From Canberra to Phnom Penh: Collaborative Research and the Repatriation of Three Cham Bronzes

Bronwyn Campbell[1]

Abstract—In July 2023, the National Gallery of Australia in Canberra ceremonially repatriated three bronze bodhisattvas to the Kingdom of Cambodia. Produced in Campā between the 9th and 11th centuries and likely buried centuries later in southeastern Cambodia, the sculptures were returned following years of research into their findspot and provenance. The handover celebrated a decades-long relationship between the National Gallery and the National Museum of Cambodia in Phnom Penh and reflected broader shifts in museum practice, ethical decision-making, and collection management.

Keywords: Douglas Latchford; Looting of Antiquities; National Gallery of Australia; Provenance and Provenience; Repatriation

Introduction

On Friday 28 July 2023, at a small ceremony on the unceded lands of the Ngunnawal and Ngambri people in Australia's capital city Kamberri/Canberra, the National Gallery of Australia (NGA) ceremonially repatriated three sculptures to the Kingdom of Cambodia. The handover was the culmination of years of research into the provenance (ownership history) and provenience (findspot) and a celebration of a decades-long relationship between the National Gallery and the National Museum of Cambodia (NMC) in Phnom Penh. It is also emblematic of the ever-evolving frameworks for ethical decision-making and collection management that the NGA has been nurturing since the 2014 Australian government seizure and repatriation to India of a Chola-dynasty Śiva as Lord of the Dance (*naṭarāja*) **[Figure 1]** acquired from the now-infamous Manhattan Asian art dealer Subhash Kapoor, whose 2011 arrest in Germany and subsequent extradition to and conviction in India was the first case to bring global attention to the illicit trade in Asian cultural objects. Having voluntarily repatriated over 270 works of art since 2014, the NGA must simultaneously consider how it continues to reflect Australia's diversity while respecting the rights of creator communities. Rethinking the role of collecting institutions presents challenges while bringing exciting opportunities for genuine and rewarding connection through cultural material.

The Sculptures

This article focuses on the evolution of the NGA's approach to managing its collections through the lens of one

[1] National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
Email: bronwyn.campbell@nga.gov.au.

https://doi.org/10.69486/114.2.2026.8 © The Siam Society Under Royal Patronage



Figure 1: Śiva as Lord of the Dance [*naṭarāja*], Chola dynasty, 11th–12th c., Tamil Nadu, India; H.: 128.5 cm; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, former acc. no. 2008.1; deaccessioned and repatriated, 2014 © NGA

research project, rather than an art-historical discussion of the works of art that were the subject of that project or their original creation and purpose. These do, however, play a role in how and why the sculptures were acquired, how they were used by the National Gallery, how they influenced the approach to and progress of research into their provenance and provenience, and, finally, they are central to the ongoing significance of their repatriation.

The three sculptures are made of bronze and represent bodhisattvas,



Figure 2: Three bronze bodhisattvas, 9th–11th c.; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, former acc. nos 2011.946.1–3; deaccessioned 2021, repatriated 2023; on loan from the Kingdom of Cambodia, 2023–2029 © NGA

revered figures in Mahayana Buddhism. Two represent Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi, the bodhisattva of compassion in the form of the "lotus-bearer". The third is Vajrapāṇi, a guardian and protector figure in the Buddhist tradition **[Figure 2]**. Their story begins in the Campā region, where a succession of Cham polities flourished in present-day central and southern Vietnam from the early centuries of the first millennium CE until the early 19th century, with connections extending, at times, into present-day Laos and Cambodia. The sculptures date to between the late 9th and the 11th centuries, when Mahayana Buddhism enjoyed strong royal patronage. Their precise place of manufacture remains unknown.

The largest **[Figure 3]** measures 54 cm in height and 19.8 cm at its widest. It depicts a four-armed, heavily bejeweled Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi standing on a lotus pedestal, with a gently reassuring smile on his lips. Rising from the base are the twisted stalks of the lotus leaves and flowers that give the bodhisattva his epithet as the "lotus bearer" (*padmapāṇi*). One stem is held lightly between the thumb and forefinger of his lower right hand, the blossom nodding over his shoulder, while in his upper right hand he holds aloft a sutra. His lower left hand grasps the neck of a spouted holy water flask and in his upper left is a loop of prayer beads. His braided hair is elaborately looped into a characteristically tall arrangement,



Figure 3: Bronze Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi; H.: 54 cm; former acc. no. 2011.946.1 © NGA



Figure 4: Bronze Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi; H.: 33 cm; former acc. no. 2011.946.3 © NGA

with the Buddha Amitābha seated on the band that secures the base of the coiffure. Apart from these identifying attributes, a flaming aureole frames Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi's lithe silhouette. This separate and removable piece may have stayed with the bodhisattva for at least ten centuries.[2] Much of the original gilding also survives.

A second, smaller, version of Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi **[Figure 4]** is so like the larger that it may have originated in the same workshop. Only 33 cm high, it is stylistically and iconographically nearly identical to the larger one. However, it has less remaining gilding. While it was presumably once furnished with a similarly fiery nimbus, the only surviving evidence of this is the loop on the back of the bodhisattva's head from which the nimbus might have hung.

Of a similar size, the Vajrapāṇi **[Figure 5]** also retains little trace of its original gilding. Its facial features are slightly more pronounced, its jewelry differs in treatment, and it is accompanied by a simple nimbus framing only the head and tiered hairstyle. Its overall posture is graceful and naturalistic, with the garment falling in soft, flowing folds. The right hand firmly grasps a slender, pointed *vajra*, while the empty left hand

[2] Based on the discussion of the aureole by John Guy, which implies that the author believes that the backplate is original: "complete with flaming cusped aureole [...] the most elaborate ensemble recovered to date. The figure bears close comparison in both style and scale with the fine example from Quảng Bình (Fig. 15), but the latter lacks the wondrous openwork back-plate. The newly discovered icon displays for the first time the true splendour of such complete compositions" (2011: 316).



Figure 5: Bronze Vajrapāṇi; H.: 33.4 cm; former acc. no. 2011.946.2 © NGA

is held upturned at waist level. The serene expression differs from the fierce aspects associated with other manifestations of Vajrapāṇi in Buddhist art.

Stylistic differences and metal composition both distinguish the Vajrapāṇi from the other two sculptures, supporting the possibility that it was produced in a different workshop or at a different date. John Guy (2011: 318) reported that the Vajrapāṇi was found with a thin sheet of gold bearing an inscription contained within the base. Unfortunately, this sheet was not present when the sculpture was acquired by the National Gallery and no references to it occur in correspondence with the private collector it was purchased from, either before or after acquisition.

When the sculptures were offered to the NGA, the collector said these three figures were found together, and they were displayed and published as a group by the National Gallery. They originally did not belong together as a single set, however, but the combination of the smaller Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi may suggest a triad with a central buddha image now missing.

Acquisition History

The three Cham bodhisattva bronzes first came to the attention of the NGA in September 2010 when Thai–British collector Douglas A.J. Latchford, also known as Pakpong Kriangsak (ภัคพงษ์ เกรียงศักดิ์, 1931–2020), offered them for sale and sent photographs of the works for the Gallery's consideration. Inquiries made of Latchford regarding provenance gradually yielded the information that they were found together in 1969 at an unknown site in Vietnam, where they were acquired in the same year by an unnamed expatriate private collector working there for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HBSC). This collector then exported them with his other belongings when he moved to Hong Kong in about 1970. A few years later, due to financial difficulty, he sold them through a mutual friend to Latchford, who was a family acquaintance. According to Latchford, the works were kept in his personal collection from the 1970s until 2010, when he eventually offered them for sale to the NGA for US$1.5 million.

None of the initial information obtained from Latchford could be corroborated by other sources. A European Community (EU) export license for the transport of the works from the United Kingdom to the National Gallery

for inspection on 23 November 2010 states that they had been imported from Hong Kong in 1995. While this appeared to confirm that they had been out of Vietnam since at least that time, the information was presumably provided to the shipping agent either by Latchford or his associate or employee and was therefore unreliable. It is also inconsistent with Latchford's assertion that the sculptures had been in his collection since buying them from the Hong Kong-based private collector in the 1970s.[3]

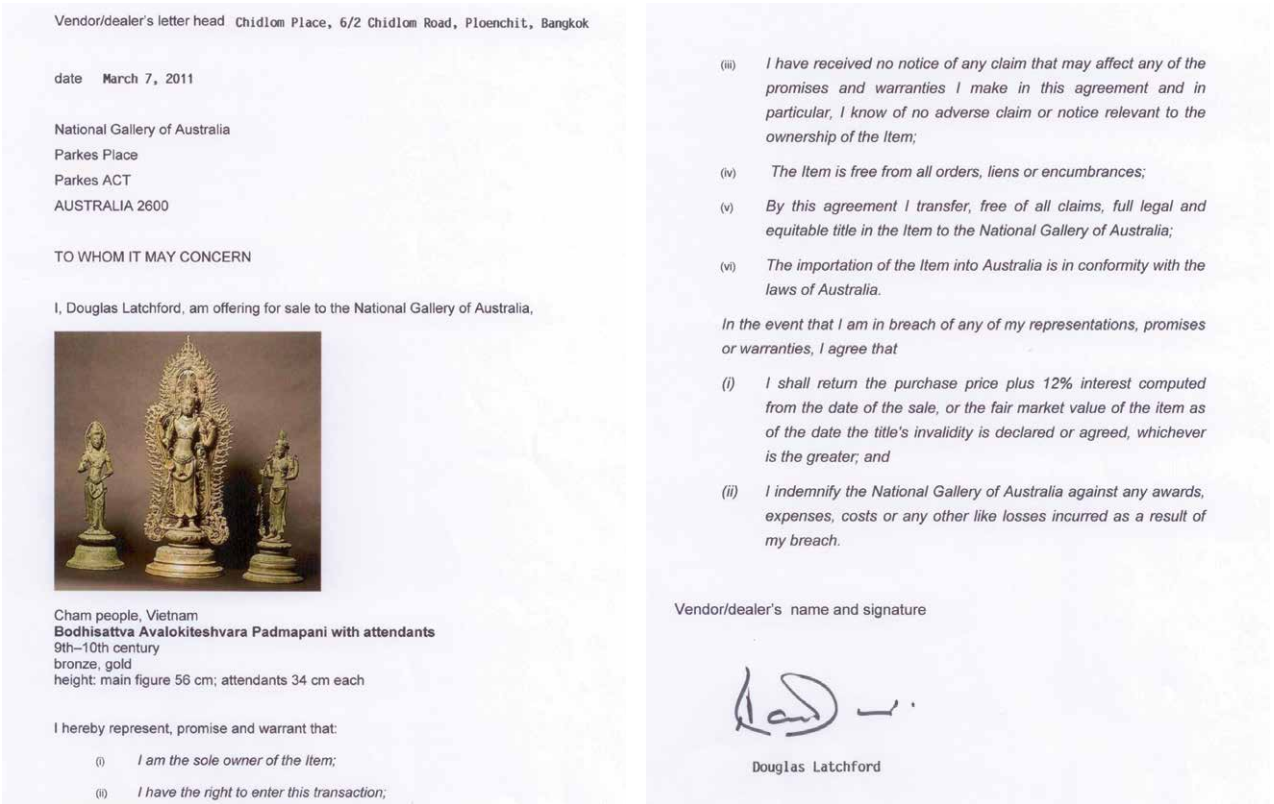
In response to continued efforts to obtain more details about the modern history of the works, Latchford signed a warranty of title to the works in March 2011. During this time, he divulged that the acquaintance he acquired the works from was named Ian Donaldson (Andrew Ian Donaldson, 1933–2001, born United Kingdom, died Hong Kong, living and working in East and Southeast Asia from 1955). This information was covered by a Deed of Confidentiality that prevented the NGA from disclosing anything relating to the provenance that was supplied by Latchford, including his own and Donaldson's name. It did, however, finally offer the National Gallery an opportunity to corroborate the information that Latchford had supplied. The name and biographical details of Ian Donaldson corresponded to those of the previous owner of a Mathura sandstone seated buddha from the Kushan period (2nd century CE), acquired by the NGA from another dealer, Nancy Wiener, in 2007 (see *infra*). This supported Latchford's representation of Donaldson as a collector of Asian art. The earlier purchase had been accompanied by a letter, dated 1985, signed "I Donaldson", averring that the buddha was in his collection, was authentic, and had good title. NGA staff verified the name and address of the by-then-deceased Donaldson in 2007, which strengthened the Gallery's level of comfort with the supplied provenance information for the three Cham sculptures.

After meeting the due diligence requirements of the NGA at the time, including:

- undertaking a literature review, which confirmed that the larger sculpture was published in three art-historical texts (Guy 2008, 2009; Bunker & Latchford 2008: 42);[4]
- contacting experts in Cham art and mainland Southeast Asian bronzes;
- consulting records of known Cham sculptures via the École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris;
- obtaining an Art Loss Register certificate to establish that there was no reported theft; and
- obtaining a letter of warranty signed by Latchford **[Figure 6]**;

[3] While Latchford did not specify where the sculptures had been kept while in his possession, they were in London at the time they were offered to the NGA and were first published in 2008 as being from a private collection in London (Guy 2008). The statement on the EU export license in 2010 that they had been imported into the United Kingdom in or around 1995 is unsubstantiated, but accords with information that became available to the National Gallery in more recent years. Files from the time of acquisition do not contain comment on the possibility that the 1995 import via Hong Kong was inconsistent with Latchford's supposed 1970s acquisition.

[4] A further 2011 publication by Guy did not arrive at the National Gallery until after the purchase was finalized.



Vendor/dealer's letter head Chidlom Place, 6/2 Chidlom Road, Ploenchit, Bangkok

date March 7, 2011

National Gallery of Australia
Parkes Place
Parkes ACT
AUSTRALIA 2600

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Douglas Latchford, am offering for sale to the National Gallery of Australia,

Cham people, Vietnam
Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara Padmapani with attendants
9th–10th century
bronze, gold
height: main figure 56 cm; attendants 34 cm each

I hereby represent, promise and warrant that:

(i) *I am the sole owner of the Item;*

(ii) *I have the right to enter this transaction;*

(iii) *I have received no notice of any claim that may affect any of the promises and warranties I make in this agreement and in particular, I know of no adverse claim or notice relevant to the ownership of the Item;*

(iv) *The Item is free from all orders, liens or encumbrances;*

(v) *By this agreement I transfer, free of all claims, full legal and equitable title in the Item to the National Gallery of Australia;*

(vi) *The importation of the Item into Australia is in conformity with the laws of Australia.*

In the event that I am in breach of any of my representations, promises or warranties, I agree that

(i) I shall return the purchase price plus 12% interest computed from the date of the sale, or the fair market value of the item as of the date the title's invalidity is declared or agreed, whichever is the greater; and

(ii) I indemnify the National Gallery of Australia against any awards, expenses, costs or any other like losses incurred as a result of my breach.

Vendor/dealer's name and signature

Douglas Latchford

Figure 6: Douglas Latchford's letter of warranty, signed 7 March 2011 © NGA

on 31 August 2011, the three Cham bronzes were approved for acquisition by the National Gallery's governing Council. The cost of the acquisition was primarily drawn from government funding dedicated to the development of the collection.

Even though the acquisition went ahead and the NGA's due diligence requirements were met, provenance research was neither complete nor exhaustive. In particular, because the three bronzes were treated as a group, described in acquisition documents as "Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara Padmapani with attendants—Vajrapani and Padmapani", the comfort taken from the publication record was perhaps disproportionate. In all three published references consulted prior to acquisition (see above), only the main figure **[Fig. 3]** was illustrated and discussed, with no reference to the other two smaller sculptures. The significance of this was magnified when the Vajrapāṇi image **[Fig. 5]** was found in June 2011 to have been advertised for sale separately by another dealer—Alexander Goetz (also spelled Götz)—in the early 2000s.[5] Inquiries regarding this inconsistency with

[5] Goetz's web page (https://asianart.com/gotz/vajrapani.html) was first accessed by National Gallery staff on 14 June 2011 and remained online as of 4 August 2026. The Vajrapāṇi was first recorded in public in late March 2001, when Goetz presented it in Asia Week New York (International Asian Art Fair, Ltd 2001: 47, illustrated, and Cotter 2001). It was subsequently published in *Arts of Asia* in 2002 and advertised prominently during Asian Art in London, Fall 2002.

Latchford's account of the provenance were not resolved prior to acquisition, although Latchford claimed that he had given Goetz the Vajrapāṇi to sell, later changing his mind and deciding to keep the group together (National Gallery correspondence with Latchford, 8 August 2011). National Gallery staff wrote to Goetz in August 2011, seeking information that might either corroborate or complicate the known ownership history. The message was not answered.

At the time of the acquisition, the NGA understood that its legal and ethical obligations were met if an object was exported from its country of origin before the entry into force on 24 April 1972 of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. While there was little evidence to establish that this was the case, nothing had been found that seemed to contradict the purported 1969 unrestricted export from Vietnam. No parameter other than predating the 1970 Convention appears to have been applied to the export of the bronzes, including that Vietnam was at the time the site of ongoing armed conflict. In August 2011, the National Gallery was unaware that the Cham bronzes would be among its last major acquisitions of historic Asian art.

The Unravelling

Although today the late Douglas Latchford has arguably surpassed Subhash Kapoor as the world's most notorious supplier of stolen Asian art, in 2011 he was still widely regarded as an expert collector, generous donor, and sometimes seller of the finest works of art from mainland Southeast Asia. His assiduous promotion of Khmer cultural heritage, in particular, and donations of money and works of art to the NMC had resulted in decorations from the Cambodian government, vouchsafing his good character and the works that he sold.[6]

The larger Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi bronze **[Fig. 3]** was first described by curator and art historian John Guy as "the most important Buddhist icon to be documented to date" (2008: 16), an encouraging description of a work of art under consideration for Australia's national collection. However, above that quote, Guy also stated that it was "newly discovered". This is not remarked upon in National Gallery records from the time of the acquisition. While it appears that this line of inquiry was not pursued in 2011, the acquisition and collecting history of the three bronzes began to unravel when they were reviewed in 2014–2015 as part of the NGA's Asian Art Provenance Project, initiated in response to the Australian government's seizure and repatriation to India of the Śiva-Naṭarāja **[Fig. 1]**, acquired in February 2008 from Subhash Kapoor (Campbell 2019). A number of factors regarding the legal and ethical status of the Cham sculptures gradually heightened the National Gallery's concerns. Principal among these was a statement by Guy: "their provenances are unclear, but it must be assumed that they were recovered by illegal diggers, principally in Quảng Nam [province]" (2011: 316).

[6] According to English language reports, Latchford was awarded the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Monisaraphon in 2008 and Commander of the Royal Order of Saha Metrei in 2009 (Mashberg 2021a, 2023).

Concerns arising from these statements were compounded by inconsistencies in the prior histories of the works that began to emerge in correspondence with Latchford almost immediately after their acquisition. In particular, he shifted from describing Ian Donaldson as an old family acquaintance from whom he had acquired the works through an intermediary, to identifying him as someone Latchford knew from Hong Kong and had become more closely acquainted with after Donaldson moved to Thailand (National Gallery correspondence with Latchford, 8 Sept. 2011). Later still, Latchford claimed that he had invented the intermediary at Donaldson's request (National Gallery conversation with Latchford, 4 Nov. 2014).

Unease was reinforced by growing public scrutiny of Latchford's collecting practices, which intensified in 2012 when he was identified as "the Collector" in a civil action suit brought to prevent the sale by Sotheby's in New York of a monumental sandstone sculpture of Duryodhana (Melody Rod-Ari, this Special Edition, fig. 1), which had been looted from Koh Ker in northeastern Cambodia (DOJ 2012). This 10th-century imperial temple complex is the same site discussed by Edelstein & Morasco in their study of the statue of Hanuman returned from the Cleveland Museum of Art (this Special Edition, fig. 1). Today, Koh Ker has become synonymous with Latchford's pillage of Khmer heritage. The complaint stated that in 1972 "the Collector" had bought the sculpture knowing it was looted and later conspired to sell it. Latchford strenuously denied involvement (Mashberg 2012). Soon after this came the news that the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was in possession of two sculptures—a pair of kneeling attendants—also associated with Latchford and wanted back by the Cambodian government (Mashberg & Blumenthal 2012).[7] They were returned to Cambodia in 2013, followed by the Duryodhana in 2014 (DOJ 2013; U.S. Attorney's Office 2014).

Behind the scenes, concerns were also growing at the National Gallery due to questions from Jason Felch and Michaela Boland of *The Australian* newspaper (Boland & Felch 2014) about the museum's Kushan period seated buddha **[Figure 7]**. These were prompted by an anonymous tip that the provenance for a similar sculpture at Singapore's Asian Civilisations Museum was bogus (Felch 2015). In late 2014, Boland & Felch published an article alleging that New York-based dealer Nancy Wiener had acquired both Kushan buddha sculptures from an antiquities trafficker in India, with the same ownership history fabricated for each of them. In a 2015 article on his blog *Chasing Aphrodite*, Felch named art historian Donald M. Stadtner as the source of the false provenance story. Stadtner said that the chain of ownership had been concocted by none other than Latchford, who had boasted of this to him in private (Felch 2015). This claim, shared by works sourced from different dealers years apart, had originally appeared to support the validity of the "Ian Donaldson" provenance to the National Gallery. However, the hints of collusion between Wiener and Latchford, allegations that the Mathura seated buddha's

[7] "Two Kneeling Attendants", 10th century, acc. nos 1987.410 and 1992.390.1; and 1989.100 and 1992.390.2: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/904942.



FIGURE 7: Seated buddha, Kushan period, 2nd c. CE, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, India; H.: 129.5 cm; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, former acc. no. 2007.217; deaccessioned 2015, repatriated 2016 © NGA

provenance was forged, and increasing awareness of Latchford's connections to stolen Khmer cultural heritage undermined confidence in the legitimacy of the supplied provenance for the Cham bronzes.

While interrogating the chains of ownership that had been accepted at the time of acquisition, the NGA's Asian Art Provenance Project researchers contacted all dealers of works examined under its remit. In November 2014, researchers contacted Latchford, seeking information that might help clarify the backgrounds of both the Kushan seated buddha and the Cham sculptures. A flurry of emails from him contains vehement denials of Stadtner's assertions, threats of legal action against Stadtner and Felch, and the first mention of a medical condition that later became a standard reason for Latchford's inability to respond to inquiries (National Gallery correspondence with Latchford, 8, 9 and 10 Nov. 2014). Also at this point, Latchford claimed he had fabricated the middleman and he had acquired the Cham bronzes in the late 1970s rather than the early 1970s as previously asserted (telephone conversation between National Gallery and Douglas Latchford, 4 Nov. 2014).[8]

[8] The author has been a member of the NGA's

Researchers also contacted Nancy Wiener, seeking documentation that would support the purported chain of ownership for the Kushan seated buddha. While stressing her professional integrity and reaffirming the provenance, Wiener was unable to provide any substantiating evidence. In a supposed show of good faith, she refunded the purchase price of the work and co-donated it to India along with the National Gallery. This was announced on 6 March 2015 (NGA 2015), although the physical repatriation was not effected until mid-December of the following year. Days later, on 21 December 2016, Nancy Wiener was arrested and charged with criminal possession of stolen property and conspiracy. The complaint against her specifically refers to the Kushan seated buddha, its illegal origins, and its forged provenance; it states that Wiener:

> and her coconspirators have trafficked in illegal antiquities for decades. Transporting looted cultural property from the site of the theft to the ultimate buyer through intermediary countries [...,] used a laundering process that included restoration services to hide damage from illegal excavations, [undertook] straw purchases at auction houses to create sham ownership histories, and the creation of false provenance to predate international laws of patrimony prohibiting the exportation of looted antiquities (New York State 2016).[9]

The charge eliminated confidence in the Donaldson provenance for the Kushan seated buddha, as well as for the three Cham bronze sculptures, especially given the generally-held belief that the complaint's unnamed Co-Conspirator #1 was Douglas Latchford and Co-Conspirator #2 was Emma C. Bunker (e.g., Mashberg & Blumenthal 2017; Paviour 2017). Bunker (1930–2021) was a specialist in Asian bronze art with a decades-long association with the Denver Art Museum; she was a friend of Latchford with whom she had co-authored several books. The complaint describes how the co-conspirators

collection research and management team since 2015 and is one of a number of researchers, internal and external, who have contributed to the project under discussion in this article. Provenance research at the National Gallery is guided by collection management policies that outline requirements for due diligence and provenance research in relation to loans, acquisitions, and deaccessions. Decision-making in relation to the outcomes of provenance research is, in accordance with these policies, within the remit of the Director, the National Gallery's governing Council, and the federal government Minister responsible for the arts. The policies describing these decision-making delegations and decision-making criteria are available at https://nga.gov.au/about-us/policies-and-plans/. In accordance with privacy legislation and that staff were acting at all times on behalf of the National Gallery in accordance with established processes and within the parameters of their roles, individual team members are not named in this article.

[9] In the years since Nancy Wiener's arrest and subsequent guilty plea on 30 September 2021, many works of art sourced from the eponymous galleries of Wiener and her late mother Doris Wiener (1922–2011) have been returned to their countries of origin (Mashberg 2021b). Doris Wiener was trading in stolen and trafficked art in New York City from the 1960s, later working with her daughter Nancy, who continued to trade in illicit antiquities—including her mother's stock after Doris Wiener's 2011 death—up to her 2016 arrest. See New York State 2016 for further details.

used their publications to assist in the laundering of stolen art and worked with Nancy Wiener to provide ownership histories for illicit items in her stock.[10]

The apparent conspiratorial connection between Bunker and Latchford was of particular concern to the NGA: their publication, *Khmer Gold: Gifts for the Gods* (2008), was one of the three published references to the works cited in the acquisition paperwork for the Cham bronzes. Additionally, since Bunker was regarded by many as an expert in mainland Southeast Asian bronze sculpture,[11] the National Gallery, at the time of acquisition, had asked for and obtained her opinion on the sculptures. In an undated letter, she describes them as of "superb quality and the best examples of Cham sculpture that I know". She also added provenance details that supported the narrative that Latchford had already provided (National Gallery correspondence with Bunker, August 2011).

From today's perspective, it is surprising that the mounting causes for concern did not result in immediate deaccession, but the NGA's decision-making parameters at the time were contingent on the discovery or provision of incontrovertible evidence of wrongdoing with specific reference to the work or works in question. Despite concerns that the provenance had been falsified and that the vendor appeared to have been involved in the illicit trade in Asian cultural material, such evidence had not been uncovered. Furthermore, while the provenience or findspot for the sculptures was generally believed to be in Vietnam, Cham influence had extended into neighboring countries; without knowing the country of origin or date and circumstances of export, applicable laws could not be identified with certainty.

In the absence of firm evidence, the NGA remained on a course of fact-finding. Bound by the confidentiality agreement signed in 2011—an agreement the National Gallery was unwilling to break due to Latchford's readiness to threaten legal action—the association between the Cham bronzes and Latchford was still not public and the sculptures remained published online as having been bought from a "private collector, London". Over the following few years, ongoing attempts to glean more information from Latchford—after March 2017 solely through lawyers—revealed nothing except that he was purportedly too ill to respond.

The Beginning of the End

In 2015, the National Gallery engaged a former justice of the High Court of Australia, The Honorable Susan Crennan AC KC, to conduct an independent review of the NGA's Asian Art Provenance Project, assessing whether works of art within the scope of the project had a satisfactory provenance and if the information available established when those objects had left their country of origin. Her conclusion for the three Cham bronzes was that the provenance was problematic, warranting further enquiries. Four years later, these and several other works of art from the original review remained unresolved as research had not yielded enough

[10] In the DOJ 2012 complaint, Latchford had been anonymized as "The Collector" and Bunker was referred to as "The Scholar".

[11] This reputation did not extend to leading academic specialists in the field—*Editor's note*.

evidence for decisive action. The new director of the National Gallery, Nick Mitzevich, returned to Mrs Crennan in April 2019 to seek a way forward. With her guidance, the NGA revised its acceptable standard of evidence from criminal (beyond reasonable doubt) to civil (balance of probabilities). Even considering the new information that had emerged regarding Latchford and the Cham bronzes in the intervening years, however, Mrs Crennan did not consider that the civil standard of evidence had been met. The sculptures remained in limbo.

This stalemate began to crumble later in 2019, when on 27 November, in New York, a previously sealed indictment against Douglas Latchford was made public (U.S. Attorney's Office 2019). A warrant was issued for his arrest on charges of wire fraud conspiracy, conspiracy to commit offenses against the United States, wire fraud, smuggling, and entry of goods by means of false statements, all relating to alleged trafficking in stolen and illegally exported Southeast Asian antiquities. Latchford, reportedly in a coma in Bangkok, could not be extradited to face the charges (Mashberg 2020). He died on 2 August 2020, eulogized in the international press initially in an ambivalent tone, citing his expertise, Cambodian decorations, and old-school Indiana Jones-like self-characterization as an "adventurer scholar", as well as the untried indictment (e.g., Noce 2020). The tone quickly shifted, however, with Tess Davis's *Antiquities Coalition* article painting a vivid image of Latchford as a villain almost without peer (Davis 2020). Over the following years as information about Latchford's practices became more available and better known, the latter view became prevalent. An *in rem* charge on 14 July 2021 (DOJ 2021) further detailed an intricate web of subsistence looters, a Khmer Rouge ringleader, middlemen along the Thai border, and their star customer, known to them as "Sia Ford"—Douglas Latchford. The ringleader, "Looter-1", is described as a former Khmer Rouge child soldier who began assisting his father in temple looting at the age of 18. By the 1990s, Looter-1 was directing a 450-strong illicit workforce of looters across Cambodia.

The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) complaint roughly coincided with the 29 July 2021 launch of the NGA's new provenance decision-making framework and the announcement of its first direct outcome: the repatriation of 14 works of art to India.[12] Appended to the Due Diligence and Provenance Policy, the new decision-making framework operationalized Mrs Crennan's 2019 recommendations, allowing the National Gallery to more effectively navigate grey areas of legal uncertainty. One such area was where charges had been laid but defendants not convicted, as was the case, at the time, for both Kapoor and Latchford. Another area was where a groundswell of information about the business practices of an individual had irretrievably tainted a work of art, even where there was no evidence of wrongdoing specific to that work. The original

[12] 13 objects sourced from Subhash Kapoor (Art of the Past) and one from William H. Wolff (Far Eastern Antiquities). Another three sculptures sourced from Art of the Past were deaccessioned at the same time but required further information to establish their countries of origin. One was later repatriated to India, another to Pakistan, with a further sculpture yet to have its origin identified.

parameters focused on whether there was sufficient unquestionable evidence so that the Australian government could, under the Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Act 1986, seize a work if requested to do so by a foreign government.[13] The new framework

> considers available evidence about both the legal and ethical aspects of a work of art's history. If, on the balance of probability and on the basis of available evidence, it is considered likely that an item was stolen, illegally excavated, exported in contravention of the law of a foreign country, or unethically acquired, the National Gallery will take steps to deaccession and repatriate [it] (NGA 2021).

The new framework removed constraints imposed by the earlier emphasis on direct and unquestionable evidence of wrongdoing. Given what was by then known about Kapoor's business practices, this shift facilitated the deaccession and repatriation of remaining works of art sourced from his gallery, Art of the Past, in New York to India, based on the probability that they had been stolen and/or illegally exported. Even in cases where works were not believed to have false documentation or to have been illegally exported, they were deaccessioned because the reputation of and accusations against the vendor rendered them no longer fit for purpose, overshadowing any narrative role they could fulfil in the collection. With this first action, the provenance decision-making framework allowed the NGA to address an issue that had been undermining its reputation for close to a decade.[14]

The next step was to apply the framework to other works of concern from Southeast Asia. Foremost among these were the three Cham bronzes under discussion. With Latchford's demonstrably egregious reputation, continuing research focused on the hope of uncovering concrete information regarding which of the three possible countries of origin the works had been found in, exported from, and were, therefore, the cultural property of. Art-historical analysis and inquiries of experts in Indonesian, Lao, Cambodian, and Vietnamese art and archeology[15]

[13] Contingent on demonstrating that a work was: (1) illegally exported from its country of origin, and (2) imported into Australia after the Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Act 1986 took effect (1 July 1987).

[14] Another key dimension of the NGA's response from 2014 was to analyze and rectify the due diligence and other procedural shortcomings that had facilitated the acquisition of works of art from Latchford, Kapoor, et al. requiring increasingly detailed levels of inquiry, assurance, evidence, compliance, and oversight, subject to regular review and improvement.

[15] NGA researchers contacted scholars and other consultants in public and non-government institutions in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and around the world, but were unable to extend their network by this means to government authorities in Vietnam. Lacking a direct contact, the National Gallery wrote to the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Canberra in February 2021, advising then-Ambassador HE Nguyen Tat Thanh about the research project and inviting him to discuss the Cham bronzes and any other works of art of Vietnamese origin in the national collection. No response was received then or in early July 2023 when the ambassador was again contacted to advise him that the outcome of the research was that the works would be repatriated to Cambodia.

determined that the sculptures were indeed of Cham origin.[16] At the time, however, archeological research on Cham material outside Vietnam was extremely limited, so the absence of comparable works elsewhere could not be taken as conclusive evidence of a Vietnamese origin.

In parallel, Cambodia's Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts (MCFA) announced in late January 2021 that Douglas Latchford's daughter, Nawapan Kriangsak (นวพรรณ เกรียงศักดิ์, also known as Julia Ellen Latchford Copleston; b. 1971), was returning 125 works of art that she inherited upon her father's death—reportedly one of the world's greatest private collections of Khmer art and valued at US$50 million (Mashberg 2021a)—to Cambodia. This announcement provided an avenue for the greatest leap forward to date in the NGA's investigation of the three Cham bronzes. Buried in coverage of the mass repatriation was news that Nawapan Kriangsak was also assisting Cambodian government researchers by providing access to her father's records (Jackson 2021).[17] The National Gallery contacted her to request similar assistance, which was generously granted through her representative, Charles Webb. Unfortunately, these records yielded little information not already available to the NGA—namely the transaction details from when the works were paid for. According to Webb, correspondence with the National Gallery and many files related to these works had been deleted by Latchford's assistant when the 2016 New York complaint against Nancy Wiener was lodged, leaving no information relating to the origin of the Cham bronzes.

This welcome assistance did not provide the hoped-for clarity concerning the origins of the bronzes and, indeed, perhaps muddied the waters with information that Latchford was illegally sourcing works not only from Cambodia, but also from Thailand, Vietnam, and Laos. He may have also lied at times about the country of origin of certain works of art to obscure their illegal export from neighboring countries. Webb did, however, provide an introduction to Bradley Gordon, a member of the Cambodian government's research and repatriation team, which finally boosted the mystery of the origins of the works from obscurity to headline-worthy resolution.[18]

[16] This had been questioned by one of the archeologists contacted by NGA researchers, who suggested that the artworks may instead relate to sculptures associated within the Śrīvijayan maritime sphere.

[17] Additionally, the return implied that repatriation was more important to Latchford's heir than enforcing the NGA's confidentiality agreement with her father. From this point the National Gallery felt that it could acknowledge the source of the sculptures without concern regarding legal consequences, in spite of legal advice that the confidentiality agreement remained binding after the death of Douglas Latchford.

[18] Bradley Gordon of Phnom Penh-based legal firm Edenbridge Asia is an American expatriate lawyer and long-term resident of Cambodia and Thailand, whose efforts in bringing the conversation about stolen Cambodian heritage to the doors and hallways of museums and galleries around the world helped to elevate the visibility of this stolen heritage and facilitated the return of significant numbers of looted objects, including many that had passed through Latchford's hands. Under the authority of the Cambodian MCFA, Gordon and his team—comprised of Edenbridge Asia staff, Ministry archeologists and researchers, and expert collaborators—have worked together for well over a decade. Their work with former looters to uncover the hidden pathways of Cambodian cultural objects from their points of origin, through smugglers, brokers and dealers to museums and collectors the world over has had unparalleled success (Savchuk 2025).



Map 1: Tboung Khmum province in southeastern Cambodia © Google Maps

The missing link was a now-familiar individual. He was identified in the U.S. Department of Justice complaint concerning the "Skanda on a Peacock" from Koh Ker as "Looter-1" (DOJ 2021), but was code-named "Lion" by the Cambodian research team. Later identified by his real name, Toek Tik, he became well-known thanks to the publication of his story in articles and documentaries released from late 2021 onwards (e.g., Mashberg 2021c, 2021d). When NGA researchers first spoke with Bradley Gordon, Lion's collaboration with Cambodian authorities was not widely recognized. In June 2021, Gordon promised to review all works of art in the Australian national collection thought to be from Cambodia and all Khmer works (possibly originating in Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, or Vietnam) and show them to his sources, including Lion. Knowing Gordon had a particular interest in Latchford, high-resolution images of the three Cham bronzes were shared—without high hopes that they would be recognized. Just two weeks after the images were provided, news came that Lion had identified the bronzes as originating from Tboung Khmum (ត្បូងឃ្មុំ), a province in southeastern Cambodia bordering Vietnam **[Map 1].**

Additionally, Lion offered to work with those involved in their excavation to provide further details (NGA correspondence with Gordon, 19 July 2021).

Over the next few months, Gordon and his team, working with Lion and his collaborators, put together a detailed account of the excavation of the sculptures. Meanwhile the National Gallery continued to examine and gradually close off other avenues of inquiry. Pending submission of a report from Cambodia that would be evaluated against and reconciled with all other information regarding the works, the three Cham bronzes were deaccessioned from Australia's national collection on 3 December 2021. Repatriation, the recommended disposal method, was contingent on confirming whether the works were illegally excavated in and exported from Cambodia or elsewhere or, in fact, forged. The latter consideration was prompted by advice from Charles Webb in November 2021 that while he had not come across any evidence that the bronzes were modern works masquerading as ancient Cham bronzes, Latchford had been known to occasionally, either knowingly or unknowingly, sell faked works of art. Cambodian sources had admitted to producing counterfeit Khmer material for him (NGA conversation with Webb, 19 Nov. 2021). While the amount of the clay core around which the sculptures were cast was insufficient to sample for thermoluminescence testing for accurate dating, metallurgical analysis conducted by NGA conservators in 2022–23 supported the authenticity by confirming that the composition of the bronze was consistent with that of other works from mainland Southeast Asia produced between the 9th and the 11th century.

In July 2023 a final report detailing the discovery of the findspot of the works from the time their photographs were first shown to Lion in August 2021 was lodged with the National Gallery. The report requested the repatriation of the bronzes to Cambodia and was the culmination of two years-worth of research by the team comprising members of Edenbridge Asia, Heimberg Barr LLC (U.S.), and archeologists from Cambodia's MCFA. Over the years of their cooperation, the research team's interactions with Lion had impressed upon them his extraordinary memory, both in terms of detail and accuracy. In this case, Lion recalled removing the sculptures with the assistance of another looter from a particular rice field in the vicinity of Kor village in Tboung Khmum province in 1994 **[Map 2]**. The team visited the area, initially with Lion, five times between July 2021 and January 2022. On the first visit Lion introduced them to two Cham villagers who had worked with him, using metal detectors to find and remove cultural material from the area. They were able to point out the place where the sculptures were found, although at the time it was inaccessible in a flooded rice field. On the final visit, in the dry season, with guidance from one of those villagers—code-named Falcon—the team was able to access the findspot where the two Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi images were said to have been buried together, with the Vajrapāṇi bronze unearthed alone a few meters away.[19] According to Lion he had then

[19] The story of finding the works is evocatively recounted by Falcon in an interview with the Australian news outlet ABC in Ford & Worthington 2023 and in a complementary television program "Foreign Correspondent: Treasure Hunters" screened



Map 2: Kor village in Tboung Khmum province, bordering Vietnam © Google Maps

taken the three sculptures to a broker near the Thai border, a man referred to in the DOJ 2021 complaint as "Sleeping Giant". It is known that this broker supplied Latchford, among others, with trafficked cultural property,[20] although the chain of custody of the works is unconfirmed from their delivery to Sleeping Giant until the early 2000s.

The substance of the report had been shared with the NGA well in advance of its final submission. The eyewitness testimony and detailed information the report contained tipped the balance of probability for the National Gallery, particularly considering that a decade of effort had yielded no credible alternative modern history for the works. While the bronzes were likely created in what is now Vietnam in the ancient period, they were buried in southeastern Cambodia, perhaps in the ancient period or possibly centuries later, for unknown reasons.[21] Given Lion and Falcon's testimony that they had been clandestinely excavated in and illegally exported from Cambodia, they would be considered Cambodian cultural property under Australian law. This aspect of the NGA's decision-making framework is

the same day on ABC TV: https://iview.abc.net.au/video/NC2310H014S00. See also Davies 2024.

[20] For a discussion of how international demand in the art market drives the looting of cultural property in Southeast Asia, see Carter & Chhay in this Special Edition.

[21] Bradley Gordon reported to the NGA that Falcon and others in Kor village believe that a Cham ruler was buried in the vicinity and that the bronzes and other Cham objects they unearthed were brought south by a royal retinue. As discussed above, at the time that the NGA was trying to establish the modern findspot of the works, no Cham material of this type was known to have been found outside Vietnam. The research undertaken by the Cambodian repatriation team has highlighted the need for further research and systematic archeological excavation around Kor village and elsewhere in the area to gain a better understanding of the history of the Cham in ancient Cambodia. The three Cham bronzes likely represent only a small part of a much broader body of material that could contribute to a fuller understanding of both Cambodia's history and that of the Cham people in the region.

aligned with Australia's Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Act 1986. Although there is nuanced debate around both the legal and moral ownership of cultural material and some observers have raised ethical questions regarding the return of the works to Cambodia (e.g., Brehm 2025), the works were imported while the Act was in effect. Had the National Gallery been unwilling to return them, an alternative outcome could have had Cambodia invoking the Act and requesting the Australian government to seize and repatriate the works, as was the case with India and the Śiva-Naṭarāja in 2014.

Plans for a handover were gradually put into place, hampered by the COVID-19 pandemic which not only slowed progress with the investigation, but also took the life of Lion in late 2021 (Mashberg 2021d). In the intervening period, extensive discussions took place regarding other Khmer and Cambodian works of art in the National Gallery's care. NGA staff also met with the Cambodian research team and arrangements were eventually made for the team to travel to Canberra to examine additional works and participate in the handover ceremony for the three Cham bronzes **[Figure 8]**.

On 28 July 2023, the National Gallery staged a private ceremony for the Cambodian community. Aunty Jude Barlow, an elder of the Ngunnawal people, the traditional custodians of the land on which the National Gallery is built, welcomed participants to her Country. The only Cambodian Buddhist monk in the region, the Venerable Phin Sokol, Abbot of Khemararangsi Buddhist Temple, then blessed the sculptures and the proceedings. Mr Kong



Figure 8: Ceremonial Buddhist blessing of the Cham bronzes, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 28 July 2023 © NGA

Vireak, Undersecretary of State in the Cambodian MCFA, remarked on the important contribution such returns make to the healing of Cambodia in the wake of colonization and the subsequent civil war. Ms Kunthea Chhoun, Senior Researcher at Edenbridge Asia, spoke passionately and movingly of the work she and the research team undertook that led to the return and of the invaluable contributions made by Lion and Falcon. In closing, the Australian Government's Special Envoy for the Arts, Ms Susan Templeman MP, officially handed the works over to the Ambassador of Cambodia, HE Cheunboran Chanborey, who welcomed the move, commenting that "In a world that often focuses on divisions, let this occasion serve as an inspiring example and the role model of international cooperation in fostering a deeper appreciation and respect for the cultural heritage that binds us all" (NGA 2023). The event culminated in the signing of a loan agreement.

The NMC—a longtime partner of the NGA—is currently planning an

expansion to accommodate returning cultural objects. Until the new facilities are completed, the National Gallery will retain custody of the three Cham bronzes on loan.[22] During this period, the sculptures will continue to serve as ambassadors for Cham, Cambodian, and Southeast Asian Buddhist heritage. They also stand as symbols of the achievements that can be obtained when a source country or community and a collecting institution engage in a genuinely open dialogue. The ceremony was emblematic of the sentiment expressed by HE Cheunboran Chanborey, with the National Gallery creating an event primarily for members of the local Cambodian community, many of whom were first time visitors. Regrettably, in the lead-up to the ceremony, efforts to contact members of the small Cham diaspora in Australia and reconnect them with their material heritage were unsuccessful. As a result, members of the Australian Cham community were unable to contribute to, or participate in, the ceremony.

A New Beginning

The "deeper appreciation and respect for the cultural heritage that binds us all" is ironically the underlying philosophy that brought the Cham bronzes and many other repatriated works to the National Gallery of Australia in the first place. A relatively young institution, the NGA opened its doors in 1982 after 17 years of planning and collection development. A National Art Gallery Committee of Inquiry was established in 1965 "To report on the proposal for a National Art Gallery with particular reference to the functions of such a gallery" (Menzies 1965). The Committee's 1966 report defined an acquisition policy that continues to frame collecting activities to this day. One of its recommendations was to collect "art representing the high cultural achievement of Australia's neighbors in southern and eastern Asia and the Pacific Islands" (National Art Gallery Committee of Inquiry 1968).

In the 1960s, collecting Asian and Pacific art represented an important shift in Australia's self-perception: from an antipodean outpost of the United Kingdom to a modern nation engaging on its own terms with its region, seeking to facilitate a better understanding of its neighbors. In the decades since, the NGA has increasingly become a reflection of Australia's emerging multicultural identity, of which its neighbors are an ever more integral part. Today, provenance research and evolving global conversations regarding colonization and the illicit trade in cultural objects—and the need to grapple with their legacies in collecting institutions—prompt the National Gallery to reconsider both its collecting strategy and its existing collection. Continuing to reflect and celebrate Australia's diversity while respecting

[22] The National Gallery returned the works to Cambodia unconditionally. The subsequent loan—initially for three years and extended in 2026 to six while the new museum building in Phnom Penh is under construction—reflects the long-standing relationship of trust between the NGA, the NMC, and Cambodia's MCFA. That relationship dates to 1990, during preparations for the exhibition *The Age of Angkor: Treasures from the National Museum of Cambodia* (22 Aug.–25 Oct. 1992), for which the NMC made its first-ever international loan of 35 works.

the rights of creator and descendant communities presents a new challenge. This repatriation story highlights a promising avenue to achieving the same goal once filled by collections, one that rather than damaging descendant communities and source countries offers the opportunity to both foster that respect and appreciation and to elevate and to engage with diaspora communities.

These Cham bodhisattvas represent one small story among the many thousands represented by unethically or illegally traded works of art in collecting institutions and private collections the world over. Even after years of research, many questions remain (and are likely to remain) unanswered about how these works of art journeyed from a field in Tboung Khmum province to the NGA. These objects represent only the tip of the iceberg of unanswered questions about Cham art, history, and mainland Southeast Asian Buddhism that they might have helped answer had they been scientifically excavated within their archeological contexts.

The silver linings are, however, manifold. The research project only began to bear fruit when the National Gallery started collaborating. This collaboration was key not only to identifying the point of origin and facilitating the return of the sculptures to Cambodia. The Cambodian research team also opened an unsung chapter of Cambodia's history with the identification of a very significant area for future archeological examination that includes not only Cham and Khmer but also neolithic sites. Future excavations may provide some of that lost context. The project also led to Edenbridge Asia employing a Cham student in law to join their team at the time of research. Masita Maat became the first Cham woman in Cambodia to become a lawyer; she has since left the law firm in Phnom Penh.

The repatriation process has been received, almost without exception, as a positive outcome to be celebrated, rather than as the loss of an asset: the sculptures will continue to function as points of understanding, connection, and education. The "loss" to the collection is a gain in terms of the ongoing ability to achieve the intention that was initially fulfilled by the acquisition: genuine connection between people through the intermediary of material culture.

Acknowledgments

The author thanks the editors and reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions. I am grateful to Bradley Gordon and the researchers at Edenbridge Asia, as well as to the scholars and individuals who shared information and expertise relevant to this research. I also acknowledge the support of colleagues at the National Gallery of Australia and the Cambodian Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts, whose assistance contributed to this study.

References

Internal Documents

• National Gallery correspondence with Douglas Latchford, 8 August 2011, 8 September 2011, 4 November 2014, 8–10 November 2014
• National Gallery correspondence with Emma Bunker, August 2011
• National Gallery correspondence with Bradley Gordon, 19 July 2021
• National Gallery conversation with Charles Webb, 19 November 2021

Secondary Sources

• Boland, Michaela & Felch, Jason. 2014. Now the NGA has Buddha Scandal. *The Australian*. 4 November 2014. https://www.theaustralian.com.au/culture/visual-arts/now-the-national-gallery-of-australia-has-a-buddha-scandal/news-story/117fce70f4cbaec1110a03b469661f5f.
• Brehm, Will. 2025. Repatriation or Political Theatre? How the Return of Stolen Artefacts Can Distort History. *The Conversation*. 26 September 2025. https://theconversation.com/repatriation-or-political-theatre-how-the-return-of-stolen-artefacts-can-distort-history-265290.
• Brodie, Neil. 2019. The Criminal Organization of the Transnational Trade in Cultural Objects: Two Case Studies. In *The Palgrave Handbook on Art Crime*, ed. by Saskia Hufnagel & Duncan Chappell, 439–461. London: Routledge.
• Bunker, Emma C. & Douglas A.J. Latchford. 2008. *Khmer Gold: Gifts for the Gods*. Chicago: Art Media Resources.
• Campbell, Bronwyn. 2019. Crisis Response and Beyond: The National Gallery of Australia's Asian Art Provenance Project and Other New Initiatives. In *Collecting and Provenance: A Multi-disciplinary Approach*, ed. by Nick Pearce & Jane Milosch, 371–384. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
• Cotter, Holland. 2001. Art Review: When East Goes West, The Twain Meet Here. *New York Times*. 23 March 2001. https://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/23/arts/art-review-when-east-goes-west-the-twain-meet-here.html
• Davies, Anne. 2024. Returning the Gods. *National Gallery of Australia*. 13 February 2024. https://nga.gov.au/stories-ideas/returning-the-gods/.
• Davis, Tess. 2020. Douglas Latchford: The Man Who Pillaged Cambodia. *The Diplomat*. 21 August 2020. https://thediplomat.com/2020/08/douglas-latchford-the-man-who-pillaged-cambodia/.
• DOJ (U.S. Department of Justice). 2013. *United States of America, Plaintiff v. A 10th Century Cambodian Sandstone Sculpture, Currently Located at Sotheby's In New York, New York, Defendant In Rem*. https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/new-york/nysdce/1:2012cv02600/394392/46/
———. 2021. *United States of America, Plaintiff*

v. A 10th Century Cambodian Sandstone Sculpture Depicting Skanda on a Peacock, Defendant In Rem. https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/press-release/file/1412521/dl?inline=.

———. 2022. *United States Of America, Plaintiff v. A Late 12th Century Bayon-Style Sandstone Sculpture Depicting Eight-Armed Avalokiteshvara, etc., Defendants In Rem*. https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/press-release/file/1461961/dl?inline=

• Felch, Jason. 2015. The Kushan Buddhas: Nancy Wiener, Douglas Latchford and New Questions about Ancient Buddhas. *Chasing Aphrodite*. 1 February 2015. https://chasingaphrodite.com/2015/02/01/the-kushan-buddhas-nancy-wiener-douglas-latchford-and-new-questions-about-ancient-buddhas/.

• Ford, Mazoe & Worthington, Anne. 2023. How Statues Looted from a Cambodian Field Wound Up in the National Gallery of Australia. *ABC News*. 3 August 2023. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-08-03/stolen-cambodian-statues-in-national-gallery-handed-back/102659730.

• Guy, John. 2008. Champa and Vietnam: Art, History and Exchange. In *Viet Nam: From Myth to Modernity*, ed. by Heidi Tan, 371–384. Singapore: Asian Civilisations Museum.

———. 2009. Artistic Exchange, Regional Dialogue and the Cham Territories. In *Champa and the Archaeology of My Son (Vietnam)*, ed. by Andrew Hardy, Mauro Cucarzi & Patrizia Zolese, 127–154. Singapore: NUS Press.

———. 2011. Pan-Asian Buddhism and the Bodhisattva Cult in Champa. In *The Cham of Vietnam: History, Society and Art*, ed. by Trần Kỳ Phương & Bruce McFarland Lockhart, 300–322. Singapore: NUS Press.

• International Asian Art Fair, Ltd. 2001. *The International Asian Art Fair; Seventh Regiment Armory*. London: The International Asian Art Fair Ltd.

• Jackson, Will. How Many Antiquities in Australian Museums Are Stolen from our Neighbours? *ABC News*. 28 March 2021. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-03-28/antiquities-looted-australian-museums-douglas-latchford/100030880.

• Mashberg, Tom. 2012. Claims of Looting Shadow Expert in Khmer Art. *New York Times*. 12 December 2012. https://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/13/arts/design/us-links-collector-to-statue-in-khmer-looting-case.html.

———. 2020. Douglas A.J. Latchford, Khmer Antiquities Expert, Dies at 88. *New York Times*. 27 August 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/27/arts/douglas-aj-latchford-khmer-antiquities-expert-dies-at-88.html.

———. 2021a. With a Gift of Art, a Daughter Honors, if Not Absolves, Her Father. *New York Times*. 29 January 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/29/arts/design/cambodia-artifacts-douglas-latchford.html.

———. 2021b. Antiquities Dealer Pleads Guilty for Role in Sale of Looted Items. *New York Times*. 5 October 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/arts/design/antiquities-dealer-looted-items-pleads-guilty.html.

———. 2021c. He Sold Away His People's Heritage. He's in the Jungle to Get It Back. *New York Times*. 21 November 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/21/arts/design/toek-tik-cambodian-artifacts.html.

———. 2021d. Cambodia Says Looter Helping It Reclaim Stolen Artifacts Has Died. *New York Times*. 5 December 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/05/arts/design/cambodian-effort-to-find-artifacts-wont-end-with-informants-death.html.

———. 2023. Cambodia Says It Has Recovered Looted Gold Jewelry Once Worn by Royals. *New York Times*. 20 February 2023. https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/20/arts/cambodia-gold-jewelry-royals-latchford.html.

• Mashberg, Tom & Blumenthal, Ralph. 2012. Cambodia Says It Seeks Return of Met Statues. *New York Times*. 1 June 2012. https://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/02/arts/design/cambodia-to-ask-met-to-return-10th-century-statues.html.

———. 2017. Expert Opinion or Elaborate Ruse? Scrutiny for Scholars' Role in Art Sales. *New York Times*. 30 March 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/30/arts/design/expert-opinion-or-elaborate-ruse-scrutiny-for-scholars-role-in-art-sales.html.

• Menzies, Sir Robert. 1965. Media Release. National Art Gallery for Canberra. 10 September 1965. https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/original/00001153.pdf.

• National Art Gallery Committee of Inquiry. 1968. National Art Gallery: Report of Committee of Inquiry, March 1966. Parliamentary Paper 1967, no 199. Canberra: Government Printer. https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2357860722/view?partId=nla.obj-2358671955.

• National Gallery of Australia. 2015. Media Release. 6 March 2015. google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjdyc6ts6WPAxVBr1YBHQLVDhMQFnoECBgQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fnga.gov.au%2Fmedia%2Fdd%2Fdocuments%2Fmr_ngaseatedbuddhaannouncement.rtf&usg=AOvVaw0AAIiVhCATzfWBSrdodtfW&opi=89978449.

———. 2021. Media Release. National Gallery of Australia Returns 14 Works of Art to India. 29 July 2021. https://nga.gov.au/media/dd/documents/mr_australiareturnsworksofarttoindia.8e9fd11.pdf.

———. 2023. Media Release. National Gallery of Australia Returns Sculptures to Cambodia. 3 August 2023. https://nga.gov.au/about-us/media/media-releases/2023/national-gallery-of-australia-returns-sculptures-to-cambodia/.

• New York State. 2016. *The People of the State of New York Against Nancy Wiener (F 34), Defendant*. https://www.scribd.com/document/335100264/Nancy-Wiener-Complaint.

———. 2019. *The People of the State of New York Against Sanjeeve Asokan (M 55), Dean Dayal (M 87), Ranjeet Kanwar (M 55), Subhash Kapoor (M 70), Aditya Prakash (M 50), Vallabh Prakash (M 89), Richard Salmon (M 63), and Neil Perry Smith (M 56), Defendants*. https://www.artcrimeresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/19-07-08-Criminal-Complaint-Subhash-Kapoor-et-al.pdf.

• Noce, Vincent. 2020. "Adventurer Scholar" Douglas Latchford Dies in Bangkok, Aged 89. *The Art Newspaper*. 10 August 2020. https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2020/08/10/adventurer-scholar-douglas-latchford-dies-in-bangkok-aged-89.

• Paviour, Ben. 2017. Records Point to Dealer's Role in Artifact Theft. *The Cambodia Daily*. 22 February 2017. https://english.cambodiadaily.com/2017/02/22/records-point-to-dealers-role-in-artifact-theft/.

• Savchuk, Katia. 2025. Righting a Historical Wrong. *Harvard Law Bulletin*. 31 March 2025. https://hls.harvard.edu/today/righting-a-historical-wrong/.

• U.S. Attorney's Office, Southern District of New York. 2014. Press Release. Manhattan U.S. Attorney Announces Return of 10th Century Sandstone Sculpture to the Kingdom Of Cambodia. https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/manhattan-us-attorney-announces-return-10th-century-sandstone-sculpture-kingdom.

———. 2019. Press Release. Antiquities Dealer Charged With Trafficking In Looted Cambodian Artifacts. https://www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/antiquities-dealer-charged-trafficking-looted-cambodian-artifacts.