of the Kaniṣka Era. *South Asian Studies* 2: 1-9.
- Lyons I. & Ingholt H. 1957. *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Marshall, J. 1951. *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934* (3 volumes). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marshall J. & Vogel J.Ph. 1904. Excavations at Chārsada in the Frontier Province. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report 1902-03*: 104-184.
- Matsuoka Museum of Art 1994. *Ancient Asian Sculptures from the Matsuoka Collection*. Tokyo: Matsuoka Museum of Art
- Mitterwallner G. von 1987. The Brussels Buddha from Gandhara of the Year 5. Pages 213-247 in M. Yaldiz and W. Lobo (eds), *Investigating Indian Art*. Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst.
- Mukherjee B.N. 1991. Dated Inscriptions on Gandhāra Sculptures in the Indian Museum. Pages 149-152 in A. Sengupta and D. Das (eds), *Gandhara Holdings in the Indian Museum: A Handlist*. Calcutta: Indian Museum.
- Oliveri L.M. 2014. *The Last Phases of the Urban Site of Bir-Kot-Ghwandai (Barikot), The Buddhist Sites of Gumbat and Amluk-Dara (Barikot)*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Rhi J. 2005. Images, Relics, and Jewels: The Assimilation of Images in the Buddhist Relic Cult of Gandhāra. *Artibus Asiae* 65-2: 169-211.
- Rhi J. 2008. Identifying Several Visual Types in Gandhāran Buddha Images. *Archives of Asian Art* 58: 43-85.
- Rosenfield J.M. 1967. *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Rowland B. 1936. A Revised Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture. *Art Bulletin* 18: 387-400.
1942. Gandhāra and Late Antique Art: The Buddha Image. *American Journal of Archaeology* 46: 223-236.
- Salomon R. 2005. The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription. Pages 359-401 in O. Boppearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Turnhout: Brepolis.
- Salomon R. 2007. Dynastic and Institutional Connections in the Pre-and Early Kuṣāṇa Period: New Manuscript and Epigraphic Evidence. Pages 267-86 in D. M. Srinivasan (ed), *On the Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*. Leiden: Brill.
- Senart É. 1899. Notes d'épigraphie indienne VII: Deux épigraphes du Svāt. *Journal asiatique* 9^e série 13: 526-537.
- Smith V.A. 1889a. A Dated Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture. *The Indian Antiquary* 18: 257-258.
- Smith V.A. 1889b. Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India. *The Indian Antiquary* 21: 107-198.
- Soper A. 1949. Aspects of Light Symbolism. *Archives of Asian Art* 12: 252-283.
- Soper A. 1951. The Roman Style in Gandhāra. *American Journal of Archaeology* 55/4: 301-319.
- Strauch I. 2009(2013). Inscribed Objects from Greater Gandhāra. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 23: 209-219.
- Tanabe K. 1984a. Butsuda shakamuni (Buddha Śākyamuni). *Kokka* 1076: 25-26.
- Tanabe K. 1984b. Karōshuti meikoku butsuda ritsuzō kō (On a standing Buddha image with a Kharoṣṭhi inscription). *Kokka* 1078: 7-24.
- Tanabe K. 1988. Iconographical and Typological Investigations of the Gandhara Fake Bodhisattva Image Exhibited by the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Nara National Museum. *Orient* 24: 84-107.
- Tanabe K. 2007. *Hirayama korekushon: Gandāra bukyō bijutsu* (Hirayama collection: Buddhist art of Gandhāra). Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- Tissot F. 2005. Remarks on Several Gandhāra Pieces. *East and West* 55/1: 395-403.
- Vogel J.Ph. 1905. Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report 1903-04*: 245-260.
- Zwalf W. 1996. *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum* (2 volumes). London: British Museum Press.