The Ujjain Elephant and the Trojan Horse

In 1922 the Mardan sub-division of the Peshawar yielded what was soon to become one of the most interesting pieces of Gandhāran art. This is a schist relief belonging to the second century A.D. which depicts a scene which unmistakeably belongs to the Greek story of the Wooden Horse of Troy, (See plate 1).[1] The horse itself, a dumpy creature proportionately no bigger than a live foal, stands upon a trolley with roseatte wheels, facing left. A man in Greek dress (face damaged), placing his hands upon the animal's rump, pushes it from behind, while another, also in Greek attire, crouches in front of it menacingly and points a short spear at it's chest. On the far side of the horse, and more towards the man pushing than the man opposing, stands a third male figure whose damaged face may have been bearded and whose attitude suggests he is for admitting the horse. Behind the pusher, that is, on the extreme right of the relief, where it has broken off from the rest of the frieze, is the much mutilated figure of a fourth man, who rests on a spear planted on the ground; only his bent arm and the length of his spear are clearly visible. The most intriguing personality in this highly dramatic scene, however, is the woman who stands framed by a fluted doorway behind the crouching spearman, her arms flung up in alarm, as it were, at what is happening before her eyes. For, instriking contrast to the men in Greek dress, she is distinctly Indian, with bare breasts, slender waist, and wearing a dhoti low down on her flaring hips.

The appearance of this relief among the Gandhāra sculptures is remarkable for the fact that, among the great many that have been found, it is the first that depicts a scene from classical mythology and one of the very few having a secular subject. The question has naturally been raised as to what this story of the Trojan Horse was doing among the Buddhist sculptures of India. H. Hargreaves, who published it as 'an unidentified relief from Gandhāra' in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* the year following it's discovery,[2] suggested that the story the relief depicts is a Buddhist one but that, at the same time, it was impossible not to recognize in it the influence of the classical story of the Wooden Horse of Troy. Allen[3] was more emphatic on the latter point; the sculpture did not merely show the influence of the story of the Trojan Horse, he says, it is the story of the Trojan Horse. But in his study of this relief he offers no explanation as to what the story from Greek mythology had to do with India or any other reason for its appearance there. Hargreaves was, on his part, unable to advert to an Indian story involving an artificial horse on wheels simply because there was no such that was known. Nor are any of the figures in the relief readily identifiable with personalities who popularly occur in the iconography of the Buddhists. Accordingly Foucher[4] attempted

1. With the Wylie Collection; reproduced directly from a published picture; see J. Allen *A Tabula Iliaca from Gandhara*, J. H. S. lxvi (1946) p. 22 ff. fig. 1; M. Wheeler *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, (1954) pl. xxxiv and *Roman Art and Architecture* London (1964) fig. 212; K. Weitzmann (*Ancient Book Illumination* Cambr. Mass. (1939) pl. 23 fig. 55; R. G. Austin ed. *Virgil*: *Aeneid* bk. ii Oxford (1964) pl. 1 (facing p. 48); B. A. Sparkes *The Trojan Horse in Classical Art* G. & R. xviii no. 1 (1971) pl. 46.
2. 1923-24. pp. 125-126 and pl. xli, c.
3. *op. cit.* p. 21.
4. *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1950) p. 407 ff. Cf. Picard *Revue archeologique* 6e ser. xxxvi (1950) ii pp. 150 ff.

Plate 1: The Trojan Horse Relief from Gandhāra: Wylie Collection.

a more abstract interpretation of them, suggesting that the story was one which illustrated the beneficient power of the future Buddha, the female figure (so clearly oriental in type) being the protecting goddess of a city threatened by an enemy, and the whole thing an Indian adaptation of a legend dimly understood. The suspicion continues to remain strong among most that, while the scene depicted on this remarkable piece of sculpture dealt with the Trojan Horse story of the Greeks, it had somehow been enlisted in the context of Gandhāran art to illustrate one of the many tales or *jātakas* of the Buddhists.

From the point of view of the relief as depicting the Greek story, the interpretation of its participants is not much difficult or disputed. The man pushing the horse forwards towards the doorway (the Scaean Gate of Troy), is Sinon, his action symbolizing his intention of making the Trojans receive it within their city. The man opposing with spear is Laocoon, who in Virgil hurled his weapon through it's side; the bearded personage on the further side of the horse is the aged King Priam, and the woman with arms flung upwards, Cassandra horrified at Troy's impending doom and the fateful folly of the Trojans. Allen thinks the man who stands only partly visible behind Sinon and leans on his spear may be an armed guard placed over him, now that his bonds have been removed on the orders of Priam, or simply, that he may belong to the next panel of the frieze.[5] Perhaps he was influenced in the latter view by the fact that the man seems to have stood averted from the scene. But this may only suggest that he (and there could have been others behind him) represented the Greeks who had temporarily withdrawn to Tenedos and were awaiting the pre-arranged signal that the ambush had been sprung and the city gates thrown open by the warriors concealed within the horse.

The version of the story represented in this second century relief is late and shows Roman influence. Homer says that, when the Trojans had dragged the horse into the citadel of Troy, some were for piercing it with a bold stroke of the spear[6]; but far from telling us that Laocoon did so, he does not even mention him. The story as detailed here is essentially Virgilian; even so late a Greek writer as Quintus Smyrnaeus, as Allen[7] points out, makes Laocoon propose to burn the horse. At least two other details shows Roman influence. The first of these is the distinctive attitude of Cassandra. It recalls emphatically that in which she appears in the well-known Capitoline *Tabula Iliaca*, the best preserved of these tabulae, which treats of the capture of the city of Troy itself.[8] These tabulae are dated to the first century A.D. and were all made in and around Rome, where all those pieces whose places of discovery are known are said to have been found. They depict in miniature relief sculptures a series of episodes drawn from the War of Troy and other legends, as narrated by various Greek poets.

The Capitoline tabula, viewing the city of Troy from an overhead perspective, shows events taking place in different parts of it following the exit of

5. *op. cit.* pp. 21-22.
6. *Od.* viii. 506-507.
7. *op. cit.* p. 23.
8. Sala delle Columbe 83, Museo Capitolino, Rome. See H. Stuart-Jones ed. *A Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome; the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford (1912) pl. 41; Weitzmann *ibid.* pl. 24. fig. 56; M. Scherer *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature* London (1963) p. xi fig. 1; A. Sadurska *Les Tables Iliaques* Warsaw (1964) pl. 1; Sparkes *op. cit.* p. 65 fig. 4 and 5.

the Greeks from the wooden horse. The horse is there with its trapdoor raised open; most of the warriors are out and already fighting but one is still climbing out on to a ladder which is being steadied by another. Among the many traditional scenes which are depicted of the sack of Troy is the rape of Cassandra. The picture as a whole is purportedly based on Stesichorus' account in his *Iliou Persis*, but the prominence given to the flight of Aeneas with his family bespeaks Virgilian influence—that is, unless Virgil himself followed Stesichorus. Two narrow friezes appear beneath the main relief. The upper of these has as its subject the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus. The lower one, which is what draws our attention here, follows Lesches' *Parva Ilias* and shows an agitated Cassandra being restrained by a man as she stands before the Scaean Gate with one arm pointing at the procession hauling the wooden horse towards it and the other flung behind her head. The horse itself is mounted on a wheelless platform. In front of her is Sinon, his hands pinioned behind him by a soldier, and Priam who points towards the gate and directs the men hauling the horse towards it. Behind the horse come Odysseus, Pallas and Diomedes with weapons in their hands—an anticipation of the action that was to follow.

The pose of Cassandra must have been almost conventional in depicting her in connection with this episode at this time, for she appears in a similar one upon a carved gem which shows her standing upon the wall of Troy and looking with alarm as the Greeks issue from the belly of the horse.[9]

The second detail I refer to is the representation of the Trojan horse as a dimunitive creature. This, together with the general sculptural style of the work as a whole, links this relief from Gandhāra strongly with another from the West, a Roman relief sculpture of about the same period—except that the latter shows a scene subsequent to that which is depicted here. This is a narrow frieze which appears on the front of the lid of a stone sarcophagus now in the Ashmolean Museum (plate 2).[10] It shows a portal to the left, almost in the same location as in the relief from Gandhāra, but now arch-shaped rather than rectangular. The horse, a dwarfed animal mounted on a trolley, has just been pulled through it into the city, for it's back is towards the portal. On the horse's flank is a round trap-door resembling a port-hole and closed by a shieldike door. The Trojans themselves haul the animal along with a thick rope attached to the trolley, the man closest to it crouching in the effort. There is a man on the far side of the horse as in the Gandhāra relief, perhaps Priam again, who extends his hand towards the gateway as if summoning some people who are still tarrying beyond it; to the right of him is a figure, entirely effaced, who may have been Sinon, now no longer suspected or needing to induce the Trojans to accept the horse within the city, since his deception has worked.

Over and above these pieces of evidence for arguing Roman influence in the treatment of the Trojan Horse episode upon our relief, the clothes of the male figurers, and more particularly their footwear, appear to be Roman rather than Greek. This need not meen that the sculptor knew the *Aenicd* but it does imply that he was acquainted with the general cycle of stories about Troy which had developed in the first century A. D. and with their representations in sculpture in the West.

9. Furtwängler pl.38,6. Enlargement in Roscher *Lexicpn* iv. p.942 fig. 4 and reproduction by Allen *op. cit.* p. 22 as fig. 2.

10. See H. Heydemann *Iliupersis* Berlin (1866) pl. 2, 3; Weitzmann *ibid.* pl. 23, 54; Sparkes *op. cit.* pl. 4a.

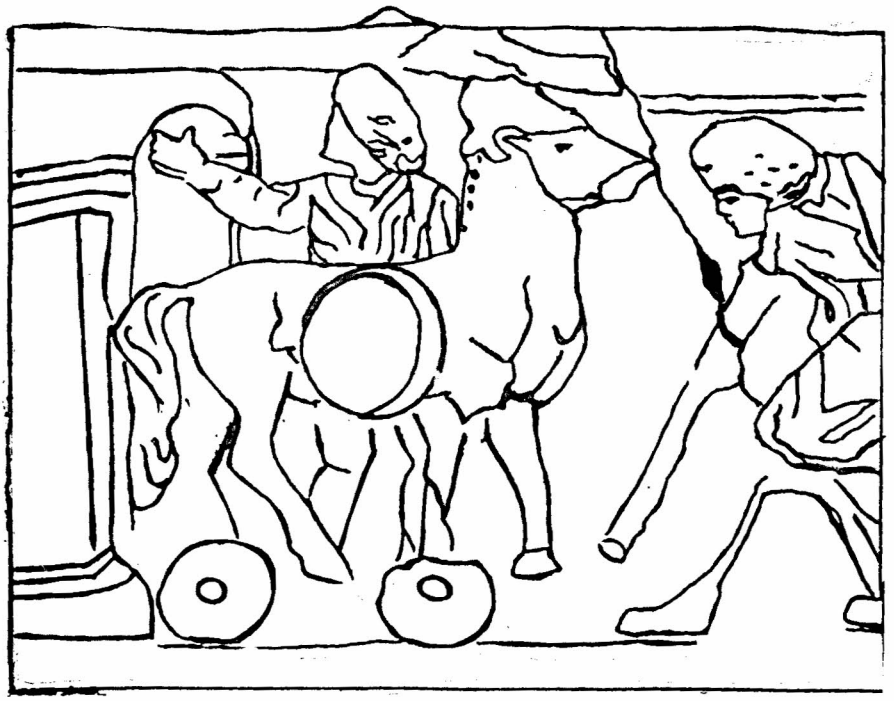

Plate 2: Trojan Horse Scene on Lid-Front of Roman Sarcophagus: Ashmolean Museum.

In the light of all this Allen cannot be right that the sculptor of the relief was an Indian.[11] It was on the Cassandra that he decided that the work as a whole was done by a native artist; but this then leaves him with the greater difficulty of explaining how such a person could have been so familiar with Roman work of the nature of the *Tabulae Iliacae* and the Ashmolean sarcophagus. It is more likely, therefore, that we are dealing with the work of a Greek already well acquainted with Graeco-Roman art of the West but one who had soon acquired mastery of the indigenous sculptural form as well—one of the many who kept coming out east in search of employment under the princes and notables of the Kushana period. The resurgence of Buddhism brought with it a demand for a dignified and well-tried sculptural mode that could do justice to the wide and varied mythology that the religion was fast gathering. And this the sculptors familiar with the art of the Roman West but already wearying of it's own traditional themes, were quick to seize. The free grouping of figures, often in Westernizing dress and sometimes reminiscent of second century Roman sarcophagi, on not a little of the Gandhāran carvings bears recurrent and startling testimony to their Graeco-Roman sources and, not infrequently, to Graeco-Roman workmanship.[12]

The artistic composition of the relief, built up of the posture and arrangement of the several figures, including Cassandra, is decidedly Greek rather than Indian, though the roseatte wheels look to me more Indian than Greek, and perhaps also the portal against which the Indianized Cassandra stands. The interesting anatomical inexactitude, of the right foreleg of the horse, has classical precedents in the calf of the Archaic *Moschophoros* and the naked *auletris* of the 'Ludovisi Throne'. The result is, as Wheeler[13] calls it, "a strange and revealing mixture of India and the Mediterranean with a distinctively Western theme," and for a work more intent on religious edification than artistic excellence, quite dramatic and exciting.

Be that as it may, the fact is plain that the Wooden Horse of Troy had reached India in it's travels and that it was known there in the Roman version of the episode popularised, if not developed, by Virgil.[14] This, however, does not answer the question of what it was doing there; it merely raises it. What had this Greek myth of the taking of Troy by the ruse of a wooden horse filled with soldiery to do among the numerous themes from Buddhist mythology? Just as certain as the concensus of opinion has been that the relief represented the story of the Trojan Horse has been the intuition that it had been employed here to illustrate one of the many legends of Buddhist India.

11. *op. cit.* p. 22.

12. See Wheeler *Roman Art and Architecture* pp. 228-229 The very proper emphasis made in recent times on the part played by other contributors to the Buddhist art of Asia in this period, he says, need not, by reaction, induce any serious depreciation of the Western contribution; this remains appreciable and remarkable in kind and quantity.

13 *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers.* p. 161. See also H. Buchthal *The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture* P.B.A. xxxi (1945) pp. 175-176. Gandhāra sculpture looked to the West for guidance on artistic matters and presented for the first time a full cycle of narrative scenes forming a consistent theological propaganda and carrying a religious message similar to that of the late mystery religions and Early Christianity, conveying it to the faithful in the same language of pictorial types as was first created by Imperial Roman art to glorify the divinity of the Emperor.

14. Austin *op. cit.* p. 49 n. to vs. 53.

But other than Foucher's abstract and rather fanciful interpretation of it, there has been no worthwhile attempt to discover the Buddhist legend to which the artist of the Gandhāra relief was alluding or what inspired him to express this Indian theme in Graeco-Roman metaphor. As far as assumptions go, the Indian legend alluded to must have resembled the Greek in some remarkable aspect, or aspects, so as to make the allusion obvious to the ordinary viewer. It seems, however, that it is not just this that made him fall back so boldly on the Greek parallel to suggest the Indian one, but also a knowledge, familiar both to the artist as well as his wiser public, that the one story had been inspired by the other. If scholars and commentators of recent times have failed to discover such a story in the mythology of India, it may simply have been because they were on the look out for one which, just like the Greek, involved a wooden *horse*.

All along, however, there has been known a story (and an extremely popular one at that) which is a close parallel of the Greek, and one, moreover, which has never failed to strike people as such every time it was read or heard—only, it involved a wooden *elephant*. I refer to the story of the Udena cycle which tells of the capture of that dashing young prince of Vatsa by his neighbour, King Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjain, by means of such a device. The similarity of the motif of an ambush laid up in a wooden animal is striking, so striking, in fact, that I have still to see it brushed off as a matter of coincidence. On the other hand, hardly any comparative study has been made in recent times of the episodes involving the use of these wooden animal-ambushes to determine the extent to which they reflect each other, and consequently, the likelihood of the one having been inspired or influenced by the other.[15]

There was perhaps good reason for this before the discovery of the schist relief from Gandhāra to which I draw attention in this article. The exercise would have yielded only a low degree of probability if there was little more to go by than the similarity of the central motif of the two episodes and certain other accompanying details against the backdrop of the cultural impact of the Greeks in India—and then too requiring it to be shown, of the Greek story, that it was the older and that it was in fact known in India, and of the Indian story, that it had its origin after the appearance of the Greeks in India.

The stories of the Udena cycle seem to have been about the most popular subjects of Indian literature in antiquity and are equalled only by those of the epics. The adventures of their hero are tied up with the fortunes of his little kingdom of Vatsa, which lay between the powerful neighbours of Ujjain and Magadha. Reference to these stories are found in Buddhist and Jain literature and also in certain technical works such as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya,[16] Patanjali's *Mahābhaṣya*[17] and Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*,[18] and were very soon travelling beyond the regions of Northern India, northwards, to Tibet, and southwards, to South India and Sri Lanka. The capital of the Vatsas (also called Vaṃsas) was at Kausambi, the modern Kosam, on the banks of the Jumna, near the city of Allahabad. But the historical basis of these

15. On the Trojan Horse motif of the Indian story, some observations were made by M. Winternitz in his *Geschichte de indischen Litteratur* Leipzig 1904-22 ii p. 155 and iii. 175, n. 3.
16. ix. 7 p. 360.
17. iv. 3. 87.
18. v. 4.14.

stories—they must have had one—is concealed in a mass of fanciful material that has overgrown it, some of which may have been indigenous folk-tales, and others, derived from myths or elaborated from myth-motifs that had reached India from beyond her frontiers.

The episode of the wooden elephant figures in the adventure in which Udena wins his first queen, Vāsavadattā. The account as it appears in the Kathā literature traces itself to Guṇāḍhya and his *Brhatkaṭhā*, a work which ranked beside the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* as one of the great storehouses of Indian literary art. This work, written in Paiśāci, is lost [19] but its contents are preserved in a version from Nepal, the *Brhaṭkathā Slokasaṃgraha* of Buddhasvāmin, and two from Kashmir, the *Brhatkathāmanjari* of Ksemendra and Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Slight differences appear in the retelling of the various stories in these different descendants of Guṇāḍhya's original work. The last-mentioned, which gives the most detailed account, according to this tradition, of the capture of Udena by means of the wooden elephant,[20] says that King Caṇḍapajjota wished to have Udena for his son-in-law but was too proud to make overtures to him. So he decided to capture him by a strategem and bring him to heel. Knowing Udena's love of a good mount, be it horse or elephant, and also his practice of charming elephants by the music of his lute, he made a wooden elephant like his own Nāḍāgiri and, concealing warriors within it, set it up in the forest which lay between his own kingdom and Udena's Vatsa. Udena's scouts, seeing this, reported to him the presence of what appeared to them a noble beast, whereupon he set out to capture it by the magic of his lute. When he was some distance from it, however, he left his troops behind and approached it with his scouts, and then alone, playing his lute and singing. The elephant, for its part, kept lifting its ears and flapping them and advancing and retiring till it had lured Udena a great distance from his men. Then, of a sudden the warriors concealed within the body of the elephant rushed out and surrounded him. And they, aided by others who joined them at a preconcerted signal, overpowered him, despite the stiff fight he put up, and carried him off to Caṇḍapajjota.

The Kashmirian recensions of the *Brhatkaṭhā* of Guṇāḍhya show themselves to be vitally similar in contrast to the Nepalese *Slokasaṃgraha* and may derive from a form of the *Brhatkaṭhā* that is earlier than A.D. 1000 but not from the original work of Guṇāḍhya himself. The *Slokasaṃgraha*, on the other hand, seems to have followed the original more faithfully than the Kashmirian

19. The tradition is that Guṇāḍhya himself destroyed six sevenths of the 700,000 slokas when King, Sātavāhana rejected the work on the grounds that the Pāiśacī language, in which it was written, was barbarous. See *Kathāsaritsāgara* i. 8. On Guṇāḍhya, reality and legend, see F. Lacote *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Brhatkathā* Paris (1908) p. 10 ff and 21 ff., and on the Paiśaci p. 40 ff. The story that Guṇāḍhya read the pages he burnt to the beasts and birds, who gathered round him and listened with tears in their eyes, sounds like that of Orpheus, and the saving of the one-seventh of the work, like that of the Sibyline Books. C. H. Tawney (tr. The *Kathā Sarīt Sāgara* Delhi (1880) vol. i draws attention to these parallels in foot notes on pp. 48 and 49.

20. ii. 12. He is here called Caṇḍamahāsena, and in Bhāsa's *Pratijñayaugandharāyanam*, Pradyota; I shall continue to refer tohim as Caṇḍapajjota,which is what he is called in the *Saddharmaratānavaliya*, the 13th century Sinhalese work of the monk Dharmasena, which translates the story, with a few embellishments of its own, from the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. Despite the honorofic 'Mahasena' (i.e. "possessing a large army") he resorts to guile to capture Udena. Bhāsa (*Pratijñā* i. 4) excuses this on the grounds that his army was disunited; but when the capture is effected, the king exclaims, and not ironically either (ii. 10), "Let the army rest in comfort, putting away their armour; today I am Mahāsena!"

authors and is dated to the eighth or ninth century.[21] Unfortunately the work preserved is only a fragment and is of no help to us as it does not include the story of the wooden elephant. Ksemendra's *Brhatkaṭhāmanjari* was written about the year 1037, according to Keith,[22] and Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* some time between 1063 and 1081.[23] But the Guṇāḍhya account of the way in which the elephant was utilized to ambush Udena seems to have been popular in India long before these Nepalese and Kashmirian recensions made their appearance. It was already found in Pali in the form of a tight summary in the *Majjhimanikāya* commentary dated to the middle of the fifth century and attributed to the scholar monk Buddhaghosa.[24]

The commentary of the *Dhammapada*[25] of about the same time, however gives a somewhat different account of the role of the elephant in the capture of Udena, thus keeping with the suspicion some have harboured that the commentarial work here is not of Buddhaghoṣa, but of some unknown hand.[26] For the elephant here serves more as a decoy which lures Udena into the midst of warriors concealed in the forest than as itself an ambush concealing warriors within itself. The men inside the elephant, 60 in number, are not even warriors but drivers, whose explicit task is to ply the mechanical animal and make it move, and at such speed that Udena himself has to transfer from elephant to horse to catch up with it. It is thus that he gets separated from his army in this version, while the capture itself is effected, not by the men in the elephant but by those warriors of Caṇḍapajjota who were stationed on the flanks in the forest and into whose midst the elephant leads him. An interesting detail recalling the camp of the Greeks outside Troy but of no great consequence to the plot of the Indian story is added, namely, that Udena's army, when they learnt of his capture, made a stockade at that very spot and remained there. Numerous other differences of detail turn up when the entire story as it appears in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* is compared with that which follows the Guṇāḍhya tradition, not the least of which is the motive of the kidnapping.[27]

Confining ourselves to the elephant episode, it appears then that there existed at least two broad treatments of the role the wooden animal played in the capture of Udena, that is, as itself an ambush, and again, as primarily a decoy which lures him into an ambush laid out on ground. It is possible that

21. Lacote *op. cit.* p. 147; Keith *A History of Sanskrit Literature* London (1920) p. 272.
22. *op. cit.* p. 135-136.
23. *op. cit.* p. 281.
24. *Majjimanikāyaṭṭhakathā* 85 Bodhirājakumārasuttavaṇṇanā. See the PTS ed. *Papañcasūdāni* pt. iii p. 325. Lacote *op. cit.* p. 251.
25. Norman ed. 1. 191-199; ref. to *Dhammapada* 21-23. For a discussion of the date of the work, see E. W. Burlingame *Buddhist Legends* (tr. from the original Pali of the Dhammapada Commentary) Cambridge, Mass (1921) p. 57 ff. It is assigned to 450 A.D.
26. The authorship of the work is assigned in the colophon to Buddhaghosa; but see Burlingame *op. cit.* p. 59-60. Buddhaghosa's literary activity is assignable to the years between 410 and 432 A.D.
27. This varies widely in the different versions of the story. Here it is that Caṇḍapajotta, surveying his wealth, thought there was none richer than he, and being told that Udena was far richer, determined to capture him. The detail recalls the story of Croesus in Herodotus (i. 30 ff). Other details in it stir memories of Greek stories, as, for instance, Udena's teaching of music to Vasāvadattā from behind a curtain, that of Gyges and King Candaules' wife (Hdt. i. 8-12), and their ruse to delay pursuit by scattering gold in their path, that of Atlanta's race. All this is in addition to Udena's Orpheus-like charming of elephants by the music of his lute.

this latter tradition owed itself to the Sanskrit dramatist Bhāsa, whose play in four acts, the *Pratijnāyaugandharāyanam*, dealt with the *Gefangennehmung und Rettung* of Udena and was already famous by the time of Kālidāsa.[28] Bhāsa has the detail that Udena, in his pursuit of the wooden elephant, changed over from elephant to horse. Likewise his Udena is informed of the presence of the beast of noble stature in the forest, not by a plurality of scouts as in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, but by a single individual, even if he is not a casual woodsman as in the *Dhammapada* commentary but a foot-soldier deliberately introduced to do so as part of the plot, a veritable Sinon, who is similarly recognized in the play as "the author of all this mischief". And again, the plurality of ministers who warned Udena against going after the elephant and found themselves disregarded, a role which in the Greek story of Trojan Horse began with Cassandra and slowly but strongly shifted to Laocoon, is in the *Pratijnā* of Bhāsa a single individual, the minister Rumanvat, who suspects that the prince is walking into a trap and advises adequate protection. The warning of this Indian Laocoon goes equally unheeded as that of the Greek, and Udena, like the city of Troy, is overwhelmed and taken after a brief but stiff attempt at resistance.

Nowhere in this play—or for that matter, his other play which involves Udena, the *Svapnavāsavadattā*—does Bhāsa say that there were men lodged within the wooden elephant. Men are mentioned in connection with it only at the point when (in the account given by Haṃsaka, the soldier who brought news of the capture of Udena) the animal advanced towards him and his escort; and then it is done by means of an ambiguous phrase *mahāmātra-uttarāyudhiya-adhiṣṭhita*, which may mean anything from "controlled by warriors under a commander" to "manned by warriors instead of elephant-men"[29] but in no case indicates that they were *within* the wooden elephant. At the critical moment when Udena dismounted and walked up to it, Haṃsaka narrates, there was a loud uproar behind them "that seemed to have been concerted with one purpose". Who it was that raised this uproar or what that one purpose was is not mentioned; but it must surely have been to cause panic and was obviously the work of the ground troops.[30] The elephant itself turned round and advanced towards the prince, which may suggest that it did harbour warriors within it; but if so, their significance in the episode is underplayed in preference to the warriors concealed in the forest itself. It is no wonder, then, that the *Dhammapada* commentator was prepared to convert them to mere drivers,

28. In the prologue of his *Mālavikāgnimitra* he refers to Bhāsa as of 'established renown'. C. Ogden *Bhasa's Treatment of the Udayana Legend* JAOS xliii p. 168 thinks different recensions of the story were current in Bhāsa's time itself.

29. A. C. Woolner and L. Sarup tr. *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhāsa.* London (1930) p. 10. It is ridiculous for a wood elephant to have had a mahout, moreso when it wished to pass for a wild one. Bhāmaha, the 7th century critic, is surprised that a man like Udena was at all taken in by such a ruse. But see P. V. Nagantha Sastry's tr. of his work, *Kāvyālankāra*, Tanjore (1927) p. 79; he renders *Salaṁkāyananetṛkam* ('led by Salankayana') as 'which had for its mahout Salaṅkayana'; and C. R. Devadhar try *Pratijñāyaugandharayanam* Poona (1962) p. 7, who renders *mahamatra* there in the same sense as 'elephant-driver'. But Bhāsa himself clearly indicates that Sālaṅkāyana, who is responsible for the ambush, is no mahout but a minister, and the *Vīnāvāsavadattam*, a later play by an unknown hand, which dramatizes the narrated account of this episode in the *Pratijña*, neither conceals the warriors in the elephant nor makes Sālaṅkāyana any kind of elephant-man.

30. Devadhar (*loc. cit.* and p. 51 n. *ad. loc.*) translates "Then there came behind us a huge lion that seemed to have one set purpose" and explains that this lion (or tiger) seemed to have concerted with the blue elephant. This is marvellous if it is not also absurd. But see Woolner-Sarup *loc. cit.*; also see the *Vīnāvāsavadattam*, which describes the uproar as having been made by conches, drums and the like.

showing at the same time an altogether novel fascination for the elephant as a mechanical wonder—a thing which, had begun to manifest itself in time in the case of the Trojan Horse as well.[31]

It must not be thought, however, that the two versions of the ambush are contradictory of each other;[32] they are, rather, complementary. Bhasa does not deny the presence of men within the elephant; he merely emphasises the role of the ground troops, who in the Guṇāḍhya tradition are said to have joined in upon a preconcerted signal like the Greek army which had retreated to Tenedos till the lighting of the beacon, which was to be the signal for them to return. On the other extreme the Tibetan *Kanjur*,[33] rehandling the story derived from Guṇāḍhya in a novel manner, packs all of the 'numerous' enemy, 500 strong, into the belly of the mechanical elephant with as much aplomb as Lesches when he accommodated all of 3,000 men in the Trojan Horse.[34]

By themselves these several details, of the foot-soldier who played a Sinon-like role in the plot to capture Udena, the Laocoon-like Rumanvat whose warning went unheeded, the brief but fierce battle which ensued with the men from the wooden elephant reinforced by those who joined them at a signal, the stockade built by one of the warring parties, count for little in showing that this Indian story owed its inspiration to the Greek story of the capture of Troy. Besides, it will be recalled that they do not all occur together but in the different versions which carry the two broad traditions traced above. Yet, viewed in the

31. Here the elephant is driven with so great a speed that Udena has to use a horse to catch with it. The *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* says the men in it started it running by means of a contrivance (*yantraya*). See also note 32 below. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* it even moves its ears. Compare Servius *auctus* on *Aen.* ii. 150, who states that the knees, tail and eyes of the Trojan Horse moved; this has been traced by Dr. S. Timpanaro of Pisa to the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus and attention drawn to a number of other mechanical creations adverted to in Greek myth. The idea of the elephant's mobility may have been derived from the familiar depictions of the Trojan Horse mounted on wheels. The wheels were put under the horse by the Trojans, not the Greeks, and Virgil is the first to mention them (*Aen.* ii 235-236). A wheeled horse would have roused the suspicions of the Trojans. But from its earliest depictions in art, on a *c.* 700 B.C. Boeotian fibula, it has, more often than not, appeared wheeled. The idea of mobility implicit in the wheels was, in time, to transform the horse itself into a lifelike creature and of normal proportions, as appears in the illuminated manuscript of the 5th or 6th cent., the Romanus. A manuscript of still later date shows it prancing towards Troy all by itself.

32. Warriors both within and outside the elephant are mentioned in the Tamil *Perurkatai* (5th or 6th cent. A.D.); see V. Saminatha Aiyar ed. summary 1st kantam pp. 56-57. and also the 1st kantam vs, 35-45 of the *Uṭayana Kumara Kaviyam* ed. P. V. Comacuntaranar, Madras (1954). The two versions occur interestingly as variant readings, in the two mss. of Ksemendra's *Brhatkathāmañjarī* ii. 2.32. *Kha* has *yodhair antakkrtavāsam cando yantramahāgajam*, "a mechanical elephant, violent and huge, with warriors concealed within it"; *Ka* reads *vyādhair ambhakkrtapadam krtvā mantram mahāgajam*, "a charm that was a huge elephant, with legs activated by water, and driven by woodsmen". Cp. ii. 2.40 which reiterates its artificial and mechanical quality. The conception may have been of an animal whose limbs were made to move by some hydraulic system. Pliny (N. H. xxxiv. 75) mentions a bronze stag, made by the 6th cent. B.C. statuary, Canachus, whose feet were made to spring to and fro by a jointed mechanism. The eidola of Daedalus were made to move by the infusion of quicksilver (Philip apud Arist. *De Anima* 406b18-19)

33. A. Schiefner *Mahākatjājana und Konig Tshanda-Pradjota*, Memoires de l'academie imperiale des sciences de St. Petersbourg viie serie, (tome xxii no. 7) xv. See also Lacote *op. cit.* p. 243.

34. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives the warriors in the elephant as 60, Bhāmaha as 100 (*loc. cit.* and Woolner-Sarup *op. cit.* p. 1) and the *Utayana Kumara Kav.* as 96 (*op. cit.* vs. 40). The number in the case of the Trojan Horse goes from single figures to four figures; see R. G. Austin *Virgil and the Wooden Horse* JRS. xliv, 1949, p. 18. Lesches' number (apud Apollod. *Ep.* v. 14) was too high even for the medieval age, which made it 1000 (Guido de Columnis *Hist. Destr. Troiae* xxx).

context of the common ruse on which they are centred and the proof afforded by our relief of the presence of the Greek story in India about the same time, it must be admitted that they become confirmatory evidence of something more than coincidence as being responsible for the similarity of the two stories, the Greek and the Indian.

The most interesting, if not the most important, item between the two stories is of course the metamorphosis of the Greek horse into an Indian elephant. India has evidently not merely borrowed the motif of the Greek story but rehandled it with local detail and local colour to make it it's own. The elephant is not only the more popular Indian mount but naturally huge, so that it accommodated itself—if it did not suggest it—to the role of an artificial animal capable of containing men that could yet be camouflaged and passed off as real. The original Greek story did without this pretence; the wooden horse, even if built huge, was not only artificial but had no intention of passing off as anything other than that. On the other hand, a wooden horse larger than life would have been as out-of-place in the Indian story as a wooden elephant, even of life size, would have been in the context of the Greek.[35]

Udena, says the *Dhammapada* commentator, could not resist a good mount, *be it elephant or horse;* and in his pursuit of the elephant he changes from elephant to horse. Is this, I wonder, a literary hint of his awareness of the association between the Trojan Horse and the Ujjain elephant? It was perhaps this same awareness which made the Greek sculptor of the Gandhara relief conceive the exquisite idea of expressing the one story in the metaphor of the other, indulging himself at the same time in the nostalgic pleasure of treating a Greek myth. Such a hypothesis seems plausible chiefly because of the Indianization of the Cassandra, which appears to be a sort of *quid pro quo* for the retention of the Trojan Horse in place of the Ujjain elephant. The work as a whole thus becomes, as it were, a meeting-ground of the two stories and at the same time a tableau for the expression of the artist's admiration and respect for the art and culture of his own country and of the new land he has come out to make his home.

In the light of such an interpretation, the Indian Cassandra becomes the key to the decipherment of the sculpture as a whole from the Indian angle, that is, in terms of the Udena story. The Trojan horse becomes the symbolic equivalent of the Ujjain elephant, the latter's mobility implied in the horse's roseatte wheels.[36] The man who has his hands on it's rump (Sinon) is Udena signifying his attempt to capture it; the bearded man on the far side of the horse (Priam) is now Caṇḍapajjota gloating over his brain-child, the wooden animal

35 Servius *auctus* records that the horse was 120 x 30 (feet), a tradition which may go back to Arctinus, though in the form 100 x 50 feet. Virgil's horse is also huge, even if it disgorges only 9 warriors. A Corinthian aryballos of around 560 B.C. from Caere (Paris, Cab. Med. 186 (de Ridder)) shows men descending from a huge horse by means of ladders. Cf. Quint. Smyrn. xiii. 51 and Tryphiod. 90 f. A fragment of a black-figure Attic vase from Orbetello (Berlin, F 1723), on the other hand, shows them climbing down on to the shoulders of others on the ground. Virgil refers to the descent as by rope as does Apollodorus (*Ep.* v. 20), who adds the interesting detail that Echion was killed trying to jump down without using it. The Indian story seems totally unconcerned about this question. On the other hand, Virgil's comparison of it to a mountain (*Aen.* ii. 15 *instar montis equum*) anticipates the description of the elephant in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as "resembling a moving peak of the Vindhya range". For all that, the wooden elephant could not have been bigger than a live one, even if one as big as the massive Nādāgiri. The *Vīnāvāsavadattam*, typical in its exaggeration, however, says there were, not one, but four such elephants prepared by Caṇḍapajjota's ministers!

36. See n. 31 above.

full of warriors; the crouching figure presenting his spear at the horse but also at the man who is laying hands on it (Laocoon) represents the warriors who have exited from the animal and are moving in to capture Udena, and the men who stand behind Udena (the Greeks of Tenedos), those others who had concealed themselves in the forest to join in upon being signalled– or they may be taken to be the troops which he had unadvisedly left behind when he went after the elephant. Last, but not least, the eastern beauty (Cassandra—or is it, after all, Helen?) is the princess Vāsavadattā, Caṇḍapajjota's daughter and heroine of the Indian story, her attitude now not one of alarm but of welcome.

Both Guṇāḍhya and Bhāsa are difficult to date. But the best efforts place them reasonably close to the time the sculptor of the Gāndhāra relief was at work in India. Keith thinks Guṇāḍhya is not later than the fifth century A.D., but that to place him in the first century A.D. is quite conjectural, nor in reality is any other date more assured.[37] Bhāsa's fame, as mentioned before, was firmly established by the time of Kālidāsa (A.D.400), so that it gives us a period of not later than A.D. 350 for him. A *terminus post quem* is also available for him in Aśvaghosa, whose *Buddhacarita* is thought to be the source of a verse in the *Pratijna* and whose Prakrit is found to be unquestionably older in character, thought the likelihood is that he was nearer the period of Kālidāsa than that of Asvaghosa. All things considered, he appears to have lived around A.D. 300.[38] Both Guṇāḍhya and Bhāsa may have been citizens of Ujjain. Ujjain or Kausambi supplied Guṇāḍhya with much of his story-material and inspiration, though he may have enjoyed royal honour and composed his work elsewhere. Similarly Bhāsa shows a partiality for the adventures of Udena, of which the people of Ujjain were particularly fond.

The dates of Bhāsa and the unknown sculptor of the Gandhāran relief put it within possibility that they knew the version of the Trojan Horse story as treated by the Roman Virgil, but whether it could have moved to this part of the world by the time of Guṇāḍhya—if indeed Guṇāḍhya belonged to the first century A.D.—leaving allowance, that is, for it to have travelled there and become sufficiently popular—is doubtful. Guṇāḍhya himself refers to a tradition of some antiquity for his stories of the *Brhatkaṭhā* when he attributes them ultimately to a divine source, the god Siva,[39] so that it must have been a Greek version of it upon which the Udena episode of the wooden elephant was originally based, which had reached India with, perhaps, the first arrival of the Greeks there. It may even have been the Homeric one supplemented by those of the lesser epic poets and presented in epitomes such as that of Apollodorus, [40]

37. *op. cit* p. 268

38. Keith *op. cit.* pp. 93-95.

39. The tradition connected with the *Brhatkathā* of Guṇaḍhya is discussed rather fully by Lacote *op. cit.* ch. ii, p. 21 ff.

40. *Ep.* v. 14 ff. The story was no doubt fully told between Lesches *Parva Ilias* and Arctinus' *Iliupersis*, though of their narratives we possess only the brief abstracts by Proclus. Laocoon's connection with the Trojan legend goes back to Arctinus, the warning and even possibly the throwing of the spear (C. Robert *Die griechische Heldensage* iii.2 (*Der troische Kreis*) Berlin (1925-6) p. 1247). See also A. C. Pearson *The Fragments of Sophocles*, Cambridge) 1917), ii p. 40-41; the *hybris* in the play *Laocoon* attributed to Sophocles, he thinks, could well have been this throwing of the spear. Sinon, like Laocoon, is not mentioned by Homer. But Arctinus represented him entering Troy in disguise and signalling the Greeks in Tenedos (EGF p. 49). He must have had a place in the *Parva Ilias* as well, as the order of the narrative in Apollodorus (*Ep.* v. 15, 19) suggests. He must have led the horse with his hands bound by chains (Robert *op. cit.* p. 1242; cf. M Paulcke *De Tabula Iliaca questiones Stesichoreae* Diss. Konigsberg (1897) p. 82), though this is not stated in Proclus' summary; possibly also made the signal (Tzetzes *Lycophr.* 344). Aristotle (*Poet.* 23. 1459b 7) mentions a *Sinon* among the tragic dramas drawn from the *Parva Ilias*, which may be Sophocles' play. There was also Stesichorus.

not to mention artistic representations of scenes from them. The story of Troy's capture, one of the central and most engaging myths of the foreigners from the West, would have caught the imagination of the story-loving Indians and quickly spread through the north-west and northern regions of the land. Greek influence grew steadily with the lengthening presence of the Greeks in India and more and more of their learning and culture passed over to these regions, to appear very strongly by the epoch of Guṇāḍhya. Lacote [41] observes an outward relationship between certain Greek stories of Hellenistic writers and the *Brhatkaṭhā* and something more definite in the case of the actual idea of the romantic theme and the plan of the story. He also observes the roles the Greeks have in this work and also in the *Kanjur*. Above all, these writings show great esteem for Greek artists, referring to the period when Greek art was influencing Gundhāran art and sculpture.

It would appear, then, that they are mutual solutions of each other, this Trojan Horse relief from Gandhāra and the story of the wooden elephant of Ujjain. The former shows the presence in India of the Greek story of the ruse by which Troy was captured, which was suspected all along of having inspired the Indian story of the ruse by which Udena was taken by Caṇḍapajjota. The latter, on it's part, offers itself strongly as the Buddhist legend which was popularly believed to have been alluded to in what Hargreaves began discussing as 'an unidentified relief from Gāndhāra'.

It is a warm thought, which must have occurred to the Greek who sculptured this relief, that the *douros hippos* of Troy "pregnant with armed warriors" one of the great imaginative conceptions of poetic myth, was not alone in the world of story but that in its travels in the east it had begotten in the land of Ujjain (the home of Guṇāḍhya and Bhāsa) a wooden offspring in the form of Caṇḍapajjota's blue elephant. [42]

Merlin Peris

41. *op. cit.* p. 284-287.

42. R. Watson (*History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, 4th ed. London (1785) bk. xxx vol iii pp. 157-161) tells the story of the capture of the town of Breda by Prince Maurice by means of picked soldiers concealed beneath the false bottom of a barge carrying turf. N. M. Penzer, in his ed. of Tawney's translation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*The Ocean of Story*) London (1924) vol. i p. 133 n. 1) draws attention to the story of 'How Thutiyi took the city of Joppa' by means of men concealed in jars, found in an Egyptian papyrus of the 20th dynasty, and the similar ruse adopted by Ali Baba. As if in compensation for its use for capture, the Trojan Horse idea assisted two British soldiers and a companion to make their escape from the notorious German prison camp, Stalag Luft III. Concealing themselves inside a wooden vaulting-horse they tunnelled their way to freedom while their friends outside were engaged in distractive gymnastics. See F. Williams *The Wooden Horse*, London (1949).