Arts asiatiques

The Provenance of the Gandhāran “Trojan Horse” Relief in the British Museum

Peter Stewart

要約
大英博物館蔵のガンダーラのレリーフの中で、特に有名なものの一つに、「トロイの木馬」の図像に基づいたものがある。これはおそらく、何らかの仏教的モティーフとして再解釈されて製作されたと考えられている。この作品がどこで出土したか、という問題について、これまで、いくつかの推測が提起されてきた。中でも、マルダーン(Mardān)遺跡やチャールサッダ(Chārsadda)遺跡は、多くの研究で繰り返し指摘されている。しかし、本論では、この作品に関連する資料を詳しく分析することによって、これがインダス川の近くのフンド(Hund)の井戸から出土したものであることを明らかにできた。ガンダーラの遺物は、まだ多くがその出土場所を特定できないが、本例は確実な場所を定めることができる貴重な例であり、「トロイの木馬」のような他の作品に関しても一つの基準例となり得ると考えられる。

Abstract
Among the most famous Gandhāran sculptures is a relief in the British Museum that represents the story of the Trojan Horse, probably reinvented as a Buddhist narrative. Several contradictory provenances have been recorded for the relief, while its supposed association with Mardān or Chārsadda has become embedded in scholarly literature. Reconsideration of the evidence, including archival sources, establishes the correct origin, at a well near Hund on the Indus. Despite a general lack of evidence for the provenance of Gandhāran sculptures, information of this kind is precious for any attempt to contextualize sculptures such as the “ Trojan Horse” relief.

Résumé
Le bas-relief du British Museum représentant l’épisode du cheval de Troie, probablement réinterprété comme correspondant à un récit bouddhique, constitue l’une des sculptures les plus célèbres de l’art du Gandhāra. L’on a assigné plusieurs lieux de provenance bien différents à cette pièce dont l’association supposée avec les sites de Mardān ou Chārsadda s’est profondément enracinée dans la littérature scientifique. Une analyse nouvelle portant, en particulier, sur la documentation dont on dispose sur le bas-relief permet cependant d’en établir l’origine, un puits près de Hund sur l’Indus. Malgré l’incertitude qui entoure toujours la provenance de bien des pièces de l’art du Gandhāra, il s’agit là d’une information précieuse pour quiconque cherche à contextualiser une sculpture telle que ce «Cheval de Troie ».

摘要
表現特洛伊木馬故事的浮雕是大英博物館最著名健駝邏藝術品之一，它有可能是佛教故事的重新敘述。長期以來學者對其來源地有爭論，認爲其來源地最可能是馬爾丹或者查沙達。通過包括博物館文檔在內的文獻分析，作者確定它發現於印度河恒德地區附近的一口井中。儘管犍陀羅雕塑的來源地大多不明，特洛伊木馬浮雕的明確來源地點爲犍陀羅浮雕的藝術背景分析考察提供了寶貴信息。

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概要

表現特洛伊木馬故事的浮雕是大英博物館最著名健駝邏藝術品之一，它有可能是佛教故事的重新敘述。長期以來學者對其來源地有爭論，認為其來源地最可能是馬爾丹或者查沙達 。通過包括博物館文檔在內的文獻分析，作者確定它發現於印度河恒德地區附近的一口井中。儘管犍陀羅雕塑的來源地大多不明，特洛伊木馬浮雕的明確來源地點為犍陀羅浮雕的藝術背景分析考察提供了寶貴信息。

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* I am very grateful to a number of colleagues and others who have provided assistance, advice, and comments in the course of my study of this relief. In particular, I thank Dr Michael Willis of the British Museum; seminar audiences at the Faculty of Classics, Oxford, and the Musée d'Art Classique de Mougins; and the families of Sir Francis Wylie and Sir Olaf Caroe. The generous help of individuals is further acknowledged below.

Among the most important and most frequently cited sculptures to have survived from ancient Gandhāra is a small but extraordinary relief now in the British Museum (**fig. 1**).[1] It represents a scene which any viewer attuned to Graeco-Roman iconography would recognize as the Wooden Horse outside the walls of Troy.[2] Its iconography has been much discussed. In classical terms, the semi-draped female who bars access to the city-gate on the left of the relief must be the prophetic priestess Cassandra, her arms raised in alarm as she foresees the impending disaster. The tunicate man in front of her, who stoops to thrust a spear into the Horse, is Laocoon attempting to expose the ruse. The bearded figure behind the Horse is another Trojan, perhaps King Priam. The figure pushing it from behind should probably be Sinon, the Greek double-agent responsible for persuading the Trojans to take the Horse within their walls, and behind him the fragmentary arm and spear are presumably parts of another Trojan. We cannot tell how far the original relief would have extended to the right, since that side of the stone is broken, but Gandhāran narrative reliefs in this format are nearly always episodic, not continuous narrations and it is likely that we have most of what existed of this particular scene.[3] At present there is no evidence concerning the adjacent sculptures that would once have adorned the monument.

Not only is the subject familiar from classical literature, but elements of its specific rendering are parallelled in art of the Roman period.[4] In particular, its composition recalls those on the first-century AD Capitoline "Tabula Iliaca" (a miniature relief with epic scenes) (**fig. 2**) and a second-century AD sarcophagus lid with scenes of the Sack of Troy in Oxford[5] (**fig. 3**). In addition, the treatment of the figures resonates with classical imagery in respect to their composition, poses, gestures, and the naturalistic treatment of bodies and drapery. They wear plausibly Graeco-Roman clothes: tunics and cloaks, and in at least one case boots (it is not certain whether the "Laocoon" wears boots or the leggings which distinguish Trojans in classical art). Only "Cassandra" looks distinctly non-classical. Although her gestures are well paralleled in Graeco-Roman images of distressed females,[6] the garment tied around her waist (a kind of *paridhana*), the necklace hanging between her bare breasts, and her bulky anklets, are more reminiscent of Indian figures, particularly sculptures of *yakṣī*s. Her shoulder-length hair is surmounted by some kind of headdress, now obscured by damage. Some scholars have seen this as a form of mural crown, indicating that the figure is a city-goddess—a *nagaradevatā*—but it may merely have been an elaborate hairstyle of roughly the kind frequently encountered in Gandhāran sculpture.[7] In summary, the sculpture represents the adoption and adaptation of both classical mythology and classical artistic forms.

The "Trojan Horse" relief has therefore frequently been seen as an eloquent expression of the cultural "hybridity" of Gandhāra, whose art regularly selects from a stylistic and iconographical repertoire rooted in the Hellenistic-Roman world.[8] Exceptional, however, is the wholesale borrowing of a specific narrative composition. The only strong parallel of which I am aware is another—albeit very different—"Trojan Horse" relief reportedly found near Pitao, on the northern edge of the Peshāwar Basin.[9] Yet despite its very conspicuous classical resonances, the British Museum relief is almost certainly to be understood in a purely Buddhist context. It is not impossible to imagine this as a highly Hellenized creation referring explicitly to Graeco-Roman mythology.[10] But sculptures of this kind in Gandhāra, insofar as their contexts and functions can be known, were invariably made for Buddhist stupas, monasteries, or other religious monuments. The form of the relief implies that it was, in fact, a stair-riser on the steps that typically ascended the side of a stupa—in this case most probably a small-scale stupa erected as a votive satellite to a larger monument.[11]

1. British Museum, OA 1990.10-13.1. Height: 16.2 cm; width: 32.3 cm; depth: 5.4 cm. See note 16 below for detailed bibliography. The material of the sculpture has been described as "carbonaceous quartz-muscovite-chloritoid phyllite"—a form of the grey schist used for carving throughout the Peshāwar basin. It is petrographically very close to another sculpture in the British Museum—a frieze with "putti" and garlands—which unfortunately also lacks an established archaeological provenance. For the detailed petrographic description by C.L. Reedy see Errington & Cribb 1992, p. 267, no. 133 (comparison with pp. 130, 266, no. 132). With the exception of intensive research on the Swat Valley, it has proved difficult to pinpoint likely sources of sculptural schist, particularly for the relatively homogeneous grey schist sculptures. See e.g. Newman 1992, pp. 164–165, 173; Cambon & Leclaire 1999 (esp. on Musée Guimet specimens and on the history of the problem); Lorenzoni & Zanettin Lorenzoni 1994 (on Swat sources and sculptural practices). For other attempts to identify provenances of Gandhāran sculptures on petrographic grounds see esp.: Kempe 1982 (with references to earlier research); Kempe 1986.

2. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*), sv. Equus Troianus, vol. 3.1, pp. 813–817; vol. 3.2, pp. 589–592; Sparkes 1971.

3. A tenon carved on the lower edge of the relief is slightly off-centre to the right, between the wheels of the Horse. If this was originally at the centre, the relief would have accommodated at least one additional figure besides the fragmentary warrior on the far right.

4. For Roman representations see esp. *LIMC*, vol. 3.1, p. 814, no. 7-15 and p. 816, no. 31-5; vol. 3.2, pp. 590, 592.

5. Tabula Iliaca: Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. MC0316; for this and similar pieces see Sadurska 1964, and now most fully Squire 2011 (with references to other literature). Sarcophagus lid: Ashmolean Museum (Arundel Collection/Pomfret Gift, 1755); Michaelis 1882, pp. 566–588, no. 111; Robert 1890, pp. 73–75, fig. 64; Vickers 2006, pp. 20–21.

6. *Cf.* McNiven 2000.

7. Mural crown: Hargreaves 1926a, p. 125. Foucher 1950, pp. 409–410. For scepticism: Allan 1946, p. 21. For the repertoire of female hairstyles see Tissot 2002, pp. 192–197. In favour of the identification of the figure as the *nagaradevatā* is the presence of such a deity, with mural crown or similar *polos*-like headdress, in scenes of the Buddha's "Great Departure" from Kapilavastu: Santoro 2002 (*non vidi*); Quagliotti 2003. Particularly notable is such a scene in the Peshāwar Museum, first identified by K. Fischer, in which the goddess has a clearly visible mural crown but is mostly naked: inv. 33L; Ali & Qazi 2008, pp. 96–97, PM-03101; Fischer 1987. See also Juhel 2014.

8. On Gandhāran art and its "hybridity" in general see e.g.: Errington & Cribb 1992; Nehru 1989; Luczanits 2008.

9. Khan A. 1990; in an anonymous private collection in the Swat valley at the time of Khan's publication.

10. Evidence for Indian interest in classical myth is offered by a much-cited passage of Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes* 53.6–7, in which he mentions that Homer is said to be recited in India, where he has been translated (*cf.* the same claim reported with more caution by Aelian, *Varia Historia* 12.48). Many scholars have taken this to be a conflation of the *Iliad* with the *Mahābhārata* or *Ramāyaṇa* (e.g. Tarn 1951, p. 379).

11. See e.g. Behrendt 2004, p. 29.

Figure 1. — The Gandhāran "Trojan Horse" relief, *ca.* 2nd century AD, Hund, Pakistan. Schist, H. 16,2 cm; W. 32,3 cm. British Museum, OA 1990.10-13.1. Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 2. — Detail from drawing of the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina by Feodor Ivanovich. Marble relief, 1st century AD, found near Marino, south-east of Rome, *ca.* 1683. H. 25 cm; W. 28 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Sala delle Colombe, MC0316. Image after Schreiber 1895, pl. XCIII, courtesy of www.mediterranees.net.

Figure 3. — Detail of Roman sarcophagus lid with scenes from the Trojan War, *ca.* late 2nd century AD, Italy. Marble, H. 0,28 cm. Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Arundel Collection, AHMichaelis.111). Photo: copyright Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Allowing for the possibility of a unique, and therefore imponderable, explanation, the most plausible reason for this curious adoption of classical imagery into Buddhist Gandhāra is that the narrative itself had been converted for Buddhist purposes. It is very tempting to understand it, as Alfred Foucher proposed in 1950, as a non-canonical *jātaka* tale—that is, a story of one of the past lives of the Buddha—in which the self-sacrificing protagonist "Laocoon" is, in fact, the bodhisattva, the future Buddha, attempting to expose the enemy's deception and avert disaster.[12] The hypothesis is stronger now than it was in Foucher's day, for we now have a better understanding of the evolution of *jātaka*s, their representations in different artistic traditions, and the absorbent, cosmopolitan religious and cultural environment of Gandhāra in the early centuries AD.[13] We might also note the pronounced compositional similarity to some other *jātaka*s on stair-risers, such as the famous Maitrakanyaka *jātaka* reliefs from Jamalgarhi, also in the British Museum.[14] It is even possible to envisage this as a counterfactual version of the classical story, in which the bodhisattva's intervention will be successful.[15] We might come closer to the true explanation of this puzzling and important sculpture if we knew anything else about its original context, particularly if it could be linked to other works from the same monument or the same artist on grounds of stylistic comparison or archaeology. While it is not yet possible to do this, the evidence does hold the potential to cast considerable light on the sculpture's origin. Thus no more will be said here about the style or imagery of the relief, nor its western literary counterparts, which have often been discussed.[16] The purpose of this article is to clarify the sculpture's provenance.

The evidence for provenance

Owing to deficiencies in the recording of nineteenth-century finds, the sometimes delayed or meagre publication of excavations, and above all the endemic private excavation—looting—of sculptures in the region, the great majority of extant Gandhāran sculptures have no provenance (not to mention specific find-locations). Paradoxically, however, the "Trojan Horse" relief has *too many* reported provenances and they contradict each other, with proposed sites extending right across the Peshāwar basin and beyond (**fig. 4**). The separate claims were carefully considered by Wladimir Zwalf in his authoritative catalogue of the British Museum's Gandhāran sculptures.[17] His judicious assessment demonstrates the subtleties of the evidence and is worth quoting in full (citations below are Zwalf's; for expansion see Bibliography):

> "When first published (Hargreaves, 1926[a]: 125), this piece, then in the possession of Mr (later Sir) Francis Wylie ICS [**fig. 5**], was said probably to have originated from one of the numerous mounds in the (then) Mardān subdivision of Peshāwar District and in a printed version of an address to the Tibet Society of 1976, Sir Olaf Caroe, who knew Sir

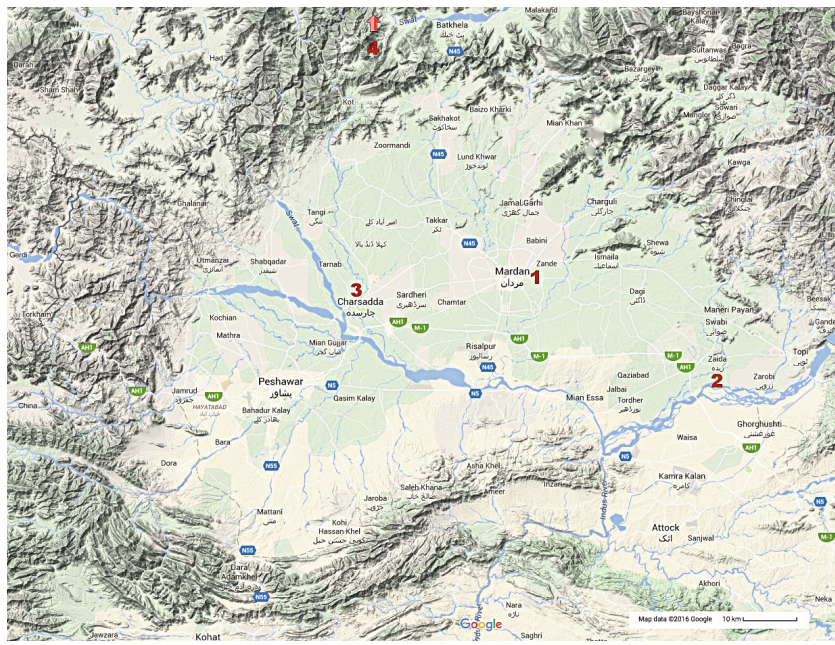

Figure 4. — Map of the Peshāwar Basin (approximately the Gandhāra region) with putative provenances of the "Trojan Horse" relief. (1) Mardān; (2) Hund on the Indus; (3) Chārsadda; (4) Chitrāl (*ca.* 150 km north of arrow). Map data: copyright Google, 2016.

12. Foucher 1950. The initial publication of the relief had already briefly hinted at such an interpretation: Hargreaves 1926a.

13. On the tendency of *jātaka*s to adopt folk narratives, even turning unpromising stories into Buddhist parables, see e.g. Anālayo 2012. On comparison of the repertoires in different artistic traditions see e.g. Bell 2012. On the acquisitive religious culture of Gandhāra, particularly in respect to *jātaka*s, see Neelis 2014; Lenz 2003. *Cf.* also Appleton 2007 on the localization of Buddhist narratives.

14. British Museum inv. 1880.32 and 1880.41. Zwalf 1996, pp. 138–139, no. 134–135.

15. The differences in composition from the Roman "models," such that the event is now placed emphatically *outside* the gate of Troy, may reinforce that hypothesis.

16. The bibliography of the relief offered here is as comprehensive and up-to-date as is feasible, but undoubtedly omits some items, particularly works making only passing reference to the object: Hargreaves 1926a, p. 125; Longhurst 1929, p. 394, fig. 1; Vogel 1929, pp. 6–7, pl. 3a; Combaz 1937, pp. 207–208, pl. 142 (drawing); Ippel 1940, p. 23, pl. 8, fig. 34; Vogel 1942; Allan 1946, p. 7; Foucher 1950; Picard 1950; Foucher 1951, pp. 819, 836; Hansen 1951; Wheeler 1954, p. 161 and pl. 34; Caroe 1958, p. 444, n. 11; Lamotte 1958, pp. 750–752; Roşu 1958, pp. 25–26, fig. 2 (drawing); Weitzmann 1959, p. 48, pl. 23, fig. 55; Taddei 1963, p. 203, n. 24; Wheeler 1963, pp. 559–560; Sadurska 1964, p. 12, esp. n. 14; Wheeler 1964, pp. 228–229, fig. 212; Wheeler 1968, p. 157; Sparkes 1971, pp. 67–68, pl. 4b; van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1972, p. 36; Caroe 1976, [pp. 8–9]; Peris 1976; Arora 1985, pp. 49 (with fig.), 51; Harle 1986, pp. 74, 496, n. 9; *LIMC*, vol. 3.1 (1986), p. 814, no. 15 (A. Sadurska); Mode 1987, p. 930, esp. n. 7, pl. 4b; Brilliant 1989, pp. 62–63, fig. 7; Khan A. 1990, pp. 316, 318, fig. 3; Newman 1992, pp. 164–165, 173; Boardman 1994, p. 136, fig. 4.78; Zwalf 1996, pp. 233–234, no. 300; Ball 2000, p. 141; Dognini 2001; Ducœur 2010, pp. 371–374, fig. 1; Squire 2011, p. 54, n. 58; Di Castro 2012, p. 10; Stančo 2012, pp. 212, 213 (with drawing), 355, no. 1, fig. 349; Mairs 2014, p. 176–177, fig. 1; Boardman 2015, pp. 173–174, fig. 114.

17. Zwalf 1996, pp. 233–234, no. 300.

Francis Wylie, states that it came from the Swābī Tahsil, near Hund, a part of that subdivision. Wheeler's suggestion (1968: 137 [sic—actually 157]), on the other hand, that the piece came from Chārsada, not in the Mardān subdivision, is supported by Sir Francis Wylie's having been Assistant Commissioner at Chārsada from May 1919 to May 1921. While it is less likely that he acquired the piece during an interval as Political Agent in Tochī, the possibility increases again with his appointment, from September 1923, as Settlement Officer at Peshāwar, when it may have come into his possession from one or other source between late 1923 and the first publication. Sir Francis Wylie's son, Mr Verner Wylie, to whom I am indebted for sight of Sir Olaf Caroe's lecture, has been so kind as to tell me that he understood the relief had been given around 1920 to his father during an administrative tour by grateful parents for having saved their young son from a well. His recollection of Chitrāl in this connection may preserve a memory of Chārsada."

How are we to untangle such inconsistencies? Authors have often resorted to a simplification of Hargreaves' original, cautious suggestion by stating simply that the sculpture is from Mardān. A reassessment of the evidence, however, including the consideration of archival material, now permits us to resolve the question confidently by establishing the authority of Sir Olaf Caroe's claim. In fact Caroe had already commented in print on the provenance of the relief, but since he did so within a short footnote to a book with no immediate archaeological relevance, his information has been overlooked. In his acclaimed study of *The Pathans*, Caroe writes, in reference to the Roman influence on Gandhāran art: "These treasures are not confined to representations of the Buddha or his life. They include Western mythology, e.g. a Trojan Horse relief discovered on a well near Hund in 1923."[18]

There are several strong reasons to prefer Caroe's explanation of the sculpture's origin.

1. It is the most precise and most confident account that exists. Compare Wheeler's very tentative reference to a reported provenance at Chārsadda.

2. As Zwalf notes, Caroe repeated the claim, in general terms but with equal confidence, in his 1976 lecture to the Tibet Society, which was printed for limited circulation although not formally published[19] (**fig. 6**). He states that the relief was "picked up by [Wylie], as was my sculpture, near the village of Hund on the Indus, in the Swabi Tahsil of the Mardan District." Caroe's reference to *his own* sculpture, found in the same area, is illuminating and lends credibility to his testimony. It is possible that Wylie and Caroe obtained their sculptures from exactly the same location, perhaps

Figure 5. — Photograph of Sir Francis Verner Wylie (1891–1970), by Walter Stoneman. Bromide print, 9th November, 1949. London, National Portrait Gallery, x165248. Photo: copyright National Portrait Gallery, London.

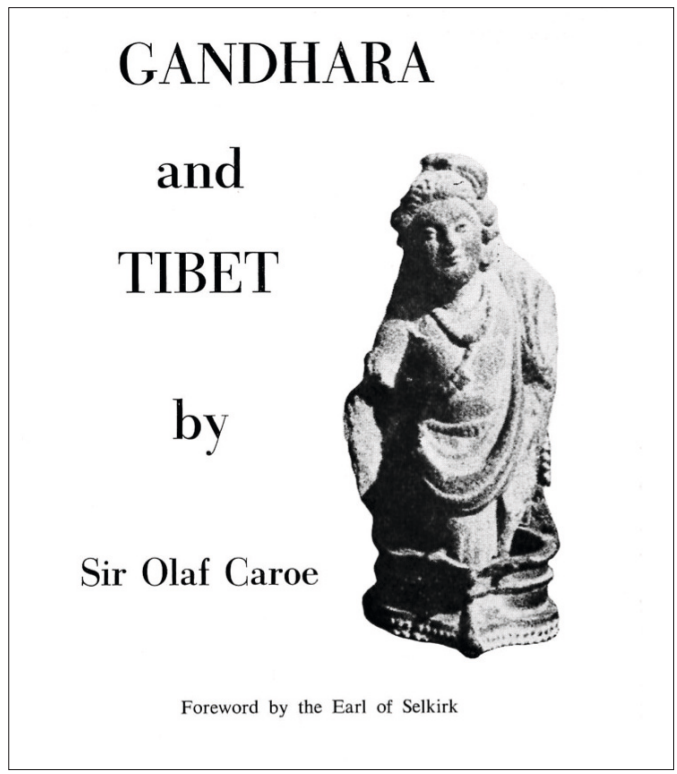

Figure 6. — Front cover of Sir Olaf Caroe's lecture to the Tibet Society in 1976. Image courtesy of the Tibet Society, London.

18. Caroe 1958, p. 444, n. 11.

19. Caroe 1976, [pp. 8–9] with illustration [p. 9]. I am very grateful to Philippa Carrick of the Tibet Society (London) for providing the printed text of the lecture.

Figure 7. — Gandhāran relief fragment representing a bodhisattva, formerly in the possession of Sir Olaf Caroe, *ca.* 2nd–3rd century AD, Hund, Pakistan. Schist, H. 15,3 cm; W. (at widest point) 7,2 cm. Private collection.
Photo: author, by kind permission of the owner.

Figure 8. — Caroe's bodhisattva, proper right side.
Photo: author, by kind permission of the owner.

Figure 9. — Caroe's bodhisattva, proper left side.
Photo: author, by kind permission of the owner.

even on the same visit.[20] Caroe's piece, which he illustrates in the printed version of his lecture, is a small relief fragment representing a bodhisattva. It was apparently no longer in his possession at the time of the lecture, having been given as a gift around 1965. It is now in private hands in the United Kingdom (**figs. 7–9**).[21]

3. Further credence is encouraged by the fact that Caroe seems to have been intimately familiar with the area around Hund. In *The Pathans* he refers to Chota Lahor (just over 6 km away) as a village "which I know well" and details its ancient mounds in comparison with the landscape of Hund itself.[22] In his unpublished autobiography he states that after three years of working as a civil servant at Mardān he "had friends in every village, and could be sure of a hospitable welcome everywhere."[23] Caroe's comments about the provenance of the sculpture are therefore informed by exceptional and specific knowledge of the local geography concerned.

4. Interestingly, it appears that the "Trojan Horse" relief was present in the room when Caroe delivered his lecture to the Tibet

20. Against the latter suggestion is the fact that Caroe only moved to the North West Frontier from Lahore/Simla when he was promoted to the Political Service in October 1923. He may not have known Wylie before then.

21. I am most grateful to the current owner for the opportunity to examine the sculpture, and for information about its history since the 1960s.

22. Caroe 1958, p. 98.

23. British Library, MSS. EUR. C.273/4, f. 18.

Society, for he says so explicitly.[24] He had presumably borrowed it from Sir Francis's widow, Kathleen, or his son Verner Wylie. This fact emphasizes Caroe's familiarity with the sculpture and with the Wylie family. The photograph in Caroe's printed lecture also appears to be a previously unpublished, oblique view, which was presumably his own photograph or that of the Wylie family.

5. The date which Caroe gives for the discovery, 1923, fits perfectly with Sir Francis Wylie's career. Hund was at that time part of the Mardān District. Wylie served only briefly as Assistant Commissioner at Mardān, from 21st April to 12th July 1923, after which he was sent to Peshāwar.[25] He held this post when Henry Hargreaves of the Archaeological Survey of India apparently wrote the first brief publication of the relief (although this report was not to appear till 1926).[26] We may speculate that Hargreaves learned about the relief shortly after Wylie acquired it. The duties that Wylie performed as Assistant Commissioner in Mardān would have taken him to villages such as Hund (a little over 40 km away) more obviously than any of his earlier or later roles in other parts of the North West Frontier.[27] Caroe, who held the same position for much longer, from 1924 to 1927, describes how "judicial or revenue work" took him around the fields and villages of the District.[28]

6. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Sir Olaf Caroe's unpublished autobiography reveals that he not only worked with Sir Francis Wylie, but was an intimate, life-long friend. As he describes: "In the early days in Peshawar and Mardan he and I were very close; we spoke the same sort of language based in the classics, and enjoyed a rather mocking, mutual badinage over the different angles of vision from Dublin and Oxford. We also loved roaming the hills and valleys of the Frontier together. We would quote Kipling's Jobson to one another…"[29] It goes without saying that, as former students of Classics (the Ulsterman Wylie at Trinity College Dublin and Caroe at Magdalen College, Oxford until the outbreak of war), the two young civil servants would have been particularly interested in the subject of the "Trojan Horse" relief.

The accumulated circumstantial evidence therefore seems to demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that Caroe's provenance for the sculpture is accurate. The story recounted by Wylie's son Verner to Wladimir Zwalf, that the relief had been given to Wylie in gratitude for a rescue, might seem to gain support from the fact that the relief was on a well. But it is equally likely that two stories have been conflated, the fact that the relief had decorated a well allowing it be confused with the tale of a rescue (at Chitrāl?). Wylie's family still preserves the memory of the civil servant (and his wife) rescuing a child, but not particularly in association with the sculpture.

In any case, we can imagine the physical setting of the sculpture when Wylie first encountered it. It was presumably immured in the well, perhaps with other pieces. Traditional wells of the region do not have elaborate superstructures as in the European tradition. They were principally "Persian wells" designed for animals to draw up water for irrigation, although "rope and bucket" wells also existed.[30] Nevertheless, it is very easy to imagine sculptures being built into them as decoration, whether in the structure of the well itself or in the surrounding stone-work, such as walls supporting a water-wheel. The setting is significant because it implies some kind of interest in Gandhāran sculptures as decorative *spolia* among the rural population in the 1920s, or at any rate in post-antique times, before their commercial value turned them into lucrative collectables.[31] It also helps to explain the damage to the relief, for the head of the horse and "Laocoon," and the arm of the right-hand spear-holder, have been broken off and repaired, while a fracture runs horizontally across the lower half of the relief, where part of it has been rejoined. If this damage was caused when the stone was removed from its setting, it would explain why the small fragments were preserved and were able to be rejoined.[32]

It is possible that such a small and mobile object could have been brought to the Hund area from much further afield. If Wylie understood this to have happened or had specific information about the relief's ultimate origin elsewhere, it could account for why Mortimer Wheeler later associated it with Chārsadda, some 70 km to the west. Wheeler refers to it as, "a stone relief now

24. Caroe 1976, [p. 8].

25. British Library IOR/R/1/4/1325 (typed summary of career inside back cover of Wylie's Indian Civil Service personnel file, supported by individual reports in the file). For the previous year Wylie had been on leave, during which he returned to Ireland and became engaged to Kathleen Byrne (*The Times*, 6th February, 1923, p. 13). He married her in Bombay on 13th October, 1923 ("India Marriages, 1792–1948" database, via *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FGVR-XLB accessed 12th October 2015); FHL microfilm 527,694.)

26. Hargreaves refers to Wylie as resident at Mardān, although this could, in theory, be an error.

27. Although Hund was an important crossing point for the Indus River, it was hardly a thoroughfare. European travellers seem to have approached the North West Frontier a little down-river, at Attock. For the experience of approaching Hund in the 1920s (by horse from Ambar) see the diaries of W.R. Hay, note 28 below, and Hargreaves 1926b, p. 68.

28. British Library, MSS. EUR. C.273/4, f. 18. This picture is reinforced by the diaries of W.R. Hay, who succeeded Caroe as Assistant Commissioner at Mardān (Sir William Rupert Hay Collection, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford, GB165-0138). He records taking his wife on a visit to Hund on 26th February 1929, and spent nearly four days there, 7th–10th August 1930, while meeting local khans.

29. British Library, MSS. EUR. C.273/4, f. 24. *Cf.* MSS. EUR. F.203/84, p. 18.

30. See e.g. Verma 1993, esp. pp. 15–17. See also e.g. photograph of 1919/1920 by R.B. Holmes, Royal Geographical Society Image No. S0002945 (online via http://images.rgs.org accessed 12th October, 2015). For Persian wells in use in the vicinity of Hund in recent decades see Sehrai 1979, p. 5.

31. Note however, the young Aurel Stein's comment, thirty-two years earlier, about the pillaging of heads from Buddha figures by "covetous sahibs" at Ranigat: Mirsky 1977, p. 47, quoting Stein's account of travels in December, 1891. *Cf.* Stein 1905, p. 33. It is possible that the well itself was very old, and might have preserved medieval spolia. Note the discovery of old wells around Hund from the nineteenth century to modern surveys, e.g. Sehrai 1979, p. 11 (with medieval building inscription); Khan, Durrani & Khan 2012, p. 80 (recent discoveries).

32. It is also interesting that Hansen 1951, p. 192 believed the relief to have been recut for secondary use. A hint of regular cutting on the lower right edge may be a trace of an original tenon, as Zwalf speculates, or it could indicate later recutting. It seems, however, that Hansen's comments were based on the observation of damage visible in Hargreaves' somewhat misleading photograph.

preserved in a private collection in England but said, with all likelihood, to have come from ancient Pushkalavati (the modern Chārsada)."[33] Any doubt on Wylie's part about the connection of the sculpture with Hund might also explain why Hargreaves comments only vaguely that "in all probability the relief came from one of the numerous mounds in the Mardan Sub-division of the Peshawar District." Yet there is no particular reason to believe that either author had their information from Wylie himself. Wheeler's report may be poorly informed hearsay; most of his references to it are suitably cautious, although some subsequent authors have reified the association with Chārsadda into fact. Hargreaves's comment is technically accurate, if imprecise, but it would be surprising that more specific information was not forthcoming if Wylie had been consulted and was willing to share it.[34]

Another piece of evidence that might suggest that sculpture ultimately originated elsewhere is the difference of appearance between the Trojan Horse relief and Sir Olaf Caroe's bodhisattva. Notwithstanding some vague stylistic similarities, notably in the striated hair of the bodhisattva and the "Cassandra," there are no obvious, shared features between the two sculptures that might confirm that they were carved in the same locality or for the same monument. Moreover, the bodhisattva is sculpted from a distinct, dark green variety of schist which differs from the grey schist widely used for sculptures in the Peshāwar Basin.[35] The presence of 'imported' schist is not a profound problem—no local source of sculptural stone has been identified—but if these sculptures of differing appearance were indeed displayed together on the same well, or even close to each other, might they have been assembled from very different sources in more modern times?

That in itself would be interesting, for although the use of Gandhāran 'spolia' is well attested in military and colonial settings, most famously in the Guides' Mess and garden at Mardān, I am aware of no evidence for such a reception of antiquities in a rural context.[36] Nevertheless, despite this possibility, the much more likely scenario is that these two reliefs discovered near Hund had originally been found locally and preserved. We may imagine the Trojan Horse sculpture incorporated into the well as a casually appropriated curiosity.

Contextual implications

The discovery that the relief was indeed found near Hund (**fig. 10**) should not in itself appear surprising, although this village is well to the south of the most famous Gandhāran sites and there is minimal documentation of Gandhāran sculptures in the locality. Hund was a significant place in antiquity. Whether or not it was the point of Alexander's entry into India, as modern tradition at least maintains, it was probably one of the main crossings of the River Indus.[37] The area is rich in archaeological remains and unexplored mounds, and some discoveries of schist sculptures near Hund are, at least, attested.[38] The same volume of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* in which Wylie's relief was published for the first time also includes a short survey of the area by Hargreaves, where we read, "The villagers say that walls exist under most of the fields adjacent to the village."[39] Hargreaves (who clearly wrote this report without knowing its relevance to the "Trojan Horse" sculpture), tentatively identified a twelve-foot base to the north of the village as part of a stupa and noted the considerable potential for future study.[40] Although the ruins around Hund have been depleted during the last century, fruitful investigations have occurred in recent years and the archaeological importance of the village was signalled by the opening of a museum in 2010 (albeit containing sculptures brought from elsewhere). Those archaeological reports that have been published contain no examples of schist sculptures in the immediate vicinity of Hund, but given the documented intensity of looting and informal reports of unrecorded finds, this does not preclude the existance of an important Gandhāran site, whether at Hund itself or a little further from the bank of the Indus, which is vulnerable to flooding, or indeed at a location already swept away by the river.[41] The area around Hund is particularly associated with the history of the ninth to eleventh centuries, when it is believed to have been a major Hindu Shahi settlement, the "last capital of Gandhāra." But Kushan coins and other early artefacts have repeatedly been recovered.[42]

33. Wheeler 1968, p. 157. In his earlier article (Wheeler 1949) he first mentions the relief with no reference to provenance.

34. Hargreaves gives no suggestion of having discussed the relief with Wylie, but we must presume that he or a member of his staff at the Archaeological Survey of India saw it for himself, for the first published photograph is professional. Between then (1923) and 1990, when the sculpture entered the British Museum, it does not seem to have been examined personally by any of the thirty-five or so scholars who wrote about it, all of whom ultimately relied on the Hargreaves image. This is a tribute, as much as anything, to the power and utility of even basic photographic documentation! It is odd that Wylie did not offer more specific information about the sculpture's origin as it became famous. For example, John Allan appears to have contacted him for permission to reproduce it in his article (Allan 1946, 23), but the provenance may simply have been regarded as relatively unimportant. Even Caroe, who is forthcoming on the subject, mentions it only in passing.

35. See further above, note 1, on petrography.

36. See e.g. Errington 1987, pp. 210–214.

37. It remained the preferred Indus ferry in this region in the nineteenth century (Khan, Durrani & Khan 2012, p. 79), but was in decline (Cunningham 1871, p. 55, with pp. 56–57 on the question of Alexander's crossing-point).

38. I am very grateful to Prof. Nasim Khan for information about reported finds in the area.

39. Hargreaves 1926b. Hargreaves states (p. 68) that he visited Hund on 13th January, 1924. *Cf.* Foucher 1901, p. 368 on the evidence of Hund's former glory as the principal crossing of the Indus: "dans les berges de terre de l'Indus percent de tous côtés des pans de murailles construits en appareil gréco-bouddique ; dans les sables des grèves, les monnaies indo-grecques et indo-scythes se trouvent couramment mêlées à celles des rois hindous du Kaçmîr ou de Kàbul…"

40. Hargreaves 1926b, p. 69.

41. On historical and recent excavations see: Khan, Durrani & Khan 2012, pp. 77–87; Ali 1999, pp. 269–283 (on the 1996 campaign). For documented sites and evidence of the extent of looting and destruction see also Khan S.N. 1995, esp. pp. 90, 99–101.

42. Ali 1999. Note also Cunningham 1871, p. 56 on his discovery of numerous Indo-Scythian coins.

Figure 10. — Satellite image of the vicinity of Hund on the Indus. Imagery: copyright CNES/Astrium, Cnes/Spot Image, Digital Globe, Landsat. Map data: copyright Google, 2016.

If the arguments above are accepted, the relief itself might even imply the existence of a substantial Buddhist site. The sculpture's scale is appropriate for a comparatively small, "votive" stupa, from which a large stupa and multiple dedications may tentatively be inferred. It is regrettable that, at present, insufficient evidence exists to ask how typical or idiosyncratic the "Trojan Horse" sculpture is within this local setting, possibly to link it to other works from the same monument or workshop, and perhaps finally to make proper sense of this extraordinary example of cultural appropriation on the edge of the Indus.

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