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Karuna Srikureja April 3, 2017

Faking it: The Problem of Forgeries in Gandharan Art and the Michael C. Carlos Museum Narrative Frieze

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An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of Art History

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Abstract

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This thesis evaluates claims made about the authenticity of a Gandharan Narrative frieze at the Michael C. Carlos Museum by examining the iconography and material of the sculpture as well as the concerns raised by various scholars. I begin by discussing the sculpture in its own right, attempting to reconstruct a possible historical context and to place the work within the larger body of Gandharan sculpture. Then, by examining its iconography and physical condition, and by assessing the various claims made by scholars, I evaluate the evidence that both supports and refutes the allegations of forgery. In addressing these issues, I relate the Carlos Museum frieze to sculptures believed to be authentic, either because they were scientifically excavated or because they possess a clear provenance that dates back at least one hundred years. It was found that while the Carlos Museum Frieze can be identified as a depiction of the story of Nanda, the Buddha's youngest half-brother, in the presence of the Bodhisattva Vajrapani, the iconography and narrative details do not correspond exactly. This could be because the sculpture is fake or simply because it is a provincial style or a less exact example of the story. Similarly, the material of the sculpture and the state of the stone provide interesting pieces of evidence that have multiple interpretations that can either support or undermine allegations of forgery. While it is tempting to use this evidence to make a claim about the sculptures authenticity, my thesis instead aims to present a balanced presentation of the available evidence, and discusses the cultural implications of the phenomenon of fakes in Gandharan art. By placing contemporary interactions with both real and fake Gandharan art within the context of the history of scholarship, I show that the tastes of early colonial scholars and collectors has imbued these works with artistic and monetary value because of their relationship to Greco-Roman artistic traditions, and created a market for fake Gandharan sculpture.

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Acknowledgements

When I first decided to write a thesis on the Gandharan narrative frieze at the Carlos Museum, I thought it would be impossible because of the limited resources for South Asian art history at Emory. My advisors, Dr. Linda Merrill and Dr. Ellen Gough, stepped out of their chosen fields to work with me and made this project possible. Thank you to both for encouraging me to pursue my interests, and for their knowledge and guidance throughout this process. I want to also thank Dr. Gay Robins, whose support for me over the years is exemplified by her agreement to serve on my committee during her semester off-campus.

I am grateful to the staff at the Michael C. Carlos Museum for allowing me to work closely with this sculpture. A special thanks goes to Elizabeth Hornor, who has supported my Art Historical interests since my freshman year, and who planted the seeds for this project in 2015 when she asked me to conduct research on two Gandharan sculptures at the Carlos Museum. Thank you as well to Renee Stein and Dr. Jasper Gaunt for working closely with me to examine frieze and sharing their knowledge in conservation, Greco-Roman art, and museum practice.

Without the help of several scholars of Gandharan art, this project would not have been possible. Thank you to Dr. Osmund Bopearachchi, Dr. Kurt Behrendt, Dr. Juhyung Rhi and Dr. Laura Giuliano for their willingness to discuss this project and for sharing their invaluable knowledge and judgments with me.

I would like to extend a final thanks to my family and friends, who have endured countless one-sided conversations about Gandharan art with little complaint. Thank you for your constant support.

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Introduction

In July of 2012, local police in Karachi, Pakistan, seized a truckload of looted Buddhist and Hindu stone sculptures on its way to be smuggled out of the country for sale abroad. The investigation led to a warehouse containing hundreds more sculptures; in the end, close to four hundred works of art were apprehended.[1] Just over a week later, the investigation took a startling turn when around seventy-five percent of those stolen sculptures were found to be fakes, created in Pakistani workshops over the past few decades.[2]

Eventually gifted to the National Museum in Karachi, the sculptures came primarily from the region of ancient Gandhara, in what is now northwest Pakistan and Afghanistan.[3] After the armies of Alexander the Great swept through the region in 327 BCE, Gandhara entered a period of international interaction, and by the second century CE had become an important, multicultural center for trade as well as Buddhism. Consequently, when British colonialists encountered Gandharan sculpture in the nineteenth century, they were taken with the "Greek" aspect of its style. Perhaps for this reason, Gandharan sculptures remain popular in western museums to this day.[4]

The Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University (henceforth, Carlos Museum) was gifted a Gandharan narrative panel in the fall of 2015. Carved from a twenty-four- by forty-three-centimeter grey schist block with a scene from the Buddha's life (Figure 1), the work is

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[1]Rabia Ali, "Archaeologists on fact-finding mission, as more Gandhara relics found," *The Express Tribune* (Karachi?), July 8, 2012, accessed February 17, 2017, https://tribune.com.pk/story/405122/archaeologists-n-fact-finding-mission-as-more-gandhara-relics-found/.

[2] Saad Hasan, "Some recovered Gandharan artefacts found to be forgeries," *The Express Tribune* (Karachi?), July 12, 2012, accessed February 17, 2017, https://tribune.com.pk/story/407607/some-recovered-gandhara-artefacts-found-to-be-forgeries/.

[3] Hasan, "Some recovered Gandharan artefacts found to be forgeries."

[4] Stanley K. Abe, "Inside the Wonder House: Buddhist Art and the West," in *Curators of the Buddha*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 63-93.

impressive but undocumented. Its provenance is limited to a single page of a 1974 letter of unknown origin addressed to a donor who wishes to remain anonymous, and its iconography presents several irregularities that make the narrative difficult to identify. The lack of verifiable facts surrounding the sculpture has led several experts in Gandharan art to suggest that this frieze, like the Karachi sculptures, may be a modern forgery.[5] Before dismissing a potentially authentic work, however, it is important to carefully examine all the available evidence concerning the iconography and physical condition of the frieze. Because forgery is so pervasive in Gandharan sculpture, this discussion of the styles, materials, and techniques associated with an allegedly fake sculpture may help us identify other forgeries.

Early scholarship on Gandhara focused mostly on the degree of classical influence on its art and the development of Buddhism. French scholar Alfred Foucher (1865-1952) was the first to propose a Greek origin for the Buddha image, based on the classical features he perceived in Gandharan sculptures.[6] His theory was hotly contested by Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947), who argued that a precedence for all aspects of "Hellenism" in Gandharan art could be found within Indian art.[7] While subsequent scholars have continued to discuss Gandhara in terms of intervening cultural forces, they also look at the development of religious and artistic traditions within Gandhara itself. Most notably, Kurt Behrendt has written extensively on the development of Buddhist architecture in Gandhara, and Juhyung Rhi has sorted freestanding Gandharan Buddhist sculpture into several visual types.[8]

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[5] Osmund Bopearachchi, e-mail message to author, October 18, 2015, and Kurt Behrendt, e-mail message to author, October 29, 2015.
[6] Alfred Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*, trans. L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994), 120.
[7] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "The Origin of the Buddha Image," *The Art Bulletin* 9, no. 4 (1927): 287-329.
[8] Juhyung Rhi, "Identifying Several Visual Types in Gandharan Buddha Images," *Archives of Asian Art* 58 (2008): 43-85.

While questions about cultural development are central to the study of Gandharan art, answering them is challenging because of looting, forgery, and political instability in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Even when scholars are able to work with objects from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collections, the original contexts have often been lost, as colonial collectors tended to regroup sculptures thematically, disregarding their original combinations and locations.[9] Elizabeth Errington has attempted to combat this problem, working with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources to clear up the provenance of nineteenth-century collections, but the limited number of sculptures with known provenance continues to present a challenge.[10]

Though no replacement for a strong provenance, a clear understanding of the styles, materials, and iconographies associated with known fakes would provide scholars with the tools to make judgments about an object's authenticity. In 1988, Katsumi Tanabe conducted one of the only in-depth studies of a known fake: a Gandharan Bodhisattva sculpture that was shown at both the Nara National Museum and the Cleveland Museum. This study demonstrated that the forgery differed from the general body of Gandharan art both in materials and iconography.[11] The pervasiveness of fakes also raises interesting questions about the way these sculptures are approached in western collections. Because the field of Gandharan art was shaped by British colonial explorers, it must be viewed through the lens of post-colonialism. Both Stanley C. Abe and Elizabeth Errington have taken this approach, showing that the colonial enthusiasm for Gandharan art has shaped modern scholarship, Errington by addressing the limitations imposed

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[9] Kurt Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 112.
[10] Elizabeth Errington, "Towards Clearer Attributions of Site Provenance for some 19th-century Collections of Gandhara Sculpture," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe held in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Island of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice,* ed. Maurizio Taddei (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 765-79.
[11] Katsumi Tanabe, "Iconographical and Typological Investigations of the Gandharan Fake Bodhisattva Image Exhibited by the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Nara National Museum," *Orient* 24 (1988): 84-102.

on modern scholars by the habits of early collectors, and Abe by discussing the evolution of the western understanding of Buddhism and Gandhara.[12] The relationship between the early study of Gandharan art and the prevalence of fake Gandharan sculpture, however, has not been studied in depth.

In this thesis, I confront the problem of forgeries in Gandharan sculpture by taking the Carlos Museum frieze as a case study. I begin by discussing the sculpture in its own right, attempting to reconstruct a possible historical context and to place the work within the larger body of Gandharan sculpture. Then, by examining its iconography and physical condition, and by assessing the various claims made by scholars, I will evaluate the evidence that both supports and refutes the allegations of forgery. In addressing these issues, I will relate the Carlos Museum frieze to sculptures believed to be authentic, either because they were scientifically excavated or because they possess a clear provenance that dates back at least one hundred years; my goal is not to prove or disprove the sculpture's authenticity but to present a balanced and unbiased discussion of the available information. Finally, I will discuss the ways in which the legacy of colonialism has affected the collection of Gandharan art, and propose that the tastes of early nineteenth-century collectors helped create a demand for Gandharan art, which in turn has led to the prevalence of forgeries.

Buddhism in Gandhara

Ancient Gandhara occupied the Peshawar basin in what is now northwest Pakistan and Afghanistan. It was defined by natural boundaries, with the Indus River to the east, the Hindu Kush mountain range to the west, and the foothills of the Himalayas on its northern border. The

[12] Elizabeth Errington, "The western discovery of the art of Gandhara and the finds of Jamalgarhi," PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987; Abe, "Inside the Wonder House."

cultural and artistic influence of this region extended northwards to the Swat Valley and westward into modern Afghanistan, incorporating the regions of Nagarahara and Bactria.[13] Together, these regions formed Greater Gandhara, an area with cultural ties to Gandhara proper but geographically isolated from it (Figure 2).[14]

The art that emerges from this region is eclectic and dynamic, mixing Greek naturalism with geometric repetition and rounded, fleshy forms. This is the result of centuries of intercultural interaction: while the main phase of Gandharan production dates from between the first and third centuries CE, the area had been internationally significant since at least the sixth century BCE as part of the Achaemenid Empire. In 327 BCE, Alexander III of Macedon conquered Gandhara proper, Bactria, and Swat.[15] After his death in 323 BCE, the region became a part of the Seleucid Empire under rule of Seleucus I Nikador. While parts of Greater Gandhara remained under Hellenistic influence throughout the next century, much of it was conquered by Chandragupta Maurya, an Indian king who unified a large portion of South Asia and founded the Mauryan Empire.[16] Gandhara was subsequently invaded by the Shakas, the Scythians, and the Parthians.

While various cultures inhabited Gandhara throughout its history, the region also owes its diversity to its location on important trade routes connecting the Mediterranean to India and China. Because of these connections, Gandhara was an important trade center by the late fourth century BCE. Sculptural remains from the late second century BCE reveal Hellenistic, Parthian,

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[13] Madeleine Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1968), 4.
[14] Kurt Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 3.
[15] Behrendt, *Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 7.
[16] John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara: The Story of the Early School, its Birth, Growth and Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 1.

and Shaka influences, suggesting that Gandhara had developed an urban elite with an interest in foreign styles.[17] However, it wasn't until Gandhara became a part of the Kushana Empire in the early first century CE that it gained prominence as an important center for Buddhism.[18] This development coincided with the advent of Indian Ocean trade, which made Gandhara a truly flourishing metropolitan center for international commerce.[19]

Between 480 and 400 BCE, when Gandhara was still a part of the Achaemenid Empire, the historical Buddha, sometimes called Shakyamuni, was born in northeast India as Prince Siddhartha Gautama.[20] Traditional biographies composed from the second century CE onwards describe how the prince, after becoming aware of the inevitability of suffering in the world, escaped the palace, renouncing worldly life and searching for an end to suffering. Through discipline and meditation, the Buddha eventually received enlightenment and freed himself from *samsara,* the cycle of life and death. He went on to teach others the path to enlightenment, called *dharma.*[21]

After his death, the Buddha ceased to exist in any form, and could therefore not be accessed by his followers. However, the Buddha's relics were enshrined in *stupas,* or burial mounds, which could be circumambulated to gain merit and good *karma* (action). According to Buddhist tradition, the Buddha's ashes were divided among eight *stupas,* which were then further divided by King Ashoka in the third century BCE.[22] These *stupas* were understood to hold some part of the Buddha, making his presence accessible to more people. One of the *stupas*

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[17] Behrendt, *Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 8.
[18] Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India,* 19.
[19] Behrendt, *Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 7.
[20] A. K. Narain, "Review of *The Dating of the Historical Buddha,*" *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16 (1993), 187.
[21] Charles Willemen, *Buddhacarita: In Praise of Buddha's Acts* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2009).
[22] Vidya Dehejia, *Indian Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 41.

believed to be established by Ashoka is the Great Stupa at Sanchi (Figure 3). This, like most early *stupas,* is a large, hemispherical structure surmounted by a triple parasol and surrounded by a railing and four gates. The gates, called *toranas,* are carved with scenes from the Buddha's lives to be "read" in the process of ritual circumambulation. These early Buddhist narrative scenes are aniconic: the Buddha is never shown, and instead his presence is indicated with symbols like a flywhisk, a parasol, or footprints.[23]

The first anthropomorphic images of the Buddha emerged almost simultaneously in two parts of South Asia— in Gandhara and in the northern Indian city of Mathura—during the reign of the Kushana King Kanishka I. The Kushanas, of Central Asian origin, had descended from the nomadic Yueh-chih, who occupied western China until they were forced out by another nomadic group before the mid-second century BCE.[24] Around 122 BCE, the Yueh-chih invaded and conquered Hellenistic Bactria. The region was subsequently divided between their five major tribes; one of these principalities, the Kuei-shuang, grew in importance and unified the region near the end of the first century BCE.[25] The now somewhat Hellenized Kuei-shuang proceeded to build the Kushana Empire, which encompassed much of north India and Pakistan as well as Afghanistan and Bactria.[26]

The reigns of Kanishka and his successor Huvishka mark the height of artistic production in Gandhara and a rich period in Indian history.[27] Coinage from Kanishka's reign shows images and writing from a range of cultures and religions, featuring Greek, Hindu, and Persian deities, implying that the Kushanas adapted their coinage to accommodate their diverse empire and that

[23] Ibid., 52.
[24] Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India,* 2.
[25] Ibid., 2.
[26] Dehejia, *Indian Art,* 79.
[27] Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India,* 4.

they had a pluralistic approach to religion.[28] The exact dates of Kanishka's reign are subject to debate: early historians placed the start of his reign at circa 78 CE, but recent findings by Harry Falk place it close to 127 CE.[29] For the purpose of this paper, I will assume that Kanishka reigned from circa 127 CE to 155 CE, in agreement with most twenty-first-century scholars.

The Gandharan Buddha image that emerges during Kanishka's reign is the product of the various cultural influences present in the region, including classical models accessed through Rome and nearby Hellenistic colonies.[30] The resulting images are typically more naturalistic than their Mathuran counterparts, especially in the treatment of the Buddha's robes and body. In Mathura, Buddha images are often carved from red sandstone, with full, round stomachs (indicating *prana,* breath or life force) and geometrically treated, lightly incised robes (Figure 4).[31] In contrast, Gandharan sculptures are often made from phyllite or schist, though in later periods cheaper materials such as stucco and clay became popular.

The Peshawar basin, the cultural center of Gandhara proper, is home to many extant Buddhist sites, including Takht-i-bahi, Jamal, Garhi, Thareli and Ranigat. Outside of Gandhara proper, Taxila, to the east, and Swat, to the north, were both flourishing centers for Buddhism and today contain many important sites reflecting Gandharan traditions. Dharmarajika, the most significant Buddhist center in Taxila, with many smaller sites clustered around it. A similar clustering effect is found in Swat, with small sites concentrated in the area around Bukara I in the eastern part of the valley.[32]

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[28] Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara,* 2.
[29] For an in-depth justification for these dates, see Henry Falk, "The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of the Kusanas," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001): 121-36.
[30] Dehejia, *Indian Art,* 80-81.
[31] Ibid., 92.
[32] Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 22-27.

These Buddhist sites in Gandhara were built outside major urban areas and consisted of an area for public worship, defined by a large *stupa*, and a more private section with monasteries and small shrines. In Gandhara, *stupas* were placed on tall rectangular bases, with mounds in the shape of elongated hemi-ovoids (Figure 5). The relic enshrined in the main *stupa*—often including coins, jewelry, and perfume-- imbued the site with power and was its ritual center.[33] A narrative panel from the British Museum shows monks engaged in ritual circumambulation to gain merit, providing us with an idea of the original ritual use of these *stupas* (Figure 6). Because the main *stupa's* power was imagined to radiate outwards, smaller *stupas* decorated with scenes from the Buddha's life often clustered around it.[34] Patronizing the production of such narrative panels and *stupas* was considered an effective way to gain merit and improve the chance of a favorable rebirth.[35] Because of this, many wealthy residents of the area donated funds and sculpture to Buddhist monasteries, resulting in a remarkably prolific period for Buddhist art.[36]

Michael C. Carlos Museum Gandharan Frieze

The Carlos Museum frieze, like most known narrative panels of its scale, probably decorated a small *stupa* (Figure 8) and was one schist panel of a larger narrative.[37] The metal clamp in the top right corner (Figure 9) and the indentation on the back with two drilled holes (Figure 10) would

[33] Behrendt, *Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 23-24. Seventh-century Chinese pilgrims also record relics such as the Buddha's alms bowl and a portion of his skull in direct-access relic shrines in Gandhara: see *Behrendt, Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 61.

[34] The exact purpose of these small *stupas* remains a mystery; for a full discussion of their possible functions, see Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 28-30.

[35] Inscriptions from Bharhut, Sanchi, and Pauni confirm this practice at other Indian Buddhist *stupas*. Several of them record gifts donated and state that they were given "for the welfare and happiness of beings in the boundless universe." See Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 7. In Gandhara, it is less common for inscriptions to explicitly reference a sponsor, but an inscription on the base of a narrative relief from Begram reads, "gift of Antari; through this root of blood [may it be] for the worship of [her] father." See Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 111.

[36] The site of Jaulian in Taxila is relatively well preserved and provides a useful diagram of the layout of an average Gandharan Buddhist site; see Figure 7. For more information on Jaulian, see Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 27-36.

[37] Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 110.

have served to attach the panel to a masonry *stupa*, while the rectangular protrusions on the top and bottom of the frieze would have slotted separate schist elements into each other.[38] On the top of the sculpture are two symbols that resembles the *Sa* and *Ma* syllables in the Kharosthi script. These symbols, if they are indeed the Kharosthi script, were used to indicate the intended location of an architectural element (Figure 11).[39] Figures 5 and 8 represent modern reconstructions of Gandharan *stupas* based on early depictions (like Figure 6) and architectural remains. Most known narrative scenes were placed on the *stupa's* drum, which could house between eight and twenty panels (Figure 8, Zone A), while a handful of others adorned the square platform surmounting the main body of the *stupa*, called the *harmika* (Figure 8, Zone C), which typically had four narrative scenes. A larger narrative panel, often containing several scenes and bands of decorative elements, was placed in a false gable (Figure 8, Zone E).[40]

If we imagine the Carlos Museum frieze as part of a structure like the one pictured in Figure 8, it could have been placed in the drum or the *harmika* (Figure 8, Zones A and C, respectively); its rectangular shape precludes its placement in the false gable. It is unlikely, however, that our sculpture was intended for the *harmika*. When viewed from below, the figures in the frieze become distorted and elongated (Figure 12), but when viewed from above, the image retains its visual correctness. This suggests that the sculpture was not meant to be seen from below, meaning that the *harmika*, as one of the highest points on the *stupa*, would be an unlikely location for this frieze. Moreover, narrative scenes in the *harmika* almost always depict the four most significant moments in the Buddha's life—his birth, enlightenment, first sermon,

[38] Ibid., 124. I am grateful to Renee Stein, Conservator, Michael C. Carlos Museum, for bringing the metal clamp to my attention.
[39] Juhyung Rhi, e-mail message to author, January 29, 2017.
[40] Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 127-34.

and death—none of which appear in the Carlos Museum frieze.[41] With the false gable and the *harmika* eliminated, the drum may seem the most likely location for the Carlos Museum frieze. However, this location is similarly unlikely, as our panel is flat while drum panels are slightly curved to follow the shape of the *stupa*. Some *stupas* feature a square step decorated with narrative panels instead of the drum, as in the incorrectly reconstructed small *stupa* from Loriyan Tangai, Peshawar (Figure 5), which gives the false impression that the base was decorated with narrative reliefs, when those reliefs were more likely part of a square step that sat on a plain base. From this we can surmise that the Carlos Museum frieze was originally incorporated into the square step of a *stupa* like the one from Lorian Tangai (Figure 5). We can also speculate that the Carlos Museum frieze would have been situated on the right-hand side of that step, as the right side of the frieze is bounded by a column that continues over to the right face (Figure 13a). The left side--while smooth and finished--is unadorned (Figure 13b), suggesting that only the right face of the sculpture was intended to be visible; another narrative scene was probably placed to the left of our piece, hiding the unadorned left side.

Like most Gandharan schist narrative panels, the Carlos Museum frieze was likely sculpted between the middle of the second century CE and the early third century CE, when patrons began to commission more freestanding devotional icons and small image shrines; *stupas* in that period were more commonly decorated with rows of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas than with narrative panels. Additionally, while schist remained an important material, from the third century onwards decorative elements were often made of stucco and clay. [42] It is more difficult to determine a possible site of origin for the Carlos Museum frieze due to its limited provenance, as well as the lack of site-specific information on Gandharan sculpture in general. Early collectors

[41] Ibid., 134.
[42] Ibid, 9.

would often reorganize and mix sculptures from different find spots, and these sculptures were often further separated from each other in private collections.[43]

In the center of the Carlos Museum frieze sits the Buddha, crossed-legged on a low platform under the Bodhi Tree, the fig tree under which he attained enlightenment (Figure 14). He grasps the folds of his robes in his left hand and raises his right to show the *abhaya mudra*, a gesture meaning "fear not." His fleshy, round face and the lightly incised ring around his neck emphasize his *prana*, or life energy. The direct gaze and gentle smile are reminiscent of contemporary Buddha sculptures from Mathura (Figure 4). The Buddha's *ushnisha* (cranial protrusion) is stylized as hair tied in a topknot and treated in simple, crescent-shaped sections, which meet in the middle of the forehead to form an almond shape.[44] These sections are not further articulated to create the impression of individual strands of hair. The Buddha wears a two-shouldered monastic robe with heavy, naturalistic folds. Where the robes fall over the edges of the pedestal, they are treated geometrically, with evenly spaced curved incisions. The Buddha is massive: if he were to stand, he would tower over the surrounding figures. This use of scale establishes the Buddha as the visual and symbolic apex of the scene.

The heads of two almost identical, curly-haired men flank the Buddha, craning their necks over his shoulders to gaze down and toward the center. On the right side of the frieze, a man approaches the Buddha with his palms pressed together in a gesture of respect. He sports a topknot that strongly resembles the *ushnisha* and wears large earrings, a sign of the wealth the

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[43] Ibid.,112.

[44] The *ushnisha* is one of the thirty-two marks of a great man, called the *lakshanas*, and is an important part of the Buddha's iconography. While usually characterized as a lump on the top of his head, the image may have been derived from a topknot worn by the historic Buddha. Because the Gandharan tradition generally depicts the *ushnisha* as hair, some scholars believe that the conception of the *ushnisha* as a protrusion is from a later tradition. However, contemporary Buddha images from Mathura depict the *ushnisha* as a lump covered in tight curls, indicating that the *ushnisha* was imagined as a protrusion and a topknot simultaneously. For further information on the *lakshanas*, see Meher McArthur, *Reading Buddhist Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 96-97.

Buddha has renounced. To his right is a man in the *tribhanga* (three-bend) pose holding an unidentified T-shaped object in his left hand. His head is turned away from the Buddha towards a third man, who holds what appears to be a begging bowl. This man also sports an *ushnisha*-like hairstyle and heavy earrings, and wears a monk's robes.[45] Floating in the space above these figures are three turbaned heads, which probably represent the spectators of the main scene (Figure 15). On the other side of the Buddha stand a man and woman. The man has his back to the Buddha, his left arm resting on his own thigh and his right held to his head at an angle. He strongly resembles the topknotted men on the other side of the frieze. The entire top left part of the sculpture has been lost, including the woman's head, although most of her body remains in good condition. Her visible arm is adorned with bracelets, and she holds a lotus blossom loosely at her side (Figure 16).

The scene appears complete and self-contained, as the right and left faces of the sculpture are fully finished. On the far right of the frieze is a stylized Corinthian pilaster, where a putto stands atop a shallow shelf, reflecting the influence of the classical world. The column's base and capital continue onto the right face of the frieze, where, in lieu of a putto, a pot containing a three-fronded plant is carved. What remains of the frieze's left face is smooth and finished, indicating that it was intended as the end of the scene as opposed to the left edge being broken off.

Comparing the Carlos Frieze to Extant Gandharan Sculpture

To place this carving in time and space and to identify the narrative depicted, it is necessary to compare it to other known Gandharan sculptures. Over the course of this project, I have collected

[45] While the figures on either side of the Buddha sport topknots clearly treated the same way as the Buddha's *ushnisha*, this figure's topknot is larger and may in fact be a damaged representation of a turban. See Figure 17 for detail.

a sample of three hundred images of Gandharan sculptural remains from museums in the United States, Europe, and South Asia, as well as a handful of images from Christie's auction house online records.[46] Most these sculptures are made of schist, with only 38 instances of stucco or bronze. Two hundred and twenty sculptures in this group are explicitly Buddhist, and the Buddha himself appears on roughly seventy percent (154) of them. Those in which the Buddha does not appear are mostly iconic sculptures of Bodhisattvas, compassionate, enlightened beings who forgo nirvana so that they can guide and protect others. The remaining eighty images depict a mixture of Hindu, Greco-Roman, and secular subjects.

Of the Buddhist sculptures in my sample, 54 are iconic images of a venerated figure, while 82 are narrative panels like the Carlos Museum frieze. Of those panels, around thirty percent depict worship scenes, with the Buddha standing or seated in the center of the frieze, surrounded by his followers. While these scenes do not appear to belong to a particular narrative, they may have gained specificity from the surrounding panels. The four major events in the life of the Buddha are the most commonly depicted scenes, accounting for forty percent of the narratives represented in my sample, with the first sermon depicted twice as often as any other individual scene. The remaining thirty percent represent miscellaneous scenes, some of which are too fragmented to identify. Of this thirty percent, most are scenes that are only depicted a few times within this sample, like the story of the nursling Sundaya and his dead mother, the Buddha being protected by Mucalinda, and the Buddha with the black serpent of Rajagriha. This corpus helps to contextualize the Carlos Museum frieze, but it is not truly representative of the body of Gandharan sculpture. The contents of both museums and auction houses are biased by public and

[46] My main image sources were Harald Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957); Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*; Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India*; and Benjamin Rowland, *Gandhara Sculpture from Pakistan Museums* (New York: Asia Society, 1960). In addition to these publications, I used the online collection information available on the websites of the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, Metropolitan Museum, Freer and Sackler Galleries, and Christie's Auction House.

scholarly tastes, and the images I have collected must reflect these biases. Even so, comparing our frieze to the images I have collected may help to identify its narrative and style.

The Carlos Museum frieze displays the blend of cultural influences characteristic of Gandharan sculptures. The Buddha's fleshy form is more in line with the South Asian ideal of beauty than with the toned musculature of classical western sculpture, but the heavy folds of the Buddha's two-shouldered monastic robe, the Corinthian pilaster, and the putto reflect the influence of the classical world.[47] The putto and Corinthian column are common decorative features in Gandhara and can be found on objects in several museum collections internationally.[48] The putto's pose in the Carlos Museum frieze is echoed in examples from the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 25), the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome (henceforth Museo Nazionale) (Figure 26), and the Lahore Museum (Figure 24), in which putti are depicted with their legs apart, knees bent, and palms pressed together. In every case, the putto is used decoratively and does not participate in the narrative. While I have identified only one other relief of a Corinthian column adorned with a putto (Figure 24), I found many examples of columns ornamented with figures: a drawing of pillar types by Francine Tissot shows a pillar with a standing Buddha (Figure 27), and an example from Peshawar displays columns decorated with a female figure on the left and a male figure on the right (Figure 28).

Several other Gandharan sculptures make use of isolated heads like those in the Carlos Museum frieze to represent spectators of the auspicious event taking place in the main scene, as seen in examples from the Peshawar Museum, the Lahore Museum, and the Museo Nazionale (Figures 29, 30, and 26 respectively). As in the Carlos Museum frieze, the spectators are

[47] Dehejia, *Indian Art*, 80.
[48] Examples of sculptures with columns can be found at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figures 18 and 19), the British Museum (Figure 20), the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 21), and the Lahore Museum (Figures 22, 23, and 24).

turbaned and crane their heads over the main figures, but their torsos are fully worked, sometimes as detailed as the figures in the main scene, while the Carlos Museum frieze gives only a slight suggestion of a torso.

The iconography of the Buddha in the Carlos Museum sculpture is consistent with mainstream Gandharan production. The *ushnisha*, elongated earlobes, halo, and position under the Bodhi Tree are all representational conventions in Gandharan art. The arrangement of the hands, with the right hand in a *mudra* and the left grasping the robes, is also conventional. This combination of iconographic elements can be found in narrative scenes in such reputable collections as the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 31) and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Figures 32 and 33). Moreover, these sculptures, as well as many others, use hierarchical scale in the same way it is used in the Carlos Museum frieze, showing the Buddha seated, but larger than the figures that surround him.

In the Carlos Museum sculpture, the hair on the figures is less modeled than in most narrative friezes depicting scenes from the Buddha's life. While several Gandharan sculptures treat the hair in crescent-and-almond-shaped bunches, it is usually further described within these sections. The stylistic simplicity of the Carlos work, while unusual, is not unprecedented. The frieze at the Museo Nazionale (Figure 26), for example, which contains several of the same elements as the Carlos Museum frieze, employs a similar treatment of the hair, which is described in crescent-shaped sections without further articulation, although these sections are slimmer than those on the Carlos frieze.

Despite having many iconographical and stylistic components in common with other Gandharan sculptures, the Carlos Museum frieze features some components that are not as easily recognized. One is the middle figure on the right, who holds an unidentified T-shaped object in

his left hand (Figure 34). Another irregular figure is the one directly to the left of the Buddha. As Kurt Behrendt, Associate Curator of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, points out, it is uncommon for figures to turn away from the Buddha without a physical barrier between them, though I have found a few examples of this happening in Gandharan art. [49] The identity of the woman to whom this figure is turned also remains unknown. Finally, while the *ushnisha* is specific to the Buddha's iconography and does not normally occur on other figures, it appears on three figures besides the Buddha in the Carlos Museum frieze.[50] Because the figures are strikingly similar, they may represent the same character within a continuous narrative. While the presence of the *ushnisha* suggests that they represent the Buddha, their earrings, and the absence of visual emphasis, makes this unlikely. Moreover, the Buddha is rarely depicted multiple times in the same narrative scene in Gandharan art.[51]

Allegations of Forgery

Iconographical irregularities and the lack of a clearly identifiable narrative have led Kurt Behrendt and Osmund Bopearachchi, Adjunct Professor of Art History at the University of California at Berkeley, to speculate that the frieze may be a forgery.[52] They are also understandably uncomfortable with the sculpture's lack of provenance, because, as noted in the introduction, the history of collecting Gandharan art is tainted by looting and a thriving black market for Gandharan sculpture. Between 1988, when the Soviet Union withdrew from

[49] Kurt Behrendt, e-mail message to author, October 29, 2015. See Figures 46 and 48 for examples of sculptures in which figures have their backs to the Buddha.
[50] While monks and celestial beings are commonly depicted with topknots in Gandharan sculpture, these are usually articulated differently from the *ushnisha* to differentiate them. (See, for example, Figure 35, where the *ushnisha* is described in repetitive oval bumps while the topknot of the figure above his left shoulder is clearly hair swept up into a bun). In the Carlos Museum frieze, no effort is made to distinguish the hair of the three topknotted figures from the seated Buddha's *ushnisha*. I am grateful to Dr. Kurt Behrendt for pointing out the presence of the *ushnisha* on these figures.
[51] Kurt Behrendt, e-mail message to author, October 29, 2015.
[52] Osmund Bopearachchi, e-mail message to author, October 18, 2015; Kurt Behrendt, e-mail message to author, October 29, 2015.

Afghanistan, and 1996, seventy percent of the Kabul Museum's collection went missing.[53] Then on December 16, 1999, another eighty-one Gandharan sculptures were stolen from the museum, most of which had been excavated under the direction of Sir John Marshall between 1813 and 1835.[54] All the while, Gandharan sculptures of dubious origin began to emerge in London and New York auction houses; their sale allegedly funded the activities of Afghani warlords.[55] Still more of the Kabul Museum's collections were destroyed or looted during the reign of the Taliban, which encouraged and carried out the destruction of religious icons.[56] As of 2011, only twenty-five percent of the antiquities at the Kabul Museum remain.[57]

Further complicating the collection of Gandharan sculptures is the prevalence of fakes. As discussed in the introduction, 395 Gandharan artifacts were seized in Karachi and given to the National Museum in July 2012. A committee of archeologists formed by the Culture Department concluded that between seventy-five and ninety percent of those sculptures were fake. Nevertheless, the National Museum elected to display the objects, asserting that they were "still works of art."[58] According to Abdul Aziz Uqaili, Sindh Culture Secretary, looting and forging Gandharan sculptures are related practices, as "smugglers mix fake relics with real ones to pass them from the prying eyes of customs officials."[59] A 2007 report in the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* ties the sale of fake Gandharan sculpture to the mafia, which sells sculptures

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[53] Neil Brodie and David Gill, "Looting: An International View," in *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*, ed. Julia Hollowell and Karen Donne Vitelli (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003), 38.
[54] "Fake Sculpture Sellers Fleecing Tourists," *Dawn* (Karachi?), April 27, 2007, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.dawn.com/news/244261/fake-sculpture-sellers-fleecing-tourists.
[55] Brodie and Gill, "Looting: An International View," 38.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Dalya Alberge, "Prized Afghan antiquity is rescued by British art dealer," *The Guardian* (London), May 28, 2011, accessed February 6, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/may/29/buddha-kabul-museum-looted.
[58] "Gandhara Relics: Seized Artifacts Fake, but 'Pieces of Art' to still get Museum Display," *The Express Tribune* (Karachi?), September 1, 2012, accessed February 6, 2017, http://tribune.com.pk/story/429285/gandhara-relics-seized-artefacts-fake-but-pieces-of-art-to-still-get-museum-display/. For some of the sculptures seized in this incident, see Figures 36, 37, and 38.
[59] Hasan, "Some Recovered Gandharan Artefacts Found to Be Forgeries."

to tourists near ancient sites. Salahud Deen, a forger who works out of his village near Taxila, told the Associated Press of Pakistan in 2012, "I learned the practice from my fellow villagers in my childhood and can fake anything using cement, small stones, some colors and chemicals."[60]

The Carlos Museum frieze was acquired by an anonymous donor in 1974, during a relatively stable period in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, and before the bulk of reported looting and forgery occurred. However, the lack of reported incidents does not necessarily mean that the practice of forging and looting Gandharan sculptures was not widespread at this time. In fact, one generally acknowledged fake Gandharan sculpture, a Bodhisattva image exhibited in the Nara National Museum and the Cleveland Museum, is believed to have been made around 1978. The dealer, Sardar Khan, allegedly commissioned and sold many fakes around this time.[61] In a letter to the donor to the Carlos Museum, the unidentified dealer gives a suspicious account of the sculpture's origin: "There is no way of telling where it came from, as the people who come to us are dealers who go to villages in Swat, Dir and the frontier and buy pieces which are brought to the villages by various roving buyers." This anecdotal history of the sculpture passing through various hands without a paper trail is cause for concern: it was not scientifically excavated and was probably looted. The mention of "the people who come to us" implies that the dealer worked with those "people" repeatedly, which undermines their claim that they have "seen one other piece from the same *stupa*, with the same faces and noses," as that "other piece" could simply have come from the same forger.[62]

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[60] Associated Press, "Pakistan Struggles to Control Smuggling of Buddhist Antiquities for Black Market Trade," *CBS News*, October 4, 2012, accessed February 6, 2017, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/pakistan-struggles-to-control-smuggling-of-buddhist-antiquities-for-black-market-trade/.

[61] Tanabe, "Iconographical and Typological Investigations," 99.

[62] Unknown Author, "Letter to Donor," 1974, Michael C. Carlos Museum records, Atlanta, GA.

Because of the prevalence of Gandharan forgeries, the sculptures to which I compared the Carlos Museum frieze cannot all be confirmed as authentic. The only way to know for certain if a sculpture is real is to have evidence that it was scientifically excavated, which disqualifies a large portion of Gandharan sculptures in important collections. To avoid working with potential fakes, Kurt Behrendt has studied both excavated sculptures and sculptures that could be traced back one hundred years, most of which were found in situ by early colonial explorers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[63] Of the works compared to the Carlos Museum frieze, only those in figures 20, 21, 22, 25, and 31 meet one of these criteria.

There is very little scholarship on fake Gandharan sculpture. Osmund Bopearachchi has identified ten Gandharan forgeries connected with a now-incarcerated dealer (Figure 39 a-j). Of these, six are freestanding sculptures, three are narrative panels, and one is an intact small *stupa* with simple narrative reliefs in the base. Apart from a clay or stucco Bodhisattva and two copper-alloy fasting Buddhas, the sculptures in this group are carved from schist. They either depict subjects with precedents in Gandharan art or draw heavily on the iconography of known Gandharan sculptures, including the Buddha's birth and first sermon. Katsumi Tanabe has also conducted a typological and iconographic study of a widely accepted fake Gandharan Bodhisattva sculpture that was displayed at both the Nara National Museum and the Cleveland Museum. Tanabe has shown that the sculpture has several iconographic mistakes, including an unprecedented star-and-crescent headdress, an oddly shaped water flask, and a Corinthian pilaster decorated with brickwork (Figure 40).[64] In addition to these irregularities, the sculpture is fully gilded, though no other known Gandharan sculpture has retained all its original gilding. Moreover, it is not made from a continuous block of stone, and it makes use of modern paints

[63] Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara*, 269.
[64] Tanabe, "Iconographical and Typological Investigations," 85-86, 89-92, and 96.

and adhesives.[65] Tanabe's approach provides a model for evaluating the authenticity of the Carlos Museum sculpture: I will examine its iconography and material, and the various claims made by scholars, while comparing it to excavated sculptures and sculptures with provenance dating back a hundred years.

Examining Scholarly Claims about the Narrative of the Carlos Frieze

While the Carlos Museum sculpture's iconographic irregularities make it difficult to determine the narrative it depicts, Osmund Bopearachchi has suggested that it most closely resembles the story of Prince Sundarananda (Nanda), the Buddha's youngest stepbrother.[66] While parts of the story are told in various Pali Canon texts, the most complete account of the Nanda's conversion is found in the introductory text of the *Jatakas* (tales of the Buddha's lives), called the *Nidanakatha*.[67] Though different versions exist, the story of Nanda, briefly summarized, is as follows: Some time after his enlightenment, the Buddha returns to his childhood home, where he is invited to the marriage of Nanda and the beautiful Janapada Kalyani. On the day of the wedding, the Buddha comes to Nanda's home and hands Nanda his begging bowl before walking away. Thinking the Buddha would want his bowl back, Nanda leaves to follow the Buddha to the monastery, bowl in hand. When Nanda offers the bowl to him, the Buddha asks Nanda to become a monk, and, reluctantly, he agrees to do so.[68] In the Sanskrit tradition, the story is told famously in the *Saundarananda,* traditionally attributed to the second-century poet Asvaghosa. In this version, Nanda is already married when the Buddha comes to his door. Upon hearing that

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[65] Ibid., 99.
[66] Osmund Bopearachchi, e-mail message to author, October 9, 2015.
[67] Anna Maria Quagliotti, "A Gandharan Relief with Two Scenes from the Buddha's Life," in *Gandharan Buddhism,* ed. Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 228. Parts of the story of Nanda can be found in the *Dhammapada,* the *Anguttana Nikaya,* and the *Samgamavacara Jataka*.
[68] V. Fausboll and T. W. Rhys David, "The Ceylon Compiler's Introduction, called the Nidana Katha," in *Buddhist Birth Stories; or, Jataka Tales* (London: Trubner and Co., 1878), 1:128.

his servants had turned the Buddha away without giving him alms, Nanda goes after him, only to be handed a begging bowl. Afraid to return the bowl before he is asked to do so, Nanda follows the Buddha all the way to the monastery, where he is asked to become a monk.[69]

This story is represented in three, likely authentic, Gandharan friezes from the British Museum (Figure 20), the Indian Museum in Calcutta (Figure 41), and the National Museum in New Delhi (Figure 42).[70] The *Conversion of Sundarananda* frieze at the British Museum depicts part of this story in a continuous narrative that can be read from left to right (Figure 20). While this sculpture does not appear to be scientifically excavated, it was purchased by the museum in 1900, and is said to have been collected at Hadda, Afghanistan, by William Simpson, a Scottish war correspondent and artist who traveled in Afghanistan between 1878 and 1880; thus, we can assume that the sculpture is probably authentic.[71] On the right-hand side of the frieze, Nanda walks away from his bride and her attendants, holding the begging bowl that he presents to the Buddha in the next scene. The Nanda reliefs at the Calcutta and New Delhi museums have also been known to scholars for over a century: James Burgess photographed the Calcutta sculpture in 1897, and Alfred Foucher cited the New Delhi sculpture in volume 1 of his 1905 *L'art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara.*[72] Like the British Museum frieze, these two sculptures make use of continuous narrative to tell the story of Nanda. In the bottom register of the Calcutta panel Nanda appears twice, once on the left-hand side, approaching the Buddha with an alms bowl, and then

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[69] Monika Zin, "The Story of the Conversion of Nanda in Borobudur," in *Vanamālā: Festschrift A.J. Gail*, ed. Adalbert J. Gail, Gerd J. R. Mevissen, and Klaus Bruhn (Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag, 2006), 268.
[70] Quagliotti, "Gandharan Relief," 226. The scene is also depicted in a frieze from the Karachi Museum (Figure 43), but I have not confirmed the provenance of this sculpture. See Zin, "Conversion of Nanda in Borobudur," 268.
[71] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Simpson, William (1823-1899)," by Delia Millar, accessed February 10, 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25597; and the British Museum, "The Conversion of Sundaranada," accessed February 10, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=249780&partId=1.
[72] Alfred Foucher, *L'art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara* (Hanoi: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1905), vol. 1, fig. 238. As cited in Zin, "Conversion of Nanda in Borobudur," 273.

again to the Buddha's right, where Nanda is depicted having his head shaved after he agrees to become a monk.[73] Both the New Delhi frieze and the top register of the Calcutta frieze illustrate Nanda attempting to escape the monastery after his conversion.[74] While the damage to these sculptures makes it difficult to identify the figures, Nanda is depicted at least twice in the New Delhi panel: hiding behind a tree on the far right-hand side, and again on the left, with his back turned towards the viewer.

One of Kurt Behrendt's main concerns with the Carlos Museum sculpture is that it depicts a figure who is not the Buddha with an *ushnisha.*[75] This figure, who appears three times in the Carlos Museum sculpture, resembles the Nanda figure in the New Delhi, Calcutta, and British Museum reliefs, where he is depicted with an *ushnisha* and heavy earrings. Based on this comparison, we can speculate that the three figures who have *ushnisha*-like hairstyles in the Carlos Museum frieze may all represent Nanda, shown several times in a continuous narrative. Monika Zin has shown that, in both text and images, relatives of the Buddha occasionally take on aspects of his iconography. Therefore, as the Buddha's half-brother, Nanda can be depicted with the *ushnisha,* but he is differentiated by his earrings, a sign of his wealth and royalty.[76] Another concern put forth by Behrendt was that the Carlos Museum frieze depicts a figure with his back turned to the Buddha.[77] While two sculptures from the British Museum (Figures 48 and 50) show that this is not unprecedented, it does appear to be uncommon. If the Carlos Museum frieze is, like the other three Nanda sculptures, a continuous narrative, it explains why the figure to the Buddha's right is turned away from the central Buddha: if this scene belongs to a different

[73] Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara,* 89-90
[74] Ibid.
[75] Kurt Behrendt, e-mail message to author, October 29, 2015.
[76] In Gandhara, the Buddha's cousin and companion Ananda can also be depicted with an *ushnisha.* See Monika Zin, "The Usnisa as a Physical Characteristic of the Buddha's Relatives and Successors," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology,* 9 (2003): 202-6.
[77] Kurt Behrendt, e-mail message to author, October 29, 2015.

episode in the story, it is not a sign of disrespect. Read from left to right, the man and woman on the far left may be Nanda and Janapada Kalyani before Nanda renounces his princely life. In this case, the center of the frieze, with the robed figure to the right of the Buddha offering homage, would depict the conversation between Nanda and the Buddha, when Nanda agrees to convert. The far right of the sculpture, with the robed figure now holding a begging bowl, may represent Nanda living the life of a monk, begging for alms.

This reading provides an extremely abridged version of the story, however, and it has several limitations. The figure holding a T-shaped object on the right side of the sculpture remains unidentified. Though he is clearly interacting with the figure identified as Nanda, he does not appear in the story or the three previously discussed Nanda friezes. Additionally, the figure holding a begging bowl on the right-hand side differs from the two other Nanda figures: the crisp, slice-like treatment of the *ushnishas* of the Buddha and other Nanda figures is replaced here with large, globular sections, which may not represent hair at all, but a turban or headdress (Figure 17).

The Carlos Museum frieze also differs significantly from the other three Nanda sculptures in its composition and the clarity of its visual language. On the far right of the British Museum frieze, Janapada Kalyani poses in her wedding clothes, displaying her beauty. In the next scene, she appears again, this time accompanied by three attendants and looking in the mirror. To the left, Nanda walks towards the Buddha, holding the begging bowl and glancing at Janapada Kalyani over his shoulder, as if he already knows that their time together is coming to an end. Further to the left, Nanda appears in the next scene in the narrative, kneeling before the standing Buddha and offering him the bowl. These visual elements explicitly reference the narrative of Nanda. Similarly, the Calcutta frieze depicts Nanda sitting by the Buddha's feet as

someone shaves his head. This shows, in clear visual language, that Nanda has been recently converted and is renouncing his previous life to become a disciple of the Buddha. In the New Delhi panel, Nanda stands behind a tree on the far right, corresponding with John Marshall's account of Nanda's escape attempt, where Nanda hides behind a tree when he sees the Buddha.[78] Unlike these sculptures, the Carlos Museum frieze does not have specific references to the story of Nanda. While our frieze does feature a man holding a begging bowl, the narrative significance of the bowl is lost. In the story, Nanda has the alms bowl when either following or approaching the Buddha, as is the case in the three other Nanda sculptures. Here, Nanda holds the bowl after he has already turned to a life of monkhood, and does not interact with the Buddha in this scene.

Additionally, there is little evidence in the Carlos Museum sculpture to support an identification of the female figure as Janapada Kalyani. In the British Museum frieze, Janapada Kalyani is not identified as such merely because she is a woman in the presence of Nanda, but because the frieze shows her role in the narrative by surrounding her with jewelry, attendants, and a mirror. While her surroundings alone would not be enough to identify her as Janapada Kalyani, the objects around her serve an auxiliary role, clearing up any uncertainty about the narrative depicted. The Carlos Museum frieze lacks these objects, making the woman in the narrative more difficult to identify. And while the Carlos *ushisha* figure with earrings has the same iconography as the Nanda in the British Museum, this similarity alone is not enough to identify the narrative. While the story of Nanda may not be an entirely satisfactory identification of this narrative, the reliefs at the British Museum, the National Museum in New Delhi, and the Indian Museum in Calcutta do present examples of Gandharan friezes in which the *ushnisha* appears more than once on a figure that is not the Buddha.

[78] Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, 89-90. I was unable to determine the original source for this story.

Another mystery of the Carlos Museum frieze is the figure on the right holding a T-shaped object. Laura Giuliano at the Museo Nazionale has tentatively identified this figure as Vajrapani, a Bodhisattva who acts as the Buddha's guide and protector, and accompanies him in early Buddhist narratives.[79] His name literally translates to "holding a *vajra*" a ritual implement used symbolically in many Asian religious traditions including Tibetan Buddhism (Figure 44).[80] In Vedic times, the *vajra,* meaning thunderbolt, was associated with the Hindu storm god Indra, who can also serve as a guardian to the Buddha and may have been an inspiration for early forms of Vajrapani. In Gandhara, Vajrapani is often depicted with a bare, well-muscled chest, holding a stick-like Vajra that sometimes tapers in towards the middle. His iconography draws heavily on Greco-Roman models, most notably Hercules; he is sometimes shown with a lion skin or club (Figures 45 and 46), and his bearded and beardless forms correspond to the types of Hercules figures found in Greco-Roman art.[81] Interestingly, before he appears in Gandharan art, Vajrapani does not often accompany the Buddha: there are no examples of Vajrapani at the ancient Indian sites of Sanchi, Bharut, or Bodh-Gaya, or in pre-Kushana Mathura. Images of Vajrapani accompanying the Buddha are rare in Kushana Mathura, and images of this type in South India appear later than those in Gandhara. This suggests that the early iconography of Vajrapani began to form in Gandhara.[82]

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[79] Laura Giuliano, e-mail message to author, February 21, 2017.

[80] Alice Getty, "Vajrapani (Second Dhyani-Bodhisattva)," in *The Gods of Northern Buddhism: Their History and Iconography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 50.

[81] I have not verified Figures 45 and 46 as excavated sculptures and cannot account for their whereabouts in the past hundred years. Albert Grunwedel and Alfred Foucher identified several other Vajrapani types in the early twentieth century, including the Silenus type, Satyr type, Eros type, Hermes type, Pan type, Zeus type, Dionysus type, and Alexander the Great type. See also Katsumi Tanabe, "Why is the Buddha Śākyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi? Farewell to Yakṣa Theory," *East and West* 55, No. 1/4 (December 2005): 364-66.

[82] Tanabe, "Why is the Buddha Śākyamuni Accompanied by Hercules/Vajrapāṇi," 367. It is worth noting that while most scholars agree that this type of figure is Vajrapani, there is no textual evidence to confirm this identification.

Figures 47 through 50 depict instances of Vajrapani accompanying the Buddha in Gandharan narrative reliefs; the works were either scientifically excavated or have a century-old provenance. These images represent both bearded (Figures 47 and 48) and youthful (Figures 49 and 50) depictions of Vajrapani, shown in various poses and costumes, with different types of *vajras.* In a narrative panel of the Buddha's death acquired by the British Museum in 1913 (Figure 47), Vajrapani appears as a bearded older man wearing a short *dhoti* (a loincloth-like garment common in South Asia). In his left hand, he cradles his *vajra*, which is the length of his torso and widens slightly at the top, and stretches the other hand above his head. The Vajrapani shown in Figure 48, a fragment from Takht-i-Bahi that came into the Victoria and Albert Museum collection in 1883, is similarly bearded, but differs significantly from the Vajrapani of Figure 47 in his *vajra* and clothing. The Figure 48 Vajrapani wears a one-shouldered monastic robe, his bare shoulder turned towards the viewer, gripping his short, hourglass-like *vajra* around its middle and gazing down at the Buddha with deep-sunken eyes. In a panel from the Sikri *stupa* (Figure 49), now at the Lahore Museum, Vajrapani also holds his *vajra* from its middle, but unlike his counterparts in Figures 47 and 48, is youthful and smiling. He places his hand jauntily on a jutting hip, and his beardless face is smooth and round. His *vajra* narrows in the middle, but the hourglass shape is much less dramatic than that of the *vajra* of Figure 48. He appears to be wearing a *dhoti,* but around his neck are the faint creases of a two-shouldered robe that does not continue down his torso. Figure 50, showing a sculpture acquired by the British Museum alongside the one pictured in Figure 47, depicts another youthful, beardless Vajrapani wearing a short *dhoti*. While his *vajra* has been damaged, he holds it from the bottom in the manner of Figure 47, though it appears to have been much shorter.

In addition to these examples, Vajrapani appears in the Nanda friezes from Calcutta and New Delhi (Figures 41 and 42). If the Carlos Museum sculpture does, in fact, represent the story of Nanda, then Vajrapani's presence in the Calcutta and New Delhi friezes shows that he can and does appear in scenes from this story. The Vajrapani in the Delhi Museum panel stands directly to the Buddha's left, and is of the beardless, youthful type. He wears a *dhoti,* and holds a long, slightly tapered, *vajra* along the line of his chest. In the Calcutta Nanda scene, Vajrapani appears over the Buddha's right shoulder in the bottom register. He sports a thick beard and his *vajra* is almost club-like.

The possible Vajrapani in the Carlos Museum frieze is costumed similarly to those in Figures 42, 47, 49, and 50, with a bare chest and a short *dhoti.* While those figures show some muscle definition of the torso, the Carlos "Vajrapani" has a smooth, round chest and stomach, with only a shallow dip to indicate his pectorals. His hair is either wrapped or tied back, while the other Vajrapani figures boast short curls. The most significant difference between known sculptures of Vajrapani and the Carlos Museum figure, however, is the type of *vajra*. While the *vajras* in figures 47 to 50 may differ in size and style, none of them--nor any other Gandharan sculpture known to Giuliano, Bopearachchi, or Behrendt--depicts a *vajra* in the T-shape seen in the Carlos Museum sculpture. The "Vajrapani" figure in our frieze is clearly gripping a horizontal, rectangular object, from which a vertical segment protrudes perpendicularly. While it is possible that the horizontal segment is meant to represent a *vajra,* the purpose of the vertical segment remains unknown. It is possible that the figure was carved by someone—ancient or modern--who was unfamiliar with the proper iconography, perhaps working from memory of other depictions of Vajrapani. It is also possible that because there are various styles of *vajras* in

Gandharan art, ranging from hour-glass shaped to staff-like in appearance, the form of the *vajra* in the Carlos Museum frieze may simply be one we are not yet familiar with.

The questions raised by the Carlos Museum frieze cannot be entirely answered by either the story of Nanda or the identification of Vajrapani. While the recurring *ushnisha* figure shares Nanda's iconography, there is little else to explicitly link the frieze to the story of Nanda. There is even some doubt that the right-most figure is the same as the other two "Nanda" figures, as his hair is carved in globules, as opposed to slices. Nevertheless, the British Museum panel (Figure 20) provides an example of an authentic sculpture in which non-Buddha figures appear with the *ushnisha.* Additionally, the figure with the T-shaped object can be only tentatively identified as Vajrapani, as the Carlos Museum *"vajra"* does not resemble any known examples of that implement.

Tanabe points out iconographic errors in the fake sculpture shown at the Nara National Museum and the Cleveland Museum, which might suggest that the irregularities in the Carlos Museum sculpture are indications of forgery. Another possibility is that the sculpture was made outside the center of cosmopolitan Gandharan production, in a provincial workshop where iconographic convention was of less concern.[83] As Juhyung Rhi, a professor at Seoul National University, points out, "there are occasionally such bewildering depictions among genuine pieces."[84] One such "bewildering" piece is a relief panel at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 51), which should be deemed authentic: it is referenced in the 1902-3 annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India and in Alfred Foucher's *L'art Greco-Bouddhique* (1905). Its narratives, however, have not been identified with certainty. The top register is particularly

[83] I am grateful to Dr. Jasper Gaunt, Curator of Greek and Roman Art, Michael C. Carlos Museum, for suggesting this possibility to me.
[84] Juhyung Rhi, e-mail message to author, January 29, 2017.

relevant to our discussion, as Hans Ackerman has suggested that it represents the story of Nanda, presumably because of the figure holding a begging bowl in the middle right of the scene.[85] As with the Carlos Museum frieze, nothing beyond the identification of this single figure supports this interpretation.

The style of the Carlos Museum frieze also presents an unanswered question: because the treatment of the hair, though not unprecedented, is still uncommon, why would a forger choose to sculpt the hair in that way instead of in the more conventional style? Over the course of this study, no other sculptures could be found that appeared to be by the same hand as the Carlos Museum sculpture, where the sculptor evidently favored round, almost bulbous features with minimal definition. If the Carlos Museum relief were a modern fake, one would expect to find other works by the same hand, as a forger would presumably make more than one sculpture. If, on the other hand, the sculpture is ancient, other examples by the same sculptor may have been destroyed or not yet excavated.

For the most part, the Carlos Museum frieze remains enigmatic. Because Gandharan forgeries are stylistically consistent enough to permeate the art market and some museums, the fact that the style and treatment of the Carlos Museum sculpture is consistent with other Gandharan friezes does little to establish its authenticity. Its iconographic questions have only tentative answers, but while the irregularities in this Bodhisattva image are critical, without a large body of work examining the iconography and style of known fake Gandharan sculptures, it

[85] The Victoria and Albert Museum Collections, "Relief Panel," accessed February 24, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O65289/relief-panel-unknown/ cites Hans Christoph Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhara in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Catalogue and Attempt at a Stylistic History: Reports and Memoirs* (Rome: IsMEO, 1975) for the source of this claim.

is difficult to confirm a forgery based on these aspects alone. An examination of the material and condition of the sculpture yields more clues about the sculptures authencity.

Examining the Stone of the Carlos Museum Frieze

In addition to iconography, the material and condition of the Carlos Museum frieze can provide clues to the sculpture's authenticity. Most confirmed Gandharan fakes are unsophisticated, and forgers often use anachronistic materials in their creations.[86] In a 2012 interview with the Associated Press of Pakistan, the forger Salahud Deen claimed to use materials such as cement and pebbles in his fake sculptures, and a 2007 report in the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* states that fake Gandharan sculptures are often made of cement mortar or a material known only as "black stone."[87] Similarly, the fake Gandharan Bodhisattva discussed by Tanabe shows clear signs of modernity: the nimbus and head are made from separate stones attached to the body with epoxy, and the large amount of paint and gilding, already unusual, contains materials uncharacteristic of Gandhara, like red lead.[88] This suggests that forgers aim to make objects appear as though they are from Gandhara by working the sculptures in similar ways, but that they don't necessarily make them from the same materials. Additionally, the iconographic contradictions in the Bodhisattva at the Cleveland Museum and Nara National museum suggest that the forgers are less concerned with details than with the general appearance of the sculpture. Forgers, however, must surely differ in their dedication and ability.

The Carlos Museum frieze lacks discernible signs of modernity. It is made of a hard, middle-grey schist of relatively fine grain, a material typical of Gandharan art, especially of this

[86] Tanabe, "Iconographical and Typological Investigations," 99.
[87] "Pakistan Struggles to Control Smuggling," *CBS News;* "Fake Sculpture Sellers Fleecing Tourists," *Dawn* (Karachi?).
[88] Tanabe, "Iconographical and Typological Investigations," 99.

size.[89] In fact, the stone appears to have been used in antiquity, as evidenced by the remains of an extensively corroded ferrous pin in the top right corner (Figure 9). Its corrosion likely caused the damage to the surrounding stone, and so the significant loss of the top left corner may be due to a similar clip. As previously discussed, this pin, as well as the rectangular protrusions, Kharosthi syllables, and indentation on the back, suggest that the panel was used architecturally. The level corrosion and spalling around the pin suggest that this damage occurred slowly, over a long time; if the pin's corrosion had been forced by a forger, one would expect more dramatic damage to the surrounding sculpture.[90] For these reasons, we can speculate that the stone was used architecturally in ancient Gandhara.

This does not mean, however, that the pin is contemporaneous with the relief, as forgers may have carved the image from a stone that had originally been used in antiquity for a different purpose. Considering the frequent use of modern materials and concrete, this level of sophistication seems unlikely, but the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed. Additionally, by measuring the size and spacing of the string of rectangles at the top of the frieze, we can discern that the sculpture was carved before the stone was broken, as the pattern can be reconstructed across the damaged area. Furthermore, the relief does not appear to be carved around the damage, which interrupts the visual cohesion of the image without disrupting the repeated elements. This suggests that rather than carving the scene into a damaged stone, an already completed image was broken. Because the pin's corrosion caused at least some of the damage, the carving may, in fact, be contemporary with the sculpture's architectural use.

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[89] Stucco was also common in Gandhara, but was typically used for larger-scale sculptures when finding a good quality stone for carving was a challenge (Kurt Behrendt, interview with author, October 11, 2016). Whether schist like this can be classified as the "black stone" mentioned in the *Dawn* report is debatable, but photographs of seized sculptures in Karachi show traces of middle grey stone under a layer of light pinkish dirt (Figure 38). While the pictured sculptures were part of a group in which 75 to 90 percent of the sculptures appeared to be fake, we cannot know for certain if these sculptures were among the authentic sculptures in this group.

[90] Renee Stein, Jasper Gaunt, and Ellen Gough, conversation with author, February 9, 2017.

A weathered crust often indicates that a sculpture has been accumulating dirt for a long time. The sculpture at the Carlos Museum is covered with a light coat of soft, dusty dirt that is easily removed. The presence of a weathered crust, however, is largely dependent on the environment in which the sculpture was found. The dirt on the Carlos Museum sculpture is evenly distributed between the main carving and the break-edges, indicating that either the two surfaces were exposed to the environment for roughly the same amount of time, or that dirt was evenly applied to the breaks. There are three possible explanations for the sculpture's condition. The first is that the breaks occurred naturally, with dirt accumulating on all the surfaces between the time that the damage occurred and the modern discovery of the sculpture. Because ancient Gandhara was plagued with earthquakes, *stupas* often had to be redecorated; old images could be repurposed in their broken state to serve other functions within a sacred space, sometimes simply by being placed against relic shrines. In the Dharmarajika complex, near Taxila, for instance, in the nineteenth century, a number of broken schist sculptures were found along the exterior of the building.[91] A second possibility is that the sculpture is a modern forgery, with the break-edges created by forgers to create the impression of antiquity; in this case, the even distribution of dirt could be attributed to the uniform application of dirt after the damage was done. The third possibility is that a dealer or collector applied dirt to the break-edges of a legitimate Gandharan sculpture in efforts to create a unified, aesthetically pleasing surface, a practice employed by dealers and museums alike to minimize visual disruption.[92]

The tool marks on the Carlos Museum frieze are consistent with the types of tools that would have been found in Gandhara: flat and point chisels. Because of the mica foliation, the stone is soft enough to work with copper-alloy tools. While most tool markings have clear

[91] Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 288-90.
[92] Renee Stein, Jasper Gaunt, and Ellen Gough, conversation with author, February 9, 2017.

purposes, some deep, diagonal cuts on the left side of the back of the sculpture do not have a function.[93] The rest of the back is covered in thick, shallow, vertical marks showing how the slab was hewn from the larger stone. William Size, a geologist at Emory University who has worked with stone sculptures in museum collections, suggests that these diagonal slashes were added to create an impression of age and damage.[94] It is also possible, however, that the scoring served to help this section adhere to the area to which it was attached.

While Gandharan narrative scenes were often painted and gilded, there is no evidence of surface color on the Carlos Museum frieze. Made of a porous stone, the sculpture has well-preserved surfaces in the recesses, where one would expect to find traces of paint. Gandharan sculptures with noticeable areas of paint and gilding are extremely unusual, but a close study generally reveals some minute traces.[95] Additionally, the protective quality of paint often results in relatively pristine surfaces surrounded by more weathered and damaged areas,[96] an effect not visible in the Carlos Museum frieze. However, this lack of evidence does not conclusively prove that the sculpture was never painted, as the degree to which pigment is preserved depends on the amount and composition of the paint. If there was not a lot of binder, or if the paint was only superficially applied, evidence of a painted surface might never be found.

The physical evidence revealed in this close study of the Carlos Museum sculpture is, therefore, neither damning nor exonerating. The investigation yields neutral facts that can be interpreted in multiple ways, building a body of evidence for or against the possibility of forgery depending on the motivation of the study. While the scene may represent an abbreviated version

[93] Renee Stein and William Size, interview with author, November 18, 2016.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Renee Stein, Jasper Gaunt, and Ellen Gough, conversation with author, February 9, 2017. Please refer to Figures 52 and 53 for Gandharan sculptures that retain some paint and gilding.
[96] Ibid.

of the conversion of Nanda in the presence of Vajrapani, neither of these figures can be conclusively identified. For now, in the absence of a larger body of scholarship on fake Gandharan sculpture, it is difficult to make a judgment on the authencity of the Carlos Museum frieze.

However, the more pressing question may be not whether this object is authentic, but why such volumes of Gandharan forgeries exist. Of the nearly four hundred sculptures seized by the Karachi police in 2012, three hundred were Buddhist sculptures from Gandhara, and the majority of these were fake. While the political and economic situation in Pakistan and Afghanistan must play a part in the production of forgeries, the question of why Gandharan art represented such a large portion of the fake sculptures in this shipment remains. It is with these questions in mind that we move to the next section of this paper.

Buddhism and the West: Historical Narratives and the Reception of Gandharan Art

In 1852, a Mr. W. Jackson, vice-president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, encountered two Gandharan Buddha heads made of stucco, collected by a Major Baker near modern-day Peshawar, Pakistan. In his description of those works for the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Jackson observes that the first head (Figure 54) is decidedly "Boodhistic," with a "stolid and heavy" expression, hooded eyes, and earlobes "drawn down to a hideous extent…. [T]he workmanship is coarse," he continues, "and the modeling of the head incorrect." Consequently, the sculpture was of little interest to him. The second head (Figure 55), however, was a different case entirely--"of a superior character in every respect," with "open and intelligent eyes," modeled with "some knowledge of the art of sculpture." Jackson saw it as "of somewhat of a

Greek cast."[97] Thrilled with this discovery, he immediately resolved to determine its find-spot in hopes of discovering similarly superior sculptures.

In his essay on early colonial interactions with Gandharan art, Stanley K. Abe states that "reproductions of Gandharan styles have little value without the demand/desire for Greco-Buddhist art and the pleasure generated by the discovery of the power and authority of the West in a remote corner of India."[98] Therefore, the drama unfolding around fake Gandharan sculptures today takes place within the larger context of interaction between Western scholars and Gandharan art. This contact began in the nineteenth century, when British colonialists first encountered Buddhist art in Peshawar. In the first half of the 1800s, excavations were mostly conducted by independent British military officers who freely collected sculptures as well as coins and reliquaries. [99] General Alexander Cunningham formed the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861, the body that conducted the first government-controlled excavations in Gandhara. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, a series of planned excavations led by British officials underlined the history of Gandharan archaeology, with important digs conducted under H. C. Cole, Harold Deane, and H. W. Bellow. Between 1912 and 1937, Sir John Marshall (1876-1958) carried out several important excavations in Taxila with the Archeological Survey of India, keeping accurate records of his discoveries.[100] Because of the volume and importance of these early excavations, the study of Gandharan art has been shaped by colonialism, and its cultural legacy is always present in its collection and display, whether we are aware of it or not. Because collectors and museums play a critical role in the representation and legitimization of

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[97] W. Jackson, "Notice of Two Heads Found in the Northern: Districts of the Punjab, with Drawings," *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 21 (1852): 511-13.
[98] Abe, "Inside the Wonderhouse," 93.
[99] Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara,* 16.
[100] Ibid.

cultures, it is essential to critically examine the way they approach the objects and the way the history of the field has shaped that approach.

Interest in Gandharan art grew in the 1840s and 1850s, when the French orientalist Eugene Burnoff published his translations of ancient Buddhist texts, making Buddhist literature accessible to European scholars. By this time, the British obsession with India had somewhat faded, but there remained an affection for the Aryans, a diverse Indo-European linguistic group that entered India around the second millennium BC and were sometimes perceived as the forebears of Europeans. Upon the dissemination of Burnoff's translations, Buddhism became associated with the Aryans, and the Buddha was regarded the greatest Aryan philosopher.[101] Because Indian Buddhism was, by then, extinct, scholars felt no need to reconcile their admiration for the philosophy with their disdain for the living culture. Indian Buddhism, therefore, was conceived of as classical Buddhism, which had become corrupted as it traveled east. The Victorians related to the emphasis on restraint and discipline in the Buddhist texts, and because Buddhism was associated with the Aryans, they began to think of it as a pseudo-European civilizing force in ancient India.[102]

With this concept of Buddhism in mind, the discovery of so-called Greco-Buddhist art must have been especially exciting. Clearly reflecting Greco-Roman influence, the art would have seemed to provide further proof that this classical, pure form of Buddhism was related to a paternalistic European presence in Asia. Jackson's reaction to the "Greek" Buddha-head makes sense within this context and represents the approach taken by a large number of early scholars who valued Gandhara for its contact with the classical world and often projected positive

[101] Donald S. Lopez, "Introduction," in *Curators of the Buddha*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4-6.
[102] Ibid., 6.

attributes onto the more "Greek" sculptures. Jackson, for example, found the second, more Grecian sculpture's mouth "pleasing and intellectual," despite the fact that, after accounting for the difference in drawing styles, the mouths of the two sculptures are very similar in shape and expression.[103] The tendency to relate Gandharan art to Greece intensified when, in 1873, a group of sculptures contributed by the Punjab Government was shown in Vienna, and later in London and Florence.[104] Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840-1899), the British orientalist who organized the loan, coined the term "Greco-Buddhist" to describe these sculptures, firmly tethering Gandhara to a European source. For a time Gandharan art was even considered a provincial Greek style.[105] In the 1852 issue of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* that published Jackson's remarks, E. C. Bayley went so far as to claim that the "Buddhist character" of Gandharan sculptures was "perhaps not so self-evident as their indebtedness to Greek Art."[106]

While many scholars were taken with the Greco-Roman influence on Gandhara, the French scholar Alfred Foucher (1865–1952) was the first to claim that the anthropomorphic Buddha image had an explicitly Greek origin. In a close study of a freestanding Buddha sculpture he encountered in the town of Hoti-Mardan, Pakistan, Foucher recognized the Buddha's auspicious marks and iconography from sacred texts, but went on to say, "If this is indeed the Buddha, it is no less evidentially not an Indian work." The shape of the eyes and mouth, the straight profile, the fine hair, the voluminous, flowing robes--to Foucher, these were clear evidence of "the hand of an artist from some Greek Studio."[107] He believed that the

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[103] Jackson, "Notice of Two Heads," 512.
[104] Elizabeth Errington, "The 1878 Florence Exhibition of Gandharan Sculpture," in *Angelo de Gubernatis,* ed. Maurizio Taddei (Naples, Italy: Estrato, 1997), 139.
[105] Abe, "Inside the Wonderhouse," 72.
[106] E. C. Bayley, "Notice on some Sculptures found in the district of Peshawar," *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 21 (1852): 611.
[107] Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art,* 120.

Gandharan Buddha was the "sublime" product of true cooperation between cultures, "a case where the East and the West could have done nothing without each other," as the "Indian mind has taken a part no less essential than the Greek genius."[108] Although Foucher's assertion of a Greek origin for the Buddha was soon to be contested by such scholars as Ernest Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy, neither denied the Greek influence on these sculptures, questioning only the degree of that influence and its value.[109]

Gandharan sculpture was not only of academic importance due to its Greek influence, but was also popular with collectors and museums at the time. There is little doubt that British colonial explorers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries collected and excavated Gandharan art with enthusiasm. As previously noted, the British conducted many important excavations in Gandhara in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, as well as John Marshall's important work in the early twentieth century. Around the same time, scholars like Foucher and his contemporary Aurel Stein explored Gandhara not only for academic purposes, but to find and collect art. Like Foucher, Stein explicitly linked his interest in Gandhara to ancient Greece: "I feel I am on classical soil and enjoy every minute," he wrote in 1896 about his time in Swat.[110] The Western interest in Gandhara extended all the way to the United States, where painter and writer Francis Davis Millet (1846-1912) painted a small sculpture of a seated Gandharan Buddha in *The Expanionist* of 1899, now at the High Museum of Art in Atlanta (Figure 56). While the painting depicts a historical genre scene, many of the artifacts scattered across the room are probably objects that Millet encountered and collected in his own travels. Around the time he

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[108] Ibid., 136-37

[109] Havell, while not denying the Greek influence in Gandhara, believed that this corrupted the Indian artistic ability to depict a "divine ideal," and that it had no lasting effect on Indian art. Coomaraswamy, on the other hand, believed that Foucher had horribly overestimated the Greek influence and that the Buddha image could have conceivably emerged from indigenous sources. For a more complete discussion of the discourse surrounding the Gandharan Buddha in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Abe, "Inside the Wonderhouse," 63-93.

[110] Abe, "Inside the Wonder-House." 85.

painted *The Expansionist*, Millet was traveling Asia with stops in Japan, China, Java, Burma, and India.[111] The majority of the objects in this painting are of East or Southeast Asian origin, and the small, seated Gandharan Buddha, tucked away on the far corner of a table, is the sole representative of the South Asian subcontinent, perhaps suggesting that while Millet was less interested in India in general, Gandhara remained relevant. The popularity of Gandharan sculpture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is critical, as the sculptures from these excavations and collections make up a portion of known Gandharan sculpture, and must reflect the contemporary academic interest in Greek influence.

While the influence of Greco-Roman traditions on Gandharan sculpture is undisputed today, Foucher's theory of a Greek origin for the Buddha image has mostly been discounted. Scholars accept that a wide range of cultures passed through this diverse region, and that each had a hand in the style that emerged from ancient Gandhara. The Greek influence may have been overstated by early scholars because they were in awe of it, so that any connection to their beloved Greece would naturally be more salient than the influences of less familiar traditions.[112] Although scholarship has moved on from Foucher, many museum collections of Gandharan art continue to reflect the colonial taste for Greco-Roman Buddha images because they were formed from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collections.[113] Both the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, for example, received a portion of their Gandharan objects (and their Indian art collection in general) from the India Museum in London, which dissolved in

[111] *American National Biography Online*, s.v. "Millet, Francis Davis," by Robert L. Gale, http://www.anb.org/articles/17/17-00588.html (accessed March 20, 2017).
[112] Rhi, "Identifying Several Visual Types," 43.
[113] Kurt Behrendt, interview with author, October 11, 2016.

1879.[114] Of the eight Gandharan sculptures currently on view at the Victoria and Albert Museum, seven have been known for over a hundred years and were part of colonial collections. Of the objects on view in the South and Southeast Asian art collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, only four percent are Gandharan. However, considering that this collection is meant to represent all historic art from both South and Southeast Asia, a significant amount of space is dedicated to a culture with a relatively limited temporal and geographic reach.[115]

Because the public often relies on museums to assign value to objects and cultures, the exemplary Gandharan art presented to the public reflects the classical taste of colonial collectors, an effect that carries over into the art market. While Gandharan sculpture is by no means the most popular type of Buddhist art, it is still extremely valuable. Discussing the market for Buddhist art today, Ben Farina, head of the Department of Asian Arts at Freeman's Auction, notes that "Chinese Buddhist bronzes are bringing top dollar on the market today. However, there's also a strong collector interest in Gandhara Buddhist sculpture."[116] Indeed, auction records from Christie's auction house show that freestanding Gandharan sculptures consistently sell for between five and six figures, with the hammer price often exceeding the estimate. Particularly rare or fine examples are worth even more, as in the case of a twenty-inch relief of

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[114] The British Museum Collections, "Dome Slab," accessed March 21, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=179449&partId=1&searchText=buddha&sortBy=producerSort&page=1

[115] The Victoria and Albert Museum Collections, "Relief Panel," accessed February 24, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O65289/relief-panel-unknown/; "Death of the Buddha," accessed March 22, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O25034/death-of-the-buddha-sculpture-unknown/; "Stair Riser," accessed March 22, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O25041/stair-riser-stair-riser-unknown/; "Female Attendant," accessed March 22, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O24843/female-attendant-sculpture-unknown/; "Garuda Abducting Queen Kakati," accessed March 22, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O25036/garuda-abducting-queen-kakati-sculpture-unknown/; "Head of a Bodhisattva," accessed March 22, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O24838/head-of-a-bodhisattva-sculpture-unknown/; "Head of a Bodhisattva," accessed March 22, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O65822/head-of-a-bodhisattva-sculpture-unknown/; and "Male Attendant," accessed March 22, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O24948/male-attendant-sculpture-unknown/.

[116] "What Buddhist Sculpture means for your Collection," "Invaluable, the World's Premier Auctions and Galleries," accessed February 22, 2017, http://www.invaluable.com/blog/meaning-of-buddha-sculpture/.

the teaching Buddha with surviving paint and gilding, which sold for $1,482,500--more than double the estimated price (Figure 53). In the September 2012 Christie's auction in which this sculpture was sold, Gandharan art made up thirty-seven percent of the profits, but only accounted for twenty-eight percent of the objects represented. Included in the same auction was a world-record-breaking price for a Green Tara thangka; when that anomaly is removed, the sale of Gandharan art represents just under fifty percent of the total profits from the auction.[117]

The value and demand for Gandharan art is tied to its classical influences, and descriptions of Gandharan sculpture in the art market sometimes employ classicizing language similar to that of early western scholars. A brochure accompanying a Gandharan Bodhisattva sculpture (Figure 57) from the Sands of Time Ancient Art gallery in Washington, D.C., for example, emphasizes the modeling of the torso and robes, which "attests to the consummate skill of the craftsmen trained in the Greco-Roman sculptural tradition."[118] This assessment is comparable to Foucher's in attributing iconography and subject matter to South Asian sources, but technique and skill to Greek models. More subtly, descriptions of Gandharan sculptures from past sales on the Christie's website tend to emphasize such stylistic features as the "muscular chest," "voluminous" or "cascading" drapery, and "fine locks" of hair, all generally regarded as evidence of Greco-Roman influences.[119]

Without a desire for Gandharan art, fake Gandharan sculptures would be obsolete. While not the most sought-after category of South Asian and Buddhist sculpture, Gandharan art still represents an important part of this industry and accounts for a significant percentage of its

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[117] Christie's, *Indian and Southeast Asian Art, 12 September 2012*, accessed March 4, 2017, http://www.christies.com/salelanding/index.aspx?intsaleid=23558#action=refine&intsaleid=23558&viewtype=list&sid=ac7ce598-02df-4bc1-a48e-339265ed90ec&saletitle=&pg=all&action=paging.
[118] *A Grey Schist Bust of a Bodhisattva*, object brochure, Sands of Time Ancient Art, Washington, D.C.
[119] Christie's, *Indian and Southeast Asian Art, 12 September 2012*, see lots 507, 511, 512, 520, and 521.

profits. Because of the important role played by colonial scholars in shaping the field and the collection of Gandharan art, vestiges of colonial philhellenism seem to have trickled down from museums to public taste and the art market. The seemingly antiquated musings of W. Jackson on two stucco heads found long ago provide insight into the emergence of a European and American interest in Gandhara that would eventually lead to a thriving black market.

Conclusions

The mystery of the Gandharan frieze at the Carlos Museum remains unsolved, as it probably will for the foreseeable future. While the style of the sculpture is consistent with the larger body of published Gandharan images, its iconography presents several irregularities that cannot be fully explained through the attribution of a narrative. The figures boasting hairstyles reminiscent of the Buddha's *ushnisha* are unusual in Buddhist iconography, but could possibly represent Nanda, the Buddha's half-brother, who is sometimes depicted with such a topknot. Similarly, the figure holding an unusual T-shaped object may represent the Bodhisattva Vajrapani, who serves as the Buddha's guide and protector. However, both explanations are unsatisfying, as neither exactly corresponds to known literary and visual sources. Similarly, the physical condition of the sculpture can be interpreted to mean that the sculpture is either real or fake, depending on the motivation of the researcher. While the metal rod found in the top corner of the sculpture seems to make a compelling argument for the object's authenticity, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the frieze was carved from a recycled stone used in antiquity. Almost every piece of evidence can be subverted by looking at it from a different point of view.

Although I cannot yet determine the authenticity of the Carlos Museum sculpture, my hope is that one day, with a larger body of scholarship on fake Gandharan sculpture to consult, we will know without a doubt whether this sculpture is real or fake. More concerning, perhaps, is

the voracious market for fake Gandharan sculpture and the forces that have motivated this desire. The history of scholarship on Gandhara and the legacy of colonialism have shaped the reception of these sculptures for over a hundred years, first through scholarship and then through museum collections and the art market. The tastes of colonial scholars are echoed in the body of Gandharan art today, and their effect can be felt in the production and dissemination of Gandharan forgeries around the world.

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Figures

Figure 1
Unidentified Gandharan Narrative Frieze, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.

Figure 2
Map of the Greater Gandhara, from Behrendt, 2006, Fig. 3

Figure 3
Stupa, 1st century CE. Sanchi, India (photo by Nagarjun Kandukuru) Creative Commons 2.0

Figure 4
Seated Buddha, 2nd century CE, Mathura. Red Sandstone, Government Museum in Uttar Pradesh, India. (Photo by Biswarup Ganguly) Commons 3.0

Figure 5
Small Stupa from Loriyan Tangai after Reconstruction, Peshawar District. Schist and miscellaneous elements, 1.4 m high. Currently in Calcutta Museum, India. Photo taken by unknown photographer in 1895 (Image from British Library)

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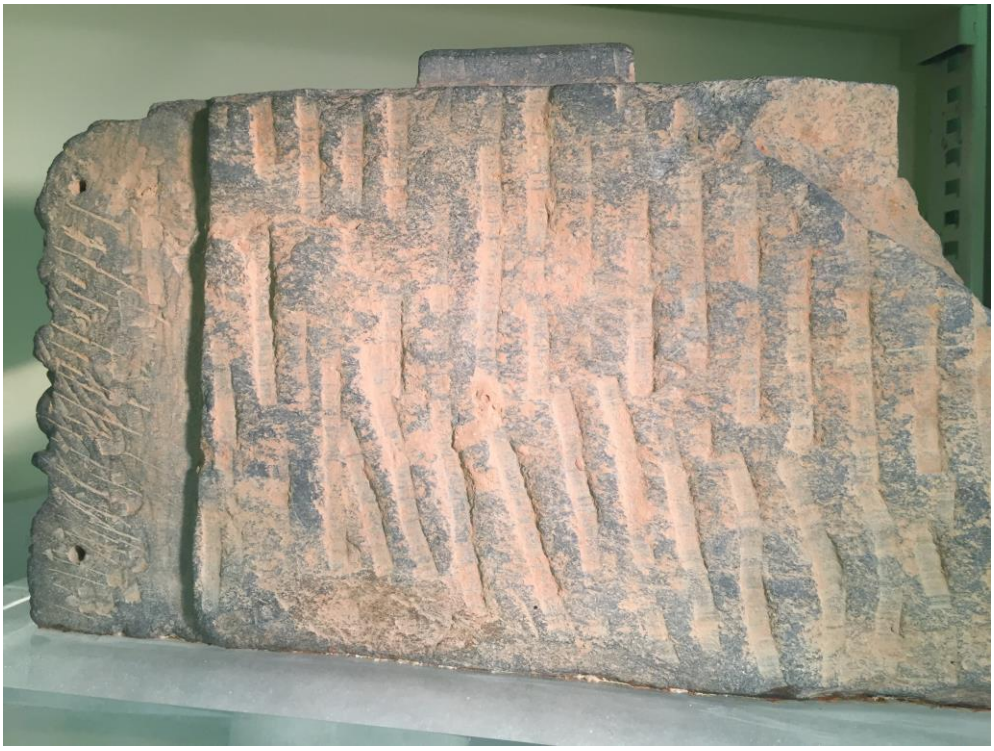
Figure 9
Carlos Museum Frieze, Detail of Metal Pin, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.



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Carlos Museum Frieze, Back of Sculpture, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States

Figure 11
Carlos Museum Frieze, Detail of Kharosthi Syllables, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.

Figure 12
Carlos Museum Frieze, View from Below, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.

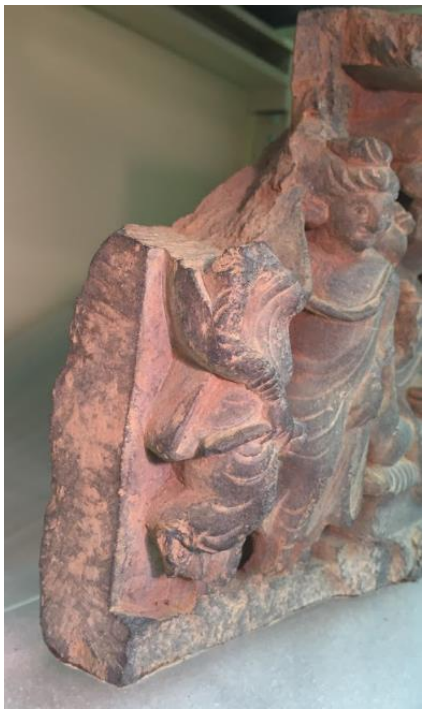
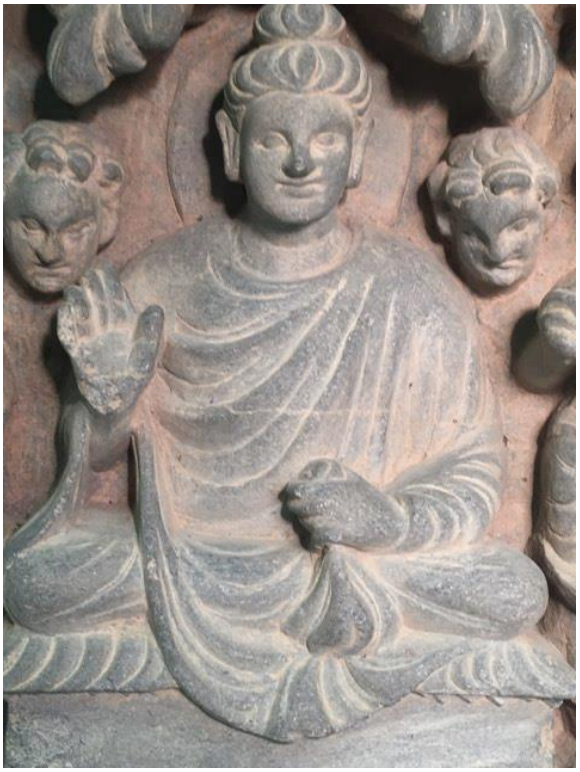


Figure 13a (left)
Carlos Museum Frieze, right face, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.
Figure 13b (right)
Carlos Museum Frieze, left face, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States



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Carlos Museum Frieze, detail of Central Buddha, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.

Figure 15:
Carlos Museum Frieze, right half ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.

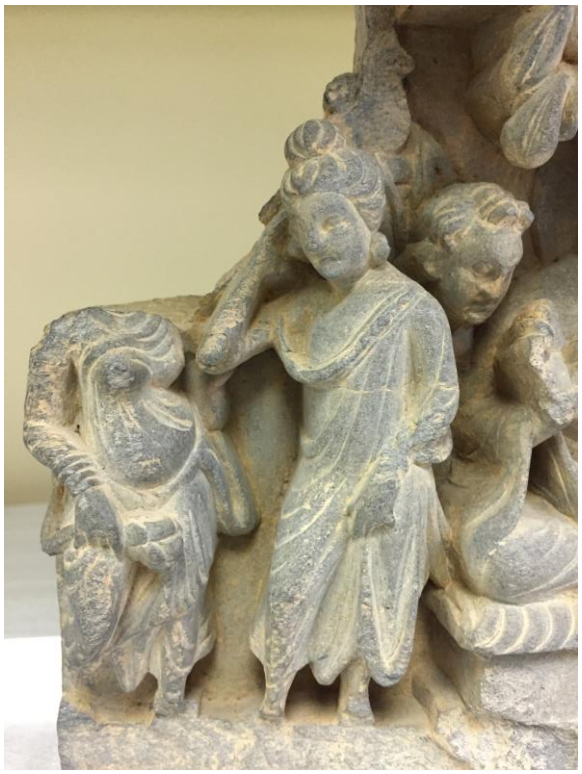
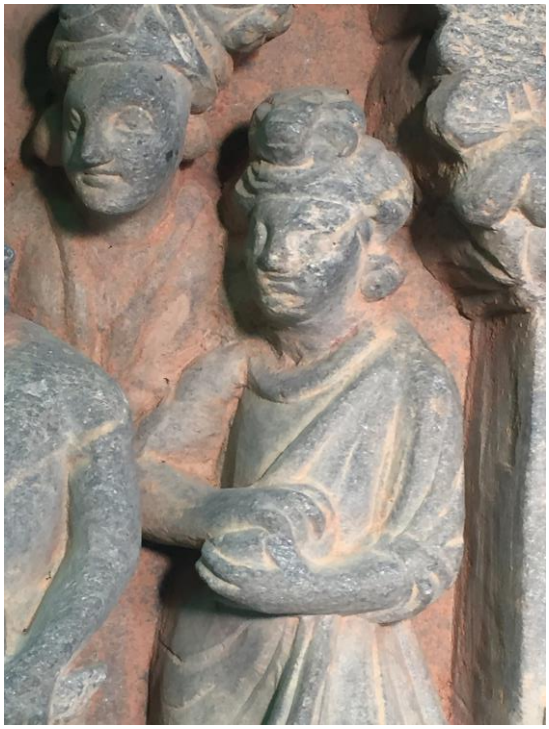


Figure 16:
Carlos Museum Frieze, left half ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.



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Carlos Museum Frieze, detail of figure with alms bowl, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.

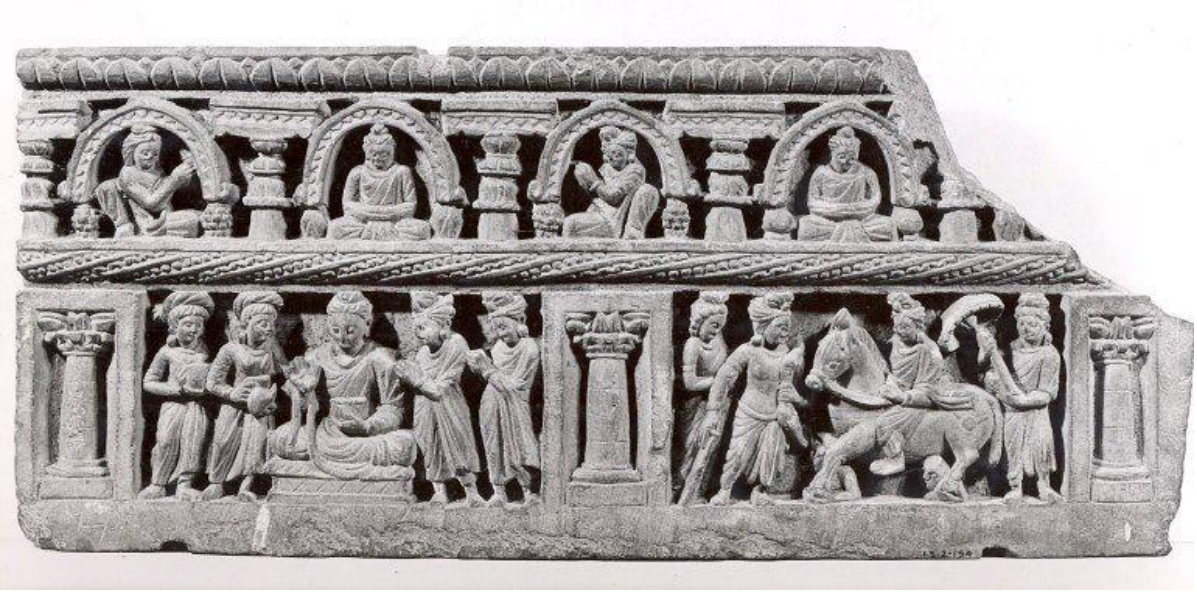

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Figure 19:
Relief Panel, 1st century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 33 x 18 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, United Kingdom.

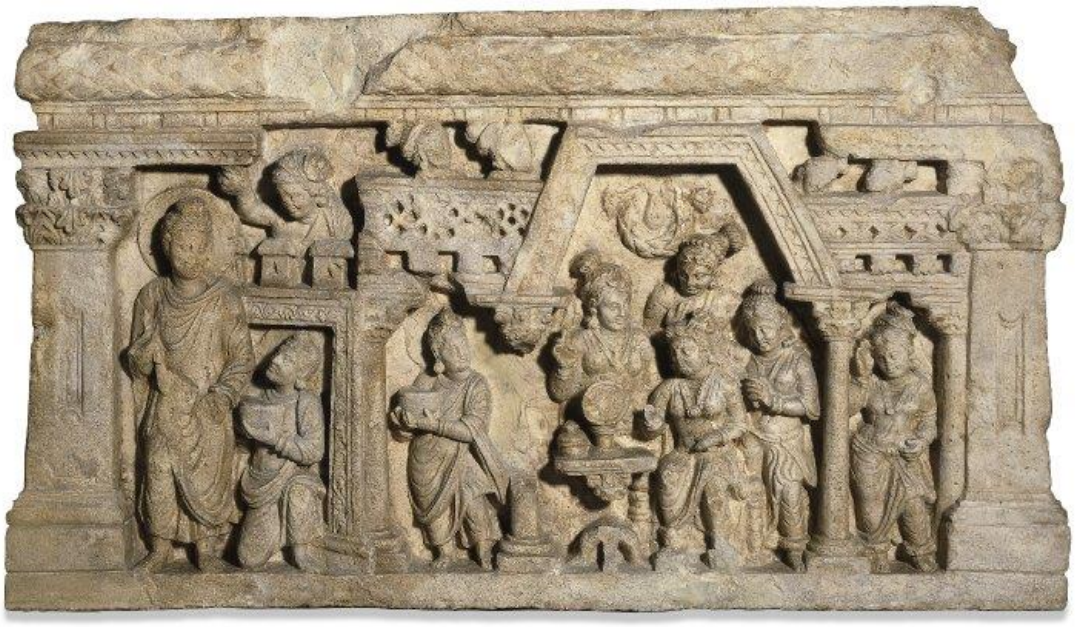

Figure 20
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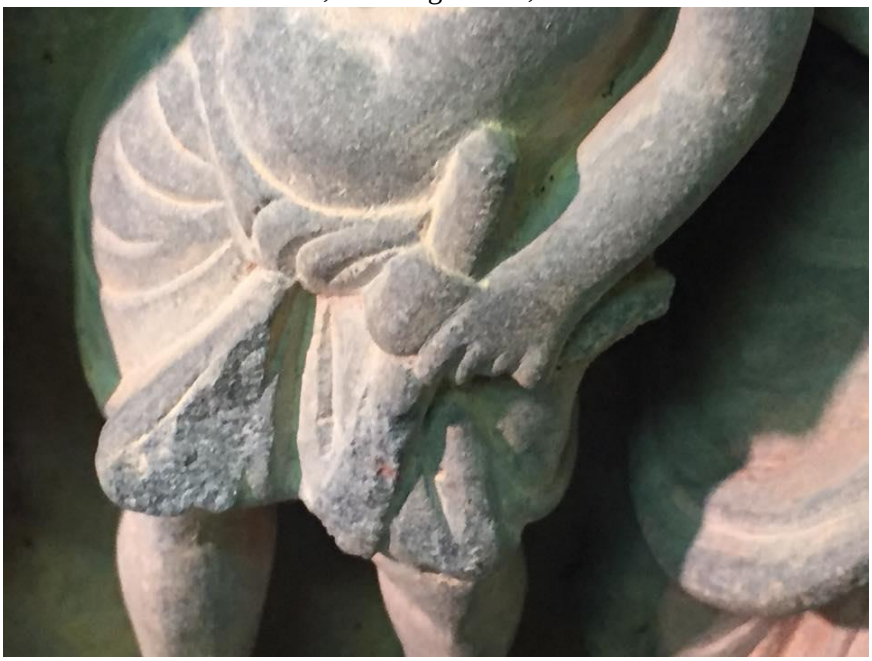

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Carlos Museum Frieze, Detail of T-Shaped Object, ca. 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Grey Schist, 24 x 42 cm, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, United States.

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Athar Khan, A police man looks at sculptures seized in Karachi, July 7, 2012 (Express Tribune, July 8, 2012)

Figure 37
Rueuters, A police man looks at sculptures seized in Karachi, July 7, 2012 (Express Tribune, July 8, 2012)

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A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

I

J

Figure 39

Fake Gandharan Sculptures (courtesy of Osmund Bopearachchi) A- Vajrapani, stone. B- Buddha after Enlightenment, stone. C- Seated Bodhisattva, clay or stucco. D- Seated Bodhisattva, stone. E- Two

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Figure 40

Fake Bodhisattva, ca. 1978, Peshawar. Stone, gold leaf, epoxy, and red lead paint, 168 cm tall. Exhibited at Nara National Museum, Nara, Japan, and The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, United States (Tanabe 1988, Pl.I-III)

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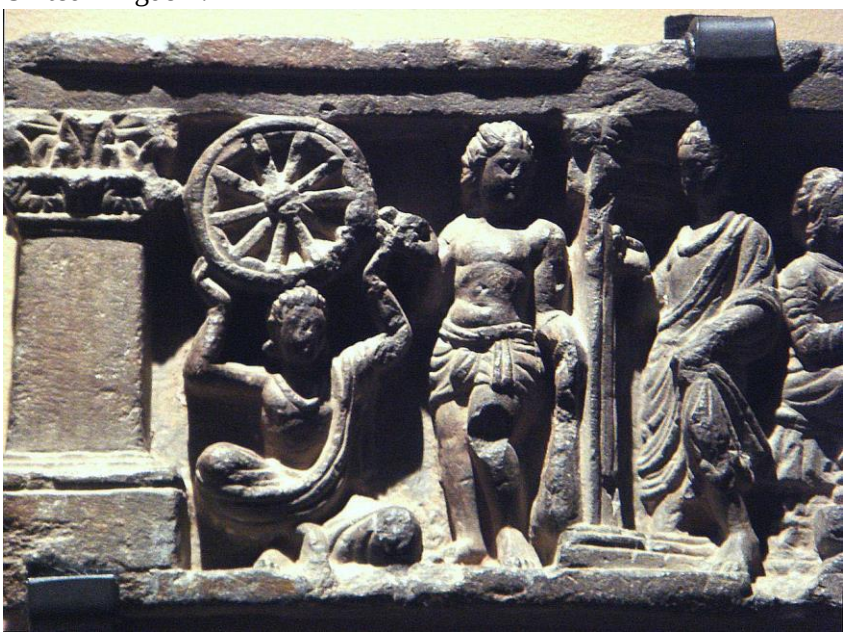
Figure 44

Tibetan Vajra, photo taken February 20, 2006 (photo by “Tonii”, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 45
Vajrapani in Lionskin, 2nd-3rd century CE, Gandhara. Schist, 54 x 25 x 7.5 cm. British Museum, London, United Kingdom.



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Dipankara Jataka Relief Panel, ca. 2nd century CE, Gandhara. Schist, 22.2 x 21.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, United States.

Figure 53
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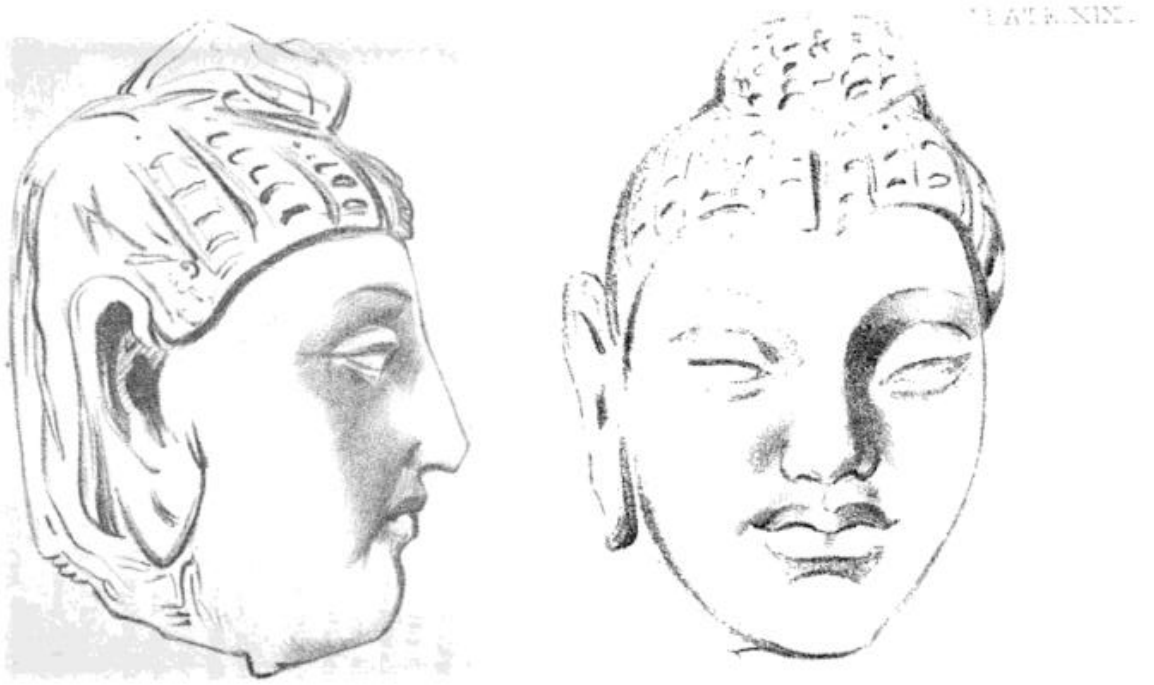
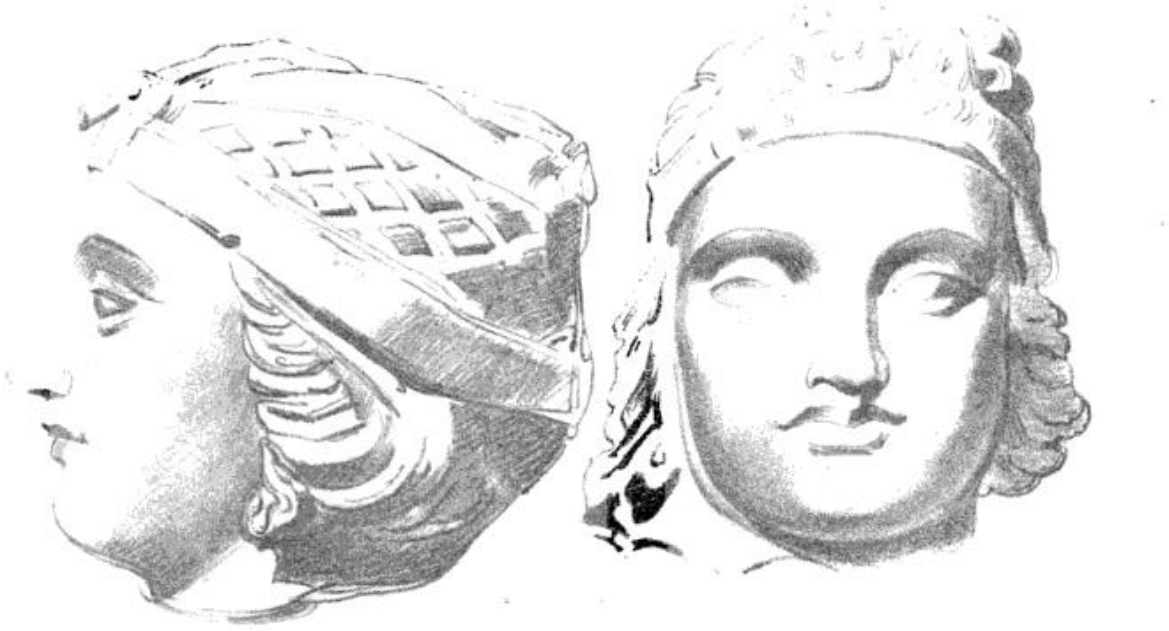


Figure 54
Drawing of Stucco Buddha Head Exhibited by Major Baker, c. 1852. Graphite on paper (Jackson, 1852, Pl. XIX).



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Drawing of Stucco Buddha Head Exhibited by Major Baker, c. 1852. Graphite on paper (Jackson, 1852, Pl. XIX).

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