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Malraux's Buddha Heads

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> *The fragments of the past that are most eagerly snapped up by our museums are neither happily inspired "patches," nor striking arrangements of "volumes"; they are* heads.
>
> André Malraux[1]

In March 1948, André Malraux (1901–76), the French writer, adventurer, anti-fascist, resistance fighter, and later Minister of Cultural Affairs, posed for the photographer Yale Joel (1919–2006) in the salon of his villa in the Paris suburb Boulogne (fig. 26-1). Malraux is flanked, to his right, by his wife Marie-Madeleine Lioux (b. 1914) and a reproduction from Piero della Francesca's (*c.* 1420–92) *Legend of the True Cross* (1457–*c.* 1466).[2] To his left is the torso-less head of an Afghan Buddhist statue, the partial figure of another Buddhist statue, and a lamp whose base appears to be a sculptural or architectural fragment.

This is a self-consciously fashionable, modern room, and its occupants are equally well arranged. Malraux, in a double-breasted suit and polished oxfords, stands on the border of an oriental rug and leans against Madeleine's piano. His head bends forward slightly as if to meet the smoke of the cigarette held in his right hand. Brow furrowed and lips compressed, he appears pained by the affairs of the world or the photographer's tribulations. In fact this is the practiced "Malrucian scowl."[3] Madeleine too gazes toward the camera. Her right hand, all but hidden in her sleeve, rests upon the piano bench and the other, one imagines, on the keyboard. For Madeleine, a formally trained pianist, the instrument is her embodiment and extension, but it is Malraux who presides here, loudly.

The sculpted head to Malraux's left, perhaps from an attendant figure or a mourner from a representation of the death of the Buddha, balances on a

FIGURE 26-1 Yale Joel, *French Writer André Malraux*, 1948. Time & Life Pictures. Photograph © Getty Images.

rectilinear base in a modern conjoining of fragmented antiquity and edifice of display. Its smile, like Madeleine's, is a foil to the brooding Malraux. The larger figure, a bodhisattva given the modern title *Spirit of the Flowers* (*Le génie aux fleurs*), rests on a pedestal nearly at eye-level but looks away from Malraux.

FIGURE 26-2 Maurice Jarnoux, *André Malraux*, 1948. Copyright Maurice Jarnoux/Paris Match/Scoop.

This room will become famous in the story of art and art history not because of Yale Joel's portrait but because of photographs taken about the same time for *Paris Match* by Maurice Jarnoux, in which Malraux surveys photographic reproductions of art works – many of them "head shots" – as he prepares his volume, *The Museum without Walls* (*Le musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale*; *c.* 1950).[4] In one of these photos, the head of a Buddha sits on the piano, another crowns a row of books aligned atop a radiator, and a third perches on a pedestal in the room's shadowy corner (fig. 26-2).[5] Widely circulated, the Jarnoux photographs became metonymic of Malraux's "master conceit": by decontextualizing art from local cultic/cultural and historical contexts through photographic reproduction (or physical removal and relocation to museums), one could discover the universal forms and styles of art and, in turn, the essence of human creativity.[6]

The Jarnoux and Joel photographs present Malraux as a "visionary connoisseur" and as a collector of Buddhist art.[7] This essay, however, is not strictly about Malraux. I shall consider Malraux's acquisition, exhibition, and interpretation of a "collection" of Buddhist sculptural fragments and tease out some of the responses they elicited, but I will not attempt to prove what Buddhist images and Buddhism meant to Malraux in an absolute sense or determine definitively where he acquired the heads that appear in the Jarnoux and Joel photographs. Malraux's writings on art deserve thoughtful attention, and I shall refer to their philosophical ideals and the so-called "Museum without Walls." At the same time, however, I wish to read them in relation to the field of Asian art in the early twentieth century, the antiquities trade and colonial scholarship, and the broader presences of fragments of ancient sculpture in interwar Euro-American modernism.[8] Malraux's "Buddha heads," as we might call them, invite us to consider as well how the broken body (human or divine, flesh or stone) is constitutive to our study of the past.

To elicit a richer sense of the Joel and Jarnoux photographs, therefore, we might turn to *Cleaning Buddha* taken by Sidney Gamble (1890–1968) at a Buddhist temple at Mt Tiantai, China, between 1921 and 1927 (fig. 26-3). Viewing the Gamble image, we look along the external corridor of a temple building in which a monk cleans a wood icon moved from its sanctuary and placed on stools without customary adornment and offerings. The forms of the half-clothed, standing monk and the seated statue reside in a narrow focal zone within the receding lines of the architecture and its painted ornament. The monk leans toward the statue with head lowered as he brushes at the image's lap; his other hand grasps the railing behind him. His lean musculature and curved torso juxtapose with the composed upright symmetry of the statue. His face is a dim profile; the Buddha gazes outward in distinct detail.

One may be tempted to draw a pop-Buddhist sense of bodily wholeness and spiritual completion from the arc of the standing monk's arms, across the shoulders and the decline of the neck, as he bows to touch the Buddha, perhaps embodying the process of moving from the frail and karmically bound realm of existence into the light and balance of non-duality and awakening. Appealing as such impressions may be, and I do not subscribe to them, one should note too the bowl, hand broom, chisels and knives, and the mop and bucket in the right foreground. *Labor* has a place in this photograph of an icon and its caretaker, as earthly time works upon both the human and sculptural body.

Indeed, the Joel and Gamble photographs do different sorts of labor.[9] In the former, Malraux's seemingly timeless, "god-like" centrality and scrutiny of the camera and the incomplete presences of Madeleine and the surrounding works of art contrast with the full figures of the monk and statue seemingly unaware of the camera. There are the art conscious appointments of Malraux's salon versus the monastic space and decoration; Malraux's pose of self-conscious power as opposed to labor and devotion; the position of Gamble, a foreign observer in China, photographing the unnamed monk amid the chores of "daily life," in

FIGURE 26-3 Sidney D. Gamble, *Cleaning Buddha*. Mt. Tiantai, China. 1921–7. Sidney D. Gamble Photographs, Archive of Documentary Arts, Duke University.

contrast to Joel, the professional photographer in Paris, on assignment for *Life* magazine, portraying the writer-politician at home. In the Gamble photograph, the intact icon rests upon a temporary dais for cleaning; Malraux's statues, frozen in fragmentariness, are given prosthetic stands that enable display despite their radical dislocation from body and context.

Discussion of Malraux and Asian sculpture, meanwhile, will evoke for some readers his arrest for looting in Cambodia in 1923.[10] In this well-known incident, Malraux, his friend Louis Chevasson (1900–83), and first wife, Clara (1897–1982) chiseled out sections of late tenth-century bas-relief sculpture from the Hindu temple Banteay Srei (Citadel of Women), near Angkor Wat. Arrested by the French colonial authorities, Malraux and Chevasson were put on trial and convicted despite Malraux's protestations of scholarly intent rather than profiteering (perhaps to recuperate his losses in the French stock market). Malraux's reputation as adventurer and looter hovers in the Joel and Jarnoux photographs, therefore, and the Buddhist sculptural heads and partial figure assume a weightier if still ambiguous presence. Indeed, where and how did this self-taught, would-be-archaeologist acquire these fragments of Afghan Buddhist sculpture?

Heads on View

Malraux's Afghan sculptures emerged into public notice in the January 1931 inaugural exhibition of the Paris art gallery of the literary magazine *La Nouvelle Revue Française* (*NRF*).[11] What the public saw were mostly torso-less heads of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other figures, which Malraux described in two brief, nearly identical texts, "Gothic-Buddhist Works of the Pamir" (*Oeuvres Gothico-Bouddhiques du Pamir*, 1930) and a review of the gallery's exhibition appearing in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* (1931).[12]

Malraux was no C. T. Loo (1880–1957), the premier dealer of Asian art in the transatlantic context, and his Buddhist sculptures were not necessarily as stunning as works found in Paris's Musée Guimet.[13] As I shall suggest in the following pages, however, his Afghan fragments, several of which appear in the Joel and Jarnoux photographs, were "cutting edge" given their moment of expropriation to France and their relationship to a particular node of art historical discourse.

What drew the attention of viewers at the NRF gallery, no doubt, were the vividly sculpted faces: Buddhas and bodhisattvas with arching eyebrows, sharply delineated eyelids and lips; volumetric from chin to high forehead; a beatific smile here, a graceful tilt of the head there; and curls and waves of hair, seemingly natural yet perfected, existing in this world and beyond. The more exuberantly sculpted heads of attendants or donors, meanwhile, present a portrait-like sense of individualized features, gender, and age, captured it would seem amid the desires and roughness of existence. The stucco material too may have caught the eye: pocked, cracked, and worn; mostly bereft of original pigmentation (red lips, black hair and pupils, etc.); and jagged edges at the neck or rear of the head, marks of fracture evocative of antiquity.[14]

Paris was home already to notable collections of Asian art. We might therefore ask, what sorts of conversations did Malraux's Afghan fragments elicit in the gallery, brasserie, or academy? Perhaps they enhanced appreciation of Asian

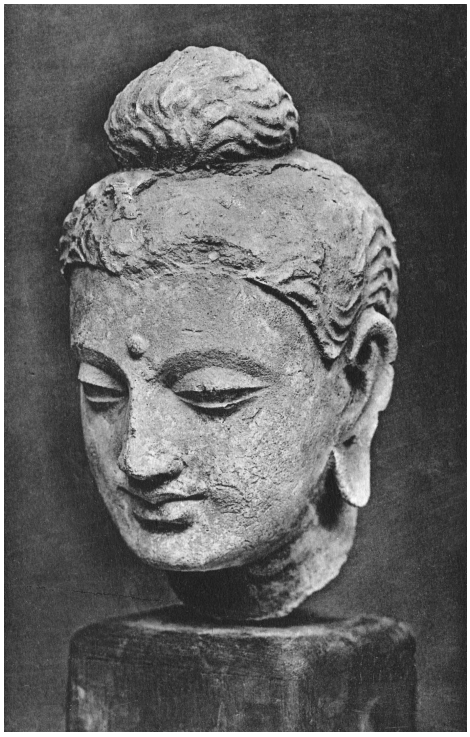

FIGURE 26-4 Joseph Strzygowski, *The Afghan Stuccos of the NRF* (1931).

FIGURE 26-5 *Head of a Devata*. Central Asian. About fifth–sixth century CE, Tash Kurghan, China (Western) or Afghanistan. Stucco with traces of pigment. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 31.191. Photograph © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

art but, if so, in what terms? Did a torso-less condition confirm the face as a potent site of imagination, of the Orient and Oriental psychology? What, for that matter, was Gothic-Buddhist sculpture?

Of Dubious Discovery

By 1931 Malraux had attained notoriety and acclaim in Paris. From 1925 to 1926 he was back in Cambodia, where he edited anticolonial newspapers.[15] October 1930 saw publication of *The Royal Way* (*La voie royale*), his quasi-autobiographical adventure story about looting in the Cambodian jungle that evolves into a psychological portrait of two men and an argument for the choice of death over "being penned in by destiny."[16] A participant in the discourse on art in the 1920s and 1930s, meanwhile, Malraux engaged Cubism and Surrealism, organized and wrote for exhibitions, and joined the Left's antifascist protests.[17]

To acquire his Buddha heads, Malraux may not have decapitated statues, as did Victor Segalen (1878–1919) who sawed off the head a Buddha in China;

Henri Cernuschi (1821–96), who had a bronze Buddha in Tokyo dismantled for shipment to Paris; or Thomas Mendenhall (1841–1924), who precipitated the beheading of a stone statue at Nikko, Japan.[18] Like most Malraux episodes, however, his acquisition of the Afghan sculptures is a meaningful mélange of fact and fiction.[19] Malraux claimed to have discovered them while exploring the mountainous Pamir region of Afghanistan. Alternately he indicated that he had excavated them at Tashkurgan near the border between Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region).[20]

André and Clara traveled to Central Asia in 1930, that much seems clear.[21] In June they reached Kabul, the city tense from intertribal conflict fueled by European powers.[22] As for the statues, Clara Malraux's memoir of 1925–35, *Here Comes the Summer* (*Voici que vient l'été*), recounts the mundane: the couple purchased them illicitly in Rawalpindi (in present-day Pakistan).[23] The heads were then sent through Bombay and reached Paris without notice.[24] Needless to say, they were acquired independent of official excavation conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan.[25]

Shortly after their Paris debut, Gaston Poulain, a columnist for the magazine *Comœdia*, published an interview with Malraux in which he asked how the novelist had acquired the sculptures:

MALRAUX: "I left [Paris] in June with my wife. I thought there was something out there. I looked. I found it."

POULAIN: "Have you undertaken any special studies?"
"I read Sanskrit, and I'm studying Persian."
"Did you stay long on the Pamir plateau?"
"Three and a half months."
"And you found all that? Many scholars would wish as much luck, pardon me, skill . . . Do you think that a scientific mission would discover additional pieces?"
"Why not? But it is a terribly dangerous area. Sixty kilometers outside Kabul, you would need machine guns."
"But would you?"
"For me it's not the same, I was a Commissar in Canton."

Poulain then turned more insistent; he wanted proof not just bluster:

"Who assisted you in your excavation?"
"Natives. There were no other whites except my wife and myself."
"How is it that the heads that you exhibit have all been separated [from their bodies] in the same manner?"
"It was the desert wind that severed them and the sand that covered and preserved them. As for their headless bodies, they were destroyed by the Hephtalite Huns."
"Do you have photographs of yourself at the site?"
"No. I have only photographs of the pieces that you have come to view. But, what have you to say about these works?"[26]

Poulain adds that he is curious what the Louvre curators Paul Vitry (1872–1941) and René Dussaud (1868–1958) might say about Malraux's statues but concludes: "Mysterious, without a doubt, and as regards the facts provided by M. Malraux, they remain rather imprecise."[27]

Malraux's comments, as represented by Poulain, seem savvy, fraudulent, cynical, and even absurd. In retrospect, we recognize an inflection of the colonial narrative (despite Malraux's purportedly anticolonial stance): off to uncivilized lands to see what could be seen and take what was found.[28] The wind, meanwhile, not Malraux, had lopped off the heads – "The French always manage to arrive after all the damage has been done."[29] Already broken, they could be taken without concern. There is André's somewhat dubious claim to proficiency in ancient languages, a requirement for any scholarly explorer.[30] Then there is machismo, Malraux facing down the nomads; intimations of danger intended, perhaps, to deflect suspicion. But Malraux has little use for archaeological documentation when the point is the sculptures themselves. He wishes, it seems, to "unwrap the mummies," turn objects into spectacle, and transform experiences (real and imagined) into prestige and myth.[31] In the coming months, however, Malraux's claims were put under severe scrutiny.

The Academy Attacks

Malraux followed his Paris presentation of his Afghan sculptures with a similar exhibition at the Stora Art Gallery, New York.[32] American collectors and museum institutions subsequently purchased several of the heads.[33] Accompanying the Stora show was *The Afghan Stuccos of the NRF*, a catalogue prefaced with an essay by the art historian Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941). Strzygowski's selection to extol the *NRF* finds was probably linked to his prominence in art historical circles during of the first years of the twentieth century.[34] Whatever interest Strzygowski may have had in Malraux's finds, however, he could only infer their archaeological circumstances from the discoveries of other explorers in Central Asia.[35] Notably, Strzygowski differentiated the *NRF* works from the Greco-Buddhist statuary that had "won a place in every European museum," adding that the *NRF* stuccos, "are not surpassed in plastic beauty by the objects dug up at Hadda [near Jalalabad] and brought to Europe by Mr. [Jules] Barthoux."[36]

Strzygowski thus framed the *NRF* fragments within the geography, epistemology, and museology of French colonial archaeology in the early twentieth century. It was in this context that scholars cried foul. A reviewer in the journal *Pantheon* noted that the *NRF* exhibition "has directly precipitated a lively polemic in the press – which, considering what was shown, was only to be expected." "Now it is the task of archaeologists," we read, "to give the decisive word on these finds."[37] In other words, the validity of the collection hangs upon its provenance, and it is clear to this reviewer who should have the final say.

Ernst Waldschmidt (1897–1985), scholar of Central Asian Buddhism, disputed Malraux's claims in *Berliner Museen*, pointing out that the *NRF* heads "might

easily appear to be the spitting image of those [sculptures] found in Hadda." Moreover, we read:

> the somewhat strangely initiated claim of Tash-Kourgan as place of origin, is in fact, most likely sheer fiction. In any case, Mr. Malraux would still have to produce the necessary proof that he really did excavate the pieces there. For the fact is that his collection had a previous owner, who had already offered numerous pieces of his collection to the Berlin Ethnographic Museum before Mr. Malraux acquired them. That many pieces of the Malraux collection are not in Berlin today is to be attributed only to the meager state of our resources.[38]

In the journal *Pantheon*, meanwhile, the art historian Ludwig Bachhofer (1894–1976) raised the matter of form:

> The persons in question will now perhaps seek to justify themselves by declaring that these works, even if not excavated by Mr. Malraux himself, were after all excavated in those regions to the east of Pamir . . . we must point out with great emphasis that so far no art works of similar form have come to us from these regions, for all the plastic works of central Asia which Sir Aurel Stein, le Coq and Pelliot excavated on the northern and southern borders of Chinese Turkestan belong to entirely different art spheres with completely dissimilar forms.[39]

Instead, Bachhofer points to the Hadda site Tapa-i-Kafariha, reproduced in Barthoux's *Excavations at Hadda* (1930).[40] Indeed, a bodhisattva head in the Malraux collection "falls astonishingly close to the heads reproduced in Barthoux."[41] As far as Bachhofer is concerned, Hadda is the source of Malraux's heads. Later, however, Benjamin Rowland (1904–72) would state that Malraux's finds "were in actuality acquired from clandestine excavations in the Peshewar area south-east of Hadda."[42]

The playing field was arguably not level between Malraux and his scholarly critics. But Malraux's concerns lay not with the scientific documentation, epigraphic and philological analysis, and historical study that preoccupied Waldschmidt, Bachhofer, and others but with demonstrating that art, unbounded by history and context, expresses universal humanity through shared aesthetic form.[43] Characteristically, Malraux's reply to his critics was laden with sarcasm:

> The exhibition of objects I brought back from Central Asia has set the mercury climbing, which is predictable. There are those who are surprised to see so many heads without bodies (whereas the Guimet has fewer bodies than we do) . . . Never mind . . . As I have already said, if there are only heads, it is because I am still making feet; and the places I dug in were revealed to me by a séance table. But next year, I'll take a bailiff with me.[44]

Certainly one might accuse Malraux of taxing the truth in his explanations of his Afghan stuccos – to suggest their authenticity, not to mention his own virility.

But his responses to the academy suggest, more potently perhaps, a form of antiknowledge production, one that should be juxtaposed with the positivist practices of his scholarly critics and their faith in empirical truth. One wonders, for instance, if the scholars were upset by undocumented objects or at being scooped by an amateur.[45] Nowhere in the critics' disgruntled commentary, meanwhile, is there concern for the removal of objects from the colonial sphere of Central Asia to Europe.

Gothic-Buddhist Sculpture

Art-savvy audiences in interwar Paris were familiar with headless bodies, torsoless heads, hands, and other sculptural body parts, be it the Louvre's Egyptian, Greek, and Roman treasures or the Musée Guimet's Chinese, Japanese, Khmer, and Afghan finds.[46] They sampled from the mesmeric masks, fetishes, and sundry remains removed from the French colonies to the Musée d'Ethnographie and displayed at the Colonial Expositions. Exclusive galleries channeled heads, sections of relief sculpture, and more or less intact figures into private salons and artists' studios. The photographic reproduction of art, instrumental to the art market, expanded the visual library of enthralling fragments.[47]

Malraux's "Gothic-Buddhist" sculptures, a number of which sold despite the crash of 1929, joined this world of precious pieces.[48] For some viewers, they may have evoked the ruins of exotic, distant lands now made proximate in the gallery. But the romantic sensations they incited were probably joined by and infused with modernist interests in the fragment. The avant-garde's disintegration (and reanimation) of representation in the interwar years was enacted partly through "all so many heads floating free of their bodies"[49] and parts of the artifactural other used in mashups and reformations. Truncation and the "fortunate mutilation," therefore, resurrected the redemptive whole of art.[50] Afghanistan, it might be added, was included in the "Surrealist Map of the World" (1929).[51]

Asia had considerable allure for Malraux, although not to the point of crowding out other cultures and regions outside Europe. If in his novel, *The Temptation of the West* (*La tentation de l'occident*, 1926), he proclaimed Europe a "great cemetery where only dead conquerors sleep," Malraux's trilogy of Asian novels and early essays suggest interests in Asia that turned the aesthetic, metaphysical, and political into and, to some extent, against one another.[52] It seems fair to conclude that Malraux's interest in Buddhism lay not in doctrine, icons, and living Buddhists, but in the manifestation of a particular Buddhist spirituality in sculpted and painted faces as it related to the problem of "humanism."[53] Indeed, the "Buddha's smile" was an established trope by the early twentieth century, one that Malraux was surely aware of, and is manifest in his formulation of the Gothic-Buddhist. Western audiences were often captivated with sensations of the sublime and mystical that the faces of Buddhist sculpture seemed to provoke. Victor Segalen put it this way: "because these faces of Buddhas, which

are expressionless both by nature and by dogma, cannot be called beautiful in a material sense, they were credited with a spiritual beauty, 'spirituality.' People went into ecstasies over them. The rest was up to the dealers."[54] Such responses, as Segalen described them, share something with Malraux's emphasis upon formal and psychological values. Within the scholarly community (and for dealers such as C. T. Loo), meanwhile, there was what, in hindsight, I would call the "smile periodization" of early Chinese Buddhist sculpture: the faces of works of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–535 CE) were deemed "archaic," the faces of statues dated to the Sui (589–618) were "enigmatic," and those of the Tang (618–907) "animate."[55] Chronology, however, is of negligible importance to Malraux.

Despite Segalen's dismissal of the material and aesthetic value of Buddhist sculpture, the 1910 and 1920s were years in which numerous European and North American expeditions were conducted in Asia, international exhibitions of Asian art were gaining in size and diversity, and publications devoted to Asian art were becoming more lavish and accessible.[56] If there was any single place in Paris to see a profusion of Buddhist heads, as well as more intact statues, meanwhile, it was the Guimet.[57] Malraux appears to have been a habitué of its galleries, where he would have encountered, for instance, Head of a Buddha from Tapa-Kalan, Hadda. For Malraux, however, the *NRF* sculptures presented a very different set of faces – faces that he wanted viewers to appreciate.

In his brief texts on the *NRF* Afghan heads Malraux wrote with modernist zeal inclined toward incantatory rather than explanatory prose, shifting near-fantastical imagery, and resistance to chronology.[58] His voice is also that of the adventurer returned from the high passes of Central Asia and of the connoisseur-critic authorized to explicate the "Gothic-Buddhist." The *Greco*-Buddhist, it might be noted, was quite familiar at the time, for a debate regarding the influence of Hellenistic sculptors in Bactria upon the origins of the first figural representations of the Buddha, said to appear in the Gandharan region of northwestern India in the second through third centuries CE, had preoccupied scholars since the nineteenth century.[59] But Malraux points to something different in the Afghan fragments:

> Unknown crowns: traits of race encountered for the first time in Asiatic sculpture; the nature of the mystery that surrounds these statues is, provisionally, unique in the world. These Buddhist figures bathe in the same troubled atmosphere as the bronze [age] pre-Hittites, as the countenances of magicians in the bas-reliefs of Boghaz-Khan – tragic Ubus that would have really been kings – as the demons of Mesopotamia with heads divided in the form of trees . . . Our mind is stopped here, seduced, because it seeks references, ceaselessly has the impression that it is approaching them, and does not find them. We are however acquainted – albeit poorly – with this civilization of the oases of Central Asia; but at the time of Milindapanha or of Qizyl; a bit earlier or later, further to the east or to the west; in sites and times where there is no place for the Gothic character of the works that we see here.[60]

Malraux thus promotes the novelty of his Afghan heads, which came into being in the sort of dark and menacing milieu that produced stunning monuments of the ancient Near East.[61] He cautions, however, that none of the works that readers may know compare, for they lack the "Gothic."

Malraux was not the first to compare Asian and Gothic sculpture. Guillaume le Gentil de la Galasière (1725–92), traveling in India from 1760 to 1768, wrote of sculpture "exactly similar in taste to those which are preserved in our Gothic churches."[62] Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), undoubtedly familiar with scholarship on the French Gothic, likened a statue of the Eleven-Headed Kannon at the Japanese temple Yakushiji "to the statues upon the façades of Amiens and Rheims." This "Japanese naturalization of far-away Greek types," he suggests, "so parallels the medieval unconsciousness of the classic tradition that remotely conditions its work, as to justify us in adopting for this style, if not for the Greco-Buddhist art as a whole, 'the Buddhist Gothic.'" Unlike Malraux, Fenollosa's concern lay with demonstrating the evolution of Asian art – hence "Buddhist" before "Gothic."[63] In 1928, meanwhile, the art critic Waldemar George (1893–1970) suggested that the Musée Guimet's relief of *The Assault of Mara*, from the life of the Buddha, "belongs to the Gothic family in the sense that it is based on violent contrasts of heights and depths, a free style and a treatment of the heads in places with sharp ridges."[64]

Malraux reworked the Gothic-Buddhist pairing. To make his stuccos knowable and enthralling, and enhance their value, he sought to explain (away) the temporal and geographic disjuncture of two Gothics: the Gothic of third- through fifth-century CE Central Asia and that of thirteenth-century Europe.[65]

> "But," someone says to me, "the same causes produce the same effects: both Gothics, this one here and the one from Reims, show us the transformation of a classical art by a religious spirit that dominates pity . . ." Classical art? In Asia – a Hellenistic art dominated by the will of seduction, absolutely master of its means; in Europe – a Roman or Byzantine art, indifferent to seduction, submitted to the portrait or to the schema, essentially maladroit . . . Between the end of the empire and the Gothic European, there was the Roman, and here is the fascinating element of these statues [from Afghanistan]: we are in the face of a Gothic *without the Roman*.[66]

The Gothic of Europe, which arose from the classical age with the intervening impact of Roman art, is embodied for Malraux in the dense, diverse sculptural program of Notre-Dame de Reims (mid-thirteenth century). The Gothic of the Afghan stuccos, meanwhile, developed from a Hellenized beginning (like Greco-Buddhist sculpture) without the intervention of Roman art. Malraux then links the two Gothics not through influence but through shared sculptural "sentiment":

> at Reims and here, the same sentiment expresses itself: tenderness in front of the human being conceived as a living creature and not as a creature of pain. In both arts, a sublimated face: here the prince that will become the Buddha gives the essential note, there the angel, and these two faces, by their very nature, escape from pain.[67]

In the faces from Afghanistan and Reims is the Gothic of tenderness, release from suffering, and earthly but liberated humanity. The sculptures' formal resonance, in Malraux's explanation, embodies the same ecstatic state, and these are faces that reveal the universal spirit of art. That the Afghan heads should evoke such sentiment is all the more remarkable, for Malraux, given the then common characterization of Buddhism as world-renouncing and aloof from emotion.[68] As Malraux put it, "we see here the moment, unique in the history of Asia, where it [Buddhism] accepted it [the world]."[69]

Unlike Fenollosa and others who posited the spread of Greco-Buddhist art into China and Japan, Malraux rejects an evolutionary-geographic sequence in favor of a suspended moment outside time and cultural particularity. Through this comparison the Afghan stuccos enter the modern aesthetic and emotional space and the French Gothic, already there, is re-aestheticized and emotionalized while enhanced as national patrimony. Not interested per se in describing the Buddhist sculptural past as "modern," Malraux's modernist turn was to promote the liberating presence in the present of two Gothics – an ancient Buddhist "then" and a more recent but still distant Christian "then" – that reveals what is truest in art.[70]

In *Les voix du silence* (1951), Malraux would exploit the medium of photography to embolden this comparison, posing on facing pages a photograph of the face of the angel from the left side of the north portal of the west façade of the Reims Cathedral with an Afghan Buddhist head (fig. 26-6).[71] Malraux wasn't shy about his manipulation of photography (scale, lighting, angle).[72] In this instance

FIGURE 26-6 "Le Sourire de Reims (XIII^{e} S)," and "Gandhara (IV^{e} S) – Tête bouddhique" in André Malraux, *Les voix du silence*. Photograph © Éditions Gallimard.

he may have had the Afghan head – the head on the piano in the Joel photograph? – photographed so as to harmonize in pose, contrast, and sensation with an existing photograph of the Reims angel taken, apparently, by Jacques Doucet (1853–1929). The photographic "unmooring of sculpture"[73] revealed what Malraux asserted to be "a family likeness to objects that have actually but slight affinity . . . each in short, has practically lost what was specific to it – but their common style is by so much the gainer."[74] To borrow from Mary Bergstein, moreover, the photograph's "tonality of enveloping shadow allow[ed] the viewer to deny" the fragmentation of the Buddhist head from its torso.[75]

Although not entirely akin to Malraux's later dispatching abroad of icons of French culture (as France's Minister of Culture) – the *Mona Lisa* to the United States (1963) and modern French paintings (1961) and the *Venus de Milo* (1964) to Japan – the display of the *NRF* sculptures in New York was arguably an assertion of French cultural authority. Reviewers of the Stora Art Gallery exhibition of the *NRF* fragments echoed Malraux and Strzygowski's comments on the mysterious and uncanny resemblances of the Gothic and Buddhist. One even proposed that "some of the heads were attributed to the French artist, Guillaume Bouche, who lived in the twelfth century."[76] That collectors were captivated by such resemblance is suggested by two heads in the collection of the Harvard University professor of art Denman W. Ross (1853–1935) that were donated to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: the Afghan *Head of a Devata* (*Head of a Girl*) (fig. 26-5) and a fragment of a *Head of an Angel* identified as French Gothic of the thirteenth century.[77]

Once Malraux's Afghan Gothic-Buddhist heads were out in the open, they became sites for others to explain the relationship of east and west. Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877–1947), linking the Malraux finds with excavations at Hadda, deemed *Head of a Devata* as astonishing in its similarity in form and emotional quality to European Gothic sculpture. The temporal dilemma can be resolved, Coomaraswamy argues, because "Mahayana Buddhism and Mediaeval Christianity, however independent, are emotionally akin, and we can only say that on the one hand in Asia, on the other in Europe, at a certain stage in the stylistic sequence, the two faiths found expression in analogous forms of art."[78] What may distinguish Coomaraswamy's interpretation from that of Malraux, despite a shared turn to emotive content, was an underlying allegiance to periodization; art proceeds through sequences of style be it in Afghanistan or France. For Malraux, sequences of this sort were strictures of the old world to be abandoned.

Redeeming Faces from Oblivion

Malraux sought to incite a sense of wonderment arising from sculpture of resonant form and affect; he wants his viewers to feel through comparison.[79] One can admit the potent resemblance. For art audiences unfamiliar with Gandharan Buddhist sculpture, meanwhile, the Afghan stuccos excavated from Hadda in the

late 1920s and those acquired by Malraux may have been tantalizingly novel even as this allure depended upon "intimate distance" – exotic, they were nevertheless accessible through their assumed relationship to western art.[80] This was by no means unusual: a refrain of western art historical writing of the 1920s and 1930s was the accessibility of the Other through the Self. As Roger Fry (1866–1934) put it, Chinese sculpture can be appreciated, "if one approaches it in the same mood of attentive passivity which we cultivate before an Italian masterpiece of the Renaissance, or a Gothic or Romanesque sculpture."[81]

Comparison with the sculpture at Reims was potent not simply in artistic and psychological terms but in national symbolism and rhetoric. A monument of the French Gothic, the cathedral was a fertile ground for modern French art and identity. Bombarded by German artillery on September 14, 1914, the cathedral was reduced to "a sort of sinister skeleton charred by flames . . . to which cling still, here and there, a few fragments of the most wondrous sculptures of Virgins and Angels."[82] "Martyred" during World War I, it underwent restoration through the 1920 and 1930s and arose to symbolize a France that had survived invasion and been reborn. In this context, the approachable and seemingly knowable resemblance of the two Gothics – expressing "radiant ecstasy" as Benjamin Rowland put it[83] – may have been seen to dispel the trauma of the war. Indeed, as a reviewer of C. T. Loo's 1931 exhibition of Chinese art put it, "Many of the large pieces of ancient sculpture look out with peculiarly serene faces toward the turmoil of the twentieth century."[84] To behold the fragmented Buddha heads, despite the violence that produced them and lingered at ragged edges, was perhaps therapeutic; rather than traces of destruction, they were faces of rebirth. Thus, to reduce Malraux's two Gothics simply to the allure of beguiling smiles, those of Buddhist figures and those of the famous angels of Reims, is to ignore the poignant possibility of joy and liberation.[85] If in the modern world "man has lost his visage," as Malraux put it, "this same 'disfeatured' man has redeemed the world's noblest of faces from oblivion."[86] Having recovered these faces, Malraux sought "resuscitations of the past" for the creation of a new world.[87]

Despite this goal of redemption, Malraux's infatuation with the "sentiment" shared by the Gothic-Buddhist and French Gothic should be contextualized in relation to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial deracination of Asian artifacts and the agendas (intellectual, aesthetic, and commercial) of the west. In this sense, the Afghan heads and faces served Malraux, and perhaps others, as a "place from which to think various moral and philosophical issues (the relation to death, to others, or the aesthetic impulse) on a global scale and precisely as a condition of a universalized humanity beyond historical or cultural particularity."[88] Put differently, Malraux engages in epistemological herding, in which the Afghan heads are driven into the domain of the western visual and aesthetic tradition and the modern narrative of the interrelation, interaction, or simultaneity of cultures east and west, ultimately to be made part of what would later be described as Malraux's "total world of art forms" aligned with "the condition and the destiny of man."[89]

Malraux's project also performed a cultural and lexical hyphenation within a nationalistic ideology that rendered nonwestern artifactual discoveries amenable to taxonomies of art historical style and histories of World Art.[90] As Stanley Abe notes, the debate over the origins of the first images of the Buddha led to a "profusion of hyphenated terms" including Indo-Hellenic, Indo-Roman, Romano-Buddhist, Greco-Afghan, and so on.[91] Malraux's Gothic-Buddhist was a particular sort of hyphenation, for he did not posit a western origin and influence, the crux of the Greco-Buddhist debate, or emphasize the Buddhist anticipation of the Gothic. Instead he evokes the sympathy of historically disjunctive form and the perception of shared psychological content; we are to be awakened and surprised by this commonality without concern for archaeological provenance or temporal-cultural context. It should not be forgotten, however, that the awakening of the universal humanity that Malraux sought (even if it arose partly in response to the trauma of World War I) was dependent upon works of art that, as commodities in the market, were the subject of considerable competition among European and North American collectors and destined, through their exhibition and explication, to serve national agendas.

After the *NRF* and New York exhibitions of the Afghan stuccos and hubbub over their Gothic-Buddhist character, Malraux apparently retained a dozen or so heads (presumably hidden during World War II), the most famous being *Le génie aux fleurs*. The head that appeared on the piano in the Joel photograph is now owned by his daughter Florence.[92] During the postwar decades, Malraux's Buddha heads may have served as "sites of memory" even as he may have endeavored to acquire more fragments in his capacity as France's culture minister.[93] During his 1965 visit to China, Malraux appears to have proposed a loan exhibition of Chinese art that would include, as the biographer Todd puts it, "high-relief sculptures cut out to be shown in Paris."[94] Malraux even had one of the Afghan heads sawn into two profiles – fragmenting the fragment to achieve, perhaps, a new sort of "sentiment" arising from affective volume juxtaposed with silhouette.[95] Heads also crop up in recollections of Malraux. Ilya Ehrenburg (1891–1967), describing Malraux's apartment at 44 rue du Bac, commented that "He lives surrounded by Buddhas, but this doesn't stop him from being deeply concerned by the economic problems of the world." Other heads served Malraux as a form of currency. Paul Valéry's (1871–1945) living room displayed a Buddhist head given to him by Malraux; the poet is said to have grumbled: "He was my publisher. He did that awful edition of the *Odes* that didn't sell very well. At least I suppose it didn't, for he was never able to pay me. In the end, after I complained, he gave me that, one of the things he stole in Indochina, I suppose." "To close friends," Todd notes, "Malraux will sometimes . . . offer a little Gothico-Buddhist head, like a very big box of chocolates."[96]

Stucco Buddha heads from Afghanistan still attract interest in the art world. A March 20, 2009 sale at Christie's, New York included a stucco head of a bodhisattva (from a "Private Japanese collection, acquired in the 1990s") that sold for US$2,500.[97] Where this head came from, and when it left Afghanistan, may

be anyone's guess, but Malraux, if he were alive, could no doubt offer incantatory words for the sentiment evoked by its striking face, "redeemed" perhaps from a landscape of ruin in a recent age of trauma.

Acknowledgments

This essay is dedicated to Joanna Williams. My sincere thanks to Mont Allen, Sherry Ehya, Christine Guth, Jacqueline Jung, Sonal Khullar, William Ma, Mia M. Mochizuki, Tom McDonough, Michael Nylan, David Pettersen, and Yueni Zhong. Bridget Alsdorf assisted at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Writing began with a grant from the Townsend Center for the Humanities, U.C. Berkeley.

Notes

1 Malraux, *The Voices of Silence*, 619 (italics in original). Tom McDonough suggests that "taches" refers to Tachisme and "volumes" to Abstraction Froide (personal communication).
2 San Francesco, Arezzo, Italy. The artist was "rediscovered" during the post-World War I *retour à l'ordre*.
3 See Yousuf Karsh, *Malraux* (1954). Photograph, gelatin silver print. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1998.362): http:www.mfa.org/collections/object/andre-malraux-97628.
4 See Lyotard, *Signed, Malraux*, 265–6.
5 In a second photograph, a Buddha head and bust of a woman by Jean Fautrier (1898–1964) sit on the piano.
6 Malraux's use of photography no doubt had multiple antecedents and inspirations: Aby Warburg's (1866–1929) *Mnemosyne Atlas* tableau of the late 1920s; Walter Benjamin's (1892–1940) essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936); Heinrich Wölfflin's (1864–1945) comparative method; and George Bataille's *Documents* (1929–30). See Krauss, "Postmodernism's Museum," 341, 344–6; Savedoff, *Transforming Images*, 153–7.
7 Lyotard, *Signed, Malraux*, 82.
8 Malraux is not generally taken to be a chief voice in the art history of Asia, but his universalist and psychological proposals regarding art require consideration alongside of the official and scholarly narratives that are more often the focus of study. I thank Rebecca Brown for emphasizing this point to me.
9 This apt characterization was suggested by Sonal Khullar (personal communication).
10 *New York Times*, "'Art Agent' Is Sentenced"; Fujiwara, *Orientarisuto*, ch. 5; Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina*, ch. 4.
11 Gaston Gallimard established the gallery in 1929; Malraux served as a supplier. Todd, *Malraux*, 97–8.
12 Malraux, *Oeuvres Gothico-Bouddhiques* and "Exposition Gothico-Bouddhique."
13 See Wang, "Loouvre from China."

14 Stucco, often using molds, was employed in sites such as Hadda and Taxila. The material (slaked lime, gypsum, or chalk) was applied to a core of sand, clay, or pebbles, combined with lime, straw, or hair. Czuma and Morris, *Kushan Sculpture*, 215–16.
15 Todd, *Malraux*, chs. 5, 6.
16 Malraux, *The Royal Way*, 87. On Malraux's colonial writing, see Ha, *Figuring the East*, ch. 3.
17 Malraux wrote a preface for *L'Exposition D. Galanis*, Galerie de la Licorne, Paris (1922); published "A propos des illustrations de Galanis," in *Arts et Métiers graphiques* 4 (April, 1928); and in December 1931 organized an exhibition of works by Jean Fautrier. Todd, *Malraux*, 100; Lyotard, *Signed, Malraux*, 295–6.
18 Faure, *Double Exposure*, 62–3; Chang, "Collecting Asia"; Rubinger, *An American Scientist*, 42–4.
19 Fiction, for Malraux, was as useful as fact for revealing the human condition. Savedoff, *Transforming Images*, 172.
20 In *Antimémoirs* (1967), 73–4, Malraux (referring imaginatively to himself, no doubt) described "the mingled sound of horses and lorries of the Afridis clattering down the mountain slopes as in Kipling's time into some Afghan or Indian town, and the caravan of the archaeologist who had just discovered several hundred Greco-Buddhist stucco statues."
21 Cates, *André Malraux*, 147.
22 See Wilson, "Afghanistan." Malraux's research prior to his Cambodia escapade suggests that the Afghanistan trip was informed of French excavations and finds. See Fujiwara, *Orientarisuto*, 241–54.
23 Malraux, *Voici que vient l'été*, 117–36.
24 Todd, *Malraux*, 100; Cates, *André Malraux*, 148–9.
25 The Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, established in 1922, split its finds between the Kabul Museum and Musée Guimet. Olivier-Utard, *Politique et archéologie*.
26 Poulain, "L'écrivain archéologue"; Todd, *Malraux*, 96–7; Cates, *André Malraux*, 154–5.
27 Vitry was a scholar of medieval and Renaissance sculpture, Dussaud of the ancient Near East.
28 Full discussion of Malraux's colonial/anticolonial views is not possible here. One might consider the Afghan stuccos exhibition in early 1931 in relation to the Exposition Coloniale Internationale and Surrealist Contre-Exposition later that year. See Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina*, ch. 3.
29 Hsieh, *From Occupation to Revolution*, 25.
30 It is Malraux's fictional counterpart, Vannec, in *La voie royale*, who holds such credentials. Malraux's claim of serving as an advisor during the Communist insurrection in Canton has been discounted.
31 Established dealers such as C. T. Loo and Yamanaka Sadajirō (1866–1936) cultivated similar persona. Wang, "Loouvre from China," 18, 22, 150.
32 Raphael Stora, who ran galleries in Paris and New York in the 1930s, sold works of Gothic statuary, "Hittite," Etruscan, and Greek bronze sculpture, African masks, as well as other sculptural works. Several Gothic statues were purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The New York gallery was located at 670 Fifth Avenue.

33 The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and, it appears, the City Art Museum, St. Louis, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Farnsworth Museum, Wellesley, acquired heads. See *The Art Digest*, "'Gothic' Art in Asia"; Siple, "Stucco Sculptures" and "Recent Acquisitions,"109; *New York Times*, "Museum Buys Asian Art"; Coomaraswamy, "A Stucco Head"; Bachhofer, "Oriental Art."

34 Strzygowski became famous for insisting upon the Oriental (especially Iranian), rather than Greek or Roman, sources of late antique and medieval European art and architecture. That he later became a Nazi sympathizer may have shocked Malraux. On Strzygowski see Marchand, "Rhetoric of Artifacts."

35 Strzygowski, *Afghan Stuccos* includes photographs from Sir Aurel Stein's 1906 excavation at Shorchuk, Karashahr, that function as surrogate *in situ* evidence. See Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art*, figs. 5.44l, 5.44o.

36 Gandharan sculpture was first shown in Europe in 1873 and New York in 1926. Strzygowski, *Afghan Stuccos*, 4–5, 7; Todd, *Malraux*, 99–100. Hadda was an ancient pilgrimage site famed for the shrine of the Buddha's skull-bone relic. Military conflicts since the 1980s have largely destroyed the site.

37 Heilmaier, "Gotisch-Buddhistische," translated by Mont Allen.

38 Waldschmidt, "Die Stuccoplastik," 2, 3, translated by Mont Allen. European, Japanese, and American collectors were in active competition. See *New York Times*, "American Collector Gets Rare Collection."

39 Bachhofer, "Eine Sammlung Nordwestindischer Stuckplastik."

40 Tapa-Kalan was the source of many of the Guimet's Hadda fragments.

41 Bachhofer, "Eine Sammlung Nordwestindischer Stuckplastik," 84.

42 Rowland, "A Cycle of Gandhara," 125.

43 "Those interested in scientific considerations and the problems they pose will find an account in the works of the French Delegation in Afghanistan on the excavations at Hadda Al-Hadda by J. Barthoux, their director." Quoted in Todd, *Malraux*, 97.

44 Ibid.

45 Many scholars supported the removal of Asian artifacts for study in Europe and North America. See Wang, "Loouvre from China," 192–9. That the academy may not have attacked C. T. Loo (who trafficked undocumented objects) suggests that Malraux's lack of membership in this level of the art world may have spurred criticism.

46 The sculptural head and mask were potent sites of encounter between the west and non-west, partly due to the allure of the exotic and the face as locus of visual presence and psychology. Still influential were the physiognomic theories of Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), Charles Bell (1774–1842), and Charles Darwin (1809–82). Note too the ethnographic busts of Charles Cordier (1827–1905) and Malvina Hoffman (1887–1966).

47 On photography and the art market, see Wang, "Loouvre from China," 54, 169, 229; Abe, "Collecting," 436.

48 On collecting before the crash, see Wang, "Loouvre from China," 33–6. Todd recounts, from records in the Gallimard archive, that: "One aspect [of the *NRF* gallery] remains sunny throughout: sales of heads from Asia. . . . For a Gothico-Buddhist head of twenty centimeters, offered at 27,000 francs, it is advised to let it go, if necessary, at 24,000 francs." Todd, *Malraux*, 98.

49 See Baker, "Artwork," 53.

50 Zerner, "Malraux," 118; Bergstein, "'We May Imagine It'," 11; Meijers, "The Museum," 15.

51 "Le monde au temps des Surrealistes," published in *Variétés*, special issue *Le Surréalisme en 1929* (June, 1929). Afghanistan, Tibet, and China figured in Surrealist Orientalism; André Breton's antinationalist efforts used an idealized eastern thought to counter western rationalism. Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 393; Antle, "Surrealism and the Orient," 4–5.
52 Ha, *Figuring the East*, 48–9; Malraux, *The Temptation of the West*, 121.
53 See Lebovics, *Mona Lisa's Escort*, 82; Ha, *Figuring the East*, 48.
54 Faure, *Double Exposure*, 61.
55 Bosch Reitz, "Khmer Sculpture" and "The Statue of a Bodhisattva"; Sirén, "An Exhibition of Chinese Sculptures," 217; George, "Art in France," 206; Wang, "Loouvre from China," 135–7.
56 The Musée Cernuschi 1913 exhibition of Buddhist art and Akademie der Künste, Berlin 1929 Chinese art exhibition were well noted on both sides of the Atlantic. Abe, "Collecting," 436–8.
57 The Musée Guimet, which opened in Paris in 1889, was the repository for works acquired by Édouard Chavennes (China, 1893); Paul Pelliot (China, Central Asia; 1906–9), Alfred Foucher (Afghanistan, 1896–7; 1922), Joseph Hackin (Afghanistan, 1924); and Jules Barthoux (Afghanistan, 1926–7). Southeast Asian works moved to the Guimet from the Musée Indochinois du Trocadéro (est. 1882), and donations also swelled the collection. Jarrige *et al.*, *Spiritual Journey*, 17, 88; Foucher, "Greek Origin," 111. On Malraux at the Guimet, see Lyotard, *Signed, Malraux*, 80.
58 Harris, *André Malraux*, 175–6.
59 Abe, "Inside the Wonder House"; Wang, "Loouvre from China," 128–9. Malraux had probably read Foucher, "L'origine grecque de l'image du Bouddha" (1912).
60 Malraux, *Oeuvres Gothico-Bouddhiques*, 3. I thank Sherry Ehya and David Pettersen for their translations.
61 Malraux refers to the reliefs at Yazilikaya completed by Tudhaliya IV (1227–1209 BCE) near Bogazkoy, Turkey. Malraux was not alone in stressing the mysterious darkness of the past. See Wang, "Loouvre from China," 172.
62 Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters,* 115.
63 Fenollosa, *Epochs*, vol. 1, 51, 74, 106.
64 George, "Art in France." Display in Paris of finds from Hadda, before the *NRF* exhibition, led to the use of the term "Gothico-Buddhist art" and comparison to the gargoyles of gothic cathedrals. Strzygowski, *Afghan Stuccos*, 17; Reau, "Art Activities," 44.
65 Malraux was no doubt familiar with Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture* (1854–68), Paul Vitry, *Le cathédral de Reims* (1919), and Henri Focillon's (1881–1943) study of Romanesque sculpture.
66 Malraux, *Oeuvres Gothico-Bouddhiques*, 4–5; italics in original.
67 Malraux, *Oeuvres Gothico-Bouddhiques*, 6.
68 Payne, *Portrait of André Malraux*, 162.
69 Malraux, *Oeuvres Gothico-Bouddhiques.*
70 Perhaps Malraux, like other modernists, "understood the Middle Ages to be a period of cultural unity, of true socialism, of the brother-hood of man that . . . found perfect spiritual expression in the Gothic cathedral." Bismanis, "Necessity of Discovery," 117.
71 Malraux's *Psychologie de l'art* (1948) reproduces several *NRF* stuccos but does not juxtapose the Reims angel and Afghan head. Malraux, *Psychologie de l'art*, vol. 2, 34–5. See Kurmann, *La façade de la cathédrale de Reims*, vol. 2, figs. 8, 848, 853.

72 Hershberger, "Malraux's Photography," 272; Zerner, "Malraux," 119–22.
73 Hamill, "David Smith," 26.
74 Malraux, *Voices of Silence*, 21.
75 Bergstein, "Lonely Aphrodites," 488.
76 *Art* Digest, "'Gothic' Art in Asia"; Harris, "Art That Is Now Being Shown."
77 Karnaghan, "Ross Collection," 18.
78 Coomaraswamy, "A Stucco Head," 42. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, also acquired the *NRF Bodhisattva Maitreya* (1931.267): Rowland, "A Cycle," 127.
79 Norindr, *Phantasmatic Indochina*, 90.
80 This was true too for Greco-Buddhist sculpture. Wang, "Loouvre from China," 129. Commenting on a Gandharan Buddha, Foucher ("Greek Origin," 119–20) urged: "Your European eyes have in this case no need of the help of any Indianist." For "intimate distance," see Stewart, *On Longing*, 147.
81 Fry, *Chinese Art*, 1.
82 "The Cathedral of Rheims, 1211–1914," 6; Balcon et al., *Mythes et realities.*
83 Rowland, "A Cycle," 126.
84 Wang, "Loouvre from China," 170–1.
85 Binski, "Angel Choir"; Svanberg, "Gothic Smile."
86 From the epigraph to *Voices of Silence.*
87 Ibid., 619.
88 Van Den Abbeele "*L'Asie fantôme*," 650.
89 Lewis, "Malraux," 21.
90 Abe, "Inside the Wonder House," 80, 83; Wang, "Loouvre from China," 133.
91 Abe, "Inside the Wonder House," 72–3. George Groslier termed pre-Angkor sculpture "Graeco-Gupta." Jarrige et al., *Spiritual Journey*, 26.
92 For recent exhibition of two works see Réunion des musées nationaux de France et al., *Afghanistan*, 132–3.
93 The term is Pierre Nora's; see "Between Memory and History."
94 Todd, *Malraux*, 384–5.
95 Lyotard, *Signed, Malraux*, 286–7. A photo of the split head, taken in 1977, is found in the Getty Images database: http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/51513405/AFP.
96 These recollections appear in Todd, *Malraux*, 101.
97 Lot 1249, Sale 2271; www.christies.com. The head was probably looted during the Afghan Civil War (1978–present).

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