

I THE GIANT BUDDHA STATUES IN BAMMIYAN

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Description, History and State of Conservation before the Destruction in 2001

The Bamiyan valley, 230 km northwest of Kabul and 2500 m above sea-level, separates the Hindu Kush from the Koh-i-Baba mountains. The city of Bamiyan is the centre of the valley and the largest settlement of the Hazarajat. From West to East, the Bamiyan river runs through the valley. The Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley were inscribed on the World Heritage List in July 2003 and at the same time placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger:

The World Heritage Committee,

1. *Inscribes the **Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan**, on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criteria (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) and (vi):*

Criterion (i): *The Buddha statues and the cave art in Bamiyan Valley are an outstanding representation of the Gandharan School in Buddhist art in the Central Asian region.*

Criterion (ii): *The artistic and architectural remains of Bamiyan Valley, and an important Buddhist centre on the Silk Road, are an exceptional testimony to the interchange of Indian, Hellenistic, Roman and Sassanian influences as the basis for the development of a particular artistic expression in the Gandharan School. To this can be added the Islamic influence in a later period.*

Criterion (iii): *The Bamiyan Valley bears an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition in the Central Asian region, which has disappeared.*

Criterion (iv): *The Bamiyan Valley is an outstanding example of a cultural landscape which illustrates a significant period in Buddhism.*

Criterion (vi): *The Bamiyan Valley is the most monumental expression of the western Buddhism. It was an important centre of pilgrimage over many centuries. Due to their symbolic values, the monuments have suffered at different times of their existence, including the deliberate destruction in 2001, which shook the whole world.*

The serial property contains the following elements: Bamiyan Cliff including niches of the 38 meter Buddha,

seated Buddhas, 55 meter Buddha and surrounding caves, Kakrak Valley caves including the niche of the standing Buddha, Qoul-I Akram Caves in the Fuladi Valley, Kalai Ghamai Caves in the Fuladi Valley, Shahr-i-Zuhak, Qallay Kaphari A, Qallay Kaphari B, Shahr-i-Ghulghulah.

2. *Recommends that the State Party make every effort to guarantee an adequate legal framework for the protection and conservation of the Bamiyan Valley;*
3. *Further urges the international community and various organizations active in the field of heritage protection in the Bamiyan Valley to continue its co-operation and assistance to the Afghan authorities to enhance the conservation and protection of the property;*
4. *Recognizing the significant and persisting danger posed by anti-personnel mines in various areas of the Bamiyan Valley and noting the request from the Afghan authorities that all cultural projects include funds for demining;*
5. *Strongly encourages Member States, IGOs, NGOs, and other institutions to take this request into consideration when planning cultural heritage activities in the Bamiyan Valley, and to this end, appeals for financial and technical assistance for de-mining activities in the Valley;*
6. *Requests the Director-General of UNESCO to continue his efforts to effectively co-ordinate the various initiatives and activities benefiting the conservation process in the Bamiyan Valley, and in particular, ensure that the work of the World Heritage Committee and the Advisory Bodies are fully taken into account at the International Co-ordination Committee sessions and associated Working Groups;*
7. *Requests the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies to assist the Afghan authorities, in close co-operation with the UNESCO Kabul Office and the Division of Cultural Heritage, to elaborate a comprehensive and effective management plan for the Bamiyan Valley;*
8. *Requests a report on the state of conservation of the Bamiyan Valley to be submitted by the State Party with assistance from the World Heritage Centre, UNESCO Kabul and the Division of Cultural Heritage by 1st February 2004 for examination at the 28th session of the World Heritage Committee in 2004.*

*The World Heritage Committee decides to inscribe the Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan, on the List of World Heritage in Danger.*¹

Description of the Buddha statues

The giant Buddha sculptures of Bamiyan, the smaller Buddha probably dating back to the mid-6th century AD, the bigger one to the early 7th century (cf. the results of the C¹⁴ examinations, pp. 231–236) are cut into the same cliff face with a distance of about 800 m between them. They were part of a large Buddhist complex with about 700 caves serving as sanctuaries, pilgrim hostels, and storage rooms. The Buddha niches were cut deep into the rock and may always have been open to the front.² The caves and tunnels in the rock and the niches of the Buddha statues were painted. Although the statues were neglected after the conversion of the region to Islam and partly damaged, large segments of the decoration survived.

The sculptures both show a standing Buddha. As the forearms are missing, an identification by the *mudras* (hand gestures) is not possible any more.³ Western literature distinguishes, according to position or size, between an Eastern or Small Buddha (38 m tall) and a Western or Big Buddha (55 m tall).⁴ Afghans identify the Eastern Buddha as *khink-but* (grey or moon white Buddha) and the Western one as *surkh-but* (red Buddha). These attributes are already mentioned in an Arab description of 1218⁵ and a Latin text of 1700.⁶ In the 18th century, local people identified them as a *female* and a *male* statue, in connection with tales probably reaching back several centuries.⁷ Seen from a distance, the most characteristic difference is the shape of the niches: While that of the Eastern Buddha is straight, that of the Western Buddha shows recesses at the height of the shoulders, resulting in a trilobate shape.

Both sculptures were standing upright and composed in a completely frontal perspective. Originally, the forearms were sticking out horizontally to the front.⁸ The upper garment, the *sangati* (or maybe a *kasaya*)⁹, covered both shoulders and fell down to the shins. The thin fabric formed fine and regular ridges, clinging so close to the body that the anatomy was still visible.¹⁰ Below the right forearms, in the recession formed by the edges of the *sangati* hanging over the arms, the lining of the *sangati* and parts of the undergarment (*uttarasanga*) could be perceived. On the Eastern Buddha, the undergarment protruded below the lower hem of the *sangati*.¹¹ The feet were bare. They seem to stand on flat ground, but the Indian team of restorers who worked there from 1969 to 1978, interpreted remnants found during their excavations as pedestals.¹² The hair was arranged in wavy curls, some strands have been preserved near the ears. A bulge at the top of the head may have indicated the *usnisa* (protuberance of the crane).¹³ Even on the earliest sketches, the hands and the faces are missing. The peculiar fact that both faces are cut out above the mouths has raised many speculations. Today, the prevailing opinion is that the faces were cut out from the beginning, and that the upper part may

have been fashioned as a wooden mask.¹⁴ This would be a very unusual procedure, but there is no evidence for the faces having been destroyed.¹⁵

History of the Buddha statues

Already in Antiquity, the Bamiyan valley was important because it was situated on the route connecting the Silk Road and the southern countries such as India. From Northern India, Buddhism spread to the region of Bamiyan, at first under Asoka (3rd century BC), later on during the reign of the Kushan (1st to 3rd century AD). The giant clay Buddha statues from Surch Kotal and in Tajikistan are ascribed to this period.¹⁶ The foundation of a Buddhist monastery in the Bamiyan valley is said to date back to the 2nd century BC.¹⁷ It became an important centre of pilgrimage.¹⁸

Near Bamiyan, there are other Buddhist places of high cultural importance such as the Kakrak valley with a Buddha sculpture, which is 10 m tall, and caves dating from the 6th to 13th century, or the caves of Qoul-i Akram and Kalai Ghamai in the Fuladi valley.

Though stories and occasional descriptions of the Buddha statues can be traced back over centuries, very little is known about Bamiyan's Buddhist time. The most important historical description is included in the travel report *xi you ji* ('The Journey to the West') by the Chinese monk Xuanzang. On his way from Xi'an to India he passed through Bamiyan (*Fan yen na*) about 630 AD. He describes three giant sculptures near the convent: *To the north-east of the royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness. To the east of this spot there is a convent, which was built by a former king of the country. To the east of the convent there is a standing figure of Sākya Buddha, made of metallic stone (teou-shih) in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a complete form as it stands. To the east of the city 12 or 13 li there is a convent, in which there is a figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position, as when he attained 'Nirvāna'. The figure is in length about 1000 feet or so.*¹⁹ This description refers to a standing Buddha of 45–50 m height, cut into the rock cliff, another standing Sakyamuni of 33 m height, made of 'metal-stone' and assembled from several parts²⁰, and a large lying Buddha (Parinirvana) of about 333 m length.

In 770, the region of Bamiyan became Islamic. In 870, a second Buddhism phase started. In 977, Islam irrevocably became the dominating religion in Bamiyan.

In 1218, Yakut al Hamawi described Bamiyan briefly in his geographic dictionary: *Bamiyan. This is the name of a city and an important district between Balkh and Ghaznah, settled between mountains, with one fortress. This city is small, but it is the main town in an extensive territory. Ten days of march separate it from Balkh and eight from Ghaznah. There you can admire a building supported by big pillars and covered with paintings representing all the birds created by God. There are two statues carved in the stone cliff and high from the base of the mountain until its*

top. One is called *Surkhbud*, the red statue, and the other *Khinkbud* the white statue. Nothing can be compared with these statues in the entire world.²¹ This was the last mentioning of the giant sculptures for a long time. Shortly afterwards, in 1221, Bamiyan was destroyed during the invasion of the Mongols under Genghis Khan: [Coming] from Enderab, Genghis Khan besieged Bamiyan, where the inhabitants sheltered themselves in its walls and fought with great courage. A son of Djaghatai Khan [Mutugan] was killed from an arrow during the battle. Genghis Khan, full of anger for the loss of this young and particularly appreciated prince, ordered a general attack. The city was stormed and all its inhabitants were massacred without distinction in age or sex. The fortress was razed to the ground. The Khan gave to this place the name of *maw-Baligh*, that is *Yaman Qal'a*. Evil Place.²²

The rediscovery of the forgotten Buddha sculptures started in the 18th century. In 1700, they were mentioned by Thomas Hyde, who was the first European to mention them at all, based on Arab literal sources.²³ In the early 19th century, descriptions still based on hearsay, not on expeditions or any personal experience, were published, such as those by Wilford (1798 or 1801)²⁴ and by Elphinstone (1814).²⁵ In the 1830s, Europeans started to travel to Afghanistan as adventurers or during military campaigns. The first to visit Bamiyan probably were William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, who arrived there in 1824: *The figures stand in niches or recesses cut out of the rock, the upper part of which is arched, so as to form an alcove or vaulted canopy over the head of the figure; the sides advance so as to form wings, in which are staircases ascending to a gallery behind the neck of the statue, whilst other galleries run off from their sides, right and left, into the rock. The flights of steps of the larger image were so much decayed as to be inaccessible but one of those on the side on the smaller was tolerably entire, and led to the head of the figure. Both the figures have been damaged by order, it is said, of Aurangzeb.*²⁶ Alexander Burnes and Dr. Gérard visited Bamiyan in May 1832. Burnes described the statues and made a sketch (figs. 1, 2).²⁷ A precise drawing of the cliff with the Eastern Buddha was made by Charles Masson in 1832 or 1833 (fig. 3).²⁸ Sir Vincent Eyre, at that time prisoner of war in Afghanistan, produced several watercolour sketches in 1842 (figs. 4, 5).²⁹

At that time, the knowledge about what the statues represented seems to have been completely lost. Locals did not know that they were Buddhas, neither did Westerners identify them as Buddhist art. Elphinstone, Burnes, Masson, and Ritter give evidence of rather clueless speculations. Elphinstone reports about the '*worship of Boodh*' and the story of the female and the male statue without recognising the connection to Buddhism. Burnes calls the traditions regarding '*the idols of Bamiyan*' '*vague and unsatisfactory*'. He refers to locals asserting that they were made in the Christian period, to explanations by Hindus, comparison to Buddhists and Jain art and Alexander's expeditions. He tends to see them as '*caprice of some person of rank, residing in this cave-digging neighbourhood*'³⁰, without deciding what they could be or trying to date them. Carl Ritter has summarized the knowledge obtained by the early travels to Bamiyan and the discussions about the '*But idols*' (fig. 2).³¹

In the late 19th century, a scientific interest in the statues arose starting with the publication by Talbot and Simpson who visited Bamiyan in 1885. Captain P. J. Maitland contributed sketches of the two Buddha statues (figs. 6–10) and interesting notes on Bamiyan: *The Bamian valley is about half a mile broad and well cultivated, but there is no town or even central agglomeration of houses, only small villages scattered up and down the valley. To the north is a fairly continuous wall of cliffs averaging about 300 feet in height; to the south is a central plateau separated by the glens called Dahaneh-i-Tajik and Dahanehi-Saidabad from the cliffs limiting the western and eastern part of the valley. On the edge of the central plateau is a small, conical, clayey hill, covered with the ruins of Ghulgulah. This is probably the ancient Bamian. The cliffs are everywhere pierced with numerous caves, but the greatest number is found on the north side of the valley, and here are also the famous idols, The But-i-Bamian. The cliffs round these are literally honeycombed with caves, which are found even in the debris slope at the bottom. They are almost all inhabited by Tajiks, or used as store rooms, and the entrance is frequently protected by a low mud wall.*

Facing the cliff the larger of the two big idols is to the left, the other to the right. They are about a quarter of a mile apart and supposed to be male and female, and their heights are respectively 180 and 120 feet. Their names are, as reported by former travellers, Sal Sal for the male and Shah Mameh for the female figure.

The idols are standing figures, sculptured in very bold relief in deep niches. Between the two large idols are, or rather were, two smaller ones, also in niches. These are equidistant from the large idols and from each other, that is to say, there is about 150 yards between each of the niches, large and small. One of the smaller niches is about 60 to 70 feet high, and is now empty, though a close inspection shows fragments of the idol that once filled it. The second small niche is still occupied by a sitting figure, which is about 40 feet high and known as the Bacheh, or child. The general shape of the niches is the same in all cases, but that of the large female figure is evidently unfinished, and the shoulders are not marked, nor the edges smoothed off.

The depth of the niches of the two large idols is about twice the thickness of the figures standing in them: the latter are therefore fairly well protected from the weather, and this accounts for their preservation, nearly all the damage done to them being due to the hand of man.

The whole interior of the niches, and particularly the arches over the heads of the idols, have been painted with what appears to be allegorical designs. Although much damaged, in fact, obliterated, where they could be easily got at, enough remains to show the general style of the work, which is exceedingly well executed, and forcibly reminds one of what is generally understood to be Byzantine art.

The idols themselves are rather clumsy figures, roughly hewn in the tough conglomerate rock, and afterwards thickly overlaid with stucco, in which all the details are executed. The whole arrangement clearly shows that this was not done at a later period, but is part of the original design of the figures. The stucco appears to have been painted, or at least paint was used in some places. The features of the figures



◁ Fig. 1



◁ Fig. 2



◁ Fig. 3



Fig. 4 ▷



Fig. 5 ▷

Fig. 6 ▷



- Fig. 1 Alexander Burnes, 'The Colossal Idols, or Buts, of Bamian', in: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1833
- Fig. 2 'Die Kolosse zu Bamiyan n. Al-Burnes Zeichnung', in: Carl Ritter, *Die Stupa's (Topes) oder die architectonischen Denkmale an der Indo-Baktrischen Königsstraße und die Colosse von Bamiyan*. Berlin 1838
- Fig. 3 Charles Masson, sketch of the cliff with the Eastern Buddha, in: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, vol. V, 1836
- Fig. 4 Vincent Eyre, sketch of the cliff with the Western Buddha, 1842
- Fig. 5 Vincent Eyre, sketch of the cliff with the Eastern Buddha, 1842
- Fig. 6 The Western Buddha, engraving after P. J. Maitland, in: *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 6, 1886, p. 491



△ Fig. 7. The Eastern Buddha, engraving after P. J. Maitland, in: *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 13, 1886, p. 535

▽ Fig. 8. View of the cliff with Eastern Buddha. M. G. Talbot and P. J. Maitland, *The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bamian*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* XVIII, 1886



△ Fig. 9. Sketch of the Western Buddha. M. G. Talbot and P. J. Maitland, *The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bamian*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* XVIII, 1886

▽ Fig. 10. Sketch of the Eastern Buddha. M. G. Talbot and P. J. Maitland, *The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bamian*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* XVIII, 1886





△ Fig. 11. Military parade in front of the Western Buddha, in: *The Graphic*, January 6, 1894



△ Fig. 12. View of the Western Buddha, in: H. H. Hayden, *Notes on some monuments in Afghanistan*, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* II, 1910

Fig. 13. View of the Western Buddha, photo taken by members of the Citroën Trans-Asiatic Expedition, in: *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 179, October 10, 1931, p. 557 ▷

have been purposely destroyed, and the legs of the larger one have been partly knocked away, it is said by cannon-shot fired at it by Nadir Shah. Both idols are draped in garments reaching to below the knee. The limbs and contour of the body show through, and the general effect of Muslin is excellently imitated in the stucco. The arms of both are bent at the elbow, the forearms and the hands projecting but the latter are now broken off. The feet have also been battered out of shape. Narrow stairways hewn in the interior of the rock lead up from cave to cave to the heads of the idols, and even to the summit of the hill.³²

In 1894 a London magazine, *The Graphic*, published a picture showing a military parade on horseback in front of the colossus of the Western Buddha (fig. 11), a typographical reproduction probably using photographic material³³ and in 1895, the first photograph, showing the Eastern Buddha, was published.³⁴ In 1910, the British geologist H. H. Hayden published an article with a first series of photographs of the Bamiyan valley (fig. 12) and in the following decades the state of conservation of the Buddha statues is sometimes documented by souvenir photos made by tourists, for example the participants of the Citroën Transasiatic Expedition Beirut – Beijing of 1931 (fig. 13).





△ Fig. 14. M. Hackin, A. Godard and Y. Godard, view of the Western Buddha, in: *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, 1928

▽ Fig. 15. M. Hackin, A. Godard and Y. Godard, view of the Eastern Buddha, in: *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, 1928



△ Fig. 16. M. Hackin, J. Carl, view of the cliff with the Eastern Buddha, in: *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, 1933

▽ Fig. 17. M. Hackin, J. Carl, lower part of the Eastern Buddha, in: *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, 1933







△ Fig. 19. E. Melzl, Western Buddha, 1958

▽ Fig. 20. E. Melzl, Eastern Buddha with brick-faced buttress, 1958



Structural Interventions and Conservation Measures by DAFA and ASI

In 1922, the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA) was created under the protection of King Amanullah Khan. Its members carried out a comprehensive archaeological survey in Bamiyan with photographic documentation of the Buddha statues (figs. 14–17).³⁵ In this context, also structural interventions were made to stabilise the niche of the Eastern Buddha by means of an enormous brick-faced buttress on the west side (compare figs. 20, 21).³⁶ In the following years, the first analysis of samples of the murals of the caves was executed.³⁷

In 1958, a young German restorer, Edmund Melzl, who lived in Afghanistan between 1956 and 1963 and in 2003 became member of the ICOMOS team in Bamiyan after more than 30 years of working in the restoration department of the Bavarian State Monument Service, stayed for some days in Bamiyan. We owe him a series of black and white photographs of the Buddha statues (figs. 18–24) documenting the state of conservation before the start of a general restoration undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).

In the framework of an Indo-Afghan joint project a team of experts from ASI restored from 1969 to 1978 the Eastern and Western Buddha: *The remedial measures they adopted included, inter alia a drainage system on the rock-roof of the niche to discharge snow-water, the buttress wall (buttress to the right of the Small Buddha, constructed by DAFA, see above) trimmed and treated to match the profile of the rock surface, to reduce natural wear and tear and the restoration of the stairs. As for the images, the emphasis was on preventing their further disintegration and not on reproducing the missing portions, although damaged legs were stabilized and broken edges filleted. The preservation of paintings necessitated elaborate physical and chemical cleaning, plastering and consolidation of the surface. In carrying out the conservation of the giant statues, the internationally accepted policy laid out in the ‘Venice Charter’ of the International Council on Monuments and Sites was strictly adhered to. At the end of the long restoration operation, Bamiyan retrieved much of its former glory.*³⁸ Apart from the publications and the rich photographic documentation (figs. 25–41) the conservation policy and the technical steps followed by ASI in Bamiyan can be assessed with regard to the famous ‘Conservation Manual’ by Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India, for example paragraphs 88–91: *The joints of the new masonry are to be as inconspicuous as possible, so as to avoid unnecessary contrast with the jointless face of the original rock... Especial care must be taken to ensure that the new masonry is carried flash up to the rock above, and that the joint between is well sealed with grout... If the original rock face is weather-stained, an artificial stain (see para. 238) may be used for the new work etc.*³⁹ The very solid and conscientious work of ASI in the 1970s has certainly contributed much to the survival of the rather fragile Small Buddha niche during the disastrous attacks of 2001. At the same time as ASI, between

1970 and 1978, also Prof. Takayasu Higuchi carried out studies on the Bamiyan caves during the Kyoto University Archaeological Mission.⁴⁰



△ Fig. 21. E. Melzl, view of the cliff with Western Buddha niche, 1958

Fig. 23. E. Melzl, view of the Bamiyan Valley with mausoleum and Eastern Buddha niche, 1958 ▷



△ Fig. 22. E. Melzl, view of the cliff between the Western and Eastern Buddha niche, 1958



Fig. 24. E. Melzl, view of the Eastern Buddha with new buttress, 1958



Notes

- 1 Decisions at the 27th session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris July 2003, 27 COM 8C.43 and 27 COM 8C.44.
- 2 The original appearance of the cliff cannot be reconstructed anymore. Examinations of the murals inside the Buddha niches showed that the sensitive stone had lost one meter by weathering since the niches were painted. SENGUPTA 1989.
- 3 According to Godard, the right hand of the Western Buddha can be conjectured as being raised in the *abhaya-mudra*, while the left hand was hanging down at the side of the body. GODARD et al. 1928, p. 12.
- 4 The English terms referring to the directions vary slightly: The ‘Eastern Buddha’ is also called ‘East Giant Buddha’, ‘East Grand Buddha’ or ‘East Buddha’. The same applies to the ‘Western Buddha’.
- 5 Geographic Dictionary of Yakut al Hamawi, translation of the Arab text in: BARBIER DE MEYNARD 1861, p. 80.
- 6 HYDE 1760, p.129–130, in: GODARD et al. 1928, p. 84: *Talia prope urbem Bamiyân (quae postea Balch, seu Bactra) erant immania et prodigiosa illa persicè dicta Surçh-Bût, id est Idolum rubrum, et C’hingh-Bût, id es Idolum griseum seu cinereum*. According to Beal, Hyde is quoting Masâlik Mamâlik and the *Farhang-i-Jahângiri* of Ibn-Fakred-dîn Angju in this description, also saying that the smaller one is ‘in formae vetulae’ and called *Nesr*. BEAL 1884, p. 51, note 175.
- 7 Wilford 1798 reports that “*the Musulmans insist that they are the statues of Key-Umursh and his consort, that is to say, Adam and Eve.*” WILFORD 1798, p. 464, cited in: GODARD et al. 1928, p. 85. Wilford repeats information from Hyde on a large scale. Burnes writes that they are called *Silsal* and *Shahmama*, representing king Silsal and his wife. BURNES 1834, p. 185 and 187. Burnes also reports that he found a description in the history of Timourlane (= Tamerlane, 1336–1405), written by Tamerlane’s historian Sherif o deen where the statues were called *Lat* and *Munat*. BURNES 1834, p. 188. – The smaller sculpture (Eastern Buddha) is normally identified as the ‘female’, but Vincent Eyre 1843 describes the Eastern as the male one. EYRE 1843, in: GODARD et al. 1928, p. 87–88. Talbot and Simpson identify the smaller one as the female. TALBOT/SIMPSON 1886, p. 332.
- 8 BAUER-BORNEMANN et al 2003, p. 9.
- 9 The *sangati* is part of the Buddhist monastic garment consisting of three elements (*tricivara*): Undergarment (*antaravasaka*), upper robe (*uttarasanga*), and outer robe (*sangati*). Additional parts are a waist cloth (*kushalaka*) and a buckled belt (*samakaksika*). – A *kasaya* is a rectangular piece of cloth, often showing small pieces of textile sewn together in patchwork style. The *kasaya* is wrapped round the body covering either one or both shoulders and worn over a skirt or an undergarment. The imitation of single square pieces of fabric sewn together refers to the tradition of mendicants who made their clothes from rags. The squares are often depicted even if the *kasaya* is characterised as a valuable fabric with embroidery and brocade.
- 10 Stylistically the Bamiyan Buddha statues are linked to the art of Gandhara and the Greco-Buddhist art characteristic of the schools of Gandhara and Mathura.
- 11 On the left arm of the Eastern Buddha, both edges of the *sangati* are draped on the inner side of the arm, so that the inside is not visible. On the Western Buddha, the part below the right arm has been missing for a long time. The drapery above the feet was destroyed, but probably the undergarment was not visible here.
- 12 SENGUPTA 1989, p. 205: ‘*A trial trench dug behind the right foot [of the Western Buddha] revealed the bottom of the feet, each rested on a lotus-like raised pedestal. With the bottom portion added, the image measured 55 meters, i. e. taller by 2 meters.*’
- 13 BURNES 1834 writes about the Western Buddha that ‘*there seems to have been a tiara on his head*’. BURNES 1834, p. 185.
- 14 The idea that the faces were cut out from the beginning for the reception of wooden masks was the result of the Indian examination: SENGUPTA 1989, p. 205. Sengupta describes the cuts made for inserting a wooden rack and traces of charcoal discovered during the restoration of the 1970’s. – The cut-out faces are already clearly visible on the sketches made by Maitland in 1885 (cf. note 31 below).
- 15 Damages on the statues were already mentioned by Burnes: The Western Buddha ‘*is mutilated; both legs having been fractured by cannon; and the countenance above the mouth is destroyed.*’ ‘*The hands [...] were both broken*’. BURNES 1834, p. 185. – Vincent Eyre 1843 describes the face of the Western Buddha as ‘*entirely destroyed*’. He also reports that the Eastern Buddha ‘*is greatly mutilated by cannon shot for which act of religious zeal credit is given to Nadir Shah*’. Godard 1928 explains the missing faces as a result of systematic mutilation. GODARD et al. 1928, p. 11 (Godard) and p. 88 (Eyre).
- 16 HAMBLY 1966, p. 46.
- 17 Date not ascertained, information referring to Hackin in: NATIONAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL PROPERTIES JAPAN 2006, p. 133.
- 18 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA 2002, p. 3.
- 19 BEAL 1884, vol. 1, p. 50–51. – One *li* was equivalent to about 300 m in the Tang Dynasty; the measure *foot* is not a traditional Chinese measure, but perhaps the translation for *chi* which is 1/3 m.
- 20 The interpretation of *teou-shi* or *tu shi* (with *shi* meaning stone) is difficult as it is not a Chinese word, but seems to be phonetic translation which Xuanzang might have picked up during his journey. He mentions *teou-shi* nine times in the *xi you ji* (BEAL 1884, vol. 1, p. 51, 89, 166, 177, 197, 198; vol. 2, p. 45, 46). Three times it is mentioned as material of rather large images of deities: besides Bamiyan, there are the Deva Mahesvara in Varanasi, 100 feet long, and a life-size Buddha statue in Banaras (BEAL 1884, vol. 2, p. 45 and 46). The other mentions are found in lists of commercial transactions and products of Indian and Central Asian countries, where *teou-shi* is listed among gold, silver, copper, iron, crystals and precious vases, what gives the impression that *teou-shi* is material that is sold and transported. Beal translates *teou-shi* as ‘native copper’ and refers to interpretations of JULIEN *in loc.*, n. 2. (without explanation as BEAL 1884 contains no reference list) and the dictionary of Medhurst (Medhurst, Walter Henry, *A Dictionary of the Hok-këen Dialect of the Chinese Language: According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms: Containing about 12,000 Characters*, Macao 1832) interpreting it as a stone with equal parts of copper and calamine (silicate of zinc) (BEAL 1884, vol. 1, p. 166, note 3). In vol. 1, p. 51, note 176, on Bamiyan he refers to Medhurst (*sub voc.*) who explains that *teou-shi* is ‘*a kind of stone resembling metal. The Chinese call it the finest*

- kind of native copper. It is found in Po-sze country (Persia) and resembles gold.' Beal also points out that the statement that the parts of the statue are cast separately makes it plain that the statue was made of metal. WATTERS 1996, p. 118 suggests that *teou-shi* might be a phonetic translation from a Turkish word *tuj* (bronze) or connected to the Sankrit *rīti* (bell-metal, bronze) which is translated into Chinese as *tu shi* or *tu si*. He refers to JULIEN 1857 who translated the term *tu shi* as *laiton* or *cuivre jaune*.
- 21 Ibn Abdallah El Roumi El Hamawi Yaquout (1179–1229 AD), *Du Mo'Djem El-Bouldan – Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes*, Casimir Barbier De Meynard (trad.), Amsterdam 1970, p. 80.
 - 22 Aboul Ghazi Behadour, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tartares*, trad. Desmaisons, St. Petersbourg 1871.
 - 23 HYDE 1760, p. 129–130. In : GODARD et al. 1928, p. 3, reference (1).
 - 24 WILFORD 1798, WILFORD 1801.
 - 25 ELPHINSTONE 1814, p. 487, passage about the Hazaureh [= Hazara] in: GODARD et al 1928, p. 87.
 - 26 Both died during the journey in 1825. Their travelogue was published *post mortem*. MOORCROFT/TREBECK 1841, vol. II, pp. 388.
 - 27 Excerpts of the letters of Dr. Gérard and the sketch by Alexander Burnes (1805–1841) were published in 1833 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. II. See also: BURNES 1834. In 1841, Burnes was assassinated at Kabul.
 - 28 Charles Masson (1800–1853), reproduction of the drawing in: POSSEHL 1982, p. 407 u. pl. 39.1; POSSEHL 1990, p. 119, fig. 7. Most of Masson's pictures from Bamiyan are not published. They are deposited in the India Office Library in London. A list of the pictures in: Archer, Mildred: *British drawings in the India Office Library*. 2 vols., London 1969, vol. I, pp. 252–253 (MSS. Eur. G. 42 = 13 folios). Literature cited after: Mode, M., 'Ein vergessener Anfang: Carl Ritter und die „Kolosse von Bamiyan“ ©, Zum 220. Geburtstag des großen deutschen Geographen.' www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/ca/bam/bamiyanx.htm.
 - 29 Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, in 1842 British prisoner of war in Afghan hands, contrived to explore the Bamiyan caves. His short and incomplete notes were embodied in his book: EYRE 1843.
 - 30 BURNES 1834, pp. 187–188. It is not clear which 'Christian period' he refers to.
 - 31 RITTER 1838.
 - 32 Talbot, Maitland and Simpson surveyed the Buddha statues and the caves B, D and E. Descriptions with sketches of the Bamiyan statues by Maitland were published in: TALBOT/SIMPSON 1886, pp. 303–350.
 - 33 The Graphic, Jan. 6th 1894, p. 6, col. 1.
 - 34 Gray, J. A., *My residence at the court of the Amir*. see: GODARD et al. 1928, p. 10.
 - 35 GODARD et. al. 1928; HACKIN/CARL 1933.
 - 36 The Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA) was created in 1922 to carry out archaeological investigations in Afghanistan. Their work was interrupted during World War II. Starting again in 1947, research continued until 1982. In 2002, the activities were taken up again. Internet page of the DAFA: <http://www.dafa.org.af>. In November 1922, Alfred Foucher paid a first visit to Bamiyan: GODARD et al. 1928, p. 3. In the 1920s and 1930s, Alfred Foucher, André and Yedda Godard, Jean Carl, Joseph and Ria Hackin were members of the delegation. They investigated the murals and the architecture in Bamiyan and built the buttress on the west side (= left side) of the niche of the Eastern Buddha. Publications on Bamiyan: HACKIN/CARL 1933 ; HACKIN/CARL 1934.
 - 37 Examination of painting technique and identification of materials from murals of different caves by Gettens and Johnson. GETTENS 1937/1938, p. 186.
 - 38 Archaeological Survey of India 2002, pp. 13–14. – Several articles on the restoration carried out between 1969 and 1977 were published by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), see: LAL 1970; ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA 1973; INDIAN-AFGHAN COOPERATION 1977. – SENGUPTA 1984, SENGUPTA 1989.
 - 39 John Marshall, *Conservation Manual*, a handbook for the use of Archaeological Officers and others entrusted with the care of ancient monuments, Calcutta 1923, p. 27.
 - 40 HIGUCHI 1984.



Fig. 26. The Western Buddha during restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 25. The Western Buddha before 1969 (photo: ASI)



Fig. 27. The Eastern Buddha at the beginning of the restoration (photo: ASI)



Fig. 28. The Eastern Buddha after the completion of the restoration (photo: ASI)



Fig. 29. West side of the Eastern Buddha niche before the restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 30. West side of the Eastern Buddha niche after restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 31. Wall of the corridor behind the feet of the Eastern Buddha during restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 32. Wall of the corridor behind the feet of the Eastern Buddha after the restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 33. Feet of the Eastern Buddha before the restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 34. Feet of the Eastern Buddha after the restoration (photo: ASI)



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Fig. 35. Head of the Eastern Buddha, 1956 (photo: ASI)

Fig. 36. Chest of the Eastern Buddha before restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 37. Chest of the Eastern Buddha after the restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 38. Eastern Buddha, stairs before restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 39. Eastern Buddha, stairs after restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 40. Western Buddha, stairs during restoration (photo: ASI)

Fig. 41. Western Buddha, stairs after restoration (photo: ASI)



Fig. 42. Upper part of the Western Buddha with remains of murals on the vault (photo: Keith Worsley-Brown, June 1972)

Fig. 43. View of the Bamiyan valley and the Hindukush from the top of the head of the Western Buddha (photo: Keith Worsley-Brown, June 1972)



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