

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.exploringsurreypast.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’, ‘enchancing’, 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: 'Ellsworth 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

References

- Anderson J. 1883. *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum*, 2 volumes. Part II: Gupta and Inscription Galleries. Buddhist, Jain, Brahmanical, and Muhammadan Sculptures; Metal Weapons, objects from Tumuli, &c. Calcutta: Printed by order of the Trustees of the Indian Museum.
- Arrowsmith R.R. 2010. An Indian Renaissance and the Rise of Global Modernism: William Rothenstein in India, 1910–11. *The Burlington Magazine* 152/1285 (April): 228–235.
- Arrowsmith R.R. 2011. *Modernism and the Museum: Asian, African and Pacific Art and the London Avant Garde*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchthal H. 1945. *The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture*. London: G. Cumberlege.
- Burlington Fine Arts Club. 1931. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Art of India*. London: Privately printed.
- Byron R. 1931. *An Essay on India*. London: Routledge.
- Chavannes E. 1913. L'exposition d'art bouddhique au Musée Cernuschi. *T'oung Pao* 34: 261–286.
- Conradi P. 2004. *Going Buddhist: Panic and Emptiness, the Buddha and Me*. London: Short Books.
- Cullen A. 2017. Bringing Asia to Oxford. Dr William Cohn and the Museum of Eastern Art. Pages 302–312 in S. Crawford, K. Ulmschneider, and J. Elsner (eds) *Ark of Civilization: Refugee Scholars and Oxford University, 1930–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldston E. 1929. *Catalogue of Indian Sculptures, Exhibited at the Goldston Art Gallery*. London: Botolph Printing Works.
- Havell E.B. 1907. *Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education*. Madras: G.A. Natesan and Co.
- Havell E.B. 1908. *Indian Sculpture and Painting*. London: John Murray.
- Heinonen A. 2012. *Contested Spaces in London: Exhibitionary Representations of India, c. 1886–1951*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kentucky, <https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=history_etds>.
- Hiebert F. and Cambon P. 2011. *Afghanistan: Crossroads of the Ancient World*. London: British Museum Press.
- Hodson P. 1987. *Under a Sickle Moon: A Journey through Afghanistan*. New York: Grove Press.
- Jongeward D. 2019. *Buddhist Art of Gandhara in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- Kendall A. 1923. The Participation of India and Burma in the British Empire Exhibition, 1924. *Journal of the Society of Arts* 71/3689 (Aug): 645–657.
- Marshall J.H. 1960. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Olivieri L.M. and Filigenzi A. 2018. On Gandhāran Sculptural Production from Swat: Recent Archaeological and Chronological Data. Pages 71–92 in W. Rienjang and P. Stewart (eds) *Problems of Chronology in Gandhāran Art. Proceedings of the First International Workshop of the Gandhara Connections Project, University of Oxford, 23rd–24th March, 2017*. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology.
- Pierson S.J. 2017. *Private Collecting, Exhibitions, and the Shaping of Art History in London*. London: Routledge.
- Rienjang W. 2019. Gandhāran Sculptures in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Pages 109–125 in F. Melville (ed.), *Central Asian Art in the Collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum*. Tashkent.
- Sedgwick M. 2004. *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*. Oxford University Press.
- Shaw S. 2015. *From Bradford to Benares: The Art of Sir William Rothenstein*. Bradford: Metropolitan District Council, Art Galleries and Museums.
- Solomon W.E.G. 1926. *The Charm of Indian Art*. London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd.
- Solomon W.E.G. 1937. India's Message in Art. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 85 (4420): 878–892.
- Stavisky B.J. 1990. Buddhist Monuments of Central Asia and the Sasanians. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute. In honour of Richard Nelson Frye: Aspects of Iranian Culture* 4: 167–170.
- Temple R.C. and Howorth H.H. 1922. Mansel Longworth Dames. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2: 301–305.
- 'The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. London, 1892.' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1892, 855–76. Accessed September 5, 2021.

- Turner S.V. 2010. 'The Essential Quality of Things': E.B. Havell, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Indian Art and Sculpture in Britain, c. 1910-14. *Visual Culture in Britain* 11/2: 239-264.
- Turner S.V. 2012. Crafting Connections: The India Society and Inter-Imperial Artistic Networks in Edwardian Britain. Pages 96-114 in S. Nasta (ed.) *India in Britain: South Asian Networks and Connections, 1858-1950*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wang H. (ed.) 2009. *Handbook to the Stein Collections in the UK*. London: British Museum Occasional Paper 129. (Revised edition, by H. Wang and J. Perkins (2008), *Handbook to the Collections of Sir Aurel Stein in the UK* London: British Museum Research Publication 129: 55-57).
- Wang H. 2004. *Sir Aurel Stein in The Times*. London: Saffron Books.