

The Rediscovery and Reception of Gandhāran Art



Edited by
Wannaporn Rienjang
Peter Stewart



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Front cover: Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham (c. 1885) seated with sculptures from Jamālgarhī and miniature stūpas from Sonala Pind and eastern India. (Photo: courtesy the Kern Institute, Leiden University).
Back cover: A cast fake in white metal of a late Kushan dinar, similar to the 'Speke replica' illustrated by Marsden (Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



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Acknowledgements

These proceedings are the outcome of the fourth international workshop of the Classical Art Research Centre's Gandhāra Connections project, on 24th-26th March 2021. The book's title, which is in keeping with previous volumes of the series, is rather misleading, for the conference was hosted by the editors from both Oxford and Bangkok, and the audience was truly global. The Covid-19 pandemic had led to a one-year postponement of the event, which was originally to be conducted in person in 2020, and it ultimately proved necessary to hold it entirely online using Zoom. But what was lost in informal, personal interaction, was compensated for by three days of stimulating discussion among participants from the west coast of America to Japan.

Through the disruption and complications we had constant moral support from the project's funders, the Bagri Foundation and Richard Beleson. Without their grants the Gandhāra Connections project could not happen, but their support goes far beyond the financial. We are deeply grateful to them for making all of this possible.

We should also like to thank the other individuals who have contributed to this book, as authors or participants in the workshop. The authors worked diligently and efficiently to make a twelve-month publication cycle achievable. At Archaeopress David Davison, Ben Heaney, and their colleagues have shown their customary can-do approach, and Sarah Knights Johnson has been the lynchpin of all the preparations for the workshop as well as helping to prepare the text for publication.

Wannaporn Rienjang and Peter Stewart
Bangkok and Oxford, February 2022

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Preface

Wannaporn Rienjang and Peter Stewart

Previous volumes of workshop proceedings for the Gandhāra Connections project have addressed themes of fundamental importance for understanding Gandhāran art in its ancient contexts: the chronology of the tradition, its regional geography, and the links between Gandhāra and the art of other parts of the ancient world. In this we chose to defer consideration of a topic that might be regarded as equally fundamental, indeed perhaps as ‘the elephant in the room’ in this field: the historiography and reception-history which has mediated our experience of Gandhāran art and determined its significance in the modern world.

We are concerned here with two closely related aspects. By ‘rediscovery’ we mean primarily the history of Gandhāran archaeology (broadly defined). We are concerned partly with the early discovery and display of artefacts against the background of British rule in nineteenth-century India, at a time when the potential meaning of Gandhāran art was being constructed and debated. This is a story of pioneering expeditions, but also haphazard methods and often poor or non-existent documentation, ineffective efforts to stem the smuggling of antiquities, and the nascent development of Gandhāran art collecting. The ‘looting’ of Gandhāran artefacts, which has had such a ruinous effect on our understanding of Gandhāran art in context, has flourished almost since the outset, as the studies in this volume demonstrate, and the recent work of researchers in Pakistan aims to recover lost knowledge from recently confiscated antiquities as much as from the bureaucratic documents of a century ago.

‘Rediscovery’ is largely a matter of uncovering and putting together information from objects and documents. It concerns the material of Gandhāran art history and archaeology. This is the focus of the first part of the book. In the longer, second part our concerns are subtly different. By ‘reception’ we mean the diverse and developing story of how Gandhāran art has been *made to make sense* by different observers, whether in the academic or popular domain, by researchers, museum curators, collectors, artists, from the nineteenth century to the present day. Inasmuch as anyone approaching Gandhāra does so with their own priorities and through their personal perceptual filters, the rediscovery of its antiquities is hardly to be separated from its reception, but the emphasis here is on modern history, notably in the British Raj and the decades following the Partition of India and the creation of Pakistan.

Sometimes the modern reception of Gandhāran art has been a matter of conscious deliberation – of decisions about why it is important and worthy of admiration, or about what perspectives can most usefully be adopted in its study. (This is, of course, the process through which we have gone in shaping the Gandhāra Connections project). But just as often, the conceptual construction of Gandhāran art has been a less self-conscious process of shaping in the modern imagination. This is an inevitable aspect of historical study. There simply *cannot exist* an objective image of Gandhāran culture, which is in so many ways irretrievably foreign to modern ideas and sensibilities, and which is illuminated for us in any case by very fragmentary evidence. Yet it is all the more important for that reason to spotlight the motivations of those who have sought to cast light on Gandhāran art – our own and those of the previous generations responsible for leaving us the body of evidence we have to work with.

In view of this we should highlight the institutional setting of Gandhāra Connections itself: a project based in a British department of Classics – of Graeco-Roman studies – which is nevertheless preoccupied with the Buddhist art of Central and South Asia. Moreover, while we are proud of the very international character of the conversations we host, which include researchers from many countries and not just Pakistan and its neighbours, nevertheless, the global interest in Gandhāra and its ‘western’ links in

antiquity are certainly revealing about what sort of ‘legacy’ Gandhāra has become for the world, about the distribution of its artefacts and what they have come to signify.

There are, in fact, a variety of individual and institutional reasons why the Gandhāra Connections project has come to fruition where and when it has. To be clear, these do not include any aspiration to appropriate Gandhāran art for the Graeco-Roman world. Yet in various ways this has been attempted in the past, as the following papers repeatedly reveal. It was towards the end of the nineteenth century that the rather awkward term ‘Graeco-Buddhist art’ gained popularity – a phrase that implies that Gandhāran Buddhism was poured into a mould of Greek expression – that it was a hybrid, half Greek, half Asian. While it is much rarer in scholarship today, it is still very regularly used in popular references to Gandhāra, and as much in Pakistan and India as in the west.

When the importance of contemporary contacts between Kushan Gandhāra and the Roman Empire started to be emphasized in the explanation of its apparently ‘western’ style, rather than merely a Hellenistic Greek legacy in Central Asia, some went so far as to refer to Gandhāran art as a provincial form of Roman art. Paradoxically, however, from an Indian nationalist perspective, Ananda Coomaraswamy was dismissive about Gandharan art on *exactly* the same grounds: that it was merely imitative of Roman art (e.g. Coomaraswamy 1913: 53-54).¹

In more recent decades, there has been a strong tendency to see Gandhāran art in rather more pluralistic terms, as the result of a variety of cultural influences, or perhaps we should say artists’ responses to other cultural traditions. It is neither Greek nor Roman, but its own tradition, albeit drawing in fascinating ways upon the art of the wider ancient world (see e.g. Rienjang and Stewart 2020; Nehru 1989 for an overview of contributory influences). But the historiography of this attitude is itself not entirely disinterested, as Michael Falser has brilliantly explained (Falser 2015). And today, when we talk – as many of us tend to do – about the cosmopolitanism of Gandhāra we are surely describing an intrinsic quality of Gandhāran art but also idealizing it in terms that, culturally at least, have a broad modern appeal. In a similar way, the anachronistic labels ‘globalization’ and ‘the Silk Road’ have much to offer in capturing the nature of Gandhāran culture, but it need hardly be said how heavily loaded they are with the concerns of today’s world.

This brings us to the sensitive matter of cultural heritage within Asia. What can and should Gandhāran art mean today in its own countries – where the archaeological sites exist or have existed – principally in Pakistan and Afghanistan? What stories are told about it to visitors, to tourists, including religious tourists from places with large Buddhist populations? And what do we actually mean by heritage? Is it a safe, catch-all term for the archaeological remains which a modern nation-state has responsibility for protecting, or does it – *should* it – involve a more visceral sense of identification with ancient culture? An interesting and difficult aspect of this subject is the slippage that often occurs today between the term India, referring to ‘ancient India’ in general, and the modern state of India. What is the relationship of Pakistan to this ancient ‘Indian’ heritage?

These and many other questions are explored by the contributions to this volume. The answers often differ from place to place, from decade to decade and – there is no doubt – they will continue to do so.

¹ Compare the discussions by Andrew Amstutz and Shaila Bhatti in the present volume.

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Part 1 Archaeology and Collecting History

Reconstructing Jamālgarhī and Appendix B: the archaeological record 1848-1923

Elizabeth Errington

Information on the ancient remains of Gandhāra started being collected in the 1830s, notably by Claude-Auguste Court, a French officer of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. Like many Europeans, he was initially searching for sites associated with Alexander the Great (Court 1836: 394; 1839; Mairs 2018: 584-585), but in the process produced what was deemed by Alexander Cunningham (Figure 1) the only accurate map of the Peshawar basin (Cunningham 1848: 130). Armed with this map, Cunningham – on his own quest for Alexander – discovered Jamālgarhī in early January 1848.

Here he ‘secured some very near perfect specimens of sculpture’, including a ‘figure of Maya, the mother of the Buddha’ (Cunningham 1848: 104). This shows that he recognized the site as Buddhist, albeit not the figure, which depicts a *yavanī* or female guard (Figure 2). However, his misattribution is useful, for in his 1873 inventory of Lahore Museum sculptures, the same description identifies the relief as no. 184 (Cunningham 1873b: 631-638, no. 22; now in Chandigarh Museum). In the Lahore inventory, however, he misremembers that the find came from Jamālgarhī (according to his letter written to John Lawrence on 10th January 1848, a few days after its discovery) and misattributes it to ‘Nogram’ (sic: Naogram), the village below the Buddhist ruins of Ranigat and an alternate name for that site, which he had also just visited (Cunningham 1875: 55). It is this incorrect provenance that the sculpture still bears (Bhattacharyya 2002: 89, 161, fig. 54).

Official British attempts to organize a system for gaining information on the antiquities of the region began in 1851, when a circular was sent to all District Commissioners requesting a ‘report upon any buildings/relics of former Dynasties ... which it might be worthwhile ... to preserve or partially restore’ (*Punjab Proceedings* 1851). This developed into compulsory annual ‘lists of buildings and objects of antiquarian interest’, to be furnished by all District Commissioners. These lists remained one of the principal methods of obtaining information on the sites for the next forty years. As a system it never functioned very efficiently, for it was dependent on too few officers already juggling with too many responsibilities. Typically, their duties could include tax collector, magistrate, accountant, commander of several regiments, and superintendent of public works, the jail, mule trains and bullocks. In summarizing this list of his concurrent roles, Neville Chamberlain, an overworked District Commissioner at this time, noted ‘As Superintendent I receive appeals from myself to myself’ (Allen 2001: 227-228).

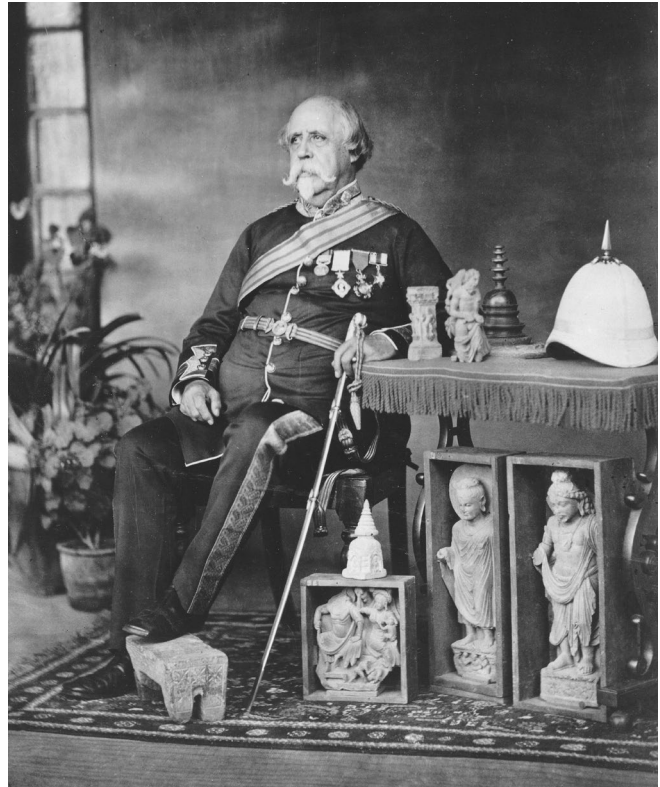


Figure 1. Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham (c. 1885) seated with sculptures from Jamālgarhī and miniature stūpas from Sonala Pind and eastern India. (Photo: courtesy the Kern Institute, Leiden University).

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Figure 2. Panel showing a yavani or female guard collected by Cunningham at Jamālgarhī in 1848. Chandigarh Museum, inv. 184. (Photo: copyright the American Institute of Indian Studies.)

The first site to be investigated under the antiquities scheme was Jamālgarhī in 1852 (Figure 3a). The results were published by Edward Clive Bayley (1821-1884), District Commissioner of Kangra who was interested in the subject. He says merely that sculptures were collected at the site by ‘Lieutenant Lumsden of the Guide Corps’ and ‘Lieutenant Stokes of the Horse Artillery ... and by their liberality, came into my possession’ (Bayley 1852: 606-621). Cunningham later reported that ‘A man who had seen the *stūpa* before it was opened [in 1852], informed me ... that the platform round it had a number of statues upon it, all of which were removed by a Colonel Sahib on twelve camels’ (Cunningham 1875: 46).

The number of camels seems excessive for the number of sculptures recorded. Bayley describes thirteen schist pieces (Figure 3b), but a further unspecified number were apparently distributed among various interested individuals. Bayley’s own collection, now in the British Museum, includes a fragment of a winged atlas from Jamālgarhī (Figure 4.1: inv. 1892,0801.5). He also mentions two more, the ‘small seated figure wearing short tunic and boots’ (Figure 3b, no.1), and a ‘better example on a large scale’ belonging to Captain Hogge (Bayley 1852: 620).

This last atlas is now in the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 4.2: inv. EA2015.441; Stewart 2016; Jongeward 2018: cat. no. 149). The engraved brass plaque on the sculpture’s mount gives the wrong date (1858), misidentifies the site as Jain, and misspells it ‘Jurnal Ghurrie’, but the publication supplying this misinformation cites Hogge as the owner (*Proceedings* 1865: 71-72).

A number of the sculptures were sent to London for exhibition, only to be destroyed in the Crystal Palace fire of November 1866 (Smith 1889: 113; Burgess 1900: 23). Apart from the Ashmolean atlas, the remaining Hogge pieces suffered an equally dismal fate. They were left in a house which ‘was sold, and the new purchaser finding a lot of old stones, of the value of which he knew nothing, broke them up and filled some holes with them’ (Stewart 2016).

From 1867 onwards an active policy to obtain contributions for the new Lahore Central Museum was implemented by the Punjab Government (Errington 1987: 100-102, 192). This resulted in the first official excavations, which were carried out annually ‘in the cold season’ by companies of Sappers and Miners for the Public Works Department, initially at Takht-i-Bāhī (1871) under the command of Sergeant F.H. Wilcher. Evidently a practical engineer, he had the – then novel – idea of producing ‘a plan and section of the monastic and religious buildings, to which, as being the most interesting, the excavations were mainly confined’ (Wilcher 1874: 528-532; Cunningham 1875: pl. XVII; Errington 1987: Appendix 4, 434-437, plan 2a). Forty-six heads and 110 seated and standing Buddha and bodhisattva statues, ‘2 fragments resembling portions of roof or arch bosses and 7 frescoes’ were recovered and Wilcher’s report became the template for all subsequent Sappers and Miners excavations in the 1870s.

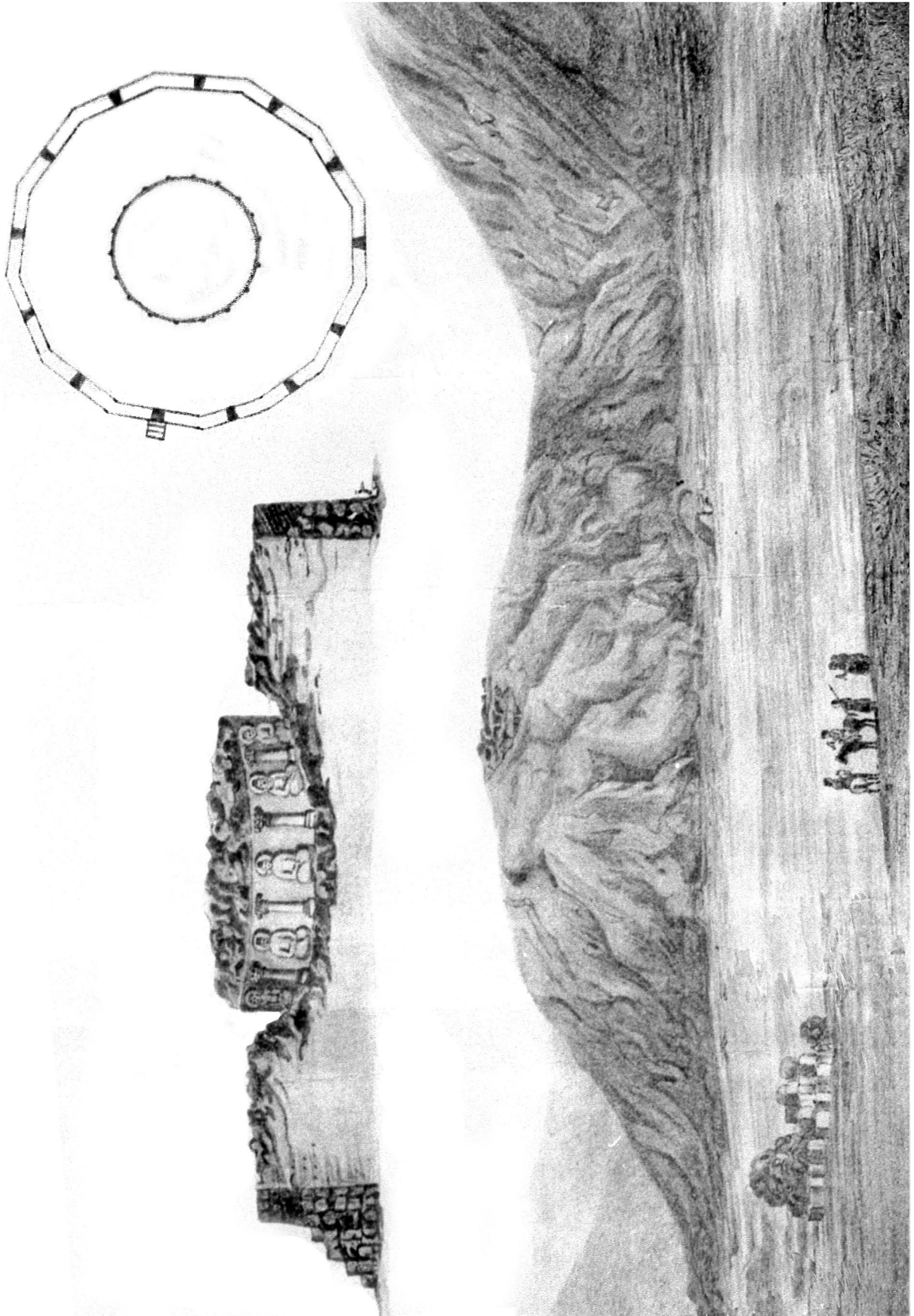


Figure 3a. 1852 excavation by Lumsden and Stokes of the Jamālgarhī main stūpa enclosure: plan and elevation.



Figure 3b. Recorded sculptures from the 1852 excavation. (Bayley 1852: pls XXV-XXXVI.)



1

2

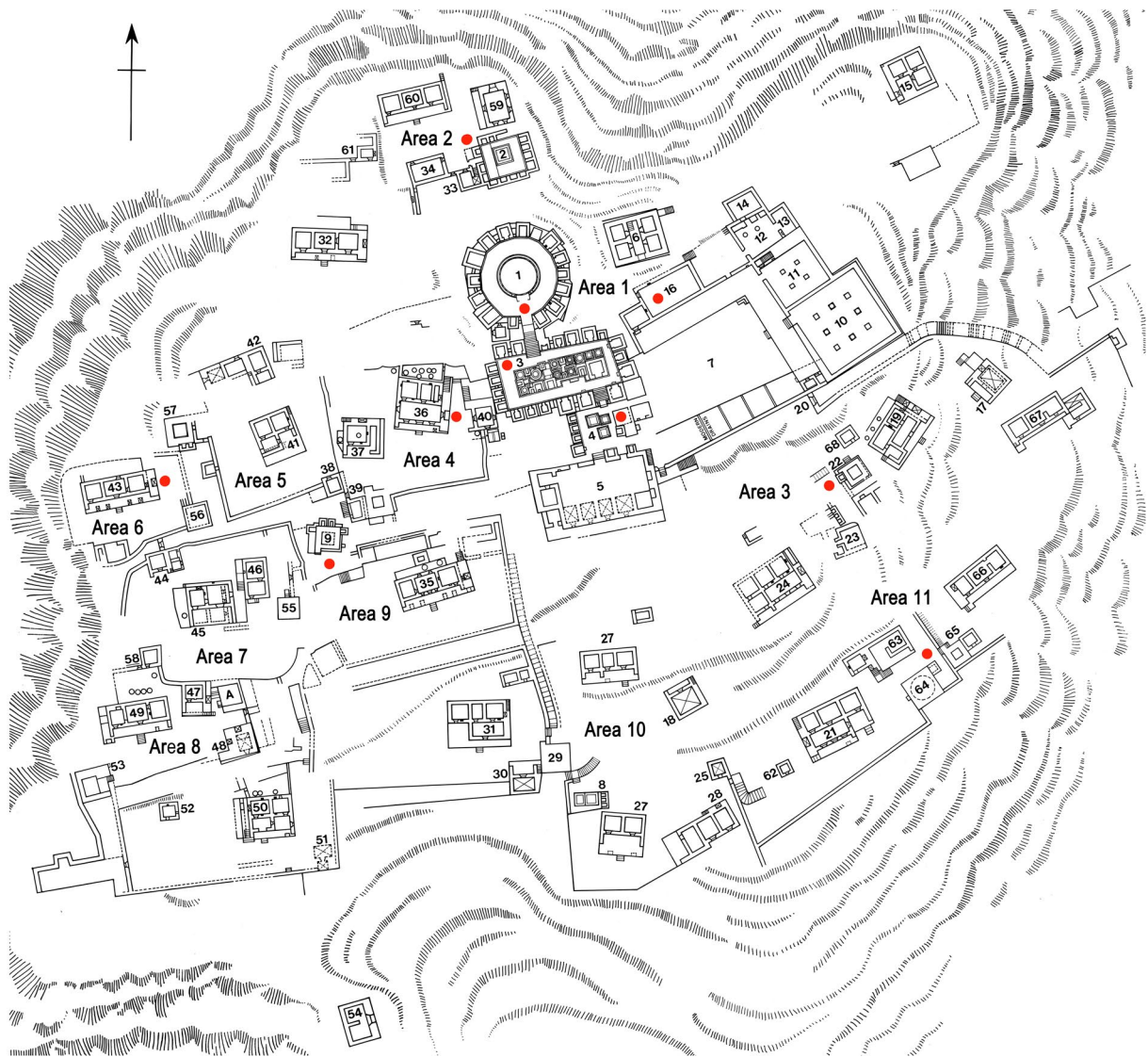


Figure 4. Atlantes found in 1852. (1) Former Bayley collection, British Museum inv. 1892,0801.5. (Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.) (2) Former Hogge collection. Ashmolean Museum inv. EA2015.441. (Photo: copyright the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.)

Also in 1871, Cunningham was appointed Director-General of a revived Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). Both this and his previous appointment as archaeological surveyor (1861-1864) were conceived as short-term projects that would be completed with limited funding and within a few years, a misconception that continued until the appointment of John Marshall as Director-General of a permanent institution in 1902 (Errington 2007: 223-226).

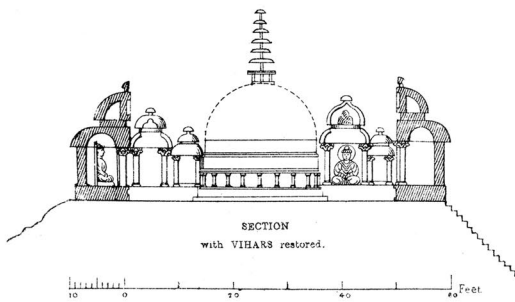
During a tour of the Peshawar district for the ASI in late 1872, Cunningham undertook some exploratory excavations himself at Sahrī Bahlol, where he recalls collecting two reliefs, one ‘nearly 3 feet’ (99 cm) in height, the other *c.* 22 inches (56 cm) square (Cunningham 1875: 43-45; possibly identifiable as R14 and R17: see Figure 23 below). He also saw a large collection of sculptures from Kharkai in the Assistant Commissioner of Mardan, ‘Mr Beckett’s possession’, and initially obtained five pieces – later amended to ‘a considerable number’ – himself, probably from Beckett, as he did not personally visit the site (Cunningham 1873a; 1875: 53-54). However, he observed that as the sculptures ‘are said to be very numerous’; and ‘are generally in good condition’, he considered the complete excavation of the site to be ‘very desirable’. This took place in 1874 (Grant 1874a-b; Errington 1987: Appendix 5, 438-442).

After visiting Jamālgarhī, he recommended that the ‘heap’ of debris surrounding the main *stūpa* should be completely cleared, and all the sculptures rescued (Cunningham 1875: 46-53). He noted the *stūpa* was enclosed by a polygonal courtyard of fifteen shrines ‘each containing sculptures and bas-reliefs’ (Figure 5.2). During the few days he spent at the site, he ‘traced the enclosing wall [of the main *stūpa* courtyard] all round, and cleared the upper part of the flight of steps leading downwards to an oblong courtyard’. In the ‘very small part’ he excavated, he found ‘Corinthian capitals with acanthus ornament ... about a dozen statues of Buddha and several bas-reliefs’ (Cunningham 1875: 47-48).



● Site where sculpture was found

1



2

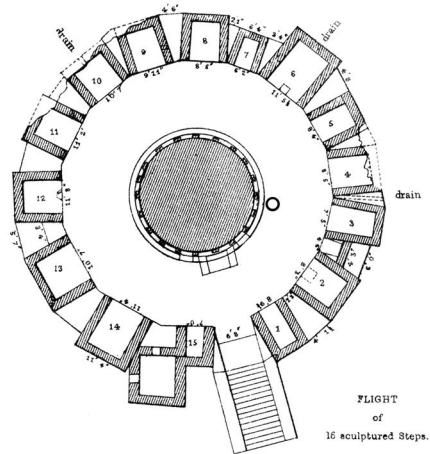


Figure 5. (1) Plan of Jamālgarhī combining the 1873 and 1923 plans with additional outlying structures surveyed in 1988 (author). (2) Cunningham's plan and reconstruction of the main stūpa courtyard (1875: pl. XV).

Following Cunningham's recommendation, the site was cleared and explored by a detachment of Sappers and Miners under Lieutenant A. Crompton in 1873 (Crompton 1873; Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 443-450). In an inspired moment Cunningham suggested that all sculptures from the site should be incised with a 'J' (Cunningham 1885: 93), and this has become the principal means of recognizing pieces from the 1873 excavation (Figure 22.1: R6). The finds were initially divided between Calcutta, Lahore and later the British Museum, but are now also in Chandigarh (Bhattacharyya 2002: *passim*), with stray pieces in other museums, including one noticed by Peter Stewart as far afield as Stockholm (Väldskultur Museerna OS-120/S-113B).¹ The sculptures sent to Calcutta were individually crated in numbered boxes and photographed. Cunningham also compiled an inventory – published in his 1873 *Report* as 'Appendix B' – in which the numbering system corresponds to that of the photographed sculptures (Cunningham 1875: 197-202). But he never mentioned the link between the two, which gave me a eureka moment when I realized it while looking through his personal set of these photographs inherited by the British Museum. The revolutionary strategy of numbered and photographed sculptures, together with the incised 'J' has made it possible to track and reconstruct a substantial part of the 1873 archaeological record (see Table of records for Appendix B sculptures pp. 36-42 below).²

Further excavations were conducted at Jamālgarhī by the ASI Frontier Circle in 1918-1923 (Hargreaves 1921-1926).³ A partial plan was produced (Hargreaves 1924b: pl. VIII), but the intended complete report was never published. The sculptures (Figure 6) mostly went to the new Peshawar Museum, but some were sent to museums in Lucknow, Mumbai, and Patna. The British Museum has one example (inv. 1932,0709.1: Dream of Māyā), on which it is evident that the excavation details were recorded in white paint on the pieces, but this has not lasted as well as the incised 'J'.

Finally, after a four-day visit in 1988, I produced a complete plan of the site (Figure 5.1), combining the 1873 and 1923 plans with my own survey of any omitted buildings (principally Areas 10-11). This shows that there is no monastery associated with the main *stūpa* complex, although there are stairs to an upper floor on the east side of Courtyard 7 which may feasibly have served this purpose. Primarily, however, there is a series of self-contained accommodation complexes, each with its own *stūpa* and/or shrine (Areas 2-11) arranged in terraces on the slopes of the hill. The bulk of sculpture came from the spoil heaps of the main *stūpa* and associated courtyards 3 and 4 (Figures 6-7). In 1873 Area 2 is said to have produced a quantity of sculpture too, but no record of specific pieces was kept. Only a few stray examples were found elsewhere on the site.

In the 1920-1921 season, Room 16 on the north side of Courtyard 7 also produced thirty-seven items, including eleven heads, seven pedestals, two stucco atlantes and an inscription dated in the year 359 of the Yona era of c. 180 BC (Figures 8 and 9). This provides a date of c. AD 179 for the foundation of an 'asylum in possession of the Dharmaguptikas'⁴ but the disparate nature of the finds makes it difficult to determine the precise function of the room. The adjoining room 16A only opens onto Courtyard 7, while 16 is completely sealed off from the courtyard and adjoining main *stūpa* complex, with an independent entrance on its north-west corner. The inscription implies it could have been a shrine, but equally it

1 Object record: <<http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-om/web/object/113176>> (last consulted 20th January 2022).

2 The Appendix B photographs included here are reproduced from Cunningham's personal photographic collection. All are courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Additional copies are held by the Warburg Institute, London University and the Kern Institute, Leiden University (former J.Ph. Vogel Collection).

3 The ASI Frontier Circle photographs of the Jamālgarhī excavations and sculptures are held by the British Library and Archaeological Survey of India in New Delhi. I am forever grateful to the curators of this photographic archive at the India Office Library, for allowing me to make my own copies of these photographs in the 1980s, prior to the transfer of the India Office collections to the British Library. The 1907 photographs however are missing from the British Library India Office holdings, but are held by the Kern Institute and the Archaeological Survey of India in New Delhi.

4 The full text reads: 'Anno 359, on the first of Aśvayuj, an asylum in possession of the Dharmaguptikas was established in this grove by the śrāvaka Potaka, with (or for) the Uddīliaka companions, father and sons, in the acceptance of all beings' (Konow 1929: 110-13, no. XLV, pl. XXII.1).

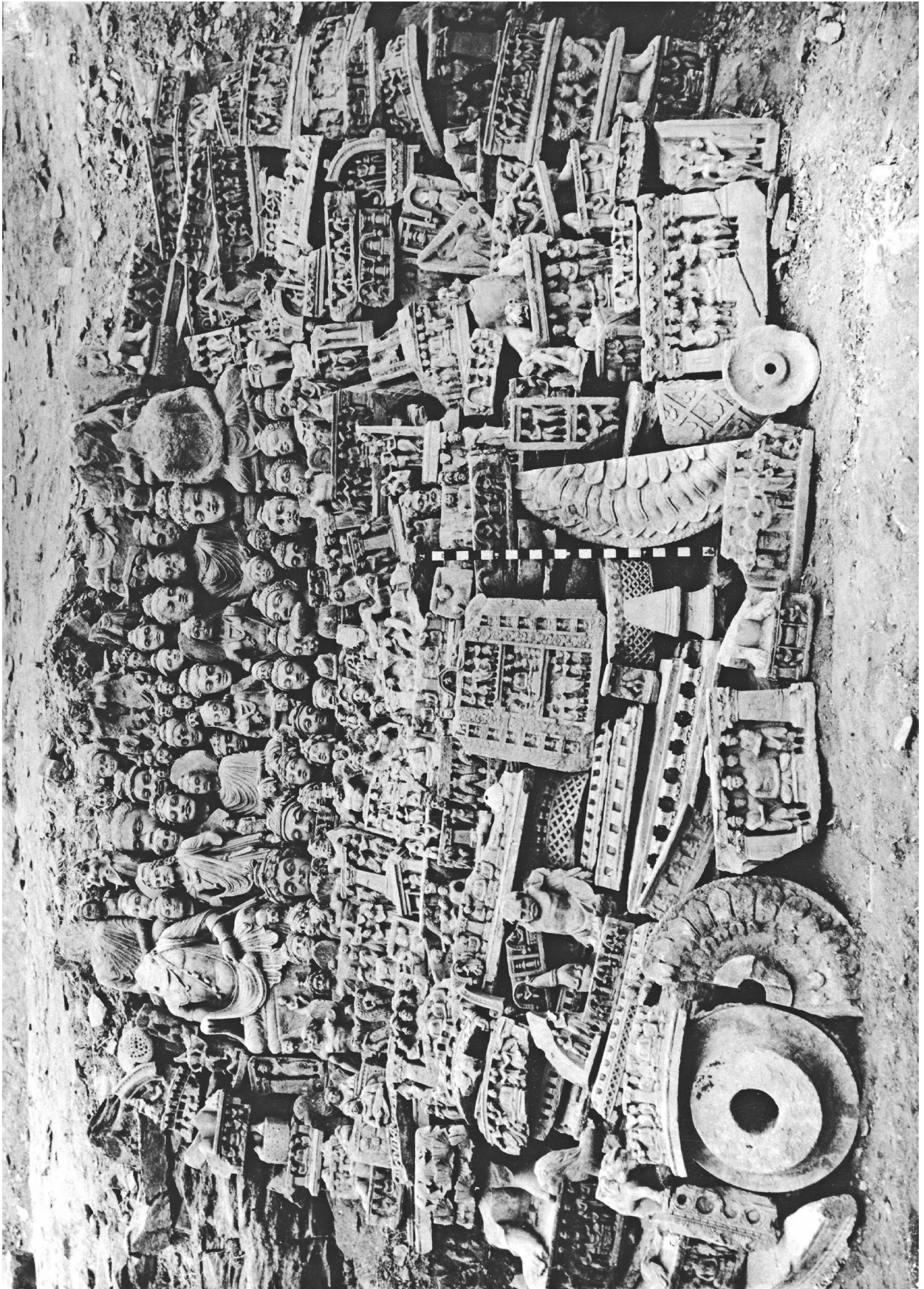


Figure 6. Sculptures and stucco heads recovered during the 1920-1921 excavations. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 56, no. 1877.)

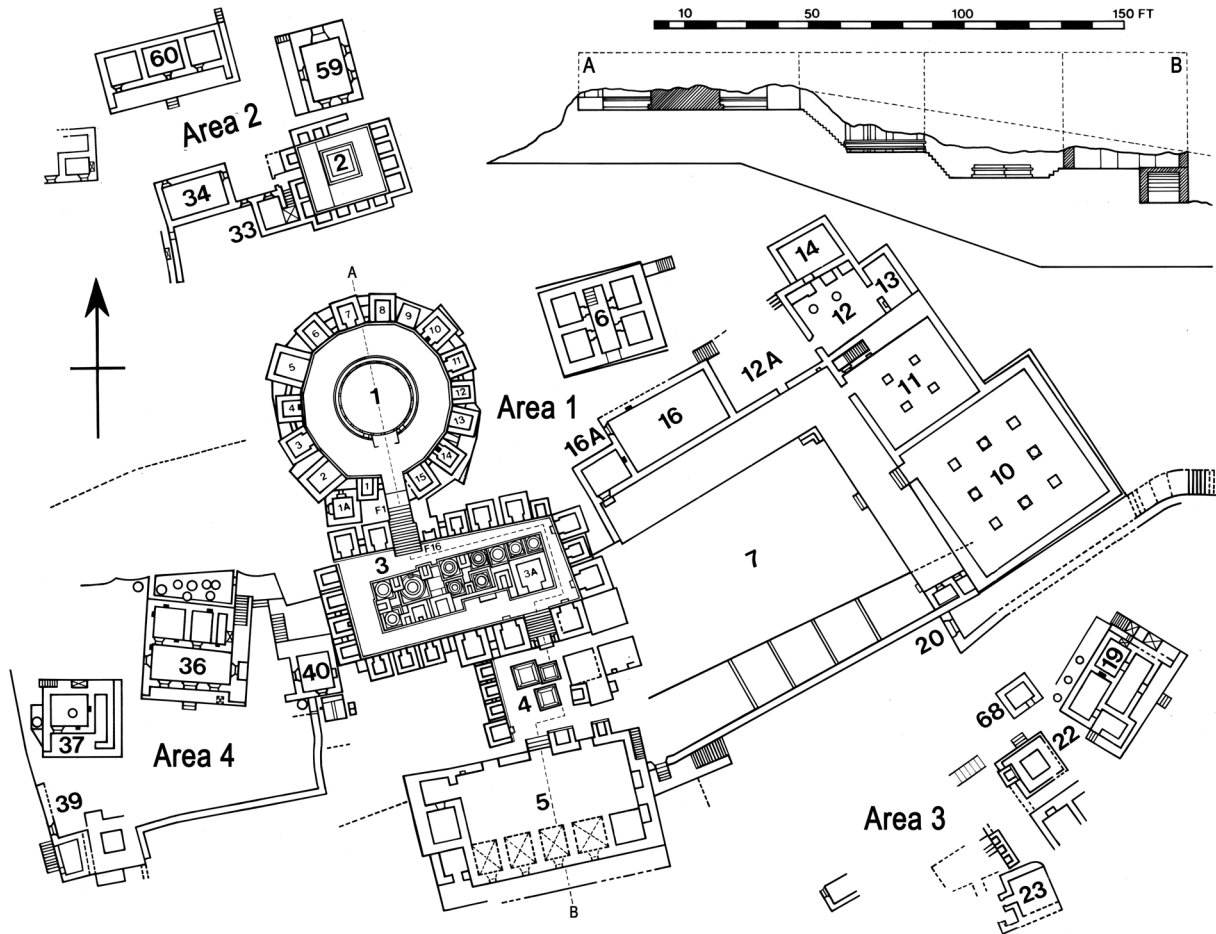


Figure 7. Plan of the site showing the main *stūpa* complex and adjoining Areas 2-4 (author).

could have been a storeroom for broken (but still sanctified) objects, or merely the overspill of the spoil heaps from the previous excavations of Courtyards 1 and 3.

Like the earlier explorations, the 1920s ASI excavations uncovered stucco decoration still *in situ*, specifically around *Stūpa* 22 (Area 3), where the courtyard wall had the remains of Buddhas seated on lotuses and where a few fragmentary reliefs, 16 heads and two seated statues were also found (Figure 10).

The main *stūpa* complex (Area 1): site data and interpretations (Figure 7)

An aerial view on Facebook of the site after several restorations shows that the main *stūpa* now has a flight of steps (Figure 11.3), while all details of the *stūpas* and shrines in Courtyard 3, some of which still survived to some height in 1873 (Figure 21), are covered by square slabs and are no longer visible. It also shows that the high platform of Courtyard 1 was built on a base of earlier structures that were originally level with Courtyard 3.⁵

The surviving base of the main *stūpa* is 6.7 m (22 ft) in diameter and is encircled by a narrow plinth (Figure 11.1-4). In 1873 the structure was 1.45m (4.75 ft) high (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 444). Above the

⁵ <<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=650516435495835&set=pcb.650516865495792>> (last accessed 19th January 2022; authorship unknown).



Figure 8. Inscription in year 359 of the Yona era and sculptural fragments found in Room 16
 (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 40, 58, 60-63, nos. 1819, 1880, 1885-1887, 1891-1894.)

plinth was an uninterrupted sequence of pilasters alternating with seated Buddhas ‘executed in coarse stucco’ and bearing ‘many traces of having once been coloured red’ (Figures 3, 11.4; Cunningham 1875: 47). The plinth appears to have been added later, perhaps to reinforce the structure. It only encircled four-fifths of the base, then formed two right-angled projections, with the original base of the *stūpa* still visible in the gap between them (Figures 11.1-2; Hargreaves 1924b: 20). The feature has been interpreted and subsequently restored as steps leading to the top of the extant *stūpa* drum (Figure 11.3), but there is no firm evidence to support this. Instead, the 1920s photographs and plan mark only an open structure at this point (Figures 5, 7, 11.1-3), which is best interpreted as an image niche fronting the *stūpa*, with the surrounding courtyard functioning as the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. All stucco features were later additions.



Figure 9. Heads and pedestals retrieved from Room 16. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 63, no. 1892).

1907 photographs also show the remains of stucco on the five outlined pilasters below shrine 5, and traces of a seated stucco Buddha below shrine 4 (Figures 11.5-6). According to Cunningham (1875: 47), most of the facade was ‘ornamented with seated figures of Buddha, alternately Ascetic and Teacher, and smaller standing figures of Buddha between them’, all in stucco, but none of this now survives. Crompton says that ‘many fragments of large [schist] statues of Buddha’ were also found in the main *stūpa* courtyard, ‘but few good or perfect specimens of sculptures’ (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 448).

Cunningham reports that a piece of round kankar shaft about 53.34cm (1.75 ft) in diameter, was ‘still standing *in situ* on the east side of the *stūpa*’ and marks a column in this position on his plan (Figure 5.2; 1875: 48, pl. XV). No column was recorded in the subsequent 1873 excavation and, perhaps more significantly, no trace of such a feature was found when all the debris on the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* was finally cleared in the 1920s.

But the 1873 finds do include numerous capitals and a small ‘base’, 35.5 cm (1.16 ft) in diameter. Cunningham incorporated this last item and a ‘half capital of Indo-Corinthian pillar with lower member complete’ into an attempted reconstruction, partly of wood (Cunningham 1875: 195). Inspired by Sanchi relief depictions of Indo-Persepolitan pillars, an imaginative inclusion of elephants crowns his creation. However, one photograph of his composite column together with some square columns and elephants is annotated ‘Base of a pillar, Indo-Corinthian capital: elephants from base of *stūpa*’ (Figure 12). So he was evidently aware of the role that elephants, together with atlantes and lions play in ‘supporting’ structures.

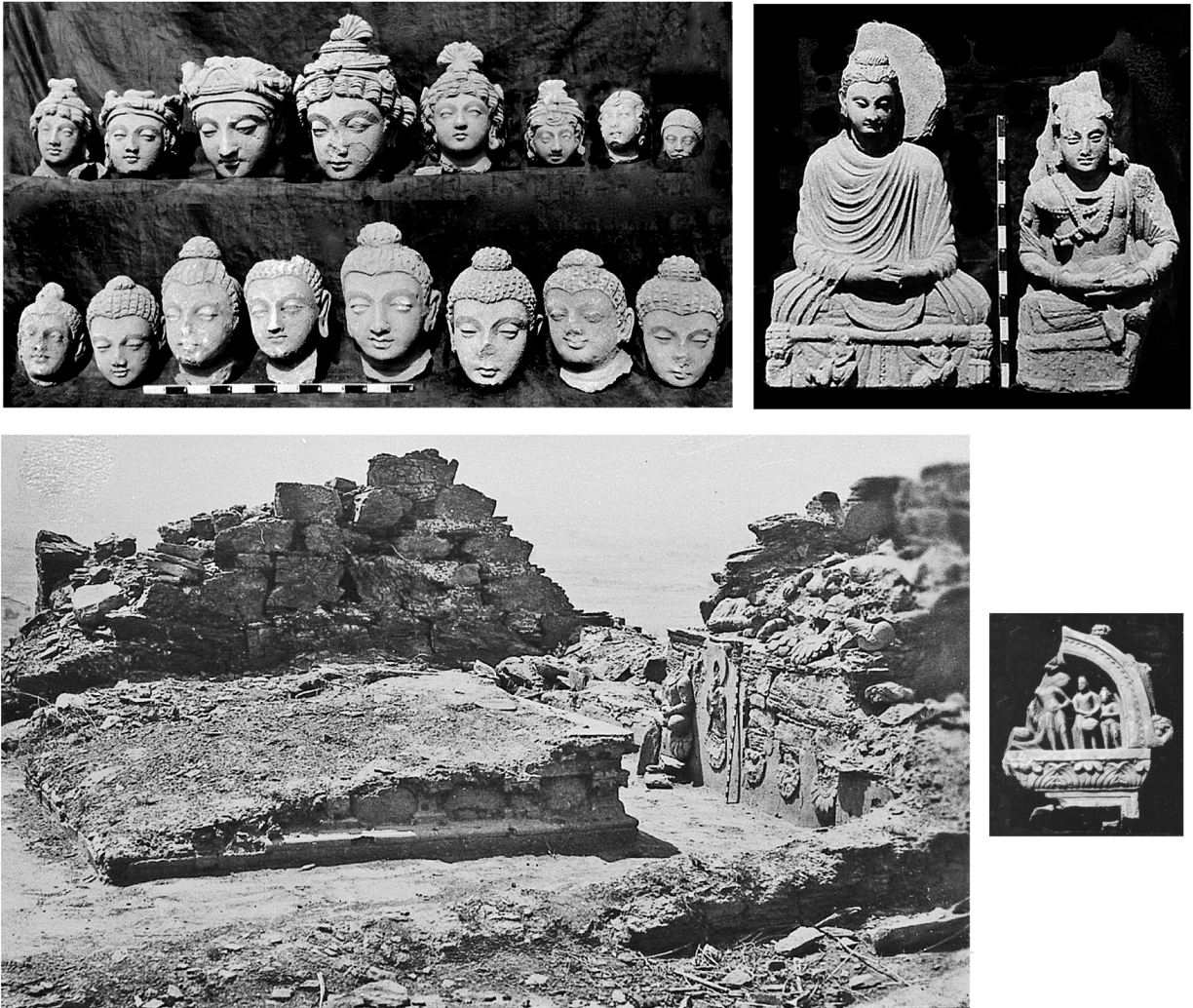


Figure 10. Stūpa 22 with surviving stucco decoration on one of the courtyard walls and stucco heads, schist statues and a relief fragment retrieved in the 1920-1921 excavations. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 55, 58, nos. 1873, 1881).

Furthermore, the ‘base’ is not part of a free-standing column, but a section of the umbrella superstructure of a *stūpa*, a complete example of which was recovered in the 1920s (Figure 6: bottom left). Self-supporting columns were much more substantial structures, as demonstrated at Dharmarājikā and sites in Swat (Faccenna 1984; 1991; 2007). The finds of Loriyān Tangai moreover show that the lower half of an Indo-Corinthian capital could equally be part of the umbrella superstructure (Errington 1987: fig. 8.26).

Crompton records ‘some circular carved stones’ pierced through the centre. The best example is again one of the elements of a *chattrāvala*. It is now in the British Museum (inv. 1952,1024.2), having previously served time as a table in the Guides’ Mess at Mardan (Figure 13.1). Reliefs from Takht-i-Bāhī and Sahrī Bahlol show that capitals could also function as a platform for a *stūpa* (Figure 13.2; Tissot 2002, pls. VIII.3, IX.4, fig. 33). Yet the precise position and use of the numerous capitals at Jamālgarhī is uncertain. Cunningham (1875: 49) says that,

The upper half ... was always made in four pieces, of which two, for the front and back, ... each had two volutes, while the other two were small straight pieces to fill in the side gaps ... All were carefully joined by iron cramps.



Figure 11. Jamālgarhī main stūpa and surrounding courtyard. (1) Stūpa showing the gap in the plinth with one of two projections at right angles to it. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 45, no. 1850). (2) Enlargement of (1) showing detail of the gap, showing the original moulded base of the stūpa executed in diaper masonry. (3) Modern steps in this position (author). (4) Remains of stucco seated Buddha figures encircling the stūpa base in 1907 (ASIFCAR 1907-1908: photo no. 173, courtesy the Kern Institute, Leiden University: shelf mark P-036501). (5) Base of the encircling shrines in 1907, still retaining traces of stucco figures and pilasters (ASIFCAR 1907-1908: photo no. 172, courtesy the Kern Institute, Leiden University: shelf mark P-036500). (6) Surviving stone framework of pilasters, which were originally coated in stucco (author).

This is no doubt correct for examples found elsewhere, but it does not fit the evidence from Jamālgarhī. Crompton found ‘no trace of the pillars or pilasters themselves’ (Cunningham 1875: 49), even though the excavations produced eleven upper capitals (Figures 14-15). Eight plus several sections of lower capitals are in Appendix B (1875: 200, P1-8). The upper capitals are all half sections, with irregular, unworked backs and sides. There are no matching pairs. Cunningham says that while ‘bas-reliefs



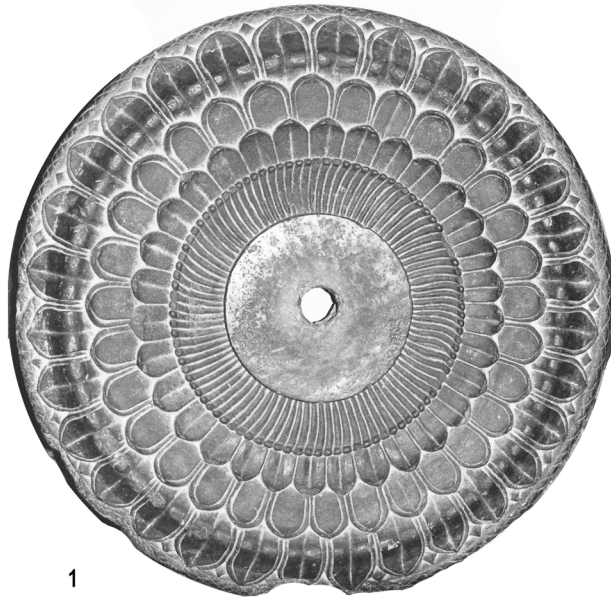
Bejlar

Jamālgarhi.

(1017.)

Base of a pillar: Indo-Corinthian capitals: elephants from base
of Stūpa.

Figure 12. Cunningham's imaginative reconstruction of a freestanding column (in wood) at Jamālgarhī using pilaster capital P7, topped by elephants, with capital P3 below, and flanked on either side by two square pilasters and another pair of elephants. (Photo: Cunningham Collection).



1



2

Figure 13. (1) Underside disc of a chattrāvali. British Museum, inv. 1952,1024.2. (Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.) (2) Takht-i-Bāhī relief fragment, from Chapel XX, depicting a capital functioning as a stūpa base. (ASIFCAR 1910-1911; photo: courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.)

show there were both round and square pillars ... the round shaft was the more common form, as only one [P2] ... belonged to a square pillar' (Cunningham 1875: 191, 193). The incised 'J' examples have two, or – in the case of P2 – four parallel cramp marks on the upper surface, positioned at right angles to the face, and suitable for attaching the capitals to a wall. Only the one without an incised 'J' (P6: bottom left) has three cramps positioned to allow for attachment at the sides and there is one without volutes (bottom right), incised 'J', that is identifiable by its cramp marks as a possible 'side' piece'.

Cunningham found several pilaster capitals 'on clearing the pavement below' the 'chapels' or shrines of Courtyard 1. This suggests that they were incorporated into the encircling platform of shrines. However, they were not exclusive to the main stūpa enclosure. The largest (P1), and the only example depicting a bodhisattva, was



P1

P8



P6

P5

P4

P2

Figure 14. Appendix B pilaster capitals P1-2, 4-6, 8. (Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Pilaster capitals not in Appendix B

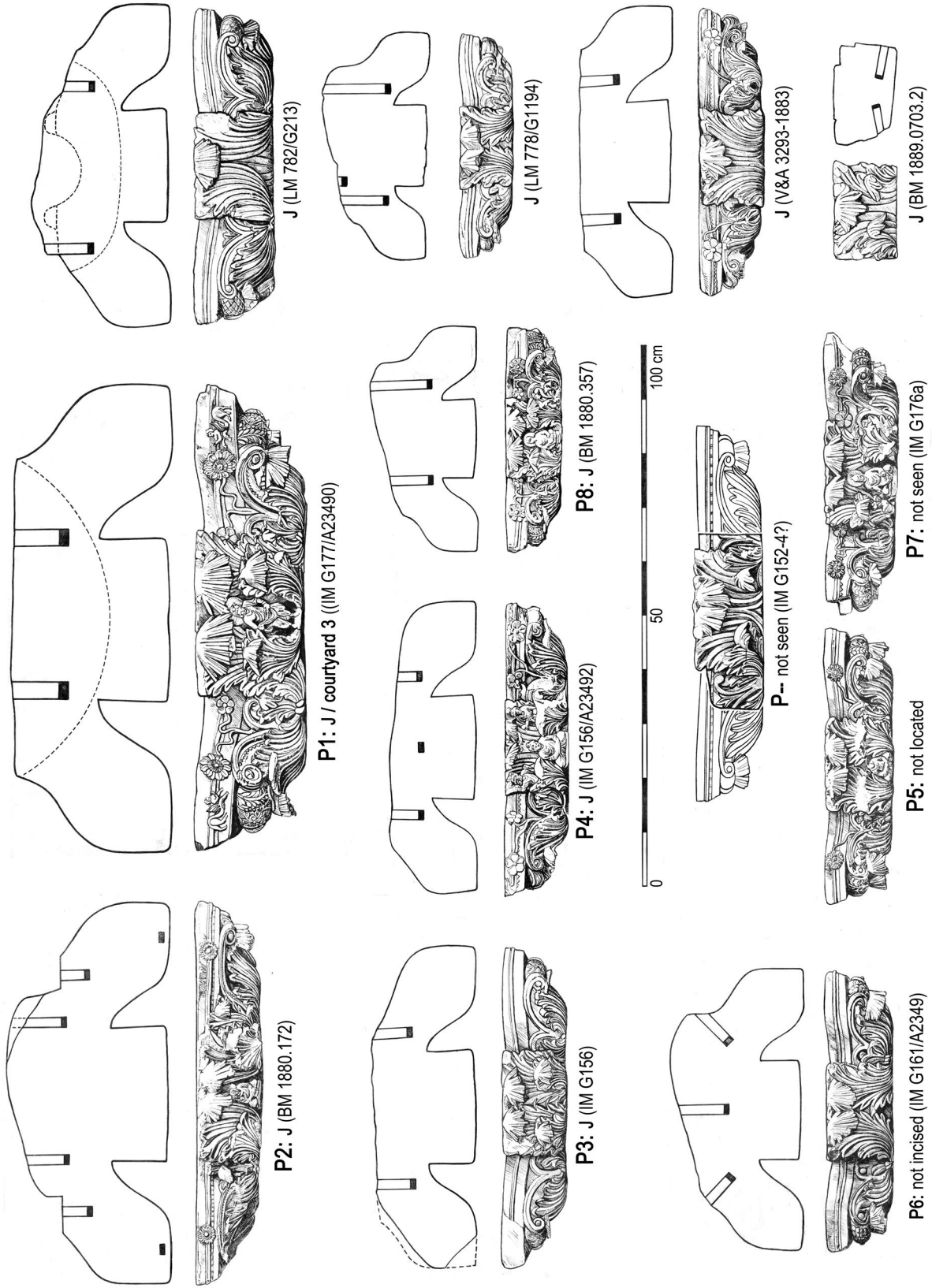


Figure 15. *Jamālgarhī* pilaster capitals (Appendix B: P1-8) and additional capitals incised 'J' in the Lahore Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and British Museum.

found in the corner of Courtyard 3 near the steps leading to Courtyard 4, where it had evidently fallen when the structure supporting it collapsed (Figure 7). Although all that remains of the shrines is the platform and low sections of their end walls, Takht-i-Bāhī provides prototypes of their original form (see Cunningham's reconstruction Figure 5.2 above).

So how were the pilaster capitals utilized? Cunningham thought they were sited at the ends of the side walls of individual shrines. But this does not explain the lack of matching pairs, or their differences in size and decorative detail. The use of stucco on the lower platform facade moreover suggests that any sculptural features on the end walls are likely to have been executed in stucco too, as can be seen at Jauliāñ (Marshall 1921: pl. XII.c). The fifteen shrines encircling the courtyard differ in size and are not uniformly spaced. The eight largest gaps between individual shrines range from 41-76 cm (1.34-2.49 ft). Excluding P1 from Courtyard 3, all the capitals are between 40 and 71 cm (1.31-2.33 ft) in length, and could thus fit into the different sized spaces provided. This provides one solution, but equally, their siting could have been secondary and coupled with the later renovation of the site.

The second distinctive group of Jamālgarhī sculptures are the numerous schist atlantes found – like those from the 1852 excavations – in the debris of the main *stūpa* (Figure 16). Another was found in Courtyard 3 and three more in Room 16, including a pair of stucco examples (see also Figure 8). There are three different sizes, suggesting either that the drum of the main *stūpa* was tiered or that they belonged to different *stūpas* from different courtyards, specifically Courtyards 3-4. However, the existence of stucco Buddha figures on the base of the main *stūpa* and surrounding shrines suggests that while it may have been the case originally, stucco replaced schist decoration here and the atlantes were re-used in random secondary positions.

Evidence for at least one renovation of the main courtyard is provided by the existence of a second pavement of thick slate slabs above the original one of diaper masonry. Two of the slabs had circular depressions made by coin offerings; one still retained a coin of Vasudeva (Hargreaves 1924a: 57; Göbl 1984: type 1001, no. 10), together with an inscription recording a votive offering, the 'gift of Buddharakshita' (Stein 1912: v; 1915: 12, 23, pl. I; Konow 1929: 116-117, no. LII, pl. XXII.8: Peshawar Museum, inv. 01873).

Reported coin finds are limited and not illustrated. Cunningham says that seven of the eight Kushan coins found in 1873, were again those of Vasudeva (Cunningham 1875: 194). No other details are given, so it is impossible to determine if they were issues of Vasudeva I (c. AD 190-230), or were later imitations (c. AD 230-380). Hargreaves records one Kanishka I (c. AD 127-150) and two Huvishka (c. AD 150-190) copper coins and six silver coins of the Hun ruler Kidara (c. AD 425-457), in the 1920s excavations (Hargreaves 1921a: Appendix V, 23-27, nos. 140; 192-193, 241-242; Hargreaves 1923: 19; Appendix V, 23, no. 140; 28; nos. 263-264). Crompton also mentions finding silver coins, probably again of Kidara (Errington 1987: appendix 6, 448).

The UNESCO and Japanese excavations in 2015 'discovered coins from 158 CE' (Khan 2015), which corresponds to the reign of Huvishka. The inscription from Room 16 dated in Yona year 359 (i.e. c. AD 179) recording the foundation of an 'asylum in possession of the Dharmaguptikas' (Figure 8), further suggests that renovations may have taken place in the time of Huvishka (Hargreaves 1923: 5-6; Appendix 5: 21, no. 42).

The circular plan of the Jamālgarhī main *stūpa* enclosure has been linked to Dharmarājikā (and by extension to Butkara I), and led to an unsubstantiated suggestion that it is equally early in date (Marshall 1951: 248). But as Kurt Behrendt has pointed out, it sits on a high platform built on top of earlier structures (Behrendt 2004: 62). Positioned as it is on a rocky outcrop at the apex of the hill, its circular form and relatively small size are primarily governed by topography, not date. In reality,

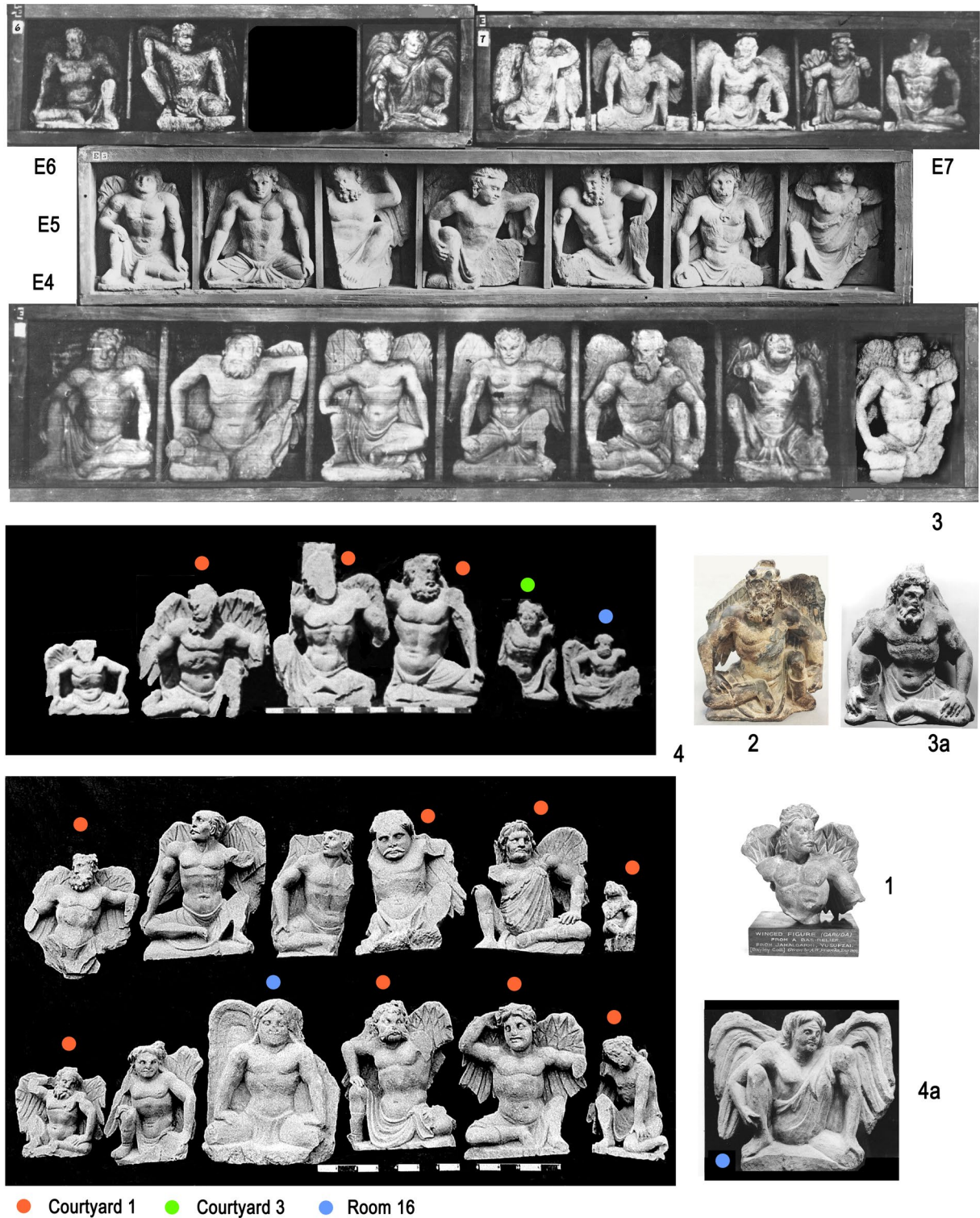


Figure 16. Forty-four atlantes from the main stūpa complex (Area I). (1-2) 1852 excavation. (3) 1873 excavation (E4-7: twenty-three atlantes). (3a) Atlas incised 'J'. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. IM.123-1918. (Photo: copyright Victoria and Albert Museum). (4) 1920-1921 excavations: nineteen atlantes, of which eleven are from the spoil heaps of Courtyard 1, a single example is from Courtyard 3, and three are from Room 16 (ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: nos. 1879, 1892, 1894).

Jamālgarhī fits neatly within the time frame of its neighbouring sites. Numismatic evidence for the Peshawar basin is generally lacking for the pre-Kushan period, with only one or two random coins at most (Errington 1999-2000: 213). Typically, Aziz Dheri produced stray mid-1st century BC to 1st-century AD coins (Apollodotus II, c. 80-65 BC and Azes II, c. AD 16-30), together with a higher number of Kushan coins from Wima Takto (c. AD 90-113) onwards (Gul Rahim Khan 2008: 201-221; Nasim Khan 2010: 19-49). Ranigat provides similar evidence and had a coin of Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113-127) inserted – as at Jamālgarhī – in the pavement encircling the original core *stūpa* (Nishikawa et al. 1988: 47, 89, fig. 43). However, it is clear that what survived of the main *stūpa* complex at Jamālgarhī are primarily later renovations. These no doubt included the extensive re-use of earlier sculptures. The likeliest cause of destruction are earthquakes. In October 2015, one of 7.5 magnitude caused substantial damage to the site (Khan 2015).

The re-use of earlier sculptures could be random, as at Pānṛ (Faccenna et al. 1996: 100-101, pls. 70b-73), or site specific, as with the fragmentary stair-risers of the Aziz Dheri *stūpa*, behind which a pot of Kushano-Sasanian and late Kushan coins was buried, presumably at a time of refurbishment (Khan 2008).

According to Crompton (Errington 1987, appendix 6: 444), at Jamālgarhī,

To the south of the polygonal temple (No. 1), and communicating with it by a descending staircase, is an irregular quadrilateral temple [Fig. 17: Courtyard 3] with 26 idol-houses around the walls.

At Jamālgarhī, the only place where original schist reliefs were found *in situ* was – like Aziz Dheri – on the risers of the sixteen steps connecting the main *stūpa* Courtyard 1 with the lower Courtyard 3 (Figures 18-20). These illustrate secular scenes and *jātakas* and – according to Crompton – were apparently in ‘a



Figure 17. Courtyard 3 from the west, with the restored flight of steps leading up to the main *stūpa* on the left.
(Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: no. 1923).

F1--5

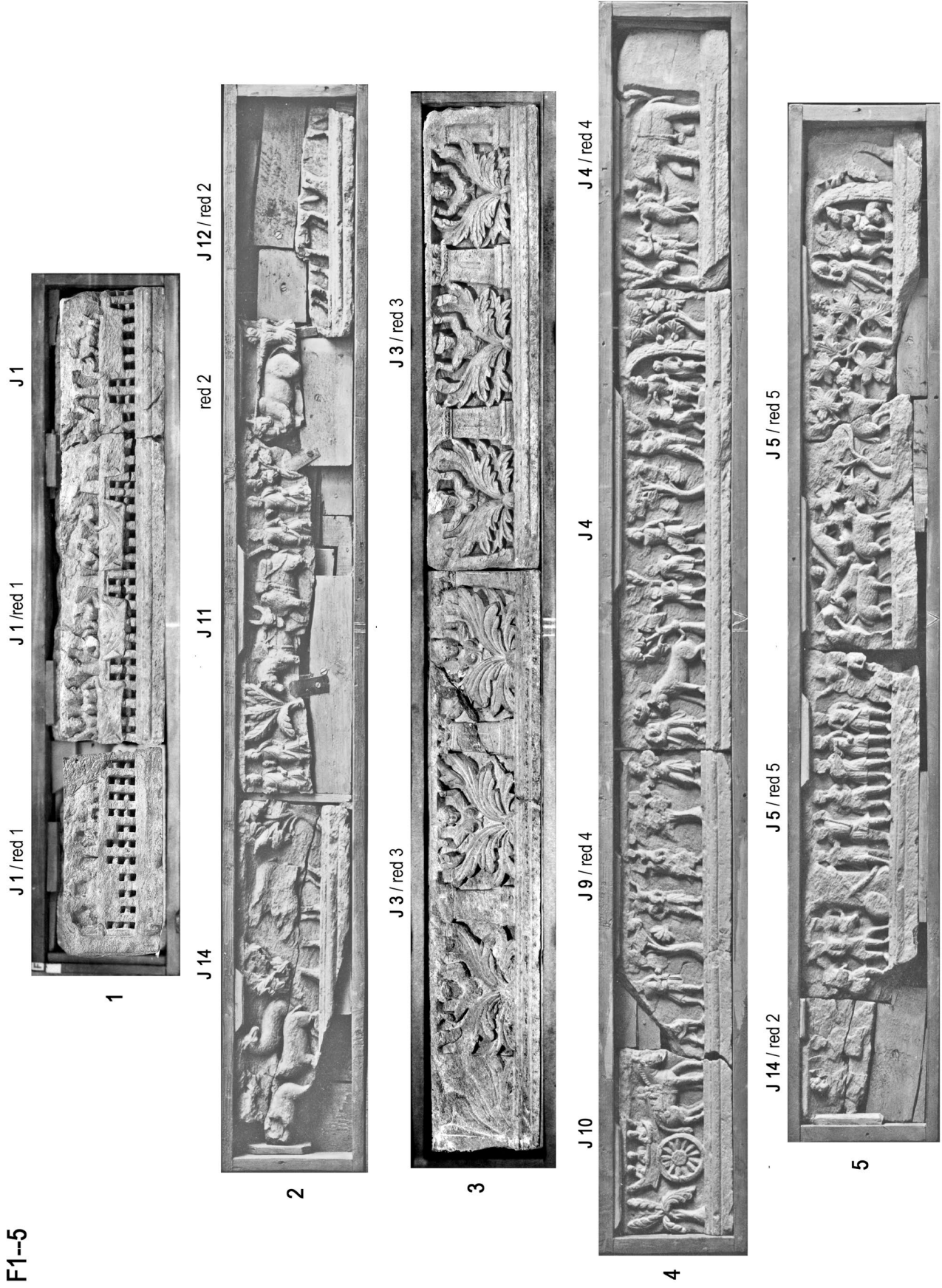


Figure 18. Jamālgarhī stair-risers. Appendix B, F1-5: F1. Balconies with figures. F2. Men driving goats, pack animals and a bull. F3. Female busts in foliage. F4. Viśvaṅtara jātaka. F5. Unidentified jātaka(?) with a man and lion seated in a hut facing a woman and child.



Figure 19. Jamālgarhī stair-risers. Appendix B, F6-10: F6. *Maitrakanyaka jāataka*. F7. *Mahāsuka jāataka*; The story of the jeweller, monk, and bird. F8. *Śyāmajātaka*. F9. *Nāga musicians and dancers*. F10. *Hunting lions and a boar*.



Figure 20. Jamālgarhī stair-risers. Appendix B, F11-16: F11. Candakinnara jātaka. F12. Pairs of mounted horses and standing figures. F13. Swag and putti. F14. Unidentified jātaka(?) with paired standing and seated couples interspersed between a tower, doorways and trees. F-14'. Candraprabha jātaka. F15. Tritons. F16. Musicians, dancers, and drinkers.

perfect state' when first uncovered. But 'during the absence for a few hours of the Sappers and Miners' the reliefs were 'hacked to pieces' by locals (Childers 1875: 3).

There is such a discrepancy between the extant lengths of individual risers that it is hard to believe the destruction was solely due to vandalism. If the reconstructed sequence is accurate to any degree, then it is possible that only part of each riser had a relief. If so, it could be that the reliefs had been re-used in a later renovation, possibly when the main *stūpa* courtyard was repaved and embellished with stucco decoration.

Most of the fragments from each riser are not only marked with a 'J', but are also incised and/or painted with a number between 1 and 16. The 1870s photographs show the individual fragments boxed together, apparently in the order in which they were originally positioned on the individual steps. The Roman numerals (I-XVI) which are just visible on each wooden surround agree with the red painted numbers on the pieces they encase. However, the incised number on many of the fragments often differs from the painted numeral. In at least three instances (F4, F7, F16), two adjoining fragments of the same original relief have been assigned totally different numbers.

The likely reason for this anomaly is that individual fragments were thrown in different directions when vandalized. So, the incised numbers represent the disrupted order in which the pieces were found, while the painted numbers are an attempted reconstruction of the original sequence. The reliefs are all in the British Museum, apart from one section which remained in Kolkata. This is incised 'J4', but is excluded from the Appendix B list and has no F number although it is included with the other stair-risers in the Appendix B photographs (Figure 20).

Four risers illustrate repetitive motifs: balconies with figures (F1; Zwalf 1996: 275, nos. 412-413), female busts in foliage (F3; Zwalf 1996: 254-255, nos. 346-347), swag and putti (F13; Zwalf 1996: 254-255, nos. 346-367), and tritons (F15; Zwalf 1996: 252-253, no. 342). There is a frieze of *nāga* musicians and dancers (F9; Zwalf 1996: 248-250, nos. 336-40), another of musicians, dancers and drinkers (F16; Zwalf 1996: 248, no. 330) and one of hunting lions and a boar (F10; Zwalf 1996: 141-142, nos. 315-317). The remaining risers all appear to represent *jātakas*, but the subject matter of only five has been identified.

Two *jātakas* (F6 and F11) are recognizable from a single relief fragment each. The rare depiction of a boat in riser F6 represents the shipwreck of Maitrakanjaka and his reaching dry land on a plank (Figure 19; Zwalf 1996: 139-140, no. 134). He was then successively entertained in four cities (as represented by doorways), by increasing numbers of *apsarases*. The remaining left hand F6 relief (two fragments, now joined) has a red painted '6' and, from the left, depicts a seated couple, another doorway and a tree, interspersed with twelve standing figures (Zwalf 1996: 239, no. 132). It is too broken to exhibit any obvious connection with the Maitrakanjaka theme.

The right-hand section of F11 – marked with only a red painted '1[1]' – is thought to represent the *Candakinnara jātaka* (Figure 20) and shows the king on horseback meeting the kinnara and his wife (shown twice as a female dancer and male harpist). The two remaining incised F11 fragments are too abraded to be precisely identified, but seem to include dancers and musicians (Zwalf 1996: 140-141, no. 135; 246-247, nos. 328-329).

One of the most complete risers is F8 (Figure 19; Zwalf 1996: 138-139, nos. 232-233). This illustrates the *Śyāma jātaka*, in which a raja hunting deer accidentally kills a youth collecting water for his blind parents. The raja then delivers the water jar to the parents and leads them to the body, whereupon the son is restored to life. The story is not presented chronologically, but reads from the viewer's left as scenes 4, 5, 6 – 3, 2, 1. This implies that the scenes were deliberately split, perhaps in order to lead up to the climax in the centre.

F4 illustrates the *Viśvaṅtara jātakā* in which Viśvaṅtara gives away his elephant, horses and ultimately children to a Brahman (Figure 18). Again, the story is not presented chronologically, and reads from the left as 2, 3, 4 – 7, 6, 5 – 1, with the (missing) climax in the centre (Zwalf 1996: 142-145, nos. 137-138, 140). However, the order could equally have been governed by a topographical division of events, following a similar narrative tradition to that found at Ajanta and elsewhere in India (Foucher 1955: 28).

The question now arises whether the Kolkata relief incised 'J4' belongs to F4 (Figure 20). The fragment contains a seated couple in the centre, a bent figure with his hair tied to a tree to the left, and two men on the right with a pile of three heads at their feet. Anderson, in the Indian Museum *Catalogue and Handbook*, incorrectly identified the heads as 'a child seated at the base of a pillar', but the heads are clearly visible and show the relief is definitely not part of the *Viśvaṅtara jātakā* (Anderson 1883: 231). Instead, it has been identified by David Jongeward as a scene from the *Candraprabha jātakā*, as a better preserved relief of the subject from Sahrī Bahlol confirms (Jongeward et al., forthcoming: SI figs. 47a, 48a). The *jātakā* tells of the bountiful, righteous and beloved Candraprabha, ruler of the idyllic kingdom of Jambudvīpa. The scene depicts the king readying himself to give the ultimate gift of his own head, at the request of a Brahmin, while his minister is offering three jewelled replicas in its place.

The final narrative sequences to be identified occur in two fragmented reliefs of an apparently complete riser designated F7 (Figure 19). The scene on the right does not survive as a *jātakā*, but occurs as an *avadāna* (a moral story about a meritorious act by any being) in two Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, the *Sūtrālamkāra* (Huber 1908: 321-330) and the *Tripitaka* (Chavannes 1911: 210-211; Foucher 1917: 271-281, pls II-IV) and tells of a jeweller, a monk, and a bird – a goose in one version (Huber 1908) and a parrot in the other (Chavannes 1911; Zwalf 1996: 239-241, nos. 313-314). While the jeweller is away from his shop finding food for the monk, the bird steals a valuable jewel. Rather than disclose this and cause the bird's death, the monk accepts culpability and is led away and flogged. When the bird attempts to drink the monk's blood during this ordeal, it is inadvertently killed by the blows, whereupon the monk is free to tell the truth. This is confirmed when the bird is cut open and the jewel found inside it.

According to Zwalf after Foucher, the whole riser depicts this story, the events reading from right to left as the jeweller's shop, with a bird just visible in front of a table or counter and the monk standing at the doorway, then with his staff and bowl being taken from him and his being stripped, yoked and flogged, with the bird pecking at his feet. The final scene of this fragment shows the monk fully clothed again, flanked by two figures, one of whom is identified as Indra, come to intercede on the monk's behalf. In the next section, the jeweller kneels before the monk and again, with hands clasped, towards a slightly elevated monk. A tree in full bloom divides this from the next scene, in which a figure identified as Indra points at the bird sitting among the skeletal branches of a leafless tree. The same scene with slight variations is repeated, followed by a figure holding the bird in front of a doorway and finally again inside the jeweller's shop where crouching figures presumably extract the jewel.

As Foucher (1917: 278-9, pl. III) remarks and Zwalf (1993: 240) concurs, this stair-riser is exceptional in representing a theme not connected with the Buddha. But is this true? The right-hand relief certainly fits Foucher's identification, and the depiction of the bird remains consistently the same throughout. However, an element of doubt arises from the left-hand depiction of a tree in full bloom, half stripped and then dead, with a bird seated in its branches, flanked by two figures. This appears rather to allude to the *Mahāsuka jātakā* or *Cullasuka jātakā* (Cowell 1895-1897: 291-294, nos. 429-430), wherein a contented parrot king promised never to leave a fig tree which had generously always shaded and fed him. As a test of his constancy, Sakka, king of the devas, and his wife Sujā slowly killed the tree, but the faithful bird remained steadfast and was rewarded by Sakka who restored the tree to fruitfulness.

The fact that the two stories refer to two different types of bird does not seem to have concerned the sculptor. Furthermore, the left-hand section of the riser can be read in both directions, either right to left with the tree becoming barren, which would inevitably lead to starvation and death of the bird, or what seems more apt, from left to right culminating in the tree being restored to full bloom and nirvana for the bird. The chamber at the left end can be understood as serving a dual function of determining the fate of both birds – either death and retribution, or rebirth as a higher being – as a result of their own actions. So, like the *Viśvaṅtara* and the *Śyāma jātaka*s, these two stories climax in the centre of the riser.

This example further suggests the possibility that some reliefs could incorporate ciphers of more than one *jātaka* in each riser. So, in a similar way to F7, the *Maitrakanjaka jātaka* (F6) and *Candraprabha jātaka* (F11) might only exist as single scenes, alongside other as yet unrecognized stories. Although some of the *jātaka*s and perhaps other stories have not yet been identified, the Jamālgarhī stair-risers overall show a variety of different traditions in use at the same time – from purely decorative repetitive friezes of tritons and mythical beings to *jātaka*s and moral tales like F7 – all executed in a remarkably homogeneous style.

In addition to the stair-risers, the approximate find spot of two more reliefs can also be ascertained. According to Crompton (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 444-445, 447-448),

In the centre of [Courtyard 3], instead of the usual platform, we find a number of small circular topes ... and also some idol recesses, all placed in an irregular manner that leads an observer to suppose that they were built at different times... The drawing [Figure 21] is that of the most perfect of the topes found in this temple. It is about the smallest in the collection. Some were 8 feet in diameter at the base or circular portion.

He says further that ‘some of the most delicately carved’ reliefs came from the south-east corner of Courtyard 3, near the steps leading down to Courtyard 4, where the largest capital (P1: Figure 14) was found, and that most of them, including the capital, bore traces of gold leaf. From this it is possible to identify R6 (depicting the dog that barked at the Buddha) and R7 (possibly depicting the *Dīpaṅkara jātaka*), for both retained traces of gilding (Figure 22.1-2; Cunningham 1875: 201; Anderson 1883: 220).

The repetitive nature of some reliefs is useful in identifying pieces of the same original frieze now in different museums and not listed in Appendix B. For example, two reliefs in the British Museum (Appendix B: T4) and one in the Lahore Museum (inv. 820), appear to be from the same original *stūpa* in Courtyard 3 (Figures 22.3-4). They all exhibit the distinctive back view of a standing figure. The stance appears to be a favourite one at Jamālgarhī and is recognizable in several reliefs, including R6 (Figure 22.1).

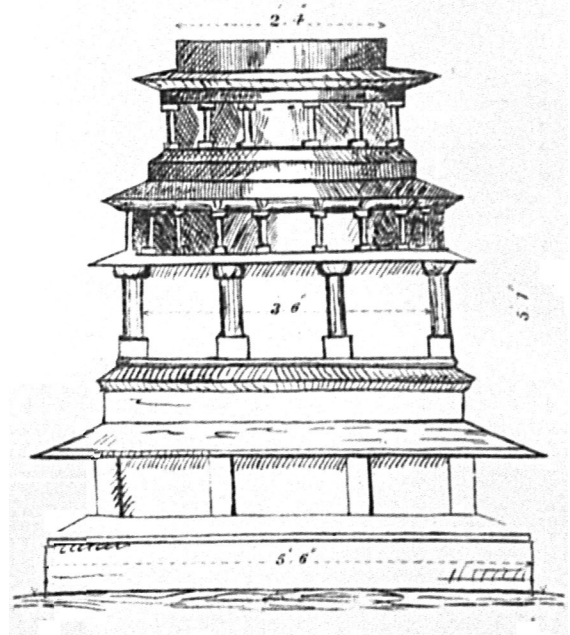


Figure 21. Crompton's sketch of a votive *stūpa* in Courtyard 3 (1873: fig. 3).

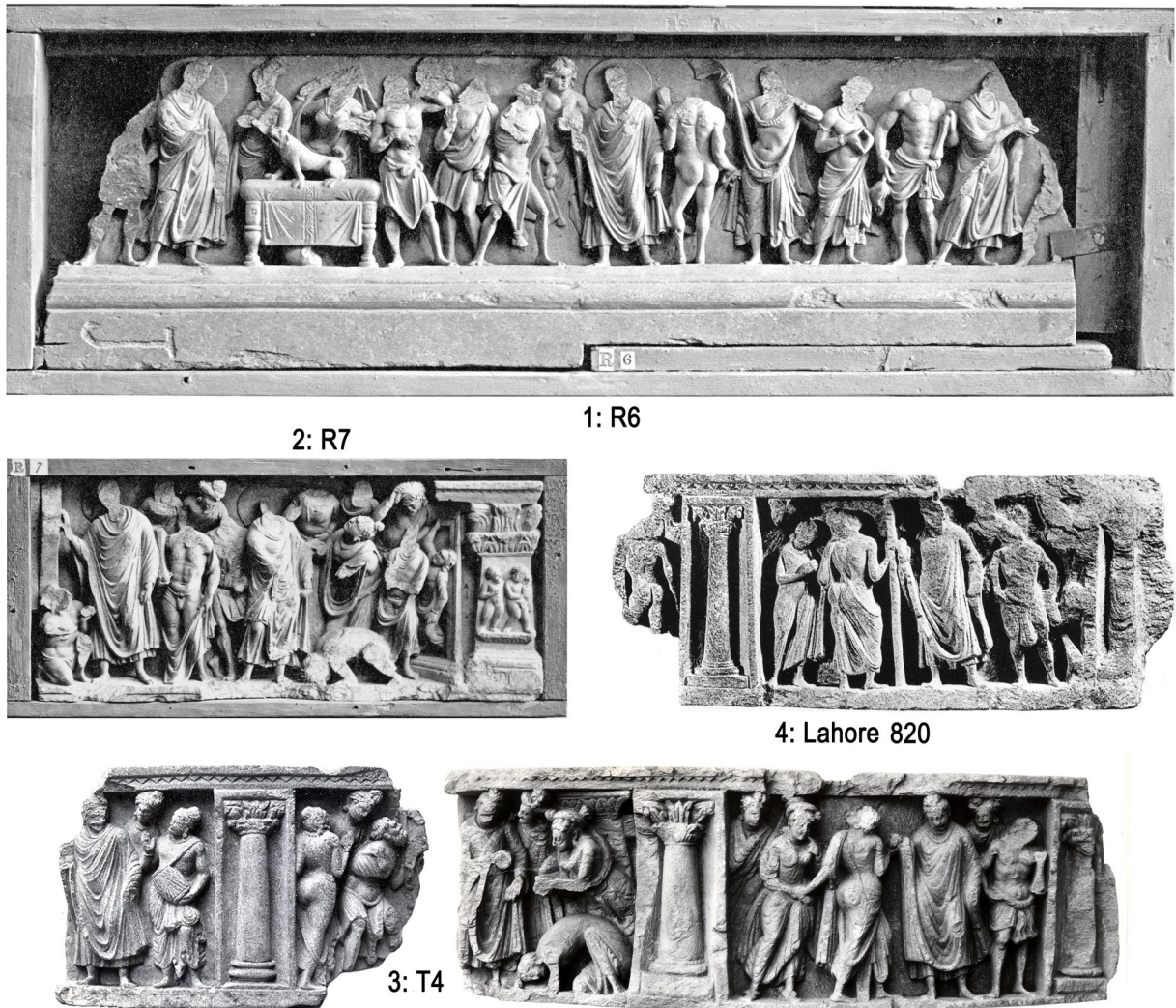


Figure 22. Appendix B reliefs. (1-2) (R6, R7), from north-east corner of Courtyard 3. (3-4) Linked curved reliefs from the same votive stūpa in Courtyard 3. All incised 'J'. (T4 and Lahore Museum, inv. 820/G1322/GR86.) (Photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute.)

Reconstructing Appendix B

According to Cunningham, Appendix B lists '165 pieces, nine-tenths of which are from Jamālgarhī with a few from Sahrī Bahlol, Takht-i-Bāhī and Kharkai' (Cunningham 1875: 196-197; see also Table of records, pp. 36-42 below). Appendix B only identifies two examples from Sahrī Bahlol (Figure 23: R14, R26). R17 is a probable third, as its subject matter of the Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas is one closely associated with the site and its large size relates to Cunningham's almost square relief acquired in 1873 (see above). It is now misattributed to Loriyān Tangai in Indian Museum records.

Only one relief is attributed to Takht-i-Bāhī (Figure 23: C3/C12), but the unmarked R50 can be identified as a companion of a relief in Lahore Museum (Figure 23.1: inv. 588). Both have strong links to depictions of the same subject said to be from Takht-i-Bāhī (Figure 23.2-3): one in the Leitner Collection of the Berlin Museum of Asian Art (inv. I 95), the other in the British Museum (inv. 1899,0715.10).

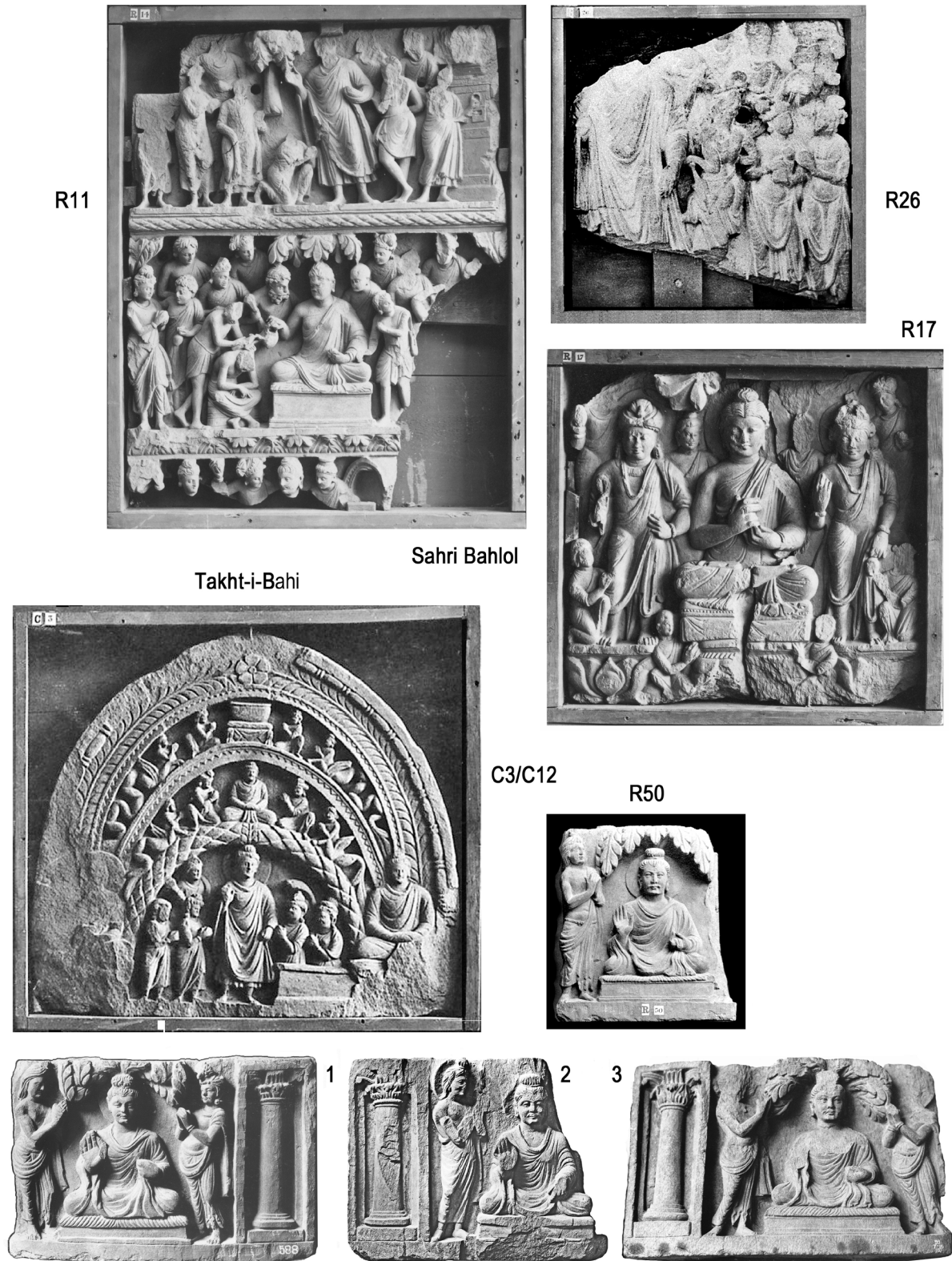


Figure 23. Appendix B sculptures from Sahrī Bahlol (R14, R26, R17) and Takht-i-Bāhī (C3/C12, R50). 1-3: Reliefs from Takht-i-Bāhī linked to R50. (1) Lahore Museum inv. 588/G262/GR9 (photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute). (2) Berlin Museum of Asian Art inv. I 95 (Leitner Collection; photo: copyright Museum of Asian Art). (3) British Museum inv. 1889,0715.10 (photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).



S16



R41

Kharkai
incised 'K'

R31



S15



R18/R32



P-: G159



E6: G83i

Figure 24. Appendix B sculptures from Kharkai, incised 'K': two seated bodhisattvas (S15–16); three reliefs (R18/32, 31, 41); a square pillar (P- /G159) and an atlas (E6/G83i). (Photos: courtesy of the Warburg Institute.)

Kharkai
incised 'K'

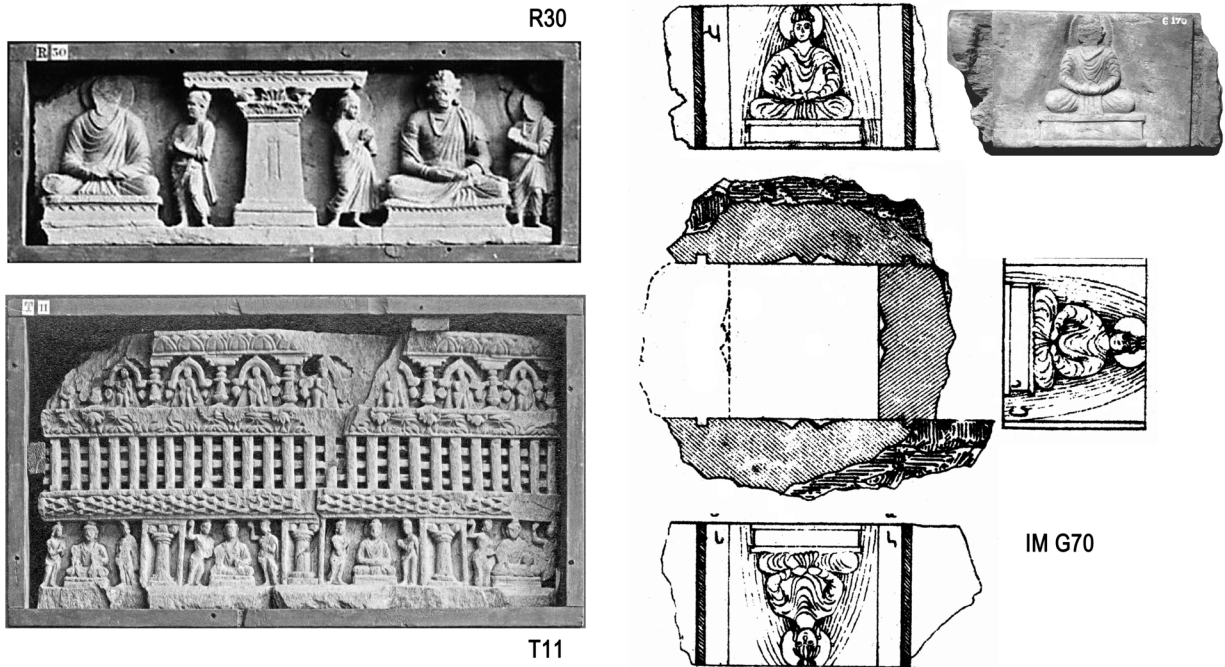


Figure 25. Appendix B sculptures from Kharkai, incised 'K' (R30, T11); drawing of a relic cell from Kharkai (Indian Museum, inv. G70; Cunningham 1875: 54, pl. XII).

Again, Appendix B lists only one sculpture from Kharkai (R41: actually two fragments boxed together, comprising a Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā* and part of a relief depicting the attack of Māra; Figure 24: R41). Cunningham also published a drawing of the three sides of a relic cell found at the site (Figure 25; 1875: 54, pl. XII). Although he omits to mention it, a further nine sculptures noted so far in the Indian Museum are incised 'K' denoting Kharkai (Figures 24-25; see Table of records). The 'K' can be clearly seen on R18. It should not be confused with the incised 'K' sculptures in Lahore Museum, which are from Karamar (Maxwell 1882).

Although 'nine-tenths' of the finds are attributed to Jamālgarhī, not all have an incised 'J'. This occurs particularly when the subject matter is repetitive as with the atlantes (Figure 16; Table of records: E4-6). An additional complication is that some of Cunningham's Appendix B photographs are annotated on the back in his handwriting as being from 'Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī' (British Museum's Asia Department), a designation that is repeated by James Burgess (1900; see Table of records: R50, S9-13).

Crompton says that in the main *stūpa* courtyard of Jamālgarhī were 'many fragments of large statues of Buddha, but few good or perfect specimens' (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 448). In contrast, at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1871, Wilcher collected '46 human heads; 35 squatting human figures; 75 erect human figures' i.e. 110 Buddha and bodhisattva statues, 46 heads and little else (Errington 1987: appendix 4, 437). Only four Buddha statues are recorded in Appendix B (Figure 26: S1-4). Stylistically they appear to be a rather disparate group, unlike the seated Buddhas from the 1920-1921 Jamālgarhī excavations. Only one has been examined (S1) and it lacks a 'J', so could be from Takht-i-Bāhī. There is a strong possibility that S2-4 are from Takht-i-Bāhī too, given the high number of statues retrieved from the site, in contrast to the paucity of examples from Jamālgarhī. Only one Buddha statue has been found with a 'J' and it is not in Appendix B, but was given to the India Museum in London by Captain Blair, Executive Engineer of Peshawar in the

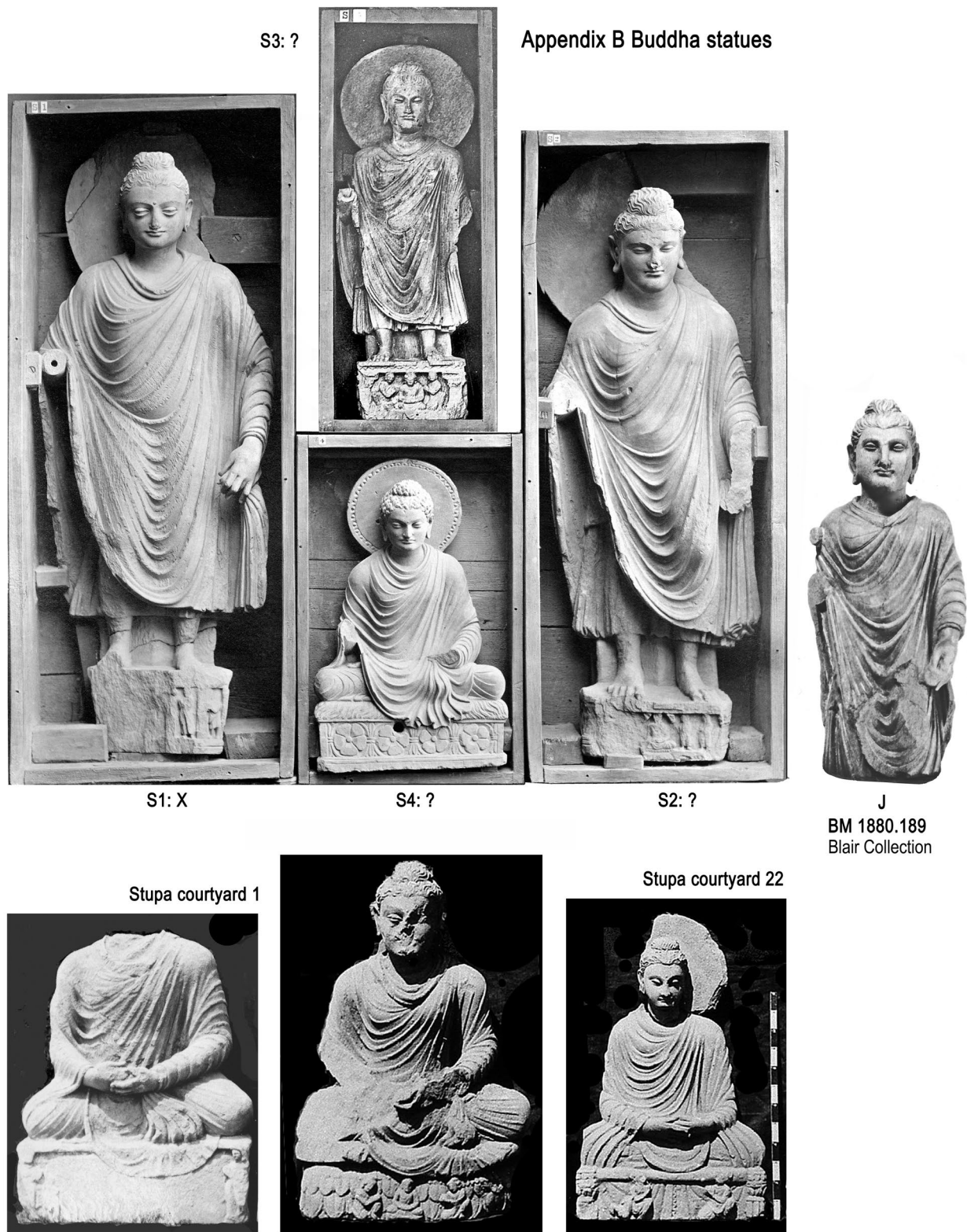


Figure 26. Buddha statues from Appendix B (S1-4) and the 1921 excavations (ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 62, no. 1891); Blair Collection British Museum inv. 1880.189, incised 'J' (photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).

early 1870s and transferred to the British Museum in 1880 (Figure 26: Blair Collection no. 7; Zwalf 1996: no. 13). An intact seated Buddha in the British Museum is also attributed to Jamālgarhī (Figure 27.2; Zwalf 1996: no. 24: ht. 3ft/94cm), as is a large standing Buddha lacking its lower legs and pedestal in the Lahore Museum (Figure 27.1: Lahore Museum inv. 948, Ingholt and Lyons 1957: 110, no. 202; ht 5.25 ft/160 cm).

According to Crompton (Errington 1987, appendix 6: 447), in Courtyard 3,

A great number of statues of men, with moustaches, with jewellery on the neck and right arm, and with sandals on the feet, which I take to be those of kings, were found ... some in good preservation, the larger number considerably damaged; none as large as lifesize were found of these.



1. Lahore Museum 948/G379

2. BM 1895,1026.1

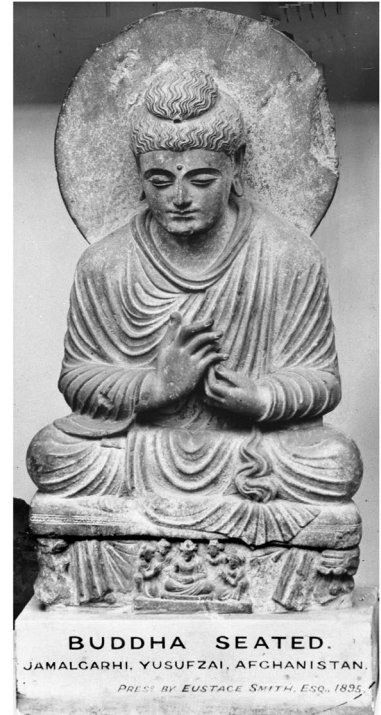


Figure 27. Buddha statues from Jamālgarhī. (1) Lahore Museum inv. 948/G379 (photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute); (2) British Museum inv. 1895,1026.1 (photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).

Appendix B includes thirteen bodhisattva statues (Figure 28), of which four have an incised 'J' (S5, 6, 12, 18), four have no provenance mark (S7, 11, 13-14) and five have not been examined (S8-10, 22-23). There appear to be stylistic links between some of the statues, e.g. S6 (incised 'J') and S8 (not seen), or S10 and S22 (both unexamined), or S7 (not incised) and S12 (incised 'J'). It is difficult to decide whether the lack of a 'J' in this last instance is due to inconsistency – as definitely occurred with the atlantes (Table of records: E4-7) – that not all the 1873 sculptures were incised with a provenance mark, or if many of the Buddha and bodhisattva figures are from the 1871 Takht-i-Bāhī excavation.

The bulk of the reliefs were also found in Courtyard 3, but it is too large a corpus of material to deal with here. The discrepancy in quantity of the finds between Courtyard 3 and the main *stūpa* enclosure is no doubt due to the more exposed location of Courtyard 1, the fact that schist sculptures had largely been replaced by stucco here and because the remains of Courtyard 3 were protected by being entirely buried, in part because some of the 'accumulated rubbish' of previous excavations (Cunningham 1875: 49). The 1920s excavations similarly had to contend with the spoil heaps of 1873.

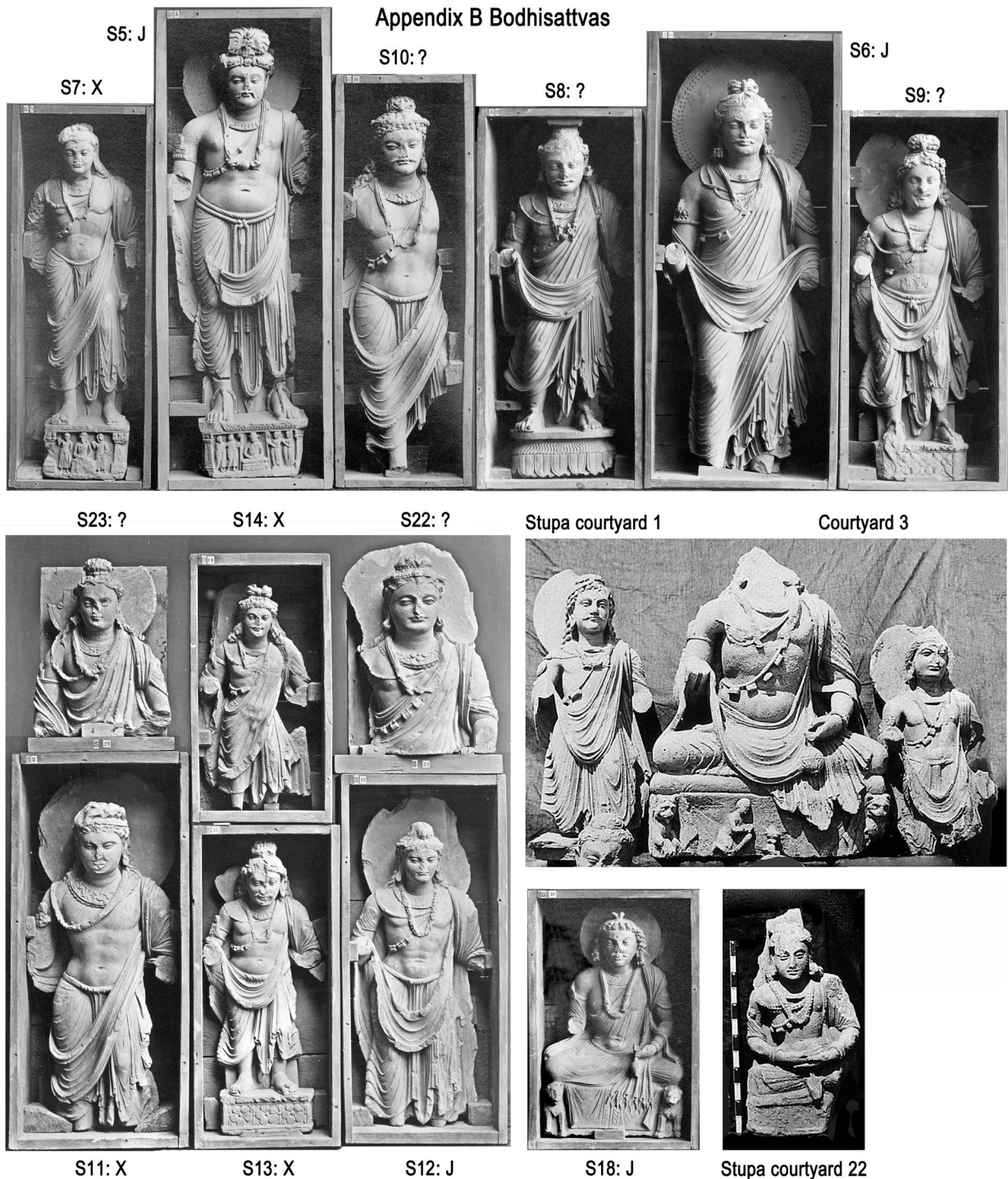


Figure 28. Bodhisattva statues from Appendix B (S5-14, 18, 22-23) and the 1921 excavations (ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 57, no. 1878).

There are a further seventy sculptures in Lahore (fifty) and Chandigarh (twenty) with the identifying incised 'J' of the 1873 excavation which have also been traced, but are not included here. But the fact that they are still identifiable is thanks to Cunningham's inspired idea of incised provenance marks, his Appendix B list and for embracing the then novel use of photography for recording the finds. Archaeological practice may have been far from ideal by present day standards, but much can still be learned from the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeological records.

Abbreviations

AGBG	Foucher 1905
AMI	Burgess 1900a
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASIAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report</i>
ASIFCAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle Annual Report</i>
ASIR V	Cunningham 1875
BM	British Museum
Cat.	Anderson 1883
GS	Burgess 1900b
Guide	Majumdar 1937
IM	Indian Museum, Kolkata
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
LM	Lahore Museum

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Table of records for illustrated Appendix B sculptures

Key: X no marks J Jamālgarhī K Kharkai ? not seen (X) incorrect Abbreviations: AGBG: Foucher 1905. AMI: Burgess1897. ASIR V: Cunningham 1875. Cat: Anderson 1883. GS: Burgess1900. Guide: Majumdar 1937.							
List/ photo	Fig.	Reg. no.	Subject	mark	Site	Size in inches	Bibliography
C 3/ C12	23	IM G59/A23265	Arch: worship of alms-bowl; Buddha; Nāga Kālīka	X	Takht-i- Bāhī	18.5 x 20.5	Cat 230; Guide 44; Appendix B: Takht-i- Bāhī. AMI pl.99.1
E 4	16	BM 1880.178	Atlas wearing boots; wings broken	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	GS pl.24.2
E 4	16	BM 1880.181	Atlas, bearded, booted; 1 wing lost	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 8.7	
E 4	16	BM 1880.183	Atlas, wearing boots; wings complete	X	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	part of series E4
E 4	16	BM 1880.179	Atlas, wings complete; left arm and leg broken	X	Jamālgarhī	ht 8.7	GS pl.24.4; part of series E4
E 4	16	BM 1880.182	Atlas, bearded, winged, booted	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	GS pl.24.3
E 4	16	BM 1880.184	Atlas winged; abraded, right arm lost.	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	
E 4	16	BM 1880.78	Atlas winged, booted, arm raised	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	
–	16. 3a	V&A IM 123-1918	Atlas, bearded, wearing boots; wings mostly lost	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	Reg. Jalalabad (X) R. de Villamil
E 5	16	IM G81d	Atlas winged, wearing boots	X	Jamālgarhī	7 x 5.5	Cat. 238; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81f	Atlas winged; cross-legged, knees on the ground	X	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 6.5	Cat. 238; Guide 161: Jamālgarhī; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81b/A23370	Atlas winged, bearded; right side lost	X	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 5	Cat. 238; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81a	Atlas winged, with hair- band and boots. 1 leg lost	J	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 7	Cat. 238; Guide 160; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81e	Atlas, bearded. No wings; both legs abraded	X	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 6.5	Cat. 238; Guide 163: Jamālgarhī; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81c	Atlas winged, in tunic and boots. Arms and leg lost	X	Jamālgarhī	7.7 x 5	Cat. 238; Guide 165: Jamālgarhī; AMI pl.101
E 6	16	IM G83a?	Atlas, bearded and winged	?	Jamālgarhī?	5.7 x 5.7	Cat. 238
E 6	16	IM G83f	Atlas winged, seated on plinth	X	Jamālgarhī?	6 x 6	Cat. 238; Guide 164: Jamālgarhī
E 6	24	IM G83i	Atlas with large wings, squatting	K	Kharkai	6 x 6	Cat. 238

E 6	16	IM G83g/A23351	Atlas winged, wearing tunic	J	Jamālgarhī	6 x 6	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83e	Atlas bearded and winged	J	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 5.5	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83c?	Atlas bearded, winged; hand on knee	X	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 5.5	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83b	Atlas bearded, winged; hand on foot	J	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 5.5	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83d/A23352	Atlas: 1 wing; no arms; tunic with clasp	J	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 4.5	Cat. 238; Guide 159
E 7	16	IM G83h?	Atlas: face, wings, right arm missing	X	Jamālgarhī?	6 x 5	Cat. 238
F 1	19	BM 1880.881	Draped balconies containing figures	J	Jamālgarhī	13 x 6.5	incised / red 1
F 1	19	BM 1880.61	Draped balconies containing figures	J	Jamālgarhī	28.2 x 6.5	incised / red 1
F 2	19	BM 1880.56	2 trees; deer and abraded animals	J	Jamālgarhī	22 x 7	incised 14
F 2	19	BM 1880.44	Upper part: trees; men; pack animals	J	Jamālgarhī	22 x 4.5	incised 11 / red 2
F 2	19	BM 1880.887	Upper part: herdsman lassoing a bull	X	Jamālgarhī	8.7 x 3.5	red 2
F 2	19	BM 1880.879	Lower part: human and animal legs and a tree (?)	X	Jamālgarhī	14.5 x 3.5	GS pl.22.5; incised 12
F 3	19	BM 1880.58	Female busts in foliage, pilasters	J	Jamālgarhī	35.5	GS pl.21.1; incised 3
F 3	19	BM 1880.60	Female busts in foliage, pilasters	J	Jamālgarhī	28 x 6.7	GS pl.21.1; incised / red 3
F 4	19	BM 1880.45	Viśvaṅtara and chariot; figures and trees	J	Jamālgarhī	28 x 7	AMI pl.151; incised 9, 10 / red 4
F 4	19	BM 1880.48	Viśvaṅtara jātaḱa: lion, figures, trees and hut	J	Jamālgarhī	27 x 6.5	GS pl.21.5; red 4
F 4	19	BM 1880.42	Viśvaṅtara giving away the elephant	J	Jamālgarhī	15.1 x 6.8	AGBG 283, fig.144; incised 4
F 5	19	BM 1880.884	Upper part of 2 abraded figures	J	Jamālgarhī	7.2 x 4	GS pl.22.4; incised 14 / red 5
F 5	19	BM 1880.33	11 figures including musicians	J	Jamālgarhī	20.2 x 6.8	GS pl.22.4; incised 5
F 5	19	BM 1880.47	Grazing animals; woman and child; man and lion seated in hut	J	Jamālgarhī	29 x 6.7	GS pl.22.3; incised / red 5
F 6	20	BM 1880.32	12 figures; doorway and tree	J	Jamālgarhī	32.2 x 7	GS pl.22.2; red 6
F 6	20	BM 1880.41	Maitrakanyaka jātaḱa (?): 10 figures; 3 doorways; and a boat	J	Jamālgarhī	38 x 6.7	GS pl.22.2; incised / red 6
F 7	20	BM 1880.38	Mahāsuka jātaḱa: a bird in a dead tree and 2 figures shown twice	J	Jamālgarhī	40.2 x 6.8	GS pl.21.3; incised / red 7

F 7	20	BM 1880.35	Avadāna: story of a monk, a jeweller and a thieving bird	J	Jamālgarhī	41 x 6.8	GS pl.21.3; incised 2 + 7 / red 7
F 8	20	BM 1880.54	Śyāma jātaḥ: youth collecting water is shot by a rāja hunting deer	J	Jamālgarhī	24.5 x 7	AGBG 279, fig.143; incised / red 8
F 8	20	BM 1880.55	Rāja leads parents from hut to their fallen son; the youth restored to life	J	Jamālgarhī	36.5 x 7	GS pl.21.4; incised / red 8
F 9	20	BM 1880.34	6 nāga musicians and a dancer	J	Jamālgarhī	16.7 x 6.8	incised / red 9
F 9	20	BM 1880.30	15 nāga musicians and dancers	J	Jamālgarhī	39 x 6.7	GS pl.22.5; incised / red 9
F 9	20	BM 1880.40	4 nāga musicians and a dancer	J	Jamālgarhī	11.5 x 6.7	AGBG 180 note; incised / red 9
F 9	20	BM 1880.36	9 nāga musicians and dancers; tree	X	Jamālgarhī	22.2 x 6.8	incised / red 9
F10	20	BM 1880.52	7 hunters and 2 lions; section lost	J	Jamālgarhī	35 x 6.8	AMI pl.151; incised 11
F10	20	BM 1880.886	Abraded fragment with human figures and a monkey (?)	J	Jamālgarhī	17.7 x 6.7	AMI pl.151; incised / red 10
F10	20	BM 1880.51	5 hunters; a lion; a boar and a tree	J	Jamālgarhī	24.2 x 7	AMI pl.151; incised / red 10
F11	21	BM 1880.885	Bacchanalian scene with 5 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	18.7 x 7.5	incised 11
F11	21	BM 1880.882	Bacchanalian scene with 11 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	25 x 6.7	incised 11
F11	21	BM 1880.39	2 musicians, 2 dancers, a tree and a horse rider: Candakinnara jātaḥ	X	Jamālgarhī	22 x 6.8	no marks
F12	21	BM 1880.358	Fragment: 2 figures; 2 trees; figure in hut; rider	J	Jamālgarhī	18 x 5	AMI pl.151; incised / red 12
F12	21	BM 1880.50	2 men leading a horse; a tree; a standing figure and a rider	J	Jamālgarhī	22 x 7	GS pl.22.1; AMI pl.151; incised 9 / red 12
F12	21	BM 1880.524	Horseman riding past a doorway; 2 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	12 x 7.6	J reversed; no other marks
F12	21	BM 1880.49	Upper part: 2 guards; 2 horsemen; figures and a tower	J	Jamālgarhī	31 x 5	GS pl.22.1; incised / red 12
F13	21	BM 1880.59	Swag with 5 putti; winged figures in upper spaces	J	Jamālgarhī	32.8 x 6.6	GS pl.21.2; incised 13
F13	21	BM 1880.883	Swag with 2 putti and 2 winged figures	X	Jamālgarhī	12.2 x 5.7	GS pl.21.2; incised / red 13
F –	21	IM G60	Abraded gable: 2 seated, 2 standing figures and pile of 3 heads; 2 trees	J	Jamālgarhī	25.7 x 6.7	Cat. 230; incised 4

F14	21	BM 1880.43	4 standing figures; trees; 1 doorway	J	Jamālgarhī	16 x 6.7	incised 8 / red 14
F14	21	BM 1880.46	2 seated, 4 standing figures; a tower, tree and doorway	J	Jamālgarhī	34.5 x 6.7	GS pl.22.3; incised 7 / red 14
F14	21	BM 1880.880	Half-open doorway and 3 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	10.7 x 6.7	GS pl.22.3; incised 2
F15	21	BM 1880.57	4 alternating tritons and Indo-Corinthian pilasters	J	Jamālgarhī	32.5 x 7	GS pl.21.2; incised / red 15
F16	21	BM 1880.37	Upper part of 7 standing musicians	J	Jamālgarhī	16.7x 7.1	GS pl.22.4; incised 16
F16	21	BM 1880.31	19 standing musicians and dancers	J	Jamālgarhī	40 x 7.2	GS pl.22.4; incised 2, 16 / red 16
M –	12	IM G157/5410	Elephant holding a bunch of flowers in his trunk	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 6	Cat. 252; AMI 6, pl.76; now 'Caddy collection (Swat)' (X)
M –	12		Elephant, abraded; forelegs broken; trunk lost	?	Jamālgarhī?	ht 6	not located
M –	12-		Elephant and headless mahout; trunk and forelegs lost	?	Jamālgarhī?	ht 6	not located
M –	12	IM G156/5412 /A23388	Elephant and mahout; end of trunk and forelegs broken	X	Jamālgarhī	ht 6	Cat. 251; AMI 6, pl.76; now 'Caddy collection (Swat)' (X)
P 1	14–15	IM G177/A23490	Corinthian half capital; bodhisattva in foliage	?	Jamālgarhī Courtyard 3	34 x 8	Cat. 255; Guide 241; AGBG 235, fig.112
P 1	141	IM G177a-b?	Lower half of Corinthian capital in 2 pieces	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	Cat. 255; AMI pl.77; ASIR V pl.L
P 2	14–15	BM 1880.172	Corinthian half capital; seated Buddha in foliage	X	Jamālgarhī?	28 x 5	ASIR V 191, pl.XLIX; AMI pl.78; painted 2
P 2	14	BM 1880.197	Lower half of Corinthian capital	X	Jamālgarhī?	15.7 x 5	AMI pl.78; ASIR V pl.XLIX
P 3	12, 15	IM G155	Upper Corinthian half capital; acanthus foliage	X	Jamālgarhī?	23 x 4.5	AMI pl.78; ASIR V 191
P 4	14–15	IM G158/A23492	Upper half capital; Buddha and 2 devotees in foliage	J	Jamālgarhī	21.8 x 4.7	Cat. 252; Guide 245; ASIR V 191, pl.XLIX
P 5	14–15	not located	Upper half capital; headless Buddha in foliage	?	Jamālgarhī?	21 x 5.1	AMI pl.78; ASIR V 191; not located
P 6	14–15	IM G161/A23494	Upper Corinthian half capital; acanthus foliage	X	Jamālgarhī?	21.1 x 4.8	Cat. 252; AMI pl.78; ASIR V 191
P 7	12, 15	IM G176a	Upper half capital; Buddha and a devotee in foliage	?	Jamālgarhī?	20 x 4.5	Cat. 255; ASIR V 191, pl.XLVIII
P 7	12	IM G176a	Lower complete Corinthian capital	?	Jamālgarhī?	12 x 3.2	Cat. 255; AMI 6, pl.76; ASIR V 191
P 8	14–15	BM 1880.357	Upper half capital; seated Buddha in foliage	J	Jamālgarhī	16.5 x 4	AMI pl.77; ASIR V 191

P 8	14.	BM 1880.327	Lower quarter section of Corinthian capital	X	Jamālgarhī?	13 x 4.7	AMI pl.77; ASIR V 191
P 8	14	IM G164 ?/St4	Lower quarter section of Corinthian capital	X	Jamālgarhī?	7.5 x 4.5	AMI pl.77; ASIR V 191
P –	15	V&A IM 3292-1883	Upper Corinthian half capital; acanthus foliage	J	Jamālgarhī	21 x 5	Reg. Takht-i-Bāhī (X) Punjab Govt.
P –	14-15	IM G162?	Centre section: upper Corinthian acanthus capital	?	Jamālgarhī?	12.5 x 5	Cat. 252; AMI pl.78; Reg. G162-4: 3 capital fragments
P –	15	BM 1889,0703.2	Centre section: upper Corinthian acanthus capital	J	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 5	Reg. from Buner-Yusufzai frontier (X) H.A. Deane
P 10	12.	IM G122	Square corner pilaster; fragment of relief on 2 faces	J	Jamālgarhī	12.6 x 9	Cat. 245; Guide 171
P 11	12	IM G146	Square corner pilaster; fragment of relief on 2 faces	J	Jamālgarhī	12.6 x 9	Cat. 250; Guide 169
P 13	24	IM G159	Small square Corinthian pillar, 2 faces	K	Kharkai	ht 5.8	Cat. 252; AMI pl.149
P –	12	IM G176a	Half section of a <i>chattravali</i> base	?	Jamālgarhī?	14 x 3.5	Cat. 255; ASIR V 191, pl.XLVIII
R 6	22.1	IM G34/A23232	Dog barking at the Buddha; standing figures	J	Jamālgarhī	24 x 7.5	Cat. 219; Guide 82; AMI pl.79; AGBG 525, fig.257
R 7	22.2	IM G61/A23287	2 scenes: figure doing homage to the Buddha	J	Jamālgarhī	17.7 x 7.2	Cat. 231; Guide 135; AMI pl.79
R11	23	IM G11/A23282	2.5 tiers: Ordination of Nanda	X	Sahrī Bahlol	19 x 25	Cat. 209 Sahrī Bahlol; Guide 73; AGBG 464, fig.238
R15	R15	IM G17	2 tiers: seated monks; submission of Nāga Apālala	X		9.2 x 22.2	Cat. 212; AMI pl.102.3; Jamālgarhī AGBG 549, fig.272
R16	R16	IM G7	Back view of Vajrapāṇi; 4 figures holding lotuses	?		7 x 20	Cat. 207; AMI pl.102.2
R17	23	IM G24/5424/23218	Seated Buddha flanked by 2 bodhisattvas and devotees	X	Sahrī Bahlol?	18 x 16.7	Cat. 214; Guide 94: Loriyān Tangai (X)
R18/ R32	25	IM G31/A23270	Buddha seated under tree flanked by 6 devotees (duplicated as R32).	K	Kharkai	11 x 8.5	Cat. 217; AMI pl.146.8
R26	23	IM G15	Buddha torso, back view of swordsman, 6 figures	X	Sahrī Bahlol	14.7 x 14.2	Cat. 211; Appendix B
R30	24	IM G175/A23373	Seated Buddha/bodhisattva and devotees divided by a pilaster	K	Kharkai	17 x 5.7	Cat. 255; AMI pl.102.4
R31	24	IM G171	Figure feeding flame of fire altar	K	Kharkai	5.2 x 8	Cat. 254; AMI pl.147.5
R41	24		Part of tree; 4 figures in masks: host of Māra	?	Kharkai	10 x 18	not located; listed as R41: Kharkai

R41	24		Bust of preaching Buddha; right side and halo lost	?	Kharkai	5 x 11	not located; boxed as R41
R50	23	IM G63/A23379	Seated Buddha under tree; 1 standing devotee	X	Takht-i-Bāhī?	8.7 x 9.7	<i>Cat.</i> 231; <i>AMI</i> pl.92 Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
-	25	IM G170 a, b, c	3 slabs of relic casket, each with seated Buddha; incised <i>ar-a-de[va?]</i>	K	Kharkai	ht 6	<i>Cat.</i> 253; <i>ASIR</i> V 54, pl.XII
S 1	26	BM 1880.73	Standing Buddha. Right hand lost; pedestal abraded; fixed modern base	?	Jamālgarhī?	ht 35	<i>AMI</i> 7, pl.92; original stand: Jamālgarhī
S 2	26	IM G125a/A23214	Standing Buddha. Both hands lost; pedestal abraded	X		12 x 34	<i>Cat.</i> 245; <i>Guide</i> 259: Jamālgarhī; <i>AMI</i> pl.92
S 3	26	IM G145a/A23368	Standing Buddha. Pedestal: bodhisattva, 2 devotees	X		7 x 17.5	<i>Cat.</i> 250; <i>Guide</i> 332: Jamālgarhī
S 4	26	IM G148/A23518	Seated Buddha; rosette and dart pedestal. Hands lost	X		10.5 x 16	<i>Cat.</i> 250; <i>Guide</i> 334; <i>AMI</i> pl.92
S 5	28	IM G134/5014/A2319	Standing bodhisattva; garuda in turban; arms lost	J	Jamālgarhī	13 x 38.5	<i>Cat.</i> 247; <i>Guide</i> 315; <i>AMI</i> pl.83; 'Swat' (X)
S 6	28	BM 1880.72	Standing bodhisattva with halo; hands and feet lost	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 36	<i>AMI</i> pl.82; original stand: Jamālgarhī
S 7	28	IM G138/A23190	Standing bodhisattva; hair on shoulders; arms lost	X	Jamālgarhī?	11 x 30	<i>Cat.</i> 248; <i>Guide</i> 295: Jamālgarhī; <i>AMI</i> pl.83
S 8	28	IM G132/A23188	Bodhisattva standing on lotus decorated pot base	X	Jamālgarhī?	12 x 30	<i>Cat.</i> 247; <i>Guide</i> 306: Jamālgarhī; <i>AMI</i> pl.82
S 9	28	BM 1880.218	Standing bodhisattva. Pedestal: 4-petalled flowers	?		ht 30.5	<i>AMI</i> pl.82: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S10	28	IM G135	Standing bodhisattva. Nose, arms and legs lost	?		ht 32.5	<i>Cat.</i> 248; <i>AMI</i> pl.83: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S11	28	IM G130	Standing bodhisattva with halo. Arms and legs lost	X		ht 24	<i>Cat.</i> 240; <i>AMI</i> pl.84: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S12	28	BM 1880.198	Standing bodhisattva with halo. No hands or legs	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 22.2	<i>AMI</i> pl.84
S13	28	IM G150/A23375a, b	Standing bodhisattva on rosette and dart pedestal	X	Takht-i-Bāhī?	8 x 19	<i>Cat.</i> 251; <i>Guide</i> 325; <i>AMI</i> pl.84: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S14	28	IM G131a/A23369	Standing bodhisattva; long locks; no hands or legs	X		ht 15	<i>Cat.</i> 240; <i>AMI</i> pl.84
S15	24	IM G142	Seated bodhisattva; hole for jewel in forehead	K	Kharkai	15 x 20.5	<i>Cat.</i> 249; <i>Guide</i> 317; <i>AMI</i> pl.88
S16	24	IM G140/A23498	Seated Maitreya; fire-altar on pedestal	K	Kharkai	12 x 20	<i>Cat.</i> 249; <i>Guide</i> 309; <i>AMI</i> pl.88

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T4	22.3	BM 1880.103	2 fragmented Buddhist scenes	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 6.7	AMI 7, pl.101
T4	22.3	BM 1880.74	2 scenes: <i>Dīpaṅkara jāta</i> ka,	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 6.8	AMI 7, pl.101
T11	25	IM G96	3 tiers: arches and pilasters; railing; Buddha and devotees	K	Kharkai	18 x 9.5	Cat. 241; AMI 14, pl.150

Gandhāran stucco sculptures from Sultan Khel (former Khyber Agency) in the collection of Peshawar Museum: a study in three parts

Zarawar Khan, Fawad Khan and Ghayyur Shahab

Part I: Provenance and acquisition history of the Sultan Khel Collection

The Peshawar Museum of Pakistan was inaugurated in the Victoria Memorial hall of Peshawar by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in 1907, and since then, it has achieved a worldwide reputation for housing one of the best collections of Gandhāran Buddhist sculptures. The antiquities of the Museum have chiefly come from archaeological excavations and explorations of ancient sites and monuments of the former North-West Frontier Province,¹ however, the number of artefacts has also been supplemented by the sculptures donated by the civil and military officials of the British Indian Empire.² Most of the donated and gifted sculptures were collected in military operations or punitive expeditions, or purchased from the local people, as well as confiscated under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904.³

One of the donated collections of the Museum is accessioned with the caption, 'The Lt. Col. W.A. Garstin Collection from Sultan Khel'. It consists of forty-six stucco figures and detached heads of Buddhist sculptures, received at the Museum on the 3rd October 1929. It was supposed to be part of the personal collection of W.A. Garstin, the then Political Agent of Khyber Agency, however, the study of the contemporary report of then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle (hereafter ASIFC), and the archival record of the Political Agent of Khyber Agency, reveals a complete acquisition history of this important collection.

The village of Sultan Khel (the findspot of the W.A. Garstin Collection), is situated in the former Khyber Agency,⁴ about twenty-eight kilometres north-west of Peshawar near the railway track that connects Peshawar with Torkham. The area of Khyber first came under the influence of the British Indian Empire during the first Anglo-Afghan war (1839-1842). After the annexation of Peshawar in 1849, the British authorities took direct control of the Khyber Pass and with the creation of the Khyber Agency in 1879, many tribes surrendered to the British Empire in lieu of military service and allowances (Iqbal 2011: 78). The area at that time was largely populated by the Zakha Khel tribe, while K.S. Abdul Jabbar Khan⁵ was the leading chief (*Malik*) of the tribe and owner of the archaeological site, from which the stucco sculptures of Peshawar Museum originated.

The only available record related to the Buddhist site in the Sultan Khel village of Khyber is a short account published in the annual report of the ASI for the years 1926-27, by H. Hargreaves, the then Superintendent of the ASIFC, after the site was reported to the Political Agent of Khyber (Hargreaves 1930: 125-126).

Apart from that report, additional information about the discovery of Sultan Khel Buddhist site, its occasional excavation by the British military officers and the circumstances under which the collection

1 Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan

2 For instance, the collection donated by P. J. G. Pippon, H.A. Deane, and C.M. Enriquez.

3 The Wali Swat Collection of sixteen sculptures in Peshawar Museum were confiscated in 1935 at Dargai (See Olivieri 2015: document nos. 175 and 176).

4 Now district Khyber.

5 He had received the title of Khan Sahib on the 3rd June 1924; see *The Quarterly List of Civil Officers Serving in the North West Frontier Province, Corrected up to January 1930* (Calcutta, Government Press): 161.

was confiscated and handed over to the Peshawar Museum, is fortunately provided by a set of archival documents, recently surfaced in the Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar (henceforth the DoAL).

In this connection, one of the folders received by the DoAL Peshawar from the Political Administration of Khyber Agency, contains some files of the years 1926 to 1939. The first file of the folder is titled 'Papering: Excavation of a Graeco Buddhist Shrine in Sultan Khel Limits, Khyber',⁶ while the other file consists of the corresponding letters for the preservation of Shpola Stūpa.⁷ The contents of the first file are extremely important since they throw light on the practice of ancient treasure-hunting and antique-collection, and the involvement of the British officials in the unauthorized diggings at the Buddhist site of Sultan Khel. Besides these valuable documents, there are confidential letters addressed to the Political Administration about the smuggling of Gandhāran sculptures out of Khyber Agency to the markets of Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and onwards to Italy and Europe. It was also recorded that some of the military officials had made their personal collections of Gandhāran sculptures and even corresponded with the ASIFC and British Museum over selling them. We would therefore include some of those letters in the present study in order to reach a proper conclusion.

Document No. 1

Letter No: 122/D

File No. 49D/VII,

DoAL Bundle No. 33, Serial No. 222

Dated: 25th April 1926

From: The Political Tehsildar, Khyber, Landikotal

To: The Assistant Political Officer (APO), Khyber

This is the first document of the file and records the report of the Political Tehsildar to APO, about the possession of some Buddha heads by Captain Bowen, the Officer Commanding Signal at Landikotal. On his request to find out the place where the heads were found, the Tehsildar accompanied him and discovered a place four and half miles from Landikotal towards Ali Masjid, and close to the railway line, where after some digging, more heads made of lime plaster were found. Captain Bowen further requested more excavation at the site and the Tehsildar refers the matter to the Political Agent (PA). It has also been declared that Captain Bowen has paid Rs. 25, to the owner of the site, K.S. Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan, and Rs. 15 in rewards to some men for digging the site.

On the same page, the remark of the PA in black ink is 'forwarded for consideration', with signature and date of 25/4/26. Another signature is added on 26/6/26.

⁶ File No. 49D/VII, S. No. 222, Bundle No. 33.

⁷ File No. 48D/VII, S. No. 241, Bundle No. 36.

Document No. 2

Letter No: unnumbered.
Dated: 26th April 1926
From: (Su,) Zerf Mills, Landikotal
To: Mr Garrat⁸

This is a covering letter of Zerf Mills for forwarding a copy of the letter of Captain W.O. Bowen of the 6th Gurkha Rifles, 'A' Divisional Signal, to the Head Quarters, 1st Indian Infantry Brigade, at Landikotal. Captain Bowen in his letter has reported the finding of a 'Graeco-Buddhist Shrine' of great archaeological value, about 300 yards north-east of Sultan Khel village in the Khyber Pass, where the ruins are approximately dated to 120 AD, on the basis of personal observation. He has also suggested that an expert in Graeco-Buddhist architecture and art be sent to inspect the site before he embarks on five months' leave on 18th May and if, when the site is excavated, artefacts of value are found. He further requests that Khan Sahib Sirdar Abbas Ali, the Political Tehsildar, and some men from his British NCOs will be kept in consideration for the help they gave him in the discovery of the site.

Document No. 3

Letter No: D.O. No. 53-86
Dated: 28th April 1926
From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar
To: Lt. Col. R. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber, Peshawar

The letter is with reference to the PA's correspondence no. 1247 of 27th April 1926, concerning the discovery of Buddhist remains near Sultan Khel village in the Khyber Agency. Hargreaves in response says thanks to the PA for the information and states that he should like to inspect the site and will endeavor to arrange with the PA some early date for that inspection. Further, it has been requested that further damage to the remains should be prevented with the cooperation of local Khans.

Document No. 4

Letter No: D.O. No. 53-90
Date: 29th April 1926
From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar
To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

This letter was probably issued after some verbal conversation between the two officers and hence no reference is made of any previous correspondence. Hargreaves with reference to his own letter (Document No. 03), writes that he should be pleased if permitted to inspect the Sultan Khel remains on Sunday 2nd May 1926, along with Mr. Lawther, the Superintendent of Police, who promised to take him in his car. 'We propose leaving at 7:30 A.M., and if the Political Tehsildar could meet us, it would greatly facilitate the inspection. Perhaps the Political Tehsildar might be able to inform Captain Bowen of our intended visit to enable him to be present should he so desire.'

At the end of the front page and overleaf of the same letter, there are the handwritten remarks of the Tehsildar, addressed to the PA on the 2nd of May 1926, which state: 'Mr. Hargreaves accompanied by Mr. Lawther inspected the Sultan Khel remains on Sunday the 2nd May. I and Capt. Bowen met them also. Then the party forwarded as far as Landikotal to inspect the Buddha heads collected by Capt. Bowen.'

⁸ The Political Agent of Khyber Agency at that time.

The brothers of K.S.M. Abdul Jabbar Zakha Khel offered the Inspector tea in front of his house. The party sat down for almost 10 minutes and took their tea. For perusal and order please.' The letter is stamped on both sides with the green seal of the office of the Political Agent, Khyber, and diary numbers. The first page of the letter is marked with the received date of 29th April and the other by 4th May 1926.

Document No. 5

Letter No: D.O. No. 53-109
Date: 30th April, 1926
From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar
To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

The letter informs the PA that, 'The notification prohibiting the bringing or taking into or out of the N.W.F. Province of Gandhara sculptures is No. 1385 of the Government of India of 8th July 1924 and was republished in the Government Gazette N.W.F.P. on page 750 of the Gazette of July 25th 1924'.

Document No. 6

Letter No: D.O. No. 95/145
Date: 7th May, 1926
From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar
To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, I.A. Political Agent, Khyber

This is a two-page letter of H. Hargreaves with reference to previous correspondence no. 1247 of 27th April 1926, regarding his observation on the Sultan Khel site after its inspection on 2nd May 1926. The document is attached with a copy of a detailed note of two pages.⁹ A request is also made to the PA for the preservation of the Sultan Khel site from further unauthorized digging, with the plea that his own office at Peshawar has no power under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act to prevent excavation in the trans-frontier area. He also states that:

the policy of the Government of India is to discourage uncontrolled excavation in this area and to ensure that antiquities recovered are sent to the Director General of Archaeology and to prevent illicit traffic in Gandharan sculptures, for which purpose, notification no. 1385 was issued as recently as 8th July 1924. Under this notification anyone bringing these antiquities into the N.W.F.P. is not only liable to have them confiscated but to be fined Rs. 500/- in addition. If the avarice of the people has been excited it is due to the demands of British officers and if the latter observe the letter and spirit of the orders of the Government these undesirable excavations will automatically cease. I feel sure that K.S. Jabbar Khan, the owner of the area in question can be persuaded to stop these diggings. Later when the Museum extension is completed, this area if the owner is then willing can be carefully excavated by local labourers under the direction of this department. It would be regrettable if these remains were to be entirely destroyed and all evidence lost as will certainly be the case if the present exploration continues. I should therefore be pleased to enlist your interest in this matter and to learn what steps you will be able to take to discourage excavation in the agency, to direct the attention of all concerned to Government of India Notification no. 1385 of 8th July 1924 and to prevent these antiquities being brought into British India, so that I may detail the action taken in my annual report on the working of the Ancient Monument Preservation Act which I am submitting to the Government of India in July 1926.

⁹ Our document No. 7.

The letter was received at the PA Khyber office on 11th May 1926 as shown on the green diary stamp. The black inked remarks of the PA to head clerk read: 'file concerned (DVII/49) has put with a letter from Hargreaves on 30.4.26 & has been returned to record'. He further comments: 'we have already sent a copy of the Govt gazette prohibiting excavation at Sultan Khel'.

Document No. 7

Letter No: unnumbered
Date: Peshawar, 3rd May 1926
From: H. Hargreaves, Superintendent ASFC
To: The PA Khyber Agency
Subject: Report on the Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

This is the draft copy of Mr H. Hargreaves's report on the Buddhist site of Sultan Khel, sent as an annexure to document No. 6. It was published with minor rectification in the annual report of the ASI for the year 1925-27,¹⁰ with the following statement:

Having received from the Political agent Khyber an endorsement No. 1247 of 27th April, 1926 forwarding letters from Col. Willis, Officer Commanding Landikotal, and Captain W.C. Bowen, 6th Gurkha Rifles, Officer Commanding 'A' Divisional Signals, Landikotal, reporting that sculptures from a Buddhist shrine had been discovered near Sultan Khel village in the Khyber Agency, arrangements were made with the Political Agent for the inspection of the site on May 2nd 1926. It was found that the find spot was a low elliptical mound about a quarter of a mile north of the Shpola stupa. The mound which lies in the middle of cultivation is some 70 feet long and 40 feet across and is highest at its northern end where it rises some six feet above the neighbouring fields. This area has been known to yield antiquities for the last forty years and the villagers state that various heads etc. were obtained here more than 30 years ago for Col. Warburton, Political Agent Khyber. Since Col. Warburton's time the place had remained unexploited. Recently, however, certain British officers of the Landikotal garrison having evinced lively interest in these antiquities, one Rauf Shah, a Sayyid of Sultan Khel village began to dig here.

Later Capt. Bowen started regular excavations and engaged men who continued the operations for four or five days. A portion of the finds seems to have been taken to Landikotal and I saw in possession of Captain Bowen several complete seated Buddha figures from a frieze as well as other Buddha and Bodhisattva heads. Rauf Shah had also a number of stucco heads, some larger than life size. These he offers for sale to visitors to the Khyber and a lady in Peshawar bought one in the Pass about the 27th April 1926 for two rupees. One figure which from the description given was seemingly of great interest has entirely vanished before my arrival, and I was unable to learn from Captain Bowen what had become of it.

Practically everything had been removed from the trenches which marked the recent excavations. The walls exposed are of the larger type of diaper of 2nd century A.D. but some of the stucco figures seem to be of later date and may be renovations. From Captain Bowen's description of his excavations he appears to have stripped off seated Buddha figures from a frieze but some large heads may originally have adorned the chapels.

Excavations of this type are not desirable. No detailed record of operations is kept, no list of finds made, antiquities are broken for convenience of transport, no plan is prepared and these excavations resolve into a mere scramble for portable antiquities and in consequence valuable

¹⁰ Hargreaves 1930: 125-126.

archaeological evidence is destroyed for ever. These operations are entirely contrary to both the letter and spirit of the orders of the Government of India as expressed in the letters quoted in the margin (Government of India Revenue and Agriculture Department Cir. No. 48-82-2 of 31-10-1902, and Government of India Home Department No. 242-249 of 23-5-1905).

Colonel Willis remarks that the avarice of the local inhabitants has been aroused, but this is entirely due to the military officers in the Khyber and if the demand cease, digging will stop, though there is still the fear that dealers may learn of these discoveries and attempt to revive the forbidden traffic in these antiquities. That this fear is not unjustified is proved by an advertisement in a recent issue of the 'Pioneer' offering for sale of Gandhara sculptures which must have been obtained from similar unauthorized excavations.

As the Peshawar Museum is already overcrowded the immediate exploration of this site is not recommended. The Political Agent Khyber is being requested to discourage excavation in the agency and to direct the attention of all concerned to Government of India Notification No.1385 of 8-7-1924.

Document No. 8

Letter: D.O. No. 95/23-C

Date: 16th June, 1926

From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Camp Nathiagali¹¹

To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

With reference to our document No. 6, H. Hargreaves in the letter wants to learn about the steps taken by the PA to discourage archaeological excavations in Khyber agency and to prevent the antiquities obtained at Sultan Khel being brought into British India. Hargreaves further requests that:

Captain Bowen may be not permitted to take away from the Khyber Agency any of the antiquities he recovered without my written permission according to Government no. 1385 of 8.7.1924. Captain Bowen has stated in a letter of 25.4.1926 to Head Quarters Peshawar District that he is taking 6 heads of Gandharan sculptures with him to England. In acting thus, Capt. Bowen is failing to carry out the very clear instructions of the Government and renders himself liable to the penalties prescribed in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, Section 17(2) (3). This notification of the Government has been published both in the Civil Gazette and the Military Orders. I should be pleased to have a very early reply to this letter as I am referring the matter to the Government of India.

The remarks of the PA on the letter with black ink indicate, 'a copy of the Govt. notification has been sent to Col. Commandant Landikotal'.

¹¹ Nathiagali, in the Abbottabad district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Summer Camp of the Indian Government Officials serving in Peshawar.

Document No. 9

Letter: D.O. No. 95/133-C

Date: 13th August, 1926

From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Camp Nathiagali

To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

With reference to the PA letter no. 1944/D-VII-49 of the 26th June 1926, Hargreaves with great regret states that he has been informed by the local administration about the taking away of six heads to England by Capt. Bowen, which he excavated at Sultan Khel. References to the previous correspondence in this regard are recalled and a further request for the preservation of the site is made to the Political Agent. It is also pointed out that Capt. Bowen has praised the Political Tehsildar, K.S. Sirdar Abbas Ali for helping in the excavation, and therefore he and all officials in the agency may be discouraged from assisting similar excavations in the future.

On the 17th and 18th August 1926, the PA Khyber adds a remark in black ink: 'A copy of notification 1385 was sent to Col. Commandant Landikotal for information' and 'Enquire from earlier date on which Capt. Bowen left Landikotal'.

Document No. 10

Letter No: 4798-99/11-26-26

Dated: Nathiagali, the 6th September 1926

From: Lt. Col. M.E. Rae IA, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, NWF Province

To: (1) The Head Quarters, Peshawar District; (2) The Political Agent, Khyber

Subject: Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

The letter is with reference to a previous correspondence with the Head Quarters Peshawar District, no. 9434/5/A, of 2nd July 1926, with a copy of the report of H. Hargreaves (the annexure of our document No. 6). A request is made here for the stoppage of further excavation in Khyber. The Secretary further states: 'I understand that the 6 heads removed by Capt. Bowen are only part of the antiquities recovered in these excavations and I have the honour to request that arrangements may be made to hand over the remaining images etc to the Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle'.

A copy of this letter is also forwarded to the Superintendent ASIFC, with reference to his letter no. 95/141-C, of 16th August 1926 and paragraph 5 of no. 95/142-C of the same date. On 12th September 1926, the PA Khyber directs his subordinates to forward the copy of this letter to the political Tehsildar Landikotal for information and further guidance. Another remark of 13th September is not fully legible but mentions 'heads to be returned and then...'. On the overleaf of the letter the head clerk states that the file on the subject was put up on 24th August 1926 and has not yet been back in record.

Document No. 11

Draft No: 6746
File No: D-VII/49
Dated: 20th October 1928
From: Lt. Col. W.A. Garstin, OBE, Political Agent, Khyber
To: The Head Quarters, Peshawar District, Peshawar
Subject: Excavations from Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

This is the draft letter of the PA with reference to document No. 10, and states that in ignorance of those orders,¹² Captain W.A. Whitehead RE (Garrison Engineer), on the morning of the 16th instant removed some images from the site and has been purchasing statue heads removed from this site by the local inhabitants. The PA, while reminding the recipients of the instructions of the Chief Commissioner, stresses that excavations should stop, and requests the Head Quarters Landikotal Brigade to direct Capt. Whitehead and other officers who have got similar antiquities to hand them over to the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar.

A copy of the letter was also forwarded to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner NWFP, Peshawar, with reference to his Letter no. 4798-99/11-26-26 (our document No. 10), the Head Quarters Landikotal Brigade, and the Superintendent of ASIFC, Peshawar.

Document No. 12

Letter No: D.VII/49-682
Date: 22nd February 1929
From: Lt. Col. W. A. Garstin, OBE, Political Agent, Khyber
To: C.R.E.,¹³ Peshawar District, Peshawar
Subject: Excavations from Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

The letter is with reference to correspondence no. 340/115 (E.2), dated 14th January 1929, and asks about the expected arrival of Capt. Whitehead.

Document No. 13

Letter No: 3464/ D.VII-49
Dated: 29th August 1929
From: Lt. Col. W. A. Garstin, OBE, Political Agent, Khyber
To: Headquarters, Landikotal Brigade, Landikotal
Subject: Removal of Buddhist Remains in the Khyber Agency
Reference: Draft Landikotal Brigade Order, dated 20th October 1898 [sic]

This is a two-page, typeset document and shows the grave concern of the PA about the purchase of Buddhist sculptures by the Garrison Engineer and other British officers at the village of Sultan Khel. The PA states that in the last two or three weeks, his administration has succeeded in discovering a regular agency for the sale of Buddhist remains in Peshawar city, for export down country, in flagrant contravention of the Government of India's Gazette Notification of 8th July 1924. The matter is being dealt with by him, but is made less easy as he has been informed that the British officers of the Khyber Garrison have also been purchasing images. The Archaeology Department is anxious that the Buddhist

¹² The orders issued by the Commissioner in the concluding remarks of his letter no. 4798-99-G.N. dated 26.10.1926, to which this draft was in reference.

¹³ Commanding Royal Engineer.

site near the *stūpa* in the Khyber Pass should be left untouched and the cooperation of officers is also asked in putting a stop to this trade, by refusing themselves to purchase any image and avoiding visiting the site of the remains. For further information, the PA attaches the notification of the 8th July 1924 for publication in the Brigade's order, and forwards a copy of this letter to Head Quarters Peshawar, through no. 3465/D-VII-49, dated 29th August 1929

Document No. 14

Letter No: 3640/ D.VII-49

Dated: 9/10th September 1929

From: Lt. Col. W.A. Garstin, Political Agent, Khyber

To: Secretary to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province, Nathia Gali

Subject: Illicit Export of Buddhist images from the Khyber Pass to British India

Reference: Gazette of India Notification of 8th July 1924

In this letter, the PA reports to the Chief Commissioner that a regular trade has come to light in export of Buddhist images and remains from the Buddhist site near the village of Sultan Khel in the Khyber Pass, and regular agencies exists in Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and possibly Lahore, for the surreptitious exploitation of the site. He states that he has been able to stop the export into British India of a number of images and in one case, two Hindus of Rawalpindi have been prosecuted under section 17 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (Act VII of 1904) Traffic in Antiquities, and each fined Rs 75/- for trying to export a box containing a few images. The PA further states that:

I am anxious to bring the whole matter to the personal notice of H. Hargreaves so that he might take steps to deal with the agencies in British India on information I am in a position to supply him. I have not however, been able to get into touch with Mr. Hargreaves personally, and therefore I would suggest that the matter be brought to the notice of the Director General Archaeological Survey of India, Simla, with a view of putting a stop to the trade in these relics in British India, if the Director General would care to write to me, I could let him have confidentially all the information I have been able to procure regarding these agencies in British India. There is not the least doubt that a large trade is being carried on in these relics, and I would ask for the co-operation of the Archaeological department in controlling the activities of the agencies in British India.

Document No. 15

Confidential letter No: 159 S.C.

Dated: Peshawar, the 16th September 1929

From: Lt. Col. W. A. Garstin, Political Agent, Khyber

To: Senior Superintendent of Police, Peshawar

Subject: Illicit export of Buddhist images from the Khyber Pass into British India

In this confidential letter the PA states that:

it has come to light recently that a regular trade in the export of Buddhist relics from the Khyber Agency into India is being carried on in contravention of Government of India's Gazette notification, dated 8th July 1924 republished on page 150 of N.W.F.P. Government Gazette dated July 25th, 1924. One of the persons engaged in this illicit traffic is reported to me to be one Haider son of Akbar an Afghan employed in the North-western Railway at Peshawar Cantonment Station. He is said to have a large number of images in his house which he sells to Hindus in Rawalpindi. I pass this information on to you for such action as you think necessary.

Document No. 16

Letter: D.O. No. 512-90/Con.

Dated: 7th October 1929

From: Office of the Director General of Archaeology in India

To: Lieut. Col. W.A. Garstin, CBE, IA Political Agent, Khyber

This is a confidential letter from H. Hargreaves and states as follows:

I have just received from the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province, a copy of your Memorandum No. 3640/D. VII-49, dated the 9th/10th September 1929, concerning the illicit export of Buddhist sculptures from the Khyber Pass into British India. I see in that letter you wished to get into touch with me. By bringing the matter to the notice of the Director General of Archaeology, you have succeeded in doing so. I much appreciate your activity in this direction and the trouble you have taken in endeavouring to stop this traffic. If, therefore, you will let me have confidentially all the information you have been able to procure regarding the agencies in British India concerned in this trade, I will endeavour to take action through Mr. Ewart, Deputy Inspector General, Criminal Investigation Department Punjab. I should also be grateful if you could let me have particulars of those cases of smuggling, which have come to your notice, and particulars of those persons which have been punished, as I should like to refer to this matter of traffic in antiquities in the annual report of Archaeological Survey for the year 1928-29, which is now in press.

Document No. 17

Letter No: 4294-DVII/49

Dated: 23rd October 1929

From: Lieut. Col. W. A. Garstin, CBE, IA Political Agent, Khyber

To: H. Hargreaves Officiating Director General of Archaeology in India, Delhi

This is the draft of a confidential letter with an attached note of two pages regarding illicit export of Buddhist relics from the Khyber Pass. The PA with reference to document no. 16, states that he encloses a note of the information regarding the illicit export of Buddhist relics from Khyber Pass, and the firm who sent his representative to Khyber for the illicit export is R.C. Roop Lal & Co., Jewellers and old coins exporter, Lunda Bazar, Rawalpindi city (India). Garstin adds, 'I have been told that there is a market for these images in Italy where good prices are paid especially for heads that are not damaged.'¹⁴

The confidential note records as follows:

On 10th August 1929 information was received at Landikotal that a consignment of Buddhist relics would be exported to India in a few days. The Political authorities at Jamrud were directed to keep a look out accordingly. As a result the following persons were detained at Jamrud with images as noted:-

¹⁴ A copy of this letter was sent to the Political Agent of Malakand (see Olivieri 2015: Document No. 170).

Date	Name of Exporter	Relics
14-8-29	Hassan Gul Zakha Khel, a man of Said Afzal Kuki Khel	3 boxes containing 62 images
24-8-29	Said Afzal Kuki Khel	3 boxes containing 64 images
24-8-29	Shaikh Abdulla Jan Sultan Khel Lal Chand s/o Bhagat Singh Roop Lal s/o Ram Chand	One box containing 9 images
25-8-29	Ghazo, Zakha Khel	1 box

Out of the images captured 73 were sent on 3rd October 1929 to the Curator Peshawar Museum. The two Hindus accused namely Lal Chand and Roop Lal were fined by the PA Khyber Rs:75/- each. The following persons were reported by the Political Tehsildar, Landikotal, to be carrying on trade in these Buddhist images:-

1. Rauf s/o Sarwar, Akhundzada, Sultan Khel Zakha Khel formerly a points-man in Railway Department.
2. Haider, cousin of Rauf, wireman or lineman in Railway Station Peshawar cantonment.
3. Said Afzal, Kuki Khel residing with Azim Khan, Dalil Khel in Zaid Khan Village.
4. Hassan s/o Ghulam Rasool Sultan Khel of Qalander Shah village. Working jointly with no. 3 above.
5. Suleman. Jalat s/o Suleman, Hamsayas of K.S. Abdul Jabbar Khan and shopkeeper near the Ziarat.
6. Kochi, Sultan Khel working with No. 5 above.
7. Mian Khan s/o hamid Khan Sultan Khel of Khyber (Mess road Jamadar).
8. Jalil Khassadar, a nephew of K.S. Malik Abdul Jabbar Khan
9. Amin, Latif, Nurullah sons of K.S. Malik Abdul Jabbar Khan
10. Ram Chand of Loargi.

No. 2 above Haider Khan s/o Akbar a Pathan employed in the in the N.W. Railway Peshawar Cantonment is known to assist in the receipt and dispatch of consignments to Rawalpindi.

The images excavated from the Sultan Khel Buddhist site are also sold to 2 Hindu Goldsmiths in Andhar Shehr Peshawar City. Their names have not yet been disclosed.

The full address of the two Hindus of Rawalpindi is:- R.C. Roop Lal & Co. Jewellers and old coins exporters, Lunda Bazar, Rawalpindi city.

Senior Superintendent of Police Peshawar has been informed against Haider.

Political Agent, Khyber Agency

Commentary

The archival documents of File No. DVII/49 unveil an interesting, behind-the-scenes history of the rich Buddhist site of Sultan Khel. It is interesting to note that the site was known to British military officers like Warburton as early as the last decades of the nineteenth century; however, no record exists of the images discovered and transported to British India or elsewhere. It was in 1926 that the practice of exhuming sculptures from the site was resumed by Capt. W.D. Bowen, with the cooperation of the natives of the Zakha Khel tribe. As the guilty officers and the locals could not be dealt with an iron hand due to the exemption of Khyber Agency from the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904, Mr R. Garratt, the then Political Agent of Khyber, chose to invite the superintendent ASIFC to make a record of whatever Buddhist remains were left intact at the site. From this stage, the acquisition history of

the stucco figures from Sultan Khel in the Peshawar Museum develops. In view of the Archaeological importance of the site, Mr. H. Hargreaves visited Khyber on 2nd May 1926 and inspected the site, which according to him was a low elliptical mound about a quarter of a mile north of the great Shpola Stūpa, and badly injured by Rauf Shah, a local Sayyad.¹⁵ Hargreaves returned from Khyber without securing any of the images from Captain W.D. Bowen or from the locals.

With the passage of time, avarice arose among the locals,¹⁶ and thus the illicit export of sculptures to Peshawar and Rawalpindi took place. Similarly, the owner of the site, K.S. Malik Abdul Jabbar Khan of the Zaka Khel tribe, was an influential person and instead of banning the digging of the Sultan Khel site, he encouraged his own sons and relatives in its ruthless destruction and trafficking of images to Peshawar and Rawalpindi. The trafficking of images was not confined to British India; rather, some images were transported to England and perhaps somewhere else by Captain W.C. Bowen, and Captain W.A. Whitehead¹⁷ in contravention of the Government of India's Gazette notification No. 1385 of the 8th July 1924.

However, the arrival of W.A. Garstin as the PA of Khyber marked a real milestone in the controlling of illicit trafficking of antiquities from Sultan Khel to British India. He took a very bold step by reporting Captain W.A. Whitehead of the Garrison Engineers, Landikotal to the Head Quarters, Peshawar District, with the request that the antiquities he had collected at Sultan Khel should be handed over to the Superintendent ASIFC, Peshawar. Moreover, he secured information about certain agencies of antiquities dealing, and a market in Italy where good prices were paid for undamaged heads.¹⁸ It was due to his efforts that the two Hindus exporters, Lal Chand and Roop Lal were arrested and fined Rs 75/- under section 17 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (Act VII of 1904), while out of the 135 confiscated sculptures, seventy-three were sent to Peshawar Museum and are presently known as the Garstin collection from Sultan Khel.¹⁹

[Z.K.]

Part II: Documentation of the Sultan Khel Collection

The Sultan Khel stucco collection of Peshawar Museum incorporates detached heads of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, royal figures, shaven-headed monks, and headless bodies, as well as a complete image of a princely figure. Some of the heads still retain traces of red paint and gold wash and provide convincing evidence that the monument on which these were employed was richly ornamented, probably analogous to the Buddhist sites of Haḍḍa and Mes Aynak (Afghanistan) and other sites in ancient Gandhāra. Moreover, the colossal size of some the heads is also worth noting and, as rightly pointed out by Mr H. Hargreaves, these were destined for the adoration of chapels surrounding the Buddhist shrine.²⁰ All these figures were delicately severed from their counterparts so that, except for minor injuries, no major breakage occurred to devalue them in the black markets of that time.²¹

15 The site was photographed by the ASIFC, perhaps after the visit of Hargreaves, and the negatives/photographs preserved in the Lahore office were included in the *List of Archaeological Photo-Negatives of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Kashmir & the Punjab (Muhammadan & British Monuments)*, 1931: 12, Negatives Nos. 852-855.

16 See Document Nos. 6 and 7

17 He had secured about fifty stucco heads and Buddhist sculptures from Sultan Khel, and offered them for sale to the ASIFC and British Museum, London (see copy of his unnumbered letter dated 13th March 1929 to the Director General ASI: File No. 49D/VII, DoAL Bundle No. 33, Serial No. 222.

18 On this issue, see Olivieri 2015: 213.

19 We could trace forty-six stucco figures of the Sultan Khel collection in the stores of the Peshawar Museum. The other figures are yet to be separated from the bulk of stucco images and detached heads on which the accession numbers have been obliterated by the humid atmosphere and the elapse of many decades.

20 Hargreaves 1930: 125.

21 As noted by Garstin in document No. 16.

The inventory of the figures was prepared on the 3rd October 1929, in which each figure was allotted a registration number in continuation to the already registered objects, but with the addition of a Roman letter 'M' (corresponding to miscellaneous artefacts) just to distinguish them from those antiquities which came to the Museum from known archaeological provenances. After the elapse of a few decades, the overall collection of the Museum was re-numbered with the addition of capital Roman letters 'PM'²² marked in prefix to the inventory number inside a small triangle. Thus, the Sultan Khel Collection now bears double identification marks, i.e. the 'M' and 'PM'. However, one of the major errors made probably by the subaltern and inexperienced staff of the Museum is that the facial beauty of some of the figures has been stigmatized in the process of marking new numbering (see Figures 1, 20, 29, 30, 31, and 46). Apart from that, some of the heads were originally adorned either with gold wash or golden colour (Figures 8 and 10) but were scraped either by the excavator of the site or the person who owned these figures prior to their acquisition by Peshawar Museum (see Figure 23).

As most of the stuccos of the Sultan Khel collection remained confined to the reserve collection of Peshawar Museum, and placed under vigilant custody, only the displayed figures were known to visitors and art historians, whereas the others remained out of the sight of scholars and academicians. However, we are grateful to the concerned authority for allowing us to trace most of the stored pieces of this important collection in the light of available records. A catalogue with a brief description of the illustrated figures is included in the present study just to show how important were the contributions made by the artists of Gandhāra in the field of stucco art.



Figure 1

Inventory no: PM_1860 and M_1012

Measurement (height by width): 16.52 x 11.44 cm

The figure represents the bust of the Buddha wrapped in a monastic robe that covers both his shoulders. The head is broken at the neck level and temporarily rejoined, while the fleshy face is slightly chipped. The eyes are shown half open, lips closed, and the elongated ears partially damaged. The halo behind the neck is broken and missing and the snail-shell hair is tied by a ribbon to form an *uṣṇiṣa*.

²² An abbreviation for Peshawar Museum



Figure 2
PM_1972 and M_1035
20.33 x 12.71cm

This is the head of a devotee or princely figure, probably fixed to the exterior of a shrine from where it was seen. The right side of the face of the figure is cracked and restored with cement or other binding material and a thick layer of lime. The long hairs are combed and fall behind the neck while the lips are closed, one eye half open and the other partially broken. An object of curved shape, probably an ear pendant, is visible on the left cheek.



Figure 3
PM_1976 and M_1029
12.71 x 8.90cm

This is the bust of a maned lion with open mouth and outstretching tongue. The frontal feet are placed straight, whereas the nose, eyes, and ears are chipped and worn.



Figure 4

PM_1977 and M_998
20.33 x 10.17 cm

This beautiful head of the Buddha is almost complete except for the left ear which is broken and missing. The oval face of the figure shows closed lips, half open eyes, elongated ears, *ūrṇā* at the forehead, and *uṣṇīṣa* at the skull. Traces of gold wash are visible at the forehead and cheeks.



Figure 5

PM_1981 & M_1020
10.17 x 7.62 cm

This head of the Buddha is chipped and worn out and only the closed lips, elongated ears and portion of neck and *uṣṇīṣa* are partially preserved.



Figure 6

PM_2001 & M_1021

12.71 x 7.62 cm

This is a head of the Buddha with closed lips and half open eyes. The nose is chipped and one ear worn out. The *uṣṇīṣa* is also partially damaged.



Figure 7

PM_2011 & M_1061

10.17 x 6.35 cm

This head of a princely figure, probably of a bodhisattva, is provided with *makuta* and *uṣṇīṣa*. The face is mutilated and partially worn.



Figure 8

PM_2022 & M_999

Size: 15.25 x 7.62 cm

Head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck, elongated ears, closed lips, half open eyes, nose, and *uṣṇiṣa*. Traces of red paint and probably gold wash are visible at the lips, eyebrow and forehead.



Figure 9

PM_2028 & M_1014

12.71 x 8.90 cm

Head of the Buddha. It is mutilated and one side of the face is cut off and wanting. It has an *uṣṇiṣa* at the skull, and the eyes, nose, and lips are partially chipped.



Figure 10

PM_2035 & M_1016

12.71 x 8.90 cm

This is the detached head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck and *uṣṇiṣa* on the skull. The fleshy face is provided with elongated ears, half open eyes, and closed mouth, whereas the nose and one side of the forehead are chipped and worn. Traces of yellow colour, probably gold wash can be viewed on the eyebrows and hair.



Figure 11

PM_2051 & M_1000

19.06 x 10.17 cm

This figure also represents the head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck and other details like those of Figure 4.



Figure 12

PM_2063 & M_1042

15.25 x 8.90 cm

A princely head with a portion of the neck. The curly hair is bound by a diadem showing traces of red paint. The chin and one ear are damaged.



Figure 13

PM_2067 & M_1058

15.25 x 11.44 cm

This head of a princely figure most probably represents the Buddha, with nose, ears, and skull partially broken and missing. Traces of red paint and gold wash are clearly visible.



Figure 14
PM_2089 & M_996
7.62 x 5.08 cm
This is also the head of the Buddha, analogous to Figure 10.



Figure 15
PM_2093 & M_1008
7.62 x 5.08 cm
Head of the Buddha with wavy hair and round *uṣṇiṣa*, closed lips, half open eyes, and the forehead marked by an *ūrṇā*. One ear is broken and the nose is slightly worn out. Trace of red paint at the lips and gold wash on the forehead.



Figure 16

PM_2101 & M_1045

7.62 x 6.35 cm

Head of a female devotee with fleshy face and coiled hair bound by a band of leafy jewelry. She probably wears an ear pendant. The nose is chipped, eyes half open, and lips closed.



Figure 17

PM_2113 & M_1009

7.62x5.08cm

This is an incrustated head of the Buddha with one ear elongated and the other broken. The thick lips are pressed closed, the *uṣṇīṣa* missing, and a line of red paint near the right ear.



Figure 18

PM_2116 & M_1030

7.62 x 6.35 cm

This is a head of a shaven-headed monk with a portion of the neck, slightly turning to the right. Face and right ear are damaged.



Figure 19

PM_2116 & M_1030

7.62 x 6.35 cm

This is an incrustated head of a male figure bedecked with heavy headdress and a band of beaded design. The face is fleshy, and the small mouth exhibits traces of red paint. A similar figure is recently acquired by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Peshawar through the Yakatooth Police Station, of Peshawar city.²³

²³ See Nasim Khan 2015: fig. 49.



Figure 20

PM_2121 & M_1038

10.17 x 6.35 cm

This is the head of a bodhisattva wearing an impressive headdress of fantail design and beaded bands and fillet. The head is cut off at the neck and is almost complete except for the halo which is half broken. The small mouth and closed lips are marked by a thin moustache above; the eyes are half closed and the ears are provided with hanging rings. The long curly hair falls behind the left shoulder. A trace of gold wash is visible on the nose and forehead of the figure.



Figure 21

PM_2141 & M_1038

10.17 x 7.62 cm

The figure represents a lion-head, badly mutilated and worn. Only the open mouth and outstretched tongue preserved.



Figure 22

PM_2142 & M_995

8.90 x 5.02 cm

This is an incrustated Buddha head with dotted hair and round *uṣṇīṣa*, elongated ears, closed lips and half open eyes. Traces of golden colour are still retained on the forehead.



Figure 23

PM_2148 & M_1006

10.17 x 6.35 cm

A head of the Buddha sawn at the neck. It has half open eyes, closed mouth, and elongated ears, of which the right one is broken and missing. The skull is topped by a round *uṣṇīṣa*.



Figure 24

PM_2152 & M_1062

7.5 x 6.35 cm

Head of a devotee with combed hair pressed by a twisted band. The fleshy face is partially damaged. Golden colour is applied on the face and hair.



Figure 25

PM_2160 & M_Nil

13 x 6.35 cm

This beautiful head of the Buddha has a pyramidal *uṣṇīṣa* marked by an incised line and includes a portion of the neck. The elongated ears are partially damaged, eyes half open, mouth closed and nose slightly chipped.



Figure 26

PM_2172 & M_1054

11.44 x 10.17 cm

This incrustated head of a male figure is devoid of ears and provided with an elaborate headdress with flat top and a band with incised lines. The headdress is comparable with the stucco figure of Yakatoot collection.²⁴



Figure 27

PM_2175 & M_1005

7.62 x 5.08 cm

Head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck, round *uṣṇiṣa*, elongated ears, and closed mouth. It can be compared with Figure 23.

²⁴ Nasim Khan 2015: fig. 50.



Figure 28

PM_2202 & M_1004

Measurements not available

This beautiful head of the Buddha with a prominent *uṣṇiṣa* on the dotted hair and a fleshy face is provided with a small and closed mouth, open eyes, and elongated ears. The lips are painted red and the forehead and cheeks show signs of gold wash.



Figure 29

PM_2259 & M_1043

19.06 x 16.52 cm

This is the head of a princely figure with wavy hair. The fleshy face has open eyes and a closed mouth. A portion of the neck is preserved. Traces of red and golden paint can be viewed at the forehead.



Figure 30

PM_2266 & M_1024

16.52 x 15.25 cm

Headless body the Buddha wrapped in a monastic garment. He is shown in *dhyānamudrā*. Red paint can be seen on the right hand and belly.



Figure 31

PM_2353 & M_1052

17.79 x 13.98 cm

Seated figure of a bodhisattva, probably representing Maitreya in *dhyānamudrā* and holding an inverted lotus or pot hanging from the left hand. The headless body is bedecked with *uttariya*, necklace, and arm band. The naked belly reveals a prominent abdomen and navel.



Figure 32
PM_2354 & M_?
15.25x15.25cm
This is also a headless body of the Buddha, like the one shown in Figure 30.



Figure 33
PM_2363 & M_1059
7.62 x 5.08 cm
This is head of a male figure but in bad state of preservation.



Figure 34

PM_2365 & M_1052

7.62 x 5.08 cm

This is a beautiful head of a princely figure with an impressive headdress of incised arches. The face turns slightly to the right. Signs of gold wash and red paint are still retained on the figure.



Figure 35

PM_3303 & M_1037

14.7 x 25 cm

A princely figure is shown in kneeling position with folded hands and bedecked with *uttariya* and *paridhāna*, elaborate headdress, ear-rings, and bangles. The fingers of the hands are broken and missing and one knee is also slightly damaged.



Figure 36

PM_3313 & M_1044

11.5 x 7 cm

Head of a male figure wearing barbaric type headdress with an object the shape of coiffure on the head. He probably wears earrings and the fleshy face is marked by closed mouth, half open eyes, and straight nose. A thick line of red paint is applied around the face and also on the lips.



Figure 37

PM_3336 & M_1033

29.5 x 17 cm

This beautiful head probably belongs to a princely figure or a bodhisattva. He is wearing a band of bead-and-reel design and his wavy hair is arranged in coils of which some are falling on the forehead and shoulders, whereas the long hair is tied with a ribbon and forms the coiffure.



Figure 38

PM_3375 & M_1032

16.8 x 10.1 cm

This is the head of a princely figure with coiled hair arranged under a band of twisted threads, which also passes through a large rectangular bead. A thick earring is provided to the right ear while the left one is broken and missing. The eyes of the figure are wide open and the mouth is closed. Traces of gold wash and red paint are visible on the face.



Figure 39

PM_3397 & M_1026

H: 12.4 cm

This is a headless body of the Buddha, wearing *uttariya* across the left shoulder and making the *dharmachakramudrā*. The left shoulder of the figure is left bare.



Figure 40

PM_3400 & M_1022

H: 19.8 cm

Seated figure of the Buddha in *dyānamudrā*, and wrapped in monastic robe. The head is rejoined with cement. Traces of red paint can be seen on the belly and knees of the figure.



Figure 41

PM_3405 & M_993

H: 15.6 cm

This is a head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck. The wavy hair is topped by an *uṣṇiṣa*. The oval face has half-open eyes, elongated ears, closed lips and straight nose, and an *ūrṇā* on the forehead. Traces of red paint are visible on the throat, cheeks, and forehead.



Figure 42

PM_3410 & M_1007

H: 12.1 cm

This is a head of Buddha with dotted hair and *uṣṇīṣa*, closed lips and open eyes. The ears are partially damaged.



Figure 43

PM_3412 & M_992

20 x 9.2 cm

A head of the Buddha with the right side of the face slightly concave and chin partially broken. It exhibits a prominent *uṣṇīṣa* and hair with nail impressions. There is an *ūṛṇā* at forehead, open eyes, closed mouth, and elongated ears. A line of red paint is applied on the throat below.

Figure 44

PM_3415 & M_1063

16.3 x 11.2 cm

This detached head of the Buddha is badly injured at the chin, cheeks, and both the ears, which are cut off and missing. The curly hair is topped by an *uṣṇiṣa*; the eyes are half-open and the mouth closed.



Figure 45

PM_3424 & M_1002

25.7 x 11.1 cm

Another Buddha head with both ears slightly damaged and a hair-style comparable with Figure 43.





Figure 46

PM_2143 & M_1046

8.7 x 3.4 cm

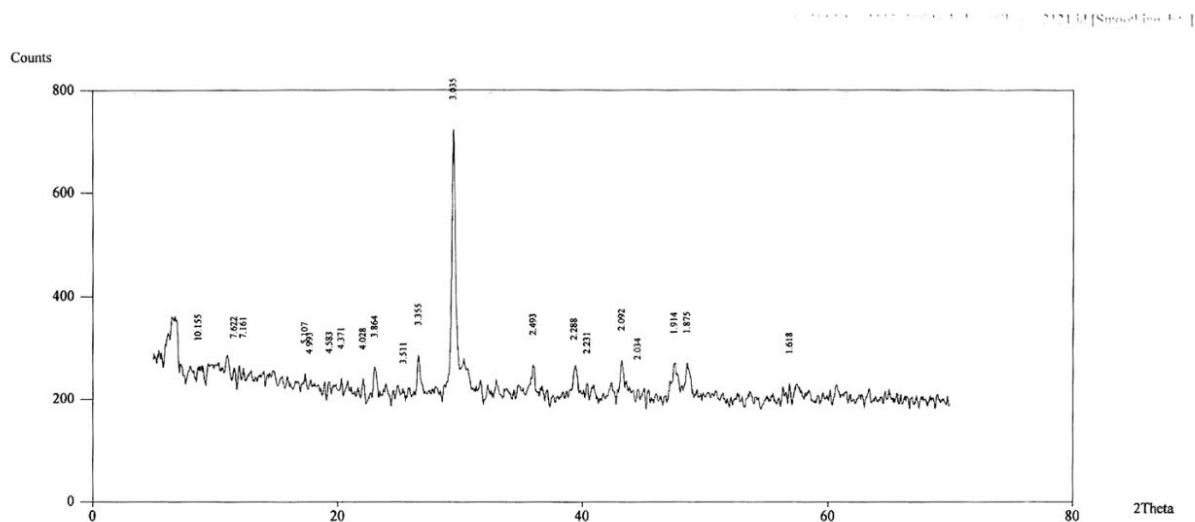
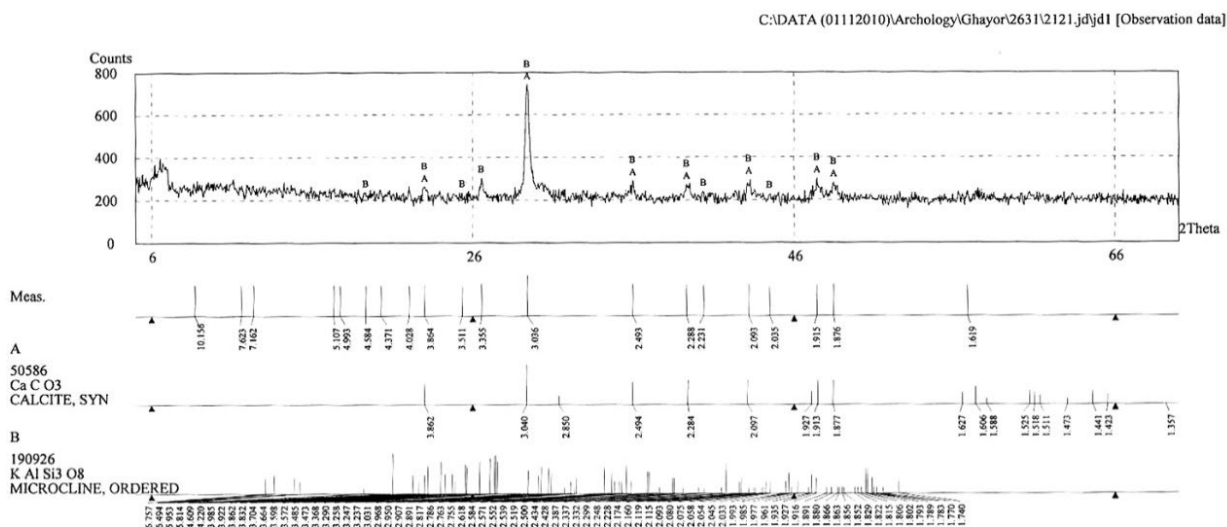
This is a princely figure and wears a crown of lotus leaf design and a band of three beads at the forehead. The face was probably gold-washed and red paint dots are visible on crown.

[F.K.]

Part III: Material analysis of the Sultan Khel stucco figures through XRD and EDX

During the course of documenting the Gandhāran stuccos housed in the Peshawar Museum, for my PhD dissertation, I came across some of the displayed figures of the Sultan Khel Collection, of which two specimens were selected for the XRD (X-ray powder diffraction) and Energy-dispersive X-ray (EDX) for identifying the mineral composition of the stucco and tracing the workshop in which the Sultan Khel collection was manufactured. The small particles obtained from the back side of the two detached heads (Figures 20 and 27), were converted into powdered form and submitted for EDX and XRD analysis to the laboratory of the Centre of Excellence in Geology, University of Peshawar. The result obtained from the mineral analysis shows that the materials of both the stucco heads consist of lime, that is calcite (see Figures 47b, and 48c-d) with the inclusion of particles of sand and quartz. Besides these, the mineralogical assemblages of samples are predominantly composed of metamorphic minerals, spessartine and wollastonite (Figures 48c-d). All these minerals are naturally available in the rocks of Khyber and the Peshawar basin.

The analysis therefore reveals that the stucco figures from Sultan Khel were most likely locally manufactured, from the materials available locally in Khyber or most probably near a Buddhist establishment of Sultan Khel. Lime was the basic material for moulding the figures while other minerals

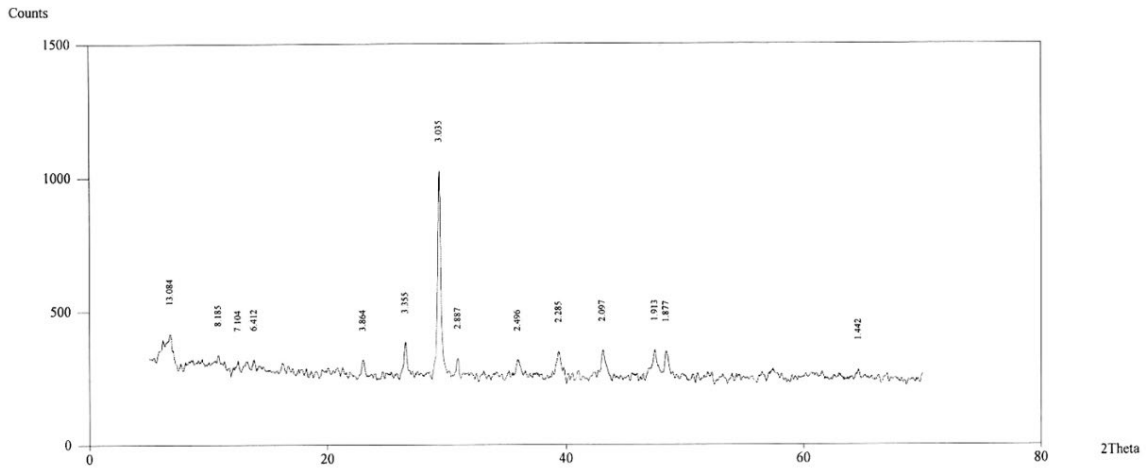


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Operator name		Tube voltage (kV)	40.000	Receiving Slit	0.4 mm
Meas. date	2016/2/1	Tube current (mA)	30.000	Scattering Slit	1 deg.
Meas. method	Step	StepAngle (deg.)	0.050		
Meas. axis	2Theta-Theta	Smoothing points	7		
Mode	Ordinary	Smoothing times	1		
Target name	Cu	2Theta correct angle	0.000		
Memo					

2016/02/12 09:44:02 (1/2)

Figure 47. (a) and (b) Results of XRD analysis on one of the stucco heads, carried out by the Centre of Excellence in Geology, University of Peshawar.

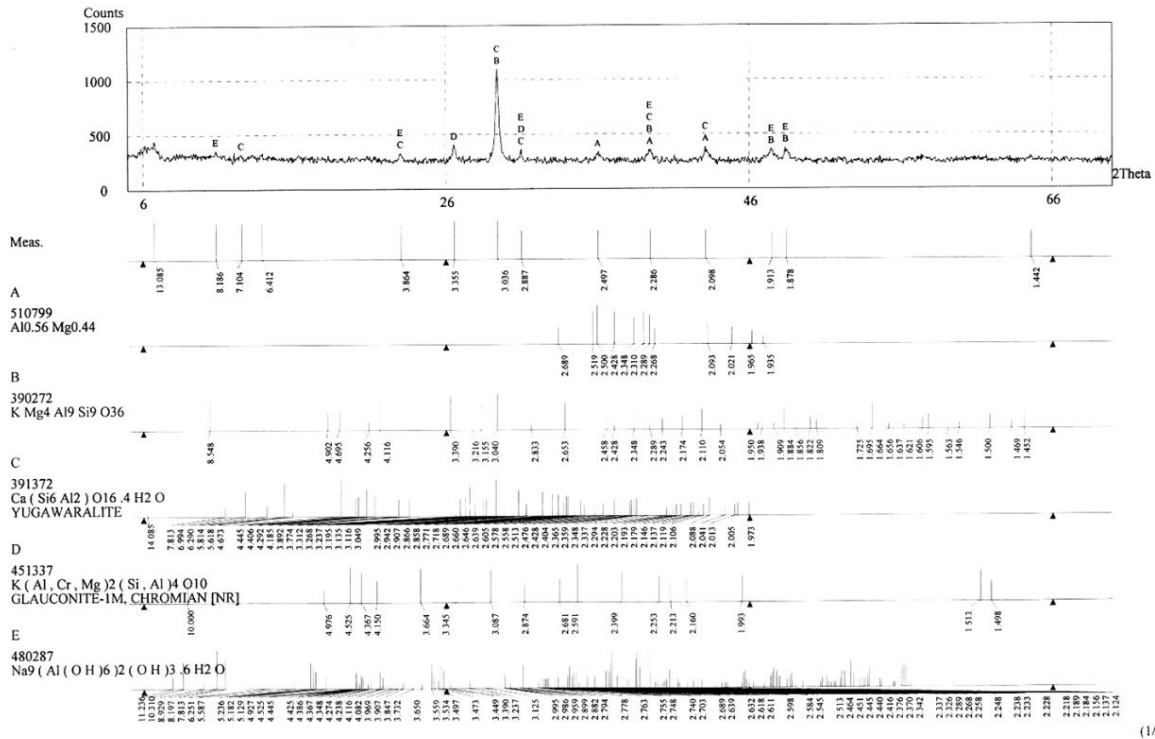
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File name	C:\DATA (01112010)\Archology\Ghayer\2175.jd [Smoothing data]			Divergence Slit	1 deg.
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Operator name	Tube voltage (kV)	40.000	Scattering Slit	1 deg.	
Meas. date	2016/1/11	Tube current (mA)	30.000		
Meas. method	Step	StepAngle (deg.)	0.050		
Meas. axis	2Theta-Theta	Smoothing points	7		
Mode	Ordinary	Smoothing times	1		
Target name	Cu	2Theta correct angle	0.000		
Memo					

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(1/1)

Figure 48. Results of XRD analysis (a) and (b), and EDX analysis (c) (overleaf) and (d) (overleaf), carried out on one of the stucco heads by the Centre of Excellence in Geology, University of Peshawar.

2175

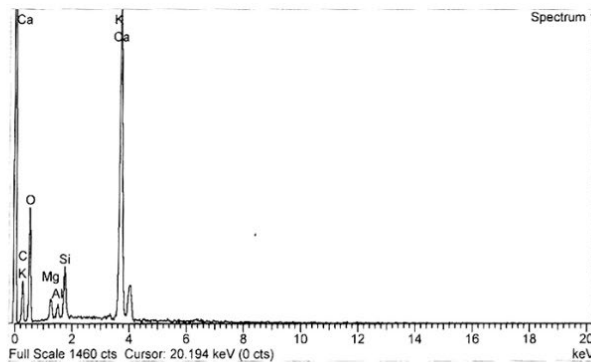
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Processing option : All elements analyzed (Normalised)
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O SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Mg MgO 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Al Al2O3 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Si SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
K MAD-10 Feldspar 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Ca Wollastonite 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM

Element	Weight%	Atomic%
C K	16.11	24.97
O K	49.83	58.00
Mg K	1.55	1.19
Al K	0.75	0.52
Si K	2.87	1.90
K K	0.29	0.14
Ca K	28.60	13.29
Totals	100.00	



2175

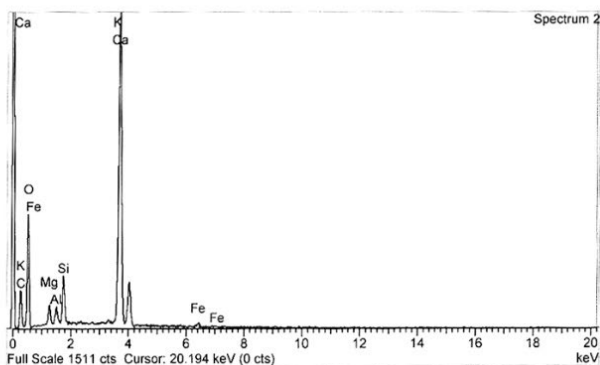
Spectrum processing :
No peaks omitted

Processing option : All elements analyzed (Normalised)
Number of iterations = 5

Standard :

C CaCO3 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
O SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Mg MgO 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Al Al2O3 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Si SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
K MAD-10 Feldspar 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Ca Wollastonite 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Fe Fe 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM

Element	Weight%	Atomic%
C K	12.29	19.72
O K	51.06	61.50
Mg K	1.51	1.19
Al K	0.85	0.61
Si K	2.96	2.03
K K	0.23	0.12
Ca K	30.16	14.50
Fe K	0.94	0.32
Totals	100.00	



were used to prevent the figures from cracking, the effect of direct sun light, and other natural hazards, since these figures were employed on the exterior of *stūpas* and other holy shrines.

[G.S.]

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to acknowledge the moral and material encouragement of the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and the curatorial staff of the Peshawar Museum for allowing us to study and publish the Sultan Khel collection. We are also grateful to Mr Muhammad Kashif, the professional photographer of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Peshawar for the photography of the stucco figures included in the present study.

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A unique collection of confiscated material of Gandhāra (Pakistan)

Muhammad Ashraf Khan and Tahir Saeed

This paper presents details about the confiscation of a very large and marvellous collection of cultural material by the Directorate General of Intelligence and Investigation – FBR, Regional Office, Sukkur. Its consignment, which was seized in collaboration with the Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums, was being transported from Islamabad to Karachi, eventually to be smuggled out of the country illegally. The present paper covers only some of the unique and impressive pieces of Buddhas and Buddha heads in the collection. A brief note on the possible dating and provenance and the conditions of these objects precedes a catalogue of these significant Gandhāran objects.

The history of the confiscation

The confiscation was made on 17th February 2013. After examination of the consignment by the experts of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Islamabad, it was found that these artefacts fell under the following categories:

- (a) statues of the Buddha/bodhisattva in different materials, i.e. schist, stucco, bronze, and terracotta;
- (b) Buddha/bodhisattva heads and other Gandhāran objects such as friezes, panels, *stūpa* models, and relic caskets, dating from c. first to fifth century AD;
- (c) painted pottery from Balochistan, c. third to second millennium BC;
- (d) Islamic pottery, glazed tiles, and other material, c. eleventh to fifteenth century AD.

According to our initial findings, among 1,162 confiscated artefacts, 1,057 items fell under the purview of ‘antiquities’ as defined in section 2 (b) and (c) of the Antiquities Act, 1975, while, 105 artefacts came under the purview of counterfeiting, as defined under section 24 of the Act. It was proposed that the artefacts declared as antiquities and counterfeiting should be handed over to the Department of Archaeology and Museums for custody, preservation, and protection, as provided for under sections 24 and 35 of the Antiquities Act, 1975, and relevant sections of the Customs Act, 1969, after completion of legal formalities. The data sample from the collection included in the present study comprises Buddha/bodhisattva heads (twenty-one pieces) and other Buddha/bodhisattva images in different postures (thirty-four pieces) – a total of fifty-five objects.

The possible provenance of the Buddhist sculptures

A large number of Buddhist sites in Gandhāra have been investigated but it is very unfortunate that much of the material, in particular the sculptures, recovered from these sites has been studied only according to its style or iconography rather than its contextual, stratigraphic, and historical background. Further, the dates inscribed on Gandhāran sculptures are very few. The earliest Gandhāran sculptures are in the form of a group of small round stone dishes of varied sizes found from all over Gandhāra. These made their first appearance at Taxila during the first century BC, if not earlier, some of them displaying Hellenistic themes and style. However, thereafter the chronology of Gandhāra sculptures suffers from doubts about the several eras used for dating in their inscriptions and from the lack of scientifically conducted excavations.¹

¹ For the issues see W. Rienjang and P. Stewart (eds), *Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art: Proceedings of the First International Workshop of the Gandhāra Connections Project, University of Oxford, 23rd-24th March, 2017* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018).

As regards the possible provenance of Buddha images in the collection, most of these images can be assumed to come from various Gandhāran sites, especially in the Peshawar Valley, in the light of iconographic, stylistic, and comparative analysis with other objects discovered in this region. While sculpture in stone flourished in this region in the first to third centuries, some of the new discoveries may come from sites of the Peshawar, Swat or possibly Taxila Valleys which may be dated as late as the fourth to fifth century AD.

The state of conservation of the Buddhist sculptures

During the present research study, the physical condition of the Buddhist sculptures was examined. They were crumbling because of the ravages of time and unfavourable storage facilities, as well as environment conditions. Consequently, some of the Buddhist sculptures needed urgent conservation and treatment. The stucco objects required more consideration than the schist objects.

Conclusions

The present research study is the result of iconographic and stylistic analysis of the Buddhist sculptures in collection vis-à-vis their comparison with similar sculptures from other important Buddhist sites from the Gandhāra region and across the Indus in the Taxila Valley. Such comparison, particularly of hairstyles, provided substantial evidence in support of our hypotheses.

The hairstyles worn by the Buddha figures find similarities with the Buddha images from various sites of Gandhāra. The hair is indicated in most cases by the vertical wavy, pitted and parallel grooves, and there is an *ūrṇā* on the forehead. The faces are usually fleshy, broad, and oval-shaped, with closing eyes under the sharp-edged eyebrows and lids with very sharp edges. The mouth is relatively thin and there is a full chin. The style of the broad but rounded forehead and thick moustache is notable. The elongated ears also appear to be the peculiarity in the Buddha images in the collection. The drapery of all the Buddha figures in the collection shows distinct features. The folds are usually narrow ridges and terraces and the over-ropes cover both shoulders of the Buddha.

The authentic Buddhist sculptures with unknown provenance in the collection are therefore comparable with the images which have been reported from the various sites in the Peshawar valley. The artistic evidence organized and presented in this study is therefore compatible with the relative chronological pattern of development of Gandhāran sculpture traditions in the media of both schist and stucco. Moreover, the present study of the Buddhist sculptures bears witness to the fact that they were developed within the diverse, syncretistic stylistic environment of Gandhāra. Finally, the research also shows that the advanced state of the sculpture in this region mainly belongs to the fourth and fifth century AD.

We can conclude that this Buddha imagery reflects not only artistic forces but also a compound interchange of influences from which the Buddhist artistic traditions evolved. These images provide a means of reflecting on the religious achievements of Buddhism, its spiritual faith, and the artistic vision of the sculptors. They exhibit remarkable examples of high quality of artistic work. These images are of immense interest from many differing perspectives besides, and are helpful for developing an understanding of the visual language and regional iconographic and stylistic elements that are distinctive to the Buddhist Art of Gandhāra.



It will not be out of place to mention here that the proper digitalized documentation and study of stucco sculptures of the Buddhist period preserved in the collection may be one of the primary sources of information for the political, social, ethnological, and religious history of Gandhāra. This will help




scholars and students of art history avoid difficulties in searching for relevant material for comparison and analysis. It is therefore highly recommended that all the material in this important collection should be brought under the umbrella of academic research by creating proper digital documentation, as it can not only add a great contribution to the historical background of this region but also help to solve various specific problems in future, especially in respect to conservation issues.

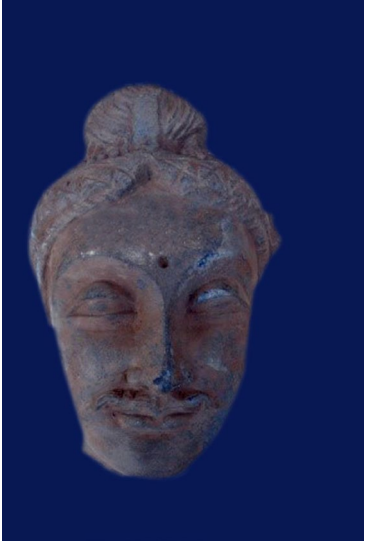


The state of conservation of some of the objects have been examined carefully and it has been found that a number of objects which represent superb specimens and masterpieces of Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture need immediate steps for proper conservation and restoration to protect and save them from further decay and deterioration. A comprehensive description of the schist and stucco objects in this collection has been provided with all basic details in the following catalogue.


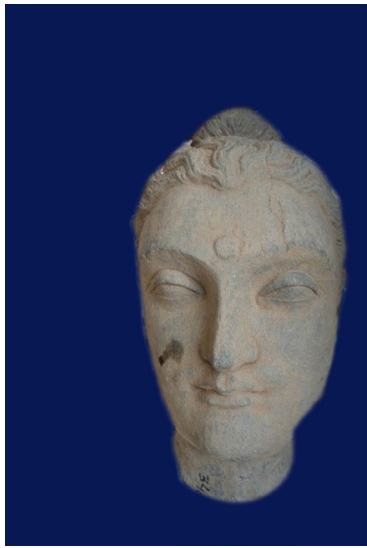

Descriptive catalogue of the Gandhāra artefacts


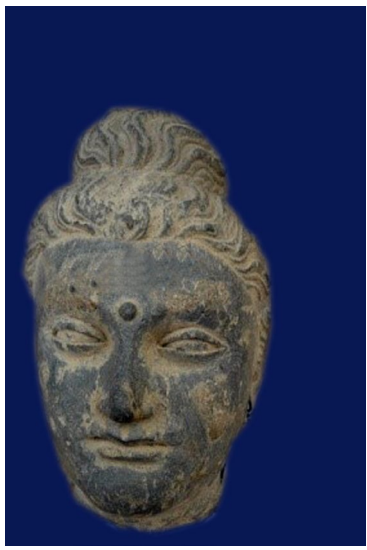

A: Buddha/bodhisattva heads




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A1	<p>Material: Schist Size: 24 cm x 35 cm Description: The hair undulates densely from a small peak and the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The open eyes have prominent lids and the straight nose is damaged at nostril edge. Elongated ears are chipped off.</p>	 <p>A photograph of a Buddha head sculpture (A1) made of schist. The head is shown from a three-quarter view, facing slightly to the right. The hair is dark and undulates densely from a small peak at the top, forming a large, flat <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> (ushnisha) on the forehead. The eyes are open with prominent, heavy lids. The nose is straight but appears damaged at the nostril edge. The ears are elongated but have been chipped off. The sculpture is set against a dark blue background.</p>
A2	<p>Material: Schist Size: 58 cm x 29 cm Description: The head is elongated. The hair, in regular curls of several strands. A bumpy <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> has faded colour in spots. The open eyes have prominent lids. The nose is smooth and damaged at the nostril. Elongated ears are missing.</p>	 <p>A photograph of a Buddha head sculpture (A2) made of schist. The head is shown from a three-quarter view, facing slightly to the right. The hair is dark and forms regular curls of several strands. The <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> (ushnisha) is bumpy and has a faded color with some spots. The eyes are open with prominent, heavy lids. The nose is smooth but appears damaged at the nostril. The ears are missing. The sculpture is set against a dark blue background.</p>




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A3	<p>Material: Schist Size: 53 cm x 37 cm Description: The head round to oval. The hair undulates densely from a small peak and the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Long and slanting eyes, which have prominent lids with sharp edges. The nose is broken at the nostril and the moustache at the lip. Elongated ears are missing. The full rounded chin is prominent.</p>	
A4	<p>Material: Schist Size: 21 cm x 10 cm Description: The head is oval and dense strands of hair undulate into the large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The eyes are long with distinct lids. On the narrow forehead is the prominent mark of the <i>ūrṇā</i>. The nose is straight and the mouth is shaped and horizontal above a well-formed, emphatic chin.</p>	
A5	<p>Material: Schist Size: 23 cm x 17 cm Description: The head is oval, long, with a full chin. The eyes are slanting and have prominent lids with sharp edges. A broad nose with curling moustache on the upper lip. The object seems to be fake.</p>	


Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A6	<p>Material: Schist Size: 20 cm x 14 cm Description: The head is oval and dense strands of hair undulate into the large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The eyes are long with distinct lids and the eyeball is visible in the right eye. The forehead is higher at the centre as hairs are rolled back at this point. A broad nose with moustache on the upper lip with well-formed emphatic chin. Elongated ears are missing. The object seems to be fake.</p>	
A7	<p>Material: Schist Size: 12 cm x 7 cm Description: The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The uneven eyes are long under very sharp edges of eyebrows. The long nose is scratched. There are protruding lips and a prominent chin. Long ear lobe of left ear.</p>	
A8	<p>Material: Schist Size: 10 cm x 6 cm Description: The head is round to oval and the hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Long and slanting eyes have prominent lids with sharp edges. The shaped upper lip projects slightly and the full chin is rounded. The broad nose is undamaged. The object seems to be fake.</p>	

Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A9	<p>Material: Schist Size: 27 cm x 20 cm Description: Bodhisattva head, the hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a bumpy and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Hairs are covered under the crown. Long and slanting eyes, which have prominent lids with sharp edges. Prominent <i>ūrṇā</i> on the forehead. Long nose with prominent lips and emphatic chin. The object seems to be fake</p>	
A10	<p>Material: Schist Size: 57 cm x 28 cm Description: Colossal Buddha head, the head round to oval. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Long and slanting eyes, which have prominent lids with sharp edges. The nose is long and the mouth is crudely shaped over a jutting out chin.</p>	
A11	<p>Material: Schist Size: 39 cm x 20 cm Description: The head round to oval. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> and open forehead. The protruding and slanting eyes are rounded and narrow under lids with sharp lower edges. The nose appears pointed and nostrils are wide. The mouth small over a pointed chin. The object seems to be fake.</p>	


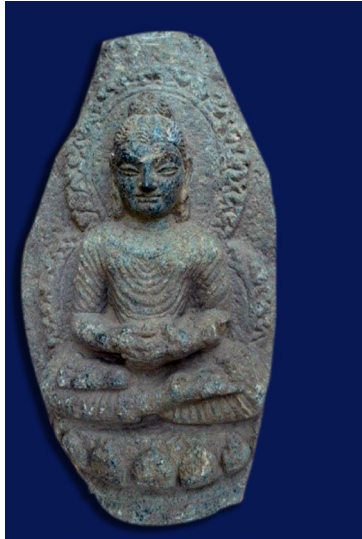
Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A12	<p>Material: Schist Size: 44 cm x 31 cm Description: Head of bodhisattva with beautiful headdress decorated with sea lion. Long and slanting eyes, which have prominent lids with sharp edges under slight curving ridges for eyebrow. <i>Ūṛṇā</i> on the forehead is not so prominent. Curling moustache, thin mouth and ardent chin. The long concave ears with rim over the headdress edges. The object seems to be fake.</p>	
A13	<p>Material: Schist Size: 14 cm x 23 cm Description: The face is oval and the hair undulates from the raised hairline into the low <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The slanting and prominent eyes under curved and distinct edges of eyebrows, with an <i>ūrṇā</i> in between. The nose is long and the mouth has shaped lips and deep corners. Ears are missing.</p>	
A14	<p>Material: Schist Size: 28 cm x 18 cm Description: The hair undulates densely from a bumpy peak on the hairline into and beyond a large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The sharp edges of the eyebrows curve towards the ears, above rounded planes sloping down to the narrows. Long and slanting eyes, which have prominent lids with sharp edges. <i>Ūṛṇā</i> is prominent between eyes and elongated long ears are visible. The object seems to be fake.</p>	


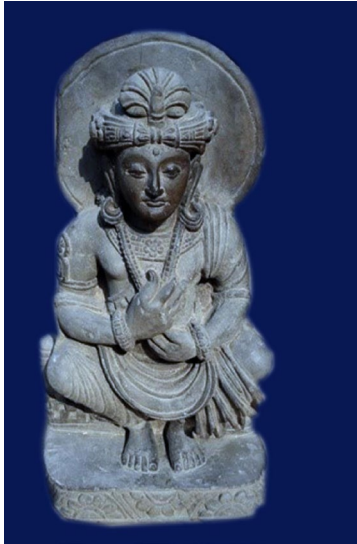

Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A15	<p>Material: Schist Size: 19 cm x 12 cm Description: The head is round to oval, the hair undulating densely from a peak above the forehead. Low curving edges on eyebrows and the long horizontal eyes have prominent lids. Nose is pointed and on the mouth a pursed and sharp, thin upper lip. Chin is neatly rounded. An elongated lobe of left ear is visible.</p>	
A16	<p>Material: Stucco Size: 17 cm x 10 cm Description: Oval head with a raised hairline and an <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The eyes are slanting and prominent beneath eyebrows with curved and distinct edges. Nose is slightly damaged and prominent gap between nostril and lips. Elongated areas are partially damaged.</p>	
A17	<p>Material: Stucco Size: 14 cm x 10 cm Description: Head of the Buddha(?). The round to oval head has a damaged, curving hairline and the <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> is missing. The eyes are long with distinct lids. The nose is in good shape. The mouth is slightly turned up above an emphatic chin. The right side elongated ear is visible.</p>	




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A18	<p>Material: Stucco Size: 20 cm x 20 cm Description: Head of a male with high turban. Neck, ear, and chin damaged. Decorated with colours.</p>	
A19	<p>Material: Stucco Size: 20 cm x 17 cm Description: Stucco head (female figure?) with hair dressed, decorated with colours, damaged.</p>	
A20	<p>Material: Stucco Size: 28 cm x 22 cm Description: Stucco head (female figure?), with high turban and beautiful coiffure. Broken/badly damaged, decorated with colours.</p>	




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
A21	<p>Material: Schist Size: 9 cm x 6 cm Description: Double head of Buddha and bodhisattva. The object seems to be fake.</p>	


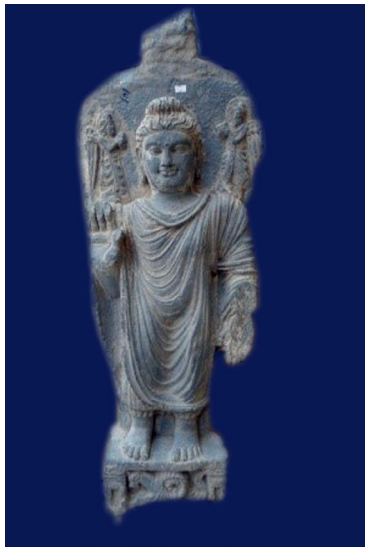
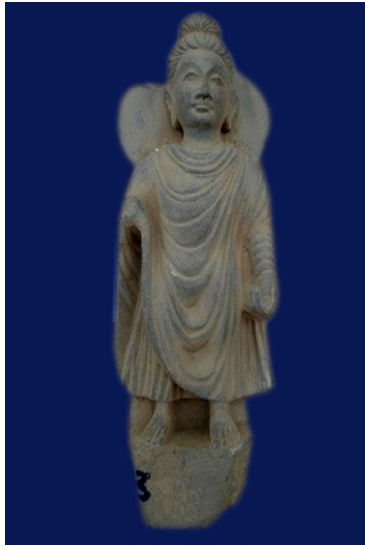
B: Full Buddha figures




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B1	<p>Material: Schist Size: 58 cm x 29 cm Description: Fasting Siddhartha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> posture sitting on the throne. Elongated bearded face with prominent eyes in round shape in the form of holes. The upper garment is distinguishable only as a narrow strip wound above each lower arm and falling to the side.</p>	
B2	<p>Material: Green Phyllite Schist Size: 47 cm x 28 cm Description: Relief of seated Buddha on round lotus throne, in <i>dhyānamudrā</i>. Depiction of two halos – upper and lower – decorated with dental design. The eyes are slanting and prominent beneath curved eyebrows with distinct edges. Undulating hairs with bumpy <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>.</p>	




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B3	<p>Material: Schist Size: 32 cm x 20 cm x 69 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i>. Pedestal decorated with three lotus flowers. Head broken and seems to be fake. The hair undulates densely from a peak above the forehead. Long and slanting eyes, which have prominent lids with sharp edges. Elongated earlobes. Both shoulders are covered with drapery, which also dangles from the waist.</p>	
B4	<p>Material: Schist Size: height 73 cm Description: Seated bodhisattva(?) in <i>dharmachakramudrā</i>. Seems to be fake. Halo behind the head wearing crown. Slanting serene eyes with sharp curved eyelids. Forehead is small with prominent <i>ūrṇā</i>. The figure is wearing necklace and other jewellery.</p>	
B5	<p>Material: Schist Size: 26 cm x 15 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dharmachakramudrā</i>. One shoulder is covered with drapery dangling from waist to the throne. Spread undulating hair with prominent <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Long earlobes are visible. Slanting eyes with perfect nose and rather wide nostrils. Seems to be fake.</p>	




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B6	<p>Material: Schist Size: 30 cm x 19 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> hands broken, the hair undulating densely from a peak above the forehead. Long and slanting eyes, which have prominent lids with sharp edges. The shaped upper lip projects slightly and the full chin is rounded. The broad nose is slightly damaged. Both shoulders are covered with drapery.</p>	
B7	<p>Material: Schist Size: 37 cm x 21 cm Description: Seated Buddha, head and halo broken, the hair undulating densely from a peak above the forehead. The eyes are long with distinct lids. The mouth is slightly turned up above an emphatic chin. The object seems to be fake.</p>	
B8	<p>Material: Schist Size: 33 cm x 19 cm Description: Seated Buddha, head and halo broken at some points on the edge. The hair undulates densely from a peak above the forehead. Uneven eyes with lid and straight nose damaged at nostril. Lips are damaged and chin is juttet out. Both shoulders are covered with monastic robe. The object seems to be fake.</p>	

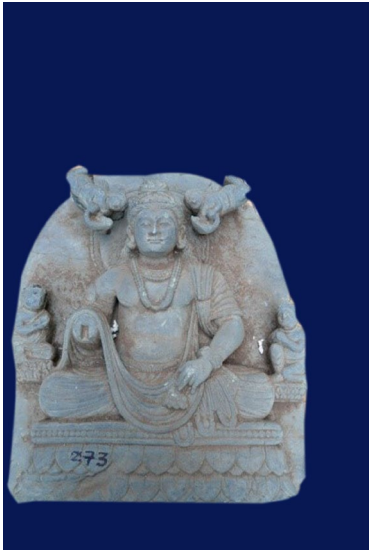


Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B9	<p>Material: Schist Size: 43 cm x 14 cm Description: Standing Buddha in <i>abhayamudrā</i>. Flames are coming out from the shoulders and water flows from his feet (miracle at Śrāvastī). Right hand missing. The hair undulates densely from a peak above the forehead. Slanting and prominent eyes beneath curved eyebrows with distinct edges. Both shoulders are covered with a monastic robe.</p>	
B10	<p>Material: Schist Size: 24 cm x 16 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>abhayamudrā</i>. Right part of the halo broken and missing. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent eyes beneath curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The mouth crudely shaped over a chin that juts out. The pedestal is decorated with a cushion and hanging drapery.</p>	
B11	<p>Material: Schist Size: 33 cm x 10 cm Description: Standing Buddha on pedestal. Left hand holds <i>sanghati</i> while right arm is covered with <i>sanghati</i>. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The mouth is crudely shaped above a chin that juts out. The object seems to be fake.</p>	




Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B12	<p>Material: Schist Size: 27 cm x 17 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i>, the hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Forehead is small. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. <i>Ūrṇā</i> is prominent on forehead. Intact nose above well-shaped mouth and protruding chin. Both shoulders are covered with drapery. The object seems to be fake.</p>	
B13	<p>Material: Schist Size: 111 cm x 37 cm Description: Standing Buddha on pedestal decorated with lotus flower in the middle. Buddha is shown in the posture of <i>abhayamudrā</i>. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. Perfect nose. Prominent <i>ūrṇā</i> on forehead. On the halo two figures are prominent. Left hand is missing.</p>	
B14	<p>Material: Schist Size: 26 cm x 9 cm Description: Standing Buddha in <i>abhayamudrā</i>, right arm missing. Top part of halo is chipped off. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. Right hand is missing.</p>	

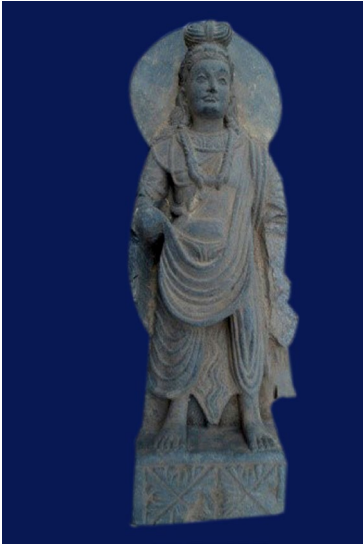


Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B15	<p>Material: Schist Size: 30 cm x 17 cm Description: Buddha seated in <i>dharmachakramudrā</i>. Good state of preservation. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. <i>Ūṛṇā</i> is prominent on forehead. Buddha is sitting on lotus throne decorated with leaves. A series of rows above and below in large scale are elegantly represented.</p>	
B16	<p>Material: Schist Size: 46 cm x 31 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> on pedestal throne. The hair undulates densely from a small peak and the hairline into and beyond a flat, bumpy and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The nose is well shaped. The mouth small over a pointed chin. Halo is in round and prominent. Both shoulders are covered with drapery.</p>	
B17	<p>Material: Schist Size: 72 cm x 21 cm Description: Standing Buddha in the posture of <i>abhayamudrā</i>. The pedestal has three lotus flowers on the front and two on either side. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat, and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The major drapery folds are harmoniously ridged and terraced in two schemes and fall densely below both arms. The neckline is moderately raised and curved, and the portion thrown back is distinct, both on the shoulder and under the left arm against the gathered drapery.</p>	



Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B18	<p>Material: Schist Size: 74 cm x 26 cm Description: Standing Buddha with right arm missing. On the pedestal a <i>stūpa</i> is represented, worshipped by two devotees. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat and large <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The major drapery folds are harmoniously ridged and terraced in two schemes and fall densely below both arms. The neckline is moderately raised and curved, and the portion thrown back is distinct, both on the shoulder and under the left arm against the gathered drapery. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. Narrow forehead with prominent <i>ūrṇā</i>. The nose is long and the mouth has shaped lips and deep corners. The object seems to be fake.</p>	
B19	<p>Material: Schist Size: 47 cm x 55 cm Description: Relief of seated Buddha in the <i>dhyānamudrā</i>. Five lotus flowers on pedestal. In a good state of preservation. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a small <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The halo is prominent under shadow of tree. The <i>sanghati</i> is shown in traditional Gandhāra style and the grooves are prominent.</p>	
B20	<p>Material: Schist Size: 37 cm x 26 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i>. Face and halo are broken and re-attached. Body and arms are chipped off and lower portion of pedestal is missing. Badly damaged. The head is in a regular oval shape against a large, plain, damaged halo. The uneven eyes and angle of the nose create an asymmetry in the face. The hair undulates densely from an unobtrusive peak on the hairline into the high <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> and as far as the halo. The distinct edges for eyebrows are gently curved with a raised, round <i>ūrṇā</i> in between and the mouth is thin but shaped. The major drapery folds are high, rounded ridges and the fall of gathered drapery spreads out from under folded hands. The well formed concave ears are close to the head with sharp lobes.</p>	

Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B21	<p>Material: Schist Size: 28 cm x 17 cm Description: Buddha in <i>abhayamudrā</i> sitting on lotus throne under a cushion, holding hem in his left hand. The head is a regular oval shape against a large, plain, chipped halo. The major drapery folds consist of high, rounded ridges and the fall of the gathered drapery spreads out from under the left hand which holds a loop of cloth. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a small <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent, open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The well-formed concave ears are close to the head with sharp lobes. The high top has an acanthus leaf design.</p>	
B22	<p>Material: Schist Size: 58 cm x 29 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i>. Seems to be fake. The head is a regular oval against a large, plain, damaged halo. The nose is rather wide at the nostrils. The hair undulates densely from an unobtrusive peak on the hairline into the high <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> and as far as the halo. The halo is small. The distinct edges of the eyebrows are gently curved with a raised round <i>ūrṇā</i> in between. The mouth is thin but shaped. The major drapery folds consist of high, rounded ridges and the fall of the gathered drapery spreads out from under folded hands. Slanting and prominent open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The major drapery folds consist of high, rounded ridges and the fall of the gathered drapery spreads out from under folded hands.</p>	
B23	<p>Material: Schist Size: 42 cm x 24 cm Description: Buddha seated in 'European style', with the gesture of <i>dharmachakramudrā</i>. The two garments seen above the ankles are the lower robe, the <i>antarāvāsaka</i>, and the upper robe, presumably the <i>uttarāsaṅga</i>, which is also visible on the right leg, while the over-robe, the <i>sanghati</i>, falls from the right forearm and covers the left knee and leg. What must be gathered drapery hangs from under the left forearm. The drapery folds are defined mainly by paired grooves. The hair undulates densely from an unobtrusive peak on the hairline into the high <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> and as far as the halo. The eyes are uneven. The nose is long with wide nostrils. The mouth has clumsily shaped lips and the small chin is somewhat pointed.</p>	

Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B24	<p>Material: Schist Size: 46 cm x 41 cm Description: Seated bodhisattva(?) in <i>abhayamudrā</i>, with a kneeling devotee on either side. The hair undulates densely from an unobtrusive peak on the hairline into the high <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The eyes are slanting. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. The figure has a long multiple-chained necklace. The <i>uttariya</i> is in the narrow style and covers the upper left arm like a short sleeve, perhaps drawn into the shoulder loop from which a thin length emerges to pass over the forearm. A flying <i>deva</i> is paying homage to the figure on each side. A worshipper on each side also pays homage. The figure is seated on a throne a lotus design.</p>	
B25	<p>Material: Schist Size: 58 cm x 29 cm Description: Standing Buddha on pedestal, which is decorated with a relief of two devotees on both side of a <i>stūpa</i>. The halo is broken. The major drapery folds are harmoniously ridged and terraced in two schemes and fall densely below both arms. The neckline is moderately raised and curved, and the portion thrown back is distinct, both on the shoulder and under the left arm against the gathered drapery. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a small <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. Slanting and prominent, open eyes under curved eyebrows with distinct edges. The panel is framed by an acanthus cornice, Corinthian pilasters and the usual base moldings. The object seems to be fake.</p>	
B26	<p>Material: Schist Size: 63 cm x 21 cm Description: Standing Buddha on a plain pedestal. The head and pedestal with legs are broken. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond the <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The eyes are slanting. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. Narrow forehead with prominent <i>ūrṇā</i>. The nose is long and the mouth has shaped lips above an emphatic chin. The major drapery folds are harmoniously ridged and terraced in two schemes and fall densely below both arms. The neckline is moderately raised and curved, both on the shoulder and under the left arm against the gathered drapery. The grooves are rather faint. Both hands are missing.</p>	

Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B27	<p>Material: Schist Size: 30 cm x 15 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>abhayamudrā</i>. Head chipped off and missing, badly mutilated. The major drapery folds consist of high, rounded ridges and the fall of the gathered drapery spreads out from under the left hand, which holds a loop of cloth.</p>	
B28	<p>Material: Schist Size: 26 cm x 14 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i>. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The halo is broken at the top. The open eyes are slanting and prominent. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. The nose is well shaped. The mouth is small above a pointed chin. Both shoulders are covered with drapery. The major drapery folds, chiefly in well-rounded ridges and terraces are flattened at the knees to form low strips. The neckline in high relief is somewhat plunging, a semicircular edge of the robe overlaps the seat while gathered drapery spreads from the left wrist to lie almost flat beside it and another edge is seen below the right forearm.</p>	
B29	<p>Material: Schist Size: 80 cm x 35 cm Description: Standing Buddha. Right hand and halo broken and missing. The major drapery folds are harmoniously ridged and terraced in two schemes and fall densely below both arms; the neckline is moderately raised and curved, and the portion thrown back is distinct, both on the shoulder and under the left arm against the gathered drapery. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a flat <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The open eyes are slanting and prominent. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. The narrow, curved forehead has a domed <i>ūrṇā</i>. The nose is well shaped. The mouth is small above a pointed chin.</p>	

Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B30	<p>Material: Schist Size: 50cm x 17 cm Description: Standing Maitreya, hands missing. The <i>uttariya</i> is in the narrow manner and covers the upper left arm more like a short sleeve with a thicker lower edge or band; it is perhaps drawn into the shoulder loop from which a thin length emerges to pass over the forearm and join a wide fall of drapery behind. On the side of the unusual <i>paridhana</i> with a girdle, projecting drapery joins the water pot and the right leg. The face is oval. Open eyes and eyelids with sharp edges under the gently curving and distinct edges of the eyebrows, with an <i>ūrṇā</i> in between. The headdress consists of hair undulating to the sides and a peak over the forehead. A high chignon with a retaining knot of hair in the centre. The Buddha is standing on a pedestal with floral designs.</p>	
B31	<p>Material: Schist Size: 59 cm x 21 cm Description: Standing Buddha. Both hands broken and missing. The major drapery folds are harmoniously ridged and terraced in the two schemes and fall densely below both arms; the neckline is moderately raised and curved, and the portion thrown back is distinct, both on the shoulder and under the left arm against the gathered drapery. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a small <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> with a prominent round halo. The open eyes are slanting and prominent. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. The earlobes are long. The sharp nose is partly damaged at the nostrils. The mouth is small above a full, pointed chin. The Buddha is standing on a base with two flower motifs in the shape of wheels.</p>	
B32	<p>Material: Schist Size: 39 cm x 13 cm Description: Standing bodhisattva(?) with right arm missing. The edges of the <i>uttariya</i> are in high relief on the narrow loop in front. The drapery on left, damaged arm runs with a thicker lower edge under the shoulder loop. The <i>paridhana</i> has a knotted girdle with hanging ends and breaks on the pleated drapery. The figure is wearing a chain necklace. The hair undulates densely from a peak on the hairline into and beyond a bumpy <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>. The halo is broken. The open eyes are slanting and prominent. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. The forehead is narrow. The earlobes are long. The sharp nose has wide nostrils. The mouth is small above a full, pointed chin. The figure is standing on the square pedestal.</p>	

Serial No.	Description	Photograph
B33	<p>Material: Schist Size: 45 cm x 15 cm Description: Standing Buddha on pedestal. The right arm is missing. The major drapery folds are ridged and terraced in two schemes and fall densely below both arms. The neckline is moderately raised and curved, and the portion thrown back is distinct, both on the shoulder and under the left arm against the gathered drapery. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a small <i>uṣṇiṣa</i>. There is a prominent, round halo. The open eyes are slanting and prominent. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. The narrow forehead has an <i>ūrṇā</i>. The well-shaped nose has wide nostrils. The mouth is small above a full, pointed chin.</p>	
B34	<p>Material: Schist Size: 80 cm x 53 cm Description: Seated Buddha in <i>dhyānamudrā</i>. Head broken at neck. Halo also broken. Hands chipped off and missing. The hair undulates densely from a small peak on the hairline into and beyond a small <i>uṣṇiṣa</i>. The open eyes are slanting and prominent. The eyebrows have curved and distinct edges. The halo is prominent and round. The major drapery folds, chiefly in well-rounded ridges and terraces, are flattened at the knees to form low strips. The neckline, in high relief, is somewhat. A semi-circular edge of the robe overlaps the seat while gathered drapery spreads from the left wrist to lie almost flat beside it and another edge is seen below the right forearm.</p>	

Part 2 Receptions

Gandhāran imagery as remembered by Buddhist communities across Asia

Kurt A. Behrendt

Gandhāran art endured and shaped Buddhist visual culture long after the great monasteries in the Peshawar Basin had fallen into ruin. Naturally, this impact is especially pronounced between the first and early sixth centuries when these Gandhāran institutions were active and connected through trade to Afghanistan (Bactria), Central Asia, and China. Artworks created for monastic complexes in the small regional centre of Gandhāra had an outsized impact on the Buddhist world because of their perceived legitimacy. Narrative formats from this region were also embraced as they effectively crossed cultural barriers. More remarkable are the Gandhāran sculptural forms that remained relevant in later centuries in far-flung Buddhist communities across Asia. For Tibetan and East Asian audiences, Gandhāra came to be equated with the region of Udayāna (the Swat valley), which sits about 20 km north of Gandhāra proper. Udayāna takes on great importance as the place where the first sandalwood image of the Buddha was sculpted – setting up a long lineage of Udayāna Buddha images across East Asia. The great ascetic Padmasambhava also hails from Udayāna to bring tantric teachings to Nepal, Tibet, and Bhutan. Bronzes cast in Gandhāra and Swat also find their way into Tibet, where they remained under veneration. Finally, in the nineteenth century, it should not be surprising that, with the discovery of Gandhāran archaeological remains, Buddhist communities across Asia once again embraced the imagery from this authoritative sculptural tradition.

Gandhāran sculpture had an immediate appeal, with patrons funding the creation of thousands of narrative and iconic images when this centre was active. The initial popularity of Gandhāran imagery in part reflects the artisans' effective rendition of complex ideas in ways that were immediately accessible. Take, for example, the Metropolitan Museum's Gandhāran narrative representation of the *parinirvāṇa*, which evocatively shows the Buddha's death in a self-evident way accessible to both lay and monastic viewers (Figure 1). The clarity of presentation is what makes this sculpture effective – for its ancient audience and today. We relate to the above mourners' grief as juxtaposed with the perfect calm of the Buddha, who is, after all, entering nirvana. The Gandhāran artisan successfully captures the audiences' attention and visually conveys rather complex Buddhist doctrine in ways that cross linguistic boundaries. Leaping to the fourteenth century and the other end of the Silk Road, a painting of the *parinirvāṇa* done in Japan, without question, is based on the Gandhāran prototype (Figure 2). While the style has changed, the organization of this narrative moment with the oversized Buddha surrounded by emotionally charged mourners is the same. It is remarkable that this comparison of works separated by time and geography is possible, and it speaks to the enduring impact of the Gandhāran narrative tradition.

In the first centuries of the Common Era, the Gandhāran image of the Buddha captured the imagination of local patrons, and the very nature of Buddhist practice changed (Figure 3; Behrendt 2017). While the meaning of these early Gandhāran representations of Śākyamuni has been much debated, the sites themselves, with their numerous image-shrines, show that sculpturally presenting the enlightened one had taken on great importance. The sites also provide evidence for the first instances of Gandhāran imagery having meaning for later Buddhist communities. With the collapse of patronage, there is a period when Gandhāran sculptures were reused and given new meanings. When Stein excavated Sahrī-Bahlol C at the beginning of the twentieth century (Figure 4) surrounding *stūpa* iii, he found a large number of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, multi-figure panels, and stucco heads (Figure 5; Stein 1915: 107-108). These images were moved from their original locations so that they could be venerated in a new



Figure 1. Parinirvāṇa - the death of the Buddha - in schist, from Gandhāra, c. third century AD. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.500.4.1 (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

context, a topic I have discussed in an earlier article (Behrendt 2009: 23). Here I simply want to stress the importance of these sculptures for the late Gandhāran community, who reused them presumably to honour and give importance to the relics enshrined in this small *stūpa*, which remained under veneration.

There is also evidence of Gandhāran schist sculptures being transported in antiquity to the Buddhist centre of Mathura in north India. When I visited the Mathura Museum in 2018, there were thirty-one pieces of Gandhāran sculpture on view. While nothing is known about the find-spots of most of these sculptures, three came to the museum in 1919, having been found in a house foundation in a nearby village (Marshall 1922: 41, pl. XVII). A twelve inch tall fasting Buddha is the most significant of these images (Figure 6). As presenting the Buddha in the form of an emaciated ascetic was not done by the workshops of Mathura, this sculpture's importation has exciting implications in terms of the transmission of ideas and new image formats into north India. Another of the Gandhāran sculptures



Figure 2. *Parinirvāna - the death of the Buddha (Nehan-zu)*. Hanging scroll, color and gold on silk. Japan, Kamakura period (1185-1333), 14th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.134.10. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

sitting in the Mathura Museum depicts the flask-holding bodhisattva Maitreya. I have argued that this format for Maitreya originated in Gandhāra (Behrendt 2014: 34-35), making this image an import that, like the fasting Buddha, was introducing new ideas from Gandhāra. However, this image of Maitreya must be treated with caution, as we know nothing about its find-spot, leaving open the possibility that it was brought to Mathura in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. As most of these images on display at the Mathura Museum are poorly preserved fragments, a local archaeological source seems



Sahrī-Bahlōl C

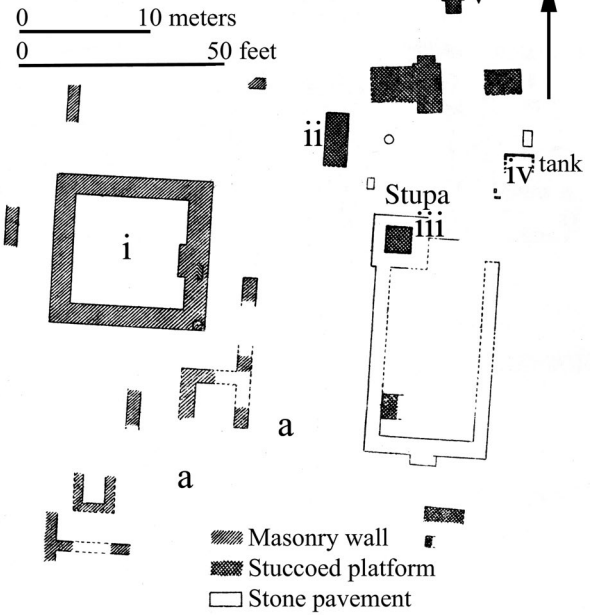


Figure 4. Plan of Sahrī-Bahlol Site C, Gandhāra (modified from Stein [1915], pl. XXXIIIa).

Figure 3. Schist Buddha figure from Gandhāra, c. third century AD. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014.188. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)



Figure 5. Reused sculptures from Sahrī-Bahlol Site C surrounding stūpa iii. (ASIFC 1101, courtesy of the British Library.)

likely as these are not the kinds of works that would have been brought to this museum in modern times.

Gandhāran sculpture also had a profound impact on the imagery of Central Asia, a topic which has received considerable scholarly attention. Still, a few comments are in order where direct copies of Gandhāran artworks were made, as can be seen at the site of Miran (Stein 1921: 492-495). At this site, there is a painting of a Buddha standing with his mustache and high *uṣṇīṣa*, which looks like early narrative imagery from Gandhāra. An equally compelling translation of a Gandhāran sculpture into a painting is a fasting Buddha at Kizil in cave 76, where details such as the treatment of the torso and pelvis suggest that this painter was aware of Gandhāran images such as the one excavated at the site of Sikri (see Figure 22).

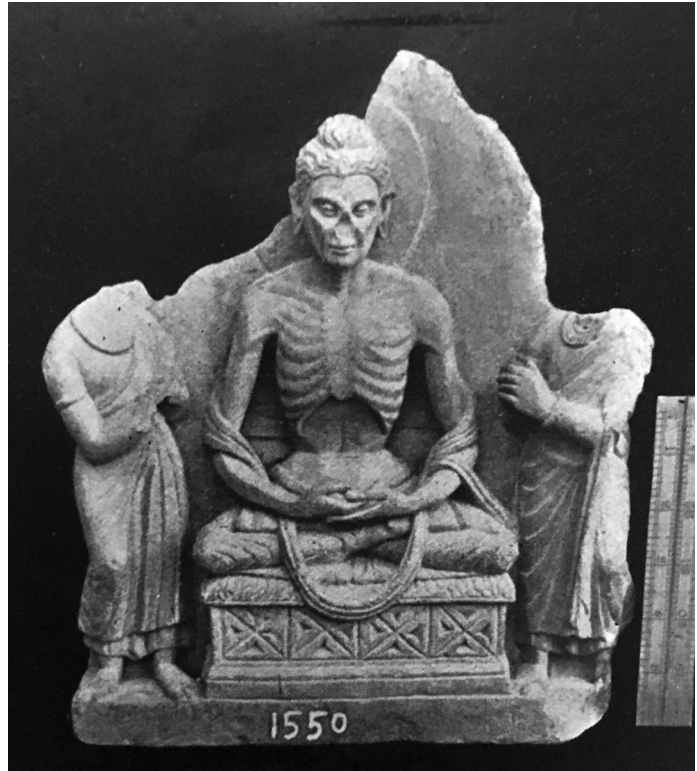


Figure 6. Emaciated Buddha, found adjacent to the villages of Maduban and Maholi near Mathura (Marshall 1922, pl. XVIIc).

Leaving aside the well-documented direct contact with Central Asia, let us turn to northern China, where a body of bronzes exhibits a clear awareness of Gandhāran prototypes (Rhie 1995: 86-98), such as the fourth- or fifth-century piece-moulded example illustrated here (Figure 7). Here the lion throne and elaborate pleated robes recall Gandhāra. A possibly later inscription provides a date of AD 521 and identifies the figure as Maitreya (Leidy and Strahan 2010: 50). Like the Gandhāran Maitreya in the Mathura Museum, here we again see the introduction of iconography and ideology in association with a Gandhāran-style image. Another Chinese Buddha, identified by inscription as the Buddha Maitreya and dated to AD 524, exhibits considerable Gandhāran iconography (Figure 8). At first glance, it would appear to be fully transformed to suit Chinese taste, with its attenuated body and cascading robes. However, at his feet are four *lokapāla* guardian kings who bring alms bowls, a Gandhāran iconography that marks the moment after reaching enlightenment when the Buddha breaks his fast (Figure 9). In East Asia, such guardian kings continue to be important in later centuries, but the bowl holding iconography is abandoned in favor of other attributes. Among the attendant figures at Maitreya's feet are a pair of bodhisattvas, who sit in contemplation with a hand held to the cheek and one leg pendant (Figure 10). This posture traces back to a format that emerges in Gandhāra (Lee 1993: 314-315), as can be seen in an 1880s photo taken by Alexander Caddy at the site of Loryān Tāngai (Figure 11). The meaning of pensive bodhisattvas is debated, but they are associated with the heavens and perhaps with the potential for enlightenment. This iconography becomes especially popular in Korea (see Rhi 2013), a good example being a mid-seventh century bronze in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 12). This image type appears in conjunction with the introduction of Buddhism in this region. In turn, pensive bodhisattvas become important in Japan, with numerous examples produced during the Asuka period (AD 592-645). Significantly in both Korea and Japan, these icons are today often associated with the future Buddha Maitreya. In contrast, the Gandhāran prototypes often hold lotuses, possibly identifying them as early examples of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. While all trace of the original Gandhāran style has disappeared in these



Figure 7. Chinese Buddha, Sixteen Kingdoms period (AD 304-439), late fourth to early fifth century. A possibly later inscription identifies this figure as Maitreya and provides a date of 521. Gilded bronze, piece-mould cast. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1974.268.8a-c. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)



Figure 8. Buddha Maitreya, China, Northern Wei dynasty (AD 386-534), dated AD 524. Gilt bronze. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 34.158.1a-n. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

East Asian examples, it is significant that the concept of representing a bodhisattva in a pensive mode can be traced back to this critical Silk Road centre.

In China and more broadly across East Asia, Gandhāra was remembered as a real place because of Buddhist pilgrims and translators' accounts, the most important being the Chinese monks Faxian (AD 337-c. 422) and Xuanzang (c. AD 602 – 664) (Li 1995; Li 2002: 157-214). Especially Xuanzang, brought many texts back to China, which he subsequently translated, and as a result, he profoundly impacted East Asian Buddhism. This is important for Gandhāra as descriptions of images, relics, and places preserved in his accounts and those of Faxian remained significant for East Asian Buddhists in the following centuries. Gandhāra was also visited by many other Chinese monks in the fourth and fifth centuries as a place of pilgrimage, as recounted in their biographies preserved in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, edited in AD 519 (Kuwayama 2002: 20-21).

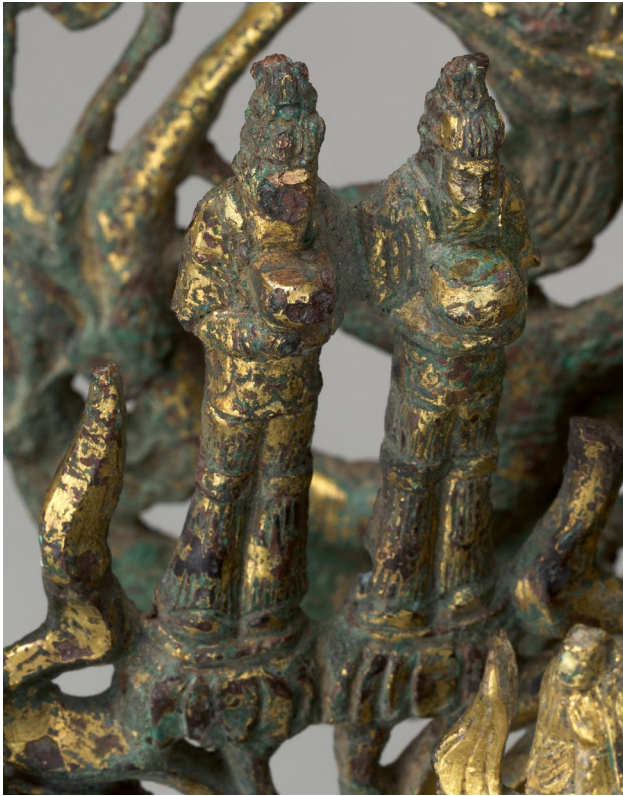


Figure 9. Two of the four lokapāla guardian kings carrying bowls: detail of Figure 8. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

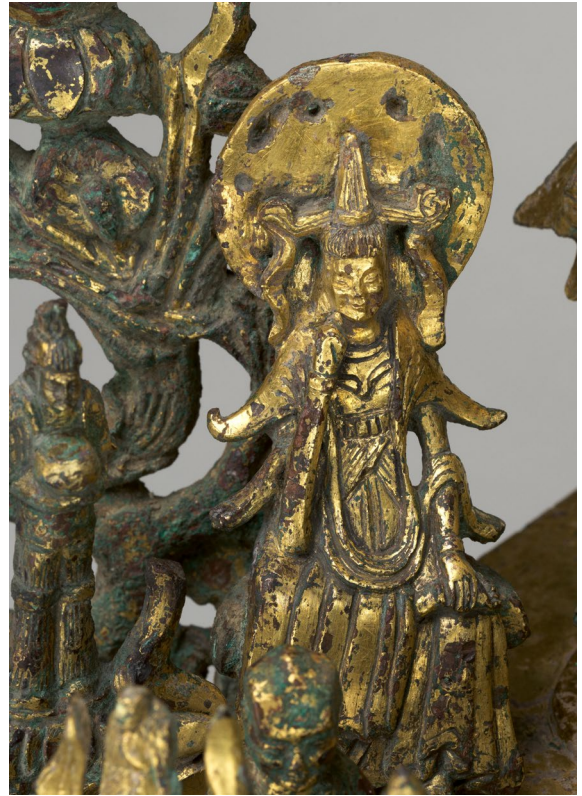


Figure 10. Pensive bodhisattva: detail of Figure 8. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)



Figure 11. Schist Buddha flanked by two pendant bodhisattvas, from the site of Loriyān Tangai, c. fourth century AD. (Photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute.)



Figure 12. Pensive bodhisattva, Korea, Three Kingdoms period (57 BC- AD 676), mid-seventh century AD. Gilt bronze. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.222. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

considerably later to find a Buddha definitively identified as a copy of the one made in Udayāna. A Japanese monk named Chōnen commissioned an Udayāna Buddha in China in 985 (Figure 15), which he then brought back to Japan and installed in the Seiryōji temple in AD 987 (McCallum 1996: 51-52). While it is difficult to argue that Chinese artisans still had an understanding of Gandhāra forms in this period, the physical appearance of this figure is very similar to the Chinese Maitreya produced 500 years earlier. The looping drapery of the chest and the treatment of the garments that cover their legs are very similar. Details like the swirling hairstyle are also common to both of these sculptures. In Japan, making Udayāna copies continued through the Kamakura period, and other sculptures following this pattern are known from the temples of Saidaiji, Toshodaiji, and Eikoji (images dated to 1249, 1258, and 1273, respectively). The significance of the Udayāna Buddha in medieval Japan is based ultimately on the veracity of a portrait of Śākyamuni made in Gandhāra. The fact that Udayāna was understood as an authentic source for this portrait is interesting as this is not where Śākyamuni reached enlightenment, but rather is a significant trade artery that came to be known to East Asia as a source of true Buddhism.

Here I want to focus on the sandalwood Udayāna Buddha that many of these travelers report seeing. According to legend, when Śākyamuni ascended to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven for three months to teach the *dharma* to his mother Maya, the king of Udayāna (Swāt) had a sandalwood image of Śākyamuni carved. Faxian and Xuanzang report seeing copies of this Udayāna image at the Jetavana vihāra in Śrāvastī. Again at Kaushambi, they report seeing a sixty feet tall sandalwood version, the original purportedly having flown over the mountains to the Central Asian site Khotan. In turn, Faxian and Xuanzang also visit Khotan and mention seeing this image. Furthermore, copies of the Udayāna sandalwood image are reported to have been brought back to China by both Kumarajiva (AD 344-409) and Xuanzang, though these images have not survived (Wriggins 1996: 87-88).

At roughly the time these Udayāna Buddha images were being brought back to China, a massive gilt bronze image of Buddha Maitreya, dated by an inscription to AD 486, was cast (Figure 13). While the treatment of this Buddha, with his elaborate robes and distinct hairstyle, can be related to Gandhāran prototypes, the style of this statue is Chinese. Significantly, this Chinese bronze can be productively compared to a seventh- to eighth-century seated Buddha from Udayāna (Figure 14). Note especially the distinct u-shaped pattern of drapery on the torsos of these two Buddhas – a particular drapery arrangement that comes to be associated with the East Asian Udayāna Buddha typology (Carter 1990: 21). We have to move

Figure 13. *The Buddha Maitreya, from China, Northern Wei dynasty (AD 386-534), dated AD 486. Gilt bronze with traces of pigment; piece-mold cast. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.123. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)*

While the rock-cut Swat Buddha can be related to the East Asian Udayāna image tradition because of its distinctive drapery, this is rather unusual. At this time, a corpus of sixth- to seventh-century classically Gandhāran bronzes were cast with elaborate robes that relate well to earlier schist sculptures (Figure 16). These images range a bit in style, and their specific place of production is unclear. Two of these bronzes were reportedly found at Sahrī-Bahlol (Barrett 1960: fig. 33; Errington and Cribb 1992: 218-222), and a further example is currently sitting in the Srinagar Museum in Kashmir, so a production centre in Gandhāra is possible. Motifs like the *bodhi* leaf and pearl in the halo appear at the site of Bāmiyān (Behrendt 2007: 78), and thus the Afghan site of Mes Aynak, with its vast copper reserves, might be a possible production centre for these bronzes. Ultimately, the radiate full-body halo became extremely popular at sites across Central Asia, suggesting that these portable Gandhāran bronzes must have freely moved along the Silk Road.

Some of these late Gandhāran bronzes exhibit a distinctive band hairstyle that appears to originate in Swat/Udayāna (Figure 17). This hairstyle in Swat continues and seems quite specific to this region, as

Figure 14. *Marble seated Buddha flanked by bodhisattvas, from the Swat Valley (Udayāna), Pakistan, seventh-eighth century AD. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.570.2. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)*





Figure 15. *Wooden Udayāna Shaka Buddha, Seiryōji, Kyoto, Japan. Made in 985. (Reproduced with permission from Artibus Asiae.)*



Figure 16. *Bronze standing Buddha with radiant halo and mandorla, Pakistan, Gandhara, c. late sixth century AD. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981.188a, b. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)*

in the eighth-century example illustrated here (Figure 18). Consequently, it may be the case that at least some of these late Gandhāran bronzes were cast in the Swat valley. A Swat/Udayāna production centre is significant as this valley provides access to upper Indus to centres in Gilgit, Ladakh, Western Tibet, and ultimately, Lhasa, where several Gandhāran bronzes have remained under continuous veneration, and are today part of the Potala holdings in Lhasa (See Schroeder 2001: 30-31). These bronzes in the Potala are the only Gandhāran sculptures that have remained in continuous use since their creation.

The movement of late Gandhāran bronzes onto the Tibetan plateau occurred at about the same time as the quasi mythic tantric master Padmasambhava travelled from Udayāna to the great Himalayan Buddhist centres of Tibet, Bhutan, and Nepal in the eighth century. While his historicity is accepted today, he is primarily remembered as an enlightened supermundane master, a mahasiddha, who brought tantric practices to the Himalayas and violently subjugated demons (Dalton 2011: 67). The veneration of images



Figure 17. Detail of brass standing Buddha, Swat Valley (Udayāna), c. late sixth century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.593.2. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)



Figure 18. Seated Buddha, Swat Valley (Udayāna), eighth century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.218.3. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

of Padmasambhava is pervasive across the Tibetan plateau, a dramatic example being this monumental c. seventeenth century sculpture from the Hemis monastery in Ladakh (Figure 19). Numerous temples across the Himalayan landscape mark places where Padmasambhava subjugated a demon, meditated, or performed meritorious actions. In light of Gandhāra, his legitimacy can be traced to original practices established in the powerful land of Udayāna. For example, when describing the demon pinned down by eight self-arisen *stūpas*, a twelfth-century Tibetan text places the demon's penis in the land of Udayāna (Dalton 2011: 117). Over time Padmasambhava's power comes to be associated with true enlightened teachings, with twelfth-century texts stating that he is either an emanation of Śākyamuni or the Buddha Amitabha (*Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism* 2019: 1199). While his biography transforms over time, his association with Udayāna as a place of legitimacy continues to be emphasized. An excellent example of this trend is the seventeenth-century Drukpa Kagyu monk Taksang Repa (1574-1651), who went on pilgrimage to the Triloknāth Mandir in Himachal Pradesh thinking he was visiting Udayāna (Linrothe 2019: 178).

In modern times Gandhāra has reemerged as an important artistic centre and place of authentic Buddhism for monastic communities across Asia. Complicating this picture is Gandhāra's long excavation history and the dispersal of sculptures across the world (see Almond 2009; Errington 1987). In the nineteenth century, sculptures and relics found at sites in India and in Gandhāra came to the attention of Buddhist communities, especially in Sri Lanka, peninsular South-East Asia, and Japan. In the course of excavating the massive *Shāh-jī-ki-ḍherī stūpa*, on the outskirts of the city of Peshawar, David Spooner found the famous Kanishka reliquary (Figure 20; Spooner 1912; Errington 2002: 127-146). A small crystal reliquary that was part of this assemblage was then given to a Buddhist Theravādin community in Mandalay,



Figure 19. Monumental Padmasambhava (Guru Rinpoche), Ladakh, India, c. seventeenth century. (Photo: author.)

where it remains under veneration today (Figure 21). This Gandhāran example is just one of several early relic deposits that came under worship by modern Buddhist communities in the late nineteenth century. Although the site of Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī had been lost to history, the recovery of this relic at a Gandhāran site gave it legitimacy and tremendous importance as a true relic of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

While the recovery of relics naturally was of great interest, at the end of the nineteenth century, Asian Buddhist communities also turned their attention to newly discovered sculptures from Gandhāran archaeological sites. In this context, let me focus on the actions of Prisdang Chumsai (1851-1935), a grandson of the Thai King Rama III. In the 1890s, after an early career as an ambassador in Europe and falling out of favor with the royal family, he travelled to Uttar Pradesh in north India, where he traded a valuable stamp collection for three bone relics from the Piprahwa *stūpa*. He then attempted to restore his standing with King Rama V by presenting these relics to the Thai court but was instead accused of their theft (Loos 2016: 137). Ultimately, Prisdang fled to Sri Lanka, where he was ordained as a monk in

1896. All of this is significant as while in north India, he appears to have also visited the Lahore Museum, where he saw the Sikri Fasting Buddha (Figure 22). At this time, he must have obtained a plaster cast that he brought to Sri Lanka and installed in the Dipaduttama Monastery in Colombo (Figure 23), where it survives today (Martinus 1907: 20). The emaciated Buddha came to be understood by the Theravādin community as representing the Buddha's six-year fast that followed his great departure from the palace and preceded his enlightenment. Around this time fasting Buddha sculptures start to be created and installed in several temples in Thailand, such as the example from Wat Suthat dated to 1905-6 (Figure 24). These emaciated Buddhas from Thailand are stylistically different from the one excavated at Sikri, but they are loosely based on Gandhāran fasting Buddhas, especially in how the body is rendered. While it is impossible to relate the Thai images directly to Prisdang, and to my knowledge, no plaster casts are known from Thailand, this new Gandhāran iconography became established and popular. Given the emphasis on the Buddha's life story in Gandhāran narrative art, it is not surprising that the emaciated Buddhas in the Theravādin communities of Thailand and Sri Lanka was understood as representing his six-year fast. Moreover, this episode appears in the various biographies of the Buddha, including the popular *Lalitavistara* and *Buddhacarita*. These images provided an opportunity to show the Buddha as a great renouncer and as an ascetic of unquestioned resolve, ideas important to the Theravādin Buddhist communities.¹

¹ I want to thank Donald Stadtner for his help with the above inscribed date, and for his many insights with the fasting Buddha imagery in Sri Lanka and Thailand. I would also like to thank Juhjung Rhi for confirming that the Lahore Museum did indeed produce plaster casts of the Sikri Fasting Buddha.



Figure 20. *Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī* relic deposit. (Photo: courtesy of the British Museum, Department of Asian Art, J. Marshall Photograph collection.)

In contrast, the Gandhāran fasting Buddha images appear to have been linked to the enlightenment cycle, not the six-year, fast as Robert Brown has compellingly argued. He also notes that the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang saw a fasting Buddha at Bodhgayā as part of seven shrines marking the forty-nine days associated with the enlightenment when the Buddha did not eat (Brown 1997: 107, 112-14). The importance of asceticism within the Gandhāran tradition is complex and is a feature that has an enduring appeal for later Buddhist communities in Kashmir and the north-west (Behrendt 2010: 299-328). It is worth noting that fasting Buddhas do again appear in the twelfth- to thirteenth-century sculpture of



Figure 21. *Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī* crystal reliquary, with modern gold lid and wire. (Photo: courtesy of Donald Stadtner.)



Figure 22. Schist sculpture of the fasting Buddha, from Sikri, Pakistan, c. third-fourth century AD. (Photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute.)



Figure 23. Fasting Buddha in the Dipaduttama Monastery, Colombo, Sri Lanka. Plaster cast of the Sikri Fasting Buddha, made c. 1890. (Photo: courtesy of Donald Stadtner.)

Bengal and in Burma at Pagan, where they seem to show the six-year fast (Bautze-Picron 2008: 77-78), or a scene where youths taunt the Buddha during this fast (see Wujastyk 1984: 192-94). However, it seems the fasting Buddha imagery of north India and Burma was subsequently forgotten before being reintroduced at the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the modern interpretation of the fasting Buddha as representing the six-year fast, as advocated by the Theravādin Buddhists, is how such images are understood today. Take, for example, a twenty-first century emaciated Buddha in the courtyard of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā (Figure 25). This image is part of a long narrative series, where it immediately precedes the breaking of his six-year fast.

Conclusion

This paper attempts to trace the impact of Gandhāran art through time and identify some of the multiple Buddhist audiences across Asia that looked back at this great tradition. Remarkable is the extent to which Gandhāran art was recontextualized, remembered, and given new meanings by the Greater Buddhist world. The initial reuse and the export of actual Gandhāran sculptures rapidly gave way to making copies of Gandhāran images, narrative formats, and iconography. Even the idea of the first true portrait of Śākyamuni can be traced back to a sandalwood image from Udayāna (Swat) that was reproduced in China and which became important in Japan long after Gandhāra lay in ruin. Padmasaṃbhava, who purportedly brought esoteric practices to the Himalayas, also hailed from Udayāna. In this sense,

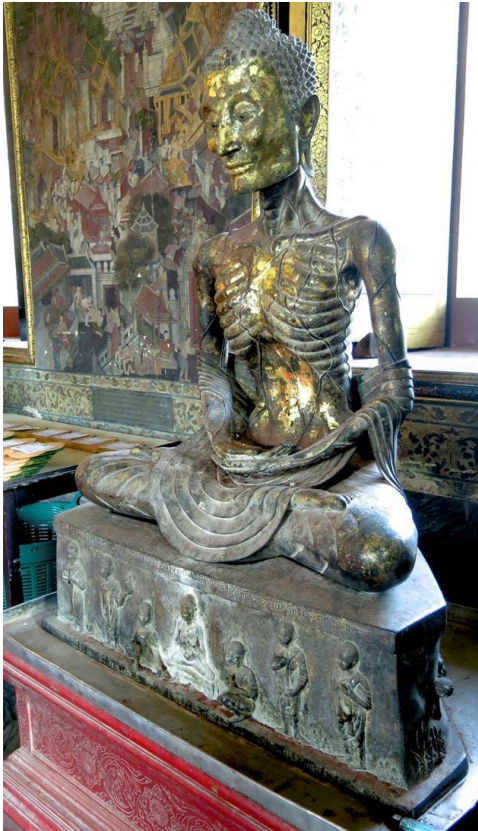


Figure 24. Bronze fasting Buddha, Wat Suthat, Bangkok, Thailand, dated by inscription to 1905-1906. (Photo: courtesy of Donald Stadtner.)



Figure 25. Fasting Buddha showing his six-year penance, scene from a narrative cycle of the Buddhas life, India, Bodhgayā, courtyard of Mahābodhi Temple, early twenty-first century. (Photo author.)

the region of Gandhāra was given great importance as a node of power, and its very geography was considered sacred. It is probably not coincidental that late Gandhāran bronzes remain under worship in Tibetan monasteries even today. With the archaeological discovery of Gandhāra in the nineteenth century, Buddhists again embraced its imagery. Notably, fasting Buddha images, based on the one excavated at Sikri, appear in devotional contexts in Thailand, Sri Lanka, and India. While beyond the scope of this paper, the Gandhāran sculpture housed in museums across the world continues to have this kind of impact on Buddhist traditions. Finally, with the recent discovery of the earliest Buddhist texts in Gandhāra (Salomon 2018), this region and its artistic tradition are today profoundly impacting the understanding of early Buddhism for twenty-first century communities across the world.

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Archaeology of Buddhism in post-partition Punjab: the disputed legacy of Gandhāra

Himanshu Prabha Ray

After complex negotiations, which only compounded the trauma of the Partition of the Indian subcontinent on 15th August 1947 and the enormous humanitarian crisis that resulted from it, the cultural heritage of the Punjab was also divided, with Indian Punjab receiving from Lahore Museum a total of 627 Gandhāran sculptures, miniature paintings, and so on. Clearly, the sculptures of Gandhāra were accepted as the cultural heritage of undivided Punjab, a region that extended across both Pakistan and India. The nineteenth century kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), also known as the 'lion of Punjab,' with its capital at Lahore, now in Pakistan, stretched across the five rivers into present Afghanistan and Kashmir. In 1849 this kingdom was annexed by the East India Company and British military officials initiated a search for the legacy of the Greeks, especially that of Alexander the Great (Ray and Potts 2007; Hagerman 2009: 344-92). In the quest for cities established by Alexander, they found Buddhist *stūpas*, sculptures, coins, and gems. The sculptures were often seen to bear resemblance to Hellenistic art. From 1860 onwards these collections led to the development of a distinctive School of Art termed Gandhāra.

In a paper published in an edited book (Ray 2018a: 232-260), I have examined collections of Gandhāran sculptures in museums in India along two lines of enquiry: one, the nature and size of collections in some of the major museums of the country, such as the Indian Museum, Kolkata, founded in 1814 and with the largest collection of 1,602 Gandhāran objects; or the National Museum, New Delhi, which was inaugurated on 15th August 1949, two years after Indian Independence, and has 688 objects. In contrast to the Indian Museum's collection made before 1927, the National Museum continued to add pieces until 1987, thus negating the contention often made by art historians that Gandhāran art was considered 'foreign' and hence did not receive pride of place in museums of the country. Other sizable collections include those in the Government Museum, Chandigarh and the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai, though the history of the collection is unique in each case. How are these differences to be understood or contextualized? The focus on 'collecting' rather than 'collections' provides insights into the changing nature of engagement between the region of Gandhāra and the history of the subcontinent.

Several issues with reference to the region remain unaddressed: did Buddhism flourish only in western Punjab in the early centuries of the Common Era, thereby anticipating the border that was to be drawn by the British in 1947 across the Indian subcontinent and creating the present nation states of India and Pakistan? Keeping the larger agenda of rediscovery and reception of Gandhāran art in mind, this paper has two objectives: one, to underscore the centrality that the archaeology of the Greeks acquired in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, leading to a biased distribution pattern of Gandhāran sculptures and to the ensuing neglect of the archaeology of Buddhism in eastern Punjab; and second, to highlight the reception accorded to the 627 Gandhāran sculptures in Indian Punjab as India grappled with the post-Partition ordeal of resettlement of refugees. A common thread that runs through the paper is the political agenda both at the regional and national level that impacted museum collections of the Punjab. I start the paper with an archaeology of the Greeks as Europeans colonized the Indian subcontinent and searched for models in attempts to establish military control over the region. The conquest of the East by Alexander the Great and his civilizing mission presented itself to the British Raj as a cogent ideal to adapt and to follow, as is evident from H.T. Prinsep's 1842 account of the expedition now preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi.¹

¹ Mr H.T. Prinsep's *Narrative of Alexander's Expedition to India circa 1842* (For Misc. Records no. 346), National Archives, Janpath, New Delhi.

The Archaeology of the Greeks in the Indian subcontinent

Plutarch wrote that ‘by founding over seventy cities (*poleis*) among the barbarian tribes and seeding Asia with Greek magistrates, Alexander conquered its undomesticated and beastly way of life’ (*Moralia* 328E). Scholars hypothesize that Plutarch was making a rhetorical point; nevertheless, the tradition that Alexander left a mass of cities behind in Asia is repeated in ancient sources, and modern scholarship has often seen this as a natural corollary of conquest (Bosworth 1988: 245-250):

We can see how clearly they [Alexander’s foundations] dominate the map of central Asia ... [and] foreshadow the strategic requirements and economic potential on which, centuries later, the Imperial strategists of British India ... insisted ... [T]he locations of Alexander’s cities testify that the requirements of imperial rule in Central Asia are laid down by nature, and were as valid in the time of Alexander (and earlier) as in that of Queen Victoria (Fraser 1996: 189-190; edited quotation from Reger 1997).

Early Greek writings on Alexander not only provided justification for European expansion into Asia and set the tone of much of eighteenth- to twentieth-century scholarship but were also often configured to suit ideologies of Empire. Significant insights into this process are provided by the works of William Robertson (1721–1793), especially his 1791 publication titled *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*. Robertson was not only aware of British activities in India, but was also influenced by the work of early British surveyors when he chose to write about Alexander in his *Historical Disquisition*. He confesses that he turned to the topic of European conquests after reading the *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* by James Rennell, the erstwhile Surveyor General of the East India Company’s Dominions in Bengal (Robertson 1791: v). Not only Rennell, but the memoirs, and geographies by men such as Alexander Burnes, Colonel Leake, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and John Macdonald Kinneir who retraced Alexander’s route in Asia in the nineteenth century influenced the return to early accounts of Alexander, for as Robertson remarks:

the European powers, who now in their Indian territories employ numerous bodies of the natives in their service, have, in forming the establishment of these troops, adopted the same maxims; and probably without knowing it, have modelled their battalions of Sepoys upon the same principles as Alexander did his Phalanx of Persians (Robertson 1791: 25).

The nature of imperial discourse current in Britain from 1860 to 1930, the period when British imperialism was at its height, impacted the way in which images from Greek and Roman archaeology were invoked in academic literature in Britain. In turn, these influenced writings by popular authors, which sustained this discourse and moulded British attitudes towards the past (Vasunia 2007: 89-102).

The defence of the North-West Frontier of India against perceived Russian threat became a priority of the British Government in India established in 1858 and one that continued until Indian Independence in 1947. Another strand in this complex legacy of Alexander is provided by the Persian Epics the *Shahnama* of Ferdowsi (c. 940-1020 AD) and the *Sikandarnama* of Nizami (1141-1209) that survived in India up to the present and which were on the syllabus of Persian teaching institutions, especially in the Punjab. These narratives had Sikandar or Alexander as their male protagonist and a conflation of the Persian and the European tradition gradually resulted in the amalgamation of the Persian Sikandar and the Greek Alexander of Macedonia in the imagination of the Europeans. The Persian accounts of Alexander were by no means direct translations of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, Syriac or the Ethiopic versions of the *Alexander Romance*, but nevertheless presented a positive portrayal of the king. This may be due in part to the appearance of an Alexander figure, the Prophet-King Dhu’l Qarnayn (‘The Two-horned one’), in the Qur’an (early seventh century AD) (Akhtar 2007: 76-88).

Thus, it is no surprise that in 1830 Jean-Baptiste Ventura, one of the Italian officers in the employ of the Punjab court, decided to spend his money and time in opening the *stūpa* at Manikyala, which local tradition regarded as the resting place of Sikandar or Alexander's horse.

The name [Manikyala], as Ventura who was in the service of Ranjit Singh explained, meant 'White Horse' beneath which are buried extensive ruins. Searches by Ventura had yielded coins bearing Greek legends and he carried out excavations for two months into the cupola. Ventura suggested (grounded on conjecture) that upon this site stood the city of Bucephalia erected by Alexander the Great in honour of his horse. Ventura deemed it probable that the inscription on one of the relics may relate to some circumstances connected with the invasion of the Panjab by that great captain (Mohan Lal 1846: 30-32).

After his excavations, Ventura informed Ranjit Singh in a short note in Persian, that the resting place of Sikandar's horse had been discovered (Lafont 2006: 98-107). This account of the search for Alexander's city leading to the discovery of *stūpas* or Buddhist funerary monuments was repeated several times in the nineteenth century and is one that I have discussed in some detail in a recent publication (Ray 2018a). This edited book interrogates the grand narrative of 'Greek influence' of which Gandhāra has been a part. The essays in the volume underscore the diverse cultural traditions of Gandhāra and trace the links between twentieth century 'archaeological' work, histories of museum collections in India and related interpretations by art historians. It is evident that the distribution map of Gandhāran Buddhist sites in present Pakistan reflects the continuation of the bias created in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Was the presence of Buddhism restricted to western Punjab and hence it was non-existent in eastern Punjab? This is a question that is relevant and will be discussed in the next section.

Archaeology and Buddhism in eastern Punjab

Under British rule, there were major changes in the landscape of eastern Punjab, as a result of the digging of canals from the Sutlej River and the levelling of the land for agricultural purposes, but there was little interest in its archaeology, which was largely carried out in the western part in the region of Gandhāra, which is now in Pakistan. British Punjab with the five rivers, viz. the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab, and Jhelum, forming its core was at least seven times the size of present East Punjab (Siddiqi 1984: 293-312). The region had strategic importance for the British Empire: by 1875, the Indian army drew a third of its recruits from the region, even though Punjab comprised one-tenth of the total population of British India. Improved communication and the railway network in the Punjab, as also irrigation facilities, aided agrarian expansion. New cash crops such as wheat, tobacco, sugarcane, and cotton were introduced and the per capita output of all its crops increased by nearly 45 percent between 1891 and 1921 (Talbot 2007: 3-10).

Following a treaty with the Sikhs, the British felt that digging a canal between the Yamuna and the Sutlej would yield political and financial results. The principal perennial canals that the British constructed in the Punjab were the Jhelum canal; the Chenab canal; the Bari Doab canal (Bari is a unison of the two names Beas and Ravi); the Sirhind canal (Sir = head, hind = India); and the Western Jumna canal (Buck 1906: 60-67). The construction of these canals transformed the landscape in the arid modern states of Haryana and Punjab in east Punjab. Explorations and surveys as a methodology of archaeological research were yet to develop. Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893), the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, visited Sirhind in 1863-64. Though Cunningham found coins of Kanishka and those of Indo-Scythians at the site, there is little information on the ancient settlement at Sirhind (Figure 1).

It is significant that in his report, Cunningham makes no mention of the site of Sanghol as he travelled from Jalandhar to Ambala, though the eighteen metre high mound was in existence barely fifty kilometres from Sunit and Janer, the places that he visited, and it was also inhabited. In 1862, the Maharaja of Patiala had purchased Sanghol along with sixty other villages for a sum of more than seven lakhs. Sanghol, popularly known as Ucha Pind, in Samrala Tahsil, is situated about twenty kilometres from the tahsil headquarters and about forty kilometres from Chandigarh on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana highway. Until 1948 Sanghol formed a part of the former Princely State of Patiala and was transferred to Ludhiana district on January 25th, 1950.

There has been little overall interest in the archaeology of Buddhism in the Indian State of Punjab, though local residents were aware of the rich coin finds from the sites. In 1933 Shri Krishan Dev, a resident of a village near Sanghol or Uchhapind in the Patiala State, sent some coins that he had collected from the village to Shri M.S. Vats, the then Superintendent Archaeologist of the Northern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, who had conducted eight seasons of archaeological work at the Bronze Age site of Harappa until 1933-34. Vats, at this time, was interested in assessing the extent of the Harappan civilization in the Punjab and this objective was better met with his work at Ropar or present Rupnagar located at the spot where the river Sutlej enters the plains. As a result, he largely ignored Sanghol and this state of affairs continued despite finds of coins from Sanghol (Ray 2010).

Change came about gradually in the 1960s when the Punjab Legislature passed the Punjab Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1964 and around the same time the state established an archaeological cell under the Director Archives and Curator Museums on 20th December 1968 under the charge of R.S. Bisht. It was this newly established cell that started excavations at Sanghol and continued these until 1974. During extensive explorations in the region, R.S. Bisht observed a network of abandoned canals and river-beds, dotted with numerous Chalcolithic and Early Iron Age sites (Bisht 1982: 114). An analysis of plant remains from third to second millennium BC Harappan and Early Historical sites in the Haryana-Punjab plain indicates a long history of agriculture. There is evidence for summer (monsoon) grown pulses, and some rice and millets in addition to the typical winter Harappan crops, such as wheat, barley, lentils, peas, chickpeas, and grasspea (Saraswat 1997: 97-114). The cultivation of grape-vine in the Haryana-Punjab plains during the third-second millennium BC is evident from the seeds and stem charcoals of *Vitis vinifera* found at Rohira in district Sangrur of Punjab in pre-Harappan levels. At Sanghol grape seeds were recovered from the residential complex, as well as seeds and carbonized raisins identified from the fire-altars, further corroborating the importance of grape-vine in the economy as also in ritual (Pokharia and Saraswat 1998-99: 75-121). It is evident that there is adequate proof of third and second millennium BC settlement in East Punjab and that many of these sites continued well into the historical period.

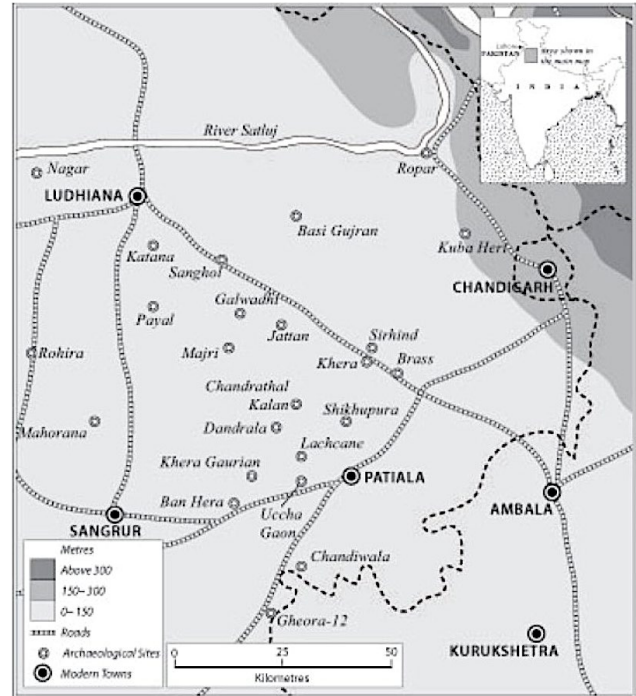


Figure 1. Map showing Buddhist sites in the Punjab (drawn by Uma Bhattacharya).



Figure 2. Plan of excavations at Sanghol (drawn by Uma Bhattacharya after Margabandhu 2010).

G.B. Sharma, a local resident who joined the Punjab Department of Archaeology, continued the work, though with gaps, until 1985 (Sharma and Kumar 1986). Given the limited resources of the State Department, both in terms of finances and trained personnel, the excavations were restricted in nature, though they did uncover many of the Buddhist monastic complexes at the site. The archaeological deposit at Sanghol is unmistakable at a series of mounds inhabited in different periods of time (Figure 2). For example, the earliest settlement was documented at SGL-2 on the western slopes of the mound and six structural phases were identified, dating from early Harappan (Bara) period (third millennium BC) with walls of houses built of mud and overlapping with Black Slipped and Grey Wares, followed by pre-Kushan and Kushan structural phases. The total cultural deposit of four metres is evident and four different localities on SGL-9, SGL-10 and SGL-12 have provided information on the Bara period habitation (Margabandhu and Gaur 1986-87: 1-4). SGL-1, also known as Hathiwara mound, yielded a deposit for six metres above natural soil dated to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Five structural phases were identified, including structures with brick paved floor with post-holes and well-built pathway.

The main monastery and *stūpa* complex was unearthed at SGL-5 dating to the period from 200 BC to AD 200, based on the finds of Kushan ceramics in the layer sealing the *stūpa* complex (Figure 3). The topmost layer yielded coins of Mohammad Shah, while from layer 2 a hoard of Kota coins was unearthed (Sharma and Kumar 1986: 6). The whole *stūpa* complex seems to be constructed on the natural soil with baked bricks (size: 34 x 23 x 6 cm) sometimes decorated with finger impressions (IAR 1972-73: 28). A second monastery and three *stūpas* were located in SGL-11 toward the north of the main *stūpa* (Figure 4). The structural complex comprised a small *stūpa*, having two circles with inner diameters of 1.45 m and 3.70 m with eight spokes, and a monastery. This being a non-habitational site, it has not yielded much pottery and antiquities (IAR 1985-1986: 67-8).

It is however to the credit of the excavators working under difficult conditions that, in SGL-5, they discovered the stone railings of the *stūpa* buried neatly in its vicinity. A chance discovery on 1st February



Figure 3. Main wheel-shaped stūpa in SGL-5 at Sanghol. (Photo: author.)



Figure 4: Stūpa complex at SGL-11 at Sanghol. (Photo: author.)

1985 was that of 117 stone sculptures from a trench close to the main *stūpa* complex (SGL-5). The sculptures include four corner pillars, fifty-eight upright pillars, seven double-sided pillars, thirty-five cross-bars and thirteen coping stones. While many of them are in a good state of preservation, others are weathered or mutilated. Several of the railing pillars are said to bear a close resemblance to those from Kankali Tila at Mathura, both in terms of dimensions and in workmanship. Unlike the Mathura railing pillars, however, those at Sanghol do not bear inscriptions, though they do present *yakṣīs* and *śālabhañjikās* involved in a range of activities, often being admired by onlookers from balconies (Gupta 1985: 41-54).

This discovery brought Sanghol into the limelight and also drew the attention of institutions of the Government of India, such as the National Museum and the Archaeological Survey of India. An exhibition of selected pieces of railing pillars from Sanghol was arranged in the National Museum, New Delhi, which was inaugurated by the President of India, and a catalogue of Kushan Sculptures was published by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Punjab, jointly with the National Museum (Gupta 1985). Large-scale excavations were conducted at Sanghol by the Archaeological Survey of India in collaboration with the Department of Cultural Affairs, Archaeology and Museums, Punjab over at least four seasons until 1990. In 1990, the Department of Cultural Affairs, Archaeology and Museums, Punjab, established a site museum to display the rich archaeological heritage of Sanghol, including several from the almost 15,000 antiquities from the site.

How is Sanghol to be studied within the larger context of Buddhism in the region of Gandhāra? A few of the railing pillars are proudly exhibited at the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, and Sanghol continues to be showcased as a success story of the post-Independence archaeological work in the Punjab. Nevertheless, there has been little recognition of the efforts of local archaeologists and most of the archival material from the Punjab State Department's excavation work remains unpublished. Nor does Chandigarh Museum highlight the distinctiveness of the Buddhist sites of Punjab or the major role played by local residents such as Sharma who lived about three kilometres to the northeast of Sanghol in the village of Bathan Kala in collecting antiquities and coins from the site and bringing it to the notice of the larger academic community. 'Born in 1929, G.B. Sharma spent his childhood picking up coins, coin moulds, seals, and pottery. In 1948, at age nineteen, he joined the Indian Air Force and served for twenty-six years. While in the Air Force, he went back to school and earned an M.A. in Archaeology from University of Kurukshetra. Sharma kept collecting antiquities throughout his life, and in 1956 he began to organize his collection as he grew more interested in archaeology' (Michon 2015: 78).

The apathy towards local knowledge in the Punjab is striking and yet it is these local initiatives that have helped sites such as Sanghol to survive. Michon rightly suggests that the Archaeological Survey of India's search for culture-historical chronology of early India and the legacy of the Harappan civilization now lost to Pakistan has fuelled archaeological work in post-Independence India (Michon 2015: 68-81). In the years after the success of Sanghol several other Buddhist sites were discovered by officers of the Punjab State Department of Archaeology. No further archaeological work could be undertaken by the Department owing to financial constraints and lack of support from the Archaeological Survey of India.

A final question however needs to be addressed: what was the nature of interaction between Gandhāra and contiguous regions of the subcontinent? Traditionally the two major centres of focus have been Gandhāra and Mathura – the first indicating Greek presence, while the latter is seen as a locus for indigenous development in art and sculptural traditions. Is this division valid? The Gandhāran relic inscription, from Sanghol (Baums 2012: no. 49) consists of two words *upasakasa ayabhadrasa* 'of the lay-follower Ayabhadra' and has already been included in the Catalogue of Gāndhārī texts (Baums and Glass 2002-: CKI 239).

The find of the inscribed relic casket and a stucco head of the Buddha at Sanghol indicate that neither in Gandhāra nor in Afghanistan did Buddhism develop in isolation. Both these regions were linked through routes, such as the *uttarapatha* or northern route leading from the subcontinent to Central Asia. The antiquity of the route is not in doubt, as is evident from the third century BC Mauryan king Aśoka's edicts in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Since 1958, several of the Greek and Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka have been discovered at Taxila, Pul-i-Darunta, Shar-i-Kuna (near Kandahar), Kandahar and Laghman. Rock Edict V alludes to the *dharmamahamatras* responsible for the establishment and promotion of *dharma* even among the *yavanas*, *kambojas*, and other residents on the western borders of his dominions (Sircar 1975: 44), while Rock Edict XIII indicates the territories of *yavanaraja* Antiyoka and others bordering his dominions (Sircar 1975: 52). These edicts are valuable indicators of communication networks in the Mauryan Empire, since both Aśokan inscriptions and the account by Megasthenes refer to the maintenance of roads. Notable among these was the Achaemenid royal road to north-west India, which Aśoka continued to maintain (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 96).

A characteristic feature of the monastic complex at Sanghol was the wheel-shaped *stūpa*. More than two dozen *stūpas* are known to have been built on the wheel-shaped pattern in South Asia and their distribution ranges from sites in Gandhāra or north-west India to those in the upper Yamuna basin, the cluster being most dense around the mouths of the Krishna and Godavari rivers (Kuwayama 1997: 119-20). The *dharmacakra* pattern appears around the first century AD. The spokes of the wheel vary from eight at Shāh-ji-Dherī, sixteen at Dharmarājikā at Taxila, to eight at Sanghol 2 (SGL-11), eight plus eight at the Jain *stūpa* of Kankali Tila to twelve plus twenty-four plus thirty-two at Sanghol 1 (SGL-5).

Nevertheless, the mobility of Buddhist monks, lay followers, and pilgrims did not preclude the possibility of Gandhāra or any other region even within India evolving a distinctive Buddhist identity and this becomes evident from an analysis of *stūpa* deposits, the use of the Buddha image on coins, and the Buddhist monastic code through which the affairs of the monastic establishments were monitored. This issue has been examined elsewhere (Ray 2018b) and need not be repeated here.

It must also be remembered that excavations at Sanghol were carried out during growing political instability and social unrest in the Punjab throughout the 1980s with rising demand for a separate Sikh State. This movement resulted in the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi's assassination on October 31st 1984 by her Sikh bodyguards. Once again religious identity had overtaken archaeology and its practice, which is an issue that I discuss in the next section.

The discourse on Buddhism and changing politics in the Punjab

Before I discuss political changes in the Punjab over the last seven decades that have impacted the reception of Gandhāra sculptures in the Chandigarh Museum, it would be useful to provide a background to the discourse on Buddhism at the time of Indian Independence. Two issues relating to the past emerge repeatedly in the writings of Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the first Prime Minister of independent India: first, the question of the unity of the country once it achieves independence; and second, the vital life-giving quality of the past, which necessarily meant that a distinction had to be made between an integrated vision of life and the deadwood of the past. Nehru successfully intertwined the symbols of the past such as the policies of the third century BC Mauryan king Aśoka with aspirations for the future of modern India (Josh 2012: 394-408). By the early twentieth century, the righteous ruler Aśoka of early Buddhist Pali texts entered historical discourse as the first emperor whose control and authority extended not only over the entire subcontinent, but who also sent Buddhist missionaries to other countries, such as Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand among others. The emperor was credited with the setting up of pillars and *stūpas* to mark sites associated with the life of the Buddha and thus established a Buddhist sacred geography extending from Afghanistan to south India and Sri Lanka.

Thus, the fascination with what may be termed the ancient Buddhist past among political leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), the first Law Minister of the Government of India, in the early twentieth century is evident. It is also apparent that Buddhism was perceived very differently by Gandhi, Nehru, and Ambedkar and it is important to bear these distinctions in mind, as they continue to impact public discourse in India to the present. For Gandhi, Buddhism was a cohesive force – *dharma*; for Nehru it was a catalyst for change – a progressive force; and for Ambedkar, it was the path to a caste-less society (Ray 2014: 233). Despite these different perspectives the enormous contributions of the Mauryan king Aśoka were not in doubt and were accepted both by politicians and historians of early India (Ray 2012: 65-68). Within this larger acceptance of Buddhism and its influence in the Indian subcontinent, how were the Gandhāran sculptures received in the Punjab? This is an issue that needs to be discussed within regional politics of the Punjab and its changing priorities.

As mentioned earlier, the post-Independence political situation in Indian Punjab was complicated by the Sikh demand for an independent homeland and the continuing political presence of the Princely States of Patiala and Nabha, with the former being one of the largest and richest. Several challenges faced the Government of India, as it sought peaceful integration of the Princely States into the Union of India as well as a solution to the Sikh demand for autonomy. Religion as the defining feature of polity had by now lost its relevance in the face of the growing demand for housing and shelter for the thirteen to seventeen million refugees. Nevertheless, resentments based on linguistic differences between Punjabi-speaking Sikhs and Hindi-speaking Hindus continued to simmer, along with calls for the Pahari-speaking region of Kangra to merge with Himachal Pradesh. After much discussion and negotiation, Punjab became bilingual in 1956 and language rather than religious identity became the defining features of the polity. As a result, the state of Punjab was once again divided along linguistic lines creating the contemporary states of Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh. The new state capital of Chandigarh became a Union Territory under the central Government in New Delhi.

In March 1948, the Government had approved the area at the foothills of the Shivaliks as the site for what was to be developed as the new capital of Chandigarh. In an attempt to break with the past and to develop an innovative master-plan, modernist buildings and new land-use patterns, the French architect Le Corbusier (1887-1965) was entrusted to design the new city. One of the buildings that he planned for the new city was that of the Government Museum and Art Gallery, which was located in proximity to the city centre in sector 17. It was planned as a sprawling and extensive campus with space for the Government College of Art and a cultural complex that could then promote Chandigarh to rival Lahore as a cultural capital.

After many ups and downs, the museum was finally inaugurated almost twenty-one years after Partition on 6th May 1968, under the initiative and active support of M.S. Randhawa (1909-1986), renowned connoisseur and patron of art, and the then Chief Commissioner of Chandigarh. Randhawa had also been responsible for the rehabilitation of refugees displaced after Partition and had thus performed dual roles. It would be worth examining the speeches made at the inauguration of the museum on May 6th 1968 about priorities in this changed political environment and at the culmination of an uphill struggle to have the museum up and running. The Museum opened with three major galleries: 627 Gandhāran sculptures; 4,000 miniature paintings mainly of the Pahari and Rajasthani Schools, as well as Sikh Art; and contemporary or modern paintings by Indian artists. In her speech at the inauguration, Grace Morley, the well-known museologist and Founder Director of the National Museum, New Delhi from 1960 to 1966, spoke of major collections of the museum of importance for India, which included the largest and finest collection of Gandhāra sculptures in the country; and the largest and finest group of miniatures of the Punjabi Pahari courts in the world.

In contrast, Kulbir Singh, Chief Engineer of the Project regretted that the archaeological materials from the Bronze Age sites of Harappa and Mohenjodaro that now formed a part of Pakistan had not been divided, depriving Chandigarh of the collections. What impact did the excavations at Sanghol have on the growth of the Chandigarh museum? How were the results of this work received? No doubt twelve of the beautifully sculpted railing pillars from the *stūpa* site at Sanghol were displayed at the Chandigarh Museum, as reported in the media: 'About the sculptures, the Director of the museum, Mr V.N. Singh, said the museum was fortunate to have the Sanghol collection on loan from Punjab. He said the pieces had been tastefully displayed in the section – Cultural Window of Punjab – and formed a priceless part of the museum's collection.'²

Nearly three decades after the opening of the museum, a colloquium on Gandhāran art was organised in March 1998 in which Dr Saifur Rahman Dar, former Director of Lahore Museum, also participated. Issues of chronology, identification of sculptures and system of classification were discussed. These deliberations resulted in the publication of a catalogue of sculptures of the museum, as also some of the papers that were presented, though the history of the collections does not find detailed discussion (Bhattacharya 2002). The provenance of 406 of the total of 627 sculptures in the museum at Chandigarh is not available. The remaining sculptures come from many sites, with a large number of images from Sikrai or Sikri. Sikri was excavated by Harold Deane in 1888 and a plan recording some of the sculptures was made. On the basis of the plans of the structures and the sculptures it is surmised that Sikri may be dated to Phase II (c. middle to late first century AD to early third century AD) and the middle part of phase III (third to fifth century AD) in a period in which narratives give way to devotional images of the Buddha and the bodhisattva. An issue that received no attention was the excavations at Sanghol and their significance in highlighting interconnections and linkages between the Buddhist sites of western and eastern Punjab in the early centuries of the Common Era. The cultural heritage of undivided Punjab has not been able to overcome the tyranny of the border created by the colonial government between India and Pakistan.

Daniel Michon (2015: 63) argues that three areas of archaeological research have received attention in Pakistan Punjab: the Harappan civilization; Gandhāran civilization; and Islamic sites. In contrast, the focus in Indian Punjab has been on the Harappan civilization and defining the extension of the second and first millennium BC cultures of the Ganga valley, the Painted Grey Ware, and the Northern Black Polished Ware, linked by some archaeologists such as B.B. Lal with the Sanskrit epic, the *Mahābhārata*. This paper has highlighted changing priorities of archaeological work in the Punjab and the role that this played in the construction of the region's past, both pre- and post-Partition. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century European and subsequently British interest in the antiquity of the region of Punjab was deeply steeped in Orientalist assumptions about the superiority of Greeks and in trying to uncover the legacy of Alexander's invasion and the cities that he established (Ray and Potts 2007: 106-107).

Mortimer Wheeler, the British Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1947 advised Indian archaeologists that, 'recent Partition has robbed us of the Indus valley.'³ We now have therefore no excuse for deferring longer the overdue exploration of the Ganges Valley. After all, if the Indus gave India a name, it may almost be said that the Ganges gave India a faith' (Wheeler 1949: 10). Presumably he was referring to Hinduism. In a similar vein at the inauguration of the National Museum of Pakistan in 1950, he urged Pakistan to adopt the Indus valley civilisation as a model for the new state. Thus, in terms of the study of the past, the two new nation states were urged to re-centre the beginnings of

² *Chandigarh Tribune*, online edition, Friday, May 16th 2003, Chandigarh, India.

³ This is a reference to the third and second millennium BC Bronze Age Harappan Civilization discovered in the 1920s at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Most of the sites of this Bronze Age civilization were located in north-west India and went to Pakistan after the Partition.

their history and archaeology. While Pakistan was seen as the natural inheritor of the third and second millennium BC Harappan civilisation and Gandhāra, India was urged to ‘discover’ its archaeological roots in the Ganga valley civilization. Buddhist sculptures from both sides of the border thus got caught up in the politics of colonial rule and its legacy.

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From colonial Greece to postcolonial Rome? Re-orienting ancient Pakistan in museum guides in the 1950s and 1960s

Andrew Amstutz

Introduction

In 1956, the National Museum of Pakistan, a recently established institution in Karachi, launched a new exhibit on Buddhist sculpture from Gandhāra to mark ‘the 2500th anniversary of the birth of the Buddha’ (*Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan* 1956: 3).¹ To celebrate this new exhibit, Pakistan’s Department of Archaeology published *Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan* to go along with the new exhibit. The anonymous exhibit organizers flagged two important elements of this ancient Buddhist sculpture for the newly created Muslim-majority nation-state of Pakistan. First, the exhibit organizers noted that in the first century BC, ‘Buddhist sages made Gandhāra a sacred region’ through the production of texts that connected ‘local sites with previous incarnations of the Buddha.’ Second, they emphasized the alleged Roman influences on ancient Gandhāra. In their own words, ‘Mediterranean influence, first from Greece by way of Iran, and more directly and for a longer period from the Roman Empire, gave Gandhāra sculpture the character which distinguishes it from all other Buddhist art’ (*Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan* 1956: 3). In turn, the exhibit organizers celebrated this ‘fusion of Buddhist forms with Mediterranean humanistic style’ as ‘forming a part of Pakistan’s own cultural heritage’ (*Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan* 1956: 4).

Elsewhere, I have discussed how some early Pakistani curators and public intellectuals publicized ancient Buddhist artefacts to make sense of Pakistan’s recent creation as a religious homeland in the mid-twentieth century through the valorization of Gandhāra as a ‘sacred region’ (Amstutz 2019). Here, I unpack the second claim of this 1956 museum guide: that ‘Mediterranean influence’ from the Roman Empire had forged ‘a part of Pakistan’s own culture heritage’ through a ‘fusion’ with ‘Buddhist forms’ in Gandhāran sculpture. Expanding upon the juxtaposition of ‘colonial’ and ‘postcolonial’ with Greece and Rome in the title, this essay begins to investigate whether a shift in attribution from ancient Greece to ancient Rome in some Pakistani museum exhibits on Gandhāra was partially shaped by the mid-twentieth century transition from empire to independence. Specifically, this essay explores how M.A. Shakur, the longtime curator of the Peshawar Museum, jettisoned a British colonial model of ‘Graeco-Buddhist art’ for an alternative model of ancient Roman influence on Gandhāra in his 1954 guide to the Peshawar Museum. I argue that a gradual shift in emphasis from alleged Hellenistic influences to Roman ones was a component of the incorporation of Gandhāran artefacts into an imagined ancient past for Pakistan. Specifically, his shift from alleged Greek influence to alleged Roman influence gave Shakur the opportunity to distance Pakistan from some of the problematic colonial framing of Gandhāra in terms of ‘western’ influence, while still positioning the ancient territories of Pakistan as somehow different from ancient India. As will be discussed in more detail below, in making this turn from Greece to Rome, Shakur built upon new archaeological scholarship in the 1940s and 1950s. In particular, Shakur’s career suggests the important place of Pakistan in wider public-facing intellectual projects to recover, commemorate, and imagine traces of ancient Rome in the Indian subcontinent that began before the 1947 end of empire and continued into the early postcolonial era.

1 I would like to express my gratitude for the generous feedback that I received during the online Gandhāra Connections workshop on ‘The Rediscovery and Reception of Gandhāran Art’ on 24th-26th March 2021 and to Professor Peter Stewart for kindly inviting me to participate in the workshop.

There is a rich and growing body of scholarly work on archaeology and nationalism in South Asia, or in Nayanjot Lahiri's compelling phrasing, the pairing of 'ancient heritage and modern histories' (Lahiri 2012: 4). This essay builds upon Lahiri's argument that the 'modern histories of ... archaeological relics' reveal some of 'the conceptions, contradictions, and conflicts of modern India' (Lahiri 2012: 5), while shifting the focus to Pakistan. It also attends to how the study of the exhibition of Gandhāran art in early post-colonial Pakistan can contribute to larger historiographical debates over the politics of the ancient past in modern South Asia or what Mrinalini Rajagopalan terms the 'polyphonous' and 'dynamic' histories of monuments in India (Rajagopalan 2016: 6).

The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century construction of an Indian art historical canon with Indian sculpture at its centre was used to critique the British colonial celebration of classical Graeco-Roman sculptures as allegedly superior to those of the Indian subcontinent (Guha-Thakurta 2004; K. Singh 2015: 110). Specifically, the rejection of Gandhāra – and a critique of the British colonial embrace of Gandhāran sculpture as influenced by ancient Greece and Rome – lay at the heart of the making of an Indian art-historical canon (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 186-187). If 'a systematic inversion of the Gandhāra bias' became an important element in the making of a national art history for India (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 186), how do we make sense of M.A. Shakur's seeming embrace of this 'Gandhāra bias' in early Pakistan?

In answering this question, it is important to emphasize that this essay does not constitute an evaluation of the archaeological accuracy of claims of Greek or Roman influence, but rather an assessment of the political and ideological contexts that shaped the production and reception of public-facing museum guides and popular archaeological publications in the early postcolonial era. However, I would like to call attention to recent scholarship on Gandhāra that has critically evaluated the search for the 'influence', 'origin', and 'essence' of Gandhāran art (Falser 2015: 10, 14, 21). Maurizio Taddei, Michael Falser, and Anna Filigenzi, among many other scholars, have brilliantly traced the changing understandings of the local and trans-regional influences on Gandhāra in earlier generations of archaeological scholarship (Taddei 1980; Filigenzi 2012; Falser 2015). While the curators and authors who are studied in this essay largely left a binary model of western influence on local Buddhist art intact in their publications in the 1950s, recent scholarship has explored alternative approaches to the development of Gandhāran art that emphasize 'cultural, aesthetic, and technical dynamism' (Olivieri and Filigenzi 2018: 90), locally adaptable 'models' and 'adaptive forms' (Filigenzi 2012: 137), 'multiple, inter-cultural links' rather than 'a presumed binary, linear relationship with the classical world' (Rienjang and Stewart 2020: vi), and the multifaceted development of Gandhāra imagery beyond a 'singular, linear process' (Rhi 2018: 49). In this vein, Himanshu Prabha Ray has argued for the substitution of a 'multiplicity of trading partners and their cross-cultural links' for an 'earlier model of the civilizing influence of the Greeks or the Romans' (Ray 2008: 210-212).

There also has been a recent scholarly turn towards examining the shifting discursive construction of the category of Gandhāran art from the colonial era to the present (Falser 2015: 3; Ray 2017: 232). In his influential article tracing 'the various attempts to appropriate the Gandhāran style for different ideological ends' (Falser 2015: 19), Michael Falser provides a nuanced analysis of the development of Gandhāra as an art-historical category, especially the deployment of Gandhāra within narratives of 'national or universal cultural heritage' (Falser 2015: 5). In turn, Falser tracks shifts during the colonial era in the attribution of Gandhāra to Greek and Roman influences, as well as the origins of critiques of these attributions (Falser 2015: 19-21, 33).² Of particular relevance for this essay is Falser's analysis of

2 Falser builds on the important scholarly work of Maurizio Taddei in the examination of Gandhāra scholarship as a 'storia ideologica' (Falser 2015: 39). In his account, Taddei played a transformative role in the 'pluralisation, diversification, and, at the same time, de-ideologisation' of the category of Gandhāran art (Falser 2015: 39).

the ‘re-nationalization’ of Gandhāran art (Falser 2015: 6) in which the dual framing of Gandhāra as ‘a peaceful element within a history of world or universal art’ and its simultaneous ‘regionalization into ... [a] quasi natural element of today’s Muslim ... nation states of Pakistan and Afghanistan’ ultimately solidified in a post-9/11 moment (Falser 2015: 49). Turning to an earlier period, this essay investigates the development of this narrative of Gandhāra sculpture as a ‘fusion’ between ‘Buddhist forms’ and ‘Mediterranean styles’ that constituted a central component of Pakistan’s ancient ‘cultural heritage’ in museum guides and popular archaeological publications in the 1950s and 1960s.

The first section of the essay below examines how M.A. Shakur, the curator of the Peshawar Museum, reworked a colonial exhibit of Gandhāran artefacts to jettison a British colonial emphasis on ancient Greek influence for an embrace of alleged ancient Roman influence in 1954. If Gandhāra served as a historical mirror in which early post-colonial Pakistani museum curators could imagine the contours of ancient Pakistan, it was a territory divorced from India and connected westward. The second section then addresses Shakur’s international collaborations with R.E.M. Wheeler and Benjamin Rowland in order to place his 1954 revisions within wider professional exchanges and popular archaeological publications. Finally, the third section engages both the endurance of this shift to Rome in Pakistan through an analysis of an influential Urdu history of Gandhāra and its disavowal.

From colonial Greece to postcolonial Rome

In 1954, Mohammad Abdul (M.A.) Shakur published a revised guide to the Peshawar Museum titled *Guide to the Peshawar Museum: Part 1*. In producing this 1954 *Guide to the Peshawar Museum*, Shakur significantly edited an earlier museum guide, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, that H. Hargreaves had written and published in 1930 (Hargreaves’s 1930 *Handbook*, in turn, was a revised edition of D.B. Spooner’s 1910 *Handbook* for the Peshawar Museum collections). Shakur’s 1954 revision of the Peshawar Museum guide offers the opportunity to assess how one curator refashioned an existing colonial Graeco-Buddhist framework for Gandhāran art in early Pakistan in conversation with scholarship from around the world.

M.A. Shakur was born in Mardan District in 1908 and lived until 1997. He served as the curator of the Peshawar Museum for three extended periods from 1938 and 1963 during the late colonial and early post-independence eras (Waqar 2019: 205, 207). Shakur began his career at the Peshawar Museum in 1932 as a research scholar and advanced to curator by 1938.³ As will be discussed in more detail below, he received a Fulbright scholarship in 1953 to conduct research at the Fogg Art Museum and to take museum courses at Harvard University (Waqar 2019: 207, 214). During his career, Shakur undertook extensive international travel for professional programmes and conferences (Waqar 2019: 207, 209). At home, Shakur was instrumental in founding the Museums Association of Pakistan in 1949, and he served as its long-time General Secretary. Alongside his curatorial work, Shakur embarked upon sustained public-facing museum and archaeological efforts through training courses, tours, and radio talks (Waqar 2019: 208). The study of Shakur’s career, therefore, contributes to Ray’s call for more scholarship on the complex relationship of both the late colonial state and the postcolonial state to archaeology in South Asia (Ray 2008: 2, 187, 219, 243).

Scholars of modern South Asia have critically interrogated the colonial categorization of the subcontinent’s diverse material heritage. In turn, recent scholarship has recovered how Indians contributed to the making and unmaking of these colonial categories and narratives around heritage sites, or as Rajagopalan puts it, ‘the subtle strategies used by colonial subjects as well as citizens of independent India to create parallel worlds of meaning around the monument’ (Rajagopalan 2016: 5).

³ I would like to thank Professor Rafiullah Khan for sharing with me this memorial essay, ‘In memory of Mohammad Abdul Shakur’ by Muhammad Waqar from the *Journal of Asian Civilizations*.

While there is a rich body of scholarship on colonial engagements with Gandhāra, as well as on more recent post-9/11 appropriations of Gandhāra for national discourses in Pakistan and Afghanistan (Falser 2015), there is little on Gandhāran artefacts and museum exhibits in the early post-independence era in Pakistan.

In 1954, Shakur edited the Peshawar Museum guide to argue that ancient Gandhāra not only was separate from India, but also was decisively influenced by ancient Rome rather than ancient Greece. It is important to remind the reader here that this essay does not assess the accuracy of these arguments, which have been contested in archaeological and art historical scholarship in the following decades.⁴ Instead it considers the ideological, political, and cultural significance of these early postcolonial claims. In this way, it contributes to Falser's wider efforts to track the 'various attempts to appropriate the Gandhāran style for different ideological ends' (Falser 2015: 19). Therefore, this section will address the narrative shifts between the 1930 and 1954 guides to the Peshawar Museum, rather than changes in the exhibit displays. Shakur claimed that there had been 'a reorganization of the entire collection' after World War II (Shakur 1954: i). However, the extent to which Shakur and his colleagues physically shifted the objects displayed in the Peshawar Museum exhibits after independence is unclear and awaits further research. In attending to the early postcolonial appropriations of Gandhāran art, it also is important to acknowledge the inherent ambiguities in the reception of archaeological and museum projects.

In compiling this 1954 *Guide to the Peshawar Museum*, Shakur drew extensively on the colonial-era *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum* that was written by H. Hargreaves, and published in 1930. In fact, the layout of Shakur's 1954 *Guide* followed the structure of Hargreaves's 1930 *Handbook*, and Shakur directly incorporated many sections from the 1930 Hargreaves edition. Both Hargreaves's 1930 *Handbook* and Shakur's 1954 *Guide* had the same chapter structure: the first chapter was titled 'History and Art of Gandhāra' and was followed by the second chapter on 'Introduction to the Buddha Legend' and finally the third chapter was titled 'The Sculptures'. While the first chapter was significantly revised in 1954, Shakur only made minor modifications to the second and third chapters. Given these structural similarities, the specific differences in the narrative provide a lens onto how one museum curator repurposed late colonial assumptions about Gandhāra for Pakistan. In the preface, Shakur acknowledged that he was particularly grateful for the feedback from Benjamin Rowland of the Fogg Museum while revising the first chapter. Shakur noted that the first chapter had been extensively rewritten with the assistance of Rowland, but that 'except for minor changes here and there', the second and third chapters of Hargreaves' 1930 *Handbook* were 'kept intact' (Shakur 1954: i.) More than this acknowledged assistance, Shakur sometimes used Rowland's words verbatim without attribution in his 1954 guide. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Shakur's narrative and argument in Chapter 1 significantly diverged from that of Hargreaves in 1930, even if the title of Chapter 1 and its subsections, 'History' and 'Art' were identical. The most significant change between the 1930 and 1954 editions was the diminished role of ancient Greek influence. At the beginning of the second subsection, 'Art,' in Chapter 1 in 1930, Hargreaves wrote 'The school of Gandhāra ... is not a natural continuation of the Ancient Indian School but exhibits clear evidence of Hellenistic influence', while insisting that 'though the form be strongly Hellenistic, the matter is Indian' (Hargreaves 1930: 7-8). Throughout the 1930 'Art' section of Chapter 1, Hargreaves discussed Gandhāra in terms of 'Graeco-Buddhist art' and its patrons, 'Indo-Greek princes' (Hargreaves 1930: 10).

While Hargreaves celebrated Hellenistic influences on Gandhāra in 1930, Shakur went in a different direction in 1954. For example, in the 1954 version of Chapter I dealing with 'History', Shakur deliberately cast doubt on 'the perpetuation of Hellenic artistic ideals in Asia' and dismissed the second and third

⁴ For an overview of scholarship that has contested arguments for Roman influences, see Ray 2008: 23, 40-41, 208, 210-212.

century BC Graeco-Bactrian kingdom – which had earlier been the source of much scholarly speculation as to the origins of Gandhāran art – as an ‘unhappy band of Hellenic exiles’ (Shakur 1954: 3). In fact, throughout this first chapter, Shakur repeated this refutation of the earlier Greek Bactrian kingdom as the origin point of Gandhāran art in favor of the Kushans in the first centuries AD (Shakur 1954: 11). In turn, Shakur maintained that ‘the influence of Alexander’s raid in West Pakistan has been greatly exaggerated, and this is particularly true of the region of Gandhāra and its art’ (Shakur 1954: 1).

While Shakur exchanged Roman influence for that of Greece, he did not fundamentally alter the basic structure of Hargreaves’s argument. Hargreaves originally framed Gandhāra art as emerging from a fusion of ‘numerous Indian or Indianized motifs’ with Hellenic ones (Hargreaves 1930: 8). In 1954, Shakur reworked this framework into a new model consisting of the fusion of western classicism centred on Rome, not Greece, with localized Buddhism that was detached from India (Shakur 1954: 6). In Shakur’s reformulation, ‘the art of Gandhāra is not in any way a continuation of this indigenous [Indian] tradition. Its geographical position and the contacts between the Kushan rulers and the West, made for the development of a style quite apart from the main stream of Indian tradition, and in certain aspects almost entirely Western in form,’ even though the thematic subject was Buddhist (Shakur 1954: 6). Not only did Shakur emphasize the non-Indic origins of Gandhāran art, but he also framed Gandhāran art as ultimately displaced by ‘the development of the truly Indian ideals of the Gupta school’ due to ‘the inappropriateness of the humanistic classic forms of Western art for the expression of the mystical and symbolic beliefs of Indian Buddhism’ (Shakur 1954: 6). Thus, for Shakur, from its inception to its decline, Gandhāran art was decidedly non-Indic. While the fusion of western classicism and Buddhist mysticism might have been ‘inappropriate’ for ‘truly Indian ideals,’ Shakur implicitly left open the possibility that it was viable for Pakistan. In her scholarship on the development of an Indian art-historical canon, Guha-Thakurta explores how an earlier generation of Indian art historians undertook ‘the erasure of foreign influence (particularly Hellenic influence) from the national body’ (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 187). In contrast, in the 1954 Peshawar Museum guide, this ‘foreign influence’ shaped the new ‘national body’ of Pakistan.

The changes in one specific formulation in the 1930 and 1954 guides illustrate how Shakur re-deployed Hargreaves’ east-west ‘union’ framework for early Pakistan. In 1930, Hargreaves had celebrated ‘the figure of the Buddha’ as Gandhāra’s ‘greatest contribution to Indian art’ through its distinctive ‘union of Hellenistic genius and Buddhist piety’ (Hargreaves 1930: 8). In 1954, Shakur revised this colonial-era ‘union’ between Buddhism and Hellenistic themes into an early postcolonial fusion of Buddhism with ancient Rome. In his own words,

The art of Gandhāra is, properly speaking, the official art of Kanishka and his successors. It is important to note that it is the style that flourished exclusively in the Northern domain of the Kushans in contrast to the much more Indian art that the Kushan Kings supported in their Southern capital of Mathura. The Gandhāra sculptures are sometimes described as Graeco-Buddhist, a term that is distinctly misleading, since it implies a derivation from Greek art. The Gandhāra sculptures have little to do with Greek art and are much more closely related to Roman art. The Gandhāra school is perhaps best described as the eastern-most appearance of the art of the Roman Empire (Shakur 1954: 7).

While Shakur rejected the troubled ‘Graeco-Buddhist framework’ in this passage, he embraced the dubious framing of Gandhāra as an artistic province of Rome. Now that Gandhāran art was an ‘official art’, a proto-nationalist art, for Gandhāra it had to be securely detached from the geography of India in this account. While acknowledging the historical reality that Kushan rule had extended into contemporary northern India, Shakur pointedly insisted that Gandhāran art ‘flourished exclusively in the Northern domain of the Kushans in contrast to the much more Indian art’ in their southern territories (Shakur

1954: 7). Thus, Shakur re-imagined the Kushans' domains as separated on a north-south axis that approximated contemporary borders.⁵

As the passage above illustrates, the role of nationalism is somewhat obvious in this 1954 narrative. Less obvious, but equally important is the displacement of ancient Greece by ancient Rome.⁶ And this was evident throughout the 1954 guide as Shakur connected specific items in the Peshawar Museum to Roman influences. For example, he insisted that 'It would not be difficult to find in the collection of the Peshawar Museum fragments of sculpture resembling Roman workmanship of all periods, from the time of the Flavians, Kanishka's contemporaries, to the very last style of Roman sculpture of the 4th century A.C.' (Shakur 1954: 8). He then argued that early images of the Buddha with datable inscriptions 'reveal a style of drapery clearly derived from Roman workmanship of the Imperial period' with reference to objects on display in the museum (Shakur 1954: 12). In turn, Shakur insisted that some images of bodhisattvas in the Peshawar Museum illustrate 'a mixture of techniques of Western origin, so that, for example, the stiff swallow-tail folds of the *dhoti* are obviously an adaptation of the neo-Attic style that flourished in Rome under Hadrian' (Shakur 1954: 10). Whereas in 1930, Hargreaves framed Gandhāran art as 'Indian' and 'Hellenistic', by 1954, Shakur had reframed Gandhāran sculpture as 'Roman', not Greek, and certainly not Indian. What informed this shift to Rome?

The answer to this question will require more research, but one potential way to explain this early postcolonial shift from Greece to Rome was that it gave Shakur the opportunity to shed some of the problematic associations of colonial engagement with Gandhāran sculpture that was especially centred on alleged Greek influence – what Rowland in 1942 termed 'the much-maligned Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra' (Rowland 1942: 223). While Shakur did not entirely shed the problematic binary framework of an east-west fusion, he did retool it in ways that served the imagining of an ancient art history for Pakistan that was detached from the body politic of India. There potentially was a competitive angle at work here as well. As Upinder Singh has discussed, independent India often positioned itself as Buddhism's ancient homeland (Singh 2016: 224-225), which might have encouraged compensatory Pakistani claims to Gandhāra.

It is important to acknowledge that Hargreaves and Shakur agreed on many points. For example, both Hargreaves in 1930 and Shakur in 1954 emphasized the transformative role of the Kushan ruler Kanishka in Gandhāra. In one passage, Hargreaves originally wrote that 'the Buddhist texts make of him [i.e. Kanishka] a second Asoka and of Gandhāra a second holy land of Buddhism' (Hargreaves 1930: 5). In 1954, Shakur slightly altered this older write-up on Kanishka. In Shakur's 1954 rendering, 'Kanishka is frequently referred to as a second Asoka because of his efforts on behalf of the Buddhist religion... Although the Buddha himself never visited Gandhāra, the text composed by Buddhist sages under the Kushans made of the region a veritable holy land of Buddhism, by the association of various sites with events in the previous incarnations of Sakyamuni' (Shakur 1954: 4).⁷ Not only did this change enhance the agency of ancient Buddhist scholars in the making of Gandhāra as a 'holy land', but Shakur, in fact, directly incorporated this phrasing, without attribution, from a 1953 publication of Benjamin Rowland.

⁵ Despite Shakur's robust rhetorical refutation of Greek and Indian influences on Gandhāran art in the opening pages of his 1954 revised guide, these references to Greece and India proved difficult to parse throughout the text of the revised guide (See Shakur 1954: 9, 14).

⁶ Nor should the impact of early postcolonial nationalism on the guide constitute grounds for dismissing its relevance. Ray makes the compelling point that the nationalist undertones in the scholarship of some late colonial Indian archaeologists have sometimes been used to underplay their intellectual significance in comparison to British colonial archaeologists (Ray 2008: 32).

⁷ This and the following quotation match the words of Rowland 1953: 77 and 79 respectively and suggest either that he was copying that publication or using language otherwise suggested by Rowland. (I am grateful to Professor Peter Stewart for drawing this to my attention.)

Some colonial-era museum officials framed the alleged ‘foreign’ influences on Gandhāra as proof of the inherent superiority of Western/European/classical arts to those of the Indian subcontinent.⁸ In 1954, Shakur embraced the alleged presence of foreign artisans in ancient Gandhāra to further demarcate its territories from those of contemporary India (Shakur 1954: 8). In his revised guide, Shakur wrote, ‘Although the presence of this material in a way provides a properly speaking Hellenistic background for Gandhāra art, it was unquestionably the introduction of bands of foreign workmen from the Eastern centres of the Roman Empire that led to the creation of the first Buddhist sculptures in the Peshawar Valley’ (Shakur 1954: 8). Again, Shakur copied this line directly from Rowland without attribution. While these claims are clearly not unique to Shakur, his direct incorporation of them into the revised 1954 museum guide illustrates how he drew on international engagements, which will be discussed in more detail below, in shifting the narrative thrust of the Peshawar Museum guide from Greece to Rome. While Gandhāra was framed as possessing a ‘Hellenistic background’ in Shakur’s account, this Greek influence had been transported to the subcontinent by ‘foreign workmen’ from the Roman Empire.

The alleged role of ancient ‘foreign workmen’ in forging ancient Pakistan’s local past was also mentioned in the 1956 exhibit of Gandhāra sculpture in Pakistan’s national museum with which this essay began. The anonymous authors of this 1956 guide argued that Gandhāran imagery was forged by ‘bands of foreign workmen from the eastern centres of the Roman Empire to provide images and decorated shrines for the devotional cult of Buddhism’ (*Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan* 1956: 4). While this 1956 exhibit insisted on the ‘foreign’ elements in Gandhāra, it also underlined how the sculptures were ‘all of schist, a native slate’ (*Gandhara Sculpture in the National Museum of Pakistan* 1956: 5). The repetition of this theme of ‘foreign workmen’ in Gandhāra and its role in imagining a distinct local artistic past for Pakistan would recur in popular archaeological publications in English and Urdu, as discussed below.

In summary, M.A. Shakur’s revised guide to the Peshawar Museum reveals the utility of a reworked east-west ‘fusion’ model in the (imaginative) process of detaching the ancient territories of Pakistan from India. At the same time, Shakur’s shift from alleged ancient Hellenistic influence to ancient Roman influence in his 1954 narrative illustrates how some early postcolonial South Asian intellectuals embraced (and repurposed) problematic colonial art historical categories after the end of empire for their own local cultural and political projects. In her work on cultural heritage, Laurajane Smith argues for heritage not as a fixed point, but instead as a ‘cultural and social process’ of active experiences and shifting meaning making (Smith 2006: 2). Even if Shakur, as a founding figure in early Pakistani museum work, very much fitted within the dominant heritage establishment that Smith critiques in her seminal study, her redefinition of heritage as ‘something that is actively made in the present’ and that is oriented towards community-making, presents us with a useful framework for better understanding the cultural and ideological work of this turn to Rome in early Pakistani museum guides (Smith 2006: 239).

Wider collaborations

Shakur’s transformation of the Peshawar Museum guide can, in part, be explained by early postcolonial efforts to craft a usable national heritage for Pakistan. However, this is not the only way to understand this transformation. Building on Lahiri’s emphasis on the importance of studying the intellectual and institutional lives of archaeologists (Lahiri 2012: 16, 19-20), this section seeks to contextualize Shakur’s editorial choices in reference to the scholarship of two of his mentors and collaborators, the previously mentioned Benjamin Rowland, the curator of the Fogg Museum, and Mortimer Wheeler, the last British

⁸ For a nuanced assessment of the gradual development of the ‘Graeco-Buddhist’ category in the colonial era and of the accompanying narrative of transformative western ‘influence’, see Falser 2015: 6-21.

Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).⁹ A review of some of Rowland and Wheeler's publications reveals that Shakur was part of a wider shift towards Roman influence in Gandhāran scholarship in the middle decades of the twentieth century. In particular, Wheeler's popular writings about his archaeological work in South Asia suggest that Shakur's 1954 guide should be contextualized within larger intellectual projects to recover traces of ancient Roman influence in South Asia in the 1940s and 1950s that began before the 1947 end of empire.¹⁰

In the preface of his 1954 revised guide, M.A. Shakur expressed gratitude to Dr Benjamin Rowland of the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University for 'guid[ing] me in rewriting the entire chapter on History and Art of Gandhāra [i.e. the first chapter of the guide.]' (Shakur 1954: i). Then in the body of the text, Shakur cited Rowland's 1942 article, 'Gandhāra and Late Antique Art: The Buddha Image,' as evidence that the drapery of Gandhāran Buddhist iconography was 'derived from Roman workmanship of the Imperial period' (Shakur 1954: 12). Rowland's arguments in his 1942 article are well-known, therefore, I will foreground certain elements that help to explain Shakur's editorial choices.¹¹ (As mentioned earlier, Shakur did more than just cite Rowland's 1942 article since he also incorporated, without attribution, some phrases from Rowland's 1953 book.)

In his 1942 article, Rowland directly posed the question of 'whether or not Gandhāra art is an offshoot of Hellenistic sculpture in the East or whether we can say that it was influenced by Roman Imperial art' (Rowland 1942: 228). He suggested that both options were probable, while leaning towards the later (Roman) interpretation. For example, Rowland argued that the robes of Gandhāran sculptures of the Buddha resembled 'the togas of the Roman Imperial statues' (Rowland 1942: 227). He also contended that 'the art of Gandhāra was affected by waves of influences coming from the West – from Rome itself and the Eastern Roman Empire' (Rowland 1942: 234). He did not propose that Gandhāra was unique in these artistic developments, but rather just one more provincial arena in the wider Roman world. Or to paraphrase Rowland, 'these artistic provinces of the Roman Empire', including Gandhāra, Armenia, Gaul, and Palmyra, exhibited 'Roman Imperial art, or, better, Roman provincial art' (Rowland 1942: 236). As illustrated by this short quotation, Shakur's 1954 presentation of Gandhāra as an artistic province of the Roman Empire clearly echoed Rowland's earlier formulation.¹² Moreover, Shakur shared Rowland's scepticism that second and third century BC Bactria constituted anything more than 'a very minor influence' on the development of 'the later Graeco-Roman school of Gandhāra' (Rowland 1942: 223). Rather than direct Greek influence via Bactria, Rowland attributed 'the great majority of these so-called Graeco-Buddhist carvings' to 'a sudden and intensive mass production' by 'artisans imported from the Roman East' between the second century and fifth century AD (Rowland 1942: 224).

Clearly Shakur's professional collaborations with Rowland informed his 1954 editing of the Peshawar Museum guide. However, I am hesitant to attribute Shakur's shift to Rome entirely to his time in the United States or to his professional interactions with Rowland, despite his previously discussed copying of Rowland's phrasing. Instead, the writings of the British archaeologist, Mortimer (R.E.M.) Wheeler, Shakur's one-time boss and frequent collaborator, suggest that Shakur's revisions to the Peshawar Museum guide in 1954 also were part of ongoing archaeological projects to recover traces of ancient

9 I am grateful to both Professor Pia Brancaccio and Professor Anna Filigenzi for encouraging me to consider the impact of Benjamin Rowland's scholarship on Shakur's writing.

10 I am grateful to both Professor Peter Stewart and Professor Rafiullah Khan for their generative suggestions to look further into the collaborations between M.A. Shakur and Mortimer Wheeler, as well as to engage in more detail Wheeler's writings on Roman connections.

11 For a discussion of some of the international collaborations surrounding Gandhāran art in the postcolonial era, see Falser 2015: 35-46.

12 Ray discusses how Wheeler framed India as a provincial arena of the Roman Empire due to trading links (Ray 2008: 191-192, 218.) Ray also argues that Wheeler often connected the history of the Roman Empire to the history of the British Empire during his archaeological work in India (192).

Rome in the Indian subcontinent. Here I will address Shakur and Wheeler's professional relationship as described in two of Wheeler's memoirs. In 1955, Wheeler published *Still Digging: Interleaves from an Antiquary's Notebook* and in 1976 he published *My Archaeological Mission to India and Pakistan*. This section does not argue that Wheeler (or Rowland) constitute the origin point of Shakur's editorial decisions in 1954.¹³ Instead, this analysis of Wheeler's popular publications suggests that Shakur, Rowland, and Wheeler were all participants in wider intellectual projects to recover, commemorate, and imagine traces of ancient Rome in the Indian subcontinent.

Wheeler was appointed as the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1943 and assumed the position in 1944. In his memoirs, Wheeler framed his Indian tenure as part of a late colonial revival of the ASI after the institutional decay following John Marshall's retirement in 1928 and the financial difficulties of the 1930s. (Wheeler 1955: 181-185). Wheeler's posting in India lasted from 1944 to 1948.¹⁴ He then took on the part-time position of Archaeological Advisor to the Government of Pakistan in 1949 and 1950 (Ray 2008: 50-51). A crucial component of Wheeler's archaeological work in Pakistan was assisting in the establishment of the new National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi (Wheeler 1955: 219-220, 225-227; 1976: 81). Wheeler then returned to Pakistan in 1958 to continue excavations at Charsada, near Peshawar (Wheeler 1976: 17-18).

Wheeler is already the subject of robust scholarly discussion. In her brilliant study of Wheeler's life (and afterlives) in Indian archaeology, Ray rigorously assesses the multifaceted archaeological impact of Wheeler on India with particular attention to his institutional, methodological, and thematic legacies (Ray 2008: 3-4, 253). Locating Wheeler at a 'a critical juncture in the subcontinent's history' (Ray 2008: 1), Ray argues that his publicity campaigns contributed to the 'sustained interest in Indo-Roman trade and other ceramics' and the propagation of a 'model of imperial Roman domination' in South Asian archaeology (Ray 2008: 201, 212). In turn, Wheeler is an important figure in Falser's account of the shifting ideological discourses surrounding Gandhāran art. Falser argues that Wheeler played an important role in pluralizing interpretations of Gandhāran art beyond the older 'Graeco-Buddhist' category and in early efforts to construct Pakistan's 'cultural identity ... from archaeological evidence' (Falser 2015: 635-36).

Both of Wheeler's memoirs note his professional relationship with Pakistani archaeologists, including M.A. Shakur, F.A. Khan, Ahmad Hassan Dani, and Waliullah Khan, who will be discussed in more detail below (Wheeler 1976: 18, 33-34, 85). Wheeler also detailed his professional ties with many prominent Indian archaeologists and museum officials (Wheeler 1976: 89-90). While Wheeler does not extensively discuss Shakur in his memoirs, Shakur does appear in his narration of two memorable events: a 1946 cultural mission to Afghanistan to explore future Indo-Afghan archaeological and cultural collaborations and the 1949 founding of the Pakistan Museums Association (Wheeler 1947: 57). In September 1946, Wheeler, Margaret Collingridge Wheeler, Norman Edgley (the president of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal), and Shakur, as the representative of the provincial government of the North-West Frontier Province, undertook an Indian cultural mission to Afghanistan (Shakur 1947: 1; Wheeler 1955: 208). Both Shakur and Wheeler wrote about their 1946 Afghan mission. Shakur published the book *A Dash Through the Heart of Afghanistan*, while Wheeler published an article in *Antiquity* (Shakur 1947; Wheeler 1947: 57-65). In their accounts, Wheeler and Shakur emphasized the importance of Afghan archaeology to understanding the Indian past and anticipated future Indo-Afghan archaeological collaborations (Shakur 1947: 2; Wheeler: 1947: 57, 64-65).

¹³ As Ray notes, there is an often 'startling' inattention to the impact of Indian archaeologists who worked during the late colonial era (Ray 2008: 219). This essay contributes to ongoing efforts to foreground South Asian voices and global interactions surrounding the excavation and exhibition of Gandhāran art.

¹⁴ For a detailed analysis of Wheeler's tenure at the ASI, see Ray 2008: 20-23.

Ancient Rome was a preoccupation for Wheeler throughout his tumultuous career in late colonial India and early postcolonial Pakistan.¹⁵ In his first memoir, the 1955 *Still Digging*, Wheeler insisted that initial Indian skepticism surrounding his appointment as Director-General, which was centred on doubts over the suitability of his scholarly background in Roman Britain, was allegedly answered by the discovery of links to the ancient Roman Empire across the Indian subcontinent (Wheeler 1955: 187, 194). As Wheeler noted, a sceptical Indian legislator in the Legislative Assembly in New Delhi had challenged his appointment with the pointed question of ‘What has Roman Britain got to do with India?’ (Wheeler 1955: 194).¹⁶ More broadly, Wheeler seems to have had a fractious relationship with the Legislative Assembly during its oversight of his activities (Ray 2008: 62, 230).

Wheeler retrospectively narrated his time in South Asia in terms of the discovery and quantification of traces of ancient Roman ties (Wheeler 1955: 206, 209). I do not want to suggest that Wheeler had an exclusive, or even primary, focus on Gandhāra in his accounts of his time in South Asia. In fact, in the short chapter on ‘Pakistan, 1947-1950’ in his 1976 memoir, Wheeler focused on Indus Valley Civilization sites not Gandhāra (Wheeler 1976: 81-88). However, when he did address Gandhāran art, he clearly framed Gandhāra within a wider history of Roman traces in the subcontinent. In turn, Wheeler primarily attributed the alleged Graeco-Roman elements of Gandhāran art to Roman influence via maritime trade (Ray 2008: 203-204).

In his memoirs, Wheeler adopted a conflicted approach to South Asian archaeologists. He veered between caustic critiques of Indian bureaucrats and enthusiasm for some younger Indian archaeologists whom he helped to train (Wheeler 1955: 187, 189, 207-208, 214). Ray has thoroughly assessed Wheeler’s often bigoted attitude towards Indian students and archaeologists during his time in India and his diminution of their contributions in later publications (Ray 2008: 63-65). While Wheeler adopted a paternalistic and often patronizing tone towards his Indian archaeological students, he also admitted that ‘they taught me much’ and celebrated their subsequent professional accomplishments (Wheeler 1955: 198). In turn, alongside troubling cultural stereotypes, he maintained friendships with some of his students and protégés (Wheeler 1955: 214).

Wheeler spilled considerable ink on the 1944 Taxila School of Archaeology that he organized as a field-school for junior Indian archaeologists at the famous archaeological site. He retrospectively touted this multi-month gathering at Taxila as a unique training opportunity for a new generation of South Asian archaeologists (Wheeler 1955: 197-198; 1976: 27-41). In turn, Wheeler framed it as a vital moment in the rediscovery of traces of ancient Rome in the Indian subcontinent that began in this heritage site where ‘more than twenty-three centuries ago the rulers of west and east forgathered in friendly and intelligent interchange’. He presented his 1944 archaeological field-school as ‘the final urge for renewed co-operation in a modern context’ (Wheeler 1976: 32).¹⁷ Wheeler claimed that a direct result of this Taxila gathering was the initiation of a systematic study of where Roman coins had been located across the Indian subcontinent (Wheeler 1976: 35). Wheeler maintained that the ‘identifications of Roman wares’ in Pondicherry and Madras in 1944 in the wake of the Taxila field-school constituted some of the greatest finds ‘in the total story of recent Indian archaeology’ (Wheeler 1976: 41). How did Wheeler’s zeal for discovering Roman traces in South Asia shape his subsequent work in Pakistan in 1949 and 1950?

One potential answer is found in Wheeler’s musings upon the paradoxical opportunities which Pakistan’s newly drawn borders presented for popular archaeology in *Still Digging*. I do not want to suggest that

15 For a more in-depth discussion of how Wheeler’s earlier research on Roman artefacts in Britain informed his time in South Asia, see Ray 2008: 40-41, 187-212.

16 Ray incisively critiques the appointment of Wheeler as Director-General of the ASI despite his lack of training in Indian archaeology and the presence of many Indian archaeologists who were qualified for the position in 1943 (Ray 2008: 43).

17 For a more detailed discussion of Wheeler’s understanding of possible Roman links to ancient Taxila, see Ray 2008: 201-208.

Wheeler welcomed the 1947 partition. He mourned the division that partition wrought through the ASI and noted that partition's removal of trained Muslim archaeologists to Pakistan was 'dictated solely by the accident of creed, without any sort of regard to professional qualification' (Wheeler 1955: 219). At the end of his short article on the 1946 cultural mission to Afghanistan, Wheeler had recorded his hopes for future cross-border archaeological collaborations between (undivided) India and Afghanistan in the exchange of materials, students, and scholars since 'the history and prehistory of Afghanistan and India form an indivisible unit' (Wheeler 1947: 64-65). These Indo-Afghan exchanges were significantly curtailed by the 1947 partition.

However, once Pakistan was created in August 1947, Wheeler embraced the opportunities for public engagement with archaeology that were presented by the new country's seemingly divergent political geography and archaeological heritage.¹⁸ In his own words, 'To me, the experience was primarily of interest as an opportunity for seeing, in many aspects, a new and peculiarly bizarre political experiment in the first formative stage'. Despite the seeming disjuncture, Wheeler insisted, 'But the living contest of ideology *versus* geography on so vast a scale is enthralling and significant drama to any humanist, and a ring-side seat was a privilege of a memorable kind [*italics in the original.*]' (Wheeler 1955: 220). Of particular significance for our argument here, he was intrigued by the interesting work of forging a viable ancient history for the new nation-state, and he maintained that 'persistent attempts to make Pakistan aware of a past, to root its present hopes and sufferings in some sort of traditional and confident subsoil, were not altogether without effect' (Wheeler 1955: 220). Wheeler's early postcolonial anticipation echoes Upinder Singh's analysis of the 'reinvention' of Buddhist sites in nineteenth and twentieth century India (Singh 2016: 223). In particular, Singh underlines the important role of ancient Buddhist artefacts as 'anchors' and 'revitalized ancient remains' in modern cultural and religious projects in India (Singh 2016: 225).

Wheeler did not begrudge the public-facing efforts, or what he termed the 'necessary propaganda,' that his new job in early Pakistan entailed (Wheeler 1955: 223). In fact, he relished the opportunity to cultivate a mass Pakistani audience for 'the archaeology of their own country' (Wheeler 1955: 222). Ray draws attention to the centrality of the promotion of public engagement with archaeology to Wheeler's career even before he came to India (Ray 2008: 21, 60, 244). Ray notes a dissonance between Wheeler's 'professed scientific temper and the unabashed use of archaeology in the creation of national identities, especially in the post-independence period' (Ray 2008: 65). Alongside this dissonance, one possible interpretation for Wheeler's embrace of 'necessary propaganda' was that he saw postcolonial South Asian nationalism as a useful vehicle for his ongoing archaeological popularization projects.

M.A. Shakur was an important collaborator in these early endeavors to forge new audiences for museums and archaeology in Pakistan. In his memoir, Wheeler fondly remembered his efforts, along with 'my energetic friend M.A. Shakur', in the establishment of the Museums Association of Pakistan in 1949. Shakur and Wheeler organized the inaugural session for the new association in Peshawar, which was followed up by a bus tour of the Khyber Pass (Wheeler 1955: 222-223). In Wheeler's telling, this inaugural session served as 'surely the most remarkable outing in the world-history of museum associations' (Wheeler 1955: 223).

Wheeler returned to the opportunities presented by Pakistan's seemingly incongruous new political boundaries and ancient heritage in his discussion of the opening of the National Museum of Pakistan in

¹⁸ In this same vein, Ray notes the institutional and programmatic continuities in the ASI across the Partition divide, despite the significant individual suffering of displaced archaeologists (Ray 2008: 47, 236).

April 1950.¹⁹ In his narration of the museum's opening, Wheeler veered between an acknowledgement of 'the scarcity of exhibits' in the newly minted museum that was only partially concealed by carefully placed flowers and officials during the opening ceremony and the celebration of 'a sufficiently interesting nucleus of material' that was stashed 'in odd corners', including objects 'from Buddhist Taxila, from Buddhist shrines in Bengal'. Wheeler seemed to relish how the juxtaposition between pre-Islamic artefacts and the flag and map of Pakistan in the new museum created 'a disparate complex from which to mould a new political unit of immense size and strategic world importance!' (Wheeler 1955: 226). If the paradox of Pakistan's geography and politics was a productive space for connecting the past and present, what was role of alleged ancient Roman influences in this public history project?

A potential answer is found in Wheeler's 1954 volume, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. As the title suggests, this book centred on the discovery of material and literary traces of Roman commodities and artistic influences in Asia, Africa, and northern Europe beyond the empire's formal borders (Wheeler 1954: 1-5). In the preface, Wheeler claimed that the book had a distinctly Indian origin with the 1945 discovery of an ancient Tuscan dish on the Bay of Bengal by one of his students (Wheeler 1954: v). In the sections on Gandhāra, Wheeler sought 'the basic explanation of Romano-Buddhist art in north-western India' (Wheeler 1954: 171). Despite the enduring ambiguities around the chronology of Gandhāra, Wheeler framed Gandhāran sculpture in *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* as either 'Romano-Buddhist art' (Wheeler 1954: 171) or 'Romano-Indian art [that] was confined to Buddhist patronage' (Wheeler 1954: 166).²⁰ Of particular interest for our argument here, Wheeler maintained that Gandhāran materials in Pakistan and Afghanistan reveal that 'more than merely scatter[ing] Roman bric-à-brac across the world', these ancient Roman links had resulted in 'a cultural contact which had a far-reaching effect upon the history of art' (Wheeler 1954: 4).

A noticeable feature of Wheeler's narrative about Gandhāran art in *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* was the search for its origins, or as he phrased the question, 'How did the Western elements reach the Gandhāra studios?' (Wheeler 1954: 169). Wheeler's answer presented parallels to Shakur's contemporaneous writings. Like Shakur, Wheeler expressed considerable skepticism that earlier 'Indo-Greek kings' of Bactria had any significant impact on the making of Gandhāran art since their influence would have 'dwindled to vanishing point'. Instead, Wheeler insisted that the 'Western clothing, Western types' and 'Western grouping' that were 'transmuted by the Buddhist craftsman and given a Buddhist context' in 'the sculptors' workshops of Gandhāra' were enabled by 'Kushana commerce' (Wheeler 1954: 168). In this 1954 formulation, 'new contacts' and the 'Khushana commerce which brought into and through the kingdom objects and craftsmanship of the Roman empire' were responsible for forging this 'non-native' 'idiom or "language" of the new Buddhist art'. (Wheeler 1954: 168). Not only does Wheeler detach Gandhāra from India as 'non-native', but he also suggests the transformative impact of foreign craftsmen from the Roman Empire. These arguments echo the claims of Shakur (and Rowland) that were discussed in the preceding section.

In the chapter of *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* on Pakistan and Afghanistan, Wheeler conceded that although excavations at Taxila did not reveal significant traces of Roman commerce, instead 'there were other contacts with the West, of a kind which had in fact, as we shall see, a far more enduring influence upon Asian thought or expression' (Wheeler 1954: 158). Specifically, he maintained that sculpture and stucco artefacts from Taxila reveal 'a recurrent Western, Graeco-Roman element of a striking and significant kind' (Wheeler 1954: 160). Wheeler framed specific objects from Taxila and Gandhāran sites

¹⁹ As Ray discusses, before his early postcolonial involvement in founding the National Museum of Pakistan, Wheeler had been an advocate for establishing a national museum for India (Ray 2008: 22).

²⁰ As Falser notes, while Wheeler shifted from an earlier narrative of direct Western impact to 'international borrowings' via Roman trade and other avenues, he still fundamentally framed Gandhāran art as generated by 'an artistic vacuum at its very centre' (Falser 2015: 35-36).

in Roman terms: a ‘stucco head’ that ‘would be in place on any Graeco-Roman site, and has nothing in origin to do with the art of India’ and another stucco head that is ‘unmistakably reminiscent of 2nd-century Roman portraits’ (Wheeler 1954: 160-161). Paralleling the Pakistani museum guides discussed earlier in this essay, Wheeler maintained that other artefacts from Taxila, Peshawar, and their environs illustrated a fusion of Indian and Western styles – or in his words, ‘a strange and revealing mixture of India and the Mediterranean with a distinctly Western theme’ (Wheeler 1954: 161).

While Shakur is not referenced in *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* and he does not cite Wheeler’s text, both authors make strikingly similar claims about the impact of Roman influences on Gandhāra and often employed similar phrasing. This suggests that Shakur and Wheeler were both participants in overlapping public-facing intellectual projects that aimed to foreground the alleged traces of ancient Roman influence on South Asia in the middle decades of the twentieth century.

It is important to acknowledge that Wheeler set clear limits on the possibility of ancient links between the Roman Empire and Gandhāra. While he celebrated Gandhāra as evidence of ‘the most penetrating and enduring impact of the Roman upon the Eastern world’, he also critiqued earlier Western scholars for exaggerating its significance (Wheeler 1954: 165). For example, he dismissed claims of mutual Christian and Buddhist artistic influences as ‘a good deal of nonsense’ (Wheeler 1954: 165). In turn, he noted that the endurance of Gandhāran schist sculpture has ‘tended to concentrate attention upon it and perhaps to exaggerate its relative importance’ (Wheeler 1954: 168). Wheeler also criticized how the alleged toga-like elements of Gandhāran renderings of the Buddha ‘is commonly exaggerated by modern writers’ (Wheeler 1954: 168). This scepticism pre-dated Wheeler’s work in Pakistan since in his account of the 1946 cultural mission to Afghanistan, he emphasized that ‘every caution is necessary in speculating as to the precise origin of a phenomenon such as the “Afghan-Gandhāra” school of Buddhist art’ (Wheeler 1947: 60).

This section has sought to place Shakur’s 1954 turn from Hellenistic to Roman influence in the revised guide to the Peshawar Museum’s collections in a wider intellectual context through his professional collaborations with Rowland and Wheeler. In turn, a careful reading of Wheeler’s popular archaeological publications suggests that Shakur’s 1954 reframing of the Peshawar Museum collection could be understood as part of a wider project of recovering traces of ancient Rome in South Asia that began before partition and continued after the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Moreover, Wheeler’s time in early Pakistan indicates the importance of international collaborations in the imaginative potential opened-up by the juxtapositions of Pakistan’s recently drawn borders and ancient artefacts.

Echoes and disavowals

M.A. Shakur subsequently curtailed his enthusiasm for the ancient Roman connections that he had celebrated in the revised 1954 guide to the Peshawar Museum’s collections. In a later publication, the 1963 *Gandhāra Sculpture in Pakistan*, Shakur raised doubts about the Roman influence on Gandhāran art.²¹ Although Shakur included a number of passages from his 1954 guide in this 1963 publication, in 1963 he emphasized ‘local traditions’ over Graeco-Roman influence (Shakur 1963: 1). In his own words, while ‘the character of this art is still a matter of dispute ranging from Graeco-Buddhist to Romano-Buddhist ... the underlying spirit is, no doubt, Buddhism of a kind that found favour in Gandhāra.’ (Shakur 1963: 3-4).

Despite Shakur’s subsequent distancing from the ‘Romano-Buddhist’ framework, it endured in some Pakistani publications on Gandhāra. For example, in 1988, Muhammad Waliullah Khan published

²¹ For a discussion of changes in Shakur’s understanding of the origins of Gandhāran art, see Amstutz 2019: 251-252.

Gandhāra: Guzishṭa Pānch Hazār Sāl ki Sarguzisht (*Gandhāra: An Account of the Past 5,000 Years*). Muhammad Waliullah Khan's 1988 Urdu publication echoes many of the arguments that Shakur put forward in Peshawar in 1954 and that Wheeler had made in the 1950s.²² This 1988 Urdu guide was published by Lok Virsa, Pakistan's Folk History Museum. Khan had been trained by Mortimer Wheeler, and he dedicated his 1988 volume to the memory of Wheeler, whom he referred to as 'my benefactor' (Khan 1988: v). The multi-generational scholarly connections between Wheeler and Khan (as well as Wheeler and Shakur) evoke what Hoda Bandeh-Ahmadi has termed in another context 'intellectual kinship' (Bandeh-Ahmadi 2018). This Urdu guide built on Khan's decades of research, writing, and restoration work with Pakistan's Department of Archaeology and Museums. Khan had represented Pakistan in international conferences on the protection of ancient monuments in 1957, and he played an important role in designing some early museum exhibits on architecture in Pakistan. He was well into his eighties when he published this Urdu text on Gandhāra (Khan 1988: i-iii).

Khan did not hesitate to suggest connections between ancient Gandhāra and contemporary Pakistan. In his 1988 introduction, Khan pitched his book as filling what he saw as the need for more histories of Gandhāra that addressed the historical, geographical, social, religious, and architectural angles beyond a narrow focus on sculpture (Khan 1988: 7). In his own words, 'In this book, my own endeavor was to present the past of Gandhāra ... Gandhāra as a nation and country (*quom aur mulk*), its arts, political revolutions and the results that came from them, the rise and fall of religions in Gandhāra ... this country's ancient greatness and restoration' (Khan 1988: 7).

The arguments over Roman versus Greek influences that had animated Shakur in 1954 were echoed in Khan's text in 1988. Khan maintained that Gandhāran art should be referred to as 'Indo-Roman art' since 'now in it the Roman influence was greater and more direct' (Khan 1988: 75). Khan went on to claim that thanks to the Kushan connections to the Roman world, the Roman influence on 'Gandhāra's art of Buddhist sculpture-carving' had grown (Khan 1988: 76). He insisted that the 'special connections' between the Kushan and Roman governments were sustained by Kanishka, and, 'therefore, the influence that we find on the Buddhist sculpture-carving and the sculpture-making that we find in the Kushan era, that is not particularly Greek, but Greco-Roman ... In comparison to Greek art, Roman art is to a great extent more stimulating' (Khan 1988: 76). Echoing Shakur, Khan framed the sculptural arts of 'Gandhāra' and 'Hind [India]' as separate (Khan 1988: 71). More to the point, Khan insisted that Gandhāran sculptural art was 'in opposition' to 'the Indian art of sculpture carving' (Khan 1988: 72).

Much like Rowland, Shakur, and Wheeler, Khan imagined a lost history of Roman artisans in Gandhāra. Khan maintained that the Roman government in West Asia 'and the experts in the arts from there' were the basis for the 'advancement' of Gandhāra's Buddhist arts (Khan 1988: 77). In his exuberant phrasing, 'the Kushan era was the golden era for the Buddhist religion and the art of sculpture-carving, and in this era, the art of Greek-Roman sculpture-carving was excessively imitated' (Khan 1988: 78). In his own words:

Even though this claim cannot be proven in written sources and from history that an expert artisan was loaned from the Roman government or happened to come, all of the details of Roman art that can be found in the Buddhist art of the Kushan era certainly substantiates that claim for us that some Roman expert artisans of sculpture-making and sculpture-carving surely came to Gandhāra in this era' (Khan 1988: 77).

This passage is revealing, less for the veracity of the claims, which as Khan admits cannot be found in written records, but rather for the creative potential opened-up by the possibility of Roman artistic

²² I am grateful to Professor Rafiullah Khan's suggestion to further consider the possible professional connections and intellectual ties between Mortimer Wheeler, Waliullah Khan, and M.A. Shakur.

influences and Roman experts in Gandhāra. In making these arguments, Khan echoed both his teacher, Wheeler, and Shakur. For example, in the previously discussed *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontier*, Wheeler speculated that a crucial, if undocumented, element in what he called ‘the making of Romano-Buddhist art’ was the presence of ‘small numbers of Western craftsman’ (Wheeler 1954: 171). Once again, the celebration of the alleged non-Indic origins of Gandhāran art was conjoined in Pakistani museum guides and publications to the embrace of external artistic expertise and expert migration.

Conclusion

This essay contributes to ongoing efforts to study ‘the modern histories of ancient sites’ in South Asia (Singh 2016: 216), particularly in terms of what the exhibition of Gandhāran art in early post-colonial Pakistan can contribute to larger historiographical debates over the politics of the ancient past. Specifically, it argues for the significance of the interactions, collaborations, and exchanges between Pakistani archaeologists and their colleagues around the world in shaping the early postcolonial trajectory of public-facing archaeology in Pakistan. As discussed in the preceding pages, a close analysis of the editorial changes to the guide of the Peshawar Museum in 1954 suggests that a shift from alleged Hellenistic influences to Roman influences was part of the incorporation of Gandhāran artefacts into an imagined ancient past for Pakistan. However, this was not the entire story. Shakur’s international collaborations with (and borrowing from) Rowland and Wheeler indicate that his specific efforts in the Peshawar Museum were part of wider and continuing archaeological efforts to document Roman traces across South Asia. More broadly, this essay explores how some early postcolonial South Asian public intellectuals appropriated problematic colonial art-historical hierarchies and then redeployed them for their own political purposes and cultural projects.

Scholars have explored the ways in which institutions, intellectuals, and political actors in independent India engaged with the subcontinent’s ancient past, yet Pakistan often has been left out of this story. In her excellent study of the making of India’s national museum, Kavita Singh observes that while European national museums could exhibit a ‘trans-national tale of the history Western civilization,’ including ‘ancient Greece and Rome,’ formerly colonized nations were limited to the material objects that fell within their national borders (Singh 2015: 107–108). And this is largely true of Pakistan. However, as illustrated by Shakur’s reworking of the Peshawar Museum’s collection of Buddhist sculpture in 1954 and Khan’s 1988 Urdu guide, some Pakistani curators and archaeologists diverged from this framework. While in early postcolonial India, the construction of the exhibits of the new National Museum of India centred on efforts ‘to recover India’s indigenous traditions, untainted by “external” influences’ (Singh 2015: 117), in Pakistan, external influences beyond Islam also were carefully curated. As I noted elsewhere, what makes the selective and often quixotic embrace of ancient Buddhist artefacts in early Pakistan particularly interesting is that it stands outside the assumed contours of religious nationalism in modern South Asia (Amstutz 2019).

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Stories of Gandhāra: antiquity, art and idol

Shaila Bhatti

Then they attacked the British for the way they treated Indian antiquities. This was really too much, but I kept my anger. All their museums grew out of British care – what of all that Lord Curzon did? Schools, universities, museum – all British – all created by the British. And look at the Lahore museum[sic], how it has deteriorated – neglected – since they took over.

(Bolitho 2007:64)¹

Whilst researching for his biography on Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, Hector Bolitho recalled the above post-lunch attack by the Editor of the *Sind Observer*, the Governor of Sind and Pir Pagaro on the departed colonials, deeming it highly unfair considering all that the British had bestowed upon the Indian Empire. For our purposes here, Bolitho's paternalistic concern for the rapid 'deterioration' of the presumed wealth colonialism left behind as inheritance – education, cultural modernisation, and archaeological discoveries, in the newly established Pakistan of the 1950s, is interesting. If we pick up on the latter then what were these antiquities and museums that were lovingly 'created' by the British and now maltreated by Pakistanis? In this paper, I shall investigate this accusation by telling three stories of re-discovery and reception around one colonial collection and museum – namely the Gandhāra collection at the Lahore Museum (Figure 1).²

Beginning with museums, institutions like the Lahore Museum are mid-nineteenth century colonial introductions to India that aimed initially to visualize the culture, history, economic products, and manufactures of India through material evidence that was assessed in terms of expansion, trade, but also social and cultural evolution (Bhatti 2012). The Lahore Museum was set up as a museum of the Punjab and one collection that has been central to its development from the beginning, in terms of acquisitions and prestige, has been the Gandhāra collection (Figure 2). But this link between the two is not only of collection and display but a coincidence of their parallel histories of discovery and establishment in mid-nineteenth-century India. It was in 1852 that examples of Yusafzai sculptures, as they are referred to in early Lahore Museum reports,³ were first re-discovered and re-interpreted⁴ by the colonials (Abe 1995: 70), and in 1856 that the Lahore Museum was founded to house and display these initial artefacts.

1 My gratitude to Naeem Dilpul for inadvertently providing me with this quotation by sharing portions of the book.

2 I would like to make clear that I am not interested in purely archaeological museums in Pakistan such as Taxila (1918) or Peshawar (1907) that were connected explicitly to the archaeological explorations in their vicinity during the early twentieth century, as part of Lord Curzon's revival and modernization of the Archaeological Survey of India and its activities in the sub-continent under John Marshall (Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, or ASI, 1902-1928). Museums like the Lahore Museum were older repositories of Gandhāran objects and their role in the story of 're-discovery' is as important. See Bhatti 2012, for an in-depth history and ethnography of the Lahore Museum.

3 For example, Baden-Powell 1868.

4 I avoid calling this discovery and interpretation as the Gandhāran objects had previous lives (Hoskins 1998) that were ignored because of a lack of understanding or archaeological record to support a definitive modern interpretation.



Figure 1. The Lahore Museum. (Photo: author.)



Figure 2. The Gandhāra Gallery at the Lahore Museum. (Photo: author.)



Figure 3. (a) Sikri Stūpa in the Gandhāra Gallery at the Lahore Museum. (b) Detail of panel of the Sikri Stūpa. (Photos: author.)



Figure 4. Jātaka of *The Dream of Queen Maya* in the Gandhāra Gallery at the Lahore Museum. (Photo: author.)



Figure 5. Display Case exhibiting sculptures of bodhisattva/the Buddha in various poses in the Gandhāra Gallery at the Lahore Museum. (Photo: author.)

Today, the gallery is dominated by the Sikri Stūpa (Figures 3a and 3b) that sits in its centre, lit from below to illuminate the relief-work on the drum with a descriptive note on a stand for those interested to learn more. One side of the gallery tells the life-story of the Buddha as depicted in the *jātaka* 'scenes' (Figure 4) executed in stone relief – from pre-incarnation to enlightenment and finally death. Other cases in the gallery hold statues and busts of bodhisattva and Buddha in various poses (Figure 5) with the most prized being the 'Fasting Buddha' (Figure 6). The Buddha image dominates the gallery and is available for close inspection in the eight sculptures on open display along the western wall (Figure 7). Stucco and terracotta heads (Figure 8) provide some colour in what is otherwise a heavy gallery of grey schist and



Figure 6. 'The Fasting Buddha' on display in the Gandhāra Gallery at the Lahore Museum. (Photo: author.)

dark wood. In order to better understand these artefacts and the various meanings they have held in the past and generate today, we need to go back to a time when, as the so-called 'founder of Gandhāran Studies' Alfred Foucher, stated: '... the oldest known Buddhas are those which we have encountered in the "House of Marvels," as the natives call the museum of Lahore' (Foucher 1917: 117-18, cited in Abe 1995:74).



Figure 7. An Open Display of Gandhāra in the Gandhāra Gallery at the Lahore Museum. (Photo: author.)



Figure 8. Stucco and terracotta heads from Gandhāra on display in the Gandhāra Gallery at the Lahore Museum. (Photo: author.)



Figure 9. The building popularly known as Tollinton Market, Old Anarkali, Lahore that was the site of the 1864 Punjab Exhibition and Lahore Central Museum (1864-1894).

From Yusafzai to Graeco-Buddhist sculptures at the museum

Museums in colonial India were set up to illustrate, as Markham and Hargreaves note,⁵ India's '...oriental manner and history ... peculiarities of art and nature' (Markham and Hargreaves 1936: 5). The idea was to create 'knowledge for the self' with museums acting as an 'artefactual census' (Cohn 1996) for Company officers to learn from visually. So, what is the story for Gandhāran objects in Lahore? The exact nature of the early Lahore Museum collections is not clear but a memorandum of 1863 entitled *The Local Museums of the Punjab*, by the physician Dr H. Cleghorn, calls them 'chiefly antiquarian' (*Home Proceedings* 1863: 5). Following the Durbar of October 1864, after the Industrial Exhibition it was decided to renovate the building as the new location for the Lahore Central Museum (Figure 9), with the first half containing Raw Produce and Natural History and an annexe of antiquities (Baden-Powell 1868). During this time, district-level officers were asked to cooperate in the expansion of museum collections, in particular antiquities that were considered the most important of the acquisitions, and so donations by officers such as F.H. Cooper of carved friezes and fragmentary sculptures from Yusafzai are recorded (Baden-Powell 1868). Such additions expanded the museum materially but created dilemmas of space and expertise as well as categorization and display of these 'antiquities' as no clear idea existed. Museum 'curators' possessed interest but lacked subject knowledge and so relied on conjectural interpretation as B.H. Baden-Powell, then 'curator' of the Lahore Museum, commented (Baden-Powell 1869: 520):

The great bulk of the sculptures are ... purely ornamental ... others again endless repetitions of Buddha, surrounded by his pupils – standing – seated – in the attitude of teaching and so forth... And these, if described by competent persons, would possibly throw some light on the history of Buddhism.

This inadequacy of knowledge did not prevent the Yusafzai collection from being prominently highlighted and slowly becoming 'interesting' and 'valuable' to colonial officers.⁶ But it was with the arrival of John Lockwood Kipling in 1875 to head both the Lahore Museum and Mayo School of Art that the Yusafzai sculptures became both archaeological evidence and artistic representation of a higher form of art. Kipling's presence was fundamental as he transformed the Lahore Museum from a material storehouse into an organized museum with sections that promoted his interests, including colonial art education and mixed equally, if not more, with craft reformation in India couched in the socialism of the British arts and crafts discourse.⁷ Kipling was passionate about countering the influence of industrialization on local crafts and employed the museum to visualize ideal 'models' and 'samples' that would educate Indian craftsmen, students, and the public on traditional skills and aesthetics.⁸ To this end the Yusafzai antiquities for Kipling were doubly potent as they represented firstly, the skills of past Indian craftsmen and secondly, for the colonial self, aesthetics of an ancient civilization linked to the west through Hellenic characteristics.

The significance of this collection for Kipling can be further gleaned from his description of the museum in a guide meant for British officers and tourists that he co-authored with the colonial administrator T.H. Thornton in 1876 entitled *Lahore as it Was*. In this guide the museum is described as a 'must see' site for all visitors to the Punjab, and for the reader particular attention is given to '... the chief and most valuable possessions of the museum' – namely the sculptured remains from Yusafzai – whose

5 At this time Sydney Markham was Empire Secretary of The Museums Association and Harold Hargreaves former Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

6 Ibid.

7 Led by the likes of British craftsmen and designers such as William Morris and Owen Jones with various proponents in India including George C.M. Birdwood who championed Indian crafts that were made within traditional small-scale village settings as outlined in his *The Industrial Arts of India* (1880).

8 Letter from J.L. Kipling, Principal, Lahore School of Art, to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated May 27, 1875 (1875:466), Government of Punjab, Home Department Proceedings, June 1875, No.2, 462-466. Punjab Secretariat Archives.

value lay in ‘elucidating the obscure early history of the Buddhist faith’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 79). The museum section of the guide provides details on some sculptures but largely attempts to interpret the sculptures within a treatise on art, world histories, and western civilizational hierarchy. The entrance hall is stated to have some ancient pillar bases founded by Alexander Cunningham, then Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India, near Shah-ki-Deri, which are said to show traces of Greek influence and so ‘... belong to the series of Graeco-Buddhist sculptures’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 75-76). Next, the connection to the other Alexander – the Great – is charted out as well as exploration of the Yusafzai country and tribes, their ancestry and land occupation acknowledging that ‘... the district is thickly strewn with antiquarian remains ...,’ and so ripe for future excavations (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 77).

Kipling and Thornton state that ‘...all [sculptures] refer to Buddha, presenting him as a saint or teacher, or relating some incident of his life’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 78). And this led them to compare some of the smaller compositions to the sculptured groups on continental cathedrals, noticing that the former ‘...work is frequently firmer and the human figure is drawn with more freedom and variety than in much medieval work’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 78). Interestingly, this appraisal with western religious art is immediately turned into differentiation when associating with Hindu sculpture as Kipling and Thornton identify (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 78):

All [Graeco-Buddhist sculptures] are essentially different in style and character from the normal type of Hindu sculpture, which is easily recognized even by superficial observers. Generally, it is monstrous and unnatural, for the confusion and mysticism of Brahmanical ideas have resulted in the creation of a mythology which seems to defy plastic representation.

The human form was singled out for analysis and stated to be truthful and ‘never monstrous’ holding ‘greater purity’ and precision due to the visible Greek influence on the sculptors who studied life forms, whereas Hindu Art was unnatural and hideous ‘... even in compositions where the human form seems to be constructed of bolsters, beads and sausages’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 78).⁹ The Hindu pantheon was not judged alone, an inter-Buddhist image hierarchy was also set up with likeness raised to the Ajanta frescos, but again the Yusafzai work was praised as higher due to ‘... firmness, precision and knowledge’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 78).

The distinction and distance between Hindu and foreign-influenced sculptures enabled Kipling and Thornton to easily appreciate the Yusafzai sculptures due to their classical influence from the Greeks and realist western art. However, this interpretation is surprising given Kipling’s penchant for championing Indian aesthetics against foreign influence in modern India, but if we stick a little longer with the guide, we learn that even the pure was deemed polluted as ‘... these works hardly need to be placed in juxtaposition with pure Grecian art to show that their authors, like the rest of the Eastern world, were but imperfectly Hellenized by the Macedonian conquest. The fixity and repose of the Eastern mind are not easily disturbed’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 79). So, the impression of western civilization is traceable but corrupted in the East with the sculptures showing signs of hybridity and syncretism, which deteriorated further during Kipling’s own time: ‘Greece herself became orientalisised. And now the faint traces of her hand and mind on these sculptures – a few coins, and some vague traditions still linger in the Yusafzai valley – are all that remain to remind us of the supreme effort of the Macedonian power’ (Kipling and Thornton 2002 [1876]: 79). This ambivalent assessment that Kipling exhibits in the guide is perhaps his way of differentiating between admiration of ancient Indian art that is connected to him through Hellenic conquest and a present in which this art has degenerated, but ultimately his views remain ambiguous.

⁹ See Mitter 1992, for various interpretations and discourses around Hindu art during the colonial period.

Beyond the guide musings, in the actual museum Kipling remained interested in knowledge production and dissemination of his Yusafzai collection and this is nowhere more apparent than in the infamous fictional encounter, although its reality base cannot be denied, between the Tibetan Lama and Lahore Museum Curator scribed by his son Rudyard Kipling in *Kim* (1912).¹⁰ This meeting of two 'keepers' of knowledge in the Lahore Museum is significant as it allows the idolatrous ascriptions given to the Yusafzai sculptures to be outright removed and replaced with positivist knowledge that is shared by the Curator with the Lama. The western lens of the Curator eventually helps the Tibetan Lama interpret the objects in the museum to assist him on his onward pilgrimage. This inequity of meanings gives modern representation and interpretation the upper hand and lends credence to the colonial discourse as providing 'real' knowledge about Buddhism that even devotees of the Buddha were blind to.¹¹ What this fictional meeting illustrates is that in relation to other collections the Yusafzai antiquities were revered and prized owing to assumed formal links with European aesthetics. However, it was also the 'magical quality' (Abe 1995: 65) of the museum space that allowed a 'supernatural' essence to surround the antiquities, whereby fragments, heads, and pieces of sculpture were re-contextualized and re-ordered according to a western taxonomy and imagination, but in terms of interpretation, theories of art/aesthetics, history/civilization, and race were all being mixed to produce ambivalent or opposing accounts and experiences.

The museum then became a site where visual knowledge about Buddhism's past could be fixed materially and delineated to scholars, officers, and the public alike, however, in the realm of early western scholarship it was not so easy to pin down as conflicting agendas existed. In fact, the Yusafzai sculptures were being deciphered less to learn about India and more to indulge in a re-discovery of the colonial/western selves' past. The sculptures were not symbolizing a mysterious or exotic other but seen to be a missing part of western art history that needed to be reclaimed intellectually and physically and this was being bolstered by the rise of classical archaeology as a modern mode of scientific enquiry in India. This 'disciplined' approach also led to the Yusafzai sculptures now being termed 'Graeco-Buddhist Art' by the linguist G.W. Leitner after his exposure to the Lahore Museum collections in the late nineteenth century (Abe 1995). However, as Stanley Abe examines through his discussion of various orientalists – scholars and archaeologists such as Alfred Foucher, Edward Bayley, Vincent Smith and James Fergusson – interpretation was not straightforward and colonial discourse's engagement was marked by an 'unstable splitting' (Abe 1995:69). This multi-pronged approach to understanding Gandhāran art included finding the origins for the appearance of the Buddhist image, to shifts between orientalist views on Indian creativity and originality, to modern colonial knowledge firmly stating that all artistic worth was an extension from the west and stances in-between. But this decipherment was never totalizing and a definitive account of the extent and type of influence Greek contact had on Gandhāran stylistics remained elusive, as it does even today (Abe 1995). Despite various attempts through archaeology, the museum, and colonial discourse to construct an uncontested narrative around the Graeco-Buddhist Art, it was tenuous, and the situation can be best described in the words of Stanley Abe who writes that it was a '... discourse that "discovers" an unknown naturally blank object, Gandharan Art, and inscribes it with the signature of classical Greek episteme of the west, while in the same motion, effacing all trace of authorship' (Abe 1995:70).

Back to the Lahore Museum in the latter part of the nineteenth century where collections continued to grow, especially the Yusafzai sculptures that kept benefitting from findings of the Archaeological Survey of India under Alexander Cunningham and the 1878 Indian Treasure Trove Act, which aimed to retain Indian Antiquities within India; the latter enabled over 800 duplicates and new sculptural

10 See Abe 1995 and Bhatti 2012 for an analysis of this encounter for art history and colonial anthropology/museology.

11 Within the colonial discourse on Gandhāran Art, Tibetan Buddhist Art was seen as a degenerate form of Gandhāran Art revealing the presence of an intra-Buddhist representation hierarchy implicitly associated with knowledge and aesthetics.

examples to arrive at the museum.¹² Once again, this appetite for discovery, display and interpretation caused a glut in the number of artefacts, with the museum having little idea of how to accommodate these profuse riches. Suggestions were made to send duplicates to the Indian Museum in London but Kipling preferred sending casts, exhibiting a manifest possessiveness in recognition of the value of authenticity for the museum and its collection.¹³ In 1884, the Industrial Arts, Museums, and Exhibitions Resolution No. 239 was drafted to re-organize Indian museums with the purview to promote trade through Indian industrial art. This mission that the Lahore Museum now had to follow was not new, as it was cited as an exemplary museum in this regard under Kipling, but again this did not mean that non-industrial art collections suffered; they were being continually added to and in 1891-1892 Gandhāran sculptural fragments arrived following Aurel Stein's visit to Ranipat in Yusafzai.¹⁴ Aurel Stein's own success as an archaeologist in the region between Gandhāra and Central Asia in part is owed to his time in Lahore between 1889 and 1899 under the tutelage of Kipling; Stein was fascinated by the collection at the museum, which inspired him in his early archaeological expeditions (Abe 1995). The tours that archaeologists like Stein embarked on were fecund and reaped ample material that was sent back to museums, however, unsystematic excavations in the field meant it was difficult for those in the museums to order and date what had been amassed. And so, despite the allusion to modern science, casual excavations created difficulties for museum acquisition, display, and interpretation.

Nearing the end of the nineteenth century many things changed for the Lahore Museum; weakening colonial rule and voicing of new political and cultural ideologies would eventually lead to new stories also being formed around Gandhāran art. But in 1893, J.L. Kipling retired and the Lahore Museum got a new home in the Jubilee Institute, its current location (see Figure 1). In Kipling's last annual report,¹⁵ he outlined plans for the re-organization of the museum's collection, in particular the Buddhist antiquities and specifically the positioning of the Sikri Stūpa (see Figure 3a) that was to be fixed on a drum of brickwork to ensure the relief work was visible at eye level (see Figure 3b); and it remains so until today. Most of the collections were moved after Kipling left but his ideological influence and material additions remained iconic in the history of the Lahore Museum, especially for the Gandhāra collection as he ensured that original sculptures would remain in the museum's possession and inspire many future archaeologists who were initial explorers in this field as well as those interested in history and culture among the Indian elite. One example of the latter is the account of Syad Muhammad Latif Khan Bahadur (Latif 2005 [1892]) on Lahore, which was meant to be a guide to the city for the 'young reader'. Latif was Extra Judicial Assistant Commissioner of Gurdaspur, a Fellow of Panjab University and a Member of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and in his account of Lahore and its museum he confirmed the importance of the Gandhāra collection by placing it at the foremost among the '... antiquities of the region ... [with] the Græco-Buddhist sculpture of Yusafzai valley [taking] the first place from their great numbers as well as from their high artistic and historical value' (Latif 2005[1892]: 273). Latif further demonstrated not only the influential quality of the colonial discourse around Gandhāran art among elite Indians, but its dissemination and acceptance when he provides an aesthetic reflection of the Gandhāran sculptures whose affinity to Kipling's own thoughts stated earlier is unmistakable (Latif 2005[1892]: 369):¹⁶

The faces and profiles carved in soft micaceous sandstone, though not the work of Greek artists themselves, are all, in their detail and character, Greek. They almost all refer to Buddha representing him as a sage, a king, a hermit, a recluse, a teacher, a mendicant, or describing some

12 An extract from Mr Ferguson to the Secretary of State dated August 11th 1878. In Home Proceedings, General Department, No. 157, July 1878. Punjab Secretariat Archives.

13 In addition, for Kipling, this was one way to save on freight costs and also give practice to students at the art school in carrying out work in clay and plaster modelling.

14 *The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1892-1893* (1893). Oriental and India Office Collections V/24/3047 V/24/3048. 15 Ibid.

16 Latif met with Kipling when he visited the Lahore Museum and his account on the city of Lahore contains a large section on the Gandhāra collection as well as numerous illustrations.

incident in his life. The simplicity and faithfulness with which the human form is delineated, and the spirit, freedom and variety displayed in the design, present a strong contrast to the normal style of Hindu sculpture. The essential difference to be observed is in the purity and vitality of style and accuracy and truth with which the details are rendered. The scenes of actual life and living movements are portrayed with fidelity to nature, and exhibit no mean dramatic power on the part of the artists.

After Kipling, the Lahore Museum's collections experienced modernization attempts and periodic reclassification in accordance with the idea of creating a public museum. To this end a new management committee was formed and lectures devoted to scholarly subjects were delivered, including archaeology. This was backed by the second Museums Conference held in Madras in 1912, where discussions stressed the need for visual education of the public through archaeological collections that excelled in provisioning a history of Indian civilisations.¹⁷ In light of this the Lahore Museum utilized its Gandhāra collection to produce two publications: a catalogue of the Buddhist sculptures in the museum, for 'intelligent visitors' and a more popular *The Buddha Story in Stone* by H. Hargreaves (1914), which was also translated into Urdu.¹⁸ In 1929, new galleries were added to the Lahore Museum including one for the Gandhāra collection which was always kept as one of the main galleries throughout. Lionel Heath, who followed Kipling as Curator, in his departing article *The Lahore Museum in 1929* iterated the vital role of the museum in retaining valuable collections in India, which might have otherwise '... left the country to enrich foreign museums or private collections'.¹⁹ This affection for and connection to antiquities such as the Gandhāra collection was now firmly instilled in the museum with even Indian curators with their 'second-sight' (Prakash 1992: 70), reaffirming this stance. Sita-Ram, who was the first Indian Curator of the Lahore Museum, emphasized the need to create space for historic, archaeological, and artistic education.²⁰ Perhaps these stances could only be sustained within the confines of the museum in India and the colonial centre, as the institution allowed for the confusion and contestation that existed around the origins, history and aesthetic positioning in western art discourse to be absent in the displays, only evidencing the uncontrolled and extempore acquisition of Gandhāran objects. However, with the twentieth century underway this control of the museum's four walls was fading as new voices and interpretations were beginning to pervade the dominant narratives around Gandhāran sculptures as others – Indians and colonials – were arguing for a very different story to be told.

Voices were being raised for the rights of Indian subjects and agitations took place in the demand for self-rule, and all of this also impacted the cultural sphere where there were moves against foreign influence, power, rule, ideologies, and goods. In relation to Gandhāran art, which had so far been theorized in colonial discourse as being explicitly linked to the west and its classical aesthetic to a greater or lesser degree, reversal was now under way as Alfred Foucher noted: 'At present, owing to aesthetic bias or to nationalist rancour, it is the fashion to make the school of Gandhāra pay for its manifest superiority by a systematic blackening of its noblest production' (Foucher 1917: 136-37, cited in Abe 1995: 80). This seemingly new bias emphasized the superiority of Indian arts – both industrial and art *per se* – and its ideals that were now aligned with debates around the creation of Indian nationalist aesthetics and the constitution of not only a modern Indian art but also homemade goods in the *Swadeshi* movement. There were many strong proponents behind this modern revival of Indian aesthetics including art educators, ideologues, and historians within and outside of India such as the British art educator Ernest Binfield

17 See the *Report of the Museums Conference Held in Madras* (1912: 2). Punjab Secretariat Library, U.9.

18 *Report for the Working of the Central Museum, Lahore, for the Year 1913-1914*. Punjab Secretariat Library, E.52.

19 Reprinted in the *Lahore Museum Bulletin* 7/1 and 2:19-22 (1994).

20 *Report on the Working of the Central Museum, Lahore, for the Year 1935-36* (1936). Oriental and India Office Collections V/24/3047 V/24/3048.

Havell,²¹ whose work at Madras and Calcutta Art Schools created shifts in the discourse around Indian art education and aesthetics, whilst the Sinhalese metaphysician cum philosopher of Indian art Ananda Coomaraswamy²² made it his mission to educate the west about Indian Art. In their publications, both Havell (1920) and Coomaraswamy (1908; 1927) respectively called for a rejection of colonial aesthetics, reversal of the interpretation scale, and reinsertion of Indian spirituality to create a nationalist art, an Indian Art. This advocacy was not just anti-imperialist and anti-western but also an explicit reaction against the history, art, and culture of India as projected by the imperial archaeologists thus far. Both Havell and Coomaraswamy rejected the interpretations of archaeologists such as Alexander Cunningham and James Fergusson as denigrating of Indian Art as inferior and proposed the reinsertion of the Indian ideals of art contra the domination of the archaeologists and their interpretation of material evidence along western concepts of history and art. In a 1908 lecture entitled *Influence of Greek on Indian Art*, Coomaraswamy stated (Coomaraswamy 1908):²³

... [I] have come to believe that the influence of Greek on Indian Art, however extensive at a certain period, was ultimately neither very profound nor very important. It is the concentration of attention upon the effeminate and artistically unimportant work of the Gandhāra school that has given undue prominence to the Greek influence... The main difficulty so far seems to have been that Indian Art has been studied only by archaeologists. It is not archaeologists, but artists, or at any rate students of art rather than of archaeology, who are best qualified to judge of the significance of works of art considered as art, and to unravel the influences apparent in them. No artist, familiar with the true genius of Indian art, could suppose that the work of the Gandhāra school was the real foundation of Indian figure sculpture, or that Indian art could have been founded on such a decadent Graeco-Roman basis.

It is here that one gets a geographical and ideological re-location of the Buddha image's origin in India to Mathura (Abe 1992), and other Buddhist centres such as Sanchi and Amarāvati as part of this indigenous revival that saw Gandhāran art as having emerged out of and influenced by Indian aesthetics rooted in Hindu ideals and not an aberration from it through its adoption of classical Greek stylistics, as Coomaraswamy points out (ibid.):

It would be idle to deny that the Gandhāra and the Amarāvati sculptures exhibit the results of the strongest classical influence. The Greek influence at Sānchi Barāhat, and Mahābodhi is much less evident. It is, however, true to say that the early schools are compounded of Assyrian, Persian, Hellenistic and Indian elements. The point is not that classic influence was absent, but that it was itself decadent, and at best un-Indian, and that nearly all that is good in later Indian art is there in spite of it.

Implications of this resonate even today in postcolonial South Asia in terms of the positionality of Gandhāran art in the subcontinent's history – art or otherwise – but such assertions did not find their way to disturb the mode of representation and interpretation of the Gandhāran objects in the Lahore

21 Ernest Binfield Havell was Superintendent at the Madras School of Art from 1884 to 1894. He then moved to Calcutta and on 6th July 1896 joined the Government School of Art and was principal from 1896 to 1905. In Calcutta he championed Indian art ideals as a corrective to the British art education that was based on the western art ideals. With the help of Abanindranath Tagore he foregrounded Indian styles of art appreciation and education and this would lead to the foundation of the Bengal School of Art and eventually the development of the modern Indian painting.

22 Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, born in British Ceylon, was greatly influenced by the work of E.B. Havell, and at the beginning of the twentieth century changed careers to reclaim Indian art from its misinterpretation by colonial art educators and the west generally as delineated in his extensive publications and lectures. Coomaraswamy became first Keeper of Indian Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1917, later becoming a Fellow for Research in Indian, Persian, and Mohammedan Art in 1933.

23 Read at the Fifteenth International Oriental Congress, Copenhagen, August 1908.

Museum; instead this was resolutely announced with the violent colonial departure in the shape of Partition in 1947 for northern and eastern India.

New beginnings – postcolonial Gandhāran art

Pakistan emerged as a new nation on 14th August 1947, but for the Punjab the story was one of splitting and severing of a united self.²⁴ Not only were people being violently separated from their families, homes and land, the Lahore Museum's collections after ninety-one years were to be split between India and Pakistan. The antiquity and art collections were especially sought after by the new nations for their identity and heritage symbolism. However, unlike the clear-cut boundary on the map, ground realities were less organized and it is unclear what the division of objects was based on. What is clear is that objects did migrate to India as they now reside in Le Corbusier's designed Government Museum and Art Gallery in Chandigarh, India. It is stated that about forty percent of the collections were deaccessioned and transferred on 10th April, 1948, which included Gandhāran sculptures that are now exhibited in one of the museum's seven permanent galleries; the collection is entitled 'Gandhara Sculptures' and is separate from the section on Indian sculpture. Here I cannot go further into how these sculptures have been utilized in postcolonial India, but the gallery separation itself alludes to the marginalization of Gandhāran art in India since the pre-independence construction of Indian art making it difficult for the sculptures to be incorporated into the national narrative, whilst they remain too valuable to simply abandon.²⁵

Although this split left the Lahore Museum physically decapitated and '... deprived of its history and objects' (Rehmani 1994: 3), in London Gandhāran antiquities were on display as part of the *Exhibition of Indian Art: Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan* at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1948.²⁶ In planning this exhibition the original focus was a survey of nearly five-thousand years of Indian Art, however, following 1947, the academy reluctantly included Pakistan in the title. At this time the British Government played down any nationalistic associations for either India or Pakistan, but the lopsided involvement of Indian scholars, artists and the Indian Government versed in the logic and importance of the nationalistic need for an Indian art and aesthetics, along with the victory of self-rule and the political birthing of liberated India, all lent themselves to push the focus predominantly upon establishing Indian art as 'fine art' on the international platform contra earlier aesthetic discriminations of the Victorian era and firmly placing it with the realm of world art as an art history that extended back to 2,400 BC. And so, craft and art representing European influence, association, or interpretation such as Gandhāran art was side-lined in the exhibition with a few pieces displayed on the periphery in the Small Room as *Gandhara Sculpture and Minor Antiquities*, preceded by a much larger and central exhibition of *Gupta and Medieval Sculpture* in Gallery 3 and *Kushan Sculpture: Sculpture from the Amravati Stupa* in Gallery 2.²⁷ Gandhāran art was thus eclipsed by examples of Gupta, Amarāvati, and Mathura Buddhist art,²⁸ representing a reversal of the colonial tenets of Indian Art, judgement, taste, and hierarchy. This recovery meant that Gandhāran art was now doubly disconnected firstly, from the Indian Art canon, and secondly, with the relegation of these sculptures as from Pakistan and so given a peripheral place in the exhibition plan. Gandhāran art in this last act of colonial culture, fell from its civilizational peak as well as becoming incommensurable for Indian art, whilst Pakistan remained unable to lay claims as it was devoid of a nationalist historiography of art or culture, as yet.

24 For a feminist reading of the violence of Partition and the difficulty of recalling in oral history see Butalia 2000.

25 See further Himanshu Prabha Ray's paper in the present volume.

26 My thanks to Gemma Sharpe for helping me out by sharing her copy of this catalogue amongst other readings during Covid-19.

27 See *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Art Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan 2400 BC to 1947 AD (1947-1948)*.

28 *Ibid.*, especially the Introduction.

Back in Pakistan the need of the hour was to consolidate and imagine the new nation post-partum (Anderson 1991) – its ideology, identity, history, and cultural roots. Once again, the museum was ideal for visualizing and disseminating these in a civilizational chronology leading to the natural birth of a nation, and a hopeful step took place in 1950 with the construction of the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi. But Pakistan’s official nationalist rhetoric from its birth has glossed over its internal cultural intricacies and diversities preferring instead to romantically monumentalize its emergence by attaching itself to the sub-continent’s Islamic history and culture that begins with the arrival of Arab traders in the seventh century, rising with the Mughal Empire, and culminating with the advent of Muslim nationalism that is seen as the final step in the creation of Pakistan. In this filtered timeline of nationalist historiography, Muslim heritage and Islam are purified of foreign influence and attack, so civilizations like Gandhāra are incorporated as pre-Islamic and not directly incorporated into the national ideology and culture. As Homi Bhabha states: ‘In “foundational fictions” the origins of national traditions turn out to be as much acts of affiliation and establishment as they are movements of exclusion and cultural contestation’ (Bhabha 1990:4). However, this imagining was delayed in the case of the Lahore Museum, as post-partition it was in a ‘dormant’ phase (Rehmani 1994) characterized by total neglect and disorder both physically and organisationally. Gallery floors were said to be cluttered with piles of objects as recalled by a local resident – Ejaz Ali – who as a teenager remembered going to the Museum and cataloguing objects strewn in a haphazard manner, including Gandhāran sculptures and fragments.²⁹ It was only in 1965, that the Lahore Museum grabbed the attention of a bureaucrat – B.A. Kureshi – who intervened to renovate and refurbish the Museum. There was some further de-accessioning but overall objects of historical and cultural significance were retained to enhance the Museum’s conversion into a ‘cultural and historical museum’ (Qureshi 2000) centred around antiquities including the Gandhāra collection.

One lack that has beset Pakistan since its inception has been the formation of a cultural policy with each decade almost having its own guiding principles on national culture handed down either by military dictators or politicians. Ayub Khan promoted his cultural censorship in the 1960s, then came Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s nationalization and Islamic socialism of the 1970s, followed by Zia-ul-Haq’s Islamic conservatism that replaced Pakistan’s secular vision, which for arts and culture meant a period of ‘cleansing’ non-Islamic forms and replacing them with pure Islamic aesthetics. Since then, there have been periods of democratic rule interspersed with Musharaff’s military-cum-autocratic reign but again no real gains towards an ostensible cultural policy at a national level. The Gandhāra collection at the Lahore Museum has endured and survived these various regimes with their varying degrees of control on cultural representation, interpretation and nationalism; even the moment of radical cleansing during Zia’s era did not manage to displace or disavow it as non-Islamic. This presence is also due in large part to the inconsistent investment and attention given to museums by the authorities in Pakistan, allowing the Lahore Museum to retain a representational democracy of the nation’s true complex history and heritage that is elusive in other nation-building projects. So, what are the contemporary museum stories around the Gandhāra collection?

The Lahore Museum today employs its colonial heritage to promote itself as a cultural icon in terms of national patrimony, believing itself to be Pakistan’s premier cultural institution of rich cultural heritage (Rehmani 1999) and staking out a regional and global positioning that is aided greatly by collections such as Gandhāra and its masterpieces such as the ‘Fasting Buddha’ (Figure 6). And it is precisely the Gandhāra collection that allows Pakistan to extend beyond its own borders. For example, in 2002/3 there was the touring exhibition called *The Art of Gandhara, Pakistan* that travelled to Japan. This exhibition was to commemorate fifty years of diplomatic relations between the two nations and strengthen ties, creating peace initiatives and bi-lateral cooperation. And more recently on 2009-2011, there was

²⁹ Interview with Ejaz Ali by the author, 30th October 2002.

another touring exhibition of 200 objects loaned for the first time to museums in the European cities of Berlin, Zurich and Paris, and then to the US for one exhibition in New York, by the Lahore Museum and National Museum, Karachi. The exhibition travelled variously named³⁰ and displayed previously unseen Gandhāran art pieces from Pakistani museums. However, this was not all, rather the exhibitions had a more political underlying purpose, which was to counter the image in the west of Pakistan and Afghanistan as iconoclastic cultures following the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in 2001. This was achieved by the inclusion of the 3D reconstruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in the empty spaces left by the Taliban destruction. Adding this more contemporary re-construction of heritage alongside the Gandhāran pieces acted as a step towards reclaiming lost world heritage and re-connection of the civilizational link between this part of the world that was rendered a barbaric terrorist hotspot once again with the west. Within the Lahore Museum itself there are regular visits from tourist groups, academics, dignitaries, and increasingly Buddhist monks from South Korea, Sri Lanka, and Japan who come specifically to see the Gandhāra collection and discuss opportunities for cultural exchange and fund-related programmes as well as religious pilgrimage/tourism. These cultural re-connections make the Gandhāra collections a highly valued cultural capital that means it simply cannot be ignored by the museum or the state, and so by default gains inclusion into the national body by providing historical depth to Pakistan's origin, inheritance, and comparative religion without disrupting the larger Islamic ideological framework. This presence of Gandhāra collections within Pakistan is vital for the nation as a type of salvage heritage that quietly contests the singular narrative of Pakistan's past and heritage yet allows its heterogenous past to remain alive and exist for a possible future that can be built on cultural pluralism.

Unlike the fate of the Bamiyan Buddhas in 2001 (Flood 2002), the Gandhāra collections in Pakistani museums have never suffered but today are being overtly employed by the state and international cultural organizations to counter Pakistan's image on the world stage, particularly the recent essentialized linkages with terrorism following the events of 9/11. In 2005, President Musharaff was keen to promote a soft image of Pakistan through culture and tourism and recently the same has been echoed by Imran Khan. During such moments the government has formed alliances with international heritage organizations such as UNESCO to implement programmes centred on developing cultural/religious tourism. Both in 2002 and 2019 projects aimed at promoting a positive image of Pakistan abroad through a re-presentation of archaeological sites and antiquities in museums including the Lahore Museum, especially its Gandhāra collection, have been formulated.³¹ Ultimately, these are part of a larger World Bank interest in developing a Buddhist Tourist Circuit across South Asia with the Lahore Museum, as in the past with Alfred Foucher or Aurel Stein, being the first port of call on the discovery trail. Whether this culminates in anything constructive or if there is any impact of such heritage tourism on the museums, archaeological sites, and society in Pakistan is yet to be seen. However, recognition on the international stage of this move towards seeing and promoting Pakistan and Gandhāra through a touristic lens has reached far, with even the UN General Secretary António Guterres noticing, who during his visit to Pakistan in February 2020, commented that the nation had moved from 'terrorism to tourism,' indicating that in his opinion the baggage of 9/11, which Pakistan had been carrying in

30 *Gandhara: The Buddhist Legacy of Pakistan. Legends, Monasteries, and Paradises* at Gropius Museum, Berlin; *Buddha's Paradise: Treasures from Ancient Gandhara* at the Museum Reitberg, Zurich; *Pakistan: Where Civilizations Meet: 1st-6th Century AD Gandharan Arts* at the Guimet Museum; and *The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan: Art of Gandhara* at the Asia Society in New York.

31 At present (6th-16th October 2021) UNESCO, World Bank, Planning and Development Board Tourism Department, Government of the Punjab, and Punjab Tourism for Economic Growth conglomerate are holding a ten-day cultural programme called *Gandhara: Roots and Routes* that involves indoor and outdoor activities at the Taxila Museum. Indoors there are exhibitions including one under the erstwhile name alongside a photographic exhibition that is part of joint activities with local research institutions such as CD2, focusing on the links between Gandhāra and Jainism, with visits to sites such as Sirkap and Mohrā Morādu Site, a panel talk, and craft stalls on the lawns of the Taxila Museum.

global politics, media, and popular sentiments since the beginning of the twenty-first century was being transferred to a new arena.³²

At a local level Buddhist heritage is also being re-appropriated for these exact reasons, with the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) showing an active resurgence in field archaeology and educational improvements at both Taxila and Swat Museums, funded by Italian and Swiss governments respectively. In April 2020, the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums in KPK planned to hold a *Festival of Gandhara* in order to attract international tourism, particularly religious tourism, as well as making Buddhists around the world aware of the Buddhist heritage in the province.³³ Parallel to the tourism is the promotion of KPK as a place ‘where every stone has a story’, that is the ‘cradle of civilisation’ and ‘melting pot of cultures’,³⁴ which is centred, once again, around efforts to counter the international image of the province as a Taliban stronghold and at the national level inflicted with tribal militancy. For such international promotion, activity, and re-education of local society and culture the remnants of the Gandhāra civilisation in museums or in-situ are pivotal. Previously, the artefacts and sites would have been targets for iconoclastic acts or neglect but now, at least officially, are being protected and re-appropriated for more secularist and economic endeavours. Coupled with this official interest around Gandhāra, are private initiatives such as the Gandhāra Research and Resource Centre in Taxila, which aims to bring life back to Gandhāra heritage by making archaeological sites culturally and religiously active again. In the past they have invited Buddhist monks to perform religious rituals and festivities and in 2019 invited Korean monk, Dr Neung Hur, to be an artist in residence at the centre (Figure 10) as well as lead a Buddhist Peace prayer at Bhamala Stūpa (Figures 11,12). All such efforts are seen as part of a Gandhāra ‘renaissance’, however, this time western cultural hegemony and art history is not manipulating Gandhāra but Pakistan itself by revitalizing its spiritual roots as a heritage of the world that is not only used for tourism but is re-activated by the religion itself. Once again, the Gandhāran objects are involved in the act of reincarnation but they themselves continue to remain silent, yet changing and playing roles being ascribed to them by the many ‘devotees’ that attend to them.

Decoding the sculptures – some local impressions

Gandhāran art, then, continues to be resistant, ambiguous but valuable, which makes it difficult for Pakistan to include or exclude from its cultural fabric. Similarly, the Lahore Museum’s collection has been doused in a myriad of changing discourses since its colonial rediscovery as told above, but it is also varyingly discoursed about on a daily basis by the visitors at the Lahore Museum. Many local visitors to the Gandhāra Gallery are amazed by the skill and beauty of the sculptures, with some simply visiting to see the Fasting Buddha, others revel in the stories they tell about Buddha, as usually it is the first time they have encountered them.³⁵ Many visitors are enchanted by the stories in stone that they get to see through the visual representation in the sculptural fragments on display, even though they may not be able to situate them within their own idea of history or culture, but through the objects on display are able to learn about the Buddha’s life and message. Equally, students often relate the collection to Buddhism as mentioned in their social science curriculum and are thrilled at being able to see the real objects and not just text-book representations. Others enjoy deciphering the iconography and relating aspects to memories of their culture or hometowns through a local particularization of the depictions in the sculptures; and so, they understand them less as antiquities but as everyday stories of life. This connectivity and attraction to the Gandhāran objects for some is a point of aversion and negative

32 <<https://www.dawn.com/news/1535044>> (last accessed 17th February 2022).

33 <<https://pk.mashable.com/festivals/1488/four-day-gandhara-festival-to-celebrate-buddhist-heritage-in-pakistan>> (last accessed 17th February 2022).

34 These were some of the taglines used in the promotional material at the time. However, the festival never took place owing to Covid-19 restrictions.

35 See Bhatti 2012 [2005], 2021 for more ethnographic research on visitors at the Lahore Museum including the Gandhāra Gallery.



Figure 10. Korean monk, Dr Neung Hur, artist in residence at the Gandhara Research and Resource Centre in Taxila. (Photo: courtesy of the Gandhara Research and Resource Centre, Taxila.)



Figure 11. A Buddhist Peace Procession led by Dr Neung Hur at Bhamala Stupa. (Photo: courtesy of the Gandhara Research and Resource Centre, Taxila.)



Figure 12. A Buddhist Peace Procession led by Dr Neung Hur at Bhamala Stupa. (Photo: courtesy of the Gandhara Research and Resource Centre, Taxila.)

reaction, not because of the subject matter but form – there are simply too many *bhut* (idols) in the museum of an Islamic nation – and so it prompts them to question the objects’ relation to their identity; the gallery, then, is a visual excess of idols and an ill-defined cultural space for them. At times this has led to some visitors simply rushing through or even slapping the sculptures on open display as a form of disgust or foolish bravado. Such actions or revulsions cannot be taken to be definitive, as one imam was seen bringing his *madrassa* students to the gallery in an attempt to teach them lessons on comparative religion. There is then no singularity of viewership and visitors on the whole delight in being able to see such curious objects with which to make their own stories, which they can re-tell outside the museum to inspire others to visit, and to see for themselves the person called Buddha and his life in stone.

Foreign visitors to Pakistan have declined sharply since 9/11 and seem unlikely to return with the resurgence of the Taliban administration in Afghanistan at the time of writing, but a small trickle is ever present and their own encounter with the Gandhāra collection at the Lahore Museum is usually couched in the ideals of colonial ideology, western art historical canon, and western civilizational connections. William Dalrymple’s visit to Lahore Museum, whilst in the city for the Lahore Literary Festival in February 2020, resulted in him tweeting close-up black and white photographs of some sculptures from the Gandhāra Gallery on his Twitter account that were reminiscent of the colonial eye and its search for a specific set of aesthetics.³⁶ Dalrymple’s de-contextualizing eye devours the Gandhāran sculptures for the finesse of form and glistening, at times chipped, ethereal representation and poses as captured by his technological rendering. Yet, despite recent tweets containing re-edited images from both Lahore and Peshawar Museums alongside those from the Mathura Museum, in an attempt perhaps to offer some context within the historical debates around Gandhāran art in the constitution of Indian art in

36 <<https://twitter.com/dalrymplewill/status/1377126035724988420?lang=en>> (last accessed 17th February 2022).

the early twentieth century onwards, the images belie such academic discourse and create a romantic aura harkening back to an era where one can imagine the workings of an enchanted colonial imagination and its will to own this Indian culture.

In contrast to Dalrymple's excavated images is a recent artistic engagement with the partitioned Gandhāran objects from the Lahore Museum that are now part of the Government Museum and Art Gallery in Chandigarh (see above) by Pakistani artist Seher Shah, who works and lives in Brooklyn, New York. Shah produced ten polymer photogravures for her 2019 exhibition, *Argument from Silence*, as part of the group show *Homelands: Art from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan*, held at the University of Cambridge's Kettle's Yard (Figure 13).³⁷ Through the prints on display, Shah employs the Gandhāran sculptures to critically respond to the history of the collection itself, by incorporating elements of erasure, re-writing and re-telling of narratives that reflected upon, and emerged out of, the larger regional conflicts between India and Pakistan. With names such as *Field Measurements*, *Weight and Measure* or *Fragments and Bodies*, Shah's visual contemplations were multifaceted, with the

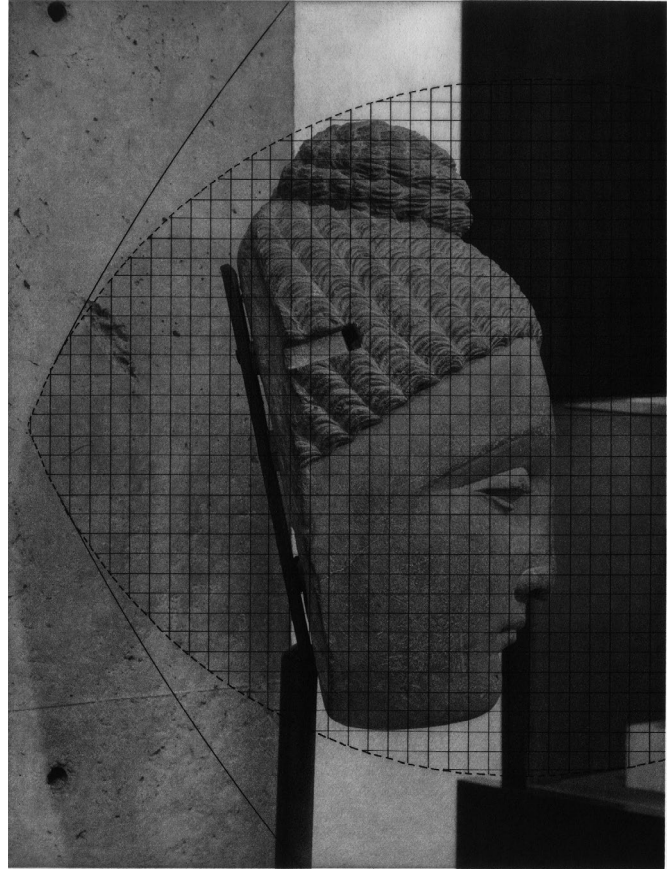


Figure 13. *Field Measurements*. Seher Shah's exhibition *Argument from Silence* as part of a group show: *Homelands: Art from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan* held at the University of Cambridge's Kettle's Yard in 2019. (Photo: copyright Seher Shah.)

cold concrete slabs of Le Corbusier's modernist museum in Chandigarh contrasted against the full, curvaceous, robust, almost breathing, beauty of the carved fragments and pieces of the Gandhāran sculptures exhibited in the museum, which in turn are superimposed with graphical imprints alluding to time, grids, and positivist science. These layers in the photogravures collapse ideas of measurement, archaeology, art, history, identity, and nationhood to query not only the evidences, justifications, and narrations of the past, but also the present in South Asia. This contemporary artistic rendition of the split Gandhāra collection persuasively rummaged into complex questions of creating and writing South Asia's history and culture in a temperate manner, where there have been many moments of ideological violence and fragile existence meted out upon the nations themselves and their subjects and objects that remain unnoticed, silenced, and absent from dominant narratives. The weight of this history's fragments, injustices, and conjectures are evident in the dark tonality of the black and white prints, that are reminiscent of the heavy grey schist stone of the Gandhāran pieces. They ultimately leave one seeking answers to the silences of the past and present for the South Asian nations and the role of their institutions of history, such as museum collections with objects like Gandhāran art that have the capacity to still be ambivalent – of the self but not.

³⁷ I would like to thank Chris Moffat for referring me to this exhibition and sharing excerpts from the catalogue, and my gratitude to Seher Shah for allowing me to use an image from the show.

Maybe the silences or the silencing of the Gandhāran sculptures and art have enabled the many contesting stories that have evolved and revolved around the Gandhāra collection generally and in the Lahore Museum as, so far, the collections have been always spoken for and not allowed, or able to, tell their own stories, just silently waiting for the day when they can raise their voice and opinion. Until then, future stories will continue to emerge around them as new discoveries continue to be excavated by Pakistani archaeologists, such as the 500 artefacts unearthed in 2016, including the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sculpture at the Bhamala Buddhist complex; or are stumbled upon by locals who either preserve or destroy them, as was the case for the smashing of a 1,700 years old life-size Buddha statue in Takht-i-Bāhī on 17th July 2020. In this instance construction workers building a home were caught on video that went viral on social media, which led to widespread condemnation with the five suspects facing charges for breaking the antiquity laws of the province. Others stated that this was not an act of iconoclasm but an attempt to separate Pakhtun identity from Buddhist identity, yet the FIR report (crime report) indicated that it was a case of removing un-Islamic images thought to bring bad-luck to the new house and its family, even leading to the owner being condemned with a divorce! It seems many rediscoveries and re-interpretations remain around Gandhāran art/artefacts within and outside of museums and having heard so many stories along the way one can only wonder how Hector Bolitho would react to the current situation of antiquities in Pakistan's museums and beyond, and what story would he write.

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The art of deception: perspectives on the problem of fakery in Gandhāran numismatics

Shailendra Bhandare

Prologue

Studies in Gandhāran (Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Kushan) coinages, particularly as a subset of the wider discourse on Gandhāran art, have remained largely preoccupied with the tropes of style, iconography, and chronology, much as the contributions on numismatics in the previous 'Gandhāra Connections' volumes show. However, coins are not mere objects; they are 'things'. Antique coins have long lost their primary function as medium of exchange or store of value. They have 'moved' away from their common function and thus qualify to be 'things' taking Heidegger's conceptualization of 'things' as a basis of human-object interactions and cultures of object consumptions (Heidegger 1971). As such, they can be studied from the critical viewpoint of 'Thing Theory', which has been articulated and developed by Bill Brown (Brown 2003; 2004).

Coins possess inherent material properties that contribute to their 'thingness', and the preoccupation of historians, art historians and numismatists to focus on themes outlined above tends to obliterate how coins can be fully understood as 'things'. As Knappett has shown in his work on the role of 'meaning' in material culture (Knappett 2005), objects cannot be understood exclusively by representation and by a 'mentalist' understanding. Their meaning needs to be comprehended by treating them as 'things'. Appadurai's seminal contribution on the social life of 'things' (Appadurai 1986) presents an outlay of how issues like commoditization are closely related to the materiality of objects. Coins, in particular ancient coins, could well be included within its remit. Coins are no exception to these critical views; as 'things', the physical properties of the coins, the processes by which they were produced and the interactions they did and continue to have, all contribute to understanding of their 'meaning'.

One crucial aspect that connects the materiality of the coins with their meaning is their 'genuineness'. Coins are collectible and desirable primarily because as historic objects, their occurrence and supply is limited. Conceivably, this serves as an impetus to make unauthorized or fraudulent copies of them; collectors would recognize such copies as 'fakes' or 'forgeries', although the latter word is often used to suggest a fraudulently manufactured coin that is currently in circulation, much like 'counterfeit'. Coin collectors often use words like 'fantasy' to suggest a fraudulently produced coin of a type that never existed. The enticing lure of finding a previously unknown and unpublished 'new' coin that collectors often fall for is by far the most likely *raison d'être* behind 'fantasies'. However, within the broad remit of fraudulently produced coins are also included those that were made to dupe users while the coins were actually in circulation. These are regarded as 'contemporary forgeries' and come with a different historicity from 'modern forgeries'. There are also numismatic entities labelled as 'imitations' which imitate an existing coin-type for circulatory reasons. In addition, it needs to be noted that not all fake coins might be produced with an explicit intention of duping collectors. Older collecting practices included knowingly adding reproductions of coins into a formed collection or 'cabinet' as space-holders, either because the collector could not have afforded to acquire such coins or because of some unique and individual reason. Such coins existed only in institutional or museum collections, not available to be acquired privately. Such copies were often made legitimately and collectors kept them in their collection with the full knowledge that they were copies. These copies are usually known by the less pernicious term 'replica'. Institutional owners like museums often made such replicas from originals in their collection and supplied them to collectors on order. Most commonly, such replicas are known

as ‘electrotypes’ and they are made by a process involving electrolysis of metallic solutions. They are usually made of a core of an inferior metal and then coated with a gold, silver or copper wash, and they are faithful to the originals inasmuch as they replicate the strike perfectly and give a most realistic impression of the original coin. However, the process produces separate replicates of the obverse and reverse which have to be soldered together, resulting in a tell-tale seam or fracture on the edge of such a replica. Additionally, suppliers sometimes took care to identify them as replicas often by putting a small hallmark-like sign, mostly on the edge. The focus of discussion of this paper is neither ‘contemporary forgeries’, nor ‘imitations’, nor legitimate replicas. We will be looking at fakes, forgeries, or fantasies of coins, made with an intent of deceiving their consumers, and collectively labelled as ‘fakes’.

Unfortunately, since fakes are deemed as unauthentic, they seldom get any scholarly attention and there is no typology available to classify them. Fakes are pervasive; all collectors acquire at least some fakes as they build collections or ‘cabinets’ of coins. Fakes frequently end up in institutional collections as many times museums acquire individual private collections. Often, in such cases they are segregated into separate storage as a matter of curatorial practice and then mostly forgotten. The collection in the Heberden Coin Room of the University of Oxford’s Ashmolean Museum is no exception – here one can find a cabinet of ‘Greek replicas and duplicates’. Many of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins contained here do not have basic curatorial identifiers such as an acquisition number or source. As objects that are not genuine, or authentic, they have been consigned to a curatorial oblivion because authenticity takes centre stage in an object-based discipline like numismatics.

The simplest way to classify fakes would be by their prototypes; however, this is not particularly apt for ‘fantasies’ for which there are no prototypes. Fakes could well be classified by the method of their manufacture, by their intent, or their circulation. They come in several ‘grades’ of purported genuineness, which has a bearing on the purpose for which they were made. For example, a fake of a rarity made exclusively with a view to dupe rich collectors may tend to be extremely difficult to identify but, on the other hand, fakes made on the scale of a small cottage industry to be sold as souvenirs to tourists visiting ancient sites could be easily recognizable. Two examples are shown here (Figures 1 and 2).¹ First is a well-made die-struck forgery of a tetradrachm of Demetrios, which because of its depiction of a Greek ruler in an unusual ‘elephant scalp’ headdress, is deemed desirable by collectors. The second is a poor, cast replica of another rare type – a tetradrachm of Eukratides depicting Heliokles and Laodike. It bears several imperfections: it is made in a sub-standard alloy, has casting flaws, and a pitted surface. Generally, the quality of a fake is decided by the method of manufacture – high quality fakes tend to be made by processes such as striking with dies, which are as close as possible to those that were used in making real coins, whereas poorer fakes are made usually by cheap, low labour, and non-cost-intensive processes such as casting in moulds. Thus, fake coins follow their market: high quality fakes are made for a different segment of market from low quality fakes. Likewise, their intent also has a wide spectrum, from being high-value objects of deliberate deception to serving as low-value aids of souveniring.

One more aspect of fakery associated with coins, about which we shall see more below, is the intentional tampering of an otherwise genuine coin. Ancient coins were made by hand, which means they show a great variance in their post-production quality. It is not always possible that desirable features like the name of the issuing king, or features which aid in developing a taxonomy such as monograms on Indo-Greek coins, are clearly discernible and/or visible on every coin. Evidently, coins where such features are visible tend to be deemed more collectible by collectors. Coins are subject to natural decay that ancient metallic objects usually suffer – they can corrode, they develop accretions or patination, they can wear in circulation etc. Since collectors value condition in their collecting practice – coins have long been graded into condition registers such as ‘fine’, ‘very fine’, or ‘extremely fine’ – all such aspects directly

¹ Except where otherwise stated, photographs are courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 1. A die-struck fake tetradrachm of Demetrios I (ex-Hugh Shortt collection, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



Figure 2. A cast fake tetradrachm of Eukratides, 'Heliokles and Laodike' type (Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).

affect a coin's collectability. It therefore pays to enhance some such features in an artificial manner. It is only a small step in such endeavours from general enhancement to intentionally modifying, or even adding, features to something more desirable. Such tampering adds a different, but unusual and significant, dimension to the problem of fakery of coins.

A historiography of fake Gandhāran coins

Interestingly, the reports and occurrence of fake Gandhāran coins antedate even the inception of Gandhāran studies. As Stanley Abe has shown (Abe 1995: 70), nineteenth century British colonial administrators in India became interested in investigating particular ancient sites in India as an outcome of 'romantic Philhellenism' which was a major part of the general milieu of neo-classical revival in Europe. Around the same time, the disciplines of classical art history and archaeology also came to be formalized as methods of scientific investigation of the past. This was also the period of increasing colonial domination and consolidation in the Indian subcontinent and the idea of European 'classics' became a tool of fostering and projecting authority within the colonial project. However, scientific and systematic archaeology was still in its infancy in India; at best, we have examples of a few early antiquarians undertaking 'excavations' at some sites like the Buddhist *stūpas* which dotted the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province countryside. In such a climate, coins – inherently because of their wide occurrence and portability – became the chief antique drivers of positing, justifying, and legitimizing a 'Greek' past in the subcontinent. This is evident in a series of publications by James Tod, James Prinsep, and Alexander Cunningham, all of which focus on 'coins with Greek inscriptions' (Tod 1827; Prinsep 1833; Cunningham 1854). A noteworthy name among the antecedents and/or contemporaries of Tod and Prinsep is that of the Orientalist scholar William Marsden, who alongside Prinsep formed one of the earliest systematic collections of Indian coins, and published a monograph entitled *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata* describing it (Marsden 1823/1825). Marsden's coin collection now rests in the British Museum.

It is in this monograph that we find reference to a 'facsimile' of a Kushan gold coin, that Marsden attributes to Sir John Anstruther, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta and the President of the Asiatic Society, who had brought the facsimile to London upon his return from India in 1806. Anstruther had in turn obtained it from a collector named Peter Speke. Similar facsimiles are known from other collections as well and Cribb and Jongeward, in an addendum to the catalogue of Kushan and related coins in the American Numismatic Society's collection (Cribb and Jongeward 2015: 307), describe one such facsimile. It copies a gold coin of the Kushan king Vasudeva I, although when Marsden described it he was not aware of its attribution. Ostensibly, Marsden also made mistakes in identifying the motifs: he identified the figure of Shiva reclining against Nandi the bull as the 'goddess Shivani'.

Figure 3. A cast fake in white metal of a late Kushan dinar, similar to the 'Speke replica' illustrated by Marsden (Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



This is by far the earliest reference to a copy of a Gandhāran coin; however, Speke evidently had not made these facsimiles to dupe anyone. He appears to have given them away as mementos ('a curious specimen of Hindu Art', as described by Marsden) and indeed, they are encountered in more than one metal/alloy. The Heberden Coin Room also possesses examples of these 'Speke facsimiles', made of a whitish alloy (Figure 3). Although the facsimiles were recognized as such by their possessors (Marsden remarks – 'This coin is avowedly of a modern fabrication', Marsden 1823/1825: 730), they did play an important role in the formative period of studies in Indian Numismatics. Marsden adjudged that the model for the facsimile was an Indian coin and was able to establish the relationship of its type to other coins in his collection. He was also able to suggest that the prototype for the facsimile must have antedated these other coins, which were recognizably struck by the Gupta rulers, as seen from the inscriptions they carried (Cribb 2007: 181). The story of how the facsimiles were made and distributed sheds an important light on building of early colonial networks of knowledge. Both Speke and Anstruther were East India Company officials who ostensibly engaged in collecting ancient objects in the first decade of nineteenth century.

Although Speke made replicas for innocuous reasons of curiosity and souveniring, the increased attention that early antiquarians paid to collecting coins soon led to deliberate fakery. In the 1820s, Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Maharaja of Punjab, expanded his realms towards the West, pushing back Afghans from tribal territories around Peshawar and securing control over the Khyber Pass. Peshawar was formally annexed to the kingdom of Punjab in 1834. Instrumental in this Sikh expansion were European generals in Ranjit Singh's service, namely Jean-Francois Allard, Jean-Baptiste Ventura, and Claude Auguste Court. They were all interested in archaeology and conducted some of the earliest explorations and excavations of Gandhāran sites, particularly *stūpas* like Manikyala and Mera-ka-Dheri (Lafont 1994: 9-68). They also built extensive collections of coins; the most substantial one being that amassed by General Court (Errington 1995: 410). By the end of the 1830s, their collections and contributions were already being recognized by western learned societies like the Royal Numismatic Society (RNS). The presidential address of the RNS for the year 1836-1837 lauds the contribution they have made to the '... Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Bactrian coins, which now enrich the museums of France and England'.² That the generals were very aggressive in their collecting spree is noted by Charles Masson, who was also engaged in a similar enterprise and therefore had the fortune of competing with them. He notes that the generals had 'all the advantage that affluence confers' to conduct their operations 'on a magnificent scale' and that they were 'purchasing coins at very extraordinary prices'. They apparently 'cleared the Peshawar Bazaar for copper medals at the rate of four or two to a rupee' (Errington 1995: 412). One can only imagine that with such a bonanza in the offing, an incentive to manufacture some unusual and novel varieties, which the unsuspecting European collectors might readily buy, would soon prevail. No doubt, therefore, fakes of Indo-Greek coins started infiltrating in the market.

Alexander Cunningham noted these as early as 1840 and published a 'notice on some counterfeit Bactrian coins' (Cunningham 1840a), followed by an appendix (Cunningham 1840b). He subsequently published 'a second notice of some forged coins of the Bactrians and Indo-Scythians' (Cunningham 1840c). These notices brought forth a good number of fake Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Indo-Scythian

² *Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society 1836/1837-1838/1839*: 71.

(including Kushan, as they were labelled ‘Indo-Scythian’ at this time) coins, many of which had been obtained in the bazaars of Peshawar, Kabul, Bajaur and other towns near ancient sites. Their provenance includes collections of Europeans, such as General Allard or others, ‘whose commendable zeal leads them to give higher prices for these coins than prudence warrants’ (Cunningham 1840b: 543-544). The methods that Cunningham deployed in analysing these coins to infer that they were fakes are interesting indeed. They include a careful study of the materiality of the coins: how they had been manufactured, using what sort of tools and implements, and how they were dispersed. Thus, he noted certain features of the coins, such as a tapering flaw at the end of a coin’s flan, or the crudeness and mistakes generated in the execution of inscriptions on them; or flaws induced by methods of spurious manufacture, such as casting in moulds. European collectors keen to acquire the coins undoubtedly provided the main incentive for the appearance of these fakes. However, the forgers evidently possessed an acute knowledge of what they really went for. Many coins Cunningham discussed were ‘fantasies’ in typology – they were made by copying types, which were usually known for one metal into another. Most were copies of bronze types into silver but salient examples of silver and bronze types made into gold were also noted. In some cases, genuine precursors were used to make mould impressions from which fake specimens were cast using unusual metals. The collectors of these coins came from various layers of colonial gentry and officialdom. They included European soldiers and civilians associated with the British Army, and the army of the Kingdom of Punjab, and even an occasional aristocratic woman like the Lady Sale.

Cunningham commented in his analysis that the ‘the best test for distinguishing a genuine coin is its excellence as a work of art’. In fact, he outlined two basic tenets for spotting a fake coin: ‘whether its workmanship is worthy of Grecian art’ and ‘whether the double legends are perfect’ (Cunningham 1840c: 1228-1229). His analysis showed that many of these fakes were being made by local forgers who did not understand the scripts, nor the tenets of ‘Grecian art’, and therefore evidently made mistakes. He noted certain executional features, such as a ‘full eye in a side view of the face’, to suggest that the coins with such a feature were a ‘work of a native of India’, because the Indian artists employed a stylization that employed ‘a full eye, even in a side face’ (Cunningham 1840b: 1222). However, by far the most striking aspect of Cunningham’s analysis is that it lays bare a nexus between the antiquarian academia of the day and the forgers. Some of the coins, which the forgers were making, were evidently copied not from the actual extant specimens, but from illustrations that appeared in plates accompanying contributions by James Prinsep to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Prinsep 1835). This made Cunningham infer that the fakery operation was in all likelihood being run by a ‘white gentleman’, who was in possession of these plates and was masterminding ‘native assistants the particular coins he wished to be forged’. In a detective fashion, he proclaimed that before long, he ‘shall be able to expose the white gentleman, who superintends the forging of these coins to the merited contempt of the public’ (Cunningham 1840c: 1226). However, subsequent publications do not indicate that Cunningham ever accomplished such a task.

Some examples of the fake coins Cunningham discussed appear to have found their way into museum collections. Two examples from the Ashmolean’s collection (Figures 4 and 5) are a case in point. They are crude copies of bronze types of Menander, with an owl and a shield on the reverse, respectively, but made in a white metal. Cunningham described this metal as silver but it is evidently just a white alloy. Errington noted examples of both amongst the rubbings of coin that once belonged to General Court (Errington 1995: figs. 2B and 3F). A rather astonishing case of a coin copied from the plates accompanying Prinsep’s 1835 article is a copy of a gold dinar of Vima Kadphises, now in the British Museum collection. Prinsep’s engraving, the original gold coin and the copy are all illustrated by Errington in her research on the coin collection of General Court (Errington 1995: figs. 1H, 3G, H, I).

Figure 4. A cast fake of Menander, 'owl' type, similar to the piece in General Court's collection, illustrated in Errington 1995 as fig. 2B (Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



Figure 5. A cast fake of Menander, similar to the piece in General Court's collection, illustrated in Errington 1995 as fig. 3F (Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



The subject of fake Gandhāran coins is forgotten after these early investigative reports. In the bibliography published by Glenn we find mention of very few academic contributions which deal with the subject of fake coins (Glenn 2016: 11). Two exceptions stand out – one is a contribution by Hugh de S. Shortt on 'Utmanzai Forgeries' (discussed below) and the other, a notice of Bactrian forgeries by Jenkins (Jenkins 1965). More recently, Bracey, Gawlik, and Tandon have contributed papers on fake Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Kushan coins (Bracey 2008; Tandon 2010; 2014; 2018; Gawlik 2016). The methodology adopted by Jenkins, Bracey, and Tandon underlines the importance of the materiality of coins as a diagnostic tool for detecting forgeries. They all follow the trailblazing method of Cunningham, focussing on the dies from which the coins are struck, commenting on the inaccuracies in execution of letters and/or motifs. Jenkins took Cunningham's methods a step further – he diagnosed forgeries by demonstrating die links between dubious coins. Bracey emphasized the occurrence of a fake patination on the group of Bactrian coins he examined.

However, going by the fact that fake Gandhāran coins have been known for nearly two centuries, these contributions can at best be regarded as skimming the surface of the subject. One more way to observe the circulation of fake coins among the collector community is museum acquisition details. They bear testament to the fact that forgeries were an integral part of the coin-collecting spectrum in North India in its earliest days. Indeed, Cunningham mentioned forgeries of other, non-Gandhāran coins circulating as early as 1840 in his notice (Cunningham 1840b: 544). The provenances of coins discussed by Jenkins amply support this observation, but further evidence is found in acquisition details of coins in institutional collections. In the Ashmolean's holdings, for example, mid-nineteenth century acquisitions like the collection of J.W. Elliott, acquired in 1853, have fake Kushan and Indo-Greek coins.

Some astonishingly well-made forgeries could not even be detected until subsequent acquisitions revealed their exact mould replicates, diagnosing them to be fakes. Illustrative of this are two examples – one a relatively common drachm of Apollodotos II (Figure 6) and the other, a more unusual bronze 'octuple unit' of the 'shield of Athena/ trident of Poseidon'-type of Demetrios I (Figure 7). Both were acquired from the collection of Sir Charles Oman in 1947. Of these, the copper coin of Demetrios was listed in the significant compendia of Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins such as the *Catalogue Raisonné* by Bopearachchi (Bopearachchi 1991: 167, série 6A) and by Mitchiner (Mitchiner 1975/1976: Type 107b, illustrated). However, it was not until the Ashmolean acquired the collection of Adrian Hollis in 2010 that exact replicates of both these coins came to light (Figures 8 and 9), adjudging them instantly to be well-made forgeries.



Figure 6. A fake drachm of Apollodotos II (ex- Sir Charles Oman collection, acquired in 1947, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



Figure 7. A fake bronze 'octuple unit' of Demetrios (ex- Sir Charles Oman collection, acquired in 1947, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



Figure 8. Exact replicate of drachm in Figure 6 (ex- Adrian Hollis collection, acquired in 2010, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



Figure 9. Exact replicate of the bronze octuple unit in Fig 7 (ex- Adrian Hollis collection, acquired in 2010, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).

The 'Utmanzai forgeries'

In the 1963 volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, noted coin collector Hugh de Sausmarez Shortt published an article titled 'Utmanzai Coins' (Shortt 1963). This is perhaps the most thorough and detailed treatment of fake coins and therefore warrants a special mention. Hugh Shortt's collection was bequeathed to the Ashmolean on a 'first refusal' basis upon his death in 1975 (Kraay and Sutherland 2001: 10). Before the Ashmolean acquired the Senior Collection of Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins, and the Hollis Collection of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, the coins from the Shortt bequest constituted the best of the Ashmolean's coin holdings in the Gandhāran series. A number of coins, which Shortt published in the 1963 paper are now in the Ashmolean collection and a few are illustrated here (Figures 10 to 13).

Shortt's intention to study a group of coins – which he labelled as 'Utmanzai coins' upon the fact that many of them were originally acquired by another noted collector of Gandhāran coins, Major-General Henry Lawrence Haughton, from the 'villagers in the neighbourhood of Utmanzai in the North West Frontier Province' in the 1940s – was to allay suspicions about their genuineness. G.K. Jenkins, the curator of coins at the British Museum, was the main instigator of these suspicions. The coins were evidently made by striking with dies, not cast in moulds as many of the previous fakes had been. They did not betray any of Cunningham's tenets: their execution was of a high artistic quality and the bilingual



Figure 10. Fake silver tetradrachm of Menander, 'Utmanzai group' (ex- Hugh Shortt collection, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).

Figure 11. Fake silver tetradrachm of Hermaios and Calliope, 'jugate bust' type, 'Utmanzai group' (ex- Hugh Shortt collection, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).



Figure 12. Fake silver tetradrachm of Hermaios, 'cavalier' type, 'Utmanzai' group (ex- Hugh Shortt collection, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).

Figure 13. Fake silver tetradrachm of Strato I, 'Utmanzai' group (ex- Hugh Shortt collection, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum).

inscriptions on them did not carry any signs of mistakes or omissions. Indeed, some of them had been published earlier and some had been acquired by institutions like the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Whitehead 1947).

The investigative methods and pathways Shortt adopted made this study a path-breaking one. Shortt assembled a sizeable database of coins, from both institutional and private sources, which shared the same provenance and had appeared on the market alongside the group under investigation. He did extensive provenance research – he went through Haughton's archives to build a picture of how and when these coins had appeared and where they were dispersed. Above all, he subjected coins he had on hand to scientific analysis using XRF spectroscopy, an analytical tool that was considered cutting-edge in the 1950s and 60s. Some coins from his sample database were adjudged forgeries based on the XRF analysis because they were found to contain a significantly high percentage of Zinc. With his thorough analysis, he came up with a list of 'criticisms' which in effect put the rest of the coins, including the 'Utmanzai' group, under an investigative lens. He then discussed these points in a systematic way to answer them. Ultimately, the 'Utmanzai' group were diagnosed to be fakes based on an undeniable fact – in spite of sharing die-identical details with genuine museum specimens, they were all about 2 mm smaller in diameter. This peculiar feature was because the dies that were made to produce the 'Utmanzai' coins were made 'by taking casts from the originals, a process which involves a slight shrinkage in the diameter' (Shortt 1963: 18).

Shortt's openness, thoroughness and investigative approach makes his attempt at analysing the 'Utmanzai' group a unique one, particularly so because it shows a journey from conviction to admission and resolution, via scepticism, faced by an enlightened coin collector. However, apart from the methods, approaches and arguments involved, the investigation also sheds light on an important aspect – that of the role of networks of collectors, dealers, and museum professionals in determining the status of coins. Some of these are indeed a continuation of colonial networks, which earlier scholar collectors like Cunningham were a part of – Haughton was an officer in the British Army and stationed at Kohat in the North-West Frontier Province as regional commandant. Shortt operated in a milieu that straddled colonialism and its aftermath. Even when Pakistan (and India) had become independent in 1947, Shortt continued to collect coins through the pre-independence networks he had been familiar with. A major player in this collecting story is a Punjabi dealer named Sri Chand, based at Rawalpindi. Notes made by Shortt on his identifier tickets that accompany the coins, which are now in the Ashmolean, suggest that many coins from his collection were purchased from Sri Chand, including the Utmanzai fakes. Sri Chand was also instrumental in supplying coins of Gandhāran and other sorts, to institutions, such as the American Numismatic Society and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Most importantly, Sri Chand was also responsible for suggesting a provenance for his wares – names like Lal Dheri, Spinwarai or Safed Dheri and Swabi appear in the records of Whitehead, Haughton, and Shortt as places where coins had been found, only on the subjective authority of Sri Chand. Coin dealers in London were on a more benevolent side of the story – the firm A.H. Baldwin allowed Shortt access to Haughton's coins as well as papers and were instrumental in tracking the dispersal of the coins. G.K. Jenkins, the curator at the British Museum, proved very helpful to Shortt to build a corpus of all coins that were essential in his analysis.

Another important point that Shortt's study highlights is how fakes are made in 'iterations' or 'editions', sometimes improving or touching upon existing apparatus or toolkit. The fact that many of the 'Utmanzai' coins are struck from dies that were altered from those that produced earlier versions, as evident not only from tell-tale signs of touched up aspects but also from progressive shrinkage in diameter, shows they are merely a small 'packet' in a long chain of fakery enterprise that was going on for decades. Shortt astutely concluded that the enterprise was that of wilful deception: 'more than one man was involved – a mastermind as well as a skilled technician, and middlemen... It would appear that the coins were judiciously planted for the benefit of General Haughton and others' (Shortt 1963: 22).

Gandhāran fakes: recent developments

The subject of fakery and dubiousness continues to play a part in the discourse of Gandhāran numismatics. Glenn's recent study of Bactrian coins includes an appendix which lists a number of dubious coins and a dubious bronze die claimed to be of ancient origins (Glenn 2020: 373-377). Two categories stand out – the first being that of 'fantasies' and the other of 'tampered' coins. Fantasies, or coins that 'never existed' have been an old and consistent theme – the 'silver' copies of bronze coins that Cunningham discussed, are a case in point. As types usually met with in bronze these should have never existed in other metals. However, the fact that this is precisely what the collectors want, for their penchant for novelty, might have prompted the forgers to create such pieces. The same lure of novelty continues to be an impetus for making fake coins. By far the most controversial in recent times is a gold 'double daric' attributed to Alexander once touted to be a component of 'une découverte pour l'humanité' and 'the only authentic life-time portrait of Alexander the Great' (Bopearachchi and Flandrin 2005). This piece immediately provoked a long debate between numismatists and classical scholars regarding its genuineness. The first to cast doubt was Hurter (Hurter 2006) and subsequently many others have voiced their doubts (Bracey 2011; de Callatay 2013; Habicht, Chugg et al. 2018-2019). The piece would qualify as a classic example of the state of affairs in which a 'fantasy' Gandhāran coin would find itself in – of dubious provenance, with several inadequacies and hitherto unique, purporting to overturn scholarly viewpoints about

Alexander's iconography and therefore, having a fittingly 'magnetic' lure for keen collectors for the series. However, a cursory glance through auction houses and their catalogues would be enough to see that the so-called 'double daric' is not alone in its appeal. A number of other examples of such unique and academically interesting coins have turned up on the market. A unique gold coin of the Bactrian king/satrap named Sophytes (Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction 2, lot 366, 2nd October 2011),³ a gold coin of a 'new king' named Heliodotos (Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XV, lot 1362, 3rd January 2012),⁴ and an anepigraphic gold stater attributed to Strato (Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XVI, lot 649, 8th January 2013) could be cited as examples. Some of these coins have been published in numismatic literature (for example the Heliodotos coin in Bopearachchi 2011) and suggested to complement new discoveries, which in turn can be problematic, having been reported through a market that thrives on illegal digging and spoliation of ancient Gandhāran sites. The Heliodotos coin was linked to a newly discovered Greek inscription, reportedly found at Kuliab in Tajikistan, but this provenance is based only on hearsay ('Un renseignement que nous avons obtenu récemment d'une autre source qui s'est toujours révélée fiable situe effectivement la découverte de la pierre inscrite à Kuliab' – Bernard et al. 2004: 338).

Perhaps more pernicious is the trait of tampering with the materiality of coins by adding features like fake patination and re-engraving details to make them more 'apparent' and discernible. Collectors are invariably keen on certain aspects of the coin design that make the coin more explicable, classifiable and attributable. In case of Gandhāran coins, these usually include the inscriptions, taxonomic features like monograms, and certain iconographic details, all of which can be lost through natural wear and corrosion that any coin as a metallic object from antiquity would endure. As an example, a specimen offered by Classical Numismatic Group is shown here (Figure 14; Electronic Auction 330, lot 150, 9th July 2014).⁵ This coin is of Telephos, an ephemeral Indo-Greek ruler whose coins are rare and therefore collectible. The description of the coin clearly indicates that it has been 'repatinated with artificially applied earthen deposits, smoothed and details lightly enhanced'. The picture, however, shows that 'lightly enhanced' is at best an understatement – the details, particularly the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show clear signs of having been considerably tooled, probably with not so sophisticated



330, Lot: 150. Estimate \$100.
Sold for \$240. This amount does not include the buyer's fee.

BAKTRIA, Indo-Greek Kingdom. Telephos Euergetes. Circa 80-70 BC. Æ (23mm, 7.72 g, 12h). Zeus enthroned slightly left, extending hand / Man seated right on low rocky surface, warming hands over small fire, cradling branch in left arm; container at feet, monogram to left. Bopearachchi 3A; SNG ANS –; HGC 12, 411. VF, repatinated with artificially applied earthen deposits, smoothed and details lightly enhanced. Rare and interesting.

Figure 14. A retouched bronze unit of Telephos offered at a Classical Numismatic Gallery auction.
(Photo: <<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=263986>>.)

3 <<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=515337|920|366|b2f42a9e1c50ada185db91b837df8f35>> (last consulted 18th February 2022).

4 <<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=453249|823|1362|77dc8eafdf0c3df42da0d9a30c24cc7d>> (last consulted 18th February 2022).

5 <<https://www.coinarchives.com/a/openlink.php?l=691462|1282|150|1d551bab3f79b412aa8d21fe9c9ec4f0>> (last consulted 18th February 2022).



Figure 15. A tooled Kushan bronze with re-engraved figure of standing Buddha on reverse. (Photo: courtesy of Pankaj Tandon.)



Figure 16. A tooled Kushan bronze with re-engraved figure of seated Buddha on reverse. (Photo courtesy of Pankaj Tandon.)

tools like the ones used in dentistry which are designed to work on small surfaces to etch and buff them. In the recent past, the market for Gandhāran coins has been replete with such doctored or tooled coins, which make them more saleable.

The doctoring of coins is not limited to only enhancing the features – even more problematic is the practice where doctoring and re-engraving is used effectively to modify existing features to more ‘interesting’ ones or even to add non-existent ones. Such modifications are also presumably done to increase the saleability of the coins. Tandon has discussed Kushan coins with re-engraved and modified features in detail (Tandon 2010: 19-20). By far the most common fakes of this kind are Kushan coins where the deity on the reverse is re-engraved to resemble the Buddha. It is common knowledge to coin collectors that Kaniṣka’s coins with the Buddha (of both the historic as well as the ‘future’ varieties) are rare and desirable. Fakers therefore take common Kushan coins and re-engrave the reverse to resemble the Buddha, often adding features such as Bactrian inscriptions and the Kushan *tamghas*. Although the ‘Buddha’ type coins were issued only by Kaniṣka, this does not deter the enterprising fakers from taking a coin of any Kushan ruler – such as Wima Kadphises or Vāsudeva – and tool the ‘standing Shiva’ or the ‘seated Ardokhsho’ on reverse into a standing or seated figure of Buddha. Two such examples are shown here (Figures 15 and 16).

These developments are worrying for the future of Gandhāran numismatics indeed. Many times, some such doctored coins are published in literature for their seeming novel and interesting features. A case in point is a Kushan copper coin of Huvishka, with the four-armed god Oesho on reverse that was published as depicting an image of ‘Shiva cursing Apasmārapuruṣa’ or ‘the demon of ignorance’ (Figure 17; Bopearachchi and Pieper 2009). The analysis presented suggests the depiction is of a high iconographic and socio-religious importance (Bopearachchi and Pieper 2009: 36):

It should be emphasized that we are confronted here with a syncretic deity, prior to the polarisation and codification of symbols of later Hindu iconography where each god is equipped with stereotypical attributes. This is one of the main features of the earliest iconography of Brahmanical deities in India during the Kushān period before the phase of polarisation or codification. The engraver has not attempted to create an image of the Śiva punishing Apasmārapuruṣa based on passages in the sacred texts. This unorthodox iconography, as compared to other images, which do conform to the letter descriptions formulated in the holy texts, is more freely engraved. The engraver seems to have enjoyed some independence in a growing cosmopolitan atmosphere created by the politics of the Kushāns.

Figure 17. A tooled Kushan bronze with 'Shiva cursing Apasmārapuruṣa' on reverse. (Photo: courtesy of Wilfried Pieper.)



Thus, the depiction was adjudged the earliest numismatic depiction of its kind and indicative of major religious and iconographic flux. However, the size of the 'demon of ignorance' as compared to the depiction of Shiva, his strange posture and the fact that he had been engraved cutting across the dotted die margin, created some doubts as to the authenticity. Moreover, no such depiction was found on coins that were nearly die-identical with the published coin in other aspects (Tandon 2010: 20). In Tandon's view, it is plausible that the reverse die developed a flaw, a corrosion pit to be precise, which would be a perfectly normal consequence for a metallic tool. This resulted in a 'shapeless blob' on the surface of the coin once the die was struck on the coin blank. A clever forger then reshaped or tooled it into a kneeling human figure. Fraudulent doctoring had thus been the basis of an iconographic novelty.

Why (should) fakes matter?

To sum up, we should look at why studying fake Gandhāran coins should matter. Primarily, it matters because fake (including fraudulently doctored) Gandhāran coins carry the potential of contaminating the discourse of Gandhāran studies. As the foregoing discussion has shown, fakery has been an inseparable aspect of Gandhāran numismatics. Whether easily detectable or highly accomplished, fake coins have been on the scene ever since the inception of Gandhāran numismatic studies; some perhaps even predate them. In spite of this, they have never been studied systematically. Curatorial practice and treatment are mainly responsible for this attitude – once an object is deemed not genuine, it diminishes its antiquarian value, and it is consigned to a curatorial oblivion. However, as outlined in the prologue of this paper, fake coins are not merely 'objects' but 'things'. They bring with them their own narratives and interpretations, which are deeply rooted in their materiality. Studying fakes can therefore be an illuminating exercise to ascertain how they feed into the contexts of human activities such as collecting. With the changing museum and curatorial climate, some of these contexts have also changed and evolved. It is now impossible for museums to study and/or acquire unprovenanced objects and consequently a closely-knit co-operation between trade professionals, private collectors, and museum curators, like the one evidenced in Hugh Shortt's analysis of the 'Utmanzai' group of fakes, has become a thing of the past. The deep knowledge curators once harboured about market networks is now diminished as the curatorial world moves away from trade in antiquities, particularly when it is fraught with issues regarding ethics of collecting. Studying fakes, particularly from old, legitimately provenanced collections is therefore our only way to develop a material understanding of these objects and how they were produced, disseminated, and circulated.

A very significant insight that the study of fakes feeds into is with regard to the 'networks of Knowledge formation' that were built among coin collectors. These networks can be seen in the context of the concept of 'information order', which the historian Sir Chris Bayly outlined to historicize knowledge-gathering and social communication in colonial India (Bayly 1999: 3-6). As Bayly points out, 'in pre-modern societies the information order was decentralized, consisting of many overlapping groups of knowledge-rich communities'. So far as Gandhāran numismatics goes, the 'overlapping groups of knowledge-rich communities' consisted on the one hand of the British/European collectors, mainly

comprising the ‘colonial elite’, and on the other hand various local and indigenous ‘colonized’ participants in the enterprise of coin collecting. The ways in which British/European collectors interacted with each other, how they exchanged information and objects with each other and how they made disciplinary contributions in the discourse about Gandhāran numismatics can be reconstructed through sources like published and unpublished archival materials. The tickets accompanying coins and acquisition notes made by the collectors also prove helpful. However, the narratives from the viewpoint of the colonized people are yet to be told. The exploitation of the ‘colonized’ component of ‘knowledge-rich communities’ constituting the information order towards the working and articulation of the colonial project became a hallmark of British colonialism in India. Knowledge about India’s past was generated not only through exploiting her archaeological sites and ancient texts; it was also dependant on tapping into the knowledge base of indigenous communities. In the case of collecting coins, these comprised traditional caste and kinship-based groups like goldsmiths, coppersmiths, and metal scavengers. Their help was sometimes sought in ascertaining genuineness of the coins. Cunningham notes – ‘when I showed them [i.e. the cast fake coins] in the midst of several genuine silver coins to a native goldsmith, and asked him if he could make me some casts from them, he replied, that the figures and letters of the casts would not be so clear and distinct as on the original coins; and then added, as he picked up one of the gold pieces, “This was made in a mould”’ (Cunningham 1840c: 1221).

In some instances, however, generating information using shared wisdom was not so straightforward. Many western coin collectors viewed the indigenous people who sold coins with a great degree of suspicion. Sometimes, racial prejudices prevailed. In 1835, Charles Masson wrote in response to the collecting spree unleashed by the French generals Allard and Court in the bazaars of Peshawar – ‘I could have sold them some 2000 coins at that time in my possession at these rates, but I was not a native of Peshawar without a conscience, but a European with one, and would scarcely have reconciled myself to selling even to Frenchmen, 2 coins for a rupee, which I had purchased for 2 pice’ (Errington 1995: 412). These remarks presuppose the fact that this spree also gave an incentive to some of the earliest fakes of Gandhāran coins we now know, made explicitly with a view to deceive the European collectors. This racialized view is also found in Cunningham’s hunch, realized to his horror, that the person involved in faking coins by copying them from Prinsep’s plates was in all probability a ‘white man’ who in a nexus has pointed out to ‘his native assistants the particulars of coins he wished to be forged’ (Cunningham 1840b: 1226).

The dynamic of suspicion and doubt between ‘native informants’ and bazaar dealers continues well into the twentieth century, as is evident from remarks made by later collectors/scholars like Whitehead and Shortt. Whitehead was not just a private collector; he was also the Honorary Numismatist to the Punjab Government and his contributions (Whitehead 1923; 1940; 1947) outline several conduits through which coins were being collected by him and his illustrious forerunners in the field of collecting Gandhāran coins, namely L. White King, G.B. Bleazby, and J. P. Rawlins. Whitehead’s 1923 contribution is significant as it lays out a ‘collecting landscape’, noting in some detail coins of which types or rulers were found in which areas, based on ‘local knowledge’ (Whitehead 1940: 91). Conceivably, his source of information must have been local coin dealers in the region, particularly those based in cities like Rawalpindi, rather than those in mofussil towns. Of this group of dealers, Whitehead remarks – ‘The Rawalpindi dealers probably began as collectors for Cunningham and others; their services have been indispensable, although they cannot resist the temptation to make easy money by forging. During my fifteen years’ dealings with them, they were usually vague, perhaps purposely so, about the provenance of their coins, though it was obvious that most came from west of the Indus’ (Whitehead 1947: 41). While describing coins from Gen. Haughton’s collection that were said to have been found in the Sheikhan Dheri and Lal Dheri hoards – many of which were condemned by Hugh Shortt as ‘Utmanzai forgeries’ almost twenty years later – Whitehead says, ‘The dealers are gradually bringing them out and unhappily have

already placed casts on the market' (Whitehead 1947: 42). However, even though it was common for these dealers to offer fakes amongst their wares, they always maintained that the 'forgeries come from over the border', i.e. from Afghanistan. Whitehead deploys a quote from an army journal written in 1846 to insinuate, 'There are Jews in Cabul who are very clever in counterfeiting ancient Greek and Bactrian coins'. He further adds that reported in the 1872 issue of the *Numismatic Chronicle* was a didrachm of Telephos from a 'Kabul Jew' that was ostensibly a 'fantasy' (Whitehead 1923: 310, n.18). These oblique and much older references to Jews being the culprits behind faking Gandhāran coins add another racial dimension to the tinge of suspicion harboured by early twentieth-century collectors. In a way, these insights contribute to the 'decolonizing' of Gandhāran numismatics. This is by far the most significant contribution the study of fakery can bring to the discourse on reception of Gandhāran studies.

While commenting on the so-called 'Alexander medallion', Andrew Stewart wrote – 'fakers are seldom intellectually adventurous, still less brilliantly intuitive' (Stewart 2011: 76). Such a position is naive and dangerous, in addition to being 'hubristic' as noted by Bracey (Bracey 2011: 491). It presumes academics know better than fakers. What we know from the history of fakery in Gandhāran numismatics is exactly opposite. It is seen repeatedly from the earliest years of the formation of the discipline that forgers produce highly innovative fakes and have an acute understanding of the collectors' psyche. Combined with skillsets at hand and the right kind of steer, such as access to academic wisdom and debates, forgers can come up with the most 'interesting' coins, which pose and/or solve interesting quandaries and are thus more desirable and collectable from a collector's standpoint. The ways fakers operate are difficult to comprehend; indeed, in spite of having access to apparently 'reliable' bazaar information Whitehead or Shortt could never ascertain the precise locations of ateliers or artists of the forgeries they discussed. The extent to which forgers can go to hawk their wares in the right direction of business can be seen in the case of the so-called 'Pipal Mandi' hoard of Kushan gold coins, found in Peshawar in early 2006 (Bopearachchi 2007; 2008). This hoard supposedly contained four highly unusual gold coins, which identified the issuer, the Kushan king Wima Kadphises as the 'son of Wima Takto'. This inscription, occurring on the reverse, was said to have been prompted by an anxiety on part of Wima Kadphises 'to proclaim that he was the rightful heir to the Kushan throne' (Bopearachchi 2008: 25). This anxiety in turn was attributed to a 'usurper' – identified to be the issuer of coins with the title 'Soter Megas' – who had tried to bid for power at the very beginning of Wima Kadphises' reign and had been defeated by the latter. The coins therefore were posited as early issues of Kadphises (Bopearachchi 2007: 49) where he 'used his coin portrait as a medium of propaganda' to let his subjects know that the usurper had been defeated and that he was now the sole inheritor of his father's empire. This interpretation is at variance with the earlier position that Wima Takto and 'Soter Megas' were in fact the same ruler (Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996; Cribb 1999). However, in his most recent reappraisal of the 'Soter Megas' coinage, Cribb has effectively and assiduously countered the claims to the find and the nature of the coins in the hoard and their interpretation (Cribb 2015). What stands out in Cribb's analysis is the fact that only one coin of the hoard, a gold stater (Bopearachchi 2008: 9, coin no. 4), which is in a much poorer state of preservation than all other coins, is most likely genuine. The legends on this coin are not in a good condition to be read fully. The other coins are modern fakes made using this genuine piece as prototype. Cribb's analysis rests on incontrovertible arguments, based on a thorough die analysis of all Wima Kadphises coinage by Bracey (Bracey 2009) and also a cogent explanation of how the legends on the fake coins have been reconfigured imaginatively from the worn coin. The most striking piece of evidence Cribb adds is that fact that the genuine coin had in fact been known two years prior to the publication of the Pipal Mandi hoard (Cribb 2015: 91). This suggests a manipulation of the hoard's contents, where the genuine coin was placed into the find along with the three fake gold coins that it inspired in order to provide contextual legitimacy to the fakes.

The problem of fakery has unfortunately become endemic to the discipline of Gandhāran numismatics. With the advent of newer technologies, such as digital coin databases from the numismatic trade

(<www.coinarchives.com> and <www.coinarchivespro.com>) and ‘linked open data’ digital typologies, it has now become possible to ‘test and track’ how dubious coins are dispersed. Social media platforms have also greatly added to the speed with which information is processed and dispersed. It is now much easier to alert collectors to potentially dubious wares. However, technological advances have meant that faking coins has become an even more ‘scientific’ and technologically superior enterprise than it has ever been. It is still not possible to track down the perpetrators of fakes and find out exactly where and how the fakes are manufactured; however, this has been a problem faced by the discipline ever since its inception in early nineteenth century. The dynamic between fakers and collectors/scholars continues to evolve in a ‘cat and mouse’ fashion.

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Gandhāra in the news: rediscovering Gandhāra in *The Times* and other media

Helen Wang

Introduction¹

Although I have had the pleasure to work alongside colleagues at the British Museum whose research has focused on Gandhāra, my own research has been more peripheral: for example, on East Asia and collection history. For the ‘Rediscovery and Reception of Gandhāran Art’ workshop, I suggested looking at Gandhāra through *The Times* newspaper, to see how it appeared to an English-language, primarily British, readership, over time. It was also an experiment to see how the process of research has changed. An earlier project in 1998 looking at Sir Aurel Stein in *The Times*, which resulted in a list of about 100 references (Wang 1999) and the book *Sir Aurel Stein in The Times* (Wang 2004), necessitated visiting The Guildhall Library, London, in person: to consult the printed reference works on *The Times*, check the indexes, order the relevant microfilms, and wait for them to be fetched, hoping that the electric reader might be free as the other two readers involved tedious winding by hand, then transcribing in pencil on paper, or putting coins in the coin-slots to pay for print-outs, and going back to a desktop computer to type them up and research the contents. By contrast, the research for this paper was done entirely online, mostly at home, as necessitated by the Covid-19 pandemic. The practicalities of this kind of research have certainly made the process more convenient, and more interesting, the laboriousness relieved by the temptation to look everything up. My aim in this project was simple: to follow ‘Gandhāra’ in *The Times* newspaper, and see where it led. At the outset, my hunch was that ‘Gandhāra’ was not a well-known term, and I expected to find some references to the art market.

Using The Times Digital Archive (<www.gale.com/intl/c/the-times-digital-archive>), my search for ‘Gandhara’ yielded 141 results between 1878 and 2014. The spelling of ‘Gandhara’ proved to be remarkably consistent. I did not search for any other relevant terms, such as ‘Graeco-Buddhist’ or ‘Indo-Greek’. The results of my search reflect solely the use of the word ‘Gandhara’ and not the coverage of any particular field.

An identical search for ‘Gandhara’ in the British Newspaper Archive (<www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>) yielded 211 results: *The Times* (140), *The Illustrated London News* (60), *The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore* (35), *The Englishman’s Overland Mail* (13), *The Madras Weekly Mail* (9), *The Scotsman* (8), *The Voice of India* (8), *The Sphere* (6), *The Westminster Gazette* (4), *Homeward Mail from India, China and the East* (4), *London Daily News* (3), *Pall Mall Gazette* (3), *The Times of India* (3), and one or two articles in other newspapers. In terms of date, the British Newspaper Archive helpfully provided three periods: 1850-1899 (38), 1900-1949 (138), and 1950-1999 (35).

The Times Digital Archive automatically categorized the 141 results as articles (65), advertisements (47), reviews (17), back matter (5), editorial (3), obituaries (3), and letters to the editor (1). Some of the articles turned out to be brief notices or reports relating to exhibitions and auction sales, and some were repeats. The results show a diverse range of subjects – of educational, cultural, and religious interest, as well as international news, geopolitics, trade, tourism, and the market in Gandhāran art.

¹ I would like to thank Elizabeth Errington and Joe Cribb for their helpful comments on this paper, and Sarah Victoria Turner for generously providing copies of her work when libraries were closed.

As source material, the occurrences of ‘Gandhara’ in *The Times* are sketchy and ephemeral. The articles, reviews, adverts, etc. were not written by one person, and it was never intended that they might be searched and brought together in this way. Nor do they offer a comprehensive or reliable history of the reception of Gandhāra. However, they do offer a view that is different from the academic historiography of Gandhāra: preserving information of events and media that contributed to the knowledge and appreciation of Gandhāra, such as book reviews, exhibitions, lectures to the public and learned societies, documentary films, and auction sales. They also throw light on exhibitions of Indian art in the UK, in which the Gandhāran pieces were often the most familiar and most aesthetically appealing to the British audience. In particular, the mentions to ‘Gandhara’ in *The Times* reveal key individuals who took a special interest in Indian art and campaigned for greater recognition of Indian art, past and present, which would eventually lead to the history of Indian art and archaeology being taught at university level in the UK. Again, the contributions of these individuals are not necessarily well known in the history of Gandhāran studies.

My presentation at the 2021 Gandhāra Connections workshop was a powerpoint packed with images. As that particular format does not transform easily into a written paper, I will present the findings below in chronological order. For convenience, I have separated out details of the auction and private sales (advertisements and reports on the sales), and presented these in a table at the end. The numbers in square brackets refer to the list of references in *The Times* at the end of the article.

Nineteenth century – Gandhāra as a historical place or people

The term ‘Gandhara’ appears only twice in *The Times* in the nineteenth century. The first is 1878, in an article on the Russian expansion in Central Asia, and Britain’s response to it. Written by Monier Monier-Williams (1819-1899), Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford University, it mentioned four cities, including ‘Candahar (so called, not from Iskandar [Alexander] the Great, but from the Gandharas)’. [1]

The second mention of ‘Gandhara’ was in 1892, in a report on the ninth International Congress of Orientalists that took place in London. It noted that ‘The people called in the cuneiform inscriptions Gadara and Hidhu – that is, in Sanskrit, Gandhara and Sindhu – occur among the conquests of Darius, at least in his later inscriptions.’² [2]

By the late nineteenth century there were already some Gandhāran sculptures in public collections in Britain: for example, Gandhāran sculptures are visible in an engraving of the East India House Museum, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 6th March 1858 (p. 229). The collections of the East India Company’s India Museum, founded in 1798 as The Oriental Repository, were split in 1879 between the South Kensington Museum (the Victoria and Albert Museum or the V&A), the British Museum, the Natural History Museum and the Royal Botanical Gardens. The India Museum in South Kensington was opened in 1880, retaining the old name, although it was technically the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum (V&A).³ No doubt Monier-Williams was aware of these circumstances when he made several visits to India in the 1870s to raise funds for the Indian Institute, Oxford, which he founded

² A twenty-page report on the Congress was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

³ ‘Making Britain: Discover How South Asians shaped the nation, 1870-1950’: The Open University website <<https://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain>> (last accessed 18th February 2022). See also the V&A Subject Guide: ‘Guide to records in the V&A Archive relating to the India Museum and Indian objects’, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/259918/Guide-to-the-India-Museum-and-Indian-Objects.pdf> (last accessed 18th February 2022). Arthur MacGregor and Neil Cullen are currently working on The India Museum Revisited project at the V&A, engaging in archive and collection work that will form the basis for an online interactive reconstruction of the museum. <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/research/projects/the-india-museum-revisited>> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

in 1883, and which included a library and a museum.⁴ The International Congress of Orientalists was initiated in Paris in 1873, and continued at regular intervals in different countries. The second Congress was held in London in 1874, as was the ninth Congress in 1892. The General Secretary of the ninth Congress was T.W. Rhys Davids (1843-1922), Professor in Pali, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, co-founder of the British Academy (1902), and the School of Oriental Studies (1916, now School of Oriental and African Studies or SOAS).

1900s - Gandhāran art, sculpture, archaeology, and public displays in Britain

In the early twentieth century most occurrences of 'Gandhara' in *The Times* related to lectures, exhibitions, news of archaeology, and Gandhāran pieces in the art market. Until the late 1920s most of the people mentioned had significant knowledge or experience of working in India.

In June 1900, Mansel Longworth Dames (1850-1922) gave a lecture with lantern slides on 'Some New Gandhara Sculptures' to the Royal Asiatic Society (founded in 1823), at 22 Albemarle Street, London. Longworth Dames had spent time in India, had a private collection of Gandhāran sculpture, which was displayed in the South Kensington Museum in 1903-4, and subsequently sold to Berlin, and also worked on the Gandhāran collections at the British Museum (Temple and Howorth 1922: 303).⁵ His presentation was followed by a discussion with Mr J. Kennedy, of the Indian Civil Service, and a council member of the Society; Sir Martin Conway (1856-1937), professor of art in Liverpool and Cambridge, mountaineer and cartographer, knighted for mapping the Karakorum Mountains in 1895, President of the Alpine Club, 1902-1904; Cecil Bendall (1856-1906), Professor of Sanskrit, who had worked on oriental manuscripts at the British Museum, 1882-1893; and Dr William Hoey (1849-1918), Commissioner of Gorakhpur, amateur historian and numismatist. The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society was T.W. Rhys Davids. [3]

In August 1906, *The Times* reported on the display of Lord Curzon's (1859-1925) Asian collection, ancient and modern, at the Bethnal Green Museum, in London. The collection filled the central hall of the building, and included 'a case containing Graeco-Buddhist stone-carvings from Gandhara on the North-West Frontier of India'. The article suggested that the exhibition 'may be commended to those who desire a first-hand acquaintance with the still surviving art productions of the East'. Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1898-1905, had recently returned to Britain, and was building a new home in Kedleston, Derbyshire. The exhibition may have been a convenient temporary arrangement for both Curzon and the Museum, until the collection was moved to Kedleston Hall, where it remains to this day. [4]

In August 1908, in an article titled 'Archaeology in India', a correspondent wrote about the excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī, led by David Brainerd Spooner (1879-1925), and commented that the Buddhist figures found there 'are as fine specimens of Gandhara art as any that have yet been found in the North-West.' The correspondent listed archaeological museums in India, at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lucknow, Muttra [Mathura], Lahore, and those being formed at Sarnath and Peshawar, and observed that only the catalogue of the Calcutta Museum collections (Anderson 1883) could be considered adequate. The correspondent bemoaned the situation at the Lahore Museum: 'the finest collection of Graeco-Buddhist sculptures... is not even arranged, and can therefore have very little educative value to the student' and declared it absurd that the provincial archaeologist, Dr Jean Philippe Vogel (1871-1958) 'should be expected to arrange and catalogue it', recommending that 'a thoroughly trained assistant archaeologist should be entrusted with such work.' [5]

⁴ The Indian Institute is now the Oxford Martin School (since 2005): <<https://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/about/old-indian-institute>>.

⁵ Longworth Dames donated several small pieces of Gandhāran art to the British Museum and the V&A.

1910s – Gandhāran art, exhibitions and lectures, and the India Society

In March 1913, Alfred Foucher (1865-1962) visited London and gave a lecture, in French, on the origins of ‘the Buddha type of sacred image’, in the Jehangir Hall of London University, South Kensington (now the site of Imperial College). Foucher was introduced by Wilmot Parker Herringham (1855-1936), Vice Chancellor of London University, as ‘the first of living authorities on Indo-Greek art’. Foucher would give a second lecture there on the bas-reliefs and their representations of scenes from the life of the Buddha. [6] There was no mention of his third lecture,⁶ nor of the important Buddhist exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi, in Paris, that year (Chavannes 1913). In this context it is relevant to mention Herringham’s wife, Christiana Herringham (1852-1929), who was an artist and patron of the arts, an art critic for *The Burlington Magazine*, and a founder of the National Art Collections Fund (1903). Laurence Binyon (1869-1943), who worked at the British Museum, 1893-1933, inspired her to go to India: she went with her husband in 1906, and they visited the Ajanta Caves together, where she returned again, for six weeks in 1909-10, and three months in 1910-11 to copy the wall paintings.⁷ Binyon himself never visited India. [6]

Although better known for his work on East Asian art, Laurence Binyon played a significant role in promoting Indian art. A poet and author, and Keeper of the new Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings at the British Museum since 1913, he was an important figure in the formation of modernism in London, introducing artists and writers to Asian visual art and literature (Arrowsmith 2011). He was also active in the India Society, which was founded on 17th March 1910 in response to a comment made by George Birdwood (1832-1917) following E.B. Havell’s lecture on Indian art at the annual meeting of the Royal Society of Arts the previous month. Birdwood declared that there was no ‘fine art’ in India, and when challenged with a statue of the Buddha as a counter-example, said arrogantly ‘This senseless similitude, in its immemorial fixed pose, is nothing more than an uninspired brazen image... A boiled suet pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionless purity and serenity of soul’ (Sedgwick 2004: 52).

The India Society was founded in the home of Ernest Binfield Havell (1861-1934), who was an arts administrator, and historian of Indian art (Havell 1907; 1908; Turner 2010; 2102). The executive committee of the newly formed India Society sent a circular to *The Times*, which, on 11th June 1910, recorded the Society’s aims and plans as being to promote the study and appreciation of Indian culture, the acquisition of the best of Indian art by national and provincial museums, to publish works showing the best examples (it would produce a number of books, and the journal *Indian Art and Letters*, from 1925), to collaborate with those who wished to keep alive traditional Indian arts and handicrafts, and to help develop Indian art education on native and traditional lines, rather than follow ideals. Members of the executive committee included Thomas Walker Arnold (1864-1930) of the India Office, and later of the School of Oriental Studies; the Theosophist Alice Leighton Cleather (1846-1938); Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy (1877-1947), who wrote extensively about Indian Art, and was later Keeper of Indian art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; the artist and book illustrator Walter Crane (1845-1915); E.B. Havell; Christiana Herringham; Paira Mall (1874-1957), collector for Henry Wellcome’s Historical Medical Museum; the writer and translator Thomas William Hazen Rolleston (1857-1920); and William Rothenstein (1872-1945), artist and Principal of the Royal College of Art, 1920-1935.

In June 1913, *The Times* reported on the bequest of Graeco-Buddhist sculptures from the Gandhāran region by Revd John Cruger Murray-Aynsley (1825-1913) to the Indian Institute, Oxford (Jongeward

6 Foucher gave a total of three lectures during his spring visit to the UK. Personal correspondence with Annick Fenet, expert on Alfred Foucher, author of ‘Les archives Alfred Foucher (1865-1952) de la Société asiatique (Paris)’, *Anabases*, December 2008, 163-192. DOI:10.4000/anabases.2520.

7 <<https://www.exploringsurreyspast.org.uk/themes/subjects/womens-suffrage/suffrage-biographies/christiana-jane-herringham-1852-1929-artist-and-womens-suffrage-campaigner>> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

2019: 18). Murray-Aynsley had purchased the sculptures in the North-West of India, and Sir George Forrest (1872-1900) had arranged for their transport to Oxford.⁸ [7]

In May 1914, there was mention of Albert von Le Coq (1860-1930), who had recently returned to Berlin from Eastern Central Asia. He had been working mainly at Kucha and Tumshug (Tumshuq), near Maralbashi, where he had found ‘quite a number of true Gandhāran sculptures, some being exact counterparts of sculptures in slate in existing collections.’ Von Le Coq had been in London a few days earlier to attend the opening of the Edward VII Galleries at the British Museum on 7th May 1914, which included a major display from the Aurel Stein collection from Eastern Central Asia.⁹ [8]

In March 1918, *The Times* reported that recent donations to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, included five examples of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture ‘probably from the neighbourhood of Gandhara’ from the Friends of the Fitzwilliam, and ‘a finely carved head of Buddha’, from Messrs Spink and Son.¹⁰ [9]

In July 1919, in a piece titled ‘Art Exhibitions’, *The Times*’ art critic wrote about a collection of ‘Ancient Art of the East’ – Chinese, Indian, Persian, Greek, and Egyptian – on display at the Leicester Galleries,¹¹ and observed very positively that ‘Indian art usually finds little favour in England, but these examples of the not yet familiar Kushan sculpture in red sandstone are sure to appeal to anyone with a sense of form.’¹² Several early Buddhist pieces are described in a similarly positive tone: ‘as different as possible from the common conceptions of Indian sculpture as purely conventional and stylistic’, ‘a straightforward piece of portraiture, rich in character and humour’, ‘remarkable for its vigour and suggestion’, ‘wonderfully free and concise at the same time’, ‘enchanting’, and ‘a fine work in a different order.’ These exuberant words were probably penned by Arthur Clutton-Brock (1868-1924), who was art critic for *The Times*, 1908-24.¹³ [10]

In November 1919, there was a notice of about a forthcoming lecture by Binyon titled ‘Persian Painting. Interaction of Persian and Chinese Art. The Art of Gandhara and of Turkestan’. Scheduled for 3rd December 1919, it was the third in a course of five public lectures (the Forlong Bequest Fund Lectures) by Binyon on ‘The Art of Asia’ at the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, EC2. The lectures were announced by Edward Denison Ross (1871-1940), Director of the School of Oriental Studies, and formerly of the British Museum, where he had initially been appointed to work on the Aurel Stein Collection. The lecture series was named after James George Roche Forlong (1824-1904), who was known for his interest in comparative religion. [11]

1920s – Gandhāran art and sculpture, archaeology, exhibitions, collecting, and fieldwork

In November 1921, Binyon wrote a review of Indian art, in which he argued for the need to see Indian sculpture in its architectural setting, and discussed the collection and display at the British Museum,

8 Three Gandhāran sculptures from the Rev. Murray-Aynsley (1911) and others from Miss Barlow (1912-25) – donated to the Indian Institute <<http://jameelcentre.ashmolean.org/collection/7/10230/10260>> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

9 Letter from Miss Lorimer to Stein, this section dated 8th May 1914. Bodleian Library, MSS. Stein 94/157, quoted by Susan Whitfield, <<https://silkroaddivagressions.com/2020/07/07/early-exhibitions-of-the-collections-of-aurel-stein-part-3-1914-king-edward-vii-galleries>> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

10 Some of these donated sculptures are published in Rienjang 2020: pls. 5 (0.1-1917), 6 (0.4-1917), 7 (0.3-1917) and 8 (0.40-1917).

11 Exhibition no. 279 in Ernest Brown and Phillips Ltd., *The Leicester Galleries. An index of 1422 catalogues of exhibitions of European Modern Art and 20th Century British Art, held between 1902 and 1977*: <http://www.ernestbrownandphillips.ltd.uk/_HTML/LG%20Catalogues/LG_Catalogues_Date_Order.html> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

12 According to Elizabeth Errington, the red sandstone sculptures would be from Mathura. Personal communication, October 2021.

13 N.V. Halliday, ‘Craftsmanship and Communication: A Study of The Times Critics in the 1920s - Arthur Clutton-Brock and Charles Marriott’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1987). Not seen.

including 'the admirable series of Gandhara sculptures, which of course are not purely Indian.' He also noted that the British Museum was producing sets of postcards of Indian art at this time. [12]

In June 1923 we see the first notice about an auction sale specifically mentioning pieces from 'Gandhara'. For convenience, details and reports of auction sales are given in a separate table at the end of this article. [13-14]

There must have been a significant amount of legal and illegal collecting activity at this time, because on 15 July 1924, *The Times'* correspondent in Simla wrote that 'Under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act the Government of India have notified the prohibition of the removal of Gandhara sculptures and ancient Buddhist remains at Taxila, much sought after by connoisseurs of Europe and America.' The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act had been passed twenty years earlier, on 18 March 1904, while Curzon was Viceroy. [15]

In July 1924, *The Times'* art critic reviewed the Indian art on display at the Empire Exhibition at Wembley:

With the opening of the exhibition of retrospective art – described by competent authority as the most important collection ever brought together in this country – in the century court of the Indian Pavilion at Wembley, there is no longer any excuse for anybody to remain in ignorance of the merits of this phase of Eastern artistic activity... Among the bronzes are two carvings of startlingly Greek appearance (1 and 2). They are examples of the Gandhara, or Graeco-Buddhist, sculpture of the 1st century AD, but though interesting historically, they must not be allowed to distract attention from the purely native character of the bronzes from 400 AD onwards.

The art critic Arthur Clutton-Brock had died in January 1924, and Charles Marriott was appointed the newspaper's art critic from 1924 to 1940. Like Binyon, Marriott was an author and poet and was interested in modernism. [16]

The exhibition comprised ninety-six paintings and drawings, and about eighty bronzes, brasses, and other small works of sculpture in two floor cases, on loan from the India Office (1858-1947); William Rothenstein; Mr C.W.M. Hudson, a retired revenue collector of the Indian Civil Service;¹⁴ the renowned collector of Asian art, George Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939); Charles Ricketts (1866-1931), who was active in the art world and in Binyon's circle; and the auctioneers Messrs Spink and Son.¹⁵

Although the Empire Exhibition was supposed to be a collaboration by Britain and the countries in the British Empire (Kendall 1923), The Fine Art Committee for the India section comprised only British men: Austin Kendall, retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and Secretary of the India Advisory Committee; Caspar Stanley Clarke (1869-1941), Keeper of the Indian section of the V&A, 1911-1926; Sir Hercules Read (1857-1929), retired Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum, and President of the Society of Antiquaries; William Foster, who was associated with the London 1924 Pageant of Empire; William Rothenstein; and Laurence Binyon.¹⁶

14 <<http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/1924-british-empire-exhibition>>. See also <http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=anne-clendinning-on-the-british-empire-exhibition-1924-25> (both sites last accessed 18th February 2022).

15 *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924*, with an introductory and critical note by Lionel Heath (Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore; Curator, Central Museum, Lahore), foreword by The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, GCSI, published by the India Society, 3 Victoria Street, London SW, 1925.

16 <<http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/1924-british-empire-exhibition>>. See also <http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=anne-clendinning-on-the-british-empire-exhibition-1924-25> (both sites last accessed 18th February 2022).

The exhibition was curated by the India Society with William Rothenstein, who had toured India in 1910, and had seen Christiana Herringham and Nandalal Bose (1882-1966) at Ajanta making copies of the Buddhist paintings. He had also met Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951), artist and nephew of Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) in Calcutta, who was reviving the techniques and aesthetics of traditional Indian painting (Arrowsmith 2010). A catalogue was published by the India Society in 1925, titled *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition 1924*, with an introductory and critical note by Lionel Heath (1863-1946), Principal of the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, and a foreword by the Right Hon. the earl of Ronaldshay, who would become Secretary of State for India in the late 1930s.

In 1926 two pieces mention Gandhāra, in the context of Sir Aurel Stein's (1862-1943) work identifying ancient sites, notably the location of Aornos, the site of Alexander's last siege, in 326 BC. The first, an editorial in May, concerns Stein's location of Aornos: 'to this day the influence of their [Chinese pilgrims] is to be discerned in the houses and even in the mosques of Gandhara, the old province which contained Taxila and Peshawar.' [17]

The second, in October, is an article by Stein himself, titled 'Alexander the Great. Indian Frontier Campaign. Sites Identified', in which he writes, 'the hill range which borders the Swat valley on the south there extends the fertile plain of the Peshawar valley, the ancient Gandhara (the Gandaritis of classical texts), which, together with Swat, was a main seat of Graeco-Buddhist art...' [18]

If most of the mentions of Gandhāra so far had shown expert knowledge of India, be it artistic, archaeological, or colonial administration, two pieces published in the late 1920s focused on the Greek influence, as seen from the perspective of Professor Grafton Elliot Smith (1871-1937), an anatomist and Egyptologist, who had a special interest in the spread of cultures and favoured diffusionist theories.

In January 1927 in an article titled 'Elephant or Macaws?', Elliot Smith wrote: 'Ancient Indian art reached its zenith during the five centuries from the fourth to the ninth AD. The Gupta Art (AD 350-650) exerted the most profound influence in Indo-China. It followed the Gandhara period, during which artistic invention in India drew its inspiration from the West, in particular Persia and Greece.' [19]

A couple of years later, *The Times* reported on a lecture by Elliot Smith to the University College and Hospital Anthropological Society, London, in which he,

discussed the influence of Greece in shaping the course of civilization, not in Europe only but in the whole world. ...no one questioned the reality of the part played by Greek civilization in the creation of the Gandhara art in India. The influence of events at the beginning of the Christian era extended far beyond India. Greco-Roman culture spread from Gandhara and Bactria across the whole breadth of Asia to China, as Mycenaean art in its Scythian guise had done centuries before, and Elamite culture a thousand years earlier still had spread to Honan... Greece not only restored to the human mind the authority it had lost by theocratic tyranny, but it inspired Buddhist, Christian, and also Mohamedan doctrine and conferred on India, China, and America, no less than upon Europe, most of the civilization they enjoyed. [20]

1930s – 'The Art of India' exhibition, public and private collections, sales of Gandhāran sculpture

In 1931, *The Times'* art critic reviewed 'The Art of India' exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 17 Savile Row, London. This was displayed from 11th May to 1st August, just two months after the 'International Exhibition of Persian Art', at the Royal Academy, just down the road, from 7th January to 7th March 1931. The Indian art exhibition called for a museum of Oriental art in London, and included paintings, sculpture and other objects on loan from the King, the Government of India, the Governments

of several provinces and the ruling princes of India, and private collectors in India and Britain. It was described as ‘an exhibition for quiet study rather than lengthy detailed description, but a few things of special interest must be noted. Even the inexpert can see that though, on the decorative side, Persian art is unrivalled in the East, Indian art has a fuller human content, and, on occasion, reaches to greater emotional heights. ... For many people the great attraction in this exhibition will be the sculpture. Except for an exhibition at Mr Goldston’s gallery about two years ago (Goldston 1929), we have seen practically no Indian sculpture in London outside the museums, and there are some very fine examples here’ including ‘the very beautiful ‘Buddha’ (59), lent by the Fitzwilliam Museum, [which] shows the special characters of the Gandhara, or Graeco-Buddhist, sculpture of the second to fourth centuries.’ The art critic commented on the design of the exhibition: ‘This indifference to chronology pervaded the catalogue entries (in many, a date or era was omitted entirely) and the display, such that the visitor presumably saw millennia-old seals from Mohenjodaro, seventeenth-century Mughal paintings, and fourth-century Gandhara sculpture in quick succession (cat. nos. 41-66).’ The art critic, unnamed, was probably Charles Marriott.

This was an important exhibition, with impressive backing. The exhibition sub-committee was chaired by Archibald G.B. Russell (1879-1955), an art historian specialising in William Blake. The committee members were Laurence Binyon (who also worked on William Blake); Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India in Great Britain (1874-1955); Kenneth de Burgh Codrington (1899-1986), then honorary lecturer, later Keeper of the Indian Section at the V&A, 1935-1948 and Professor of Indian Archaeology at UCL and SOAS, London, from 1948; Victor Bulwer-Lytton, the second Earl of Lytton (1876-1947), who was Governor of Bengal, 1922-1927, and Acting Viceroy of India in 1926; Sir William Rothenstein; and Sir Lawrence Dundas, 2nd Marquess of Zetland (1876-1961), Governor of Bengal, 1917-22, and Secretary of State for India, 1935-40.¹⁷ The privately printed *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Art of India* (Burlington Fine Arts Club 1931) was written by Russell, Binyon and Codrington. According to the catalogue, four Gandhāran pieces were displayed (nos. 66, 272, 291, 293).

Unusually, the Club also offered lectures on Indian art to its members, no doubt following the example of the Persian exhibition. The lectures, given by Binyon on art and Codrington on sculpture, were not well attended (Pierson 2017: 50).

In 1932, *The Times* noted that ‘The series of Gandhara Buddhist sculptures in the [British] Museum has been enriched by a second-century relief of the conception of the Buddha as an elephant descending on the sleeping Maya.’ (‘The Dream of Queen Maya’, from Jamalgarhi, BM 1932,0709.1.) [22]

In October 1934, in a piece titled ‘Buddhist Art’, attention was drawn to a small collection of Buddhist art of India, China, and Japan at the Galleries Arts Orientaux, 117, Regent Street, where Eastern art collector Professor R.A. Dara, of Lahore University,¹⁸ was showing a small collection of sculptures, bronzes, and paintings. It was a very small gallery, with,

no opportunity for display, the aim being to illustrate the different phases and varieties of the subject with good examples, to be examined at close quarters. // Among the sculptures the most remarkable from an artistic point of view is a stucco, or plaster, ‘Buddha,’ in the posture of contemplation, with traces of colouring. This was found at Hadda, Afghanistan, where, according to tradition, the skull and staff of the Buddha were buried, and it is believed to date from the second century AD. Very simple in arrangement, with the hands linked in the lap, it positively

17 On this exhibition see Brinda Kumar, ‘Exciting a Wider Interest in the Art of India: The 1931 Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition’, *British Art Studies* 13 (2019), <<https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-13/bkumar>>.

18 ‘When Homer Nodded’, *Hawera Star* 54 (20 April 1935): 5. <<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HAWST19350420.2.57>> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

radiates calm. There are some interesting fragments of the Indian Gandhara, or Greco-Buddhist, sculpture, including a head which is almost purely Greek in type. [23]

A piece published on 17th October 1936 drew attention to the entertaining qualities of the monthly *Indian State Railways Magazine*, which had ‘articles to suit the most varied tastes of those who will be touring in India in the coming winter and equally of those who have lived there’, including ‘the Gandhara sculptures’. [26]

On 30th October 1937 *The Times* published a letter from Hugh George Rawlinson (1888-1957), historian of India, who spent much of his career in India. Rawlinson referred to divided opinions about Indian art: to Indologist and art historian Vincent Smith (1843-1920), who saw ‘no beauty in anything Hindu save the semi-Greek Buddhist sculptures of Gandhara’; to W.E. Gladstone Solomon (1880-1965), Director of the Bombay School of Art, whose book *The Charm of Indian Art* (1926) was reprinted many times; to writer Robert Byron (1905-1941), who had published *An Essay on India* (1931). Rawlinson was prompted to write perhaps after Solomon’s lecture ‘India’s Message in Art’ to the Royal Society of Arts on 18th June 1937 (Solomon 1937). In his letter he lavishes praise on the India Museum in London ‘which has now been rearranged and is literally a thing of beauty’, regretting the ‘persistent rumours that this unique collection is, for reasons of economy, to be broken up?’ [27]

A month later, Gandhāra was in *The Times* again, this time concerning a lecture, with lantern slides, on the Indo-Iranian borderlands, given by Aurel Stein to the East Indian Association,¹⁹ presided over by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India. ‘History in the true sense did not dawn upon the relations between India and Iran until the middle of the sixth century BC when Cyrus, the founder of the great Persian Empire, extended his vast dominion to Gandhara, including the whole Kabul valley.’ [28]

1940s – lectures and exhibitions on Gandhāran sculpture

On 3rd February 1944 the art historian Hugo Buchthal (1909-1996) gave a lecture on ‘The Greco-Buddhist Sculpture of Gandhara’ at the Courtauld Institute of Art. Buchthal’s book *The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture* would be published in 1945. [29]

In the summer of 1944, there was a small display of Indian art at the Alpine Club, in South Audley Street, London, with proceeds going to the Mayor of Calcutta’s relief fund. The display included sculpture, textiles, and paintings [30]:

Sculpture is, perhaps, the best represented of these, notably in the examples of Greco-Buddhist work from Gandhara lent by Major-General H. Haughton. Gandhara, in the north-west of India, lay on the trade route from the Mediterranean to the Far East, and Greek and Roman influence is seen in gold signet rings of the second century BC, which bear portraits of Buddha in granite [sic], of the second century AD, wearing draperies much like the Roman toga. The classical influence is also felt in another work from Gandhara, a small standing Buddha of the fifth or sixth century, which is one of the earliest Indian bronzes.

Major-General Henry Lawrence Haughton (1883-1955), who had served in India, 1904-1943, and who had a private collection of Gandhāran sculpture (Olivieri and Filigenzi 2018: 76), gave a lecture on ‘Archaeological Finds in Gandhara’, to the Royal Central Asian Society, on 18 October 1944 [31].

¹⁹EastIndianAssociation:<<http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/east-india-association#:~:text=The%20East%20India%20Association%20was,for%20Indians%20to%20the%20Government>> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

On 11th July 1945, Hugo Buchthal gave the annual ‘Aspects of Art’ lecture on ‘The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture’ to the British Academy (Buchthal 1945). The Aspects of Art lecture series were funded by a bequest from philanthropist and art collector Henriette Hertz (1846-1913), and the lectures were intended to address ‘some aspect of the relation of art or music to human culture.’²⁰ [32]

1949-1953 - Reorganization of museums in Oxford and Birmingham

In November 1949, *The Times*’ Museum Correspondent reported on the opening of the Museum of Eastern Art, in Oxford. It was ‘the first museum in this country, and one of the very few in Europe, to be devoted entirely to the art of Eastern Asia as a whole.’ A branch of the Ashmolean Museum, and housed in the Indian Institute, it was under the charge of William Cohn (1880-1961) (Cullen 2017). The exhibits, mainly sculpture and ceramics, were from the Indian Institute, and the Ashmolean Museum (gifts from Sayce, Farrar, and Mallet are noted). The correspondent notes the arrangement of the exhibits is ‘in historical, geographical, and chronological sequence, is effective and easy to follow, each group being limited to a few of the best examples in the collection, carefully selected, and the general lighting is good,’ and draws attention to the group ‘Heads of Buddha: In the lower gallery is the sculpture, including especially Indian, Chinese, and Japanese examples – all of them religious in inspiration. A group of eight of the most notable examples has been arranged across the far end of the room, among these being a fine twelfth-century Indo-Chinese head of the Buddha in sandstone; several examples of Hindu carving, especially a very graceful man and woman, symbolic of love and fertility; and a Gandhara Buddha of the first century AD, an admirable example of that fusion of Greek, Roman, and Indian art which resulted from Alexander the Great’s invasion of India.’ [34]

In the early 1950s the City Museum and Art Gallery in Birmingham was being reorganized. On 17th November 1953, *The Times*’ Museum Correspondent reported that four archaeological galleries had been opened by Sir Leonard Woolley (1880-1960), in addition to one that had opened three years earlier. Extra space had been made available for the department of archaeology, which had also taken in ethnology. One of the newly opened galleries was for American antiquities, chiefly from Mexico and Peru, 500 BC to AD 1500, and ‘in the same room are shown newly acquired sculptures from Gandhara, in north-west India, works of about the third century AD which are now thought to show rather Roman than (as previously believed) Greek influence.’ [36]

The redisplay of Gandhāran sculpture in these two museums is interesting – one focussing on Buddhist heads, the other juxtaposing Gandhāran sculpture with non-European collections. These conscious associations are also noticeable in the adverts and reports of sales of art in *The Times*, which not only featured Gandhāran Buddha heads, but also listed Gandhāran pieces together with other non-European pieces, the most striking examples being sales featuring both Gandhāran sculpture and Benin bronzes. A particularly offensive comment was made in a report on a sale (*The Times*, 19th November 1956): ‘Amid so much subtle and impressive barbarism two small bronze sixteenth-century Siamese heads and a Gandhara sculpture looked incongruously serene and civilized.’ [38, 39] For more examples, see Appendix 1.

1950s – Sir John Marshall and bequests to the British Museum

On 18th August 1958, *The Times* published an obituary of Sir John Marshall (1876-1958), who had been Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1902-1928, and had overseen the excavations of Harappa, Mohenjodaro, and Taxila. [45]

²⁰ <<https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/events/lectures/listings/aspects-art-lectures>> (last accessed 18th February 2022).

In April 1959, *The Times* reported on the exhibition of art treasures bought through the Brooke Sewell Fund at the British Museum. Thomas Brooke Sewell (1878-1958) was a merchant banker who admired the arts of India and the Far East and provided funds for them to be better represented in the Museum's galleries. He also left a bequest to the Museum. 'The exhibition opened yesterday in the Asiatic saloon – appropriately close to the specimens from the Raffles bequest of 100 years ago, for it includes the Sambas Treasure, the most important Javanese acquisition since that bequest... Other important bronzes from Gandhara, Kashmir, and Nepal were among his gifts.' A 'bronze figure of Buddha (Gandhara school, fourth to fifth century, AD)' was illustrated (BM 1958,0714.1). [46]

The juxtaposition of antiquities from around the world continued. On 11th June 1959, *The Times* reported on the nineteenth Antique Dealers' Fair, in London:

Like any other great exhibition containing thousands of works of art, the fair – by this time an established institution – will at once surprise, delight and exhaust the casual visitor by the multiplicity of interests represented in it. At first sight there is little in common between, say, a Shang Dynasty Chinese ritual bronze of the second millennium BC, a Buddhist sculpture from Gandhara, a French fifteenth-century polychrome walnut carving of St Jerome at his writing desk and a frivolous Chelsea porcelain figure of the 1750s. [47]

1960s – books, royal visits to Pakistan, exhibitions, and documentary films

The late Sir John Marshall's book *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara* was advertized in *The Times* in November 1960: 'A beautifully illustrated account of the earlier school of art in Gandhara, on the Indus, during the first and second centuries AD. The school is notable for the earliest representation of the Buddha in bodily form.' [49]

On 1st February 1961, to mark Queen Elizabeth II's visit to Pakistan, *The Times* produced an eight-page supplement, in which archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976) wrote about West Pakistan 'the frontier region (the ancient Gandhara) and spread along the highways of Asia. The museums of Karachi, Lahore, Taxila and Peshawar contain between them the finest collection of this Gandhara art in the world.' Illustrations included 'a bronze statue of Harpocrates found at Taxila, imported from Egypt in the first century AD.' [53]

In an article on 13th February 1963 titled 'The Sculptures of Old India', *The Times* art critic reviewed an exhibition of Indian sculpture from the second to eighteenth century at the Arcade Gallery, 28, Old Bond Street: 'it is the fullness and clarity of classical forms which mainly predominate, partly because these are more evident in fragments divorced from the complex profusion of their architectural setting, partly because of the presence of four early Gandhara carvings with their Graeco-Roman influences. Particularly fine are a head of a Bodhisattva and a narrative frieze of 12 figures.' An 'Early Gandhara head' was illustrated. [65] Only a few decades before, Binyon and others had been insisting that Indian art should be viewed in its architectural context!

In November 1963, *The Times* reported on an exhibition of 'Sculpture from India and Siam' at the galleries of Messrs Spink and Son, in King Street, St. James's. The reviewer wrote:

The north Indian Gandhara School, third-fourth century AD is strongly represented and there are some examples which convey an effect of surprising grandeur on a small scale – the Greco-Buddhist panel of a worshipper with clasped hands (2¼ in. in height) and the head of a bearded old man (3½ in. in height) being notable. Two splendid relief compositions of the same early period are a panel showing Maya's dream and an elaborate carving in three horizontal zones with rows of dancing amorini and musicians. [71]

In the 1960s, documentary films were shown at the Commonwealth Institute Cinema, on Kensington High Street. 'Gandhara Art' (directed by S.M. Agha, 1962) was shown with 'Rhodesian Patrol' (1953) in August 1964, and with 'The Changing Hills' (directed by John Martin-Jones, 1962) in May 1965. [77-79]

On 27th January 1965, an editorial in *The Times* picked up on the Tass report of 'a large Buddhist monastery untouched probably since the seventh century, [that] exists with vaulted galleries, packed with sculpture and a giant statue of Buddha of which one foot thus far uncovered is six feet high.' The site, not named, was probably Merv (Stavisky 1990). [78]

On 26th February 1966, *The Times* issued another supplement on Pakistan. In an article titled 'Convergence of buried cultures', Mortimer Wheeler wrote:

But in all this interchange Pakistan was more than a mere transit-camp. It accepted ideas and passed them on; not, however, without taking toll of them and transmuting from them in terms of native genius. The familiar but still baffling Buddhist art of Gandhara (roughly equivalent to the north-west frontier of Pakistan) is merely an outstanding example of this process. [87]

On 8th February 1967, *The Times* correspondent in Rawalpindi reported on a seven-day unofficial visit to Pakistan by King Zahir Shar and Queen Humaira of Afghanistan. President Ayub Khan accompanied them to the Taxila Museum to see 'the remains of Gandhara civilization'. [91]

1970s – the art market, and tourism to India

Most mentions of Gandhāra in *The Times* during the 1970s were references to auctions and private sales – see Appendix 1. The exception was a piece by writer Peter Hopkirk (1930-2014) for a special report 'Holidays in India', published on 8th February 1978. Hopkirk wrote about visiting Calcutta:

For those with a taste for Asian art there is at least one treat in store, the Indian Museum, the largest museum in Asia. Known locally as the *Jadu Garh*, or house of magic, it is the finest repository of Indian art anywhere in the country. To me the highlights were the Gandhara Room, on the ground floor, which is devoted to sculpture, and the ethnographical gallery showing the costumes and utensils of India's many regions. But, in addition, there are magnificent examples of Gupta, Asoka and other early styles of Indian art, besides later sculptures from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, southern India, Java and Cambodia. [112]

1980s – Expo 85, talk of the V&A branch in Bradford, Gandhāran sculpture on loan

On 23rd November 1984, in a piece titled 'Far and exotic pavilion for Expo 85', David Watts, in Tokyo, wrote: 'Standing almost 80ft high, the pavilion also features the famous figures from Easter Island in the Pacific, a Greco-Buddhist figure of the Gandhara style from the North-West Frontier, clay images found in ancient Japanese tombs as burial objects, and reproductions from the world's largest Buddhist shrine, Borobudur in Indonesia, as well as the childlike images of the Olmec tradition from northern and central Mexico.' A spokesman for the publishing house Shueisha said: 'The theme of the exhibition is the relationship of man and science in the modern age. ... Just as these ancient cultures passed on ways of life and technology to other generations, so we want to show how publishing companies are playing a similar role in the modern age.' [114]

An editorial on 22nd June 1988 commented on proposals to build a new museum of Indian art in Bradford, to house the V&A collection. The editor wrote that there was 'no reason why a very large part of the V&A's Indian treasures should not be moved north, especially since Bradford is the city with the largest proportion of South Asians outside the subcontinent. ... The Gandhara sculptures,

part of the artistic heritage of Hinduism but originating in what is now Pakistan and Afghanistan, are a case in point.’ [118]

There were heated discussions about moving the collection to Bradford. On 29th November 1988 David Walker wrote:

Lord Armstrong [1927-2020] recently succeeded Lord Carrington [1919-2018] as a trustee of the Victoria and Albert Museum. He now finds himself earnestly courted by two opposing camps in a V&A row involving artefacts, old buildings, financial corner-cutting, and race. The dispute is over the siting of the new museum of Indian art that has been pencilled in for Bradford, cultural mecca of northern England. The V&A is trying to clear out its capacious cellars of material that goes unviewed, a collection which includes the celebrated Gandhara sculptures. Loud voices are clamouring for the return of the treasures to the sub-continent. But they are being ignored in favour of linking up with Bradford’s own Indian community. [119]

There were arguments about where the collection might be located in Bradford: ‘bang in the middle of Bradford’s shopping centre’ or ‘in a 19th century Grade II listed textile mill in the heart of Bradford’s Asian quarter.’ One cannot help wondering what William Rothenstein, born in Bradford, might have made of these arguments (Shaw 2015).

Gandhāran sculptures were also being transported internationally, on loan to other museums. A law report in *The Times* on 4th October 1989 concerned ‘a claim for damages arising from loss of the inscription plaque on a valuable Pakistani reliquary of the Gandhara period, which had gone missing when being transported to the USA for exhibition in Cleveland, Ohio’. [120]

In 1989, *The Times* issued a series of supplements promoting *The Times Atlas of Ancient Civilizations*. The sixth supplement, published on 13th November 1989, covered South Asia, and mentioned Gandhāra: ‘When the Chinese pilgrim Song Yun visited Gandhara in the 6th century he found the Buddhist centres deserted, the stupas overthrown, the people massacred or enslaved. This terrible visitation, resulting in the demise of the Guptas, marks the end of the Classical Age of Indian civilization.’ [121]

1990s – archaeology, Douglas Barrett, smuggling, Buddhist ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’

On 27th August 1991, *The Times’* Archaeology Correspondent, Norman Hammond, wrote a piece titled ‘India’s early trade with Eastern States’. Unlike most newspaper articles that mentioned Gandhāra from a European perspective, this article reported on ‘Indian contacts with both Thailand and Bali in the late centuries BC and during the period of the Roman Empire. Evidence of Buddhist iconography similar to that found in Pakistan, and pottery made in south India document the routes by which Roman goods reached destinations in Vietnam and Indonesia.’ He mentioned Indian beads of the fourth century BC, and ‘carnelian lion pendants like those found in the Gandhara stupas of the Indus basin are thought to show the Buddha in his Shakyasima avatar, and bronze vessels also bear Buddhist imagery’, and a pot sherd found at the Sembiran site, Bali, with an inscription that appeared to be in Kharoṣṭhī. [122]

On 20th November 1992, *The Times* published an obituary of Douglas Barrett (1917-1992), who had been Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, 1969-1977, and whose publications included works on Gandhāran sculpture. [123]

On 12th November 1994, *The Times* published a long article titled ‘Antiquity smugglers cash in amid Afghan anarchy – drug traffickers launder money through booming trade in plundered Buddhist treasures’ by Peregrine Hodson, in Peshawar. Hodson had written a book about his travels through

Afghanistan in the spring of 1984 (Hodson 1987). In this article, he referred to Gandhāra as being ‘at the hub of Asia, with trading links between China, India and the Mediterranean, and its art reflects the influence of those cultures. // Combining elements of classical Greek sculpture with the naturalism of Indian religious art, Gandhara stone and stucco pieces are among the loveliest exhibits in museums around the world.’ Hodson wrote about the plundering of the Kabul Museum, and of Peshawar, about forty miles away, as ‘the centre of a flourishing trade in illegal antiquities.’ A major local trader told him: ‘If a farmer finds something, it’s a chance for him to make some money for his family. In Afghanistan they use Buddhist sculptures for target practice, with Kalashnikov guns. When a foreigner buys a piece, at least it’s going to a good home. And everyone makes some money. What’s wrong in that?’ [124]

On 26th June 1996, *The Times*’ Arts Correspondent Dalya Alberge wrote about the ancient texts from Gandhāra that the British Library had recently acquired. Although ‘virtually nothing is known about their provenance’, their attribution had been confirmed by Professor Richard Salomon, expert in Kharoṣṭhī at the University of Washington in Seattle, who referred to them as ‘the Dead Sea Scrolls of Buddhism’. [125] Eight years later, she would write about calls for their return. [131]

2000s – Bamiyan, the Buddhist Dead Sea Scrolls, investing in art and antiquities

In March 2001, the Taleban blew up the giant Buddhas at Bamiyan, Afghanistan. Three articles refer to this loss, and to the safety and security of Gandhāra works. Journalist and author Rosemary Righter wrote: ‘The stark truth is that only those statues that have been smuggled abroad have much chance of surviving. These statues hold clues to the ways that Buddhism developed and influenced most Asian cultures. It is a field of study with more questions than answers. The answers may never now be known.’ [126]

Meanwhile, Zemary Hakimi was trying to relocate Afghan treasures to Switzerland. In May 2001 Alex Blair wrote from Bubendorf, Switzerland:

Europe, too, has an interest in safeguarding the Afghan heritage. Since Alexander the Great invaded Afghanistan in 329 BC, the Hindu Kush mountain region has developed into the most easterly bastion of Hellenism. Greek artists influenced the figurative expressions of Buddhist teachings in the Gandhara culture, which spread from India across Afghanistan and along the Silk Road through Central Asia to China and Japan. ... Since 1992 the illegal trafficking of artefacts has flourished in Europe, Japan and Asia. Three years ago, Pakistan which backs the Taleban regime and through which many items are smuggled, passed a law appropriating all Gandhara antiquities found in the country. [127]

Rosemary Righter commented in another piece, titled ‘Poetry on the Silk Road’, published in October 2001:

It is, flatly, impossible to conceive the origins of the Buddhist art of China, Korea and Japan, without reference to Afghan influence. Just as Gandhara sculpture gives Buddhist faith a profile that has unmistakable Greek lines, so the Kushans, converts to Buddhism and great patrons of the arts and of religion, opened up the route for Buddhism into China. These influences have only recently begun to be understood, which is why the smashing by the Taleban of the huge Bamiyan Buddhas, along with every pre-Islamic image created a vast black hole in cultural history. [128]

Despite the condemnation of the destruction of the Buddhas at Bamiyan, and the acknowledgement of illegal trafficking of antiquities from Afghanistan, the next few mentions of Gandhāra in *The Times* focus on collecting, private ownership and investment.

During ‘Asia Week’, 6th-14th November 2003, Conal Gregory wrote a piece titled ‘Celebrating art and culture of Asia’, in which he drew attention to ‘a stucco Buddha head from the Gandhara period of the 4th-5th centuries in Pakistan [that] shows fine carving.’ Asia Week was an initiative of Asian Art in London, an organization established in 1998 to ‘celebrate London as an international centre for expertise and excellence in the promotion of Asian art’ and to ‘promote London as a global centre of commerce and expertise in Asian art.’²¹ [129]

In January 2004, *The Times* published an extract from Peter Conradi’s new book *Going Buddhist* (2004) in which he described a Buddha head that belonged to the author Iris Murdoch: ‘When she died in 1999 she left me in her will a beautiful Gandhara stone head of the Buddha, whose enigmatic smile lightens our kitchen.’ [130]

In September 2004, Dalya Alberge wrote of calls for the British Library to return ancient manuscripts, ‘the Buddhist Dead Sea Scrolls’, which were believed to have been smuggled out of Afghanistan in the early 1990s: ‘They are believed to be part of the long-lost canon of the Sarvastivadin sect that dominated Gandhara – modern north Pakistan and east Afghanistan – and was instrumental in the spread of Buddhism into Central and East Asia. Gandhara was one of the greatest centres of Buddhism in ancient times and a principal point of contact between India and the Western world.’ [131]

In December 2004, *The Times* published a piece titled ‘Bayley’s V&A favourites’. Design consultant Stephen Bayley had been invited to guest curate a ‘Beauty Trail’ at the V&A by selecting twenty-six pieces from the museum with which to explore how ‘the concept of the beautiful and the different ways beauty is expressed across cultures and time ... to encourage visitors to look at the Museum’s rich and diverse permanent collections in a new way and consider for themselves what beauty means.’²² One of those pieces was a head of Siddhartha (V&A: IM.3-1931),²³ which Bayley described as ‘Buddha. The Buddha’s serene face is relieved of all nagging emotion. It was made in Gandhara in the 4th or 5th century BC [sic] to encourage contemplation of Buddhism’s Four Truths. Buddhism sought beautiful states of mind by rejecting objects...except, that is, the ones that stimulated Buddhist meditation.’ [132]

Two reports in *The Times*, in March and July 2006, mentioned Gandhara Capital, a Hong Kong based-hedge fund, founded in 2005 by Davide Erro, a senior trader at Deutsche Bank. [133, 134]

In February 2009, *The Times* published an obituary of the archaeologist Professor Ahmad Hassan Dani (1920-2009), an authority on Central Asian archaeology. [134]

In October 2009, Rachel Campbell-Johnston mentioned Gandhāra in her review of the newly refurbished Ashmolean Museum: ‘Curators have been encouraged to cross departmental boundaries, re-examining their collections to select objects for their importance as agents of cultural exchange. A Buddha sculpted in Gandhara in about the 3rd century AD, for instance, would once have been confined to an Eastern gallery. Now it illustrates the way that East and West are linked. ... This Buddha looks distinctly Indian. But its posture and dress are reminiscent of figures produced in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. It reveals the continuing influence of the classical civilisation that had begun 500 years earlier.’ [137]

21 <<https://www.asianartinlondon.com/about>> (last accessed 20th February 2022).

22 <<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/b/trail-beauty>> (last accessed 20th February 2022).

23 In the museum no. IM.3-1931, IM indicates Asia, 3 is the collection number, and 1931 the year of acquisition: <https://www.vam.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/259920/Researching-objects-using-V-and-A-Archive.pdf> (last accessed 20th February 2022).

2010s – collecting for investment

In the first half of the 2010s, ‘Gandhara’ is mentioned in the context of investment in antiquities.

In March 2011, Mark Bridge, *The Times*’ Personal Finance Reporter, wrote: ‘A piece of history in your portfolio – Investment: Ancient artefacts can be good value’. There were, he said, ‘Ancient artefacts for your collection – and to suit all budgets ... The British Museum’s Afghanistan exhibition has earned rave reviews, confirming the public appetite for ancient artefacts. But few museum goers realise that antiquities of exhibition grade can be bought on the open market and that it is possible to own a piece of history with investment potential on even the most modest budget...’ He gave the example of a 36 cm tall Gandhāran schist carving of the Buddha with disciples (c. fourth century), available for £2,875 from Collector Antiquities. Given that 230 of the items on display in the ‘Afghanistan: Crossroads of the Ancient World’ exhibition at the British Museum were on loan from the Kabul Museum, its collections restored in 2004 after almost total devastation in previous decades (Hiebert and Cambon 2011), Bridge’s article seems rather inappropriate. [138]

In October 2014, during the seventeenth annual Asian Art in London, the writer and art critic Huon Mallalieu highlighted Gandhāran art for collectors: ‘Gandhara stone or stucco sculptures result from a most satisfying artistic fusion. Gandhara covered a fluctuating area in what is now Afghanistan, Pakistan and northwest India.’ [139]

Conclusion

The 140 or so mentions of ‘Gandhara’ in *The Times* offer an erratic view of the reception and rediscovery of Gandhāra. Many pieces explained Gandhāra, as a place, a people, a school or a style, indicating that it was not general knowledge to most readers of *The Times*. The meeting of East and West in Gandhāran sculpture was appealing and fascinating, and offered a familiar route into Indian art for people more accustomed to classical European art. As some of the earliest Indian pieces in public and private collections, the Gandhāran pieces shown in exhibitions of Indian art may have been reassuring. At the same time, they allowed a Eurocentric perspective to prevail, hence the comments by Laurence Binyon that Gandhāran art was not properly Indian art, and the heated debates about the merits of Indian art. Gandhāran sculpture was collected, legally and illegally, and there were private and public collections. Over time, museums in the UK were reorganized. In 1959 the Birmingham Museum’s new galleries focused on archaeology and ethnology, and juxtaposed Gandhāran and South American art. Similarly, auction houses placed Gandhāran pieces in sales with Benin bronzes and ‘other’, non-European, pieces. New displays – long-lasting and temporary – encouraged visitors to examine not just the objects on display, but also themselves and their own responses to them, as in the V&A’s Beauty Trail. Mentions of Gandhāra in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century referred to heritage and provenance, destruction and preservation, but most of all they encouraged investment in Gandhāran art.

Appendix 1: Adverts, notices, and reports relating to sales of Gandhāran art (in date order)

Advertisements were placed by auction houses: Sotheby's (26), Christie's (9), Spink (1), and individuals wishing to buy or sell Gandhāran art (11). Some entries were repeated several times. The following table provides information in a summary form, often the advertisement was followed by a report after the sale.

Dealer	Date of sale	Advert // Report of sale	List no.
Sotheby's	18-19 Jun 1923	<i>Sotheby's are selling to-day and to-morrow Babylonian, Egyptian, and other antiquities from many sources, one of the pieces being an archaic three-quarter figure in sandstone, found by the late Captain Adey at Waiss, near Awaz, in Kurdistan, in 1901, and another is a Gandhara stele from the Buddhist ruins of the North-West Frontier of India; the latter 48 in. high and 19 in. wide, dates from about the second century, AD, and it covered with scenes in the life of Gautama...</i> Report: The highest price - £62 (Gearing) - was paid for a fine Greek gold finger ring with intaglio cutting of a Greek warrior with shield and spear killing another on the ground. An Indo-Hellenic figure of Bodisativa [<i>sic</i>], in stone, probably dating from about 300 BC, 19 ½ in. high - £25 (Andrade); and a Gandhara Stele, from one of the Buddhist ruins of the North-West Frontier of India, a carving 4ft. high, widest part 1 ft. 7 in. - £34 (Huett).	13, 14
Sotheby's	27 May 1936	<i>Gandhara carvings</i>	24, 25
Sotheby's	29 July 1946	<i>Gandhara sculpture</i>	33
Sotheby's	20 July 1953	<i>a Gandhara seated figure of a Buddha</i>	35
Sotheby's	19 Nov 1956	<i>Gandhara sculpture</i> Report: Bronze head from Benin bought for £1,500. Part of Plass Collection in Sotheby's Sale. // In a sale yesterday at Sotheby's, mainly confined to African art, a well-known bronze head from Benin of a deceased Oba or king, probably cast in the seventeenth century and considered one of the finest specimens of its period in existence, fell to Mr Weinberg for £1,500. This was part of the collection formed by the late Webster Plass. The collection has been presented by Mrs Plass to the British Museum, the pieces in the sale - types already well represented in the national collection - being sold to provide funds for further gifts. ... [lots of masks sold] // Amid so much subtle and impressive barbarism two small bronze sixteenth-century Siamese heads and a Gandhara sculpture looked incongruously serene and civilized. The total for 124 lots was £6,107.	38, 39
Sotheby's	3 Dec 1956	<i>a fine Gandhara Buddha</i> Report: a standing Buddha in grey schist from Gandhara, that centre of Graeco-Indian culture after the conquest of Alexander, second to fourth century AD, £185 (Verite).	40, 41
?	2 July 1957	Report: In a sale of antiquities which realized £4,432 Messrs Spink paid £170 for a seated figure of the Buddha, 26 in. high, from Gandhara. Of many primitive African pieces a Yoruba bronze figure of a man, 18 in. high, sold for £240 (Stiles). Toronto Art Gallery paid £90 for a Benin bronze human mask.	42
Sotheby's	2 Dec 1957	Report: a Gandhara grey schist panel of the Buddha for £85 (Spink)	43
Sotheby's	10 Jun 1958	<i>Gandhara sculpture</i>	44

Dealer	Date of sale	Advert // Report of sale	List no.
Sotheby's	22 Feb 1960	<i>a well-carved Gandhara grey schist panel</i>	48
Christie's	6 Dec 1960	Report: Spink, who also paid 250 guineas for a Gandhara grey schist head of Buddha, second century AD, and 105 guineas for a smaller one.	51
Sotheby's	12 Dec 1960	<i>a Gandhara grey schist head of the Bodhisattva Siddhartha, 3rd century AD; and an important Gandhara grey schist Buddha, 3rd century AD</i> Report on Sotheby's sale 12 Dec – a Gandhara grey schist Buddha for £900 (both bought by Hewett); a Gandhara head of a Buddhist saint for £880 (Garabed).	50, 52
Sotheby's	3 July 1961	<i>a fine Gandhara grey schist figure of Buddha, 3rd century AD</i>	54, 56
Personal ad (3 times)	21 Jun 1961; 28 Aug 1961; 5 Sept 1961	<i>Eastern antiquities sought by Gentleman Collector. Gandhara carvings, fine Egyptian objects, Syrian and Roman glass, bronzes, &c. Also early Chinese works. – Write Box K.1591, The Times, EC4</i>	55, 58, 59
Sotheby's	29 Oct 1962	<i>a Gandhara grey schist seated figure of Buddha 3rd century AD, and a Greco-Buddhist gold female figurine, 1st century AD</i> Report: [Hewett] paid £480 for a Gandhara stone figure of Buddha, AD 300-400	60, 61
Sotheby's	11 Feb 1963	<i>Gandhara sculpture, 2/3rd century AD</i> Report: 'The highest price of the afternoon was £1,600 paid by Hewitt for a fifth century AD Gupta sandstone carving of a Yakshi or tree nymph, probably part of a pillar.' // 'a third century AD Gandhara head and shoulders of Buddha for £170 to an anonymous purchaser and a somewhat smaller head for £200 to the Arcade Gallery.'	63, 64
Sotheby's	29 April 1963	Report: 'The Arcade Gallery gave £250 for a twelfth-century stele from Bengal, £200 for a Gandhara third-century stone carving of a Buddhist saint, and £120 for a sixteenth-century Siamese bronze head of Buddha.'	66
Christie's	16 July 1963	<i>a series of important Gandhara grey schist full-length figures of Buddha</i>	67, 68
Sotheby's	25 Nov 1963	<i>a fine Gandhara sculpture</i> Report: Hewett paid £520 for a Gandhara seated Bodhisattva in grey schist of about the fourth century. // A fifth-century head of Buddha in stucco made £240 (Ellsworth and Goldie), and a fifth-century Gupta head in red sandstone realized £260 (Ohly).'	69, 70
Sotheby's	10 Jan 1964	Report: a Gandhara grey schist carving of a goddess of c. AD 200 went for £190 (Mrs Donaldson-Kerr)	72
Sotheby's	20 May 1964	<i>Gandhara and Pala sculpture</i> Report: 'Ellsworthy and Goldie, New York, paid £260 for a marble relief from a Jain temple, £480 for a tenth-century AD Pala grey schist stele of Buddha and attendants, £380 for another of the same period, £240 for a fifth-century AD relief of the five Buddhas from Gandhara, £210 for a third or fourth century AD single Buddha image, and £1,000 for a first or second century AD frieze of five captives wearing Indo-Scythian dress. ... Increase in values. ... Eiseberg £500 for a Gandhara Buddhist relief (£70 in the same rooms in 1928)'	73, 74
Christie's	15 July 1964	<i>a Gandhara grey schist figure of the Life of Buddha, including one carved with the Distribution of the Sacred Relics of Buddha; a fine Gandhara stucco head of Buddha</i>	75, 76

Dealer	Date of sale	Advert // Report of sale	List no.
Sotheby's	12 July 1965	<i>a Gandhara grey schist head of Buddha</i> Report: 'During the afternoon African sculpture, Indian and other art was sold for £14,539. The remarkable prize of £3,600 (H.L. Dean) was given for a seventeenth-century Benin bronze plaque of two warriors in relief. A fourth-century AD Gandhara head of Buddha in grey schist made £500 (Hewett).'	80, 81
Christie's	25 Oct 1965	<i>a collection of Gandhara grey schist carvings</i>	82
Sotheby's	15 Nov 1965	<i>a collection of Gandhara grey schist figures of Buddha, both seated and standing, and two Gandhara grey schist heads of Buddha, all 300-400 AD</i> Report: 'The chief interest at Sotheby's yesterday afternoon was a series of rare bronzes from Benin... a large Gandhara head of Buddha in grey schist £1,000 (Bartelot)'	83, 84, 85
Christie's	20 Dec 1965	Report: 'At Christie's, in a sale of £6,039 sale of Oriental ceramics and works of art, a third-century AD Gandhara Buddha stele was bought for 100 guineas (Hesse)'	86
Sotheby's	27 Jun 1966	<i>Gandhara sculpture</i>	88, 89
Sotheby's	23 Jan 1967	Report: 'a third to fourth century AD Gandhara figure of the Buddha £100 (Mrs J. Winter)'	90
Sotheby's	27 Feb 1967	<i>(On View in Sotheby's Annexe, 142 New Bond Street) - an important collection of Indian sculpture and miniatures, including a group of Kushan terra-cottas, all c. 2nd century a Gandhara grey schist figure of Maitreya, 3rd-4th century, a Gupta sandstone figure of Kubera, 7th century, The Sculpture and Miniatures included in this Sale were formerly in the Collection of Dr J.R. Belmont of Basel</i> // Report: In the Sale Room. Indian Sculpture in Demand. Americans Relish a Swiss Collection. // We ruled India for two centuries and took little interest in the art of the country until after we had left. It is not surprising, therefore, that the best collection of Indian sculpture yet seen at auction in London has come from Switzerland to be sold at Sotheby's. // ... Sir Brandon Rhys Williams paid £680 for a Gandhara Boddhisattva.	92, 93
Sotheby's	20 Nov 1967	<i>a fine Gandhara grey schist figure of Buddha</i>	94
Personal	10 Jun 1968	Gandhara - Exquisite Buddha head for sale to private collector - Box 0784 M, The Times	95
Christie's	29 Oct 1968	stone sculpture including Gandhara and Khmer pieces	96
Sotheby's	8 Dec 1969	four Gandhara grey schist standing figures of Buddha all 3rd/4th century AD, two Gandhara grey schist figures of Atlas, 3rd/4th century AD // Report: The sale included a Benin bronze figure at £7,200 (Simpson) and a Gandhara grey schist figure of Buddha, dating from the third or fourth century AD at £3,600.	97, 98
Sotheby's	27 Apr 1970	a Gandhara grey schist figure of Buddha, 3rd/4th century AD, a Gandhara grey schist figure of Maitreya, 3rd/4th century AD	99
Personal	4-6 Nov 1971	Gandhara Buddha. Very fine Gandhara Buddhist. Seated Buddha, stone, 18 in high, 2nd century AD, also Mathura head, Chinese paintings. Dealers abstain. Mr Diakoss, Oxford 53544 (7pm-9pm only)'	100, 101, 102

Dealer	Date of sale	Advert // Report of sale	List no.
Christie's	27 Mar 1972	fine Gandhara sculpture	103
Sotheby's	11 July 1972	Report: 'African, Oceanic, Eskimo and American Indian Art, Tibetan and Nepalese Scroll Paintings, Indian, Khmer, Tibetan, Nepalese, Burmese, Thailand and Javanese Sculpture, also Islamic Pottery and Metalwork, the properties of the governors of Harrow School, the Rt Hon Malcolm Macdonald, John Russell, Esq., and other owners, including an important Benin bronze group of a horse and rider; a large Benin bronze head of a king; a small Benin bronze gaming piece from the War Game; an Easter Island carved wood paddle; a South Indian bronze figure of Vishnu, 10th century; a Pala bronze figure of Buddha, 8th/9th century; two large Rajasthan paintings of tigers on cotton, and a fine Gandhara grey schist figure of a Bodhisattva. Cat. (67 plates) £2.25	104
Christie's	14 Nov 1972	Gandhara sculpture	105
Personal	16-17 Nov 1972	For sale and wanted ... Gandhara sculpture. Several fine examples for disposal. World interest either collectors or museums. Box 0132 R. The Times	106, 107
Christie's	19 Mar 1973	Gandhara sculpture	108
Spink & Son	16-25 May 1973	exhibition of Gandhara and other Indian Buddhist Sculpture, until 25 May. Stucco head of an ascetic. Gandhara, 3 rd /4 th century. Height 8 ½'. Spink & Son Ltd, King Street, St James's, London SW1	109
Personal	15 Apr 1975	For sale and wanted ... Gandhara sculpture – Gentleman will dispose of small collection – Items in excellent condition. – Box 2101 M. The Times	110
Sotheby Parke Bernet (NY)	21 Apr 1976	Report: The top price was \$17,000 (estimate \$10,000 to \$12,500) or £9,190 for a 40 inch Gandhara grey schist figure of Buddha, probably of the fourth century.'	111
Sotheby's	4 July 1978	Report: Sotheby's sale of Asian antiquities yesterday made £59,485 with 10 per cent unsold. A Gandhara grey schist architectural relief, centred by a figure of Buddha and dating from the third to fourth century AD, made £21,000 (estimate £8,000 to £10,000), going to Fugendo from Tokyo.'	113
Sotheby's New York	20-21 Sept 1985	Indian art totals \$2.1m in New York. An auction devoted entirely to Indian art. It totalled \$2,100,000 with 26 per cent unsold. // The 710 lots included almost a 100 pieces which were formerly in the Heeramanek Collection. The sale was timed to coincide with the start of the year-long Festival of India in the United States. ... His [Mr Matsuoko of Japan] other purchases included a medieval central Indian sandstone relief of Brahma at \$20,000 and a third or fourth-century Gandhara figure of Buddha at \$42,000.'	116
Sotheby's	23 Nov 1987	Report: sale of Indian, Himalayan and South-east Asian art in London yesterday, a Japanese collector bought the top lot, a third-century Gandhara figure of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, for £17,600 (estimate to £20,000).	117

List of occurrences of the term ‘Gandhara’ in *The Times* (in date order)

List No.	Title of piece in <i>The Times</i>	Day	Date	Edition	Column	Category
1	Professor Monier Williams on Afghanistan	Thurs	5 Dec 1878	29430	6	Article
2	International Oriental Congress	Thurs	6 Sep 1892	33736	6	Article
3	To-day’s Arrangements	Tues	12 Jun 1900	36166	9	Article
4	Lord Curzon’s Asiatic Collection	Thurs	30 Aug 1906	38112	4	Article
5	Archaeology in India (from a correspondent)	Fri	14 Aug 1908	38725	8	Article
6	Hellenism in the East	Tues	11 Mar 1913	40156	14	Article
7	University Intelligence	Mon	9 Jun 1913	40233	5	Article
8	Exploration of Turkestan	Wed	13 May 1914	40522	7	Article
9	The Fitzwilliam Museum	Wed	6 Mar 1918	41730	5	Review
10	Art Exhibitions	Tues	15 Jul 1919	42152	15	Review
11	Too Late for Classification	Mon	17 Nov 1919	42259	4	Advertisement
12	Art (by Laurence Binyon)	Thurs	17 Nov 1921	42880	xiv	Review
13	The Sale Room	Mon	18 Jun 1923	43370	17	Article
14	The Sale Room	Wed	20 Jun 1923	43372	11	Article
15	Ban on Removal of Buddhist Sculpture	Tues	15 Jul 1924	43704	13	Article
16	Art Exhibitions	Thurs	17 Jul 1924	43706	12	Review
17	Aornos	Sat	29 May 1926	44284	13	Editorial
18	Alexander the Great (by Aurel Stein)	Mon	25 Oct 1926	44411	17	Article
19	Elephants or Macaws? (by Prof. G. Elliot Smith, FRS)	Fri	14 Jan 1927	44479	13	Article
20	Ancient Culture	Sat	19 Oct 1929	45338	7	Article
21	Art Exhibitions	Fri	15 May 1931	45823	14	Review
22	British Museum	Mon	11 Jul 1932	46182	8	Article
23	Buddhist Art	Wed	10 Oct 1934	46881	12	Review
24	Sotheby & Co.	Tues	12 May 1936	47372	30	Advertisement
25	Sotheby & Co.	Tues	19 May 1936	47378	30	Advertisement
26	Indian State Railways Magazine	Sat	17 Oct 1936	47508	14	Article
27	Indian Art (by H G Rawlinson)	Sat	30 Oct 1937	47829	10	Letter to editor
28	India and Iran	Wed	17 Nov 1937	47844	9	Article
29	Index	Thurs	3 Feb 1944	49770	5	Back matter
30	Indian Art	Wed	14 Jun 1944	49882	6	Review
31	Index	Wed	18 Oct 1944	49977	5	Back matter

List No.	Title of piece in <i>The Times</i>	Day	Date	Edition	Column	Category
32	Index	Wed	11 Jul 1945	50191	5	Back matter
33	Hampton & Sons	Tues	23 Jul 1946	50510	10	Advertisement
34	Oxford Museum of Eastern Art (from our Museums Correspondent)	Thurs	17 Nov 1949	51541	7	Review
35	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	14 Jul 1953	52673	12	Advertisement
36	Birmingham Museum Reorganization	Wed	18 Nov 1953	52782	5	Article
37	Important Paris Sale	Thurs	10 Mar 1955	53186	7	Article
38	Tresidder & Co.	Tues	6 Nov 1956	53681	18	Advertisement
39	Bronze Head from Benin bought for £1,500	Tues	20 Nov 1956	53693	12	Article
40	Sales by Auction	Tues	20 Nov 1956	53693	18	Advertisement
41	Porphyry Head sold for £550	Tues	4 Dec 1956	53705	7	Article
42	£125 for Shelley Family Bible (from our sale room correspondent)	Wed	3 Jul 1957	53883	12	Article
43	Benin Bronzes sold to French Dealers (from our sale room correspondent)	Tues	3 Dec 1957	54014	12	Article
44	Sales by Auction	Tues	3 Jun 1958	54167	20	Advertisement
45	Sir J. Marshall	Mon	18 Aug 1958	54232	10	Obituary
46	Benefactor's £600,000 Gifts to the British Museum. Antiquities for British Museum	Fri	10 Apr 1959	54431	8, 24	Article
47	Antiques on Show	Thurs	11 Jun 1959	54484	15	Article
48	Hampton & Sons	Tues	16 Feb 1960	54696	20	Advertisement
49	Multiple display advertisements	Thurs	10 Nov 1960	54925	15	Advertisement
50	Hampton & Sons	Tues	29 Nov 1960	54941	22	Advertisement
51	Porcelain fetches £46,539	Wed	7 Dec 1960	54948	7	Article, broadcast transcript
52	Max's Marginal Fun in Sale	Tues	13 Dec 1960	54953	6	Article
53	The Evolution of an Islamic Community (by Mortimer Wheeler)	Wed	1 Feb 1961	54994	iv	Article
54	Hampton & Sons	Tues	20 Jun 1961	55112	22	Advertisement
55	Flowers	Wed	21 Jun 1961	55113	1	Advertisement
56	Hampton & Sons	Tues	27 Jun 1961	55118	22	Advertisement
57	Flowers	Mon	7 Aug 1961	55153	1	Advertisement
58	Flowers	Mon	28 Aug 1961	55171	1	Advertisement
59	Motor Car Hire Service	Tues	5 Sept 1961	55178	1	Advertisement
60	Sotheby's	Tues	23 Oct 1962	55529	20	Advertisement

List No.	Title of piece in <i>The Times</i>	Day	Date	Edition	Column	Category
61	In the Sale Rooms (from our sale room correspondent)	Tues	30 Oct 1962	55535	14	Article
62	In the Sale Rooms (from our sale room correspondent)	Tues	27 Nov 1962	55559	13	Article
63	Sotheby's	Tues	5 Feb 1963	55617	20	Advertisement
64	In the Sale Room (from our sale room correspondent)	Tues	12 Feb 1963	55623	12	Article
65	The Sculptures of Old India (from our art critic)	Wed	13 Feb 1963	55624	13	Review
66	In the Sale Rooms (from our sale room correspondent)	Tues	30 Apr 1963	55688	14	Article
67	Hampton & Sons	Tues	9 Jul 1963	55748	20	Advertisement
68	Hampton & Sons	Tues	16 Jul 1963	55754	20	Advertisement
69	Sotheby's	Tues	12 Nov 1963	55856	22	Advertisement
70	In the Sale Rooms	Tues	26 Nov 1963	55868	8	Article
71	Sculpture from India and Siam	Wed	27 Nov 1963	55869	15	Review
72	£520 for a Pair of Table Lustres	Tues	21 Jan 1964	55914	13	Review
73	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	19 May 1964	56015	24	Advertisement
74	£5,000 paid for a bronze plaque	Thurs	21 May 1964	56017	7	Review
75	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	7 Jul 1964	56057	24	Advertisement
76	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	14 Jul 1964	56063	20	Advertisement
77	Index	Mon	10 Aug 1964	56086	9	Back matter
78	The Mountain Brings forth...	Wed	27 Jan 1965	56230	11	Editorial
79	Index	Mon	31 May 1965	56335	11	Back matter
80	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	6 Jul 1965	56366	22	Advertisement
81	In the Sale Rooms (from our sale room correspondent)	Tues	13 Jul 1965	56372	14	Review
82	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	19 Oct 1965	56456	22	Advertisement
83	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	2 Nov 1965	56468	20	Advertisement
84	Bernard Thorpe & Partners	Tues	9 Nov 1965	56474	22	Advertisement
85	Bronze rifleman fetches £4,200	Tues	16 Nov 1965	56480	14	Review
86	Boyle work sold for £4,200	Tues	21 Dec 1965	56510	10	Review
87	Convergence of buried cultures (by Mortimer Wheeler)	Sat	26 Feb 1966	56566	xiii	Article
88	Sale by Auction	Tues	14 Jun 1966	56657	21	Advertisement
89	Sales by Auction	Tues	21 Jun 1966	56663	23	Advertisement
90	A 'Gesta Grayorum' makes £110	Tues	24 Jan 1967	56847	14	Article

List No.	Title of piece in <i>The Times</i>	Day	Date	Edition	Column	Category
91	News in Brief	Wed	8 Feb 1967	56860	8	Article
92	Country Properties	Tues	21 Feb 1967	56871	21	Advertisement
93	Indian Sculpture in demand	Tues	28 Feb 1967	56877	12	Article
94	Sales by Auction	Tues	14 Nov 1967	57098	17	Advertisement
95	Personal	Mon	10 Jun 1968	57273	16	Advertisement
96	Fine Art & Furniture Auctions	Tues	29 Oct 1968	57394	14	Advertisement
97	Sotheby's	Tues	2 Dec 1969	57732	18	Advertisement
98	£12,000 Bid Gains Hawaiian Carving	Tues	9 Dec 1969	57738	12	Article
99	Sotheby's	Tues	21 Apr 1970	57849	15	Advertisement
100	Funeral Arrangements	Thurs	4 Nov 1971	58316	32	Advertisement
101	Funeral Arrangements	Fri	5 Nov 1971	58317	28	Advertisement
102	Funeral Arrangements	Sat	6 Nov 1971	58318	26	Advertisement
103	Phillips	Tues	21 Mar 1972	58432	13	Advertisement
104	Sotheby's	Tues	4 July 1972	58521	13	Review
105	Salerooms	Tues	7 Nov 1972	58625	25	Advertisement
106	Fashion and Beauty	Thurs	16 Nov 1972	58633	33	Advertisement
107	Women's Appointments	Fri	17 Nov 1972	58634	29	Advertisement
108	Salerooms	Tues	13 Mar 1973	58730	23	Advertisement
109	Spink	Wed	16 May 1973	58783	11	Advertisement
110	Flat Sharing	Tues	15 Apr 1975	59370	27	Advertisement
111	£9,900 for 'Macready Testimonial'	Fri	23 Apr 1976	59686	18	Article
112	Glad I saw the place nobody seems to like (by Peter Hopkirk)	Wed	8 Feb 1978	60231	iv	Article
113	Eighteenth-century pastel portrait fetches £36,000 (by Geraldine Norman)	Wed	5 Jul 1978	60345	18	Article
114	Far and exotic pavilion for Expo 85 (by David Watts)	Fri	23 Nov 1984	61994	28	Article
115	Sale Room	Mon	23 Sep 1985	62250	14	Article
116	Indian art totals £2.1m in New York	Mon	23 Sep 1985	62550	14	Article
117	Japanese mark up further conquests	Tues	24 Nov 1987	62934	3	Article
118	Museum changes	Wed	22 Jun 1988	63114	13	Editorial
119	David Walker	Tues	29 Nov 1988	63251	16	Article
120	Foreign court is better forum for loss claim	Wed	4 Oct 1989	63516	36	Article
121	The Guptas and Buddhism	Mon	13 Nov 1989	63650	10(S)	Article

List No.	Title of piece in <i>The Times</i>	Day	Date	Edition	Column	Category
122	India's early trade with eastern states (by Norman Hammond)	Tue	27 Aug 1991	64109	14	Article
123	Douglas Barrett	Fri	20 Nov 1992	64495	21	Obituary
124	Antiquity smugglers cash in amid Afghan anarchy (Peregrine Hudson)	Sat	12 Nov 1994	65110	14	Article
125	Buddhist 'Dead Sea Scrolls' found by library (by Dalya Alberge)	Wed	26 Jun 1996	65616	1	Article
126	Wanton destruction (by Rosemary Righter)	Wed	7 Mar 2001	67080	3(S)	Article
127	Afghan relics find sanctuary in Switzerland (Alex Blair)	Sat	12 May 2001	67137	19	Article
128	Rosemary Righter poetry on the Silk Road (Rosemary Righter)	Fri	5 Oct 2001	67262	4(S1)	Article
129	Celebrating art and culture of Asia (Conal Gregory)	Thurs	6 Nov 2003	67913	37	Article
130	Meditations with Iris (by Aude Van Ryn)	Sat	17 Jan 2004	67974	40(S4)	Article
131	Call for return of Afghan scrolls (by Dalya Alberge)	Mon	13 Sep 2004	68179	9	Article
132	Bayley's V&A favourites	Sat	27 Nov 2004	68244	19(S2)	Review
133	Hedging Bets - Lacklustre nylon loses the thread (by Liz Chong)	Mon	13 Mar 2006	68646	47	Article
134	Number of new hedge funds in Europe hits record (by Liz Chong)	Thurs	27 Jul 2006	68763	51	Article
135	Professor A H Dani	Wed	18 Feb 2009	69562	53	Obituary
136	Watchdog wants Hardy talks (by Robert Lindsay)	Thurs	4 Jun 2009	69653	55	Article
137	A round-the-world ticket for a clear and concise history tour (by Rachel Campbell-Johnston)	Thurs	29 Oct 2009	69779	15	Article
138	Ancient artefacts for your collection – and to suit all budgets	Sat	12 Mar 2011	70205	65	Article
139	Your chance to see the best Asian art	Sat	18 Oct 2014	71331	82	Article

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