



## CHAPTER XV

## ALEXANDER THE GREAT

IN the fourth century B.C. there is a sudden rift in the mists which envelop the ancient history of India. The regions disclosed are the Kābul Valley, the foothills through which the Five Rivers come down into the plains of the Punjab, the plains themselves, and the lower course of the Indus. The country, as we see it, is held partly by a number of independent tribes, governed by their own headmen and owning the authority of no king. But this primitive aristocratic type of community is holding its own with difficulty against another type of government, the monarchic. In parts of the country principalities have been formed under despotic rājas, and between the different elements a struggle with varying vicissitudes is going on. The rājas are fighting to extend their authority over the free tribes and the free tribes are fighting to repel the rājas. The rājas are also fighting amongst themselves, and mutual jealousies lead to politic alliances according to the necessities of the moment; we divine in this little world a conflict and shifting of antagonistic groups such as we can follow on a larger scale in the history of Europe. It is into this world that the Western invader plunges in 326 B.C.

About ten miles north-west from where Rāwalpindi now stands stood, in the fourth century B.C., the city of Takshaçilā (Taxila), long eminent among the cities of India as a great seat of learning. In the year 327 it was the capital of a rāja, whose principality lay between the Indus and its tributary the Jhelum (the ancient Vitastā, the Hydaspes of the Greeks)<sup>1</sup>. Like Rāwalpindi to-day,

<sup>1</sup> Although the courses of the great rivers of the Punjab have greatly changed in historical times and are still changing, their names may be traced with certainty from the Age of the Rigveda down to the present day. Those which are chiefly important in the history of Alexander's Indian campaign are :

<i>Ancient Indian.</i>	<i>Greek and Latin.</i>	<i>Modern.</i>
Sindhu.	Ἰνδός, Indus.	Indus.
Kubhā.	Κωφῆν, Cophēn.	Kābul.
Suvāstu.	Σοάστος, Soastus.	Swāt.
Vitastā.	Ἰδασπις, Hydaspes.	Jhelum.
Asiknī, later Chandrabhāgā.	Ἀκεσίνης, Acesines.	Chenāb.
Parushnī, later Irāvati.	Ἰδραώτης, Hydraōtes.	Rāvi.
Vipāç, later Vipāçā.	Ἰφασις, Hyphasis.	Beās.
Çutudrī.	Ζαράδρος, Zaradrus, Hesydrus.	Sutlej.

Takshaçilā guarded the chief gate of India from the north-west: it was the first great Indian city at which merchants who had come down the Kābul Valley and crossed the Indus about Attock arrived, three days' journey beyond the river. Its ruler was the first among the kings of the Punjab to hear any tidings which might come down from the highlands of Afghānistān of events happening behind those tremendous mountain walls. For many generations now the Punjab must have had some knowledge of what went on in the dominions of the King of Kings. For the Persian Empire founded two centuries before by Cyrus had been a huger realm than had ever, so far as we know, existed in the world under the hand of one man, and the power and glory of the man who ruled it, the splendour of Ecbatana and Persepolis, must have been carried by fame over the neighbouring lands.

The rājas of Takshaçilā must therefore have long lent an ear to the rumbling of wars and rebellions which came across the western mountains. They may indeed have known next to nothing of what went on at the further extremities of the Persian Empire: for the same realm which at its utmost extension eastward touched the Indus reached at its other end the Aegean and Black Seas, and the great monarchic Empires of the east are conglomeration-too loosely organised for the troubles of one province to be necessarily felt in the more distant ones. The Indian princes may therefore have been ignorant of the fact that the Persian king at the other end of his realm had come into contact with a singular people settled in a quantity of little republics over the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula, along the coasts of Asia Minor, and in the intermediate islands, the people whom the Persians called collectively Yavanas (Ionians). We do not know whether it even produced any considerable shock on the banks of the Indus, when a century and a half before 334 B.C. the Persian king had led his armies to disaster in the land of the Yavanas, although those armies included Indian tribesmen torn by Persian officers from the frontier hills, whose bones were destined to find their last resting-place on the field of Plataea thousands of miles away. Of the long struggle which went on for generations after that between the Yavana republics, especially the one called Athens, and the western satraps of the Great King perhaps no rumour was brought down the Kābul valley to Takshaçilā.

But in 334 B.C. and the following years the struggle between Persia and the Yavanas took a turn which must have made talk even in the palaces and bazaars of the Punjab. The Indian

princes learnt that a Yavana king had arisen in the utmost West strong enough to drive the Great King from his throne. It may be that the western provinces, Asia Minor and Egypt, were torn away in 334, 333 and 332 B.C. by the invader without yet bringing the Indian princes to realise that so huge a fact in the world as the Persian Empire was about to vanish. But there can have been no mistaking the magnitude of the catastrophe, when Darius III was flying northward for his life, when Alexander had occupied the central seats of government and set Persepolis on fire (330 B.C.). If this man from the West was going to claim the whole heritage of the Achaemenian kings, that would make him the neighbour of the princes of India. It must have been a concern to the rāja of Takshaçilā and his fellow-kings to learn in what direction the victorious Yavana host would move next. And in fact the tidings came before long that it was moving nearer. When the winter of 330 fell, it was encamped in Seistān, and with the spring moved to the uplands which to-day constitute the southern part of Afghānistān. Here the awe-struck inhabitants, Pashtus probably, ancestors of the modern Afghāns, saw the European strangers set about a work which indicated a resolve to make themselves at home for all time in these lands won by their spear. They saw them begin to construct a city after the manner of the Yavanas at a point commanding the roads; and when the rest of the host had gone onward, there a body of Europeans remained, established behind the fresh-built walls. If we may judge by analogies, some thousands of the native people were induced by force or persuasion to settle side by side with them in the new city. It was only one of the chain of cities which marked the track of conquering Hellenism. Like many of the others, this too was given the name of the conqueror. In the speech of the Greeks it was known as Alexandria-among-the-Arachosians. To-day we call it Kandahār.

A mountain barrier still separated the Yavana host at Kandahār in the summer of 329 from the Kābul valley; that is to say, from the river system of the Indus. And it would seem that, when the passes filled with the first winter snows, the Yavanas had not yet crossed it. But the army led by Alexander was one which defied ordinary obstacles. In winter<sup>1</sup>, under circumstances that made regular provisioning impossible, by extraordinary endurance<sup>2</sup> it pushed through the hills and descended into the Kābul valley. The princes of the Punjab might feel that the outlandish host stood indeed at the door.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ Πλειάδος ὄσσω, Strabo, xv, C. 725.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xvii, 82; Curt. vii, 3, 12.

But Alexander, having reached the Kābul valley in the winter of 329–8, did not make an immediate advance upon India. Beyond the mountain range which forms the northern side of the valley, the Hindu Kush, lay the extreme provinces of the old Persian Empire towards the north-east—Bactria (whose name still survives in the city of Balkh) and the country now called Bukhāra. Not only were these provinces still unsubdued, but the Persian cause was upheld there by a prince of the old blood royal. Alexander must beat down that opposition, before he could think of invading India. He waited therefore for the rest of the winter in the Kābul valley, till the spring should unblock the passes of the Hindu Kush. And again here the inhabitants saw the Europeans make preparations for permanent settlement. At the foot of the Hindu Kush, whence three roads to Bactria radiate<sup>1</sup>, on the site probably of the still existing village of Chārikār, rose another Alexandria, Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus. In support of the Yavana colony to be left in this town, other little settlements were established at points a day's journey off in what were henceforth to be Greek towns; Cartana, noted for the rectangular precision with which its walls were traced out (modern Begrām, according to Cunningham) and Cadrusi (Koratas ?) are names given us. In this case we have an express statement that 7000 of the people of the land were to be incorporated as citizens of the new towns with those of Alexander's mercenaries who cared to settle in this region 2800 miles away from their old home<sup>2</sup>. Another new city, or old city transformed with a new Greek name, Nicaea, occupied apparently some site between Alexandria and the Kābul river<sup>3</sup>.

As soon as the snow was melted enough to make the Khawak Pass practicable, the Yavana army trailed up the Panjshir valley<sup>4</sup>, leaving little bodies of Europeans behind it to hold the Kābul valley under a Persian satrap and a Macedonian *episkopos*. The main body of the army once more contended with the hardships of

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xvii, 83; Curt. vii, 3, 23, according to the mss. has 'vii millibus seniorum Macedonum.' Hedicke in the Teubner text amends this, perhaps too boldly, as 'vii millibus subactarum nationum.'

<sup>3</sup> The discussions of Dr Vincent Smith and of Sir Thomas Holdich as to the site of Nicaea—the former puts it at Jalālābād and the latter at Kābul—are invalidated by the fact that Nicaea, if we follow Arrian, was not on the river Kābul at all. Alexander from Nicaea advances towards the Kābul; ἀφικόμενος ἐς Νικαίαν... πρὸς ἕξει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα, iv, 22, 6. Mr M'Crindle curiously omits the words in his translation. Not Nicaea, but some place on the way to the river Kābul, was where the army was divided.

<sup>4</sup> Holdich, *Gates of India*, p. 88.

a passage over the high ridges and disappeared to the northwards. During the following twelve months (May 328 to May 327) such news of it as reached India showed that the Yavana king still prevailed against all enemies. As far as the Syr Daria (Jaxartes) the peoples of Eastern Irān were broken before him. In the early spring of 327 he was again moving to the south.

The rāja of Takshaçilā must have realised at this juncture that a momentous choice lay before him. It may be that the idea of a common Indian nationality, in whose cause he and his brother kings might stand together against the stranger, did not even occur to him: India was too large and too disunited for the mind to embrace it as a unity. But he might well tremble for his own power, if this new resistless deluge came bursting into the land. On the other hand it might perhaps be turned to his account. His policy was largely governed by his antagonism to the rival prince of the Paurava<sup>1</sup> house (Porus), who ruled on the other side of the Hydaspes (Jhelum). The Paurava was indeed a neighbour to be dreaded. He is described to us as a man of gigantic and powerful build, a warrior-chief, such as in an unsettled world extends his power by aggressive ambition and proud courage. He had conceived the idea of building up for himself a great kingdom, and he was the man to realise it. He had already made an attempt to crush the free tribes to the east, pushing his advance even beyond the Hydraōtes (Rāvi), in alliance with the rāja of the Abhisāra country (corresponding roughly with the Pūnch and Naoshera districts in Kashmīr) and with many of the free tribes whom he had drawn into vassalage swelling his army, although the resistance he there encountered from the Kshatriyas<sup>2</sup> had made him temporarily give back<sup>3</sup>. His hand had perhaps also reached westward across the Hydaspes into the country which the rāja of Takshaçilā considered his own<sup>4</sup>. It might well seem to the rāja of Takshaçilā that, threatened on the one side by the Paurava and on the other side by the European invader, his safest course lay in allying himself with the European, riding on the crest of the wave that would sweep his rival to destruction.

And yet the European host which had emerged out of the unknown West to shatter the Persian Empire may have appeared too unfamiliar and incalculable a power to make the decision easy.

<sup>1</sup> Paurava is a title denoting the chief of the Pūrus, a tribe known in Vedic times (*v. sup.* Chapter iv, pp. 82 f.).

<sup>2</sup> In Greek *Kathaioi*, see Lassen, vol. II, p. 167. The general designation of the warrior caste seems to be applied in this case to a particular people.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian v, 22.

<sup>4</sup> See Anspach, note 125.

But, if the rāja hesitated, his son Āmbhi (Omphis)<sup>1</sup> had a clear opinion as to what the situation required. He pressed his father to place his principality at the Yavana king's disposal. While Alexander was still in Bukhāra, Āmbhi began to negotiate on his own account. Envoys from Takshaçilā made their way over the ridges of the Hindu Kush. They were charged with the message that Āmbhi was ready to march by Alexander's side against any Indians who might refuse to submit. Thus the European, at his first arrival at the Gates of India, found India divided against itself. It was the hand of an Indian prince, which unbarred the door to the invader.

The summer of 327 B.C. was almost come<sup>2</sup> before the hillmen of the Hindu Kush saw the Yavana army re-appear on the ridges, cross probably by the Kushan Pass<sup>3</sup>, and stream down to the new Alexandria. The satrap who had been left here was found to have done badly, and Alexander appointed another in his place, Tyriespes, a Persian like his predecessor. The population of the city was enlarged by drawing in more of the people of the land and settling down there more war-worn European veterans. The work of making a city of Greek type had really only been begun, and a Macedonian of high rank, Nicanor<sup>4</sup>, was now appointed to see it carried through.

The army moved on from Alexandria to Nicaea, where Alexander sacrificed to the Greek goddess Athena. From Nicaea he sent on a herald to the rāja of Takshaçilā and the native princes west of the Indus to meet him in the Kābul Valley. We know of one Indian chief, Çaçigupta (Sisikottos), already in the conqueror's train. His had been probably some little hill-state on the slopes of the Hindu Kush, whence he had gone two years since, to help the Irānians in Bactria against Alexander. When their cause was lost, he had gone over to the European. Messengers now summoned the other chieftains of the lower Kābul Valley to meet their overlord. At Takshaçilā too messengers appeared with the summons. And the rāja, acting on the policy which his son had espoused so decisively, rose up to obey.

Encamped in the Kābul Valley at some place not named the rāja of Takshaçilā saw the host destined for the invasion of his mother-land. It numbered, at the lowest estimate, from twenty-

<sup>1</sup> See Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, 8<sup>me</sup> Série xv (1890), p. 234 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξήκοστος ἡδὴ τοῦ ἤρος, Arr. iv, 22, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo xv, C. 697; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Vincent Smith (*Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 49) seems to be in error in identifying this Nicanor with the son of Parmenio.

five to thirty thousand men<sup>1</sup>—a strangely compounded army, which can only be called European with qualification. Its strength indeed consisted in the Macedonian regiments, stout yeomen and peasants carrying the long spear of the heavy-armed foot-soldier, and troops of splendidly disciplined cavalry drawn from the aristocracy of the country, the 'Companions' of the national King. European too were the thousands of soldiers from the Greek cities, serving as mercenaries, on foot or mounted, and the contingents of semi-barbarous hillmen from the Balkans, Agrianes and Thracians, serving as light troops—slingers, javelineers, and bowmen—invaluable for mountain warfare. But mingled with the Europeans were men of many nations. Here were troops of horsemen, representing the chivalry of Irān, which had followed Alexander from Bactria and beyond<sup>2</sup>, Pashtus and men of the Hindu Kush with their highland-bred horses<sup>3</sup>, Central-Asiatics who could ride and shoot at the same time<sup>4</sup>; and among the camp-followers one could find groups representing the older civilisations of the world, Phoenicians inheriting an immemorial tradition of ship-craft and trade, bronzed Egyptians able to confront the Indians with an antiquity still longer than their own.

There was nothing to arrest this army between the point they had now reached and the Indus. The local chieftains had indicated their submission. All along the north side of the Kābul however lay the hills, whose inhabitants in their rock citadels, in the valleys of the Kūnar, the Panjkora, and the Swāt, were unschooled to recognise an overlord, and as prepared to give trouble to anyone who tried to incorporate them in an imperial system as their Pathān successors of a later day. But it was not Alexander's way to leave unsubdued regions beside his road. His army therefore broke up into two divisions. One, commanded by Hephaestion, the king's friend, and Perdikkas, the proudest of the Macedonian nobles, moved to the Indus by the most direct route. This would probably mean a route along the south bank of the Kābul, whether

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in the ancient texts are often untrustworthy. The estimate in the text is Delbrück's, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* (1900), vol. i, p. 184. Anspach (note 20), combining Arrian, *Ind.* 19, 5 with Diod. xvii, 95, reckons the army in the Kābul Valley at about 85,000. Delbrück denies that so large an army with the necessary camp-followers could have got across the Hindu Kush. This is a point for practical strategists. Whether Plutarch's number (*Alex.* 56) is correct or not, he does not say, as Dr Vincent Smith, p. 49, inadvertently quotes him, that Alexander *entered* India with 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse, but that Alexander *left* India with that number. Reinforcements had been arriving from the West in the meantime.

<sup>2</sup> *Arr.* iv, 17, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* v, 11, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* iv, 24, 1.



through the actual Khyber Pass or not<sup>1</sup>; the other, led by the king himself, turned up into the hills. The two divisions were to rejoin each other upon the Indus; Hephaestion and Perdikkas, arriving there first, it was calculated, would have made all preparations for the passage of the great river.

The Europeans who had followed Alexander so far into Asia now entered the region in which the armies of the English operate to-day. At that season of the year<sup>2</sup> the hill-country must have been bitterly cold, and probably to some extent under snow. It was the same hill-country whose contours and tracks and points of vantage are studied now by British commanders; the tough highlander of the Balkans or of Crete climbed and skirmished with bow and javelin in 327 B.C. where the Scottish highlander was to climb and skirmish with rifle and bayonet two thousand two hundred years later. And yet it is impossible to follow the track of Alexander over these hills with any precision. We hear of little mountain towns stormed, of others abandoned by their inhabitants. But their sites cannot be identified. One must however note that at this point Alexander, in an ethnographical sense, entered India; for these hills, whose population at the present day is either Afghān or Kāfir, seem then to have been possessed by Indian tribes. The Aḥvakas, as their name apparently was in their native speech, were the first Indian people to receive the brunt of the invasion<sup>3</sup>. The fighting seems to have been of exceptional ferocity. At one place, where Alexander was wounded, the whole population was put to the sword. At another place we hear of a huge massacre, and 40,000 men taken captive. At a third place a body of Indians from the Punjab had come to help the local chieftain for hire. When the town capitulated, it was agreed that these

<sup>1</sup> Dr Vincent Smith says that he did not go by the Khyber and cites Sir Thomas Holdich in support of the assertion. Sir Thomas in his more recent book, *Gates of India* (p. 94), says that he 'undoubtedly followed the main route which...is sufficiently well indicated in these days as the "Khaibar".'

<sup>2</sup> *Μετὰ δυνάμεις Πλειάδων*, Aristobulus ap. Strabo xv, C. 691.

<sup>3</sup> In the Greek accounts a people called *Aspasioi* are found in the Choes (either the Alishang or Kūnar) Valley and a people called *Assakēnoi* in the Swāt Valley. Both names are supposed to represent the same Indian name *Aḥvaka*, connected with *aḥva* 'horse.' If so, the two Greek names may be due to local varieties of pronunciation, and it may be noted that the form *Aspasioi* would then approximate to Irānian speech, in which *aspa* is the equivalent of *aḥva*. Strabo, according to the mss. (xv, C. 691, C. 698), calls the *Aspasioi* *Hypasioi*; this is often emended in modern texts to *Hippasioi*, on the supposition that the Greeks knew their *hippos* to be the etymological equivalent of *aspa* and attempted a translation. This is extremely unlike the Greek way in these matters. The confusion is made worse by another people called *Astakēnoi* appearing in the Pushkalāvati region, whose name is supposed not to be connected etymologically with that of their neighbours, the *Assakēnoi*.

mercenaries should transfer their services to Alexander. They encamped on a little hill apart. There, as they talked together, it seemed to them a horrible thing that they should march with the Yavanas against their own people. They determined to slip away, when night fell, and make across the hills for home. But when night fell, they found the hill beset on all sides with the soldiers of Alexander; for some one had betrayed their design. The Macedonians suffered none of them to live till morning<sup>1</sup>.

The town with which this incident is connected the Greeks call Massaga. We know only that it was situated east of the Guraeus river and apparently not far from the stream. The resistance which the easternmost branch of the hill-people, those called by the Greeks Assakēnoi, offered to the invader seems to have been concentrated at this place. All these tribes, as far as the Indus, recognised as overlord a chief whom the Greeks call Assakēnos. His organisation for defence included an alliance with the king of the Abhisāra country beyond the Indus, who sent contingents to his support<sup>2</sup>. Assakēnos had himself taken command at Massaga, and fell there, struck by a missile from one of the European siege-machines<sup>3</sup>. His mother and daughter were left in the enemies' hands<sup>4</sup>; but it was not among Alexander's faults to fail in chivalry to the women whom war put at his mercy<sup>5</sup>.

The loot in cattle in these regions was enormous, and we are told that a herd of the finest animals was actually given by Alexander into the charge of drovers who were to drive them all the way from the Hindu Kush to Macedonia. A town called by the Greeks Arigaeon, which apparently commanded the road between the Kūnar and the Panjkora Valleys, was selected for recolonisation—a number of war-worn Europeans and a number of the native people were to form the population, as in similar cases before.

One curious incident relieves the story of blood-shed. Somewhere among these hills<sup>6</sup>—probably on the lower spurs of the

<sup>1</sup> Arr. iv, 27; Diod. xvii, 84; Plut. *Alex.* 59; Polyæn. *Strateg.* iv, 3, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Arr. iv, 27, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Arr. iv, 27, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Arr. iv, 27, 4.

<sup>5</sup> A strange story is given by Justin, xii, 7, 10, that it was the *wife* of Assakēnos who fell into Alexander's hands and that he had a son by her, who afterwards became king of the Indians (1) (cf. Curtius, viii, 10, 35). It may be that the story was concocted in later times in the interests of some petty king of this region, who wished to establish a claim to be descended from Alexander. That is a claim which is still common in the Indian frontier hills.

<sup>6</sup> Holdich in discussing the site of Nysa (*Gates of India*, p. 122) gives a mis-translation of Arrian. Arrian does not say that Alexander 'then entered' that part of the country, but that somewhere in the country which Alexander had already traversed there was a place called Nysa.

three-peaked Koh-i-Mor—dwelt a people who told the Yavanas, or so the invaders understood them, that they were descendants of the western people who had come into those parts with their god Dionysus; for Dionysus, the Greeks believed, had gone conquering across Asia, at the head of his revellers, in the old heroic days. The Greeks always experienced a keen joy of recognition, when they could connect foreign things with the figures of their own legends, and they were delighted with the suggestion. The assonance of names lent itself immediately to confirm the theory as usefully as it does to confirm the adventurous speculations of modern archaeologists. In the legend the name Nysa was specially connected with Dionysus—it was the name of his nurse or of the place where he was born or of his holy hill—and the name of this little town in the Hindu Kush, as it was pronounced to Alexander, had a similar sound. Again the legend said that Dionysus had been born from the thigh (*mēros*) of Zeus, and a neighbouring summit, the Greeks discovered, was called *Meru*. What could be clearer? And when they saw the sacred plants of the god, the vine and ivy, running wild over the mountain, as they knew them at home<sup>1</sup>, no doubt could be left. Modern travellers have come upon certain fair Kāfir tribes in this region, whose religious processions with music and dancing have a Bacchanalian look, and the Nysaeans discovered by Alexander, they suggest, may have been the ancestors of these Kāfirs; their processions may have led the Greeks to connect them with Dionysus. This is possible, but in the Greek books we hear nothing of the Nysaeans going in procession. It is the Macedonian soldiers themselves, who wreath their heads with ivy and range the hills in ecstasy, calling on the god by his sacred names, as their people had done from old time on the woody spurs of the Balkans. Hostilities, at any rate, with these interesting kinsmen could not be thought of, and the Nysaeans' were themselves prepared to act in character; three hundred of them on their mountain horses joined the army of the Yavana king and followed him to battle in the plains of the Punjab.

Whilst Alexander was fighting in the valleys to the north of the Kabul, the other division of the Macedonian army under Hephaestion and Perdikkas, accompanied by the rāja of Takshaçila, made its way along the Kabul to the Indus. It may have been through the Khyber Pass that, one day in the cold weather season at the end of 327 or beginning of 326 B.C., the glitter of strange arms, long lines of mailed men, were seen emerging into the

<sup>1</sup> Holdich, *Gates of India*, p. 183.

plain about Peshāwar—the advance guard of the European invasion of India. A few days' march farther, and they came to the Indus. Arrived there, the Europeans set about collecting material for the bridge which was to transport their fellows into the interior of the land. But their hold on the country west of the Indus was not yet secure. The region in which the division of Hephaestion and Perdicas was now encamped formed part of the realm of a rāja, named by the Greeks Astes<sup>1</sup>, whose capital was the town of Pushkalāvati (Chārsadda) to the north of the Kābul river. The rāja at this moment declared himself an enemy of the foreigners. He was not strong enough to hold the open field against Hephaestion and Perdicas, and shut himself desperately in some walled town. For a month he held it against the besiegers, and then the greater strength of the Europeans beat him down, and destroyed him. The principality was given to one who had been his enemy and become a hanger-on of the rāja of Takshaçilā, a certain Sangaya. He was a man upon whose loyalty the Yavanas could count.

In the hills to the north, after a few months' fighting, the tribes generally had submitted to Alexander and the strong places were in his possession. He constituted the lower Kābul Valley and the recently conquered hills a special satrapy, distinct from the satrapy of the Paropanisadae, which Tyriespes ruled from Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus. The new satrapy, whose official name we do not know, but which can be most conveniently described as India-west-of-the-Indus, got for its governor a Nicanor, probably the same man who had been left a few months before to superintend the building of Alexandria. The king himself came down to Pushkalāvati at the lower end of the Guraeus (now usually called the Swāt) valley, which was not in a position, after the defeat of its rāja, to offer any resistance. He set a Macedonian garrison in the town under an officer named Philip.

But the effective occupation of the lower Kābul valley by the Yavanas required still more to be done. The division of Hephaestion had meantime fortified and garrisoned a place the Greeks call Orobatis, and Alexander, accompanied by two Indian chieftains, 'Cophaeus' and 'Assagetes'<sup>2</sup>, moved about to take possession of various small towns between Pushkalāvati and the Indus. But

<sup>1</sup> One guess is that this represents the Sanskrit proper name Hastī; a more probable one is that it is short for Ashtakarāja, king of the Ashtakas.

<sup>2</sup> Anspach suggests, p. 65, note 200, that Cophaeus=rāja of the region about Pushkala near the Cophēn, and Assagetes=the rāja of the Assakēnoi (successor of the rāja killed in Massaga).

one great labour remained. The reduction of a certain mountain citadel, which crowned Alexander's work during that winter, always seemed to the Greeks the great glory of the campaign. The Greek books described the siege and storming at greater length than any other episode in this region. The story was started that Heracles had attempted to storm that very rock and failed. Unfortunately, it has so far been impossible to fit the Greek description of Aornus to any rocky height noted in the country to-day<sup>1</sup>.

Aornus, we are told, was not far from the modern Amb ; it was a great isolated mass of rock, 6670 feet high, flat on the top with precipitous sides, which on the south went down straight to the river Indus. On the summit were woods and watersprings and fields whose cultivation could keep a thousand men employed. It seems plain that an object of this kind can hardly have escaped modern geographers in search of it. The inference is that some particulars in the Greek account are due to imagination. But when once we begin to trim it so as to suit the actual topography, it depends on a more or less arbitrary selection which particulars we eliminate and which we retain. There is at any rate no reason to doubt that the final conquest of this mountain region did involve the reduction of some exceptionally strong rock-citadel, in which fugitives of the defeated tribes made a last stand. The citadel, when taken, was held for Alexander by a garrison under the Indian Çaçigupta. The capture of Aornus had to be followed by another short expedition further up into the hills, in pursuit of the flying defenders of the fortress. They were led by the brother of the Assakenian chief killed in Massaga<sup>2</sup> and had with them a herd of fifteen war-elephants. To the Greeks the idea of getting hold of these animals, so strange and wonderful to them, of whose value in battle they had probably formed an even exaggerated notion, made their pursuit the more eager. The hills were deserted before them, and Alexander pushed on as far as a town which the Greek books call Dyrta. It was found empty of inhabitants. Alexander learnt that the fugitive prince was dead by the evidence of his severed head, brought by some hillmen one day into camp. He had fallen a victim to some hostile tribe or to his own followers. Two bodies of light troops were detached to scour the hills yet further, and Alexander himself turned back with the

<sup>1</sup> See the note in Vincent Smith, pp. 56, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Arr. iv, 30, 5 ; Diod. xvii, 86 ; Curt. viii, 12, 1. His name is variously given as Aphrikes, Aphices, Erices in different texts.

rest of his division to the Indus. Some natives of the region were caught by the Macedonians on their way. They reported that the fugitives from Aornus and the people of the hills had escaped into the country of Abhisāra, whose rāja was watching the progress of the Yavanas with a doubtful mind. As for the elephants, they had turned them loose in the country bordering the Indus, more swampy in those days than it is now<sup>1</sup>. An elephant hunt accordingly followed; Alexander had already, with his quick interest in new things and his Macedonian sporting propensities, collected about him Indians whose special business was elephant-hunting, and by their means the scattered herd was driven in, and attached to the Macedonian army<sup>2</sup>. The point at which Alexander's division struck the Indus on its descent from the hills was some way above the point where Hephaestion and Perdikkas had by this time constructed the bridge. Between the two, the right bank of the river was largely overgrown with forest, which, if in one way it impeded the advance of Alexander's division, in another way helped the transport by furnishing timber for boats. Part of Alexander's force floated down the river, and when he arrived at Hephaestion's bridge the number of new boats was swelled by those brought down from up-stream. The two divisions of the Yavana host now re-united for passage into the heart of India. The place at which the bridge had been made has been fixed by the most recent opinion at Ohind, about 16 miles above Attock. The Greeks felt that they were crossing the threshold of a new world. Sacrifices to the Greek gods, games and horse-races in their honour on the river bank at Ohind, marked their sense that they were about to begin a new enterprise of formidable magnitude. Alexander was approaching the bourne of the old Persian Empire, and it was evident that he meant to press still onward towards the sunrise. The Greek diviners announced that the omens were favourable. In the early dawn one day in the spring of 326 B.C.<sup>3</sup>, the host began to defile over the bridge, the mingled line of many races streaming all day into the Indian world. And the composition of the army became now more singularly mixed by the contingents of native Indian troops sent by the rāja of Takshaçilā, squadrons of Indian horse and thirty elephants, endless trains moreover of oxen and sheep for sacrifice and food, and silver brought in masses from his treasuries.

The rāja of Takshaçilā was now none other than Āmbhi himself ;

<sup>1</sup> Holdich, *Gates of India*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diod. xvii, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo xv, C. 691. Cf. Vincent Smith, p. 61, note 1.

for the old rāja had not lived to see the Yavanas enter his city. The first act of the new rāja had been to send a message of homage to Alexander; he would not assume his ancestral kingdom except pending the Great King's pleasure. He would take his kingdom only from Alexander's hand. As Alexander moved on Takshaçilā from the bridge, Āmbhi went out to meet him in state at the head of the forces of his principality. For a moment, when the Greeks saw an Indian army deployed across their path, they suspected treachery. The rāja saw that there was trouble in the ranks and galloped forward with a few attendants. He assured Alexander through an interpreter that everything he had was his overlord's. Alexander on his part ratified his assumption of the principedom<sup>1</sup>.

The gates of Takshaçilā were thrown open to the Europeans and the Indian crowd watched, no doubt with a crowd's curiosity, the strange figures and dresses which thronged their streets. But in one quarter the Greeks met with an indifference which took them aback. At Takshaçilā, so far as we know, the Greeks first noticed Indian ascetics. The report reached Alexander himself of a strange set of men who were to be seen naked somewhere near the city, 'practising endurance,' men commanding a great reverence among the people. It was no use his sending for them, since they would certainly refuse to come: those who wished to learn their secret must go to them. Alexander, however, on his side, felt he could not go to them consistently with his dignity; so he chose an envoy, a Greek officer named Onesicritus, who had been a disciple of the Cynic philosopher Diogenes, a figure obviously akin to the Indian ascetics. Onesicritus, in the book he afterwards wrote, gave an account of his interesting mission, and we may still read it in Strabo's version<sup>2</sup>. He found fifteen ascetics some ten miles from the city, sitting naked and motionless in a sun so burning that one could not even walk over the stones with bare feet. Onesicritus could only communicate with them through a series of three interpreters, but he made them understand that the Yavana king would like to learn their wisdom. The ascetic to whom he first addressed himself answered bluntly that no one coming in the bravery of European clothes—cavalry, cloak and broad-brimmed hat and top-boots, such as the Macedonians wore—could learn their wisdom. To do that, he must strip naked and learn to sit on the hot stones beside them. Another answered more mildly that it was really very creditable for such a man as Alexander to desire to know something of the deeper wisdom, but one must remember

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xvii, 86; Curt. viii, 12.

<sup>2</sup> xv, C. 715.

that to attempt to convey their teaching through three interpreters, common men incapable of understanding more than the mere words, would be like trying to make water flow clear through mud. They seem however to have made an attempt, and then they asked Onesicritus whether among the Yavanas there was any teaching of this kind, and he told them about Pythagoras and Socrates and his old master Diogenes. The ascetics seemed pleased, but expressed regret that the wise men of the Greeks had clung to such superfluities as clothes<sup>1</sup>. One of these ascetics was ultimately persuaded by the rāja of Takshaçilā to accompany Alexander and return to clothes and a worldly life. His companions considered it an apostasy, and followed him with reproaches. The name of this Indian, who remained a notable figure in Alexander's entourage, was one which Plutarch reproduces as 'Sphines,' but the Greeks, catching among the Indian words of greeting which he exchanged with his fellow-countrymen, the word *kalyāṇa*, 'lucky,' came to call him Kalanos<sup>2</sup>.

At Takshaçilā Alexander held what would be called in modern India a durbar. There were more Greek sacrifices and games. Āmbhi and a crowd of smaller chiefs from the country already dominated by the Macedonian arms brought presents, and were granted extensions of territory at the expense of such of their neighbours as had not submitted to the European King of Kings. And Alexander bestowed presents also with a large hand. In the train of the European army, waggons had come over the mountains bringing from the storehouses of the old Persian kings vessels of gold and silver, Babylonian and Persian embroideries, and many of these now found a home in the palace of Takshaçilā. The Macedonian captains were inclined to grumble at the munificence with which Alexander treated his Indian vassal kings. But Alexander had come to feel himself, one gathers, a man raised above distinctions of race, an Emperor of the world, beneath whom all mankind was to be levelled and made one.

East of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) the Paurava king had been watching the immense peril come near. He learnt of the alliance between his old enemy of Takshaçilā and the Yavana conqueror. He learnt that other princes of the land were tendering submission to the new power—his own kinsman, for instance, another Paurava, whose territory lay still further to the east, beyond the Acesines (Cheuāb)<sup>3</sup>. In that moment of fear, the spirit of the great Paurava

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xv, C. 714 f.

<sup>2</sup> Arr. vii, 2, 4; Plut. *Alex.* 65; Strabo xv, C. 714 f.

<sup>3</sup> Arr. v, 21, 3.



rose unshaken in the resolve to settle his relations with the invader by the arbitrament of arms. It would be a mistake to regard him as one who fought in the nationalist cause. The Paurava does not seem to have been moved by any thought of Indian solidarity against the European any more than the rāja of Takshaçilā. It was not India that he was going to fight for; it was his own honour and his own kingdom. His honour would not allow him to surrender anything without a fair fight, and all his old ambitions of constructing a great kingdom at the expense of neighbouring chiefs and the free tribes would vanish into air, if he gave way to a power which had made agreement with his rivals. And yet, if the Paurava was not a champion of nationalism, India may well reckon the proud and brave prince among her national heroes. Unhappily India has long forgotten his name. We know of him only through the Greek books which call him Porus. It would have seemed a strange fate to him, had any astrologer been able to predict it—to pass quickly out of the memory of his own people, and to be a familiar name for centuries in lands of which he had no conception, away to the West!

To meet the Europeans, the Paurava could draw upon the resources of his own principality lying between the Hydaspes and the Acesines, full of populous villages<sup>1</sup>. And if his immediate neighbours to east and west were hostile, the rāja of Abhisāra was inclined to make common cause with him. That prince had already, as we have seen, given shelter to the fugitives from the Swāt Valley, and now messengers went to and fro between him and the Paurava. He thought it politic however to play a double game, and sent his brother to the durbar at Takshaçilā to convey presents to Alexander and the announcement of his submission. And meanwhile he prepared to send forces to join the Indian army mustering on the Hydaspes.

It was probably some wind of these intrigues which accelerated Alexander's attack<sup>2</sup>. The Paurava, for his part, had sent the Yavana conqueror an open defiance. To the envoys who summoned him to meet Alexander at Takshaçilā he had answered that he would meet Alexander on his own frontiers, in arms<sup>3</sup>. He soon learnt that in spite of the heats of summer which now lay on the land, in spite of the near approach of the rains, the European army had broken up from Takshaçilā and was in full march for the passage of the Hydaspes. Alexander had left a Macedonian garrison in Takshaçilā, and a Macedonian satrap, Philip the son of

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xv, C. 698.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xvii, 87.

<sup>3</sup> Curt. viii, 13, 2.

Machatas, in the realm of Āmbhi<sup>1</sup>. Probably somewhere near the place where is now the town of Jhelum<sup>2</sup> the army of the Paurava gathered on the banks of the Hydaspes in the spring of 326. Its numbers are variously given<sup>3</sup>. They were perhaps not very far, more or less, from those of Alexander's army, though all our accounts agree in one point—that Alexander had a numerical superiority in cavalry.

The first body of Yavanas to appear on the river was, one gathers, the advance guard sent on by Alexander, bringing in sections the boats which had been used on the Indus. These were fitted together again on the Hydaspes, and a little fleet could soon be descried in moorings across the river. The king with the main army was on the road. The Paurava seems to have thrown one body of troops into the country opposite under his nephew 'Spitaces,' to contest Alexander's advance in some narrow place of the hills<sup>4</sup>, through which the road from Takshaçilā runs. It was, of course, a mere preliminary skirmish, and a manœuvre of the Macedonian horse threw back the Indians in some confusion<sup>5</sup>. Presently the great host of the Yavanas was seen drawn up on the other side. The eyes watching from the left bank could make out the royal tent and the uniform of the body-guards and even the figure of the marvellous man himself moving to and fro among his captains. They could see too a body of 5000 Indians, their countrymen, sent by Āmbhi to fight by the side of the Macedonians. Nothing divided the Indian army from the conquerors of the world but the breadth of the Hydaspes. That however was a serious obstacle. The river at this season<sup>6</sup> was rising as the

<sup>1</sup> This may have been the same Philip whom we heard of as commandant of the garrison in Pushkalāvati. Anspach thinks it was not, note 200.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Vincent Smith in an appendix (p. 78) defends the Jhelum site against the Jalālpur site, preferred by Cunningham. A point in favour of Jhelum is that it is higher up and Alexander seems to have kept close to the hills. One does not see however that it can ever be possible to decide the question with our defective documents. Most of the argument on the subject takes it for granted that the place where Alexander crossed was *above* the camp of Porus. But our sources do not tell us whether it was above or below. Graf Yorek von Wartenburg and Delbrück prefer the hypothesis that it was below. With this point uncertain, as it must remain, it seems idle to try to be precise.

<sup>3</sup> The numbers in the final battle, according to Arrian v, 15, 4, were 30,000 foot ('all that was any good, that is to say'), 4000 horses, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants. See Delbrück, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> The exact route of Alexander from Takshaçilā to the Hydaspes is unknown. See Vincent Smith, p. 63, note.

<sup>5</sup> Polyæn. iv, 3, 21.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Vincent Smith's disquisition on the date of the battle (p. 85 f.) suffers from one important datum having been left out—Strabo's statement, on the authority of Nearchus, that the Macedonian army was on the Acesines at the time of the summer

snows began to melt in the Himālayas. Along the left bank the Paurava kept a sharp watch on all possible landing-places. His elephants especially would deter the Europeans, by their terror as well as by their solid bulk, from landing. To land in the face of such opposition might well seem an impossibility, even for Yavanas. But for the Paurava it meant the necessity of unremitting vigilance; it meant the continuous minute scrutiny of every movement on the opposite bank. He was now to show whether he had the general's genius for divining the purposes of the enemy from chance indications.

The difficulty was that movement in the opposite camp seemed perpetual. Over and over again there were concentrations at this point or that, as if an immediate attack were to be made, and then, when the nerves of the defenders were strung up to the highest pitch of expectancy, nothing happened. Was the dreadful foe really brought to a standstill by an obstacle such as he had never yet encountered? Or were these abortive movements purposed feints to throw the defenders off their guard? For the foreigners at any rate it must make things worse when rain storms came on<sup>1</sup>—tropical deluges such as they could never have experienced before, with only such shelter as a camp allows—and the swollen river swelled yet higher. Some indications seemed to show that this state of suspense might be protracted for months, that the Yavanas had given up the thought of attempting to cross in the present state of the river, and were going to wait for the winter when it would become fordable. It was certain from the reports of spies that great stores of provisions were being brought up, as if for a long halt<sup>2</sup>. Then alarms at night began. In the intervals of the rain the noise of cavalry mustering could be heard on the further bank, the shoutings of words of command, the songs which the Yavanas sang in battle to their own gods; and at the sound of it, on the left bank the great elephants would swing through the darkness to their stations, and the lines of Indians stand ready with sword and bow. And still nothing happened. The night alarm became almost a piece of routine.

solstice (xv, C. 692). This would support Arrian's statement that the battle was in the month of Munychion, i.e. probably about the middle of May, not in July as Dr Vincent Smith computes. (See Anspach, note 124.)

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr Pearson (see Bibliography) the regular rains do not begin in this part till July.

<sup>2</sup> Schubert points out that if Alexander was trying to keep the Indians in expectation of an immediate attack he can hardly have tried at the same time to persuade them that he was going to remain stationary for a long time. If they got this impression from the arrival of provisions, it was not therefore due to design on his part.

One daybreak, after a night of storm and violent rain, outposts came galloping in with the tidings that boats crowded with horses and armed men had been sighted rounding the end of a wooded island some twenty miles away from the Indian camp. A body of Yavanas had succeeded in reaching an undefended part of the left bank! The first outposts who reported sighting the boats were soon followed by others who had seen the enemy getting firm foot upon the land.

From the Greek books we know more than the Paurava could know of the movements which had taken place in the European army on that terrific night. While the rain poured in torrents and the lightnings struck men down here and there in the European columns, the king with a strong division<sup>1</sup>—Macedonian horse and foot, horsemen from Balkh and Bukhāra, light-armed Balkan mountaineers and archers—moved to a point about seventeen miles from the European camp, where the fleet of river-boats was in readiness. As it drew near day, the storm abated, and in the first light the laden boats pushed off. In any circumstances, to embark upon an unknown river, swollen in flood, would have been sufficiently venturesome. A single bark carried the king and several of his great captains, men who in after days were destined themselves to rule great tracts of the earth and to plot against each other's lives—Perdiccas, the future Regent, Ptolemy, one day to be king of Egypt, Lysimachus, to be king of Thrace and carry the Macedonian arms into what is now Roumania, Seleucus, who would inherit Alexander's Asiatic empire. With so much history was one boat big, which in the early light of that gray morning swayed upon the blind eddies of an Indian river. It was one of the moments when Alexander threw himself upon luck, as represented by the chance play of natural forces. The point from which the boats put out had the advantage—it was chosen for that reason—of being hidden from the watchers on the opposite bank by a wooded island in mid-stream. It was not till the boats approached land that they came in sight, and sent the outposts galloping back to the Paurava. It was instantly clear that everything was a question of time: could the Indians reach the place where the Europeans had landed before the Europeans were ready to receive them? And here the luck of natural accidents came in. The Europeans soon discovered that the recent rain had cut off

<sup>1</sup> Some 31,000 men, if Arrian's figures are accepted. Of course, if Delbrück's estimate of 30,000 for the whole of Alexander's army is right, Arrian's numbers must be very much exaggerated.

the place where they were from the proper shore by a swollen channel; they had landed on what was now practically an island. All depended on whether the channel was fordable. If it was not, the Europeans were caught in a trap. The question remained doubtful, as at point after point attempts were made, and the water proved too deep. Then a point was found where it was just possible for a man to cross, going into the strong current above his breast, and there men and horses struggled through. Onesicritus recorded words which, he said, burst from the king in the stress of that moment. They show a curious point of contact between the European then and the European now. For to-day India sees in the European some one living and moving and acting in its midst, whilst the public opinion which governs him, for which he really cares, is the opinion of a society thousands of miles away. At that moment, Onesicritus said, Alexander suddenly exclaimed, as the thought struck him that he was going through all this for the sake of a fame, which meant that people would talk and write about him at Athens<sup>1</sup>!

When the Paurava received tidings of the landing of the Yavanas, he could not yet tell from which direction the main attack would come. For the enemy's camp could be descried as usual just opposite—the royal tent, bodies of European soldiery, of horsemen from the Kandahār highlands and the Hindu Kush, and the Indian troops of the hostile rājas. The Paurava must not relax his guard on the adjacent landing-places, whatever force he might detach to deal with the body of Yavanas who had got across. As a matter of fact, Alexander had left a force, including two Macedonian phalanxes, in the camp under Craterus, with orders to attempt the passage as soon as they should see the Indians thrown into confusion by his own attack, and another body of troops with Meleager at a point half way between the camp and the place of embarkation<sup>2</sup>. The division which crossed the river with Alexander numbered about 11,000 men. The Paurava remained stationary with the bulk of his army, but in order to meet with all possible speed the Europeans who had landed, he detached a force of 2000 mounted men and 120 chariots under the command of his son. The young prince found a body of Europeans already drawn up on

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Alex.* 60.

<sup>2</sup> If Arrian's figures are right, the force left in camp would have numbered about 17,000 foot and 1800 horse, and the division with Meleager about 30,000 foot and 2000 horse. Delbrück considers that the number given for Alexander's division, 11,000, is correct and makes it the basis of his calculation.

the shore. As he came nearer, detachments of horse broke from the enemy's lines and swept towards him. But instead of the shock of the encounter, a hail of arrows descended upon the Indian cavalry; for the men who came against them carried bows and could shoot in full career. They were not Yavanas, but the men from the steppes of Central Asia, who by custom fought in this elusive fashion. Behind them, however, Alexander was keeping his European squadrons in reserve, till he knew whether he had the main force of the Paurava before him or only a detachment. Then the Indians received the charge of the Macedonian horse, squadron after squadron, and at their head flashed the person of the terrible king. The Indian horsemen were overpowered, and could only throw their lives away in the unequal battle. Four hundred are said to have fallen; the young prince was among the slain. All the 120 chariots, running headlong into the mud, were captured<sup>1</sup>.

The return of the shattered squadrons to camp told the Paurava that no river separated Alexander and himself any more, that the hour of supreme crisis was come. He determined to move practically the whole of his force against the division with the king. Only a small body of troops (four or five hundred foot soldiers and thirty-five elephants) were left to hold the river-bank against the division with Craterus. The Indian army arrived in time to draw up in battle order before the Europeans engaged them.

Some of the pictorial features of the battle which followed we can gather from our Greek texts. But their account is too confused, in part perhaps through the mistakes of copyists, to allow us to reconstruct it as a military operation. Not knowing whether it was above or below the Indian camp that Alexander had landed, we do not know whether the right or the left of the Indian line rested upon the river; and yet that would be an essential point in understanding what happened. We know at any rate that the strength of the Indians was in the two hundred elephants—an arm to which the Europeans had no parallel and which was apt to terrify the foreign horses—whilst the superiority of the Europeans was in cavalry.

<sup>1</sup> Anspach supposes that the son of Porus was already near the spot with 60 chariots and 1000 horse when Alexander landed, and that, finding a larger body had crossed than he could cope with, he sent for help to his cousin Spitaces, who was holding a post lower down opposite Meleager; Spitaces brought up 60 more chariots and another 1000 horse.

A picture of the Indian line of battle is given us. The elephants were drawn up along the front like bastions in a wall. The enemy would be obliged, either to attack the unfamiliar monsters directly, or go in between them to get at the masses of Indian foot behind. The line of foot projected on each side beyond the elephants, and, beyond the foot, cavalry was stationed to guard either flank, with chariots in front of them. An image of some god, Krishna or Indra, was held aloft before the ranks<sup>1</sup>. In the midst of his army the Indian prince had his seat upon an elephant of exceptional size, his own magnificent frame encased in a hauberk of cunning workmanship, which left nothing but his right shoulder bare—visible to all and surveying all. The Indian army waited, a great stationary mass, whilst the monotonous yet exciting rhythm of the drums and the trumpeting of the elephants filled the air, to see how the more mobile European force opposed to it would develop the attack. As in the former fight that morning, it was a cloud of 1000 mounted archers from Central Asia, which first rolled out upon the Indian left and covered the cavalry there with flights of arrows. Their arrows might have been answered more effectually from the Indian ranks, were it not that the rain-rotten slush underfoot made it impossible for the Indian archers to get a firm rest for their long bows. To repel this attack the Indian cavalry on the left wing began to execute some wheeling movement, but while it was still incomplete the Macedonian horse-guards, led by Alexander himself, bore down upon them. ~~The battle, so much~~ we can say, was decided by the cavalry. Alexander's onset was supported by ~~another~~ body of European horse under the Macedonian Coenus. What exactly the manœuvre of Coenus was is obscure; the phrases in our authorities are of doubtful interpretation, and what is offered in printed texts is sometimes the conjectural emendation of a modern editor<sup>2</sup>. The Indian cavalry was unable to hold its own against the Macedonian horse, practised in a hundred fights over half Asia. The irretrievable defeat of the Indian cavalry threw the infantry into confusion, and the crush in the centre made the elephants a terror to their own side. When the European infantry came into action, all resistance had become hopeless, and what followed was not fighting, but butchery. Between the broken squadrons of horse plunging amongst them and the rushes of the maddened elephants, the Indian army was reduced

<sup>1</sup> Curt. viii, 14, 11.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. in the Teubner text of Curtius by Hedicke 'Coenus ingenti vi in laevum invehitur,' viii, 14, 17, is emended into 'a laevo cornu invehitur.'

to a bewildered mob<sup>1</sup>. A part of the mob surged backwards in a wild attempt to regain the camp from which they had set out, and a certain number succeeded in getting through the cruel ring of the enemy's cavalry. But by now the division of Craterus had crossed the river, and these exhausted fugitives therefore only found new bodies of Macedonians, fresh and unbreathed, barring their way. They were mown down without a possibility of escape or resistance. Among the thousands who, the Greek books affirm, perished on that day—'were the two sons of Porus, Spitaces the "nomarch" of that district, all the great captains of Porus.'

The prince himself from the back of his huge elephant had seen his army turned to confusion around him. The Greek historians, to whom India must owe it, if she knows anything to-day about this her heroic son, observe that, unlike the Persian monarch in a similar case, he did not turn to flight. So long as any body of men in that seething mass preserved any appearance of order, the Paurava kept his elephant where the darts were flying. One gashed his bare right shoulder. When all hope was over, the royal elephant turned and made its way from the place of carnage. The Paurava had not gone far when a man came galloping after him. Coming within earshot, he shouted to the prince to have his elephant halted: he brought a message from the Yavana king. The Paurava recognised the hated face of the rāja of Takshaçilā. Then he turned round in his seat, and, with what strength his wounded arm could gather, threw a javelin<sup>2</sup>. Āmbhi evaded it and galloped back to his overlord. Presently the Paurava was overtaken again by other horsemen, calling to him to stop and receive Alexander's message. Among them he saw a certain 'Meroes,' whom he believed to be still his friend. Loss of blood had brought on intolerable thirst. It came to the Paurava that he had done all that honour required, that he might yield to destiny. The elephant was halted and he alighted. The envoys of Alexander gave him to drink. Then he bade them conduct him to the king.

<sup>1</sup> For the battle see especially Schubert, *Die Porus-Schlacht in Rhein. Mus.*, Neue Folge, LVI (1901), p. 543 f. He attempts to disentangle the parts of Ptolemy and Aristobulus in Arrian's account. One critical question bearing on a reconstruction of the battle is the value to be attached to the 'Letter of Alexander' cited by Plutarch. Schubert holds it to be a later fabrication based on Clitarchus. Delbrück (*Gesch. der Kriegskunst*, I, p. 189) maintains that, although not the work of Alexander himself, it was an official bulletin given out in his name. G. Veith in *Klio*, VIII (1908), pp. 131 ff., defends against Schubert's charge the general consistency of Arrian's narrative.

<sup>2</sup> Head, *Historia Numismatica* (2<sup>d</sup> ed.), p. 833, suggests that the coin figured in Pl. I, 16, may give an actual representation of the encounter (v. *inf.* pp. 389-90).



As the little party neared the Macedonian lines, the Paurava saw the conqueror of the world come galloping out to meet him. It was an instance of two strong men, from diverse ends of the earth, coming face to face. Alexander, whose romantic vein was easily touched, was all admiration, the Greek books say, for an antagonist so splendid in person, so brave and proud. There is no Indian historian to tell us what the Paurava felt, when he looked on Alexander. But we gather that from their meeting the Paurava gave this unparalleled man his full loyalty, as vassal and friend. Their conversation at this their first meeting is recorded. The Paurava was made to understand that Alexander desired him to indicate himself the treatment he would wish to receive. 'Act as a king,' the Indian said. But the interpreter explained that Alexander was not satisfied; he wanted something more precise. 'When I said "As a king"' the Paurava replied, 'everything was contained in that.'

The principality of the Paurava was now in the hands of Alexander to order as seemed good to him. The Paurava was re-instated in his former dignity. He was only required to regard himself as the member of a world-realm under Alexander. In all groupings of mankind,—in the family, the nation, the empire—the constituent units have to sacrifice something of their independence in order to share in the greatness and strength of the group. And in such a realm as Alexander now conceived, a realm including already so many races and nations, in which European and Asiatic should stand on one footing, it might well seem to a proud Indian prince that he and his people could accept their place without shame. He entered it as the peer of the Macedonian chiefs, who might claim to be the conquerors, and of the princes and nobles of Iran, who had given their allegiance to the new King of Kings. That his new position meant amity with the rāja of Takshaçilā was probably the thing which the Paurava found most bitter. But that Alexander sweetened, so far as he could, by giving him a great enlargement of dominion towards the east.

Here too Alexander, pursuing his fixed policy, was determined to strengthen the bonds which knit his empire together by planting cities of European men. On what had been the field of battle, they began to trace out the walls of a Nicaea, a 'City of Victory,' and on the opposite bank of the river, whence Alexander had put out in the gray of that eventful morning, the site of a city was marked, to be called Bucephala, after the king's stalwart old horse Bucephalus, who had come so far to lay his bones.

Here again the Indians saw the Yavanas honour their gods in their own peculiar fashion—the sacrifices of thanksgiving for victory, the obsequies of the slain, the horse-racing and the running, wrestling and boxing of naked men. To the Sun especially Alexander made offerings on this occasion, whose grace, he deemed, had opened for him the way to the Orient<sup>1</sup>. Then the army turned once more to the business of war. The state of things, as we saw, which the Europeans found in the Punjab was one of extreme division, free tribes everywhere maintaining their separate independence against princes like Āmbhi and the Paurava. The first effect of the Macedonian conquest, as it has been of other conquests, was internal unification. It seemed good policy to recognise a certain number of native princes and make their authority really effective over large spheres. Even to the west of the Acesines (Chenāb), the next river after the Hydaspes (Jhelum), there was a people with thirty-seven towns of over 5000 inhabitants—the Greeks give their name as Glausai or Glauganikai—which had held their independence against the Paurava. But it was a different matter, when the summons was brought by the conquerors of the Paurava, when they saw the wave of European and Central-Asian cavalry sweeping over their fields, columns of Macedonian footmen and Thracian archers marching against them. They surrendered, and the principality of the Paurava was extended over their land.

There was no power in the north-west of India, after the battle on the Hydaspes, which could meet the Europeans in the open field, as the Paurava had done. The only chance lay in the fact that the intrusive power, although a far-reaching one—a camp on the move—could not be everywhere at once, and, if it could not be met, it could often be defied at a distance. The rapid conquest had been anything but secure. Even before Alexander had left Takshaçilā a rebellion in the Kandahār region, which had been joined by the chief of a neighbouring part of India<sup>2</sup>, had been suppressed, and now, whilst Alexander was encamped among the rivers of the Punjab, the hill tribes of the Swāt Valley threw off fear and renounced allegiance. We may perhaps gather from a sentence in a Greek text<sup>3</sup> that the satrap Nicanor was killed. The Indian Çaçigupta, who held the fortress of Aornus for Alexander, sent urgent messages to the Punjab. Macedonian forces came up in time to beat down the revolt, from the neighbouring satrapy on

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xvii, 89; Curt. ix, 1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius viii, 13, 4. The Indian chief's name is Samaxus in the ms.: Hedicke emends conjecturally Damaraxus.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian v, 20, 7.

the west under the Irānian Tyriespes, and from the realm of Āmbhi under Philip<sup>1</sup>. But even if this revolt was suppressed, it was an indication of disruptive forces below the surface.

The rāja of Abhisāra, who had been too late to help the Paurava, thought well to renew his assurances of loyalty to Alexander. A body of envoys from Kashmīr, headed by the rāja's brother, arrived in camp with presents which included forty elephants. They would also seem to have brought back to Alexander his envoy Nicocles, whom the rāja had retained by him, so long as the issue of the conflict with Porus was doubtful<sup>2</sup>. Alexander, however, could now be satisfied with nothing short of the rāja's own presence, and gave the envoys to understand that it would be as well for him to come, or Alexander might come to look for him.

When the satrap of Parthia, a Persian, had brought down a body of Thracian reinforcements from Irān, Alexander moved across the Acesines (Chenāb), probably in the neighbourhood of Siālkot, having now nothing but physical difficulties to contend with<sup>3</sup>. The passage of the river brought him near the frontiers of the other Paurava. This chieftain's envoys had been for some time past carrying Alexander his homage; but his calculations had been completely upset when he saw the hated kinsman, whom he had pictured humbled before him by the power of the foreigners, retained at Alexander's side as an honoured friend. It made his own position a dangerous one and he fled before the approach of the Europeans<sup>4</sup>. The king pressed onwards to the next river, the Hydraōtes (Rāvi), leaving, of course, strong posts at various points behind him, to secure his communications. From the banks of the Hydraōtes he detached a body of troops under Hephaestion to occupy the territory of the fugitive Paurava, and annex all the land between the Acesines and the Hydraōtes to the realm of Porus his friend. Any free tribes within that region were to be taught to recognise their new prince's authority. Hephaestion was also to begin the walls of a city upon the Acesines—possibly<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Anspach, note 200, Philip, the governor of Pushkala, *not* = Philip the satrap.

<sup>2</sup> Auct. anon. *Epit. Alex. M. rer. gest.* II, § 55 f. (Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für klass. Philol.* xxvi, Supp. 1901, p. 105).

<sup>3</sup> The river would be in flood at this time, late June, Strabo xv, C. 692; Anspach, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> To the Gandaridae, says Diod. xvii, 91. The people of the Ganges region are probably meant. The statement which Strabo (xv, C. 699) gives as made by 'some people' (*τινες*) that the principality of this Porus was itself called Gandaris seems to rest upon a confusion.

<sup>5</sup> As Anspach supposes (note 215).

an older native town commanding the road over the river, now to be rebuilt and fortified on Hellenic principles<sup>1</sup>. Alexander himself passed on eastwards over the Hydraōtes.

The European army kept near the foothills of the Himālayas, marching through the country north of Amritsar. The region was one of those held by free tribes, one which the Paurava, in the days before the coming of the Europeans, had vainly tried to subdue. The first tribe to whom the Europeans came, east of the Hydraōtes, the Adhrishtas<sup>2</sup>, submitted; but the powerful Kshatriyas, who had repelled the Paurava and the rāja of Abhisāra combined, were not disposed to bow to the Yavanas without a struggle<sup>3</sup>. The fortified town called by the Greeks Sangala<sup>4</sup> was chosen as the centre of resistance. The Kshatriyas who held it soon found that the invaders drew the siege tight around it in deadly fashion. But it was eventually not foreigners only whom they saw from their walls. Their old Paurava enemy arrived in the Macedonian camp with a force of elephants and five thousand Indian soldiers. He arrived in time to see the Macedonian storm the city. Seventeen thousand of the defenders, we are told, fell by the sword, whilst the captives surpassed the enormous figure of 70,000. The inhabitants of other towns of the Kshatriyas fled in a mass, although Alexander sent his clever Greek secretary, Eumenes of Cardia, to assure them of his clemency if they submitted. Many succeeded in getting out of the country, but some 500 were overtaken by the Europeans and killed. Sangala was razed to the ground, and the country made over to the Paurava.

Somewhere near the Kshatriya country, it would seem, lay the principality of the rāja Saubhūti, worthy to be set beside the Paurava, as he is described to us, for goodliness of person and stature and for the vigour of his administration<sup>5</sup>. In later days

<sup>1</sup> Arr. v, 29, 3.

<sup>2</sup> So Tomaschek interprets their Greek name Ἀδραίσταλ. s.v. 'Adraistai' in Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>3</sup> In most English books, we are told that the Cathaei (Kshatriyas) were allied with the Malli and Oxydracae. (This is assumed by Dr Vincent Smith, *The autonomous tribes conquered by Alexander*, in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1903, p. 685 f.). As a matter of fact the phrase in Arrian v, 22, 2, καὶ τοῦτοις κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὀξυδράκαι κτλ. does not mean 'The Cathaei were allied with the Oxydracae etc.', but (as Mr M'Crinde correctly translates) 'The Catheans enjoyed the highest reputation for courage...and the same war-like spirit characterised the Oxydracae etc.' There is no evidence for a confederation.

<sup>4</sup> The site is uncertain. Anspach conjectures Jandiāla.

<sup>5</sup> The site of the domain of Saubhūti cannot be determined more precisely from the contradictory statements of the Greek authorities. Dr Vincent Smith uses the statement of Strabo as to the mountain of salt (Strabo xv, C. 700) to fix the principality to

he struck coins with his name in Greek as Sophytes<sup>1</sup>. It was now apparently that he first saw the Yavanas as the invaders of his territory and had the prudence to make friends with them. He entertained the Macedonian king with splendour; the strength and tenacity of his great hunting dogs, of which he gave an exhibition, was what impressed the Europeans more than anything else<sup>2</sup>.

Still eastwards the European host marched and came to the fifth river, the Hyphasis (modern Beās). The Sutlej remained (some 80 miles by the road from Gurdāspur to Rūpar) as the only considerable river of the Indus system after that to cross; and then another river-system would be reached, that which empties itself through the Ganges into the Eastern Sea. Already the ears of Alexander were filled with accounts of the great kingdom of Magadha on the Ganges, of its populousness and splendour and power. His chief informant apparently was a rāja of the neighbourhood, Bhagala, who had submitted to the invader<sup>3</sup>. Was it an enterprise which a man in his senses could undertake, to attempt the subjugation of such a country with an army already nearly three thousand miles from its home? Some modern historians maintain that Alexander had too sound a sense of possibilities to have thought of it. But the ancient historians affirm that he saw himself in anticipation arriving victorious at the utmost bound of the earth on the Eastern Sea. We may believe that his astounding success had indeed made nothing seem impossible to him, that his judgment of things was no longer completely sane: we may also believe that, although he knew some great and powerful nations still remained to be subdued, before he could round off his conquest of the eastern world, he did not know the full extent of the East—that Further India, for instance, and China lay altogether outside his knowledge<sup>4</sup>. It is not unlikely that he may seriously have thought it practicable to make himself king of the whole inhabited earth. But on the banks of the Hyphasis (Beās),

the Salt Range between the Jhelum and the Indus. Against this identification is the difficulty that the contradictory statements in our sources all agree at any rate in placing the principality east of the Jhelum. Even in Arrian vi, 2, 2, the royal seat of Sopolthes is on the *left* bank of the river. The salt mines of Mandi, on the other hand, to which Droysen refers, lie, one would think, much too far to the east.

<sup>1</sup> *V. inf.* p. 368 and Pl. I, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xvii, 91, 92.

<sup>3</sup> Phegalis in the mss. of Curtius ix, 2, 2; Phegeus in Diod. xvii, 93. See Sylvain Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.* 8<sup>m</sup> sér. vol. xv (1890), p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> How hazy Alexander's geographical notions were at this time is shown by the statement of Nearchus (who was in a position to know) that Alexander, on first coming to the Acesines and seeing Egyptian beans there, supposed that this was the same river which ultimately turned into the Nile. Strabo xv, C. 696.

somewhere near the modern Gurdāspur, an imperious check awaited him. The army, which had followed him thus far, suddenly struck: all the personal magnetism, all the stirring and indignant appeals of the king could not induce the stout Macedonian countrymen to go a step further. For three days he shut himself in his tent, and the battle of wills remained in grim deadlock. At last the king recognised the bitter necessity of giving up his ambitions half-fulfilled. To save his face probably, he offered sacrifice again to the Greek gods, as preliminary to crossing the river and then discovered that the omens were unfavourable. After that he gave the word for the retreat. But first, in his romantic imaginative vein, he made the army build twelve gigantic altars, like towers, upon the banks of the Hyphasis, to show to future times how far into the East Alexander had come. One account says that later on the Mauryan kings used to offer sacrifice in the Yavana manner upon those altars<sup>1</sup>. All trace of them has long since disappeared.

So India, about the end of July 326 B.C.<sup>2</sup>, saw the wave of European invasion, which had washed thus far, begin to ebb, back to the Hydraotes, back to the Acesines, where a certain number of the Greek veterans were ordered to fix themselves for good in the city which Hephaestion had been building, back to the Hydaspes. The thoughts of Alexander were now turning in another direction. If the most easterly waters of the Indus river-system were for the time being to bound his empire, he would at any rate pass along his frontier, pursue the course of the Indus to the Ocean and return by the sea-board to Babylon. He had to organise the conquered portion of India on a basis that would endure when the European army had departed. And he forecast a different Punjab from the one he had found. Instead of a multiplicity of rival princes and independent tribes, all the country from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis was to form one kingdom under the Paurava. Another large principality was created for Āmbhi west of the Hydaspes. Similarly in Kashmīr, the rāja of Abhisāra, whose embassies and presents had at last convinced Alexander of his loyalty, was given extended authority, and his neighbouring rāja of Uraçā (Hazāra), called by the Greeks Arsaces, was ordered to regard him as overlord. But if the free tribes, as independent powers, were suppressed, Alexander would leave a new element in

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 62. It is doubtful whether these altars were on the right or left bank of the river. Pliny, vi, § 62, puts them on the eastern bank, but the historians say nothing of Alexander's crossing the Hyphasis. Plutarch's phrase about the Mauryan kings, *διαβαίνοντες* (not *διαβάουτες*) *σέβονται* is ambiguous.

<sup>2</sup> Anspach, note 269.

the country, which might to some extent counterpoise the power of the kings—the new cities of European men, or Europeans and Indians mingled, plants of Hellenism in a strange soil. The rudimentary walls of Bucephala and Nicaea on the Hydaspes Alexander found on his return damaged by the rains, and the army had to build them stronger before it moved in the new direction down the river.

The autumn at the new cities was spent in preparing a fleet<sup>1</sup> to transport a part of the army and the horses by water. The conduct of this was entrusted to the Cretan Nearchus. The rest of the army, now swelled by reinforcements from the West<sup>2</sup>, was to accompany them on either bank. Philip, the satrap of the province between the Hydaspes and the Hindu Kush, was ordered to follow three days' journey behind with the force under his command. The scene at setting out is described to us in some detail. It was probably a day in November 326 B.C. At daybreak the king, standing in the sight of all on the prow of his vessel, poured from a golden bowl libations to the Rivers—the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Indus—to Heracles his ancestor, to the Egyptian god Amun, and the deities, Greek or foreign, whom he was wont to invoke. Then a trumpet sounded for the start. The fleet presented a picture of impressive order, the grouping and intervals being precisely regulated. But the extraordinary mixture of nationalities and garb must have satisfied the eye with variety and colour, while to the ear the noise of the rowing and the shouts in a hundred different tongues made a bewildering volume of sound. Amongst the crews of the boats the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, and the Cypriots were prominent. Beside the Macedonian and Greek troops, the Indians ran in crowds along the banks, speeding the fleet with songs, 'in their barbaric way,' says the Greek author. 'No nation,' he explains, 'is fonder of singing and dancing than the Indian<sup>3</sup>.'

This novel armada glided down the Hydaspes, past jungles and villages, and in ten days from the start reached the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines. Two divisions under Hephaestion and Craterus respectively marched along the two banks, and the satrap Philip, who had overtaken the fleet at its first halting, had been sent across to the Acesines to march down this river to the confluence. Some of the peoples along the banks—such as the Sibae, whose garb of shaggy skins and clubs made the Europeans

<sup>1</sup> On the varying statements as to the numbers of ships, see Anspach, note 278. Anspach supposes that about a thousand is the most probable estimate.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xvii, 95, 4; Curt. ix, 3, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Art. vi, 3, 5.

About the Indian 'philosophers' Megasthenes had a good deal to say<sup>1</sup>. They might be divided on one principle according as they dwelt in the mountains and worshipped Dionysus (Śiva) or in the plains and worshipped Heracles (Kṛishṇa), but the more significant division was that into Brāhmanas, and 'Sarmanes.'

The Brāhmanas have the greatest prestige, since they have a more consistent dogmatic system. As soon as they are conceived in the womb, men of learning take charge of them. These go to the mother and ostensibly sing a charm tending to make the birth happy for mother and child, but in reality convey certain virtuous counsels and suggestions; the women who listen most willingly are held to be the most fortunate in child-bearing. After birth, the boys pass from one set of teachers to another in succession, the standard of teachers rising with the age of the boy. The philosophers spend their days in a grove near the city, under the cover of an enclosure of due size, on beds of leaves and skins, living sparsely, practising celibacy and abstinence from flesh-food, listening to grave discourse, and admitting such others to the discussion as may wish to take part. He who listens is forbidden to speak, or even to clear his throat or spit, on pain of being ejected from the company that very day, as incontinent. When each Brāhman has lived in this fashion thirty-seven years, he departs to his own property, and lives now in greater freedom and luxury, wearing muslin robes and some decent ornaments of gold on his hands and ears, eating flesh, so long as it is not the flesh of domestic animals, but abstaining from pungent and highly-seasoned food. They marry as many wives as possible, to secure good progeny; for the larger number of wives, the larger the number of good children is likely to be; and since they have no slaves, they depend all the more upon the ministrations of their children, as the nearest substitute. The Brāhmanas do not admit their wives to their philosophy: if the wives are wanton, they might divulge mysteries to the profane; if they are good, they might leave their husbands, since no one who has learnt to look with contempt upon pleasure and pain, upon life and death, will care to be under another's control. The chief subject on which the Brāhmanas talk is death; for this present life, they hold, is like the season passed in the womb, and death for those who have cultivated philosophy is the birth into the real, the happy, life. For this reason they follow an extensive discipline to make them ready for death. None of the accidents, they say, which befall men are good or evil. If they were, one would not see the same things causing grief to some and joy to others—men's notions being indeed like dreams—and the same men grieved by something which at another moment they will turn and welcome. Their teaching about Nature is in parts naïve; for they are more admirable in what they do than in what they say, and the theoretic proofs on which they base their teaching are mostly fable. In many points however their teaching agrees with that of the Greeks—for instance, that the world has a beginning and an end in time, and that its shape is spherical; that the Deity, who is its Governor and Maker, interpenetrates the whole; that the first principles of the universe are different, but that water is the principle from which the order of the world has come to be; that, beside the four elements, there is a fifth substance, of which the heavens and the stars are made<sup>2</sup>; that the earth is established at the centre of the universe. About generation and the soul their teaching shows parallels to the Greek doctrines, and on many other

<sup>1</sup> Megasth. Frag. 40 = Strabo xv, C. 711 f.

<sup>2</sup> This is the *ākāśa*, or all-pervading element, of ancient Indian philosophy. It may be compared with the *ether* of modern physical science.



matters. Like Plato too, they interweave fables, about the immortality of the soul and the judgments inflicted in the other world, and so on.

Such is the account of the Brāhmins which Strabo extracted from Megasthenes. It does not completely agree either with the picture drawn in Indian literary sources or with present-day practice. Its discrepancies may be in part due to the misunderstandings of a foreigner; in part they may reflect local varieties of practice in the fourth century B.C. It will always be interesting as recording the impression of ancient India upon a Greek mind. The account which Megasthenes gave of the other kind of philosophers, the 'Sarmanes,' is more problematic. Their name seems certainly to represent the Sanskrit *śramana*, a term which was commonly applied to Buddhist ascetics. It has therefore been thought that we have in the Sarmanes of Megasthenes the first mention of Buddhists by a Western writer. In the description however there is nothing distinctively Buddhist, and the term *śramana* is used in Indian literature of non-Buddhist ascetics. If therefore the people to whom Megasthenes heard the term applied were Buddhists, he must have known so little about them that he could only describe them by features which were equally found in various sorts of Hindu holy men. His description applies to Brāhmin ascetics rather than to Buddhists.

As to the Sarmanes, the most highly-honoured are called 'Forest-dwellers'.<sup>1</sup> They live in the forests on leaves and wild fruits, and wear clothes made of the bark of trees, abstaining from cohabitation and wine. The kings call them to their side, sending messengers to enquire of them about the causes of events, and use their mediation in worshipping and supplicating the gods. After the Forest-dwellers, the order of Sarmanes second in honour is the medical—philosophers, as it were, on the special subject of Man. These live sparsely, not in the open air indeed, but on rice and meal, which every one of whom they beg and who shows them hospitality gives them. They know how by their simples to make marriages fertile and how to procure male children or female children, as may be desired. Their treatment is mainly by diet and not by medicines. And of medicines they attach greater value to those applied externally than to drugs. Other remedies, they say, are liable to do more harm than good. These too, like the Brāhmins, train themselves to endurance, both active and passive, so much so that they will maintain one posture without moving for the whole day. Other orders of Sarmanes are diviners and masters of incantations and those who are versed in the lore and the ritual concerning the dead, and go through the villages and towns, begging. Others again there are of a higher and finer sort, though even these will allow themselves to make use of popular ideas about hell, of those ideas at any rate which seem to make for godliness and purity of life. In the case of some Sarmanes, women also are permitted to share in the philosophic life, on the condition of observing sexual continence like the men.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, *vanavāsins* or *vānaprasthas*, i.e. Brāhmins in the third stage of the religious life.

The fact that women were allowed to associate themselves with the men as ascetics was also noted by Nearchus<sup>1</sup>. Suicide, Megasthenes said, was not a universal obligation for 'wise men': it was considered however rather a gallant thing [τοὺς δὲ ποιούντας τοῦτο νεανικοῦς κρίνεσθαι] and the more painful the manner of death, the greater the admiration earned<sup>2</sup>.

Aristobulus in his book gave further details about the holy men whom the Greeks had come upon at Takshaçilā. He described two, one of whom had a shaven head and the other long hair; each was followed by a number of disciples. All the time that they spent in the market-place men came to them for counsels, and they had a right to take without payment any of the wares exposed for sale. When they approached a man, he would pour sesame oil over them 'so that it ran down even from their eyes.' They made cakes for themselves from the honey and sesame brought to market. When they had been induced to come to Alexander's table, they retired afterwards to a place apart where the elder lay on his back, exposed to sun and rain, and the younger stood on his right and left leg alternately for a whole day, holding up a staff some six feet long in both his hands. The elder seems to have been identical with the ascetic who afterwards followed Alexander out of India and whom the Greeks called Kalanos<sup>3</sup>.

In one passage<sup>4</sup> Strabo gives an account of the 'philosophers' drawn from some other source than Megasthenes. According to this source, the wise men were divided into Brāhmins and a class, described as 'argumentative and captious,' who laugh at the Brāhmins as charlatans and senseless, because the Brāhmins pursue the study of Nature and of the stars. The name given in our texts to this anti-Brāhmin class is *Pramnai*. This should not be emended to *Sramnai*, as was once done, on the supposition that it represented *çramaṇa*<sup>5</sup>. The people intended are undoubtedly the *prāmāṇikas*, the followers of the various philosophical systems, each of which has its own view as to what constitutes *pramāṇa*, a 'means of right knowledge.' These philosophers are, as a rule, orthodox Brāhmins, but they view with contempt those Brāhmins who put their trust in Vedic ceremonies<sup>6</sup>. The Brāhmins themselves

<sup>1</sup> Nearchus, Frag. 7 = Strabo xv, C. 716. The practice is forbidden in the *Arthaçāstra*, 19 (p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> Megasth. Frag. 42 = Strabo xv, C. 718.

<sup>3</sup> Aristob. Frag. 34 = Strabo xv, C. 714. See Chapter xv, pp. 359, 381.

<sup>4</sup> xv, C. 719.

<sup>5</sup> M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> See Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 58-61.

are divided by this source into (1) those who live in the mountains, (2) the naked ones, and (3) those who live in the world. The Mountain-dwellers dress in deer-skins and carry wallets full of roots and simples, making pretence to some art of healing by means of hocus-pocus and spells and charms. The Naked Ones live, as their name imports, without clothes, in the open air for the most part, practising endurance up to the age of thirty-seven. Women may live with them, bound to continence. These are the class most revered by the people. The third sort of Brāhman, those who live in the world, are to be found in the towns or villages, dressed in robes of fine white linen, with the skins of deer or of gazelles hung from their shoulders. They wear beards and long hair which is twisted up and covered by a turban. It seems clear that those who are here described as the Mountain-dwellers correspond most nearly to the Sarmanes of Megasthenes.

Of the gods worshipped by the Indians the Greeks learnt little. One writer cited by Strabo (Clitarchus?) had asserted that they worshipped Zeus Ombrios (Zeus of the Rain Storms), the river Ganges, and local daemons<sup>1</sup>. As we have seen, Çiva and Kṛishṇa are to be discerned through the Greek names Dionysus and Heracles in some of the statements of our sources. One member of Alexander's suite, his chief usher (εἰσαγγελεύς), Chares of Mytilene, is quoted as saying the Indians worshipped a god Soroadeios, whose name being interpreted meant 'maker of wine'<sup>2</sup>. It is recognised that the Indian name which Chares heard was Sūryadeva 'Sun-god.' Some ill-educated interpreter must have been misled by the resemblance of *sūrya* 'sun' to *surā* 'wine.'

The name 'Indians' was extended in its largest acceptance to cover the barbarous tribes of mountain or jungle on the confines of Brāhman civilisation. In noting down what seemed to them odd points in the physical characteristics or customs of these tribes the Greeks were moved by an interest which is the germ of the modern science of anthropology. Megasthenes noted that in the Hindu Kush the bodies of the dead were eaten by their relations<sup>3</sup>, as Herodotus had already stated of some aboriginal people.

Even Megasthenes depended, of course, mainly upon his Indian informants for knowledge of the peoples on the borders of the Indian world, and he therefore repeated the fables as to the monstrous races

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xv, C. 718. The god Indra seems to be identified with Zeus.

<sup>2</sup> Athenaeus i, 27 D.

<sup>3</sup> Megasth. Frag. 27 = Strabo xv, C. 710.

with one leg, with ears reaching to their feet and so on, which had long been current in India and had already been communicated to the Greeks by Scylax and Hecataeus and Ctesias. One would however like to know the fact which lies behind his story that members of one tribe, living near the sources of the Ganges, had been brought to the camp of Chandragupta—'men of gentler manners—but without a mouth! They lived on the fumes of roast meat and the smell of fruits and flowers. And since nostrils with them took the place of mouths, they suffered terribly from evil odours, and it was difficult to keep them alive, especially in a camp<sup>1</sup>!' Does the notice reflect some sect who, like the Jains, abstained from all animal food and kept their mouths covered lest they should breathe in minute insects?

Of the south of India, Europe up to the Christian era knew little more than a few names, brought by merchantmen. So little was the division of India into two worlds by the Vindhya realised that Strabo could suppose all Indian rivers to take their rise in the Himālayas<sup>2</sup>. It was chiefly as the country from which pearls came that the Greeks knew Southern India. Pearls came from the coasts of the Pāṇḍya kingdom corresponding roughly with the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and Megasthenes had heard, as we know, of Pandaea the daughter of Heracles (Kṛishṇa) who had become queen of a great kingdom in the south. With her he also connected the pearl. Heracles, according to the legend told him, wandering over the earth, had found this thing of beauty in the sea, made, it might seem, for a woman's adornment. Wherefore from all the sea pearls were brought together to the Indian coast for his daughter to wear. The origin of the word which the Greek used for pearl, *margarites*, is unknown.

Some confused knowledge of how pearls were procured had come to the Greek writers through the traders' stories. They knew that they grew in oysters. Two of the companions of Alexander, Androsthene of Thasos, who had gone in the fleet with Nearchus and wrote a book called Παράπλους τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, and the chief usher Chares, had already some information as to the varieties of pearls and the chief fisheries<sup>3</sup>. The oysters, Megasthenes understood, were caught in nets; they went in shoals, each shoal with a king of its own, like swarms of bees, and to

<sup>1</sup> Megasth. Frag. 30 = Strabo xv, C. 711; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* vii, § 25. An explanation of the legend is proposed by the Rev. H. Hosten, *The Mouthless Indians of Megasthenes*, in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1912, pp. 291-301.

<sup>2</sup> xv, C. 630.

<sup>3</sup> Athenæus III, 93 A-D.

capture the king was to capture the shoal. The oysters, when caught, were put in jars, and as their flesh rotted the pearl was left disengaged at the bottom<sup>1</sup>. The name of the extreme southern point of the peninsula had also travelled to the Greeks before the time of Strabo. He knew it as the country of the Cōliaci<sup>2</sup>; this was derived from the name in local speech, Kōri. The legend, when it made a woman the sovereign of the south, was probably reflecting the system of mother-right which has to some extent obtained there even to the present day. Some of the physical characteristics of the people of the south were known by report—that they were darker in complexion, for instance, than the Indians of the north. The facts of early maturity and of the general shortness of life were also known. In the legend narrated by Megasthenes, as we saw, the precocious maturity which Heracles had bestowed upon his daughter by a miracle continued to be a characteristic of the women of her kingdom. They were marriageable, and could bear children, Megasthenes said, at seven years old. This exaggeration was presumably due to the real fact of child-marriage. As to the general length of life, forty years was the maximum—again a fact, the relative shortness of life, exaggerated<sup>3</sup>.

In the book of Onesicritus occurred the first mention by a European writer of Ceylon. He heard of it under a name which the Greek represents as Taprobane. It lay, of course, far outside the horizon of the Greeks, but Onesicritus must have met people on the Indus who knew of the southern island by the report of merchants, or had perhaps fared thither themselves along the coast of Malabar, and spoke of Tāmraparṇī and of its elephants, bigger and more terrible in war than those which the Greeks had seen in India<sup>4</sup>. Taprobane was seven days' journey, according to the sources followed by Eratosthenes, from the southernmost part of India (the Cōliaci = Cape Kōri)<sup>5</sup>. The strait separating Ceylon from India is only forty miles across, but it may have been true in practice that from the port whence the merchants put out to go to Ceylon and the port where they landed was a voyage of seven days. Onesicritus<sup>6</sup> put it at 20 days; we cannot say now what fact underlay the misapprehension. When he said that the 'size' of Taprobane was 5000 *stadiu* the ambiguity of the statement already provoked complaint in antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> Megasth. Frag. 23 = Arr. *Ind.* 8; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ix, § 111.

<sup>2</sup> xv, C. 689.

<sup>3</sup> Megasth. Frag. 23 = Arr. *Ind.* 9.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. 13 = Strabo xv, C. 691; Frag. 22 = Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi, § 81.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo xv, C. 690.

<sup>6</sup> Onesicr. Frag. 13 = Strabo xv, C. 691.

For many centuries the India known to the West was India as portrayed by the historians of Alexander's expedition and by Megasthenes. Although from the third century onwards there was a certain amount of intercourse between the Mediterranean world and India, although Greek kings ruled in the Punjab and Alexander's colonies were still represented by little bodies of men Greek in speech, although there must occasionally have been seafaring men in the Greek ports who had seen the coasts of India, or merchants who had made their way over the Hindu Kush, the Greek and Latin learned world was content to go on transcribing the books written generations before. These had become classical and shut out further reference to reality. The original books themselves perished, but their statements continued to be copied from writer to writer. Some of the later Greek and Latin works which treated of India are known to us to-day only by their titles or by a few fragments—the works of Apollodorus of Artemita (latter half of second century or first century B.C.), the works of the great geographer Eratosthenes (276–195 B.C.) and of the voluminous compiler, Alexander Polyhistor (105 till after 40 B.C.). But a great deal of the original books is incorporated in writings which we do still possess, especially in the geographical work of Strabo (about 63 B.C.–19 A.D.), the historical work of Diodorus (in Egypt about 60 B.C., still alive 36 B.C.), the encyclopaedic work of Pliny (published about 75 A.D.), the tract of Arrian about India (middle of second century A.D.), and the zoological work of Aelian (end of second century A.D.). Even Pliny had probably never had the work of Megasthenes in his hands, but drew from it only at second or third hand through Seneca and Varro. In the third century A.D., when Philostratus in his romance brings Apollonius of Tyana to India, it is still out of the old traditional materials that what purports to be local colour all comes.

So far as the stock of knowledge handed down from the third century B.C. was increased at all during the following three centuries, it can only have been from the source of information just indicated, the source which might have been turned to so much richer account, had the curse of literary convention not rested upon classical culture—the first-hand practical knowledge possessed by Greek merchantmen who crossed the Indian ocean. Strabo had sufficient freedom of mind to take some notice of the Indian trade in his own day. From him we gather that, although a considerable amount of Indian merchandise had flowed into Europe by way of the Red Sea and Alexandria, when the Ptolemies ruled in Egypt

very few Greek ships had gone further than South Arabia. Goods had been carried from India to South Arabia in Indian or Arabian bottoms. By the time however that Strabo was in Egypt (25 B.C.) a direct trade between Egypt and India had come into existence, and he was told that 120 vessels were sailing to India that season from Myos Hormos, the Egyptian port on the Red Sea<sup>1</sup>. A few Greek merchantmen, but very few, sailed round the south of India to the mouth of the Ganges<sup>2</sup>. The vessels that went to India apparently made the journey by coasting along Arabia, Persia, and the Makrân, for it was not till the middle of the first century A.D. that a Greek seaman, named Hippalus, discovered that the monsoon could be utilised to carry ships from the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb over the high seas to India<sup>3</sup>. It lies however outside the scope of this volume to survey the additions made by means of this commerce under the Roman Empire to the knowledge of India derived from the companions of Alexander and Megasthenes. The additions never equalled in substance or interest the older books. Far on into the Middle Ages Christian Europe still drew its conceptions of India mainly from books written before the middle of the third century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo II, C. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo xv, C. 686.

<sup>3</sup> Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 8.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE HELLENIC KINGDOMS OF SYRIA, BACTRIA, AND PARTHIA

THE mists of obscurity cling heavily round the course that events took in India during the years that immediately followed the death of Alexander the Great. The statements of the original authorities, besides being meagre, are so fragmentary that they are seldom perfectly intelligible. One fact, however, seems to stand out clearly. As soon as the grip of the master-hand was removed, the native element began to recover strength and courage, a process which must have been materially assisted by discord amongst the Europeans who had been left behind, whether as soldiers or as settlers. As conqueror of the Persian empire, Alexander had inherited the system of government by satraps; and, so far as can now be gathered, the broad outline of his original organisation contemplated three great Indian satrapies, one corresponding roughly to the modern province of Sind, another covering the whole of the basin of the Upper Indus from the foot of the Paropanisus, or Hindu Kush, to the banks of the Hydaspes (Jhelum), and a third stretching from the southern shore of the last-named river to the northern shore of the Hyphasis (Beās). The first two included the old Achaemenid provinces of 'India' or 'the country of the Indus,' and Gandhāra which corresponds to the present districts of Peshāwar and Rāwalpindi. The third represents probably the region 'conquered' and not merely 'reclaimed' by Alexander. In accordance with the traditional Indian policy (Manu VII, 202) that a conquered kingdom should continue to be governed by some member of its ancient royal family, very important positions were assigned to the native rājas, Taxiles and Porus, the latter being placed in sole charge of the satrapy that included his original kingdom, the country between the Hydaspes and the Acesines (Chenāb)<sup>1</sup>. According to Diodorus

<sup>1</sup> For Taxiles, the king of Takshaçilā, and Porus (Paurava), the king of the Pūrus, see Chapter xv, pp. 345, 349.



(XVIII, 3, 4), they were recognised as virtually independent rulers. And they appear to have been quick to make use of their opportunity. The accounts of the division of the empire by Alexander's generals at Babylon (323 B.C.) and those of the subsequent partition of Triparadisus (321 B.C.) agree in pointing to a considerable modification of the limits of the Indian satrapies as at first mapped out. A Macedonian—Pithon, son of Agenor—seems to be entrusted with the control of the land lying between the Paropanisus and the Indus; Taxiles is left supreme in the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes; and Porus is given a great accession of territory, his sphere of influence now extending all the way down the main stream to the sea. Diodorus more than hints that the recognition thus accorded to the native princes was due to a wholesome respect for their material power: Antipater, he says (XVIII, 39, 6), felt that it would be dangerous to attempt to circumscribe their jurisdiction except with the support of an expedition equipped on a scale of the first magnitude and commanded by a general of the highest capacity.

To some the story of this readjustment, and more particularly of the aggrandisement of Porus, has appeared so surprising that they decline to accept it as authentic, and are disposed to explain it away by an underlying confusion. But there is no sufficient ground for setting aside the written record. Further, if Diodorus (XVIII, 3, 2) and Quintus Curtius (x, 10, 4) are right in stating that, so far as Asia was concerned, the momentous assembly which decreed the partition of Babylon did no more than ratify arrangements already sanctioned by the dead king, the change must have come during the lifetime of Alexander. That there was unrest in the land almost as soon as he had quitted it, is indeed evident from what happened in the satrapy of the Upper Indus. Before he reached Carmania on his westward march, he was overtaken by tidings of the assassination of Philippus, the Macedonian governor whom he had installed as satrap there. And, though we learn from Arrian (VI, 27, 2) that the immediate cause of the murder was an ebullition of the undying jealousy between Greeks and Macedonians, the incident may well have been symptomatic of more deeply seated trouble. At all events Alexander decided that it was not convenient to fill the place of Philippus at the moment. Instead, he sent despatches to Taxiles and to a Thracian officer called Eudamus or Eudemus, instructing them to make themselves responsible for the government until another satrap should be nominated. Presumably their functions were to be separate. It is

reasonable to suppose that the general conduct of affairs would be delegated to Taxiles, and that Eudamus would be given the command of the scattered bodies of Greek and Macedonian troops, as well as some measure of authority over the various colonists of Hellenic nationality.

Whether the new appointment that Alexander had foreshadowed was ever made, is doubtful. It may be that circumstances proved too strong for him, and that the arrangement revealed by the partitions of Babylon and Triparadisus represents what he had perforce to assent to. In any case the dual system of control, which he had set up as a temporary make-shift, bore within it from the outset the seeds of intrigue and ultimate rupture. Eudamus, it will be observed, is not mentioned in connexion with either of the partitions. Yet he appears to have retained some sort of position as leader of the Hellenic 'outlanders' in the valleys of the Indus and Hydaspes. Ere long he drifted into conflict with the native Indian element. Before 317 B.C. he had Porus treacherously slain, seized his war-elephants, and marched, with all the forces he could muster, to join the coalition of Eastern satraps who had drawn together to oppose the arrogant pretensions of their colleague of Media (Diod. XIX, 14, 8). The thunder of the captains and the shouting had also reached the ears of Pithon, son of Agenor, and he too had abandoned his province to fling himself into the fray. Neither ever returned. Eudamus met his doom at the hands of Antigonus (Diod. XIX, 44, 1). Pithon fell fighting by the side of Demetrius at the battle of Gaza (Diod. XIX, 85, 2). Nor had either any successor in his Indian command, a fact that is surely full of significance. May not their withdrawal from India be most simply accounted for on the supposition that each had become alive to the hopelessness of his situation?

Such an hypothesis would be entirely consistent with the scene that confronts us when next the curtain rises on the drama of Graeco-Indian relations. Taxiles, like Porus, has disappeared from the stage. But his place is filled by a figure of much more heroic proportions. By the time that Seleucus Nicator, founder of the dynasty that bears his name, had made his position in Babylon so secure as to be able to turn his attention to the extreme east of the dominions he had won, a new ruler had arisen in India. Chandragupta or, as the Greeks called him, Sandrocottus, the first of the Maurya emperors, had made himself master of the whole of the north. In his youth he had seen Alexander the Great, and when he grew to manhood he put into practice some of the

lessons which Alexander's success was calculated to teach. It has been conjectured that he employed Greek mercenaries in his struggle with Nanda or Nandrus, the king of Magadha (S. Bihār) on the ruins of whose power he rose to greatness; he certainly seems to have adopted western methods in the training and discipline of his local levies. Under his leadership India threw off the last remnants of the Macedonian yoke. And, if we can rely on Justin, the revolution was not a bloodless one: he indicates (xv, 4) that such of the Macedonian prefects as still held their posts were ruthlessly put to the sword.

The date of the Indian expedition of Seleucus I is doubtful. Von Gutschmid placed it c. 302 B.C.; and, although his calculation rests on what is probably an erroneous view as to the period when the coins of Sophytes (cf. *supra*, p. 388) were issued, it is quite possible that he has come within two or three years of the truth. It was not till 311 that the Satrap of Babylon—he had not yet assumed the title of king—was free to quit his capital with an easy mind, and devote his energies to consolidating his authority in the more distant provinces. The task must have required time, for some hard fighting had to be done, notably in Bactria. But, beyond the bare statement of Justin (xv, 4) to that effect, we have no details. We may suppose that about 305 or 304, at the latest, he deemed himself ready to demand a reckoning with Chandragupta. Advancing (we may be certain) by the route along the Kābul river, he crossed the Indus (Appian, *Syr.* 55). The minute topographical knowledge which Strabo (xv, 689) and Pliny (*N.H.* vi, 63) display, and more particularly the vague assertion of the latter that 'all the remaining distances were searched out for Seleucus Nicator' have led Droysen and others to conclude that he not merely entered the territory he had come to regain, but actually penetrated as far as Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra) on the Ganges, the chief seat of his enemy's power, whence he made his way along the banks of the river to the sea. The premises, however, are scarcely substantial enough to bear so far-reaching a conclusion. Pliny may quite well have had in his mind, not reconnaissances made during a campaign, but information gathered subsequently by the Greek envoys who, as we shall see presently, resided at the court of the Indian king.

Chandragupta could put into the field more than half a million of men, with 9000 war-elephants and numerous chariots to boot. If Seleucus had really forced his way to the shores of the Bay of Bengal in the teeth of an opposition so formidable, his astonishing feat was hardly likely to have been left to a Roman geographer to

chronicle. Besides, in that event the upshot of the campaign would surely have been a more decided triumph. As it is, the terms of peace point to a frank recognition by Seleucus that his own arm was neither long enough nor strong enough to govern India from Babylon. Invader and invaded, we are told, concluded an alliance and sealed it by a further compact, which Appian (*Syr.* 55) calls a *κηδος*, Strabo (XV, 724) an *ἐπιγαμία*. According to ordinary Greek usage these two terms are scarcely consistent one with another. The former would naturally signify an actual marriage between individuals, and hence it is frequently argued that Seleucus must have become either the father-in-law or the son-in-law of Chandragupta. There seems, however, to be no room in his family circle, as we otherwise know it, for any relationship of the kind. Probably, therefore, it is safer to fall back on the technical meaning of Strabo's word, and to suppose that what is implied is a convention establishing a *jus connubii* between the two royal families. In that land of caste a *jus connubii* between the two peoples is unthinkable.

As regards territory, the arrangement appears, upon the face of it, to have been entirely favourable to Chandragupta. Not only did Seleucus acquiesce in his sovereignty over all the country beyond the Indus. He also transferred to him the satrapies of Arachosia (Kandahār) and the Paropanisadae (Kābul), with at least some portion of Gedrosia (Baluchistān) and of Aria (Herāt). In other words, the frontiers of the Maurya empire were extended so as to embrace the southern half of Afghānistān and perhaps the whole of British Baluchistān. The expression 'presented' (*ἔδωκε*), which is used by Strabo (*loc. cit.*) to describe the transaction, does not preclude the possibility of the transfer having been made upon conditions. A return gift of 500 war-elephants is, in fact, mentioned. But under no circumstances could that have been looked on as an equivalent. We may take it that there were further stipulations as to freedom of trade and the like, such as would naturally accompany an *ἐπιγαμία*. There may even have been a nominal and unmeaning acknowledgment of suzerainty. It must be borne in mind that the written record contains nothing to show that Seleucus suffered defeat, nothing even to suggest that the rival armies ever came to blows at all. The probability is that, while he was still endeavouring to gauge the magnitude of the task that confronted him, an urgent call for help reached him from the confederate kings across the 2500 miles that separated him from Asia Minor. The instinct of self-preservation required that he

should assist them. If he allowed Antigonus to crush Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, his own turn would not be long in coming. It was only politic, therefore, to make the best terms he could with Chandragupta, whose 500 elephants reached the theatre of war in time to play a conspicuous part in the final overthrow of Antigonus at Ipsus in the year 301.

For more than a generation after that battle there is an almost complete blank in our knowledge of the history of Central Asia. Seleucus himself took up his residence at Antioch on the Orontes. But he soon realised that the new city lay too far west to be a convenient administrative centre for the eastern portion of his empire. Accordingly he entrusted the government of all the provinces beyond the Euphrates to his son Antiochus, on whom after the lapse of a few years he conferred the title of king. We are without definite information as to the exact date of this devolution of authority. It is generally assigned to 293 B.C., and cuneiform documents undoubtedly bear the names of 'Siluku' and 'Antiuksu' as joint-kings from 289 onwards<sup>1</sup>. In 281 Seleucus was assassinated. According to Memnon (*F.H.G.* III, 533, 12, 1) and Pausanias (I, 16, 2), Antiochus had already had his powers as co-regent greatly amplified, the whole of Asia having been committed to his care. In any case his father's death would render his immediate presence in the west imperative, if his heritage was to be maintained unimpaired. To the west he accordingly went. But it seems highly probable that the plan of stationing a viceroy of the east at Seleucia on the Tigris was still continued. Though no inkling of this has survived in any historian, cuneiform inscriptions record 'Antiuksu' and 'Siluku' as joint-kings from 275 (or possibly 280) to 269, and a similar cooperation between 'Antiuksu' and 'Antiuksu' from 266 to 263. 'Siluku' here is clearly Seleucus, the elder son of Antiochus by Stratonice; we gather from a chance fragment of John of Antioch (*F.H.G.* IV, 558; 55) that he was put to death on suspicion of conspiring against his father. The 'Antiuksu' who takes his place, is no less clearly his younger brother, destined to become sole ruler in 261 as Antiochus II (Theos).


Under all of these kings, including Antiochus II, the friendly relations originally established with the Maurya empire remained unbroken. The indications of this, if few, are sufficient. Athenaeus (I, 32, 18 D) has preserved a story of certain strange drugs sent as a present by Chandragupta to Seleucus I. And it is to the same writer (XIV, 67, 652 F and 653 A) that we owe an anecdote

<sup>1</sup> *Zeit. für Assyriologie*, VII, 234, 226; VIII, 108; *Keilinschrift. Bibl.* III, 2, 136 f.

of how Chandragupta's son, Bindusāra—or Amitrochates, to give him his Greek name<sup>1</sup>,—wrote to Antiochus I, asking him to buy and have conveyed to him some sweet wine, some figs, and a sophist to teach him to argue. Antiochus replied, forwarding the figs and the wine, but explaining that sophists were not a marketable commodity among the Greeks. Nor was the intercourse between the courts confined to such occasional civilities. We know from Strabo and others that Megasthenes repeatedly—*πολλάκις* is Arrian's word (v, 6, 2)—visited Chandragupta's capital as an envoy of Seleucus, thereby acquiring a mass of information which made his writings on India an invaluable storehouse for later geographers, and that Daimachus of Plataea also went on a mission or missions from Antiochus I to Bindusāra, likewise embodying his experiences in a book. Other Hellenic states must have been drawn into the circle of amity, for Pliny (*N.H.* vi, 58) speaks in the same breath of Megasthenes and of a certain Dionysius who (he explains) was despatched as an ambassador to India by Ptolemy Philadelphus. As Philadelphus reigned from 285 to 246, the Maurya emperor to whom Dionysius was accredited may have been either Bindusāra or his more famous son Açoka, whose attempt to convert the Hellenistic kings to Buddhism (see p. 502) is justly regarded as one of the most curious episodes in early Indian history.

It is natural to suppose that such intimate diplomatic relations would rest on a solid foundation of mutual commercial interest. And corroborative testimony is not altogether wanting. Strabo, speaking of the Oxus (Amu Daria), states (xi, 509) that it formed a link in an important chain along which Indian goods were carried to Europe by way of the Caspian and the Black Sea. He cites as one of his authorities Patrocles, who was an admiral in the service of Antiochus I, and thus makes it clear that the route was a popular one early in the third century B.C. Evidence of the prosperity of Central Asia at this period is also furnished by the coins. There need be no hesitation about associating with that region a well-known series of silver pieces, of Attic weight, having on the obverse a laureate head of Zeus, and on the reverse Athena fighting in a quadriga drawn by elephants. The inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ shows that they must be later than 306, when the royal title was first assumed. The denomination of most common occurrence is the tetradrachm; but drachms, hemidrachms, and obols are not infrequent. We are safe in assuming with Imhoof-Blumer that the majority of them were minted at Babylon

<sup>1</sup> For the name, or rather title, see Chapter xx, p. 495.

or at Seleucia on the Tigris. A minority, which are of a quite distinctive and somewhat coarser fabric, appear to hail from even farther east; the specimens in the British Museum have nearly all been purchased at Rāwalpindi, or obtained from collections formed in India. Generally, though not invariably, these latter have been struck from regularly adjusted dies (↑ ↓), while a few have monograms on the obverse (Pl. I, 15), features that at once recall certain of the Athenian imitations spoken of in an earlier chapter as coming from the same district (*supra*, p. 388). One small group of tetradrachms and drachms, from regularly adjusted dies, bears the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (Pl. II, 2), indicating probably, as Six and Imhoof have suggested<sup>1</sup>, that the coins were minted during the viceroyalty of Seleucus, son of Antiochus I. The omission of the father's kingly title has thus a sinister significance. Unlike the rest, they are not of Attic weight, but follow the lighter standard already met with above in another connexion (*supra*, p. 387); the average weight of five tetradrachms is only 212·3 grains (13·82 grammes). The monogram  is placed on the reverse. Very rare drachms, reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, which are also struck on the lighter standard and show the same monogram (Pl. II, 1), are plainly of kindred origin. At the same time their superior style, coupled with the fact that they are struck from unadjusted dies, proves them to be somewhat earlier. In all likelihood they date from the period when Antiochus I himself was acting as his father's viceroy.

If the witness of the coins is an inarticulate one, its cumulative effect is nevertheless impressive. It proves that there was a busy life throbbing on both sides of the Indian frontier during the forty or fifty years about which history is silent, that merchants were constantly coming and going, buying and selling. When the silence is at length broken, it is by the confused echo of an occurrence that was fraught with momentous consequences to India's immediate future. The birth of the new kingdom of Bactria was an event of first-rate political importance. Bactria was the rich country between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus, corresponding in large measure to Northern Afghānistān. Beyond it, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes (Syr Daria), lay Sogdiāna (Bukhāra). The two provinces had cost Alexander no small effort to subdue. Partly on this account, and partly because of their natural wealth, he

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 226; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeit.*, 1913, p. 183, and *Rev. suisse de Num.*, 1917, pp. 48 ff.

had planted them thickly with Greek colonies. Probably Seleucus, who experienced at least equal difficulty in getting his sovereignty acknowledged, had to encounter the determined resistance of colonists as well as of natives. In the end, as we know, he triumphed. During the rest of his reign, as well as throughout that of his successor, Bactria and Sogdiāna remained quiescent; the policy of stationing a viceroy at Seleucia was evidently justified by success. Under Antiochus II they shook themselves entirely free. Our chief authority for what happened is Justin. After speaking of the revolt of Parthia, he proceeds (XLI, 4): 'At the same time Diodotus, governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, rebelled and had himself proclaimed king.' In most texts the name of the leader of the movement is wrongly given as 'Theodotus.' The mistake, which goes back to the manuscripts, can be readily accounted for. The chronology is much more troublesome, since the several events by which Justin seeks to date the Parthian outbreak are spread over a period of not less than ten years. In the face of so much inconsistency we may be content with the broad conclusion that the formal accession of Diodotus took place about 250 B.C., at a time when Antiochus was not in a position to put an effective veto on the proceeding. An examination of the numismatic material may enable us to go a little further.

Among the coins bearing the name of Seleucus are very rare gold staters and silver tetradrachms, having on the obverse a portrait of the king with bull's horns, and on the reverse the head of a horned horse (Pl. II, 3). The same types, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, are found on two unique silver pieces—a drachm and a tetradrachm (Pl. II, 4)—which may belong to the joint reign. All of these are struck from unadjusted dies, and all of them have on the reverse two monograms which, to judge from their complexity and from the manner in which they vary, must conceal the names of individual magistrates. Apparently in direct line of succession to the preceding comes a gold and silver series, beginning under Antiochus I and continued under Antiochus II, which contains staters (Pl. II, 5 and 6), tetradrachms (Pl. II, 7 and 8), and smaller denominations. The reverse type is the same, but the coins are now struck from carefully adjusted dies, usually † † but in one case † †. The magistrate's names show little variation. As a rule, there is only one, that being ⊙, Δ|, or ⊙<sup>1</sup>. The device

<sup>1</sup> One tetradrachm (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. III, 16), which bears the head of Antiochus I and which must, therefore, come early in the series, appears to have ⊙ and is thus connected with the small group mentioned above (p. 434).



of a horse's head would be peculiarly appropriate to Bactria, with its famous cavalry, or to Sogdiāna; and it is undoubtedly from Afghānistān and Bukhāra that the coins in question usually come. As they cover at least part of the two reigns, they must be to some extent contemporary with certain gold staters and silver drachms which have a head of Antiochus I or of Antiochus II on the obverse, and on the reverse the ordinary Seleucid type of the seated Apollo (Pl. II, 9 and 10). Here again the dies have been carefully adjusted (↑↓). The magistrate's name, too, is obviously the same, being invariably Δ, ⤴, or ⊕. It has sometimes been suggested that the monogram represents the name of a mint rather than of a magistrate. As against that view it must be remembered that the two parallel series differ not only in type but also in style, the treatment of the ends of the king's diadem being specially characteristic.

There can be no dispute as to the proper local attribution of the second of these two series. In style they have the closest possible affinity to a fairly numerous set of gold staters and silver tetradrachms and drachms, which also read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, but which present types that we have not encountered hitherto. On the obverse is a youthful head, markedly unlike either Antiochus I or Antiochus II, and on the reverse is a full length figure of Zeus, thundering, with an eagle at his feet (Pl. II, 11 and 12); the dies are carefully adjusted (↑↓), but although letters and monograms occur freely, nothing to suggest ⊕ is ever found. Next in order comes a group of gold and silver coins, exactly resembling those just described excepting only in the legend, which is now ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (Pl. II, 13 and 14). We are thus brought into the presence of what is undoubtedly the money of the fully developed kingdom of Bactria, and at the same time we are put in possession of a clue which may guide us to a clearer understanding of some of the ground we have traversed. Gardner long ago pointed out that the head on the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ pieces was identical with that on the similar pieces with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ, and a glance at Plate II will demonstrate the soundness of his view. He proposed to recognise it as the portrait of Diodotus, and to regard its appearance on money bearing the name of the suzerain as a stage in the vassal's progress towards complete independence. Von Sallet, while refusing to accept Gardner's theory as to the portrait, agreed with him in assigning the whole of the coins to Diodotus, whose 'canting badge' he discerned in the figure of Zeus. Both scholars seem to be right in their positive contentions: the portrait is that of

Diodotus, and the figure of Zeus is the king's 'canting badge.' And it may be that there is further help to be got from the coins with the head of the horned horse and from those with the seated Apollo. We found that these two sets were to some extent parallel, and that the latter led naturally up to the Bactria series proper. The monogram which was so prominent on both can be resolved most readily into ΔΙΟ[δότης]. The definite acceptance of that interpretation would enable us to reconstruct the story of the rise of Bactria somewhat on the following lines.

Early in the reign of Antiochus I a certain Diodotus was appointed satrap of Bactria and of some neighbouring province, not improbably Sogdiāna. The coins with the horse's head were already being struck in the second province in the name of the suzerain. Diodotus continued the issue and also opened, this time in Bactria, a new mint from which he issued, likewise in the name of Antiochus, the coins with the seated Apollo. The country plainly prospered under his rule, for the money with his monogram is far from uncommon, in spite of the remoteness of the region in which it is habitually discovered. His own position, too, must have grown stronger steadily, although for many years he made no attempt to break the slender tie that bound him to the Seleucid empire; he may have been the satrap of Bactria who, according to Chaldaean documents, sent twenty elephants to assist Antiochus I in his struggle with Ptolemy Philadelphus about 274-273 B.C. Ultimately, however, the centrifugal tendency prevailed and Bactria declared itself an independent state, Margiāna (Merv) and Sogdiāna being included within its frontiers. The change did not take place all at once. There was a period of transition, and this period had not quite come to an end when Diodotus died, leaving a son of the same name to carry his policy to its logical conclusion; the Diodotus whose portrait appears on the coins is a young man, much too young to have been a satrap in the days of Antiochus I. The father may or may not have assumed the title of king. The son was certainly the first to exercise the royal prerogative of issuing money in his own name, and even he contented himself at the outset with altering the types, while leaving the inscription untouched<sup>1</sup>. With the introduction of his 'canting badge,' he abandoned the use of the monogram. Simultaneously he closed

<sup>1</sup> A unique gold stater, acquired by the Rev. E. Rogers while these sheets were passing through the press, shows that to begin with he retained the portrait, as well as the name, of his suzerain. The thundering Zeus appears on the reverse, but the obverse bears an unmistakable head of Antiochus II, closely resembling *J.H.S.*, 1903, Pl. I, 3.

the older mint, where the coins with the horse's head had been struck, a step which points to a concentration of his administrative forces. Such a reconstruction is not merely consistent with the evidence of the coins. It also tallies, in a simple and satisfactory fashion, with what Justin (XLI, 4) says as to the original leader of the Bactrian revolt having been succeeded by a son of the same name as himself—'et ipso Diodoto.' Some value attaches to this confirmation of the main literary source whence our knowledge of the episode is derived, for the truth of the statement has occasionally been doubted, despite its explicit nature and despite the implicit corroboration which, as we shall see presently (p. 440), it receives from Polybius (XI, 34).

Regarding the detailed history of the reigns of the two monarchs the records leave us almost entirely in the dark. The little we do learn is from Justin (*loc. cit.*), and it has reference to the struggles that attended the rise of the Parthian kingdom. The nucleus of what was in the fullness of time to become one of the most formidable powers that Asia has ever seen, was among the districts that had been included in the sixteenth satrapy of Darius, a land of mountain and forest, comparing ill in point of fertility with Bactria. Historians are not agreed as to the race to which its population belonged, although their habits and customs would lead one to suspect a strong infusion of an element closely akin to the wild nomads of the steppes. Nor are the current traditions as to the beginnings of the royal house sufficiently consistent to be worthy of much, if any, credence. According to these the first Arsaces, the founder of the dynasty, is sometimes a Parthian, sometimes a Bactrian, sometimes even a descendant of the Achaemenids. One point in which all accounts agree, is that he made his way to the throne by violence. The name of the Seleucid satrap murdered by him and his brother Tiridates, afterwards Arsaces II, is variously given. Arrian (*F.H.G.* III, 587) calls him Pherecles, and Syncellus (*ibid.*) speaks of him as Agathocles, while Justin—who, by the way, knows nothing of the cooperation of Tiridates—refers to him (XLI, 4) as Andragoras. In favour of Justin may perhaps be cited certain gold and silver coins (Pl. II, 15 and 16)<sup>1</sup>, whose style is not unsuited to the middle of the third century B.C., and which bear the legend ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ. They are very rare, almost all of the known specimens being apparently from the Oxus find (see *supra*, p. 390). Their genuineness has sometimes been questioned, but on grounds

<sup>1</sup> They may, however, have been struck by an earlier Andragoras (c. 331 B.C.); see Simpson, *N.C.*, 1893, p. 204, and Hill, *Atti e Mem. dell' Istit. Ital. di Num.*, III, 2, p. 31.

that seem hardly sufficient ; the circumstance that they are struck from dies that have been adjusted with great precision († ‡), a peculiarity that is characteristic of the region and the period to which they are attributed, is a strong incidental argument in favour of their authenticity.

Another point about which there is practical unanimity is that the revolt of Parthia took place almost simultaneously with the revolt of Bactria, although probably a year or two later. The explanation lies on the surface : Antiochus II (261–246) like his two immediate successors, Seleucus II (246–226) and Seleucus III (226–223), was too much preoccupied with wars and rumours of wars in the west to maintain a proper hold over his eastern dominions. Probably, too, there were other causes at work. The spectacle of the greatness of the Maurya empire would not be lost upon a satrap of such force of character as the elder Diodotus. And in his case to the promptings of ambition there may have been added a spur of a different kind. It is not unlikely that Bactria was already beginning to be conscious, on her northern border, of the first onset of the pressure before which she was in the end to succumb ; Eastern Asia was just entering upon one of those mysterious convulsions of tribal unrest, which produced the great migrations, and of which the Parthian revolt itself was not impossibly a manifestation. If this were so, Diodotus may well have felt that an independent kingdom, strong in its new-born sense of national unity, was likely to be a more permanent bulwark against barbarian aggression than the loosely attached extremity of an empire whose head was in no position to afford efficient protection to his nominal subjects. Besides the native Irānian basis on which he would have to build, the descendants of Alexander's colonists would provide him with a substantial Hellenic framework ready to hand ; and, as a matter of fact, Bactria was, throughout the whole of its brief career, essentially an Hellenic state. In this connexion it is significant to note that, under the earlier Diodotus, Parthia was a potential, if not an actual, enemy. Justin tells us, in the chapter that has been so often quoted, that 'fear of Diodotus' was one of the chief motives that led Arsaces, after his seizure of Hyrcania, to keep a great army on a war-footing. He goes on to say that, when the old satrap died, his son reversed his Parthian policy, and concluded an alliance which set Arsaces free to concentrate his whole forces against Seleucus II, then advancing eastwards on a futile campaign of reconquest. The threat of a renewal of the Macedonian supremacy was enough to bring Greek and

barbarian together. The eastern expedition of Seleucus II was subsequent to the battle of Ancyra, in which he was heavily defeated by the Gauls (240 B.C.). It cannot, therefore, have taken place earlier than 238, and it can hardly be put later than 235. This gives us something approaching a definite date at which Diodotus II was on the throne of Bactria.

Beyond the bare facts already chronicled, we have no information as to the doings either of the son or of the father. It is, indeed, usually stated that the latter assumed the title of 'Soter,' perhaps because of his success in keeping the Turānian hordes at bay. But the only evidence to that effect is a coin purporting to be struck in the name of ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (Pl. III, 9); and we shall find presently that this was not minted in the lifetime of himself or his son. It is probable, therefore, that the title was conferred by a later generation. In any case his own dynasty was destined to speedy extinction. We do not know how long Diodotus II reigned. But, as the portraits on his coins are all fairly youthful, it is scarcely possible to allow him more than ten or twelve years after the peace with Parthia. And it is certain from Polybius (XI, 34) that when Antiochus III appeared in the east at the head of an army, about 212 B.C., determined to reassert the Seleucid supremacy over the revolted kingdoms, the Bactrian throne had for some time been occupied by Euthydemus, a Greek from one or other of the cities called Magnesia, who, in reply to the challenge of Antiochus, explained that he did not think it fair that he should be interfered with: 'He was not a rebel. Others, no doubt, had rebelled. He had put the children of the rebels to death, and that was how he happened to be king.' We may draw from this, not only a confirmation of Justin's statement as to Diodotus I having been succeeded by a son, but also the further inference that Diodotus II came to a violent end.

Our authorities give us no hint as to who Euthydemus was, or as to how he reached a position of such influence as to be able to make a successful bid for the crown. The claim of the Lydian city to be the Magnesia of his birth is perhaps slightly stronger than that of the Ionian one; for, when he came to strike money, he chose a remarkable type whose selection can be most simply explained by supposing that it had been familiar to him in his youth, as it would be if he were brought up in the Hermus valley. The first real glimpse we get of him is when he comes into conflict with Antiochus the Great. The Parthian campaign of the latter had been arduous, to judge from the picture which Polybius

(x, 28 ff.) has preserved of some of its incidents. But Arsaces III seems at length to have been driven to yield upon terms, and by the year 208 Antiochus was at liberty to turn his arms against Bactria. To enter it, he had to ford the river Arius (Hari Rūd), the passage of which Euthydemus was prepared to dispute. When the critical moment came, the Bactrians allowed themselves to be outmanœuvred. Antiochus made a night-march with a picked body of cavalry, the majority of whom he succeeded in getting over the stream before the dawn was bright enough for the enemy's vedettes to discover them. The footing thus gained was stubbornly held, in the teeth of a singularly fierce attack. From the narrative of Polybius (x, 49) we learn that Antiochus displayed great personal courage, and that Euthydemus was so perturbed by the lesson his troops had received that he retreated at once to his capital of Zariaspa or Bactra, the modern Balkh. A siege presumably followed, and it is generally taken for granted that this was the famous siege of Bactra, casually mentioned by Polybius in quite another context (xxix, 6 A). However that may be, the struggle was a prolonged one. By 206 two years had elapsed without either side having gained a decisive advantage. Meanwhile barbarian swarms were hovering ominously along the northern frontier of the kingdom. If the internecine strife continued, they might at any moment descend upon the country and ruthlessly destroy every vestige of Hellenic civilisation.

The reality of this peril was pressed home upon Antiochus by Teleas, a fellow-countryman of Euthydemus, whom the latter had empowered to use his good offices in working for a settlement. Antiochus, upon his part, was only too glad to welcome the prospect of an honourable escape from a situation that threatened to grow more and more embarrassing. Informal negotiations, conducted through Teleas, ultimately resulted in the despatch of Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, as a fully accredited envoy to the camp of Antiochus. Polybius is still our authority for details. He speaks (xi, 34) in glowing terms of the favourable impression which the handsome youth produced upon the Seleucid king, who offered him one of his own daughters in marriage and indicated his willingness to waive all objection to the use of the royal title by Euthydemus. A written agreement covering the disputed points was drawn up and signed, and a formal alliance concluded. Euthydemus had been the first to move towards peace, and therefore it may be regarded as certain that he too made concessions. Unfortunately we have to guess what they were. Not improbably

they **extended** to an acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Antiochus although all we are told is that the expeditionary army, which was now about to direct its march towards India, had its commissariat richly replenished by the Bactrians, receiving at the same time an important reinforcement in the shape of the whole of the war-elephants that had been at the command of Euthydemus.

The second Greek invasion of India amounted to little more than a reconnaissance in force. Açoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, had died about 236 B.C., and after his death the power of the Maurya dynasty speedily declined. When Antiochus crossed the Hindu Kush and marched down the Kābul valley, he found himself in the territory of a prince whom Polybius (XI, 34) calls 'Sophagasēnos, King of the Indians.' Indian history knows no ruler of corresponding name, and it has therefore been conjectured that Sophagasenus was some local rāja who had taken advantage of the decay of the Maurya empire to establish a kingdom of his own in the country west of the Indus<sup>1</sup>. Whoever he was, he plainly realised that he was quite unfit to offer an effective resistance to the seasoned troops of his adversary. At the same time Antiochus was in no mood to emulate the Indian adventure of his invincible forerunner. He had already been three years in the east. The West was calling loudly, and he had enhanced his reputation so substantially by his prowess that he could afford to be satisfied with a bloodless victory. Accordingly he accepted the submission of Sophagasenus who, like Euthydemus, revictualled his army for him and handed over a number of war-elephants. A heavy indemnity was also imposed. This last, however, Antiochus did not wait to receive. He left Androstenes of Cyzicus behind to take delivery of the promised treasure, and himself hurried back with all speed towards Mesopotamia, choosing the route that ran through Arachosia and Drangiāna (Seistān) to Carmania. Who was the lord of Arachosia when it was traversed by the Seleucid troops, it is impossible to say. It had once been Açoka, but now it may have been Sophagasenus. The numismatic evidence suggests that ere long it was Euthydemus. General Cunningham remarks that the silver of the last-named king 'is very common in Bokhara and Bokhara, to the north of the Caucasus, and less common in Kabul, Kandahar and Sistan,' while his bronze coins, 'which are perhaps less numerous than the silver, are found in about equal numbers in Sistan and Kandahar, and throughout the Kabul Valley.' Other observers describe his bronze as 'very common in

<sup>1</sup> For Sophagasenus see Chapter IX, p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1869, p. 138.

Sistan and Kandahar.' As bronze was much less likely to travel outside the area of its actual currency than gold or silver, the significance of these facts is unmistakable. Where the number of specimens is so large, the possible effect of confusion with the rare coinage of Euthydemus II may safely be disregarded.

In addition to what the 'find-spots' teach, there is something to be learned from a review of the coins themselves, or at all events of the gold and silver. It has already been indicated that Euthydemus on his accession discarded the characteristic type of Diodotus, and substituted for it one which may have been familiar to him in the city where he was born and bred. Zeus the thunderer was replaced by Heracles seated to left on a rock, leaning with his right hand on his club. The device was apparently borrowed from a set of silver tetradrachms struck at the cities of Cyme, Myrina, and Phocaea, in Western Asia Minor, during the reigns of Antiochus I and II (*J.H.S.*, 1907, pp. 145 ff.). It is universal on the gold and silver of Euthydemus, but two varieties of it are readily distinguishable. On the gold and on much of the silver the rock upon which Heracles sits is bare, while the lower end of his club is supported by a short and somewhat unnatural-looking column of stone (Pl. III, 1). On the remainder of the silver the rock is covered with a lion-skin, and the lower end of the club is apparently resting on the god's thigh (Pl. III, 2). The whole of the coins belonging to the second class bear the monogram  $\mathfrak{E}$ , and have their dies adjusted  $\uparrow\uparrow$ . The first class, on the other hand, comprises three or four different groups, each having a characteristic letter or monogram other than  $\mathfrak{E}$ . The rule here is for the dies to be adjusted  $\uparrow\downarrow$ , but there are a considerable number of exceptions ( $\uparrow\uparrow$ ) which may fairly be presumed to be later, seeing that  $\uparrow\uparrow$  is invariable in subsequent reigns. The appearance of these particular monograms is a new phenomenon on the Bactrian coinage. As they usually persist through a long series of years, they cannot be interpreted as magistrates' names. They should rather be regarded as the names of mints, a view which is confirmed by occasional minor variations of type and by certain subtle peculiarities of style, such as the thin 'spread' fabric which is characteristic of many of the  $\mathfrak{E}$  coins of the earlier kings.

The mere increase in the number of royal mints may not unreasonably be held to prove that the dominions of Euthydemus were more extensive than those of his predecessor. It would seem that, soon after the Maurya empire began to crumble away, he possessed himself—it may be at the expense of Sophagasenus—of



the Paropanisadae and Arachosia. possibly also—although as to this the coins are less definite—of some of the other districts which Seleucus I had ceded to Chandragupta. His silver tetradrachms are very common, and so too are more or less clumsy barbarous imitations, many of which appear to date from a relatively late period. Without doubt his money must have circulated widely, and must have enjoyed a high reputation for quality. Bactria under his sway clearly reached a pitch of prosperity such as she had never before attained. And his reign must have been a long one. The abundance of his coinage suggests this. The great variety of the portraits proves it. Even after every allowance has been made for the mannerisms of different artists and of different mints, a comparison of the head on Pl. III, 1, with the head on Pl. III, 2, will be felt to be conclusive. The latter, which is an admirably realistic piece of work, is obviously intended to represent a very much older person than the former. It is on the strength of this evidence that the death of Euthydemus is generally supposed to have taken place about 190 B.C.

We have seen that under Euthydemus the frontiers of the Bactrian kingdom were pushed southwards until they included at least the whole of the lower portion of Afghānistān. But this was not the only direction in which expansion had become possible. The Indian expedition of Antiochus the Great, if it had had no other result of importance, had revealed the feebleness of the resistance that a properly equipped army was now likely to encounter in an invasion of the Punjab. We may be sure that, after the Seleucid forces had withdrawn, the eyes of Euthydemus were turned longingly towards the Land of the Five Rivers. He may actually have annexed it. If he did, it was probably only towards the close of his reign, for he would hardly have ventured to put so ambitious a design into execution until he felt secure from interference at the hands of Antiochus III, and that he can scarcely have done before about 197, when the latter became hopelessly involved in the meshes of the anti-Roman policy which was to prove his ruin. In any event the real instrument of conquest was his son and successor, Demetrius, of whose romantic career one would like to believe, with Cunningham, that a far-off echo has survived in Chaucer's picturesque description of 'the grete Emetreus, the king of Inde.' Demetrius had been a youth of perhaps seventeen or eighteen, when he acted as intermediary between his father and Antiochus. He would thus be between thirty and thirty-five when his reign as king began, an age that agrees well with the

most characteristic portrait on his coins (Pl. III, 3). Years before, he had probably been married to a Seleucid princess, in accordance with the promise made during the peace negotiations. If so, nothing whatever is known about her; the view that she was called Laodice is based upon evidence that admits of an altogether different interpretation. It should be noted that in the coin-portrait he is represented as wearing a head-dress made of the skin of an elephant, an animal closely associated in those days with India. It is not impossible, therefore, that some of his Indian laurels may have been won, while he was still merely crown-prince. The reverse type which he chose for his silver might easily be interpreted as pointing in the same direction. Heracles remains the patron-divinity, but he is no longer taking his ease on a rock; he is standing upright, placing a wreath upon his head (Pl. III, 3). The inference here suggested is identical with that drawn from somewhat different premises by Cunningham, who argued that the subjugation of part of India by Demetrius during his father's lifetime would account for certain facts regarding the *provenance* of the bronze money of Euthydemus. Single specimens of this are occasionally met with in the Western Punjab, and several were found in the bed of the Indus at Attock in 1840, while raising a sunken boat. It is, however, a serious flaw in Cunningham's reasoning that he did not distinguish between the coins of Euthydemus I and those of the grandson who bore the same name.

In whatever circumstances the Indian campaigns of Demetrius may have been inaugurated, there can be no question as to their brilliant outcome. Unfortunately the true extent of his territorial acquisitions can no longer be exactly determined. Strabo, in the passage (XI, 516) which is our chief authority on the point, is quoting from Apollodorus of Artemita, and the original reference of Apollodorus is merely a casual one. He is drawing attention in passing to the remarkable way in which the kingdom of Bactria expanded beyond its original limits, and he mentions incidentally that the kings chiefly responsible were Demetrius and Menander. The advance towards Chinese Tartary which he records may well have been the work of Demetrius or of his father Euthydemus. But, as Menander left a far deeper mark on the traditions of India than did Demetrius, it would be unreasonable to give the latter credit for subduing the whole of the Indian districts that Apollodorus enumerates. Yet there is nothing to show where the line should be drawn. It is probably safe to say that Demetrius

made himself master of the Indus valley. When we try to take him further, we enter a doubtful region. It is, indeed, sometimes stated that he fixed his capital at Sangala or Sagala, which he called Euthydemia in honour of his father. But, if the statement be probed, its value is considerably diminished. It is not certain, though it may be very likely, that the *Σάγγαλα* of Arrian (v, 22) is the same as the *Σάγγαλα ἢ καὶ Εὐθυμέδεια* (*al.* *Εὐθυμηδία*) of Ptolemy (vii, 1, 46). Granted, however, that the two may be identical and may both represent the Pāli Sāgala (Siālkot), it is necessary, in order to establish a connexion with Demetrius, to resort to conjecture and to substitute *Εὐθυδημία* for the *Εὐθυμέδεια* of the manuscripts, a proceeding which is plausible enough in itself but nevertheless open to challenge. More satisfactory, if much vaguer, evidence of the firmness of the footing that he gained to the south of the Hindu Kush is furnished by one or two very rare bronze pieces, which have the square shape characteristic of the early native coinage of India. That they were intended for circulation there, is clear from their bearing a bilingual inscription—Greek on the obverse, Kharoshthī on the reverse. It is significant that on these the king employs the title of *ἀνίκητος* or ‘the Invincible.’ As usual, he is wearing a head-dress made of the skin of an elephant.

The very success of Demetrius appears to have proved his undoing. As a direct consequence of his victories, the centre of gravity of his dominions was shifted beyond the borders of Bactria proper. The home-land, however, was not content to degenerate into a mere dependency. A revolt ended in the establishment of a separate kingdom under Eucratides, a leader of great vigour and ability, about whose rise written history has little or nothing to say. Justin (xli, 6) tells us that his recognition as king took place almost simultaneously with the accession of Mithradates I to the throne of Parthia. As Mithradates succeeded his brother Phraates I about 171 B.C., we may accept von Gutschmid's date of 175 as approximately correct for Eucratides. The beginning of his reign was stormy. He had to face attacks from several sides, and on at least one occasion he was hard put to it to escape with his life. Demetrius, who was now king of India—that is, of the country of the Indus,—not of Bactria, and who was naturally one of his most determined foes, had reduced him to such straits that he was driven to take refuge in a fort with only 300 followers. Here, if we may believe Justin (*loc. cit.*), he was blockaded by a force of 60,000 men under the personal command of his rival. The odds were tremendous. But his resourcefulness carried him safely

through ; for more than four months he harassed the enemy by perpetual sallies, demoralising them so thoroughly in the end that the siege had to be raised. This is the last we hear of Demetrius. It is uncertain whether he died a natural death as king of India, or whether he fell defending his territory against Eucratides, into whose possession a considerable portion of it ultimately passed. The close of his reign is sometimes given as *circa* 160, but the date is a purely arbitrary one. As we shall see presently (*infra*, p. 457), there is good ground for believing that the conquest of the Punjab by Eucratides was earlier than 162.

At this point it becomes necessary to notice a group of four or five kings, whose existence is vouched for solely by the money which they struck, but who must have been to some extent contemporary with the two who have just been discussed. Appreciation of the evidence will be facilitated by a further glance at the silver coinage of Demetrius who, by the way, does not seem to have struck any gold. It will be observed (Pl. III, 3) that he is the first of the Bactrian kings to be represented with his shoulders draped ; and from his time onwards that feature is virtually universal. But he is also the last to be shown with one end of the royal diadem flying out behind, and the other hanging straight down his back, a method of arrangement that had persisted steadily in Bactria since the reign of Antiochus I (see Pl. II, 9-14, and Pl. III, 1 and 2). Again, on the great majority of the surviving specimens of his coinage, his bust on the obverse is enclosed within the circle of plain dots which had hitherto been customary. On the other hand, in a few cases, the circle of plain dots is replaced by the so-called bead-and-reel border, which is familiar from its use on the issues of Antiochus the Great and later Seleucid kings, and which is invariably found on the tetradrachms of Eucratides and his son and successor Heliocles (Pl. IV, 4-9). These differences, coupled with other and less obvious *nuances* of style, will supply valuable guidance in determining the period to which one ought to assign the pieces that have now to be described. It has already been mentioned (*supra*, p. 443) that after the reign of Euthydemus, the dies are always adjusted † †.

Of the four or five groups of coins to be discussed, we may take first the tetradrachms and smaller denominations of silver which have on the obverse a youthful bust with draped shoulders, and on the reverse a figure of Heracles standing to front, much as on the coins of Demetrius, except that, besides having one wreath on his head, he holds a second in his extended right hand (Pl. III, 4). The

legend on these pieces is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ, and most of the older numismatists, including Cunningham, were disposed to attribute them, like those with the seated Heracles, to the father of Demetrius. Since von Sallet wrote, however, it has been generally agreed that this view is not tenable. Stylistic considerations compel the acceptance of an alternative theory, first advocated by Burgon, to the effect that they were struck by a second and later prince, in all probability the eldest son of Demetrius, on whom his grandfather's name would in ordinary course be bestowed. Attention may be called more especially to the draped shoulders and to the treatment of the diadem. Nor is it possible to account for the differences on local rather than on chronological grounds, inasmuch as the mint-marks on the two sets of coins are often identical. Confirmation is furnished by a few nickel pieces, likewise reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ, although showing no portrait. Nickel was not used by Demetrius, and therefore it was presumably not used by his predecessor, Euthydemus I. On the other hand, we shall presently find it employed by two of the remaining kings of the group now under discussion. So peculiar an alloy—it does not appear again in any part of the world until quite recent times—is clearly characteristic of one particular epoch. The case for a second Euthydemus is thus irresistible. And that for a second Demetrius, whom we may suppose to have been a younger brother, is very nearly as strong. The coins of Demetrius II are very rare, but two or three tetradrachms and drachms are known. The obverse displays a youthful bust with draped shoulders and a novel arrangement of diadem ends, while the reverse has a figure of Athena, standing to front with spear and shield (Pl. III, 5). The legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Here again the appearance of a new type is significant, and the differences in the portrait cannot be set aside as due to local idiosyncrasy, for the mint-mark which the coins with Athena bear occurs also on coins having the usual types of Demetrius the elder. Lastly, and this is highly important, of the two tetradrachms in the British Museum here attributed to Demetrius II, one has a bead-and-reel border, and cannot therefore be much, if any, earlier than the beginnings of the coinage of Eucratides, when a youthful portrait of Demetrius I would, of course, be highly inappropriate.

No argument is necessary to prove the existence of the other three kings belonging to the group. Their coins speak for themselves. To judge by the memorials of this kind which he has left, Agathocles must have been the most prominent. On his silver he

appears with drapery round his shoulders and with both ends of his diadem hanging loosely down, the portrait being enclosed by a border of plain dots (Pl. III, 6). Like all the Bactrian kings we have so far met with, he introduced a characteristic type of his own. On the reverse of his tetradrachms is Zeus, standing to front, holding a figure of Hecate on his extended right hand and leaning with his left on a spear. That there must have been a very intimate connexion—chronological, personal, and local—between him and a second king, Pantaleon, will be evident from Pl. III, 7, which shows a tetradrachm struck by the latter. In general style the busts are closely related, while the reverse types are also the same, except that, on the silver of Pantaleon, Zeus is seated on a throne. In the case of the inferior metals the correspondence is even more complete. Nickel coins with Dionysiac types were struck by both, and their bronze pieces, round and square alike, are generally distinguishable only by the difference in the proper name. Lastly, on their square bronze money, intended for circulation in India and therefore bilingual, both use the Brāhmī script for the obverse legend, instead of the otherwise universal Kharoshthī. The portrait of the third king, Antimachus (Theos), is one of the most pronouncedly individual in the whole Bactrian series, largely because of the oddly modern-looking *kausia* which he wears (Pl. III, 8). The standing figure on the reverse of his silver coins is Poseidon, wreathed, and carrying in his left hand a palm-branch with a fillet attached, while his very rare bronze pieces have a figure of Victory. The appearance of Poseidon is remarkable and has been interpreted as referring to a successful naval engagement<sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to account for it on any other hypothesis. But it is dangerous to fix on the Indus as the scene of the fighting, and to make this a ground for deductions as to the region in which Antimachus held sway. No square bilingual money with his name has come to light—unless, indeed, the coins usually attributed to Antimachus II are really the Indian coins of Antimachus Theos<sup>2</sup>—although it would be natural to expect an issue of the sort from a king who had ruled in the Indus valley. In this respect he contrasts markedly with Agathocles and Pantaleon, whose specifically Indian coins are very abundant. On the other hand he makes contact, so to say, with Agathocles through the medium of a highly interesting group of silver tetradrachms, which deserve somewhat careful notice.

The proper interpretation of these tetradrachms is due to von

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1869, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> For this view see Chapter XXII, p. 547.

Sallet. Since his time the group has received sundry additions, and even yet it may be far from complete. The existence of two parallel series is universally admitted, one struck by Agathocles, the other by Antimachus, and each apparently consisting of a set of pieces reproducing in medallic fashion the issues of the earlier kings of Bactria. The coins were doubtless meant to pass current as money, but it seems certain that they were also designed to serve as political manifestos. The set with the name of Agathocles contains four distinct varieties. The first of these has the types of the familiar silver tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, but the portrait on the obverse is accompanied by the descriptive legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, 'Alexander, Philip's son,' while the inscription on the reverse reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. This latter formula, which can only signify 'struck in the reign of Agathocles the Just,' is used as the reverse inscription of all the remaining varieties, and thus supplies the common element that binds the whole together. The second variety has on the obverse a diademed head with the words ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, 'Antiochus the Conqueror,' and on the reverse Zeus, thundering, with an eagle at his feet (Pl. IV, 1). The third shows the same reverse but has on the obverse, beside the head, ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, 'Diodotus the Saviour.' The fourth has on the obverse a head which is described as ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, 'Euthydemus the Divine,' and on the reverse a figure of Heracles resting on a rock (Pl. IV, 2). It will be observed that the term ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ never occurs, and that, on the other hand, each of the kings has a special title affixed to his name. It will be observed, too, that except in the case of Alexander, where the lion-skin could not be done without, there is no attempt at an exact reproduction of the royal portrait. In particular, though the shoulders are undraped, the diadem has both ends hanging down, after the manner that was customary on the coins of Agathocles himself, instead of having one end flying out behind, as had previously been usual. There has been some discussion as to who is intended by 'Antiochus the Conqueror.' But the consideration on which von Sallet laid stress is surely decisive: in all the other cases the reverse type is characteristic of the individual whose head is represented on the obverse. Analogy thus puts it beyond question that the medals of 'Antiochus the Conqueror' are copies of the tetradrachms of Antiochus II with the thundering Zeus.

Of the set of similar medals associated with the name of Antimachus, only two varieties have as yet come to light. They

relate to Diodotus and to Euthydemus, and bear a strong general resemblance to the corresponding pieces issued by Agathocles. There are, indeed, only two points of difference: the mint-mark is new, and the reverse inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, 'struck in the reign of Antimachus Theos.' Except for certain coins of Eucratides, to be discussed presently, these are usually regarded as completing the commemorative group, so far as surviving specimens go. There is, however, one well-known tetradrachm which has hitherto passed as an ordinary coin, but which ought probably to be reckoned as belonging to the same class. The obverse displays a rather conventional head, unaccompanied by any legend, while the reverse has the type of Zeus, thundering, along with the inscription ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (Pl. III, 9). This is the only evidence for the general belief that Diodotus received the title of 'Saviour' during his lifetime, and at the first glance it would appear to be sufficient. A closer scrutiny will suggest grave doubts. The coincidence of the reverse inscription with the obverse inscription used on the commemorative tetradrachms of Agathocles and Antimachus is remarkable, the omission of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ being quite as noteworthy as the addition of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. The style and fabric, too, are out of harmony with those of the regular coinage of Diodotus. In particular, the dies are adjusted † †, instead of † ‡, as is the invariable custom in Bactria before the reign of Euthydemus I. Lastly, the mint-mark  $\Phi$  is not found on the money either of Diodotus or of his immediate successor, whereas it is common on that of all the other kings whom we have had occasion to mention, Demetrius II and Antimachus alone excepted. Taking all these indications together, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the tetradrachm in question does not really belong to Diodotus, but is rather a commemorative piece issued, it may be, by Demetrius I. The mint-mark which it bears makes its earliest appearance on his ordinary coins, while the arrangement of the ends of the diadem is a strong argument against its being later.

If the attribution just suggested be correct, it confirms the view, already highly probable on other grounds, that there was an intimate connexion between Demetrius I, on the one side, and, on the other, Agathocles, Pantaleon, and Antimachus, whom, as we have seen, it is impossible to separate. As Euthydemus II and Demetrius II were almost certainly his sons, it follows that his history must have been closely linked with that of all the five ephemeral kings, of whom no record save their coins remains. His



sons, however, can hardly have been contemporary with the other three, for the mint-marks that appear on the coins of Agathocles are to a large extent identical with those that were employed by Euthydemus II. It is conceivable that, when Demetrius I was pursuing his Indian conquests, he may have left Euthydemus II and Demetrius II to represent him in the western part of his dominions, that they fell in the earlier years of the struggle with Eucratides, and that at some subsequent stage he recognised Agathocles, Pantaleon, and Antimachus as kings, in order to secure their support. Alternatively, the three last-named may have attempted to set themselves up against Eucratides after Demetrius died. But all this is mere guess-work. What is certain is that in none of the three cases can the seat of power have been very far distant from Kābul. Agathocles and Pantaleon certainly, and Antimachus possibly (*v. sup.* p. 449 and note), struck money of a distinctively Indian character; and the Kharoshthī legend on certain copper coins of Agathocles has been supposed to give him the title 'Lord of the Indians,' though this interpretation is unfortunately doubtful<sup>1</sup>. Cunningham<sup>2</sup> reports of the money of Agathocles that 'single copper specimens have been found as far to the south as Kandahar and Sistan, while they are common about Kabul and Begram.' Of Pantaleon's coins he states that they 'are found chiefly about Ghazni and Kabul, but a few have been obtained about Peshāwar and in the Western Panjab... Masson procured seven copper specimens at Begram.' As for Antimachus, he says 'the position of Margiana accords best with the actual find-spots of his coins,' and again 'they have been found in about equal numbers in the Kabul valley and to the north of the Caucasus, while two specimens have been obtained in the Panjab.'

Whatever may be the truth as to the territorial limits within which they held sway, the simultaneous appearance of so many 'kings' is a portent whose meaning is not to be mistaken. It is the first clear indication of that tendency towards the creation of petty principalities, which subsequently became so marked a feature of the final phase of Greek rule in India. In the present instance the 'kings' would seem to have been pawns in a game which was really being played by stronger and more powerful personalities. They were obviously intent on upholding the banner of Demetrius and his dynasty, whose claim to the Bactrian crown the commemorative coins represent as derived directly from Alexander the Great, heedless of the violent breaks that had marked the

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1894, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 38, 40 f.

accession first of Diodotus and then of Euthydemus. Nor is there any doubt as to the rival against whom their manifestos were aimed. It must have been Eucratides. It would be interesting if we could discover the foundation on which the usurper based his claims. Perhaps the quest is not entirely hopeless. Certain of his tetradrachms and drachms are by common consent regarded as commemorative. The obverse—generally, but not accurately, described as the reverse—bears a male and female head, jugate, to the right, the inscription being ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ, while the reverse has one of the ordinary helmeted busts of Eucratides, accompanied by the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ (Pl. IV, 3). The close analogy between this obverse and the obverses of the commemorative tetradrachms of Agathocles and Antimachus at once suggests that the appeal to the memory of Heliocles and Laodice is the counterpart of that to the memory of 'Alexander, Philip's son,' 'Antiochus the Conqueror,' 'Diodotus the Saviour,' and 'Euthydemus the Divine.' And when the obverse is given its proper position, the parallel is seen to be much closer than has hitherto been supposed. It naturally does not extend to the reverse, for Heliocles and Laodice had struck no money, and had therefore left no characteristic coin-type for their kinsman to copy. In the circumstances he utilised his own portrait. At the same time he was careful to differentiate his commemorative pieces from his other issues by putting his own name in the nominative instead of in the genitive, very much in the spirit in which Agathocles and Antimachus employed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ in place of the normal ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Although there is no difference of opinion as to the commemorative character of these coins, an acute cleavage manifests itself the moment the problem of identification is approached. Perhaps the view most widely held is that Heliocles is the son and successor of Eucratides, and that the coins were struck to commemorate his marriage with Laodice, a daughter of Demetrius by the Seleucid princess to whom he was betrothed in 206 during the negotiations with Antiochus III. This theory—first propounded by von Sallet, although it had previously been hinted at by Droysen—has about it a certain plausibility that has commended it to historians: it would have been a politic step on the part of Eucratides to try and conciliate opposition, after his victory, by arranging a match between his son and a daughter of the fallen house. But, in the light of the considerations urged in the foregoing paragraph, there need be no hesitation in setting it aside as inadmissible. There is

very much more to be said for the alternative suggestion, advocated by Cunningham and by Gardner, that Heliocles was the father of Eucratides, and that Laodice was his mother. We need not, however, follow some of those who have accepted this solution, and continue to assume that Laodice was the daughter of Demetrius, an assumption which leads to the impossible conclusion that Eucratides was his great rival's grandson. Laodice was, indeed, a common name in the royal house of Syria, but there is no evidence to prove that it was the name of the bride of Demetrius, or of any of her children. The field of conjecture is absolutely open. One point should not be overlooked before we enter it. While Heliocles is represented with his head bare, Laodice wears a diadem, showing that she was of the lineage of kings, a princess in her own right. It must, therefore, have been from her, and not from his father, that any title Eucratides could advance to the Bactrian crown had come. It may also be recalled that Antiochus Epiphanes, who now sat upon the throne of Syria (175-164) in succession to his brother Seleucus IV (187-175), is known to have cherished the dream of re-establishing the Seleucid influence in Central Asia, as if to redress in the east the balance that had been lost in the west to Rome. Possibly it was in his interest and with his encouragement that Eucratides first raised the standard of revolt. That, of course, is pure speculation, just as are all the other hypotheses that have so far been put forward. But it would explain his appeal to the memory of a Seleucid princess, as well as the otherwise puzzling introduction into the Bactrian coinage of that characteristically Seleucid ornament, the bead-and-reel border.

In speaking of Demetrius, something has already been said of the troubles that beset Eucratides during the earlier portion of his reign. According to Justin (XLI, 6) he had much ado to hold his own, not merely against Demetrius, but also against 'the Sogdiani.' The meaning of the latter reference is obscure. Possibly Sogdiāna strove hard to maintain its loyalty to Demetrius rather than submit to the upstart who had presumed to supplant him. More probably the northern tribes took advantage of the absence of Demetrius in India and wrested from Hellenic rule the whole of the country to the north of the Oxus. We find them in full possession of Bactria itself, before many years have elapsed. The Parthians, too, were a grievous thorn in the flesh of Eucratides. They fell upon his flank when his energies were exhausted by the various other wars in which he had been forced to engage, with

the result that part of the Bactrian kingdom was permanently absorbed in their empire. We shall have occasion presently to try and measure the extent of this success. Meanwhile it will be convenient to follow Eucratides in his pursuit of Demetrius into India. His victory there was complete in the ancient Indian provinces of the Persian empire. As it is put by Justin (*loc. cit.*), 'he reduced India'—that is to say, the country of the Indus—'to subjection.' Strabo (xv, 686) says he made himself master of 'a thousand cities.' The princes of the house of Euthydemus had now to be content with the eastern districts of the Punjab. But Eucratides did not enjoy his triumph long. While he was on the march homewards towards Bactria, where he had founded a great city to which he gave the name of Eucratidia, he was attacked and murdered by his son, whom he had trusted so implicitly that he had made him a colleague in the kingship. The details added by Justin (*loc. cit.*) as to the callous conduct of the murderer in driving his chariot through his father's blood have a suspicious resemblance to the story Livy (I, 48) tells as to the death of Servius Tullius. It would have been more to the purpose if he had mentioned the parricide's name. The date of the incident is quite uncertain, but it is usually given as c. 155 B.C.

The coinage of Eucratides bears ample witness to the prosperity that attended him during his life. His money is even more abundant than that of Euthydemus. Although examples of his gold are exceedingly uncommon, they include one specimen which weighs as much as 2593·5 grains (168·05 grammes) and was thus worth twenty ordinary staters; no other king or city of ancient times was ever responsible for so ostentatious a display of opulence. His most characteristic types relate to the worship of the Dioscuri. On the reverse of the larger pieces Castor and Pollux appear side by side, usually mounted (Pl. IV, 4-6); the smaller often show the pointed caps of the Brethren, surmounted by stars and flanked by palms. The Greek legend is interesting. At first it is simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, but presently it becomes ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. As the more pretentious title is invariably used on the gold and also on the bronze specially struck for Indian circulation, it is perhaps permissible to connect its assumption with a successful invasion of the territory of Demetrius. It may be noted that this is the first certain instance of a king describing himself in the Greek legend on his coinage as 'the Great.' On inscriptions the practice was older. In this case, it is possibly a translation of the Indian title 'mahārāja' which is used

by Demetrius in his Kharoshthī coin-legends. There are several well-marked varieties of portrait. On the earlier silver, and on one or two bronze pieces, the king is represented bare-headed and with draped shoulders, both ends of his diadem hanging stiffly down behind (Pl. IV, 4). Generally, however, he wears a crested helmet, ornamented with the horn and ear of a bull. On the great majority of examples the helmeted bust is draped and looks towards the right (Pl. IV, 5). But on some very rare tetradrachms the head is turned to the left, the shoulders are bare, and the right hand is uplifted in the act of thrusting with a spear (Pl. IV, 6). The intimacy of his association with India is proved, not only by the large number of square-shaped bilingual coins of bronze that have survived, but also by the fact that, though he adhered as a rule to the Attic standard of weight, he also issued silver of a class expressly designed to suit the convenience of Indian traders. The standard used for the latter is closely allied to the Persic, which had become established in N.W. India as a result of the Persian dominion.

None of the coins of Eucratides bear dates. Notwithstanding this, there are indirect means of utilising them so as to secure a partial confirmation of what Justin says (XLI, 6) as to the usurper's rise to power being more or less contemporaneous with the accession of Mithradates I of Parthia. Mithradates, it will be remembered, succeeded to the crown about 171 B.C., and the emergence of Eucratides has been tentatively assigned to 175. He must certainly have been firmly seated on the throne a very few years later. A unique silver tetradrachm, now in the British Museum, has on the obverse a helmeted bust evidently copied from the best-known coin-portrait of Eucratides, and on the reverse the Sun-god, driving in a four-horse chariot. The legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ, while in the exergue are letters which, though not altogether clear, are generally read as PMI and interpreted as referring to the year 147 of the Seleucid Era (Pl. IV, 7). If the date has been correctly deciphered—the first of the three numerals is very obscure—the tetradrachms with the helmeted bust of Eucratides must, therefore, have been in circulation for some time previous to 165 B.C., and these were by no means the earliest that he issued. Who Plato was, we have no means of knowing. The one genuine specimen of his money that we possess—modern forgeries are far from uncommon—is said<sup>1</sup> to have been 'originally procured from an itinerant goldsmith of Sháh-ke-Dheri, who had himself procured it somewhere in Central

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1875, p. 2.

Asia, perhaps in the Hazára country or beyond the Hindu-Kúsh.' Its comparatively debased style betrays affinities with the coins of kings whose domains were purely Indian. But whether Plato was a vassal or a short-lived rival of Eucratides, we cannot say. His title ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, which reads like an offset to ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, is borrowed from the coinage of Antiochus IV (175-164); it does not appear in Parthia till nearly half a century later.

Testimony of a similar character comes from farther west. Hardly less rare than the solitary coin of Plato is the silver of Timarchus, satrap of Babylon, who in 162 B.C. declined to acknowledge the authority of Demetrius I of Syria, and issued money of his own in all three metals. Both on obverse and on reverse his tetradrachm is an unblushing imitation of the commonest tetradrachm of Eucratides, down even to the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. If, as was suggested above, the assumption of the epithet 'Great' is to be associated with the conquest of India, 162 B.C. thus becomes the *terminus ante quem* for that achievement. A less definite but still highly probable reminiscence of the 'Great King' of Bactria has been detected by numismatists on some scarce bronze pieces of the early Parthian series. Unless the Parthians were simply continuing the types of coins which they found current in districts which they had annexed by force<sup>1</sup>, it is curious that they should have borrowed anything of the sort from Eucratides. He and they were bitter foes. The account of their antagonism given by Justin (XLI, 6) is borne out by two brief references in Strabo. The first (XI, 515) tells us that, after defeating first Eucratides and then the Scythians, the Parthians incorporated a portion of Bactria in their empire. That perhaps does not carry us very far. But Strabo's second reference (XI, 517) is more explicit, though its value is largely destroyed by what seems to be a deep-seated textual corruption. The purport of it is that the Parthians took away from Eucratides two Bactrian satrapies, called (according to Kramer's reading) τήν τε Ἀσπιώνου καὶ τήν Τοριόαν. These names convey no meaning to modern readers because neither of them occurs anywhere else. We can only conjecture what districts they are most likely to represent. If we decide for Aria and Arachosia, we cannot be very far wrong; towards the close of the chapter already cited Justin says that Mithradates I

<sup>1</sup> The probability of this being the true explanation is greatly strengthened by the fact that coins of the period of Mithradates I (B.M.Cat. *Parthia*, Pl. III, 7, 10, 12) seem to be imitated from the coins of Demetrius I or Euthydemus II with the standing Heracles (Pl. III, 3, 4).

enlarged the boundaries of the Parthian empire until it stretched 'from the Hindu Kush to the river Euphrates.' Expansion towards Margiāna and Drangiāna would be a natural concomitant.

The portentous growth of this semi-barbarian power could not but have the most serious effect on the development of Hellenic civilisation in Central Asia. Parthia now lay like a great wedge between the Bactrian Greeks and their kinsmen beyond the Euphrates. Intercommunication had become difficult, reunion impossible. More than one of the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes—notably Demetrius II (146–140) and Antiochus VII (138–129)—flung themselves against the rock, only to be broken. And it is not without significance that, if we may trust Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* XIII, 5, 11 [185]), the enterprise of Demetrius was undertaken in response to repeated requests from 'Greeks and Macedonians.' This should, perhaps, be read in the light of the hint given by Justin (XXXVI, 1), when he includes the Bactrians among the allies who lent Demetrius their assistance in his attempt to break down the domination of the Arsacidae. It was all in vain. The Seleucid kings were hopelessly cut off from what had been in early days one of the fairest provinces of their empire. On the other side of the impenetrable barrier, Eucratides and his fellow-countrymen, hemmed in by Mithradates on the west and exposed on the north to ever-increasing pressure from the wandering tribes whom they vaguely designated 'Scythians,' were being steadily driven south-eastwards into the plains of India. Even there, they were not to be safe either from Scythians or from Parthians. That, however, is for a future chapter to show. Meanwhile it remains to summarise the little that is known as to the final relinquishment of Bactria by the Greeks.

Except for the somewhat rhetorical sentence in which Justin (XLI, 6) contrasts the fate of the Bactrians with the phenomenal prosperity of Parthia—'harassed by various wars, they finally lost, not merely their kingdom, but their independence'—western historians have preserved hardly any echo of the events that led up to the catastrophe. Had the vigorous and capable Eucratides lived longer, it might have been postponed. It could hardly have been averted; what we learn from Chinese sources proves that it was inevitable. Justin makes Mithradates the main instrument of the disaster, and no doubt his activity was in some measure responsible. But the real cause was the bursting of the storm-cloud, whose appearance on the northern horizon had been pointed out by the envoy of Euthydemus to Antiochus the Great just two

generations before. Strabo knew the real facts, although he gives us no details, merely saying (xi, 515) that 'the best known of the nomad tribes are those who drove the Greeks out of Bactria,—the Asii, the Pasiiani, the Tochari, and the Sacarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes, over against the Sacae and Sogdiani, which country was also in occupation of the Sacae.' The Prologue to the lost History of Pompeius Trogus (xli) is even less illuminating: it contents itself with barely mentioning that the main work had told how 'the Saraucae and Asiani seized Bactria and Sogdiana.' The inconsistencies of nomenclature here might be easily enough reconciled. But, after all, such an adjustment would leave us very much where we were. The Chinese records bring more enlightenment. From them we learn that the Yueh-chi, pushed westwards by the Huns about 165 B.C., displaced the Çakas, who inhabited the country of the Jaxartes to the north-east of Sogdiāna and Bactria, and that they then crossed the Jaxartes and conquered the whole of Sogdiāna, probably driving the Çakas before them into Bactria and fixing their capital a little to the north of the Oxus. This was the beginning of the end. The struggle may have dragged on for twenty or thirty years, but its issue was never doubtful. Bactria had to be abandoned by its Greek rulers to the Çaka hordes. And the turn of the Çakas was to come. The report of Chang-kien, a Chinese envoy who visited the Yueh-chi in 126 B.C., is still extant. These nomads were then settled in Sogdiāna, and the report speaks in somewhat contemptuous terms of their southern neighbours, the Ta-hia, by whom are apparently meant the native population of Bactria: they were a nation of shopkeepers, living in towns each governed by its magistrate, and caring nothing for the delight or the glory of battle. At some date which is doubtful, but which cannot at the latest be more than a year or two subsequent to 126, the Yueh-chi, urged forward by fresh pressure from the East, crossed the barrier of the Oxus, expelled the Çakas, and occupied all the country as far south as the Hindu Kush. From the Ta-hia no serious resistance was to be expected. But, as the retreating Çakas made their way westwards, they probably encountered the fierce opposition of Parthia; just about this time two of the Parthian kings, Phraates II and Artabanus I are said to have fallen in battle with the Scythians.

Obviously the situation which Eucratides would have had to face in Bactria, had he ever returned from his last Indian campaign, would have been peculiarly trying. It is not surprising that his successor should have failed to make headway against the oncoming



tion. The numismatic evidence shows that this successor was Heliocles. In all probability he was also the parricide. Cunningham, it is true, was of a different opinion, holding that the unnatural murder was the work of Apollodotus, another king who has left a considerable number of coins, mostly of a strictly Indian character<sup>1</sup>. But the idea that there was any blood relationship between Apollodotus and Eucratides is purely hypothetical. It is more probable, indeed, that Apollodotus belonged to the rival family of Euthydemus. He may have been contemporary with Eucratides, but there is nothing whatever to suggest a closer connexion<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, it will be remembered that Justin (XLI, 6) lays the crime to the charge of the heir apparent. And according to Greek custom the eldest son of Eucratides would normally be called Heliocles after his grandfather. If he had any brother, there is a stronger claimant for the honour than Apollodotus. In describing the coinage of Eucratides, no mention was made of a small group of silver pieces, which are usually believed to represent his earliest issue. They are mainly tetradrachms, the drachms being of semi-barbarous execution. The obverse bears a diademed head within a bead-and-reel border; on the reverse is a draped figure of Apollo standing to left, holding an arrow and a bow, the inscription being ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (Pl. IV, 9). It may be that the view generally taken of these coins is correct. But there are two serious difficulties in the way of accepting it. In the first place, it would be unusual, if not unprecedented, for a Bactrian king to use more than one distinctive type for his Attic silver, and the characteristic type of Eucratides was, as we know, the group of the Dioscuri. In the second place, the style of the obverse has the closest possible resemblance to that of the obverse of some of the tetradrachms of Heliocles. A comparison of Plate IV, 9, with Plate IV, 8, for instance, reveals a similarity that is almost startling. It forces one to ask whether Heliocles may not have had a younger brother, who had the same name as his father and who was proclaimed king after the latter's murder. When ancient states were on the verge of ruin, kings were apt to multiply. Nor is it a valid objection to urge that no second Eucratides is known to the literary texts. The name of Heliocles himself has been rescued from oblivion by his coins.

<sup>1</sup> The silver coins of the Attic standard were struck in the kingdom of Kāpiça, which formed the connecting link between Bactria and India. See Chapter XXII, p. 555.




<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

He is the last king of India whose money is found to the north of the Hindu Kush. Clearly, therefore, it was in his reign that Bactria was abandoned to the Çakas. This was probably not later than 135 B.C. What the condition of the country then became, is wholly doubtful. The language used of the Ta-hia by Chang-kien, the Chinese envoy, is interpreted by some as indicating that they were largely left to themselves by the intruders, and that they did not acknowledge the authority of a central government at all. But here again we are in the realm of conjecture. Our only definite evidence for Heliocles is numismatic, and the inferences of which it admits are scanty. The characteristic type on his Attic silver is Zeus, generally standing to front, grasping a thunderbolt and leaning on a long sceptre, the inscription being ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (Pl. IV, 8). Very rare tetradrachms and drachms combine a helmeted bust on the obverse with a seated figure of the god on the reverse. The standing Zeus reappears on bilingual coins of Indo-Persic weight and of markedly different style. These are sufficiently common to show the diminishing importance of the Bactrian part of Heliocles's kingdom, and the corresponding advance of the purely Indian element. With the exception of Apollodotus and Antialcidas, he is the last of the Graeco-Indian rulers to employ the Attic standard at all. He also re-strikes the coins of Agathocleia reigning conjointly with her son Strato I Soter, an indication no doubt that the internecine struggle between the house of Eucratides and the house of Euthydemus which had begun in Bactria was continued in India. Finally, a faint memory of his name must have lingered on among the barbarian immigrants long after the day when he fled before their approach. Once settled in the midst of a nation of shopkeepers, the nomads speedily learned that a coinage was indispensable. To provide it they had recourse to rude imitations of the money of their Greek predecessors, and their most popular models were the bronze of Heliocles and the silver of Euthydemus. Their currency thus supplies a pathetic epilogue to the story of the rise and fall of the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The annals of Hellas abound in episodes as rich in romance as any tale the Middle Ages ever wove. Nothing they contain is more calculated to appeal to the imagination than the fortunes of these heirs of the great Alexander. That their civilisation was a brilliant one, we may safely conclude from the quality of the art displayed upon their coins. The pity of it is that the store of facts for the reconstruction of their history is so slender. The surmises are



many, and the certainties are few. Excavation may mend matters some day. Until then the utmost limit of possible achievement is to sketch a rough outline that shall not be inconsistent with such scattered fragments of evidence as survive.

## KEY TO PLATES I-IV













### PLATE I





1. *A.* **Persia.** *Obv.* The Great King hastening r., wearing *kidaris* and *kandys*, and holding spear and strung bow. *Rev.* Irregular oblong incuse. [B.M.] *Daric.* Fifth or fourth century B.C.
2. *A.* **Persia.** *Obv.* Similar type; punch-mark. *Rev.* Similar incuse; punch-mark. [B.M.] *Siglos.* Fifth century B.C.
3. *A.* **Persia.** *Obv.* Similar type; but King holds dagger, instead of spear; two punch-marks. *Rev.* Similar incuse; four punch-marks. [B.M.] *Siglos.* Fourth century B.C.
4. *A.* **India.** *Obv.* Plain; group of punch-marks. *Rev.* Plain; two punch-marks. [B.M.] *Kārshāpana.* c. 300 B.C.
5. *A.* **India.** *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Similar. [B.M.] *Kārshāpana.* c. 300 B.C.
6. *A.* **Persia.** *Obv.* Similar to no. 1; but behind, ΣΤΑ, with ΜΝΑ beneath and  in front. *Rev.* Wavy bands. [B.M.] *Double Daric.* After c. 331 B.C.
7. *A.* **Athens** (Asiatic imitation)<sup>1</sup>. *Obv.* Head of Athena r., wearing helmet adorned with olive-leaves. *Rev.* ΑΘΕ Owl r.; behind, olive-spray and crescent; in front, . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 350-300 B.C.
8. *A.* **Athens** (Asiatic imitation). *Obv.* Similar type. *Rev.* ΑΙΓ Similar type; same symbols. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 350-300 B.C.
9. *A.* **Athens** (Asiatic imitation). *Obv.* Similar type, of different style; behind, . *Rev.* Similar to no. 7, with bunch of grapes behind. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 350-300 B.C.
10. *A.* **Athens** (Asiatic imitation). *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Similar. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 350-300 B.C.
11. *A.* **Athens** (Asiatic imitation). *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Similar, without bunch of grapes. [B.M.] *Attic Didrachm.* c. 350-300 B.C.
12. *A.* **Athens** (Asiatic imitation). *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Similar, with α behind. [B.M.] *Attic Drachm.* c. 350-300 B.C.
13. *A.* **Asia.** *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Eagle standing l., with head reverted. [B.M.] *Attic Drachm.* c. 350-300 B.C.
14. *A.* **Alexander.** *Obv.* Head of Zeus r., laur.; border of dots. *Rev.* ΑΑΕ-ΕΑΝΔΡΟΥ Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt, with head reverted; behind, olive-spray with berry; in front, satrapal tiara. [B.M.] *Rhodian* (?) *Tetradrachm.* Probably struck by Seleucus I before c. 306 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> All the Athenian imitations illustrated on Plate I came to London by way of India. The ultimate provenance is probably the Middle East.







15. **R. Seleucus I.** *Obv.* Similar; behind head, . *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Athena in quadriga of horned elephants r., holding thunderbolt in raised r. and shield on l. arm; in field r., above, anchor. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 306-281 B.C.
16. **R. Asia.** *Obv.* Horseman, wearing conical helmet and cuirass, overtaking and attacking two warriors retreating on an elephant; border of dots. *Rev.* Male figure, wearing cuirass, cloak, and sword, standing three-quarter face towards l., with thunderbolt in r. and spear in l.; in field l. . [B.M.] *Attic Decadrachm.* c. 300 B.C.
17. **R. Sophytes.** *Obv.* Head of warrior r., wearing close-fitting helmet, wreathed with olive; border of dots. *Rev.* ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ Cock r.; behind, caduceus; border of dots. [B.M.] *Attic Drachm.* c. 320 B.C.

## PLATE II

1. **R. Seleucus I and Antiochus I.** *Obv.* Head of Zeus r., laur.; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Athena in biga of horned elephants r., holding thunderbolt in raised r. and shield on l. arm; in field r., above, . [B.M.] *Rhodian (?) Drachm.* c. 293-281 B.C.
2. **R. Seleucus, son of Antiochus I.** *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Athena as above, in quadriga of horned elephants r.; in field r., above, . [B.M.] *Rhodian (?) Tetradrachm.* c. 275-266 B.C.
3. **A. Seleucus I.** *Obv.* Head of Seleucus I r., diademed and having bull's horn. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Head of horned horse r., bridled; in front, ; beneath, . [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 306-281 B.C.
4. **R. Antiochus I.** *Obv.* Similar type; elderly head; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar head, without bridle; in front,  and ; border of dots. [Hunter] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 293-261 B.C.
5. **A. Antiochus I.** *Obv.* Head of Antiochus I r., diademed. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Head of horned horse r., bridled; in front, . [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 281-261 B.C.
6. **A. Antiochus II.** *Obv.* Head of Antiochus II r., diademed. *Rev.* Similar; but in front, . [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 266-246 B.C.
7. **R. Antiochus I.** *Obv.* Head of Antiochus I r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* Same inscription. Similar type; in front, ; border of dots. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 281-261 B.C.
8. **R. Antiochus II.** *Obv.* Head of Antiochus II r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* Similar; but in front, . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 261-246 B.C.
9. **A. Antiochus I.** *Obv.* Head of Antiochus I r., diademed. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding arrow and bow; in front, star and . [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 281-261 B.C.
10. **A. Antiochus II.** *Obv.* Head of Antiochus II r., diademed. *Rev.* Similar; but in front,  without star. [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 261-246 B.C.

11. *N.* **Antiochus II.** *Obv.* Head of Diodotus II r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Zeus thundering l.; in front, eagle l. and wreath; border of dots. [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 261-250 B.C.
12. *Æ.* **Antiochus II.** *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Similar; but in place of wreath, , and between feet of Zeus, . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 261-250 B.C.
13. *Æ.* **Diodotus II.** *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Similar to no. 11; but with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ and, above wreath, ΘΥ. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 250 B.C.
14. *A.* **Diodotus II.** *Obv.* Similar. *Rev.* Similar; but no letters above wreath. [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 250 B.C.
15. *Æ.* **Andragoras.** *Obv.* Head of City r., wearing turreted crown; behind, ; border of dots. *Rev.* ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ Athena, helmeted, standing l., with spear and shield, holding owl in extended r.; border of dots. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 330 or c. 250 B.C.
16. *A.* **Andragoras.** *Obv.* Bust of Zeus r., draped and wearing taenia; behind, . *Rev.* ΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ Warrior in quadriga of horned horses galloping r., with Nike as driver. [B.M.] *Attic Stater.* c. 330 or c. 250 B.C.



## PLATE III

1. *Æ.* **Euthydemus I.** *Obv.* Head of Euthydemus I r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ Heracles seated l. on rock, grasping with r. his club, lower end of which rests on a pillar of stones; to r., . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 220 B.C.
2. *Æ.* **Euthydemus I.** *Obv.* Elderly head of Euthydemus I r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* Similar; but end of club rests on thigh, and monogram to r. is . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 200 B.C.
3. *Æ.* **Demetrius I.** *Obv.* Bust of Demetrius I, draped r., wearing head-dress made of elephant's skin; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ Heracles standing to front, placing wreath upon his head with r., and holding club and lion's skin in l.; to l., . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 190 B.C.
4. *Æ.* **Euthydemus II.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Euthydemus II r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ Heracles standing as in no. 3, but wreath held in outstretched r., to l., . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 150 B.C.
5. *Æ.* **Demetrius II.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Demetrius II r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ Athena helmeted, standing to front, holding spear and shield; to l., , and to r., Δ. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 140 B.C.
6. *Æ.* **Agathocles.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Agathocles r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ Zeus, naked to waist, standing to front, holding figure of Hekate in r. and leaning with l. on sceptre; to l., . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 150 B.C.

7. **Æ. Pantaleon.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Pantaleon r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ Similar; but Zeus seated l. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 150 B.C.
8. **Æ. Antimachus.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Antimachus r., wearing *kausia*; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ Poseidon, naked to waist, standing to front, leaning with r. on trident and holding palm in l.; to r. (N). [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 150 B.C.
9. **Æ. Diodotus** (struck by Demetrius I?). *Obv.* Head of Diodotus r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ Zeus thundering l.; in front, eagle l., and wreath. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 190 B.C.

## PLATE IV

1. **Æ. Antiochus II** (struck by Agathocles). *Obv.* ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ Head of Antiochus II r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ Zeus thundering l.; in front, eagle l., and wreath; behind, (⊕). [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 150 B.C.
2. **Æ. Euthydemus I** (struck by Agathocles). *Obv.* ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ Head of Euthydemus I r., diademed; border of dots. *Rev.* Same inscription. Heracles seated l on rock, grasping in r. his club, end of which rests on knee; to r., (⊕). [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 150 B.C.
3. **Æ. Heliocles and Laodice** (struck by Eucratides). *Obv.* ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ Draped busts jugate r. of Heliocles, with head bare, and Laodice, wearing diadem; behind, (⊕), bead-and-reel border. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ Draped bust of Eucratides r., diademed and wearing helmet decorated with horn and ear of bull; bead-and-reel border. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 165 B.C.
4. **Eucratides.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Eucratides r., diademed; bead-and-reel border. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ The Dioskouroi, wearing pilei and carrying palms, prancing on horseback r., with spears at rest: in front, (⊕). [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 165 B.C.
5. **Eucratides.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Eucratides r., diademed, wearing helmet adorned with horn and ear of bull; bead-and-reel border. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ Similar type; behind, (⊕). [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 165 B.C.
6. **Eucratides.** *Obv.* Bust of Eucratides l., diademed and helmeted, showing bare back and shoulders; spear in r.; bead-and-reel border. *Rev.* Similar; but no monogram behind, and in front, (⊕). [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 165 B.C.
7. **Plato.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Plato r., helmeted; bead-and-reel border. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ Helios, radiate, in quadriga galloping r.; to r., above, (⊕); in ex., ΜΙ. [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 165 B.C.

8. **Heliocles.** *Obv.* Draped bust of Heliocles r., diademed; bead-and-reel border. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ Zeus, draped, standing three-quarter face towards l., holding thunderbolt, and leaning on sceptre: to l., . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 140 B.C.
9. **Eucratides II (?)**. *Obv.* Draped bust of Eucratides r., diademed; bead-and-reel border. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ Apollo standing l., looking along arrow and leaning on strung bow; to l., . [B.M.] *Attic Tetradrachm.* c. 140 B.C.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### CHANDRAGUPTA, THE FOUNDER OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

WITH the Maurya dynasty begins the period of continuous history in India, a transition due to a concurrence of causes. In the first place, the invasion of Alexander and some other occasions of contact with the West furnish chronological limits of relative definiteness, to which certain archaeological and literary circumstances readily conform. Secondly, the establishment of a single paramount power in Hindustān, embracing a part even of the country south of the Vindhya mountains and standing in relation to the still independent areas, supplies a unity which previously was lacking and which, in fact, was rarely realised in later ages. The personalities also of two of the members of the dynasty stand out more clearly than is usual in India, in the case of one, indeed, with a vividness which would be remarkable even in the West. The literary material gain is of exceptional variety and authenticity. Not to mention the information afforded by the histories of Alexander's Indian campaign and the accounts of the Seleucid empire, we have in the memoirs of Megasthenes, a Seleucid envoy at the court of the first Maurya, a picture, unfortunately fragmentary, of the country, its administrative and social features, which research continues to verify in all its main details. Açoka's own rescripts, graven upon rocks and pillars, are documents of unassailable fidelity. The recently recovered Arthaçāstra ascribed to Kauṭilya, otherwise named Chānakya and Vishṇugupta, though in principle it conveys no new conception of an Indian polity, is in virtue of its date, which clearly falls within or near the Maurya period, and of the abundant light which in detail it sheds upon the life of the people, especially upon the arts of peace and war, perhaps the most precious work in the whole of Sanskrit literature. Finally, a most skilfully constructed political drama, the *Mudrārākshasa* of Viçākhadatta, preserves, in spite of a relatively recent date, some outlines of the events which attended the foundation of the dynasty.



The invasion of Alexander found the Punjab, as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, divided among a number of relatively inconsiderable tribes, a state of things which had probably always subsisted. He left it substantially unchanged, except that he recognised two of the larger states, that of Takshaçilā (Taxila), which had facilitated his entrance into India, and the rival kingdom of Porus (Paurava or the king of the Pūrus), whom he had conquered. The former was maintained in the region between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum), while the latter was made to embrace all the more easterly territory as far as the Hyphasis (Beās). The two kings were reconciled and united by a matrimonial alliance. Alexander further confirmed, under the title of Satrap, Abhisares, ruler of the Himālayan districts of the Punjab<sup>2</sup>. The nations occupying the large extent of country about the confluences of the five rivers were placed under Philippus as satrap, and Sind under Pithon.

The limit of Alexander's easterly advance was the Beās. The last kingdom with which he came in contact was that of Phegelas<sup>3</sup>, adjoining the river, whether on the right or left bank does not appear,—possibly it was the country between that river and the Sutlej. The mutiny which arrested the victorious progress occurred in a region which—broadly defined—has in all periods of Indian history been pivotal<sup>4</sup>. The desert of Rājputāna, running up towards the mountains, leaves only a narrow neck joining the Punjab to the rest of Hindustān. Here to the east was the country of the Kurus and Pañchālas, the scene of the legendary wars of the Mahābhārata; here was Thānesar, where arose in the sixth century A.D. the dynasty of Harsha; and here are Pānīpat and Delhi. Alexander would have had, so he was told, to cross a desert of eleven days march, in order to reach the Ganges, beyond which lay two great peoples, the Prasii and Gangaridae<sup>5</sup>, whose king Agrammes, or Xandrames, kept in the field an army of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2000 chariots, and 3000 (or 4000)

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xv, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> The mountains of the Abisares, from which flows the river Soanus (Megasthenes xx) = the Sohan, corresponds to the Abhisāra region, defined by Stein (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* trans. i, 180 n.) as denoting the hills lying between the Jhelum and the Chenāb. But it may at this time have included more, extending to the Indus, as suggested by the king's relations with the Assakēnoi (*supra*, p. 353).

<sup>3</sup> = Bhagala (?); see Chapter xv, p. 372.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter i, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> On the various forms of the name Prasii in Greek and Latin writers.—Πράσιοι, Πραΐσιοι, Πραΐσιοι, Πραξιτικοί, Βηρήσιοι, Pharrasii,—see Schwanbeck's *Megasthenis Indica*, p. 12, n. 6, and Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* ii, pp. 210–1, n. 1. The Sanskrit is *Prāchya*. As regards the Gangaridae (or Gaggaridae) the view that the name was invented by the Greeks (Lassen, *loc. cit.*) seems improbable.

elephants. Upon inquiry, Alexander was informed by Phegelas and Porus<sup>1</sup> that the king was a man of worthless character, the son of a barber, and that he had obtained the throne by the murder of his predecessor, whose chief queen he had corrupted.

We learn from Megasthenes (I, 16) and Ptolemy (VII, 1, 82; 2, 14) that the Gangaridae occupied the delta of the Ganges. The name Prasii, or *Prāchyas*, 'Easterns,' would properly denote the peoples east of the Middle Country or Central Hindustān, which extends as far as the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna at Allahābād. Either, therefore, the name 'Easterns' was used by Alexander's informants in a more general sense, as the correlative of 'Westerns,' or it reflects what in any case is the fact, that the Pañchālas, Āurasenas, Kosalas and other peoples of the Middle Country had fallen under the domination of the power of Magadha (S. Bihār), with its capital Pāṭaliputra, at the junction of the Ganges and the Son. The beginnings of this suzerainty appear already in the early Buddhist books<sup>2</sup>; and the dynasty ruling in Pāṭaliputra, which city was founded by Udāyin, grandson of Buddha's contemporary Ajātaśatru, is recognised in the Brāhman literature as representative of Indian sovereignty. Whether it held also the countries stretching westward to the south of the great desert, and in particular the famous realm of Mālwā, with its capital Avanti, or Ujjain, we have no means of knowing: but a negative answer is probable. This region, as also the continuation to the western coast of Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt, escaped the purview of Alexander and his historians. Both were well within the horizon of his Indian informants, since the trade connexion between Bengal and the coast regions of Ārjapāraka and Surāshṭra had been from of old no less familiar than was the northern route of scholars<sup>3</sup> and traders journeying to Takshaçilā and Kābul.

In the Agrammes, or Xandrames<sup>4</sup>, of the Greek writers there has been no difficulty in recognising the Dhana-Nanda of the Sanskrit books; and the very name, in the form Nandrus, has been conjecturally restored to the text of Justin<sup>5</sup>. It is the name of his dynasty, which according to the Purāṇas ruled during exactly a century; Chandramās would be the equivalent of his

<sup>1</sup> See Q. Curtius, IX, 2 and Diodorus, XCIII; also by Candragupta acc. to Plutarch, *Alexander*, LXII.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (London, 1903), pp. 12 sqq.; see Chapter VII, pp. 182 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung*, esp. p. 130; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 8, 28, 203.

<sup>4</sup> Agrammes in Q. Curtius, Xandrames in Diodorus.

<sup>5</sup> XV, 4: quippe sua procacitate Alexandrum (*read* Nandrum) regem offendisset.

Greek appellative. His overthrow, which Alexander was prevented from attempting, resulted from the conditions which the invasion left behind. It established the supremacy of the Mauryas under Chandragupta.

The details of this peripetia are matter for inference ; but the antecedents of the two chief actors in the drama are sufficiently certain. Chandragupta<sup>1</sup> is represented as a low-born connexion of the family of Nanda. His surname Maurya is explained by the Indian authorities as meaning 'son of Murā,' who is described as a concubine of the king. A more flattering account<sup>2</sup> makes the Mauryas an Himālayan offshoot of the noble sept of the Çākya, the race of Buddha ; and, apart from this connexion, the supposition of a tribal name seems probable, since a tribe of Morieis is mentioned by the Greeks<sup>3</sup> and will perhaps be identical with the Moriyas of the Pāli books<sup>4</sup>. However that may be, Chandragupta had incurred the displeasure of Nanda, whom he had served in the office of *senāpati*, or Commander-in-Chief. He is said to have made an attempt against his master, instigated by the Brāhman Vishnugupta, Chāṇakya, or Kauṭilya, who in his person, and perhaps also as representing a disloyal priestly movement, had been disrespectfully treated by the king. The case of Jehu offers a familiar parallel ; but the outcome was otherwise. Chandragupta fled with his fellow conspirator<sup>5</sup>, who figures in literature as the Machiavelli of India. In the movement which subsequently led to the overthrow of Nanda Chāṇakya is represented as the directing mind.

The abortive attempt must have preceded the invasion of Alexander, whom Chandragupta is said to have met in the Punjab<sup>6</sup>. At that time Nanda still reigned. The dating of the subsequent events depends upon the correctness of the account of them contained in the *Mudrārākshasa*. According to this authority it was as head of a confederacy, in which the chief ally

<sup>1</sup> The Indian, and also the Greek, accounts of Chandragupta are quoted and discussed by Lassen, *op. cit.* II, pp. 205 sqq. The Greek forms of the name, some of them pointing to a Prākṛit original, are Σανδρκοττος, Σανδράκοττος, Σανδρακόττας, Ἀνδρκοττος, Σανδρκοκπτος. The identification with Chandragupta is due to Sir William Jones (*Asiatic Researches*, IV, p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> From the commentary to the Pāli *Mahāwanso* (ed. Turnour, Introduction, pp. xxxviii-xlii).

<sup>3</sup> From Euphorion : see Lassen, *op. cit.* II, p. 205, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Moriyas of Pippalivana (*Digha Nikāya*, II, p. 167).

<sup>5</sup> In the Pāli account mentioned above Chandragupta meets Chāṇakya, who is represented as a native of Takshaçilā, already in company with a Parvata. For the Jain version, see Prof. Jacobi's edition of Hemachandra's *Sthavīrāvalīcharita*, pp. 55 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, LXII.

was the king of the Himālayan districts in the Punjab, that Chandragupta invaded the Magadhan empire. The play dates from perhaps the seventh century A.D.; but we need not question its evidence, which we are justified by some analogies<sup>1</sup> in regarding as a genuine theatrical tradition: moreover there exists a Buddhist and Jain story which makes Chandragupta's second attempt begin with the frontiers. Further, a conquest of the Punjab by Chandragupta with forces from Eastern Hindustān has little inherent plausibility: before the British power the movement had been consistently in the opposite direction.

A precise date for the overthrow of Nanda seems with our present evidence impossible. It can hardly have been effected without the co-operation of the kingdom of Porus. We have then two alternatives. Either Porus participated in the invasion and is the Parvataka, the ally of Chandragupta, in the drama<sup>2</sup>, in which case the year 321 B.C. would be not unlikely, as the death of Porus seems to have followed that of Alexander by no long interval. Or his successor, whether a member of his family or Chandragupta himself, was a participator: and then we have no means of dating, unless we allow the indications of the drama to persuade us that Eudamus, the assassinator of Porus, who in 323 succeeded Philippos as Alexander's representative and who retired from India in about 317, was also a partner in the exploit<sup>3</sup>. As regards the incidents of the campaign, we have no trustworthy information. Nanda was defeated and killed, and his capital occupied.

Here begins the action of the drama. According to this authority, Chāṇakya, the instigator of Chandragupta, contrives the death of Parvataka, the chief ally, and then of his brother Vairodhaka, which causes the son of the former, Malayaketu, along with the remaining allies to withdraw their troops to a distance. They are joined by Rākshasa, the faithful minister of the Nandas and by others from the capital, in some cases with the connivance of Chāṇakya. What follows is a complicated intrigue. In the end Malayaketu becomes suspicious of his allies, whom he puts to

<sup>1</sup> The plots of some of the recently discovered plays of Bhāsa seem to have been appropriated almost entire by the later dramatists, e.g. by the author of the *Mṛicchakatikā*.

<sup>2</sup> In that case the death of Porus must have been due to Chandragupta, and not to Eudamus. An identification of Parvata with a king of Nepāl is indicated by Jacobi, *op. cit.* p. 58, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On this question see the acute observations of Lassen, *op. cit.* II, pp. 213-17. The names of the allied kings in the drama need not be seriously considered, since Sanskrit literature is rich in varieties of nomenclature, which hardly ever fail, even in closely related versions of a single story.

death, and also of Rākshasa. The latter has no longer any option but to accept the offers of Chandragupta, who allows Malayaketu to retire in peace to his own dominions.

At this point the Indian tradition takes leave of Chandragupta and his mentor. The latter, his vow of vengeance accomplished, returns to his Brāhman hermitage. For Chandragupta the ensuing years must have been strenuous. The great military progress of Seleucus, whereby he sought to consolidate the eastern part of his dominions, brought him to the Indus about the year 305. He found Chandragupta, now master of all Hindustān, awaiting him with an immense army. For Seleucus the task proved too great: he crossed the Indus, but either no battle ensued, or an indecisive one. Seleucus was content to secure a safe retirement and a gift of 500 elephants by the surrender of all the Greek dominions as far as the Kābul valley. Upon these terms a matrimonial alliance was arranged<sup>1</sup>.

Thus the year 305 saw the empire of the successful adventurer of Pāṭaliputra safely established behind the Hindu Kush on the north and the Afghān highlands rising above Herāt on the west. At what period it came to include also the western provinces of Sind, Kāthiāwār, and Gujarāt, which, as well as Mālwā, we find in the possession of his grandson, we are not informed. But probably these also were acquired by the founder of the dynasty.

Chandragupta maintained his friendly relations with the Greeks. Seleucus received gifts from him; and his envoy Megasthenes resided for some considerable time, and perhaps on more than one occasion, at the court of Pāṭaliputra<sup>2</sup>. He was a friend of Sibyrtius, who in 324 was appointed by Alexander to the Satrapy of Gedrosia and Arachosia, and in 316 was again appointed by Antigonos. The date, or dates, of his mission must naturally be later than the campaign of Seleucus (c. 305) and earlier than the death of Chandragupta (c. 297); but the time is otherwise undetermined. It is to Megasthenes that the classical peoples were

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter xvii, p. 431. That Seleucus made no great headway against Chandragupta is proved at length by Schwanbeck, *op. cit.* pp. 11-19, where the authorities are discussed. The surrender of the Kābul valley is also indicated by Strabo, xv, 1, 10 and 2, 9: see also Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Indica* (Bonn, 1827), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, v, 6, 1: Μεγασθένης, ὃς ξυνην μὲν Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ Σατραπῆι τῆς Ἀραχωσίας, πολλὰκις δὲ λέγει ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοττον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, 'Megasthenes, who lived indeed with Sibyrtius, the Satrap of Arachosia, but several times, as he states, arrived at the presence of Sandracottus, the king of the Indians.' The view of Schwanbeck (p. 33) and Lassen (ed. 1, p. 209, n. 3; but rejected in ed. 2, p. 219, n. 1), who think this statement consistent with several interviews in the course of a single mission, seems untenable: ἀφικέσθαι could hardly bear that sense.

indebted for nearly all the precise information which they have transmitted concerning the Indian peoples.

According to Justin (xv, 4) the rule of Chandragupta was oppressive; but the judgment is not supported by details or by Indian evidence. The consensus of Sanskrit writings on policy discountenances excessive leniency, and insists upon the retributory function of the ruler, who in maintaining order and protecting weakness should not shrink from severity; while in time of need he is entitled to call upon his people to bear 'like strong bulls' a considerable burden of taxation<sup>1</sup>. The duration of the reign is stated by the Purāṇas, in agreement with the Buddhist books, at twenty-four years. It would be uncritical, however, to regard these testimonies as from the beginning independent, or to attach any special credence to the exact figure. Moreover, the initial date is uncertain, the Jains presenting a date equivalent to 313 (312) B.C., while the Buddhists of Ceylon give 321, and the Brāhman writings withhold any reference to a fixed era. It would be idle to dwell further upon a matter of so much uncertainty. Our defective knowledge of the chronology is in striking contrast to the trustworthy information which we possess concerning the country and its administration.

The extent of the dominions of Chandragupta has already been stated. But his authority cannot have been everywhere exercised in the same manner or the same measure. Indian conquerors do not for the most part displace the rulers whom they subdue, nor was the example of Alexander in India to the contrary. Accordingly we may assume that the empire of Chandragupta included feudatory kingdoms; and even the presence of his viceroys would not necessarily imply, for example in Taxila or Ujjain, the extinction of the local dynasty. It has been acutely remarked by Lassen<sup>2</sup> that in a number of cases Megasthenes states the military power of particular provinces; and he infers that these are instances of independent rule. The inference may have been carried too far; but it has an undeniable validity as regards the kingdoms south of the Vindhya mentioned by Megasthenes, namely the Andhras and Kalingas, as well as their western neighbours the Bhojas, Pētēnikas, and Rīshṭikas, who all down to the time of Chandragupta's grandson Aṣoka remained outside the regular administration. The districts beyond the Indus, Gandhāra, Arachosia, and Kābul were similarly frontier states.

<sup>1</sup> *Mbh.* xii, 87, 33, and ch. 121; cf. 130, 36; Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, xiii, pp. 116, 135-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, pp. 219-20.

## CHAPTER XIX

### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

CONCERNING the condition and organisation of the vast Maurya empire the Greeks have provided us with a considerable body of valuable information : and, as the *Arthaçāstra* furnishes the means of describing the complete polity existing at the time, its land system, its fiscal system, its administrative system, its law, its social system, with some view of literature and religion, we shall not forgo the opportunity, so rare in Indian history—we must wait for the time of Akbar and the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*—of dwelling a little on the picture.

As regards the land itself, we may distinguish the forest, the pasture or grazing-ground, and the cultivated area<sup>1</sup>. The forests must have been much more extensive than at present, and they clearly comprised both relatively inaccessible tracts inhabited by wild unsubdued tribes and others which were within the reach of the administration, visited by trappers and hunters, utilised for raw material, reserved for elephant-grounds, state hunting-grounds, parks, and Brāhman settlements. The pasture must have included both large spaces (*vivīta*) occupied by the nomad, tent-dwelling<sup>2</sup> ranchers, who were the direct descendants of the old Vedic tribes<sup>3</sup>, and also more restricted areas in the neighbourhood of the villages. The latter, which then as now were the main feature of the country, had their definite boundaries, their village halls,—no doubt representing the forts of ancient times,—and their independent internal economy. Less, if at all, organised were the stations (*ghosha*)<sup>4</sup>, or hamlets which formed the headquarters of the ranching class.

<sup>1</sup> For references to the chapters or pages of the *Arthaçāstra* which deal with the main topics discussed in this chapter, see the Sanskrit text.

<sup>2</sup> Megasthenes, I, 47 : πάλιν μὲν ἢ κώμην οὐκ οἰκοῦσι, σκηπίτη δὲ βίω χρῶνται.

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, xiii, pp. 79–80, 82–3 ; *The Four Castes*, p. 15. In the *Arthaçāstra* (p. 7) also the Vaiçya seems to be connected with cattle. So in Manu (e.g. viii, 88 and 410) and *Mbh.* (xii, 60, 25).

<sup>4</sup> Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 77.

Apart from the royal domains, which must have been considerable, the ultimate property in the land appertained, in the sense which has since prevailed, to the king<sup>1</sup>: that is to say, the king was entitled to his revenues therefrom, and in default could replace the cultivator in his holding<sup>2</sup>. This does not preclude alienation or subdivision by the occupier, the royal title persisting through each change. It was the king's business to organise the agricultural productivity by encouraging the surplus population to settle new or abandoned tracts<sup>3</sup>. Irrigation was an object of great solicitude and naturally under the charge of the state, which regulated the supply of water and derived revenue therefrom<sup>4</sup>.

The bulk of the population consisted of actual cultivators, and Megasthenes remarks that their avocation was to such a degree defined (by the rule of caste) that they might be seen peacefully pursuing it in the sight of contending armies<sup>5</sup>. The higher classes in the country had not a landowning, but an official, qualification, being entitled for their maintenance to a defined portion of the revenue. This corresponds to the *jāgīr* system of Musalmān times. The assignment might be the revenue of an estate, a village, a town, or according to circumstances<sup>6</sup>. On a minor scale the same principle was applied to the ranching class, which received for maintenance a proportion of the stock<sup>7</sup>.

Roads were constructed by the royal officers, and at intervals of 'ten stades' were sign-boards noting turnings and distances<sup>8</sup>. The Greeks make special mention of the 'royal route' from the N.W. frontier to Pātaliputra<sup>9</sup>. Communications were maintained by couriers, while in the woods roamed trappers and forest-rangers<sup>10</sup>.

Towns were numerous, in so much that the Greeks report as many as two thousand placed under the rule of Porus, and Megasthenes ascribes some thirty to the Andhra country alone<sup>11</sup>. They ranged from the market town (*saṃgrahana*), serving the

<sup>1</sup> Megasthenes, I, 46: τῆς δὲ χώρας μισθοὺς τελοῦσι τῷ βασιλεί διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν βασιλικὴν εἶναι, ἰδιώτη δὲ μηδεὶ γῆν ἐξείναι κεκτῆσθαι· χωρὶς δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως τετάρτην εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τελοῦσι; cf. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII, pp. 87-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Arth.* 19 (p. 47); cf. W. Foy, *Die königliche Gewalt*, pp. 58-9; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Cūnyaniveśana* (Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 127 n. and *Arth.* 19 *ad init.*).

<sup>4</sup> Megasth. xxxiv, 1; see Chapter xvi, p. 417, and *infra*, p. 437.

<sup>5</sup> Megasth. I, 14: παρὰ δὲ τούτοις τῶν γεωργῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀσύλων ἐωμένων οἱ πλησίον τῶν τάξεων γεωργοῦντες ἀνεπαίσθητοι τῶν κινδύνων εἰσίν; cf. I, 44. The *Mahābhārata* (e.g. XII, 69, 38 sqq.) qualifies this picture in practice; see Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> For details see *Manu*, VII, 118-9; Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> *Arth.* 46; *Mbh.* XII, 60, 24; Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Megasth. xxxiv, 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Arth.* 52-3.

<sup>11</sup> I, VI, 10. In xxvi the towns are too numerous for counting.



uses of ten villages, through the county towns (*khārvataka* and *dronamukha* at a river's mouth) for 200 or 400 villages, the provincial capital (*sthānīya*, or *Thānā*), the great city (*nagara*, *pura*) or port (*pattana*) to the royal capital (*rājadhānī*), all provided with defences of varying solidity<sup>1</sup>. There were also forts on the frontiers or in special situations, such as in the middle of lakes or swamps, hidden in forests, or perched on heights<sup>2</sup>.

The art of fortification was well understood. As we can learn from the Greek and native descriptions, and as we can see depicted on the monuments of Sānchī and Bhārhut, the great cities were provided with ditches, ramparts, and walls of earth, wood or brick<sup>3</sup>, having battlements, towers, covered ways, salient angles, water-gates, and portcullises, with a wide street running round the interior face. There were guard-houses for troops (*gulma*) in the different quarters. In principle the towns were of rectangular shape and divided into four regions, each under a special official and composed of wards. The houses were generally of wood, and of two or three storeys<sup>4</sup>, the more splendid ones including several courts, one behind the other. There were royal palaces, workshops, store-houses, arsenals, and prisons<sup>5</sup>. The streets were provided with watercourses draining the houses and issuing into the moat: against misuse of them, or of the cemeteries outside, by deposit of rubbish or dead bodies, by loosing animals, by conveyances not under proper charge, by funerals conducted through irregular ways or at unlawful hours, penalties are laid down. The houses were forbidden to have windows overlooking each other, except across the street. The precautions against fire included the provision of vessels of water 'in thousands' in the streets: every householder must sleep in the forepart of his dwelling, and he is under the obligation of rendering assistance in case of fire, while arson is punished by burning alive. The trumpet sounds the beginning and end of the nocturnal interval, during which, except on special occasions<sup>6</sup>, none must stir abroad. Approach to the guard-houses and palaces is prohibited, as also is music at unseasonable times. The city chief reports all incidents, and takes charge of lost and ownerless property.

<sup>1</sup> On these distinctions see *Arth.* p. 46; *Manu*, vii, 70-5; *Mbh.* xii, 86, 5; and Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 76-7.

<sup>2</sup> Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 177-8 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Megasth.* xxvi; Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 174 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See the plates in Maisey's *Sanchi* and Cunningham's *Stupa of Barhut*.

<sup>5</sup> The Sanskrit terms are *antahpura* (or *niçānta*), *karmānta* (-*āgāra*), *koṣṭhāgāra*, *āyudhāgāra*, *bandhanāgāra*.

<sup>6</sup> *Chārurātri*, 'nights of free movement' (*Arth.* 56, p. 146).

The imperial capital Pātaliputra or Kusumapura, the Palibothra of the Greeks, which was situated on the south side of the Ganges, to the east of its confluence with the Son, is described by Megasthenes (*v. sup.* Chapter XVI, p. 411). Its ruins lie for the most part under the modern city of Patna-Bankipore; and part of its ancient rampart has been found *in situ*<sup>1</sup>.

The population, as we learn from Megasthenes<sup>2</sup> in agreement with the indications of the Arthaśāstra, consisted of seven classes, which have been already particularised<sup>3</sup>: there was no transference from one class to another (except that the philosophers, i.e. the Brāhmins, might in case of adversity adopt any profession), nor was marriage between them allowed<sup>4</sup>. These distinctions of function correspond only partially to those of caste, which in fact must have been already much more complicated: and they take no note of special cases, such as riverine and maritime populations.

In the country, except where undertakings such as mines and other works created exceptional conditions, the second and third classes, the husbandmen and the neatherds and shepherds, must have predominated: the village servants<sup>5</sup>, such as the potter, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the barber, would belong to the third. In the towns we hear of labourers, craftsmen, traders, inspectors, and officials<sup>6</sup>. The crafts are numerous, especially those dealing with the precious metals and with textiles. The professions include the doctor, the actor, singer and rhapsodist, the dancer, and the soothsayer<sup>8</sup>. The traders are partly state officials in charge of royal merchandise, or in superintendence of matters connected with prices and sales, partly actual shopkeepers or travelling merchants; and not rare among both classes was the rich *greshthin*, or seth, who was an important social factor, and, if a leader in his

<sup>1</sup> Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra* (Calcutta, 1903); Spooner, *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Sur. of India*, 1912-3, pp. 55-61.

<sup>2</sup> I, 40-53; cf. Arrian, *Indica*, XI-XII.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter XVI, pp. 409-11. The equivalent terms in Greek and Sanskrit are: (1) φιλόσοφοι, σοφισταί = Brāhmaṇa, gramana, (2) γεωργοί = karshaka, (3) βουκόλοι, ποιμένες, νομέες, θηρευταί = gorāla, svaganin, vāgurika, mārgāyuka, (4) στρατιῶται, πολεμισταί = bhata, (5) σύμβουλοι, σύνεδροι = mantrin, amātya, mahāmātra, (6) ἑφοροί, ἐπίσκοποι = prativedaka, adhyaksha, sattrin, (7) τεχνῖται, δημιουργοί, κάπηλοι = kāru, gilpin, vaidehaka.

<sup>4</sup> Megasth. I, 53: οὐκ ἔξεστι δὲ γαμεῖν ἐξ ἄλλου μέρους, ἢ προαιρέσεις ἢ τέχνas μεταχειρίζεσθαι, οἷον στρατιῶτην δυντα γεωργεῖν, ἢ τεχνῖτην δυντα φιλοσοφεῖν.

<sup>5</sup> *Grāmabhṛitaka* (*Arth.* pp. 47 and 246).

<sup>6</sup> The terms are kāru, gilpin, vaidehaka, adhyaksha, and yukta.

<sup>7</sup> Megasth. writes (I, 7): εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς συμβάλει καὶ πρὸς τὰς τέχνas ἐπιστήμονας.

<sup>8</sup> *Chikitsaka*, *kuçiluvu*, *gāyana* and *vādaka*, *naṣa* or *nartaka*, and *guyaka*; also *vāḡjivin* 'crier' (?).

guild, received official recognition<sup>1</sup>. In the workshops and the prisons (the latter periodically emptied<sup>2</sup>) artisans were engaged on contract or in penal tasks; and there is a 'spinning house' for the labour of widows and other helpless or unfortunate women<sup>3</sup>.

Permanent associations in civil life include trader and merchant guilds (*çreni*) and clubs (*pūga*)<sup>4</sup>; but there were also temporary combinations of workmen and others engaged under corporate responsibility for the execution of contracts<sup>5</sup>. Collective obstruction was known and penalised<sup>6</sup>.

Trade<sup>7</sup> was active, various, and minutely regulated. The precious wares comprise many species of gold, silver, spices, and cosmetics from all parts of India; jewels, including pearls from Southern India, Ceylon, and beyond the sea; skins from Central Asia and China; muslin, cotton, and silk from China and Further India. The best horses came, as now, from the Indus countries and beyond. The merchant was mulcted in dues at the frontier<sup>8</sup>, by road-taxes and tolls, and by octroi at the gates of the cities, where the royal officials maintained a douane and watch-house<sup>9</sup>: he was required to be armed with a passport<sup>10</sup>, and severe penalties were attached to malpractices in connexion therewith. The officials record in writing 'who the merchants are, whence they come, with what merchandise, and where it has been visé'd.' The country produce also was subject to octroi upon entry, and, to ensure that nothing might escape, there were prohibitions of purchase in part or in bulk at the place of origin in farms, orchards, and gardens<sup>11</sup>. The amount and price of all goods was declared, and the sale was by auction, any enhancement accruing to the treasury. Combinations to affect prices were punishable<sup>12</sup>; an army of spies was engaged on the routes in order to detect false declarations<sup>13</sup>. The prices of ordinary goods were fixed and proclaimed daily by the officials<sup>14</sup>. Similarly all weights and measures were subject to in-

<sup>1</sup> *Çrenimukhya* (Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 81—2; Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung*, pp. 166—8).

<sup>2</sup> *Arth.* p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Arth.* 40 (*sūtrādhyaksha*).

<sup>4</sup> A *pūga* is defined as 'an association of persons of different caste and unspecified profession for purposes of business or pleasure.' On *çreni* see Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 81—2; acc. to Foy, *op. cit.* p. 14 n., it was a subdivision of a caste.

<sup>5</sup> *Arth.* 66 (*Sambhūyasamutthāna*); cf. also 76—7; Manu, VIII, 211.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 204.

<sup>7</sup> For various kinds of merchandise, see Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 91 n.

<sup>8</sup> One fifth of the value acc. to *Arth.* 40.

<sup>9</sup> *çulkasthāna*, *ghaṭikasthāna* (*ibid.* p. 110).

<sup>10</sup> *mudrā* (*ibid.* 52).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 40.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 204.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 111—2.

<sup>14</sup> Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 130 n. Every five days or every fortnight acc. to Manu, VIII, 401—2.

spection<sup>1</sup>. There were export, as well as import duties and octrois, and certain classes of goods were forbidden to be introduced or sent abroad respectively. The king himself was a great trader, disposing of the output of his factories, workshops, and prisons, and the produce of his lands, forests, and mines, for which he maintained store-houses (*koshthāgāra*) through the country<sup>2</sup>. In particular he reserved the right of coining and other work in silver and gold, which was executed by his officials on behalf of those who brought their raw metal<sup>3</sup>.

The state of society corresponding to this activity of trade, to the traffic on high roads (*rājapatha* 'routes royales') and by-roads (*banikpatha* 'merchant roads'), the bustle at frontiers, ferries, tolls, and city-gates, and to the minute regulation of all these, must have been one of considerable complexity. Nor do we lack the means, literary or illustrative, of becoming in part acquainted with it. Beside the statements of the Greek writers, we may gather abundant material from the Pāli books of the Buddhist canon<sup>4</sup>, from the Arthaśāstra and the code of Manu, from Patañjali's commentary upon the grammar of Pāṇini, and from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata; while the Buddhist *stūpas* of Sānchī and Bhārhut supply ocular demonstrations of much that is recorded in the literature. But from this material large deductions must be made: the Sanskrit Epics, and in a less degree the books of the Pāli canon, reflect the circumstances of an earlier period—irrespective of the actual dates of composition—and we run the risk of confusing conditions as widely different as those of the Homeric, the Solonian, and the Periclean age in Greece. If we seek to elicit the special features of the Maurya epoch, we shall mark first of all the growth of luxury consequent upon the rise of the great Magadha empire in the east: in the Punjab, no doubt, in spite of the effeminacy which the Greeks observed in the court of Porus, the old tribal system was still prevalent. There the actual cultivator would still be a man of the three upper classes, while in the east he was generally a Śūdra. It is to this period, no doubt, that we must ascribe the great complexity of the caste system, and the beginning of the association of caste with craft. It seems not doubtful that a number of castes did arise, according to the Brāhman theory, by intermixtures of the old four divisions,

<sup>1</sup> *Arth.* 37 (*Tulāmānapotava*).

<sup>2</sup> Manu, viii, 399; Kohler, *Altindisches Prozessrecht*, p. 54; Foy, *op. cit.* pp. 51-2, 61; Jolly, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-1. The king's trade-agent is *rājavaidehaka*.

<sup>3</sup> *Arth.* 31-2.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter viii, and Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, III-VI.

which still formed the basis: a process natural in itself, when intermarriage between the different classes was still licit, and certain to be specifically noted, while it is evidenced not only by the testimony of theological works, but also by so worldly a treatise as the Arthaśāstra. But it is only in a few cases that we find a particular occupation assigned to a particular caste<sup>1</sup>.

In another respect the old system of caste had received a shock. To the contemporaries of Buddha and Mahāvīra the conception of a king who was not of the Kshatriya order would have seemed preposterous. But the Mauryas were of low extraction, as were the Nandas whom they succeeded. Henceforth the spectacle of the low-born man in power was never a rarity in India; and soon it was the foreigner. The vast empire, with its army of officials and spies, introduced a bureaucratic rule in place of the old quasi-feudal system.

Foreign influences also begin to assert themselves. In the stone architecture, which replaces wood in public monuments, as also in the style of the edicts of Aśoka we have clear evidence of intercourse with Persia, which must necessarily have begun well before the fourth century<sup>2</sup>. And this advance in art affected religion also by its encouragement of image-worship<sup>3</sup>.

As regards daily life, we find the public side of it sufficiently gay. The people were frugal in their diet, and sober, except on occasion of festivals. The chief display of luxury was in dress<sup>4</sup>. The inns, hostelries, eating-houses, serais, and gaming-houses are evidently numerous; sects and crafts have perhaps their meeting places and the latter their public dinners<sup>5</sup>. The business of entertainment provides a livelihood for various classes of dancers, singers, and actors<sup>6</sup>. Even the villages are visited by them, and the author of the Arthaśāstra is inclined to discourage the existence of a common hall used for their shows as too great a distraction from the life of the home and the fields<sup>7</sup>. At the same time there are penalties for refusal to assist in organising public entertainment. The king provides in amphitheatres constructed for the occasion dramatic, boxing, and other contests of men and animals, and also

<sup>1</sup> *Arth.* 60.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapters XIV, pp. 329, 341; XXVI, pp. 621—2; Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, index, s.v. Persepolitan Capitals; Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 58 sqq.; Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, pp. 17 sqq. and Ch. II.

<sup>3</sup> Konow, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 145—9.

<sup>4</sup> Megasth. XXVII, 8—9.

<sup>5</sup> *Arth.* 56.

<sup>6</sup> Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 118, 176.

<sup>7</sup> *Arth.* 19 (p. 48).

spectacles with displays of pictured objects of curiosity<sup>1</sup>—no doubt the private showman with his pictures of Hades, etc., was also active—; and not seldom the streets were lighted up for festivals and it was not penal to stir abroad. Then there were also the royal processions, when His Majesty went forth to view his city or to hunt<sup>2</sup>.

In domestic life the joint-family system prevails: but it can be dissolved. Boy and girl attain their majority at the age of sixteen and of twelve respectively<sup>3</sup>. Adoption—legitimated by the king—is common. There are the four regular and four irregular forms of marriage, which is dissoluble by mutual consent or prolonged absence<sup>4</sup>. The wife has her dowry and her ornaments, sometimes also her bride-gift, which are her private property and to a certain extent at her disposal in case of widowhood. Ill-usage on either side is punishable. Upon failure of male issue the husband may after a certain period take other wives (of any class); but he is required to render justice to all: on the other hand, a widow is at liberty to marry again. Orphans are under the guardianship of their relatives<sup>5</sup>. The poor and helpless old, and in particular the families of soldiers and workmen dying during their employment, are regarded as deserving the king's care<sup>6</sup>. Concerning the *ganikās*, or public women, who were the king's servants, and whose practice and rights were subject to minute regulation, the Greek writers have told us enough<sup>7</sup>. Offences against women of all kinds are severely visited, including the actions of officials in charge of workshops and prisons; and their various imprudences and lapses are subject to a gradation of fines and penalties<sup>8</sup>. Refractory wives may be beaten (Manu, VIII, 299).

In totally denying slavery Megasthenes went too far<sup>9</sup>: in fact seven kinds of slaves are enumerated<sup>10</sup>: but it is laid down that no *Ārya* ('freeman,' here including the *Çūdra*) could be enslaved. A man might sell himself into slavery, and in times of distress children might be so provided for: also there were captives in

<sup>1</sup> See Hardy in *Album Kern*, pp. 61–6, and Açoka's Rock Edict, iv; also Manu, ix, 84 and 223, and Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 124–5.

<sup>2</sup> Megasth. xvii, 16–7: *ἑτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐξόδος· τρίτη δ' ἐπὶ θήραν βαρχυή τις*. Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 119–20.

<sup>3</sup> *Arth.* p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning marriage see *Arth.* 59. Manu, ix, 76 (absence); ix, 97 (bride-gift).

<sup>5</sup> Manu, viii, 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Arth.* 19 (p. 47), 91 (p. 246); *Mbh.* xii, 86, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Arth.* 44.

<sup>8</sup> *Arth.* pp. 114, 146, chap. 87. The offence of killing a woman is equal to that of killing a Brāhman: see Hopkins, *The Four Castes*, p. 98; Jolly, *op. cit.* pp. 116–7.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter xvi, p. 416; and *Arth.* 65.

<sup>10</sup> Manu, vii, 415.

war. In all cases the slave may purchase his freedom by any earnings acquired irrespective of his master's service, and ransom from outside cannot be refused. The slave woman who is taken to her master's bed thereby acquires freedom, as also do her children.

The progress of literature during the Maurya period is unfortunately for the most part matter for inference. Only three works, all in their way important, can with certainty be dated in or near it: these are the *Arthaśāstra* of Chāṇakya, the *Mahābhāshya*, Patañjali's commentary on the grammatical *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, and the Pāli *Kathāvatthu*. The Vedic period, including the *Brāhmaṇas* and the early *Upanishads*, was prior to Buddha, and the same may be said in principle of the *Sūtras*, or manuals of rites, public and domestic, the *Vedāṅgas*, treatises on grammar, phonetics, prosody, astronomy, etymology, ritual, whatever may be the date of the treatises which have come down to us. Nor can the like be denied regarding the various forms of quasi-secular literature which are named in works of about this period, the *Purāna*, or myth, the *Itivṛitta*, or legend, *Ākhyāyikā*, or tale, *Vākovākya*, or dialogue<sup>1</sup>. Some form of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the former of which we infer from Megasthenes to have been current during this period, belongs also to an earlier epoch. One philosophical system, the *Sāṅkhya*, seems to be prior to Buddhism: a second, the *Vaiśeṣika*, may have arisen in our period<sup>2</sup>. Finally, the canon of the Pāli Buddhism and also that of the Jains, which is said to have been fixed at Pāṭaliputra in 313 (312) B.C., and the system of the *Lokāyatas* or *Ājīvikas*, are also in substance pre-Maurya<sup>3</sup>.

If we may conjecturally assign to this period any definite literary forms, these would be the *śāstra* and the artificial poetry, or *kāvya*. The former, the most characteristic product of the Indian mind, is the formal exposition of a particular science in dogmatic enunciations accompanied by a discussion (*bhāshya*). Such are the grammatical work of Patañjali, the *Arthaśāstra* of Chāṇakya, the *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana: the *Dharma Śāstra*, or Law, followed an older model, that of the metrical treatise, and the *Nyāya Śāstra*, or Logic, is a later creation. We cannot doubt also that many of the minor sciences (*vidyās*) and arts (*kalās*), which were from earlier times a subject of instruction, had already attained some systematic literary form<sup>4</sup>. As regards the artificial

<sup>1</sup> Lists are given in the *Mahābhārata* (see Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII, p. 112).

<sup>2</sup> It is known to Aśvaghoṣa (*Sūtrālaṃkāra*) in the first century A.D.

<sup>3</sup> See Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> A number of these are mentioned in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Digha Nikāya*.

epic, it is true that we have no positive evidence of its existence in Maurya times. But the Buddhacharita of Aṣvaghosha, which dates from the first century A.D., presents a perfect and stereotyped form, indicating a long preparation.

That writing was in common use not only for literary purposes, but also in public business, the edicts of Aṣoka exist to prove. But this is by no means all. Epistolary correspondence was perfectly usual<sup>1</sup>, and written documents were employed in the courts of law<sup>2</sup>: moreover, the administration was versed in book-keeping and registration on a large scale and systematically arranged<sup>3</sup>. And we have already the beginnings of a study of style and a vocabulary of exegesis<sup>4</sup>.

Sanskrit remained the language of the Brāhman schools, of public and private ritual, and also of secular literature, except perhaps in the case of folk poesy<sup>5</sup>. In the life of every day and also in administration, furthermore in the sectarian books of the Buddhists and Jains, a vernacular was employed; and from the Edicts of Aṣoka three such vernaculars are known, one of which, that of Magadha, probably profited by its central position at the headquarters of the empire to encroach upon the others<sup>6</sup>. The Sanskrit was perhaps favoured in cultured circles, and especially in the cities; and social ambition, hampered by insufficient training, began to foster a hybrid form of speech, now known as 'mixed Sanskrit,' which subsequently established itself as a literary medium in certain Buddhist schools, when the canonical vernaculars, themselves by no means dialectically pure, had already become stereotyped<sup>7</sup>.

We shall not trespass further on the province of the historian of language and literature. Nor need we dwell at length upon the likewise special topics of religion and law. Nevertheless there is an aspect of these which appertains to general history.

There can be little doubt that the Maurya empire began with

<sup>1</sup> *Arth.* 28; also pp. 29 and 38. Strabo (xv, 67 and 73) mentions writing on cloth.

<sup>2</sup> Megasthenes denies written laws. Written documents are well avouched; see *Manu*, viii, 168.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 487-8. In *Arth.* p. 62, we hear of a Record Room (*nibandhapustakasthāna*) in the Treasury.

<sup>4</sup> *Arth.* 28 and 180.

<sup>5</sup> On this subject see the discussion in *J.R.A.S.* (1913), and *ref.*; also Prof. Jacobi's paper *Was ist Sanskrit?* in *Scientia*, xiv.

<sup>6</sup> Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, pp. 434-5.

<sup>7</sup> The priority of the Pāli style is clearly shown by Prof. Oldenberg, *G.G.N.*, 1912, pp. 156 sqq.



a Brāhman, as well as a national, reaction<sup>1</sup>. The age of Buddha was one in which religious speculation was rife. Originally a product of the Brāhman hermitages, it had offered irresistible attractions to a people wearied of ritual formality. Innumerable sects arose; it became a common understanding<sup>2</sup> that from any class a man could go forth, abandoning his home, and found or join a sect of wandering disputants or ascetics. The Greek writers combine with the Buddhist and Jain books and the edicts of Açoka in testifying to the ubiquity of the *pravrajitas* or *çramanas* (Gk. *σαρμᾶναι*, *σαρμαναῖοι*)<sup>3</sup>. We cannot doubt that this would in the end constitute a danger to the established order and an offence to the Brāhman caste. The Brāhman, in the Vedic age a priest, had long ceased to be primarily so. It is true that in public and private ritual the priestly function was his, and he was entitled to the emoluments thereof: also the Purohita, or king's spiritual adviser, was one of the highest and most indispensable officers of state. It was, moreover, customary to consult the forest-dwelling Brāhmans upon high political matters<sup>4</sup>, and in the law-courts the sacred law was stated by Brāhman assessors<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, as has been well said, the Brāhman was not a person who fulfilled a sacred function—in particular, the service of a temple has always been regarded as demeaning him—but a person who *was* sacred. He was exempt from taxation and confiscation, from corporal chastisement and the death penalty, branding and banishment being in his case the *ultima ratio*<sup>6</sup>. His true office was study and teaching, and his proper abode was the forest hermitage, where he maintained the sacred fires and lived for another world. An order such as this, established in customary respect and daily observance, was obviously threatened by the intervention of proselitising sects of *impromptu* origin, making claims upon the livelihood of the people, and interposing in formal and informal gatherings with fundamental problems. We can therefore well understand why the Arthaçāstra (Chap. 19) forbids the practice of abandoning domestic life without formal sanction and without provision for wife and family; and we look forward with confidence to the great doctrine of the Bhagavadgītā, that grand pillar of Brāhmanism, that salva-

<sup>1</sup> Lassen, *op. cit.* II, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> See *Mbh.* XII, 63, 23; Megasth. XXXII, 12; and Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 141 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Rock Edict, XIII; Megasth. XLI, 19. The *ὀλόβιοι* are the Sanskrit *vānaprasthas*.

<sup>4</sup> Megasth. XLIII, 19; *Mbh.* XII, 86, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Manu, VIII, 10; Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> *Arth.* p. 220; Manu, VIII, 123-4, 380; *Mbh.* XII, 56, 32-3; Megasth. I, 40.

tion is attainable not by the rejection of civil duty, but in and above the performance of it. Accordingly we see in the Maurya age the beginning of a stage of concentration, in which only a few great sects could maintain themselves by the side of a settled Brāhman orthodoxy. And this was a natural corollary of a great empire.

Among the Brāhman deities the greatest share of popular adoration accrued to Çiva and Vishṇu (under the form of Kṛishṇa), whom the Greeks report to us as Dionysus and Heracles respectively<sup>1</sup>. With the former was associated Skanda or Viçākha, the god of war. The Buddhist books and sculptures, which give the preference to Brahmā and Indra, are in this respect archaising. Çiva was specially worshipped in the hill regions<sup>2</sup>; of the Vishṇu cult the great centre was Mathurā<sup>3</sup>, the second home of the Kṛishṇa legend, which first arose in Western India. The Jains were probably still mostly to be found in Bihār and Ujjain, while the Buddhist expansion had perhaps even in the lifetime of the founder attained a far wider range.

Of law the bases are defined as, in ascending order of validity, sacred precept (*dharma*), agreement (*vyavahāra*), custom (*charitra*), and royal edicts (*rājaçāsana*)<sup>4</sup>, and the subject is expounded rationally, not theologically. Civil law is treated under the heads of marriage and dowry, inheritance, housing and neighbourhood (including trespass), debt, deposit, slaves, labour and contract, sale, violence and abuse, gaming, and miscellanea<sup>5</sup>. Cases were heard—in the morning—before a triad of officials together with three Brāhman exponents of law<sup>6</sup>; and there were rules as to the circumstances in which agreements were valid, and as to procedure in court, with plea, counterplea, and rejoinder<sup>7</sup>. We learn from various sources that cases were commonly disposed of locally by reference to a body of arbitrators (*pañchāyat*), permanent or constituted *ad hoc*, or by the officials of various grades; and there was a system of appeals as far as the king, who was regularly present in court or represented by a minister (*prād-ivāka*). Offences against caste or religion were tried by committees entitled *parishads*. Trials by wager or ordeal were also common. The penalties, reasonably graduated and executed by

<sup>1</sup> Megasth. I, 29-37; L.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I, 33; L.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* L, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Arth.* 58 (p. 150). Custom includes the customs of villages, guilds, and families (Manu, VIII, 41). For a general survey of the history of law and legal institutions see Chapter XII.

<sup>5</sup> *Arth.* 57-75. Manu (VIII, 3 sqq.) mentions 18 heads of legal action.

<sup>6</sup> *Arth.* 57; Manu, LIV, 10. In Manu VIII, 60, three witnesses are the minimum.

<sup>7</sup> *Arth.* 57.

royal authority, include fines (these, and also debts, often commutable for forced labour<sup>1</sup>), whipping, mutilation, and death with or without torture. In cases of assault the principle familiar in the modern proverb 'first at the Thānā' is already known, but disputed<sup>2</sup>.

Under the title 'clearing of thorns'<sup>3</sup> are included criminal law, political offences, in particular misconduct on the part of officials, and the general business of police. Among the cases contemplated we may cite theft, murder, burglary or forcible entry, poisoning, coining, injury to property, criminal negligence, contumelious violation of caste rules<sup>4</sup>, boycott and other acts of employees, combinations to affect prices, fraud in regard to weights and measures. In all these matters the magistrates (*pradeshtri*, revenue and police officers) were assisted by an army of spies and *agents-provocateurs*, who in times of fiscal difficulty were also empowered to adopt the most reprehensible expedients for squeezing the well-to-do<sup>5</sup>. If the Greek writers are to be trusted when they report a rarity of offences among the Indians<sup>6</sup>, this was plainly not due to a state of innocence even as regards elaborate criminal acts.

We now come to the matter of government and administration, which we may treat with a little more system.

Beginning with the civil administration and at its base, we find already in operation that system of village autonomy under the headman (*grāmanī*, an official nominee), which has prevailed in India at all periods. Through him, no doubt, there was a joint responsibility for the assignment and payment of the land revenue, and consequently for the proper cultivation of the fields, which failing, the occupier might be replaced by the village servants<sup>7</sup>. In consultation with the elders, the village *panchāyat*, he would also decide all questions relating to the customary rights and duties of the village barber, washerman, potter, blacksmith, and so on. His superiors were the *gopa* in charge of five or ten villages and *sthānika* theoretically ruling one quarter of the realm<sup>8</sup>, each attended by executive, revenue, and police officials. By some texts<sup>9</sup> further official gradations are recognised, and in the edicts of Açoka the highest local officials, set over hundreds of

<sup>1</sup> Manu, viii, 177 (debt), ix, 229 (fines).

<sup>2</sup> *Arth.* 73 (p. 196).

<sup>4</sup> Manu, vii, 267 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Megasth. xxvii.

<sup>8</sup> *Arth.* 19.

<sup>9</sup> Manu, vii, 115; *Mbh.* xii, 87, 2 sqq.; Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Arth.* 76-88.

<sup>5</sup> *Arth.* 90; *Mbh.* xii, 130, 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Arth.* 19 (p. 47).

thousands of persons, are termed *rājūkas*, a designation pointing, no doubt, to functions connected with survey, land settlement, and irrigation<sup>1</sup>. The superior of all these, to whom they reported successively, was one of the great ministers of state, the *samāhartri*, or Minister of the Interior and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[This important official<sup>2</sup> dealt with the whole income of the state, including that of the Royal domains. The main heads are (1) the proportion of the produce of land, which in India accrues immemorially to the king in lieu of rent, (2) the minor dues and cesses connected therewith<sup>3</sup>, (3) the special income from irrigated land, and that from pastures, forests, mines, and other works, (4) the customs at the frontiers, the transport dues at ferries, etc., the road dues and tolls, the octroi at the city gates, the profits of coinage, and the various profits consequent upon the methods of sale, (5) the fees exacted as licences from workmen, craftsmen, traders and professionals, gaming houses and passports<sup>4</sup>, (6) the fines derived from the law courts, also ownerless property<sup>5</sup>, and (7) special taxes, as it were tithes, for religious objects. In times of straitness there were also 'benevolences'<sup>6</sup> exacted, but in theory only once, from the well-to-do. Under expenditure we understand without difficulty the maintenance of the sovereign and his court, the salaries—which the *Arthaśāstra* (Chap. 91) carefully defines—of the ministry and the vast army of minor officials and spies, religious provisions, the demands of the army and its equipment, including forts, the expense of mines, forests, etc., and of public works such as roads, irrigation, etc., which was regarded as the function of the state, the maintenance of the families of slain soldiers, officials dying during employment, and finally of helpless persons<sup>7</sup>. We have here matter for the work of a large establishment and an elaborate clerical system; and we learn in fact from

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Z.D.M.G.*, XLVII, pp. 466 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Arth.* 24 and 54; *Manu*, VII, 60.

<sup>3</sup> See *Manu*, VII, 127 sqq. The normal proportion is one-sixth; see Hopkins, *The Four Castes*, p. 77. But one-fourth in addition to rent is mentioned by Megasthenes (*v. sup.* p. 475, n. 1). The mention of rent is contrary to our Indian information and constitutes a problem.

<sup>4</sup> *Arth.* 52; *Manu*, VII, 137-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Arth.* 60; *Manu*, VIII, 30-8; Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 122-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Pranaya* or *priti* (to be demanded only once): see *Arth.* 90, Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 78, 86, 90-1.

<sup>7</sup> *Arth.* 19 (p. 47), 91 (p. 246); *Mbh.* XII, 77, 18, 86, 24; Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, XIII, p. 107. Stolen property, if untraced, was also to be made good by the State; cf. *Mbh.* XII, 75, 10.

the Arthaśāstra (Chaps. 25-7) that the business of the Treasury was carefully and minutely organised, with distinctions of current, recurrent, occasional, and other expenditure and various checks. Moreover, both in town and country the various grades of officials maintained full registers both of property and of the population<sup>1</sup>. Thus the bifurcating roots of a vast administration—no doubt more effective in theory than in practice—connected the individual taxpayer with the crown.

Another important minister was the *sannidhātri*, or Minister of Works<sup>2</sup>, who had charge of storehouses, treasuries, prisons, armouries, warehouses and the like. An interesting item in his duties was the maintenance of a rain-gauge<sup>3</sup>. We shall not dwell upon the *pradeshtri*<sup>4</sup>, or head of the executive revenue and judicial service, or the *praçāstri*, or Minister of Correspondence, who was responsible for the drafting of decrees and royal letters<sup>5</sup>, nor, of course, upon the numerous *adhyakshas*, or superintendents, the Episcopi of the Greek writers, in charge of minor departments. The other great officers of state were the *dauvārika*, Chamberlain or Master of the Ceremonies, the *āntarvaṃçika* or Head of the Bodyguard, and the four indispensable chiefs who formed the inner cabinet, namely the *mantrin*, i.e. Dīwān or Prime Minister, the *purohita*, or religious adviser, the *senāpati*, or Commander-in-Chief, and the *yuvarāja*, or Heir Apparent. In the provinces were the various *antapālas*, or Guardians of Frontiers, and *durgapālas*, or Commanders of Forts, while the great empire of the Mauryas found a place also for the Viceroy (*uparāja*), no doubt attended by his own, minor, court. The functions of ambassadors are clearly recognised, with distinctions of plenipotentiary, envoy, and instructed emissary, and rules for their behaviour are enunciated<sup>6</sup>. The chief ministers were in many cases hereditary and, except in the instance of the Purohita, they would be more often of Kshatriya, than of Brāhman, caste (Manu, VII, 54). ¶

As regards the government of cities, we hear of the mayor (*nāgaraka*)<sup>7</sup>, under whom as in the country districts are *sthānikas* and *gopas*, whose duties similarly include the keeping of registers

<sup>1</sup> *Arth.* 54-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> On his duties see *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 383-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Arth.* 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Arth.* 12; Manu, VII, 63-7. A list of officials may be seen also in Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 128, 129 n.

<sup>7</sup> *Arth.* 58; Manu, VII, 121; *Mbh.* XII, 87, 10. In virtue of his general functions he is entitled, like the premier, *sarvārthachintaka*, 'thinker upon all matters'; cf. Foy, *op. cit.* p. 75.

of persons and property. All inns, hostels, serais, and places of entertainment are under surveillance, and reports are received concerning strangers and frequenters. Then there are the various superintendents of works and dues, of sales, weights and measures, of store-houses and so forth. According to Strabo many of these duties were discharged by boards of five (*pañchāyats*)<sup>1</sup>, and he enumerates six such boards, whose respective functions have already been described in Chapter XVI. No doubt the system varied from place to place, and it may have differed according as the city was capital or provincial, subject to a sovereign or independent (*δημοκρατουμένη, αὐτόνομος*, as according to Megasthenes<sup>2</sup> most of them had at one time been). We may think of the difference between a royal borough and free town in our own middle ages.

Coming now to the military, we find that the native Indian accounts present a view of the case rather less simple than does Megasthenes<sup>3</sup>.

According to these accounts the military might consist of troops of different kinds, namely hereditary or feudatory troops, hired troops, gild levies, and forest tribes<sup>4</sup>. In the first named, which were regarded as the most trustworthy, we may doubtless recognise the old Kshatriya division of society, connected by caste, and ultimately by race, with the king himself, such as in later times we find them in the quasi-feudal states of Rājputāna. In the second class also the Kshatriya element would probably predominate, though here there would be, no doubt, a career for any bold adventurer with a strong arm and a soldierly bent. As concerns the gild troops, which are plainly regarded as having a chiefly defensive character<sup>5</sup>, there is some room for doubt: were they merely the ordinary trade guilds, as an organisation for calling out the people for service in time of invasion, a sort of militia or *landwehr*? Or were they quasi-military corporations<sup>6</sup>, such as the modern Brīnjāras, whose business was to supply merchants and others with armed protection of a quasi-professional character? While refraining from a decisive pronouncement, we cannot but incline in the circumstances to the former alternative,

<sup>1</sup> xv, C. 708. A *pañchāyat* is mentioned in connexion with town administration in the passage from the Mahābhārata, ap. Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 85 n.

<sup>2</sup> I, 32; xxxii, 4; xxxiv, 7.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter XVI, p. 410.

<sup>4</sup> *Arth.* 137; Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 185 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> They are for 'short expeditions' and less quickly assembled (*Arth.* pp. 341 and 346); cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 94; Manu, VIII, 41.

<sup>6</sup> On these see *Arth.* 160 (p. 376).

for which the gilds of medieval Europe supply a fair analogy, and which is supported by the defensive character of the force. In any case the gild troops were regarded as in military value inferior to the men-at-arms. The forest tribes, employed like the Red Indians in the French and English wars of North America, or like other untrained auxiliaries in the armies of Greece and Rome, were destined for the service of distracting or detaining the enemy rather than for the actual crises of campaigns<sup>1</sup>.

The main divisions of the army were the elephant corps, the cavalry, and the foot: to which should be added the foragers and camp-followers. There was a scientific distinction of vanguard, centre, rear, wings, reserve, and camp, with elaborate discussions of formations on the march and in battle, attack and defence, and the value and employment of the several arms<sup>2</sup>. Equipment was in considerable variety, including fixed and mobile engines, such as 'hundred-slayers'<sup>3</sup>. Such instruments were, of course, familiar even to the early nations of Mesopotamia, as were also the construction and siege of forts. The Indian forts were, as we have seen, systematically designed, with ditches, ramparts, battlements, covered ways, portcullises, and water-gates; and in the assault the arts of mining, countermining, flooding mines were employed no less than the devices of diplomacy<sup>4</sup>. In short, the Indians possessed the art of war. If all their science failed them against Alexander, and against subsequent invaders, we may conjecture, in accordance with other aspects of Indian thought, the reason that there was too much of it. In the formation adopted by Porus, the elephants and chariots in front and the infantry in the rear, we may perhaps detect an agreement with the precepts of the books<sup>5</sup>. As regards the ethics of fighting, the Greeks received an impression of something not unchivalrous; and here too we may recall the written precepts as to fair fighting, not attacking the wounded or those already engaged or the disarmed, and sparing those who surrendered<sup>6</sup>.

It is in foreign policy that we find the culmination of the Indian genius for systematic exposition, the principles being those of Machiavelli<sup>7</sup>. Policy has not large aims; the mainspring is the

<sup>1</sup> *Arth.* 12 (p. 31); *Mbh.* xii, 59, 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Arth.* 107 sqq.; *Manu*, vii, 187 sqq.; Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 191 sqq., 201 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Arth.* 36; Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 178 n., pp. 293-4 and nn.

<sup>4</sup> *Arth.* 168. <sup>5</sup> *Arth.* 153-7; *Mbh.* xii, 99, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Manu*, vii, 90 sqq.; *Mbh.* xii, 95, 6 sqq.; Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 227 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> *Arth.* 98 sqq.; *Manu*, vii, 155 sqq.; Formichi, *Gl' Indiani e la loro scienza Politica*, pp. 89 sqq.

rivalry of kings and the much applauded desire for glory and imperial rule. Already we find worked out in pedantic detail the not unreasonable principle that the neighbouring state is the enemy and the alternate one the ally. The varying circumstances decide in which of the six *gunas*, or situations, the monarch finds himself, whether aggressor, defender, or *tertius gaudens*, and to which of the four expedients, war, conciliation, bribery, or dissension, he must have recourse. Here the arts of treachery and overreaching attain a climax: even in war there is a whole science of sowing suspicion among allies, treason in armies, disaffection or revolt in kingdoms (Manu, VII, 199 sqq.; *Mbh.* XII, 103).

Of the polity which we have outlined, the only polity approved by Indian science, the keystone was the sovereign. Even in the Vedic age the prevailing system was monarchical<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless the Vedas afford evidence of tribes in which the chief authority was exercised by a family, or even, as in the case of the German nations described in the work of Tacitus, by a whole body of nobles, who are actually designated kings<sup>2</sup>. Of such ruling oligarchies the age of Buddha furnishes, as is well known, a number of examples: such were the Mallas of Kusinārā and the Licchavis of Vesālī. To these oligarchical communities the growth of the great kingdoms proved destructive: at the time of Alexander's invasion they had largely disappeared from eastern Hindustān, and in the Punjab also Porus was working for their subjugation<sup>3</sup>. The Arthaśāstra (Chaps. 160-1) has even a policy of compassing their overthrow by internal dissension. Nevertheless, a number of them survived through and after the Maurya empire<sup>4</sup>, and one of them, that of the Mālavas, handed down to later India its first persistent era, the so-called Vikrama era, which is still the common era of northern India.

In the monarchies the king controls the whole administration, and by his spies<sup>5</sup> keeps watch upon every part of it. He is recommended<sup>6</sup> to check his officials by division and frequent change of functions. Nevertheless, the Indian king is no sultan with the sole obligation of satisfying his personal caprice. The origin of royalty is the growth of wickedness and the necessity of chastisement, the virtue of which the Indian writers celebrate with

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 162 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 1 sqq.; Jayaswal, *An Introduction to Hindu Polity*, pp. 3 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Jayaswal, *op. cit.* pp. 1-7.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter XXI, p. 528.

<sup>5</sup> Classified in *Arth.* 8-9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 22 (p. 57), 27 (p. 70).



a real enthusiasm<sup>1</sup>. It is as guardian of the social (including domestic and religious) order and defence against anarchical oppression that the king is entitled to his revenue; failing to perform this duty, he takes upon himself a corresponding share of the national sin<sup>2</sup>. Educated in these precepts among a moralising people, he would have been more than human had he escaped the obsession of this conception of his duties. Hence we not seldom hear on royal, as well as on priestly, lips the expression that the king should be the father of his people<sup>3</sup>.

His education is in philosophy, Vedic lore, business, and the science of polity<sup>4</sup>; he is also to receive the ordinary instruction in mathematics and literature<sup>5</sup>. He must attain to complete control of his passions by consideration of the errors of famous men in the past. He must never be off his guard or lacking in force<sup>6</sup>.

His occupations are mapped out with a minuteness which in the literature is a subject of humorous comment<sup>7</sup>. The day and the night are divided by sundial or water-clock each into eight portions. Aroused by music at the end of the sixth nocturnal hour, he receives the salutations of his Purohita and others, and interviews the doctors and kitchen officials: then he reflects upon the principles of polity and forms his plans, after which he sends out his secret emissaries, and hears reports of his military and financial advisers. Next comes the hour for appearing in the Audience Hall or in the Law Courts<sup>8</sup>, and considering the affairs of the public, which has free admission. After this the king retires for his bath and repast; and this is also the time for religious devotions. The interval passed, he receives those who bring gifts, interviews his inspectors, corresponds by letter with his ministers, and makes plans of espionage. The sixth hour having now arrived, he takes his ease and reconsiders his policy. In the seventh and eighth hours, the cool of the day, he inspects his horses, elephants, and arsenal, and consults with the Commander-in-Chief: at sunset he performs the usual religious ceremony. The

<sup>1</sup> *Mbh.* xii, 59 and 121-2; Manu, vii, 14 sqq.; Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 135 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 113 sqq.; Manu, vii, 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Arth.* 1; Manu, vii, 43.

<sup>5</sup> The king Khāravēla of Kāliṅga is educated in writing, arithmetic, law, and all sciences. Cf. *Arth.* 2 and Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 108 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Energy, *utthāna*, 'alertness' (Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 125), is the favourite word.

<sup>7</sup> See also Chapter xvi, p. 416. *Arth.* 16; Manu, vii, 145 sqq., 217 sqq.; Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 129 sqq.; Formichi, *op. cit.* pp. 65 sqq. For the humorous comment see *Daṣakumāracharita*, viii, *sub. init.*

<sup>8</sup> *Megasth.* xxvii, 16.

first hour of night brings in the reports of spies. Then come the second bath and meal, followed by religious meditation. To the sound of music His Majesty retires for rest.

The palace<sup>1</sup> is a walled building, with the women's apartments, gardens, and tanks in the rear. In front of these is the innermost court, where the king on awakening is saluted by the various domestic officials, and, according to Aelian (XIII, 22) also by an elephant. The next is the station of a sham body-guard of dwarfs, hunchbacks, wild men, etc.; while the outermost of all, communicating with the exterior, is occupied by an armed retinue, and by ministers and connexions.

Everything bespeaks precaution. The structure of the palace itself includes mazes, secret and underground passages, hollow pillars, hidden staircases, collapsible floors. Against fire, poisonous animals, and other poisons there is diverse provision, including trees which snakes avoid, parrots and *çārikā* birds which cry out on seeing a serpent, other birds which are variously affected by the sight of poison. Everyone has his own apartments, and none of the interior officials are allowed to communicate with the outside. The women are carefully watched by attendants, male and female; not even their relatives are admitted to them, except in time of childbirth or illness. All employees coming from without, such as nautch women, undergo bath and massage and change their dress before admission. Material objects, as they pass in and out, are placed on record and under seal. According to Megasthenes (XXVII, 15), the king changes his apartment *every night*.

The kitchen is in a secret place, and there is a multitude of tasters. The signs of poison in the viands and in the demeanour of the persons are carefully noted. Medicaments must pass similar tests. The instruments of the shampooer and others must be handled by the body-guard, and the persons themselves bathed, etc.: articles of ornament and apparel are inspected by female slaves; cosmetics, etc., are first tried on those who apply them. If actors are admitted, the orchestra and other appurtenances separate them from the spectator. The king rides or drives in the company of high officials. When he embarks upon a ship, the same is the case; no other vessel must be near, and troops are stationed on the shore. Similar precautions attend the hunt. Foreign emissaries are received in durbar, and the king inspects his troops armed and mounted on elephant or horse. In his progresses the roads are

<sup>1</sup> *Arth.* 17-18.

lined on both sides by police who keep away all armed persons, ascetics, and cripples: he never enters a crowd<sup>1</sup>. Should he take part in a procession, banquet, festival, or wedding, it is in full retinue.)

The question of grown-up princes—that problem of polygamous sovereignties—receives careful consideration: for princes, like crabs, devour their parents<sup>2</sup>. Shall they be kept at hand, or aloof? if the latter, shall it be in a specified locality, in a frontier fort, in a foreign country, in rustic seclusion? or finally, shall they be put out of the way? In any case, they are to be under surveillance, and at need betrayed by *agents-provocateurs*. The good son is to be made Commander-in-Chief or Heir Apparent, and in general the eldest is to be preferred. But a single son, if misbehaving, must by some expedient be replaced. The Arthaśāstra even contemplates a joint-family sovereignty, as exempt from the difficulties attending succession<sup>3</sup>.

It would seem that the states contemplated by the Indian science of Polity are of moderate extent. With the great empires, and in particular with that of the Mauryas, comes in the institution of Viceroys, or *uparājas*<sup>4</sup>, for example at Ujjain and Taxila. It has been suggested that it was the Alexandrian invasion that gave the impetus to the foundation of a single sovereignty embracing the greater part of India. This is sufficiently refuted by the facts: and indeed the conception of a Universal Emperor is quite familiar in the Vedic period: we may even believe that the conception was brought into India by the Āryans, who must have known of the great Mesopotamian powers. If we must seek for any foreign influence in Maurya times, we should think rather of the Achaemenids, whose dominions extended to the Indus. As is well known (*v. sup.* p. 480), the architecture of the period, and also the style of Aśoka's edicts, show definite traces of Persian influence; and the expressions 'the king's eye' and 'the king's ear,' occurring in the Arthaśāstra (pp. 175 and 328), seem to furnish literary indications pointing in the same direction.

<sup>1</sup> *Arth.* 18 (p. 45).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 13-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 14; cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 139 n.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pick, *op. cit.* p. 86.

## CHAPTER XX

### AÇOKA, THE IMPERIAL PATRON OF BUDDHISM

THE son and successor of Chandragupta is in Buddhist literature known as Bindusāra, whereas the Purāṇas give the name Nandasāra or Bhadrasāra: in such a matter the Buddhist testimony would have superior authority. The Greeks use instead of the name a title, Amitrochates = Sanskrit *Amitraghāta*, 'slayer of the foe,' a form which is quoted, perhaps with reference to this king, in the grammatical work of Patañjali<sup>1</sup>.

From Greek sources we learn concerning Bindusāra only that he was in communication with Seleucus Nicator, from whom he received an envoy named Daïmachus and solicited the purchase of sweet wine, figs, and a philosopher, the last named being refused on the ground that the sale of a sophist was not in accordance with Greek usage<sup>2</sup>. The second Ptolemy, Philadelphus, also dispatched a representative, Dionysius, whose memoirs are unfortunately not preserved.

The Purāṇas attribute to Bindusāra a reign of twenty-five years, the Pāli books one of twenty-seven or twenty-eight. Whether he earned, or merely assumed, his soubriquet, we do not learn; but it is clear that he maintained intact the dominions inherited from Chandragupta. He had to deal with disaffection in Taxila, a city which was also to give trouble to his successor. It was allayed by the despatch of that destined successor, his son Açoka<sup>3</sup>.

The events and occurrences of the life of Açoka, as we know them from the sole trustworthy source, namely his own inscriptions, are as follows. In the ninth year after his coronation he effected the conquest of the Kaliṅga country, i.e. Orissa with the Ganjām District of Madras. The slaughter and suffering which attended the conquest produced upon his mind such an impression that it proved the turning-point in his career. He joined the Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhāṣya*, III, 2, 88. For 'Αμιτροχάτης (Athenaeus XIV, 67) Strabo has 'Αλλιτροχάδωτ.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter XVII, p. 433.

*Açokāvādāna* (= *Divyāvādāna*, xxvi), pp. 371 f.

order as a lay disciple, and thus subjected himself to the influence of ideas of which he was destined to be one of the greatest propagators. His active devotion to that faith began, however, two and a half years later, about the end of the eleventh year from his coronation, when he became a member of the *Saṅgha*, or order of monks, and in that capacity travelled from place to place, like the wandering Buddhist and Jain brothers, displaying energy, as he phrases it<sup>1</sup>. This energy took the form of visits and gifts to Brāhmans, ascetics, and old people, instructions and discussions relating to the Buddhist *Dharma*, or religious rules and principles. At the end of this tour, which he claims to have had important results, not however very clearly indicated, he issued the first of his religious proclamations, an exhortation to his officials to adopt the like principle of energetic action; and he also orders that his missive should everywhere be engraved upon rocks and on stone pillars, where such existed. The practice of carving Buddhist sentiments in this manner on conspicuous objects was afterwards to receive a very wide extension, as is still visible in Tibet, in Central Asia, in China, and throughout the Buddhist world. During the following two years, the thirteenth and fourteenth, Açoka's activity must have been at its height. He issued no fewer than sixteen missives, of which fourteen are found engraved, in one corpus, in places as far distant as the extremities of his empire, at Girnār in Kāthiāwār, at Mānsehra and Shāhbāzgarhī in the Punjab, and twelve of the same with two others at Dhauri and Jaugada in Orissa<sup>2</sup>. In these records, which seem to have been engraved in his fourteenth year, Açoka gives an account of the administrative and other measures which he had adopted. He had been active in causing wells to be dug by the roads, in providing medical aid for men and animals (perhaps a reference to animal hospitals, now known as *Panjroles*), and in propagating medical or useful plants; and this not only in his own dominions, but in those of the neighbouring, independent and quasi-independent, states of South India and the north-west frontier, nay, even as far as the Greek kingdom of Antiochus and beyond. Then he had made regulations restricting the slaughter of animals for food and especially on occasions of festivals and public shows. He had issued eloquent appeals for kindness and consideration in family relationships, in dealings with Brāhmans and teachers, in the

<sup>1</sup> Edict of Sahasrām, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Orissa versions omit nos. XI-XIII of the other groups and append two special ones.

mutual attitudes of different sects ; further, he had denounced what he regarded as excess of profitless (i.e. Brahman) ceremony in public and private life, and had inculcated economy, earnestness, and mutual exhortation. For the gay progresses of his predecessors on their hunting and holiday excursions (see Chapter XVI, pp. 416-7) he had substituted edifying spectacles and pious conferences ; and he had arranged that he should himself always, even in his most private hours, be accessible to urgent calls—a serious inroad upon the strict apportionment of the royal time which we have detailed above (p. 492). Finally, in his thirteenth year he had instituted quinquennial circuits of the leading officials for the purpose of proclaiming the moral law as well as for the discharge of their normal functions. In the fourteenth year he appointed high officials, entitled *dharma-mahāmātras*, with the duty of inculcating piety, redressing misfortune or wrong, organising charitable endowments and gifts. Some of these officers stood in special relation to the establishments, and benevolences, of his various relatives, and the operations of others extended even to the foreign countries to which allusion has been made above.

The next objects of Açoka's solicitude were the unsubdued frontier peoples, and persons in the provinces who had incurred penalties, concerning whom we have the two edicts addressed to his officers at Dhauri and Jaugada in the Kaliṅga country. Towards both classes he expresses a paternal regard : he is anxious to win the confidence of the borderers ; and, as regards imprisoned persons, he solemnly exhorts his officials to make justice, patience, and forbearance the principles of their action. At the same time he gives instruction for the periodical public recitation of these admonitions, and repeats, for the benefit of the Kaliṅga officials, his intention of instituting quinquennial circuits. His sons, the Viceroys in Taxila and Ujjain, would follow a similar practice at intervals of three years.

The ensuing period of about twelve years has left little record in documents emanating from the emperor himself. But we may plausibly conjecture that Açoka now entered upon that course of religious foundations which has given him his unique reputation as a builder of Buddhist shrines. Eighty-four thousand religious edifices—a conventional high number in India—are ascribed to him, the chief sites being the places famed as having been visited by Buddha ; and he is said to have redistributed among them the relics of Buddha, which were originally portioned between eight favoured cities. The actual records are not at variance with such

a supposition. We know that in his thirteenth, and again in his twentieth, year he dedicated cave-dwellings in the Barābar hills for the use of monks of the Ājīvika sect. In his fifteenth year he enlarged the *stūpa* of the Buddha Kanakamuni, not far from Kapilavastu ; and during the twenty-first year he personally visited this site and that of Buddha's own birth-place, the garden of Lumbini, setting up commemorative pillars and in the latter case granting a remission of taxation. In this period would also fall the inscriptions which attest his growing attachment to the Buddhist order and doctrine, that which ordains ecclesiastical penalties for schism<sup>1</sup>, and the address to the community of monks, which among the sayings of Buddha, containing nothing that has not been well said, selects certain passages as pre-eminently suited for instruction and meditation<sup>2</sup>.

† [At this point we should doubtless interpolate a series of events which were of high importance for the spread of Buddhism, and which, though not mentioned by the emperor himself, are among all the legendary matter that has gathered round his name the portion best entitled to credence. It is in the nineteenth year from Açoka's coronation, the twenty-first according to a proposed chronological emendation, that the Mahāvamsa, the Pāli history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon, places the Third Council, held under the emperor's patronage in the Açokārāma at Pāṭaliputra. The Council, occasioned by sectarian differences among the Buddhist confession, of which as many as eighteen divisions are named, was held under the presidency of a famous monk, named Moggaliputta Tissa, to be distinguished from another Tissa mentioned in the same accounts as brother and viceroy of Açoka : in the northern texts he is called Upagupta. It deliberated during a period of nine months ; and its ultimate decision is stated to have been in favour of the school of the Sthaviras, which afterwards prevailed in Ceylon. This remarkable gathering, though ignored by the northern Buddhists, can hardly be a fiction : it represents the culmination of the earlier form of Buddhism, which with the ensuing expansion was destined to undergo a profound modification of spirit. The canon of authoritative scriptures is stated to have been on this occasion definitely closed ; and in the Kathāvatthu, composed at the time by Upagupta, we have a full record of the divergencies of opinion which led to its convention. Its dismissal was the signal for an organisation of the missionary activity which was already, as we have seen, included in the policy

<sup>1</sup> Edict of Sārnāth, Kauçāmbī, and Sānchī.

<sup>2</sup> Edict of Bhābrā.

of Açoka. The names of the chief evangelisers of the different provinces are carefully preserved to us. To Kashmîr and Gandhâra was sent Madhyantika, and to the Yavana or Greek country (Bactria?), Mahârakshita; southern India, in its several provinces, claimed the apostles Mahâdeva (Mahishamaṇḍala), Rakshita (Vana-vâsa), Dharmarakshita a Yavana (Aparântaka), and Mahâdhar-marakshita (Mahârâshṭra); Majjhima proceeded to the Himâlaya regions, and the fraternal pair Soṇa and Uttara, linked by the common vicissitudes of more than a single existence, to Suvarṇabhūmi, or a part of further India. That these are no mere legendary names we are permitted to know from some of the earliest surviving monuments of Buddhism, the *stūpas* of Sānchī, dating from the second, or first, century B.C., where relics of some of them have actually come to light<sup>1</sup>. But their fame has been eclipsed by that of the saints entrusted with the conversion of Ceylon, who are said to have been no other than Açoka's own children, his son the monk Mahendra and his daughter the nun Saṅghamitrâ<sup>2</sup>. Accompanied by the *sthaviras* Rishṭriya, Utriya, Çambala, and Bhadrasâra, they received a becoming welcome from the king of Ceylon, Devânâmpiya Tissa, who with his people was ultimately converted, and founded in honour of the evangelists the Great Vihâra, thenceforward the headquarters of Singhalese Buddhism. The special history of the island falls outside the scope of this chapter: the mission of the princely pair was treasured in the memory of Indian Buddhism; and its dispatch has been supposed to be depicted in a fresco on a wall in one of the caves of Ajanta<sup>3</sup>.

We now return to Açoka's own rescripts, the concluding group of seven edicts, which are found inscribed upon pillars, the whole number at Delhi and six of them also at other spots in the central regions of Hindustân. They belong to the twenty-seventh and following year from the coronation. In tenor they open out no new courses of action, but repeat and continue the earlier principles. One of them, however, which will be textually introduced below (pp. 510-1), has an especial interest, as a recapitulation of the aims and measures of the reign.

The whole duration of Açoka's rule was, according to the concurrent testimony of the Brâhman and Buddhist historians, 36-37 years, reckoned, no doubt, from his accession. He himself

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 285 sqq.; Maisey, *Sanchi*, pp. 108-115; Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 425 f. For the *stūpas* of Sānchī see Chapter xxvi, pp. 627 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On these relationships *v. inf.* p. 500.

<sup>3</sup> Griffiths, *Pl.* 94, 95. For the history of Ceylon see Chapter xxv.



makes mention of his brothers and sisters<sup>1</sup>, a sufficient refutation of the legend that at his accession he began his reign by putting to death all the hundred other sons of Bindusāra. His elder brother known in northern literature as Susīma, and in Pali books as Sumana, doubtless did incur the fate of a vanquished rival: and it is to the son of Susīma, by name Nigrodha, that the king's conversion to Buddhism is ascribed<sup>2</sup>. A full brother, Tissa, plays a considerable part in the Pāli story. He is said to have been for a time viceroy, and to have joined the Buddhist order, along with Agni-Brahmā, husband of Saṅghamitrā, in the fourth year after Açoka's coronation. A Chief Queen and her sons, no doubt the princes referred to as viceroys in Taxila and Ujjain, are mentioned in the edicts<sup>3</sup>, as also are the second queen Kāruvāki and her son Tivara. The Chief Queen, in the Ceylon records named Asandhimitrā, may possibly have been the heroine of Açoka's youthful romance as Viceroy of Ujjain, the lovely maiden named Devī, of Vedisā (Vidiçā, the modern Bhilsa), mother of Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā<sup>4</sup>. Another romance is connected with the name of Tishyarakshitā, represented as an attendant upon Asandhimitrā and Chief Queen of Açoka's later years, who, enacting the part of Potiphar's wife, is stated to have occasioned the blinding of the emperor's eldest son and heir, Kuṇāla, Viceroy of Taxila, and in a still later legend founder of the Buddhist dynasty of Khotan in Chinese Turkestan. The jealousy of Tishyarakshitā is said to have been aroused also by Açoka's devotion to the sacred Banyan tree at Gayā, under which the son of Çuddhodana had attained to Perfect Enlightenment. And thus on the Sānchī *stūpa*, where we find carved the propitiatory procession to the tree, by which the threatened mischief was appeased<sup>5</sup>, we have an actual first or second century representation in art, though by no means a por-

<sup>1</sup> Rock Edict v.

<sup>2</sup> According to the story Nigrodha was at the time about seven years old! The date is, of course, irreconcilable with the edicts.

<sup>3</sup> Pillar Edict vii.

<sup>4</sup> Mahendra is said to have been twenty years of age, and Saṅghamitrā eighteen, at the time of their ordination. As the former was born fourteen years before the coronation, this brings us to the year 6 after that event, which is again hardly to be reconciled with the edicts. It was for Mahendra, who was ordained by Moggaliputta Tissa and who afterwards succeeded the latter as head of his followers, that Açoka built the Açokārāma at Pātaliputra. As is well known, Mahendra is in the northern stories made the brother, and not the son, of Açoka, probably through confusion with Tissa. A son of Saṅghamitrā, Sumana by name, also became a monk. Of a daughter of Açoka, by name Chārumatī, a Nepāl legend will be mentioned below (p. 501).

<sup>5</sup> Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 108-9. See also Chapter xxvi, p. 630, Pl. XXII, 60.

trait, of the great propagator of the Buddhist faith and morals and the imperially lavish founder of its shrines.

Açoka's activity in this latter respect is not proportionally evidenced by existing monuments. When the Chinese pilgrims refer, as they constantly do, to a '*stūpa* of Açoka,' we cannot in strictness understand anything more than one of archaic style, such as are those still more or less intact at Sānchī or Bhārhut or figured on their sculptures and elsewhere, nor are we allowed to ascribe *en bloc* to the emperor himself the pillars at Delhi, Allahābād, Sārnāth, Rāmpūrvā and in other places, on which his edicts are found inscribed: he himself forbids this, when he orders his edicts to be engraven on pillars, where such should be found<sup>1</sup>. The only works of this nature particularised by him in the edicts relating to the places in question are the double enlargement of the *stūpa* of Koṇagamana at Nigliṅva, the pillar erected at the same place and that at the Lumbini garden: the cave-dwellings assigned to the Ājīvika monks in the Barābar hills are not expressly stated to have been constructed by Açoka's orders. When we have added the stone railing round the Bodhi-tree, which seems to be figured on the *stūpa* of Sānchī (*v. sup.* p. 500), we have completed the list of what can certainly be ascribed to him. But, no doubt, the remains of the palace, the Açokārāma, the Kukkuṭārāma, and other erections at Pātāliputra may be plausibly claimed for him<sup>2</sup>; and we may also mention the completion on his behalf, by the Yavana king Tushāspa, of the Sudarçana tank in Junāgarh, which had been begun by his grandfather Chandragupta<sup>3</sup>. For the rest we must be content to believe that the great reputation which he enjoyed in this respect had a solid foundation.)

Two famous cities in frontier countries have a traditional claim to Açoka as founder. The former is Çrīnagar, the capital of Kashmīr, embracing the site of the old Çrīnagarī, which is connected with his name<sup>4</sup>. In Nepāl the ancient city of Deo-Pātan (Deva-pattana) and the adjacent village of Chabahil are associated with a visit of Açoka accompanied by a daughter Chārumatī and her Kshatriya husband Devapāla<sup>5</sup>. The two latter are said to have remained in the country and to have built respectively a

<sup>1</sup> Edict of Sahasrām etc. (the earliest edict). Pillars set up by Açoka's own orders are mentioned in Pillar Edict VII (quoted in full *inf.* p. 510). In other cases style and archaeological considerations must decide.

<sup>2</sup> Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pātāliputra (Patna)*, Calcutta, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* VIII, pp. 46-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Rājatarānginī*, translation of Sir M. A. Stein, I, ll. 101-7, and the notes.

<sup>5</sup> Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepāl* (Musée Guimet, 1905-8), I, pp. 67 and 263; II, 24, 336; III, 161 f.

nunnery and a monastery, the latter left unfinished by its founder. The legend—for such it is—derives some support from the archaic style of the four neighbouring *stūpas* ascribed to Açoka.

[The name Açoka occurs in only one of the known inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere the emperor employs (in conjunction with *rājā*, 'king') the official titles *devānām priya*, 'dear to the gods,' and *priyadarçana*, 'of friendly mien.' The former style—which in later ages the popular grumbling, so humorously common in India, as in other countries, diverted to the sense of 'fool'—is known to have been employed by contemporary kings in Ceylon, and by Açoka's grandson (or still more remote descendant) Daçaratha, so that it was probably normal; indeed Açoka himself once uses the plural in the sense practically of 'kings.' *Priyadarçin* also, which has been well rendered 'gracious,' may represent a customary view that the king should wear 'a mild, pleasant, and composed aspect'<sup>2</sup>. But it is certainly quite possible, as M. Senart suggests<sup>3</sup>, that it was adopted by Açoka as his ordination name.]

The chronology of the reign is fixed within wide limits by the mention in the thirteenth Rock Edict of 'the Yona King Antiochus and beyond that Antiochus to where dwell the four kings severally named Ptolemy (Philadelphus of Egypt, 285–247 B.C.), Antigonus (Gonatas of Macedon, 278–239), Magas (of Cyrene, died 258), and Alexander (of Epirus, 272–258?).' The fact that these are all supposed to be reigning makes it unlikely that the edict was issued long after the year 258 B.C., when one, if not two, of them died. A prior limit of any value does not seem to be supplied by the passage, inasmuch as Antiochus Theos, whose reign began in 261 B.C., was preceded by a sovereign, his father, of like name. The omission of the Bactrian ruler Diodotus, whose independence of the Seleucid empire dates from about 250 B.C., confirms the inference that the edict is not long posterior to the year 258. Adopting 258–7 as its provisional date, and accepting the arguments which assign it to the fourteenth year, we arrive at 270 B.C. as the latest year for the coronation: but plainly nothing in the calculation forbids an earlier date. That the coronation was posterior by four years to the actual beginning of the reign is affirmed by the Ceylon tradition and perhaps also indirectly implied by the same: which would

<sup>1</sup> Found in 1915 at Maski in the Raichūr Dist. of Hyderābād; see *Hyderabad Arch. Series*, No. 1, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> *Mbh.* xii, 67, 39; cf. 57, 19. In the Kharoshthi documents from Chinese Turkestan *priyadarçana* is a common form of polite address; see *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, Part I, 1920, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, pp. 227–8.

give the year 274 B.C. as the latest possible for Açoka's accession. But this may reasonably be suspected as an invention made in the interest of a chronological system<sup>1</sup>. A provisional chronological scheme of the reign might then take shape as follows :

- 274 B.C. at latest : accession.  
 270 B.C. at latest : coronation.  
 262 B.C. at latest : conquest of Kaliṅga and adhesion to Buddhism.  
 260 B.C. at latest : entry into the order of monks and beginning of active propaganda.  
 259 B.C. at latest : issue of first Edict (that of Saahasrām, Rūpnāth, Bairāt and Brahmagiri).  
 258-7 B.C. at latest : issue of the fourteen Rock Edicts ; dedication of cave dwellings in the Barābar hills.  
 256 B.C. at latest : visit to Kapilavastu.  
 253 B.C. ? : Council of Pāṭaliputra.  
 250 B.C. at latest : second visit to Kapilavastu and visit to the Lumbinī garden.  
 243-2 B.C. at latest : issue of Pillar Edicts.  
 237-6 B.C. ? : death of Açoka (on the assumption that the reign lasted 36 or 37 years, as the Purāṇas and Pāli books affirm).

According to the Ceylon tradition the coronation of Açoka took place 218 years (i.e. in the 219th year) after the death of Buddha, and the Council in the 236th year. The tradition of Khotan on the other hand, as reported in Tibetan books<sup>2</sup>, places the 50th year (out of 55) in the reign at an interval of 234 years from the *Parinirvāṇa*. The Chinese and Sanskrit reckonings are, as is well known, vitiated by confusion with another Açoka, Kālāçoka or Kākavarṇa of the Çiçunāga dynasty, who is placed one century after Buddha. The number 218 may very well be deserving of credit as a genuine tradition<sup>3</sup> ; but it is of value for the determination rather of the date of Buddha than that of Açoka. A much discussed number 256 in the earliest edict has no bearing upon chronology<sup>4</sup>.

✓ The activity of Açoka lay wholly, so far as we are informed of it, in the sphere of *dharma*, i.e. according to the Indian definition, the sphere of conduct leading to heaven or to final liberation<sup>5</sup> ; we may say, the spheres of religion and morality. It therefore furnishes a complement to the strictly political system of the

<sup>1</sup> A supposition broached and rejected by M. Senart, *op. cit.* II, pp. 237-8. But possibly Açoka may have been *de facto* ruler during the last years of Bindusāra, which may explain the extra three years assigned by the Buddhists to that king (*supra*, p. 495).

<sup>2</sup> Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 233, and the Tibetan texts there named.

<sup>3</sup> Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, pp. xxxi sqq.

<sup>4</sup> F. W. Thomas, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 19-23, and *Les Vivāsāh d'Açoka* (*Jour. As.*, Série x, xv, pp. 507-22).

<sup>5</sup> For the employment of the word by Açoka see Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, pp. 308 f.

Arthaçāstra. We may consider it under the aspects of the emperor's principles and personal action, his admonitions, and his ordinances and institutions.

It was, as we have seen, the events of the Kalinga war that awoke the humanitarian and missionary spirit in Açoka. He was impressed both by the actual horrors of the campaign and by the interference with the peaceful and moral influence of the religious teachers. The chords which were struck have in Indian life a dominant note: Açoka attached himself to the Buddhist religion, the most important of those which upheld the doctrines of *ahimsā* and *maitrī*, abstinence from doing hurt to, and benevolent feeling towards, living creatures. Two and a half years later he awoke to the possibilities of his position, joined the order of monks, and entered upon a course of 'activity.'

The importance of energetic action by the sovereign was not a new conception; the Indian writers on policy make it the subject of constant admonition to their rulers (*v. sup.* p. 492). Nor was the idea of royal responsibility for the virtue of the people a novelty: the king is, as we have seen (*ibid.*), the upholder of *dharma* and incurs a proportion of the sin of the people, if he exacts the taxes without maintaining the social order. But Açoka gives to these principles a new force and direction by calling upon all to participate in his energy and by fixing attention upon moral improvement as a means to happiness in the present, and further in another, life. His position is therefore not merely paternal, as the books would require, and as he himself professes<sup>1</sup>: he has also a moral and religious responsibility and mission.

The degree of Açoka's appreciation of Buddhism is not very easily definable; and it was even at one time contended that his early faith, which laid such special stress upon the doctrine of benevolence, was rather that of Jainism. He emphasises the principle of tolerance, wishes for the real prosperity of all sects, and, while not discouraging discussion, always a prominent feature of Indian religious life, earnestly preaches avoidance of offence. If he discountenances what he considers vain ceremonials and certain popular entertainments, which were occasions of animal slaughter, his attitude to the Brāhman system in general is benevolent and respectful: he believes in the gods and would have his people strive for heaven. Nevertheless, Açoka was undoubtedly a Buddhist: he became a lay disciple and then a monk; later he

<sup>1</sup> Kalinga Edicts I and II.

proclaims his regard for the religion and his personal faith<sup>1</sup>; he addresses the church, naming certain passages from the scriptures as specially suitable for teaching and study; he denounces penalties for schism; he holds a council which defines the canon; and finally he stands out as by far the greatest author of the religious foundations of the sect. On the other hand we hear from him nothing concerning the deeper ideas or fundamental tenets of the faith; there is no mention of the Four Grand Truths, the Eightfold Path, the Chain of Causation, the supernatural quality of Buddha: the word and the idea of *Nirvāna* fail to occur; and the innumerable points of difference which occupied the several sects are likewise ignored. Aṣoka, therefore, is no theologian or philosopher; and only in the saying that the gift of *dharma* is above all other gifts, and in the preference of meditation to liberality, do we find any trace of such modes of thought.

Of Aṣoka's personal action the most important features were his religious tours and progresses, which began at the end of the eleventh year. They were the occasion of personal intercourse with the people, including discussions and instructions in religious matters. In the course of these, and on other occasions, he was wont to issue religious proclamations, which were published by his officials and inscribed on rocks and pillars. He claims that in little more than a year he had brought the Brāhman gods to the knowledge of those people in India, i.e. the wild tribes, who had formerly known nothing of them<sup>2</sup>. Further he organised shows and processions exhibiting figures of the gods in their celestial cars, of sacred elephants, and fires<sup>3</sup>. The practice of earlier times, which made the king accessible to the public only at certain hours, he modified to the extent of being ready to transact business or see officials even in his most private seclusion<sup>4</sup>. He subjected his household to supervision by special religious dignities: and finally he restricted the diet of the palace practically to the point of vegetarianism<sup>5</sup>. His activity in causing trees to be planted by the roads, and wells for travellers to be constructed at every half-koss, also his provision of medical aid for men and animals, and his propagation of useful plants, need not be further dwelt upon: only in degree were they a new feature of royal beneficence in India<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Edict of Bhābṛā (*prasāda* in Buddhist phraseology denotes 'faith').

<sup>2</sup> Edict of Sahasrām etc.

<sup>3</sup> Rock Edict iv.

<sup>4</sup> Rock Edict vi.

<sup>5</sup> Rock Edict i; Pillar Edict v.

<sup>6</sup> Bühler, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvii, pp. 101-2, and as regards trees, wells etc., cf. *Arthaśāstra*, 19.

‡ [Açoka's relations with the Buddhist *Saṅgha* were, no doubt, friendly and cordial. He had himself been ordained, as had his brother, and by the surrender of his son and daughter also he had acquired a right to the title 'Kinsman of the Faith.' But no doubt the monkish chronicles go too far in representing his devotion as without bounds. Even his lavish expenditure upon religious edifices is exaggerated in the statement that he thrice gave away, and purchased back, Jambu-dvīpa or the continent of India<sup>1</sup>! It can hardly be that an emperor so conscious of the responsibilities of his unique position should have been made more amenable to the authority of a religious order by himself joining it. Nor is there in his actual references to the *Saṅgha* any note of special deference; nor again do his ordinances accord to it any special regard, since the *parishads* whose affairs were to be supervised by the *dharma-mahāmātras* included the managing committees of all sects. On the other hand, we fail to detect even in the advice which Açoka gives to the *Saṅgha* concerning specially applicable passages from the scriptures any note of the arrogance which might have betrayed an emperor himself at home in the order. In fact such an attitude would be both un-Indian (as sanctity and learning in India excite a *genuine* respect) and anachronistic in what was still an age of faith. On the whole, easy as it would be to imagine flaws, one way or the other, in Açoka's relations with the clergy, it would be hard to demonstrate them to a sound intelligence: by his grasp of the essential he rises superior to such personal suspicions.

Of the Buddhist leaders with whom he is said to have been in correspondence the most important is Upagupta or Moggaliputta Tissa. This divine is reckoned as fifth in the succession of Vinaya teachers from the time of Buddha, the series being Upāli, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava and Chaṇḍavajji, Moggaliputta Tissa<sup>2</sup>. Tissa was 60 years old at the time of Açoka's coronation, and he died 26 years later, being succeeded by Mahendra. Apart from the Kathāvatthu he is not known as an author, his great monument being the Third Council. A famous *stūpa* was built in his honour at Mathurā.

Mention has already been made of the missionary leaders,

<sup>1</sup> Hsien Tsiang states that the fact was recorded in an inscription on the pillar at Pātaliputra (trans. Beal, II, p. 91).

<sup>2</sup> The identity of this Tissa with Upagupta was proved by Col. L. Waddell in the *Journal* (1897, pp. 76-84) and *Proceedings* (1899, pp. 70-5) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Concerning the succession see Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, pp. xlvii f.

whose activity is said to have followed upon the Third Council, and of Açoka's several relatives who joined the order (*v. sup.* p. 499). The Pāli books mention also a Mahāvaruṇa, and the two sons of Kuntī, Tissa and Sumitta, who are said to have died after Açoka's eighth year : they are not otherwise known.

The northern books<sup>1</sup> mention a minister Rādhāgupta, who is said to have played an important part in Açoka's attainment of sovereignty and his administration ; and another minister, the Arhat Yaças, associated with the Khotan legend of Kustana. The existence of the minister Yaças seems deserving of credence as he is mentioned in the Sūtrālaṅkāra of Aṣvaghosha<sup>2</sup>

The moral exhortations which Açoka most frequently addresses to his people refer to the practice of simple virtues, namely proper treatment of slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, generosity and respect to friends, companions, relations, ascetics, and Brāhmans, abstinence from cruelty to living creatures. For this imperial insistence upon such obvious duties we are right to demand some explanation ; and we may perhaps find an explanation in his statement that there had been during a long period a deterioration in these respects<sup>3</sup>. Not to attribute to Açoka the character merely of a retrospective pessimism, we may think of the social and other changes which might naturally accompany the growth of a great empire, the succession of dynastic tragedies, the subjugation of small states, the Greek invasion, and the initiation of numerous sects. And, apart from the general responsibility of a paternal rule, he might have found even in the Arthaçāstra (19, p. 47) the principle that the royal authority should ensure the observance of proper discipline in the household, an obligation which even the modern state does not decline. As regards the aged and the poor, who are placed under the care of religious officials<sup>4</sup>, we have seen that—in the absence of a 'poor law'—the care of such was a traditional obligation of royalty (*v. sup.* p. 487). These primary admonitions recur also in the latest of the edicts, as they had been prominent, along with the appeal for energy and mutual exhortation, in the earliest. But we hear also from the beginning of piety—friendship in piety, liberality in piety, kinship in piety—concord and the growth of sects in essential matters, in a word of religion, *dharma*, as something more than *çīla*, 'morality.' It was to be expected that with

<sup>1</sup> *Açokāvadāna* (= *Divyāvadāna*, xxix) and *Kuṣālāvadāna* (= *ibid.* xxvii).

<sup>2</sup> Translated from the Chinese by E. Huber (Paris, 1908) ; see the Index.

<sup>3</sup> Rock Edict iv.

<sup>4</sup> Rock Edict v.



advancing years the religious feeling should acquire a stronger hold; whence we are not surprised to find in the later edicts a special exhortation to self-examination and the view that the chief thing is personal adherence to a man's adopted faith. In a country where during later ages the ecstatic, metaphysical, and fanciful aspects of religion have predominated, the sober Buddhist piety revealed in the edicts (and not uncommonly evidenced in the literature of Buddhism, both of the Great and Little Vehicles) deserves remark.

The measures, enactments, and institutions of Açoka need not more than moderately detain us. His philanthropic activity in providing wells and trees along the roads, in propagating medicinal plants, and in founding hospitals for men and animals—an activity not confined to his own dominions—and further his great rôle as propagator of his religion and pious founder, also his regulations concerning the slaughter and treatment of animals, have already received due notice. To the same sphere belong his rules concerning prisoners, the reservation of capital punishment, and the respite of the condemned during three days with a view to their spiritual welfare and edifying works.

[The official system remained for the most part unchanged<sup>1</sup>. The presence of Açoka's envoys even as far as the various Greek kingdoms is plainly contemplated. The general term denoting the superior officials is *mahāmātra*, while the lower, especially the clerkly ranks, are entitled *yukta*. The highest local officers 'set over many hundreds of thousands of people'—corresponding no doubt to the *sthānikas* of the Arthaçāstra—are mentioned as *rājūkas*<sup>2</sup>, and with them are associated *prādeçikas*, perhaps the *pradeshṭris* whose functions we have already defined. It is to these officers that a number of the edicts are addressed. They are exhorted to adopt towards the people under their charge the mild, patient, and benevolent principles of the emperor himself: they are compared to nurses entrusted with the charge of children. An institution several times referred to is the *anusamyāna*, or periodical tour, still a feature of Indian administration. This was not an innovation on the part of Açoka, but a part of the system which he inherited<sup>3</sup>. However, he added to the duties of the

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion see Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Pijadasi*, II, pp. 278 f.

<sup>2</sup> Or *rajjugrāhaka*s, as in the Pāli books = 'land-measurers,' the *ἀγρονόμοι* of Megasthenes, concerning whom *v. sup.* p. 417. Cf. Bühler, *Z.D.M.G.*, XLVII, pp. 466-71.

<sup>3</sup> This is implied by Açoka himself (Rock Edict III): cf. Bühler, *Z.D.M.G.*, XLI, p. 19.

touring officials, as early as his thirteenth year, that of following his own example in making their visitations the occasion of benevolent activity and religious propaganda. For this purpose, however, he himself organised a special ecclesiastical hierarchy of religious officers (*dharma-mahāmātra*), to whom these two functions were primarily assigned, and who moreover superintended the bounties of his own household, and those of his queens, his sons, and other relatives, and organised the activities of the committees and councils (*parishad*) at the head of the Buddhist, Jain, Ājīvika and other sects. The tolerance of all sects as regards liberty of residence in every district seems also to be a feature of Açoka's own conception, as it is opposed to the rule of the Arthaçāstra (19, p. 48). ]

Here we conclude our analytical appreciation of Açoka's rule. But the personality which in so un-Indian a fashion pervades the whole of his proclamations—a personality which in its rather high-strung, and by consequence partly plaintive, energy recalls another flawless imperial saint, the Roman Marcus Aurelius—can be communicated only in his own words: and we are therefore justified in citing two of his edicts, one a normal specimen of their tone, and the second the solemn review of his measures, which, published in the twenty-seventh year from his consecration, we have ventured to designate as 'the testament of Açoka.'

#### ROCK EDICT IV.

In the past, during many centuries, there has been steady growth in the practice of taking life, ill-usage of living creatures, misbehaviour among relatives, misbehaviour towards Brāhmins and ascetics. But now through the pious observance of king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, the signal of the drum has become a signal of piety, displaying to the people sights of celestial cars, sights of elephants, bonfires, and other heavenly shapes. In such wise as has not been before in many centuries, there has been at present, owing to the inculcation of piety by king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, growth in abstinence from taking life, in abstinence from ill-usage of living creatures, in proper behaviour towards relatives, proper behaviour towards Brāhmins and ascetics, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders. In these and other manifold ways pious observance has grown, and this pious observance king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, will make still to grow. The sons, also, and grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, will foster this pious observance until the end of time. Standing fast by piety and morality, they will inculcate piety. For this is the best action, inculcation of piety: pious observance, again, is not found in an immoral person. Hence in this respect also growth and no falling off is good. To this end has this been inscribed, that men may effect growth in this respect and that falling off may not be suffered. This has been inscribed by king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, having been consecrated twelve years.

## PILLAR EDICT VII.

Thus says king Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

The kings who were in the past wished thus : 'How may the people grow with the growth of piety?' The people, however, did not grow with a proper growth in piety.

In this matter thus says king Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

This thought came to me : In the past the kings had this wish : 'How may the people grow with a proper growth in piety?' The people, however, did not grow with a proper growth in piety. Whereby then can the people be made to conform? Whereby can the people be made to grow with a proper growth in piety? Whereby can I elevate any of them by a growth in piety?

In this matter thus says king Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

This thought came to me, 'I will publish precepts of piety, I will inculcate instructions in piety : hearing these, the people will conform, will be elevated, and will grow strongly with the growth of piety.' For this purpose precepts of piety were published, manifold instructions in piety were enjoined, so that my officers in charge of large populations might expound them and spread them abroad. The governors also, in charge of many hundred thousand lives, they also were ordered, 'thus and thus catechise the persons of the establishment of piety.'

Thus says Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

With the same object pillars of piety were made by me, dignitaries of piety were instituted, precepts of piety were proclaimed.

Thus says king Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

On the roads also banyans were planted, to give shade to cattle and men : mango-gardens were planted : and at each half-koss wells were dug : also rest-houses were made : many watering-stations also were made in this and that place for the comfort of cattle and men. Little indeed is mere comfort : for with various gratifications the people have been gratified both by previous kings and by myself. But, that they might conform with a conformity in piety, for this reason was this done by me.

Thus says Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

Dignitaries of piety were appointed by me in charge of manifold indulgences, these both for ascetics and for householders ; also over all sects were they appointed. Over the affairs of the Saṅgha also were they set, 'these shall be appointed' ; likewise over Brāhmans, Ājivikas also were they set, 'these shall be appointed.' Over Nirgranthas also were they set, 'these shall be appointed.' Over various sects also were they set, 'these shall be appointed.' According to circumstances such and such dignitaries were set over such and such. Dignitaries of piety also were appointed over both these and all other sects.

Thus says king Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

These and various other classes were appointed in charge of the distribution of charity, both my own and that of the queens. And in my whole harem they carry out in manifold fashions such and such measures of satisfaction, both here and in all quarters. The same has been done as regards the distribution of charity on the part of my sons and the other princes, 'these shall be appointed over the distributions of charity,' with a view to ensamples of piety and for conformity to piety. For this is an ensample of piety and conformity to piety, when in the people compassion, liberality, truth, honesty, mildness, and goodness shall thereby be increased.

Thus says king Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

Whatsoever good deeds have been done by me, thereto the people have conformed, and those they copy. And thereby they have grown and will grow

in obedience to mothers and fathers, in obedience to venerable persons, in conformity to the old, in right behaviour towards Brāhman and ascetics, the poor and wretched, slaves and servants.

Thus says king Piyadasi, dear to the gods :

This growth in piety is a growth in two respects, in the restraints of piety and in considerateness. Now of these restraint by piety is a little thing, but considerateness a greater. The restraint of piety is this, that I have had such and such creatures made exempt from slaughter, and there are other restraints of piety which have been ordained by me. But by considerateness there has been to a greater degree a growth in piety on the part of men, conducing to abstention from ill-usage to living creatures and to non-taking of life. This was done to this end, that sons and grandsons may continue therein as long as moon and sun endure, and that they may conform accordingly. For by so conforming this life and the future life are secured. This Edict of Piety was inscribed by me, when I had been six and twenty years consecrated.

Thus says the dear to the gods :

Where there are stone pillars or stone slabs, there this Edict of Piety is to be inscribed, that it may be permanent.

The dynastic successors of Açoka are by the Brāhman and Buddhist traditions diversely reported according to the following scheme :

*Brāhman Sources.*

A<sup>1</sup>.

(Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 27-30.)

1. Kuṇāla or Suyāças, reigned 8 years.
- \*2. Bandhupālita, son of Kuṇāla, reigned 8 years.
- \*3. Indrapālita.
- \*4. Daçona, son of 3, reigned 7 years.
5. Daçaratha, son of 4, reigned 8 years.
6. Samprati or Saṅgata, son of 5, reigned 9 years.
- \*7. Çaliçūka, son of 6, reigned 13 years.
8. Devadharman or Devavarman or Somaçarman, son of 7, reigned 7 years.
9. Çatadhanvan or Çaçadharman, son of 8, reigned 8 years.
10. Bṛihadratha, reigned 7 years.

B.

(*Rājatarāṅgini*, I, 108 f.)

Jaloka in Kashmīr, son of Açoka.

*Buddhist Sources.*

A.

(*Divyāvadāna*, xxx.)

1. Kuṇāla.
2. Samprati, son of 1.
3. Bṛihaspati, son of 2.
4. Vṛishasena, son of 3.
5. Pushyadharma, son of 4.
6. Pushyamitra, son of 5.

B.

(*Tāranātha, History of Buddhism*, trans. Schiefner, pp. 48 f.)

1. Kuṇāla.
2. Vigatāçoka.
3. Virasena.

<sup>1</sup> The names accompanied by an asterisk appear only in certain recensions of the Purānic list.

These meagre and conflicting lists are evidently no material for history: but they supply certain indications which may hereafter be verified. One of the Buddhist sources includes in the dynasty the name of Pushyamitra, really the founder of the succeeding line of the Çuṅgas: he was commander-in-chief to Bṛihadratha and he availed himself of a grand review of the army to overthrow and slay his master<sup>1</sup>. Lest this error of the Buddhists should lead us wholly to prefer the Brāhman accounts, let us observe that the latter differ in numerous particulars, some naming more kings than others, and all presenting diversities of spelling: moreover, none of them justifies in detail the total of 137 years which they unani- mously ascribe to the whole Maurya dynasty.

The existence of some of the kings named in the list is avouched by independent evidence. Daçaratha is known by three inscrip- tions bestowing on the Ājīvika sect caves in the Nāgārjunī hills<sup>2</sup>: Samprati is mentioned in the Jain tradition as a convert of their patriarch Suhastin<sup>3</sup>. Jaloka is celebrated in the history of Kashmīr, as a great propagator of Çaivism and for a time a persecutor of the Buddhists, further as having freed the country from an invasion of Mlecchas, who would be Greeks, and a conqueror who extended his dominions as far as Kanyākubja or Kanauj.

The extreme confusion reigning in the legends is probably, as was indicated long ago, to be explained by a division of the empire, perhaps beginning after Samprati<sup>4</sup>. The Buddhists will then give the western line, as is indicated by the fact that Vīrasena is represented as ruling in Gandhāra<sup>5</sup> and further by the fact that Sophagasenus, or Subhāgasena, with whom Antiochus the Great renewed an ancestral friendship in 206 B.C.<sup>6</sup>, is indicated by his name as a member of this line. This series will then have been terminated by the Greek conquest of the Punjab under Euthydemus and his successors. At Pāṭaliputra the second line may have held out a little longer, until about the year 184 B.C., when it was overthrown by Pushyamitra, whose power may have centred about Ujjain, and who, as is indicated in the drama of Kālidāsa called the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, succeeded to the struggle with the Greeks. But descendants of Açoka were as late as the

<sup>1</sup> Bāṇa's *Harsha-charita* (trans. Cowell and Thomas), p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, pp. 103-4, 134-5.

<sup>3</sup> See Jacobi's note in *S.B.E.*, xxii, p. 290 (*Kalpasūtra*).

<sup>4</sup> Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II, pp. 283 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Tāranātha, *op. cit.* p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> Polybius, xi, 34; *v. sup.* Chapter xvii, p. 442.

seventh century A.D., if we may trust the statement of Hiuen Tsiang, still in possession of small dominions in eastern India: for he relates that shortly before his visit Pūrṇavarman, king of Magadha, a descendant of Açoka, had restored the Bodhi-tree, which had been destroyed by Çaçāṅka, otherwise named Narendragupta, of Karṇasuvārṇa, or Bengal<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the translations of Julien (I, pp. 463-4), Beal (II, p. 118), and Watters (II, p. 115).

## CHAPTER XXI

### INDIAN NATIVE STATES AFTER THE PERIOD OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

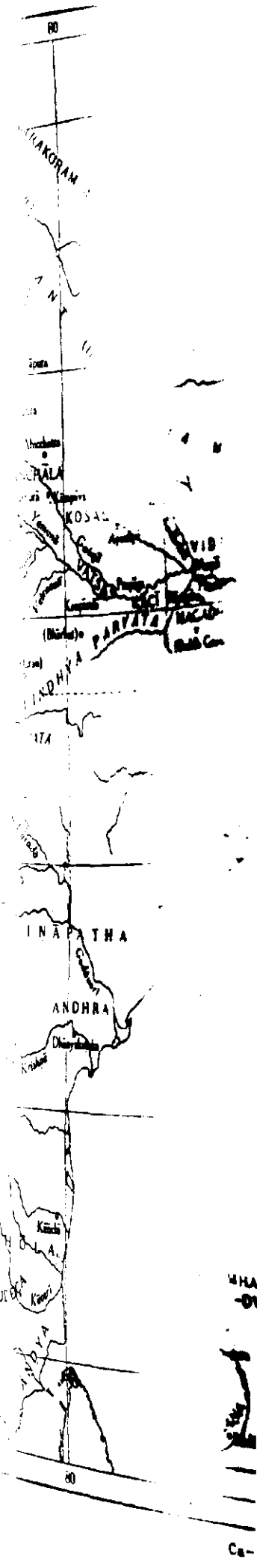
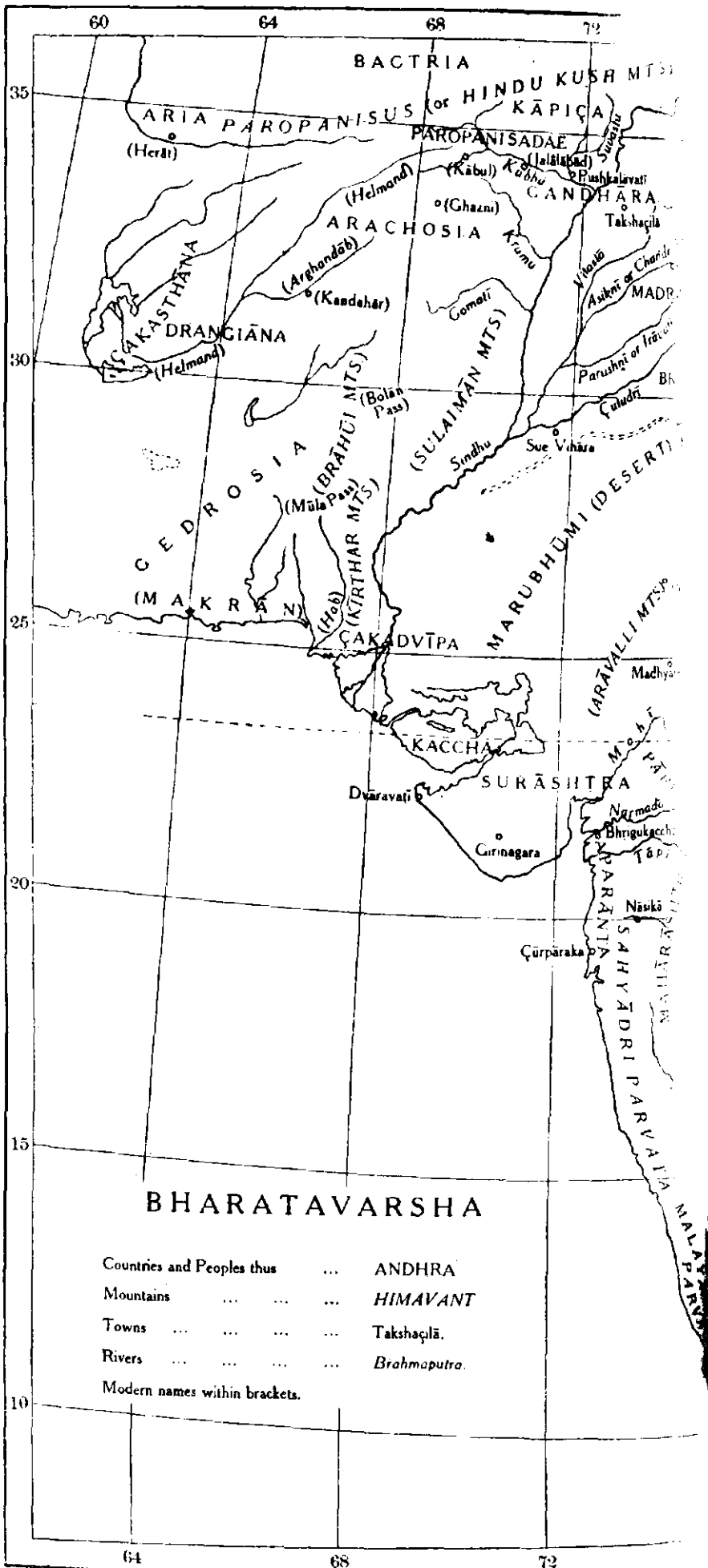
THE inscriptions of Aṣoka give us, for the first time in history, a comprehensive survey of India from the Hindu Kush to Ceylon; but it would be a mistake to assume that even Aṣoka, the most powerful of the Mauryas, maintained full political control over an empire of so vast an extent. His edicts clearly show that there were certain well-defined grades in the influence which he claimed to exercise in different regions. There were first of all 'the king's dominions,' by which we must no doubt understand the provinces of the empire—the central government of Pāṭaliputra (the United Provinces and Bihār) and the viceroyalties of Takshaṣilā (the Punjab), Avanti or Ujjayinī (Western and Central India north of the Tāpti), and Kaliṅga (Orissa and the Ganjām District of Madras). Over all kingdoms and peoples in these provinces the emperor was supreme. He was the head of a great confederation of states which were united under him for imperial purposes, but which for all purposes of government and internal administration retained their independence. He was the link which bound together in association peace or war powers which were the natural rivals of one another.

Beyond 'the king's dominions' to the north-west and to the south lay 'the border peoples,' whom the emperor regarded as coming within his sphere of influence. On the north-west, in the North-West Frontier Province and in the upper Kābul valley, these are called in the inscriptions Gandhāras, Kāmbojas, and Yavanas (Yonas); and on the south, beyond the limits of the provinces of Avanti and Kaliṅga, there were the Rāshṭrikas of the Marāthā country, the Bhojas of Berār, the Peṭenikas of the Auran-gābād District of Hyderābād, the Pulindas, whose precise habitat is uncertain, and the Andhras, who occupied the country between the Godāvāri and the Kistna.

Aṣoka's relations with these frontier peoples are most clearly indicated in the Jaugada version of the Kaliṅga edicts. It was addressed by him to the officers of state at Samāpā, no doubt the

**MAP 5**  
**BHARATAVARSHA**





44A  
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Ca-



city on the site of which the ruined fort of Jaugada in the Ganjām District now stands :

If you ask, 'With regard to the unsubdued borderers what is the King's command to us?' or 'What truth is it that I desire the borderers to grasp?'—the answer is that the King desires that 'they should not be afraid of me, that they should trust me, and should receive from me happiness, not sorrow.' Moreover, they should grasp the truth that 'the King will bear patiently with us, so far as it is possible to bear with us,' and that 'for my sake they should follow the Law of Piety, and so gain both this world and the next.' And for this purpose I give you instructions. (Kaliṅga Edict 1, trans. V. A. Smith, *Asoka*<sup>2</sup>, p. 178.)

The emperor's attitude towards these neighbours is one of general benevolence. They are not his subjects: they are 'unsubdued'; but in the interests of peace and good government he is concerned in their welfare and their good conduct. He is prepared to bear with them patiently 'so far as it is possible': that is to say, he trusts that punitive expeditions or annexations may not be necessary.

The region occupied by the southern 'border peoples' includes what is now known to ethnologists as the Central Belt and still contains the largest groups of primitive tribes to be found in India. In the course of twenty-two centuries the policy of the government remains unchanged in regard to these representatives of the earliest inhabitants of the sub-continent. They continue to govern themselves in accordance with their traditional tribal constitutions and are subject only to such control as may be deemed to be indispensable :

The policy of the Government of India is to permit no sudden restrictions that may alter the accustomed mode of life of these tribes, but rather to win confidence by kindness, and thus gradually to create self-supporting communities, acknowledging the state as arbitrator of those questions hitherto decided by might rather than by justice. (*Imp. Gaz.* III, p. 124.)

Beyond the zones of border peoples lay realms of whose complete independence there is no question. On the north-west Açoka's sphere of influence ended at the frontiers of the Yavana king Antiochus, i.e. the Seleucid monarch Antiochus II Theos; and on the south it probably did not extend much beyond the locality of his southernmost group of inscriptions at Isila, the modern Siddāpura in the Chitaldroog District of N. Mysore. The apex of the peninsula was occupied by the ancient Dravidian kingdoms of the Sātiyaputas, the Chēras, the Chōlas, and the Pāṇḍyas. With these independent nations Açoka's relations were merely such as might be expected to exist between friendly powers.

But, while the invaluable testimony of the edicts thus enables us to estimate the character and the extent of Maurya rule at its height, we have no such trustworthy guide for the period of its decline<sup>1</sup>. Its end, according to the Purāṇas, came about through a revolt which placed the Çuṅgas on the imperial throne. It seems certain, however, that the Çuṅgas succeeded to a realm already greatly diminished. The history of India at this time is still confined to the regions which were once known as 'the king's dominions' and 'the border peoples'; but these are no longer under the immediate rule or under the indirect control of any one power. Political conditions in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. were extremely complicated. The causes of this complication were twofold—internal strife and foreign invasions; and both of these were the natural and inevitable results of the downfall of imperial rule. In Central India and in the land of the Ganges the supremacy of the later Mauryas and of their successors, the Çuṅgas, was disputed by the Andhras of the Deccan and the Kalingas of Orissa; and, now that the frontiers could no longer be held securely against hostile pressure from without, torrents of invasion burst into North-Western India through the channels which led from Bactria and from Eastern Irān.

The chief kingdoms of Northern India lay along the routes which connected Pātaliputra, the former capital of the empire with the Kābul valley on the one hand and with the delta of the Indus on the other; and these routes were continuations of others which passed through Irān to the West. When, at the height of their power, the Maurya and the Seleucid empires were conterminous, intercourse by land between India and the Western World was unimpeded. But already during the reign of Açoka révolts in the Seleucid empire had led to the establishment of hostile powers in Bactria and Parthia, which controlled the two great lines of communication. The extension of the Yavana power from Bactria through the Kābul valley to the Jumna in the first quarter of the second century B.C., and the invasion, a century later, of the Çakas from Seistān into the country of the lower Indus (Çakadvīpa or Indo-Scythia), a position commanding the route through Central India, are described elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. The land-ways which united India with the West had thus become increasingly difficult from the middle of the third century to the early part of the first century B.C.; but by sea commerce was still maintained with Mesopotamia

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xx, pp. 511 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Chapters xxii and xxiii.

(Babylon) and Egypt (Alexandria) through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ; and the ports on the west coast were connected with Pātaliputra through Ujjayinī, the great emporium of the period. But the isolation of the sub-continent was now almost complete. The attempt to make India a great world power had failed ; and its history now becomes a complex struggle within its own borders of elements both native and foreign, such as was to recur many centuries later on the downfall of the Mughal empire.

No detailed account of this period of turmoil can be written. All that we can attempt, with the aid of such fragments of historical evidence as have been preserved, is to disentangle the various elements involved in the struggle and to estimate their mutual relations. These may best be understood if we consider the means of communication then available.

Roads in the ordinary sense of the word did not exist ; but there was a net-work of well-beaten routes throughout ; and along these armies in war, like merchants and pilgrims in peace-time, made their way from one city to another<sup>1</sup>. Through this system ran the two great arteries which have been already mentioned. The chief stages on the more northern of these are described in Chapter XXII, p. 543, in connexion with the progress of the Yavana invasions. The course of the central route, which joined the northern route at Kauçāmbī, was as follows :

From (1) Hyderābād in Sind to Ujjain (Ujjayinī)	500 miles.
„ (2) Broach (Bhṛigukaccha) N.E. to Ujjain	200 „
„ Ujjain E. to Besnagar (Vidiçā)	120 „
„ Besnagar N.E. to Bhārhut	185 „
„ Bhārhut N.E. to Kosam (Kauçāmbī)	80 „
„ Kosam E. to Benares (Kāçī)	100 „
„ Benares E. to Patna (Pātaliputra)	135 „

It is in the monuments and coins of the kingdoms of Vidiçā, Bhārhut, and Kauçāmbī that we find the most unmistakable traces of the Çuṅgas and their feudatories. That the first Çuṅga king reigned at Pātaliputra is assumed in literature (p. 518) and may be inferred from the description which the Purāṇas give of the origin of the dynasty. We are told that Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of Bṛihadhratha, the last of the Mauryas, slew his master and reigned in his stead ; and it was believed in the seventh

<sup>1</sup> For the military importance of this state of affairs which 'made the ordinary business of peace time...a regular training for campaigning,' and which 'explains the extraordinary promptitude with which the wars of the Indian army have been so frequently entered on,' see Chesney, *Indian Polity*, Chapter xvii (quoted in *Imp. Gaz.* III, pp. 402-3).

century A.D. that this military *coup d'état* took place on the occasion of a review of the forces<sup>1</sup>. If the chronology of the Purāṇas may be trusted, this event happened 137 years after the accession of Chandragupta, i.e. c. 184 B.C., and the reign of Pushyamitra lasted for thirty-six years<sup>2</sup>. Fortunately in this instance the statements of the Purāṇas may be checked to some extent by evidence supplied from other sources. The Çuṅgas came into conflict with other powers who were eager to share in the spoil of the Maurya empire—Andhras, Yavanas, and Çakas—and what we know of the history of these peoples is in accordance with the view that Pushyamitra was actually reigning during the period thus attributed to him.

The origin of the Çuṅgas is obscure. Their name, which means 'fig-tree,' may perhaps be tribal. According to Pāṇini (IV, 1, 117) they claimed to be descendants of Bharadvāja, the *purohita* of Divodāsa, king of the Tr̥itsus (p. 82); and, as Bharadvāja is associated with Vītahavya<sup>3</sup> from whom the Vītihotras (p. 316) probably derived their name, the two peoples may have belonged to the same region, that is to sây, to the countries which, under the Maurya empire, were included in the viceroyalty of Ujjain. It is with the kingdom of Vidiçā, which forms part of this region, that the Çuṅgas are especially associated in literature and inscriptions.

The dynastic list of the ten Çuṅga kings is as follows<sup>4</sup>:

1. Pushyamitra reigned	36 years.	6. Pulindaka reigned	3 years.
2. Agnimitra reigned	8 "	7. Ghosha reigned	3 "
3. Vasujyeshtha (Sujyestha) r.	7 "	8. Vajramitra reigned	9 or 7 "
4. Vasumitra (Sumitra) reigned	10 "	9. Bhāga (Bhāgavata) reigned	32 "
5. Odraka (Andhraka etc.) r.	2 or 7 "	10. Devabhūti reigned	10 "

When allowance is made for the uncertainty as to the length of the fifth and eighth reigns and for the fact that the computation is by whole years without regard to fractions, the total duration ascribed to the dynasty, viz. 112 years, may well be correct; and, if so, the rule of the Çuṅgas came to an end c. 72 B.C.

In Buddhist literature Pushyamitra figures as a great persecutor of the Buddhists, bent on acquiring fame as the annihilator of Buddha's doctrine. He meditated the destruction of the Kukutārāma, the great monastery which Açoka had built for 1000 monks to the south-east of Pāṭaliputra; but, as he approached the

<sup>1</sup> *Harshacharita* (trans. Cowell and Thomas), p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> The alternative statement of some versions, 'sixty years,' is manifestly due to textual corruption.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 97-8, 316-7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kali Age*, pp. 30-3, 70.

entrance, he was met with the roar as of a mighty lion and hastily withdrew in fear to the city. He then went to Çākala (Siālkot) in the E. Punjab and attempted to exterminate the Buddhist community there, offering a reward of 100 *dināras* for the head of every monk. The end of this persecutor of the faith was brought about by superhuman interposition<sup>1</sup>.

Underlying such legends we may no doubt recognise certain historical facts. Pushyamitra was regarded as a champion of the Brāhman reaction which set in after the triumph of Buddhism during Açoka's reign. He was remembered as a king of Magadha and as suzerain over dominions in the Punjab which had owned the sway of his Maurya predecessors. The subsequent fate of his chief capital, Pāṭaliputra, is obscure; but Çākala was soon—within his own lifetime as it would seem—to be wrested from the Çuṅgas by the Yavanas and to become the capital of king Menander (p. 549).

Some of the events of Pushyamitra's reign are also reflected in the earliest of Kālidāsa's dramas, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the plot of which turns on the love of Agnimitra, king of Vidiçā and the viceroy of his father Pushyamitra, for Mālavikā, a princess of Vidarbha (Berār) living at his court in disguise. The play was produced before another viceregal court at Ujjain on the occasion of the Spring Festival in some year c. 400 A.D. during the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. Like nearly all Sanskrit dramas, it is little more than a story of intrigue. Its main interest is anything but historical; but some of its characters represent real personages, and certain references to the history of the adjacent kingdom of Vidiçā are appropriately introduced in the last Act. It would be unreasonable to suppose that these had no foundation in fact.

The first of these references is to a war between Vidiçā and Vidarbha in which the former was victorious. As a result Vidarbha was divided into two provinces separated by the river Varadā, the modern Wardhā, which is now the boundary between Berār and the Central Provinces. It seems clear from what is known of the general history of this period that any such incursion of the Çuṅgas into this region must inevitably have brought them into collision with the Andhras, whose power had at this time extended across the Deccan from the eastern coast (p. 530). It has been assumed therefore with much probability that Yajñasena, the prince of Vidarbha in the play, must have been either an Andhra or a feudatory of the Andhras<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 433-4.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter xxiv, p. 600.

The other incidental reference in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* confirms the account of a Greek invasion of the Midland Country given by the Yuga Purāṇa and supported by statements which appear as grammatical illustrations in Patañjali's commentary on Pāṇini (p. 544). The Yavana successors of Alexander the Great in the Punjab had evidently forced their way through the Delhi passage and attacked the very centre of the Çuṅga dominions. In the play a messenger comes to Agnimitra with a letter from Pushyamitra announcing his intention to perform the horse-sacrifice, the traditional Kshatriya rite whereby a king asserted his title to exercise suzerainty over his neighbours. The horse, as was the custom, had been set free to roam whithersoever he would for a year as a challenge to all opponents; and he was guarded by Pushyamitra's grandson, Vasumitra, the son of Agnimitra, attended by a hundred princes. The challenge was accepted by a body of Yavana cavalry, who tried to capture the horse as he wandered along the right bank of the river Sindhu; and a conflict ensued in which the Yavanas were defeated by the Çuṅgas. Pushyamitra's claim was thus maintained; and he proposed to celebrate this triumph by the performance of the sacrifice which Agnimitra, as one of the monarchs of his realm, was invited to attend. An allusion to this sacrifice may perhaps be preserved in another grammatical example used by Patañjali<sup>1</sup>; and, as we have seen (p. 302), it is probably to the solemn recitation of the suzerain's lineage on such occasions that we owe the dynastic lists preserved in the Purāṇas.

Unfortunately we cannot be certain as to the river on whose banks the encounter between the Yavanas and the Çuṅgas took place; but the choice seems to lie between the Kālī Sindhu, a tributary of the Charmaṇvatī (Chambal) flowing within a hundred miles of Madhyamikā (near Chitor), which was besieged by the Yavanas (p. 544), and the Sindhu, a tributary of the Jumna which would naturally be passed by invading forces on the route between Mathurā (Muttra) and Prayāga (Allahābād).

Of Agnimitra nothing is known beyond such information as may be gleaned from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the Purāṇas. The combined evidence of these two sources may be interpreted to mean that, after ruling at Vidiçā as his father's viceroy, he was his successor as suzerain for a period of eight years. Whether the Agnimitra, whose coins are found in N. Pañchāla and who was therefore presumably king of Ahicchatra, can be identified with the Çuṅga king of that name is uncertain (p. 525; Pl. V, 3).

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 300.



The fate of the fourth king in the list, Vasumitra or Sumitra, who as a youthful prince guarded the sacrificial horse and defeated the Yavanas, is told in the Harshacharita: 'Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, being over fond of the drama, was attacked by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, and with a scimitar shorn, like a lotus stalk, of his head'<sup>1</sup>. Who Mitradeva was we can only conjecture; but it seems not improbable that he may have been the king's minister and a Kaṇva Brāhman of the same family as Vasudeva, who is said to have brought about the fall of the dynasty through the assassination of the last king Devabhūti. It may be that we have here an indication of the growth of that influence, which so often in Indian history has transferred the real power in the state from the prince to the minister, from the Kshatriya to the Brāhman.

The next name in the list appears in many disguises in the MSS. as Odruka, Andhraka, Bhadraka, etc. Mr Jayaswal has given good reasons for supposing that the original form from which all these varieties are derived was *Odraka*, and he has shown further that this name is most probably to be restored in the Pabhosā inscr. no. 904, which should therefore be regarded as dated 'in the tenth year of Odraka.' If these acute and plausible suggestions may be accepted, we must conclude that the region of Pabhosā—the ancient kingdom of Kauçāmbī, as seems most likely (p. 524)—was included at this period in the sovereignty of the Çuṅgas; but at the same time we must recognise that an error has crept into the text of the Purāṇas, which, as they stand, assign either two or seven years to this king<sup>2</sup>.

There appears to be no reason for doubting that the last king but one, the Bhāga or Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas, is the Bhāgabhadra, in the fourteenth year of whose reign the Besnagar column was erected by Heliodorus, son of Dion, the Yavana ambassador who had come to the court of Vidiçā from Antialcidas, king of Takshaçilā (p. 558). This identification enables us to bring the histories of the Çuṅgas and the Yavanas into relation with each other, and to determine, naturally within limits of possible error, a fixed point in their chronology. If the duration of reigns as given in the Purāṇas, confused though it is by textual corruptions, be approximately correct, the fourteenth year of king Bhāgabhadra (within a few years of 90 B.C., whether earlier or later) may well have fallen

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jayaswal, *Jour. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.*, Dec. 1917, pp. 473-5, with Führer, *Ep. Ind.* II, pp. 240-3, and Faxgiter, *Kali Age*, p. 31.

within the reign of Antialcidas, if, as seems not unlikely, he was the successor of Heliocles and came to the throne c. 120 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The name of this Çuṅga king appears as Bhāgavata on a fragment of another column which was found at Bhīlsa, but which is supposed to have been taken there from Besnagar. The inscription was engraved when the king was reigning in his twelfth year<sup>2</sup>. Another king of the same name is known from the Pabhosā inscr. no. 905; but the two cannot be identified as their metronymics are different: the king at Pabhosā is the son of Tevaṇī, while the king at Vidiçā is the son of Kāçī, i.e. a princess from Benares.

With the assassination of the dissolute Devabhūti the line of the Çuṅgas comes to a close. Of the deed the Harshacharita gives a fuller account than the Purāṇas: 'In a frenzy of passion the over-libidinous Çuṅga was at the instance of his minister Vasudeva reft of his life by a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman disguised as his queen' (Trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 193). This minister was a Kaṇva Brāhman; and the Purāṇas, in their present form, make him the founder of a line of Kaṇva kings, who were themselves succeeded by the Andhras. But, as we have seen (pp. 317-8), this is history distorted. The Purāṇas have been edited, and, in the process, much of their value as records has been destroyed. Certain incidental statements, however, have escaped the editor; and these seem to show that the Kaṇvas and the Çuṅgas were contemporary. The Kaṇvas, who are expressly called 'ministers of the Çuṅgas,' are, in some versions, said to have become kings 'among the Çuṅgas'<sup>3</sup>; and, as has been observed already, the Andhras are credited with sweeping away not only the Kaṇvas, but also 'what was left of the Çuṅgas' power' (*ibid.*). With regard to the Andhras, the more certain evidence of inscriptions assigns them to a period which is in flagrant contradiction to the position which they occupy in the Purāṇas (p. 530).

We may conclude, then, that the Çuṅgas were a military power, and that they became puppets in the hands of their Brāhman counsellors. They ruled originally as feudatories of the Mauryas at Vidiçā, the modern Besnagar, on the Vetravatī (Betwa), near Bhīlsa and about 120 miles east of Ujjain. In the letter, which is read in the last Act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, both Pushyamitra

<sup>1</sup> See Chapters xvii, p. 461 and xxii, p. 559.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. Bhandarkar, *Arch. Sur. of Ind., Annual Report, 1913-4*, p. 190; Ramaprasad Chanda, *J.R.A.S.*, 1919, p. 396; *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of Ind.*, 1920 (no. 5), p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Kali Age*, pp. 34, 71.

and Agnimitra are 'of Vidiçā'; and Vidiçā remained their western capital after no small portion of the Maurya empire had fallen into their hands, and many, perhaps most, of the kings of Northern and Central India had become their feudatories.

The importance of Vidiçā, the chief city of Ākara or Daçārṇa (E. Mālwā), was due to its central position on the lines of communication between the seaports of the western coast and Pāṭaliputra, and between Pratishthāna (Paithan), the western capital of the Andhras on the S.W., and Çrāvastī (Set Mabet) on the N.E. The ancient monuments in its neighbourhood are among the most remarkable and extensive to be found in India. At various villages within a radius of about twelve miles of the present town of Bhīlsa there are groups of Buddhist *stūpas*, numbering some sixty in all, which are known collectively as the Bhīlsa Topes, and of which the most celebrated are those of Sānchī. The inscriptions as well as the style of the architecture and sculpture of these monuments show that they belong to the three successive periods of Maurya, Çuṅga, and Andhra supremacy. But the importance of this region may be traced back to a still earlier date; for at the ancient site of Eran, about forty miles N.E. of Bhīlsa, are found the finest specimens of the early punch-marked coinage, and here too was discovered the earliest known example of an Indian inscribed coin, which records the name of a king Dharmapāla (Pl. V, 1). Its Brāhmī legend runs, like Kharoshthī, from right to left, and was supposed by Bühler to represent an earlier stage in the history of this alphabet than that which appears in the edicts of Açoka<sup>1</sup>.

Some of the feudatories of the Çuṅgas are known from their inscriptions and coins. The only ancient monuments, on which the tribal name of the imperial dynasty has yet been found, came from the Buddhist *stūpa* at Bhārhut, in the Nāgod State of Central India, about 185 miles N.E. of Vidiçā<sup>2</sup>. Here two gateways were dated 'in the sovereignty of the Çuṅgas.' One of these (inscr. no. 687) was erected by Dhanabhūti 'Vācchiputa,' i.e. 'son of a princess of Vatsa (Kauçāmbī),' and the other (inscr. no. 688) by some member of the same family. The name Dhanabhūti occurs also in an inscription at Mathurā (no. 125) and may be restored with certainty in the record of a donation made by his queen, Nāgarakhitā, at Bhārhut (no. 882). From these sources combined we may reconstruct the family tree of this king from his grandfather, king Visadeva, to his son, prince Vādhapāla; and we may conclude that this family ruled at Bhārhut, and that it was connected in some

<sup>1</sup> *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter xxvi, p. 624.

way with the royal family at Mathurā, more than 250 miles to the N.W. As none of the four names is found in the list of Çuṅgas given by the Purāṇas, it is most probable that the kings of this line were feudatories, though they may have been related to the imperial house by family ties.

Acting on Mr Jayaswal's illuminating suggestion (p. 521), we may perhaps venture to trace the feudatory kings of this dynasty to Kauçāmbī, 80 miles N.E. of Bhārhut, and to Ahicchatra, 250 miles N.W. of Kauçāmbī. The question of the site of Kauçāmbī has been much debated, chiefly because of the impossibility of reconciling Cunningham's identification (Kosam on the Jumna in the Allahābād District of the United Provinces) with the descriptions of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. But in all this controversy it seems to have been forgotten that such descriptions may either have been incorrect originally or may have been misinterpreted subsequently. The tangible facts seem undoubtedly to support the identification of Kosam with Kauçāmbī. It must have been a city of great military strength. 'The remains at Kosam include those of a vast fortress with earthen ramparts and bastions, four miles in circuit, with an average height of 30 to 35 feet above the general level of the country' (*Imp. Gaz.* xv, p. 407). It was also an important commercial centre, as is indicated by the extraordinary variety of the coins found there; and at a later date the name of the place was unquestionably Kauçāmbī, as is proved by at least two inscriptions which have been actually discovered on the site<sup>1</sup>. At a distance of two or three miles to the north-west of Kosam stands the sacred hill of Pabhosā (Prabhāsa), the solitary rock in this region of the doab between the Jumna and the Ganges; and on its scarp, in a position wellnigh inaccessible, there is a hermit's cave 'cut into the vertical face of a precipice 50 feet high' (*J.A.S.B.* LVI, p. 31). In the seventh century A.D. it was believed to be the abode of a venomous dragon which was subdued by the Buddha, who left his shadow in the cave. Hiuen Tsiang, who tells the story, adds that the shadow was no longer visible in his day; but the most recent editor of the inscriptions, which are engraved inside and outside the cave, informs us that the country folk still believe in the dragon<sup>2</sup>. One of these inscriptions (no. 904) records—if Mr Jayaswal's reading is correct—that the cave was excavated in the tenth year of the reign of Odraka, the fifth of the Çuṅga kings. The donor was Āshāḍhasena, the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra,

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 504; *Ep. Ind.* II, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 371; *Führer, Ep. Ind.* II, p. 241.

who was presumably the feudatory king then ruling at Kauçāmbī and whose coins (Pl. V, 2) are found at Kosam. Bahasatimitra was thus, it seems, contemporary with Odraka, whose reign, according to the Purāṇas, began 61 years after the accession of the first Çuṅga king, i.e. c. 123 B.C.; and this date is in agreement with the period to which numismatists have, from entirely different considerations, assigned the coins of Bahasatimitra. The coinage of the kings of Kauçāmbī seems to begin in the third century B.C. and to extend over a period of about three hundred years<sup>1</sup>.

The donor of the cave at Pabhosā traces his descent from the kings of Ahicchatra, the northern capital of the Pañchālas in the Bareilly District; and the inscriptions give the genealogy of his family for five generations beginning with his great-grandfather, Çouakāyana, and ending with his nephew, Bahasatimitra. The line is carried two stages farther by the Morā inscription which describes the daughter of Bahasatimitra (Brihāsvātimitra) as the wife of the king (of Mathurā) and 'the mother of living sons' (*J.R.A.S.* 1912, p. 120). In the patronymic, Çonakāyana, 'the scion of the house of Çonaka,' we may perhaps see an allusion to the glories of Pañchāla in the heroic age, when, as is recounted in one of the ancient verses preserved by the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa, king Çoua Sātrāsāha celebrated his triumphs by the performance of the horse-sacrifice<sup>2</sup>. No detailed list of the earlier historical kings of Pañchāla occurs in the Purāṇas; but coins found in the neighbourhood of Ahicchatra—now a vast mound three and a half miles in circumference on the north of the village of Rāmnagar—have preserved the names of about a dozen of their successors in the Çuṅga period<sup>3</sup>. Among the kings thus known there appears an Agnimitra (Pl. V, 3), who has often been supposed to be identical with the second Çuṅga king. There seems to be no evidence at present either to prove or to disprove the suggestion. The identity of name may well be accidental, or, perhaps more probably, it may indicate that the royal families of Vidiçā and Ahicchatra were related. The name of another king of Ahicchatra, Indramitra, has been recognised in an inscription at Buddh Gayā (p. 526; Pl. V, 4).

We may infer from the inscriptions at Pabhosā that, in the second century B.C., Pañchāla (Ahicchatra) and Vatsa (Kauçāmbī) were governed by branches of the same royal family, and that both

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 73, Pl. V, 7-18; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79, Pl. VII; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 13.

kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty of the Çuṅgas. The history of Kauçāmbī may be traced back to the time when the Pūrus (Kurus) removed thither after their capital, Hastināpura, had been destroyed by an inundation of the Ganges<sup>1</sup>. We now find this city under the rule of a house in which Kurus and Pañchālas had no doubt long been merged.

Mathurā (Muttra) on the upper Jumna, about 270 miles in a straight line N.W. of Kauçāmbī, may perhaps have been another of the feudatory kingdoms. This sacred city, the *Μόδουρα ἡ τῶν Θεῶν* of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 50), was a stronghold both of the worship of Kṛishṇa and of Jainism; and it was the capital of the Çūrasenas, one of the leading peoples of the Midland Country. Its earlier rulers find a place in the Purāṇas, but only in the general summary of those dynasties which were contemporary with the Pūrus (p. 316); and coins have preserved the names of at least twelve later kings who reigned during the Çuṅga period<sup>2</sup>. One of these, Balabhūti, is associated by the style and type of his coinage with Bahasatimitra of Kauçāmbī, whose daughter was married to a king of Mathurā (p. 525). The two kings were almost certainly ruling at about the same time; and it seems reasonable to assume, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that they were both feudatories of the Çuṅgas. Another king of Mathurā, Brahmamitra (Pl. V, 6) was probably contemporary with king Indramitra of Ahicchatra (Pl. V, 4); for both names are found in the dedicatory inscriptions of queens on pillars of the railing at Buddh Gayā, which is assigned by archaeologists to the earlier part of the first century B.C. (p. 626).

Inscriptions show that in the second half of the first century B.C. the region of Mathurā had passed from native Indiañ to foreign (Çaka) rule<sup>3</sup>; and their evidence is confirmed and amplified by that of the coins. The characteristic type of the kings of Mathurā is a standing figure, which has been supposed to represent the god Kṛishṇa (Pl. V, 5, Gomitra); and this type is continued by their conquerors and successors, the satraps of the Çaka King of Kings. Rañjubula (Rajuvula) and his son Çoḍāsa (Pl. V, 9, 10) are known also from inscriptions; and the date on the Āmohinī votive tablet, if it has been rightly interpreted, shows that the latter was ruling as great satrap in 17-6 B.C. (pp. 575-6). Çoḍāsa was preceded by his father, Rañjubula, who ruled first as satrap and afterwards as

Chapter XIII, p. 308.

Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 85-90, Pl. VIII; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, pp. 109-11.

See Chapter XXIII, pp. 575-6.

great satrap; and Rañjubula appears to have been the successor of satraps who are known only from their coins—Hagāmasha (Pl. V, 7), and Hagāna ruling conjointly with Hagāmasha (Pl. V, 8). These numismatic indications all tend to support the conclusion that by about the middle of the first century B.C. the Çaka dominion was fully established in that region of the Jumna river which lies beyond the south-eastern limits of the Punjab.

By c. 72 B.C., according to the chronology of the Purāṇas, the dynasty of the Çuṅgas had come to an end. In the present state of Indian archaeology it seems impossible to trace the extension of the rule of those kings of Vidiçā who reigned after Pushyamitra beyond the region in which the Jumna and the Ganges meet, i.e. the ancient kingdom of the Vatsas (Kauçāmbī) and the present district of Allahābād. The investigation of ancient sites may no doubt some day throw light on the contemporary history of the countries, which lay to the north and east of Kauçāmbī—Kosala (Oudh), Videha (N. Bihār), Kāçī (Benares), Magadha (S. Bihār), and Aṅga (Monghyr and Bhāgalpur); but the available evidence is not sufficient to enable us to determine whether the kingdoms in these countries were still united under one sovereignty, as in the time of Açoka, or whether they had become independent. Kosala is represented by coins of this period which are found on the site of Ayodhyā; but from these little information can be gleaned at present. They represent a line of about ten kings, of whom nothing is known but their names (Pl. V, 11, Āryamitra; 12, Mūladeva)<sup>1</sup>. A king of Magadha and a king of Rājagriha are also mentioned in the inscription of Khāravela; but whether the former was still a powerful suzerain at this time, and whether the latter was anything more than a local prince ruling over the old capital of Magadha must remain doubtful until more definite evidence can be discovered (p. 537). The history of the famous kingdom of Magadha, once the centre of the empire, becomes utterly obscure. That for some time Pushyamitra continued to occupy the imperial throne which he had seized is a natural inference from those passages of the literature in which he is mentioned in connexion with Pāṭaliputra; but that he was able to hold it to the end, and to hand it down to his successors is at present not capable of proof. No certain traces of the later Çuṅgas or of their feudatories have yet been found in the region of Magadha.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 90, Pl. IX; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 11; *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 287.

But in addition to the powers which dominated the kingdoms on the great highways of communication, there were in less accessible regions numerous independent states; and of some of these the coins of this period have preserved a record. These communities were military clans or groups of clans; and they were governed sometimes by kings, but more often by tribal oligarchies. They were Kshatriyas; and by this name, the common designation of them all, they are known to the historians of Alexander the Great in two districts—in the north of the Punjab to the east of the Rāvi (p. 371), and in the south-west where the Indus and the Sutlej meet (Xathri, p. 376). They were the ancestors of the Rājputs who played a most important part in the history of Northern India at a later date, and their coins are found throughout the regions to which modern ethnologists trace the origin of the Rājputs :

The cradle of the Rājput is the tract named after him (Rājputāna), not, however, as it is limited in the present day, but extending from the Jamnā to the Narbadā and Satlaj, including, therefore, the whole of Mālvā, Bundelkhand, and parts of Agra and the Panjāb. From the northern parts of this tract there seems to have been an early movement of conquest up the western rivers of the Panjāb, as far as the Himālaya and Kashmir, whereby was laid the foundation of the pre-dominance of the tribes still in possession. (Baines, *Ethnography*, p. 29.)

Examples of such early Rājput states are the Yaudheya confederation in 'the southern portion of the Punjab...and the northern parts of Rājputāna' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 887), and the Ārjunāyanas in the Bhartpur and Alwar States of Rājputāna (*ibid.* p. 886). Both the Yaudheyas, 'Warriors,' and the Ārjunāyanas, 'Descendants of Arjuna,' are mentioned by Pāṇini in the fourth century B.C.; both issued coins as early as the first century B.C.; and both appear among the peoples on the frontiers of the Gupta empire in the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta c. 380 A.D. Other states struck coins with the bare legend 'Of the Rājanya (Kshatriya) Country.' It is impossible at present to determine with much precision the localities in which these coins were issued; but similarity of type suggests that one variety may belong to the same region as the coins of the Ārjunāyanas and the kings of Mathurā (Pl. V, 13)<sup>1</sup>.

The mountainous fringe of country on the north of the Punjab and the United Provinces was also occupied at this period by independent native Indian states; and the names of some of them have similarly been preserved by the coins, which were no doubt the result of commerce between these peoples of the hills and the lowlanders. In the Gurdāspur District of the Punjab there lived the

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 11-13, and Pl. III, 20 and IV, 1.



Udumbaras, who claimed to be descended from Viçvāmitra, the rishi of the third book of the Rigveda<sup>1</sup>. His figure appears on the coins of their king, Dharāghosha, whose reign must probably be assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C., since his coinage is evidently imitated from that of the Çaka king Azilises (Pl. V, 14, Dharāghosha ; 15, Azilises). Of a somewhat later date, perhaps of the first or second century A.D., are the coins of the Kulūtas, the eastern neighbours of the Udumbaras, in the Kulū valley of the Kāngra District ; and to the same period as the coins of the Udumbaras belong the earlier issues of the Kuṇindas who inhabited the country of the Sutlej in the Simla Hill States (Pl. V, 16, Amoghabhūti). These three peoples, the Udumbaras, the Kulūtas, and the Kuṇindas, lived on the border between the regions in which the two ancient alphabets, Brāhmī and Kharoshthī, prevailed : they accordingly used both of them in their coin-legends. To a branch of the Kuṇindas (or Kulindas, as they are called in the Purāṇas), whose territories 'extended further east along the southern slopes of the Himalayas as far as Nepal' (Pargiter, *Mārk. Pur.* p. 316), are probably also to be attributed the coins of two kings which have been found in the Almora District (Pl. V, 17, Çivadatta)<sup>2</sup>.

The 'unsubdued' peoples on the southern borders of the Maurya dominions were, during the Çuṅga period, united under the suzerainty of the most powerful among them, the Andhras, whose home was in the coastal region of the Madras Presidency between the rivers Godāvāri and Kistna<sup>3</sup>. The dynasty, which is known by its tribal name in the Purāṇas and by its family name or title, Çātavāhana, in inscriptions, is traced back to king Simuka, who was succeeded by his younger brother, Kṛishṇa. At some date in the reign of Simuka or Kṛishṇa the Andhra conquests had extended up the valley of the river Godāvāri for its whole length, a distance of some nine hundred miles, to the table-land of the Nāsik District. This is proved by the inscription (no. 1144) in one of the Nāsik caves which was excavated when Kṛishṇa was king. Already the Çātavāhanas had justified their claim to the title, 'Lords of the Deccan (Dakshināpatha),' which they bear in their later inscriptions. The third of the line and the best known of the earlier kings was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pargiter, *Mārk. Pur.* p. 355. For the connexion between Viçvāmitra and the country of the Beās, see *Vedic Index*, II, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> For the coins of Kulūta, see Bergny, *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 415; for other coins mentioned in this paragraph see the references in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter XXIV, pp. 598-9. The inscriptions from Bhattiprolu near the mouth of the Kistna in the Guntūr District (c. 200 B.C.) mention a king Khubiraka or Kubiraka (Kuvera) who is otherwise unknown; see Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* II, pp. 323 ff.

called Çātakarṇi, a name which, to the perplexity of modern students of Indian history, was borne by several of his successors on the throne.

The exact date of the establishment of the Andhra suzerainty cannot be determined from the discrepant accounts given by different Purāṇas of the kings and the duration of their reigns; but it is clear that the most complete of the extant lists can only be interpreted as indicating that the founder, Simuka, began to reign before 200 B.C.<sup>1</sup> To this extent the evidence of the Purāṇas confirms the opinion of Bühler, who from epigraphical considerations assigned the Nāsik inscription of the second king, Kṛishṇa, to 'the times of the last Mauryas or the earliest Çuṅgas, in the beginning of the second century B.C.'<sup>2</sup> It is therefore possible that Kṛishṇa's immediate successor, the third Andhra king, Çātakarṇi, may have been contemporary with the first Çuṅga king, Pushyamitra (c. 184-148 B.C.). As we shall see (p. 535) this same Çātakarṇi was probably also contemporary with Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga.

For the history of this period the cave-inscriptions of Nānāghāt (nos. 1112-20) are of the highest importance. They prove by their situation that the Andhras now held the Nāna pass, which leads from Junnar in the Deccan to the Konkan, the coastal region of Western India. Most of them describe statues of members of the royal family—Simuka, the founder of the line, Çātakarṇi himself and his queen Nāganikā, a Mahārāṭhi, and three princes. But most valuable of all is the inscription, unfortunately fragmentary, of the queen (no. 1112). She was the daughter of a Mahārāṭhi, i.e. a king of the Rāshṭrikas; and we must conclude therefore that the incorporation of the Marāṭhā country in the Andhra empire had been ratified by a matrimonial alliance between the two royal houses. The inscription records the performance of certain great sacrifices and the fees paid to the officiating priests—fees which testify eloquently to the wealth of the realm and to the power of the Brāhman hierarchy at this date—tens of thousands of cows, thousands of horses, numbers of elephants, whole villages, and huge sums of money (tens of thousands of *kūrshāpaṇas*). Twice, it appears, had Çātakarṇi proclaimed his suzerainty by the perform-

<sup>1</sup> The accession of the twenty-third king, Gautamīputra Çātakarṇi, must be dated 106 A.D. or a few years later; see Rapson, B.M. Cat., *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty &c.*, p. xxx. If a calculation be made from this fixed point, the maximum readings of the Purāṇas would indicate c. 244 B.C., and the minimum readings c. 202 B.C., as the date of Simuka's accession; cf. *Kali Age*, pp. 38-42, 71, with B.M. Cat., pp. lxvi, lxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* iv, p. 98.

ance of the horse-sacrifice ; and, on one of these occasions at least, the victory thus celebrated must have been at the expense of the Çuṅgas, if we are right in supposing that the appearance of the Andhras of Southern India in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas indicates that, at some period, they held the position of suzerains in Northern India (p. 318). That the Andhras did actually come into conflict with the Çuṅgas during the reign of Pushyamitra appears probable from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (p. 519). On this occasion the Çuṅgas were victorious ; but this was no doubt merely an episode in the struggle in which the Andhras were finally triumphant. The progress of this intruding power from its western stronghold, Pratiṣṭhāna, first to Ujjayinī and subsequently to Vidiçā seems to be indicated by the evidence of coins and inscriptions.

Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godāvāri in the Aurangābād District of Hyderābād, is famous in literature as the capital of king Çātakarṇi (Çātavāhana or Sāli-vāhana) and his son Çakti-kumāra ; and there can be little doubt that these are to be identified with the king Çātakarṇi and the prince Çakti-çri of the Nānāghāt inscriptions. The Andhras in this region were separated by the rivers Tāpti and Nārbadā from the kingdoms of Ujjayinī and Vidiçā, which lay along the central route from the coast to Pāṭaliputra ; and the lines of communication between Pratiṣṭhāna and these kingdoms passed through the city of Māhishmatī (Mandhāta on the Nārbadā in the Nimār District of the Central Provinces). Numismatic testimony, if it has been rightly interpreted, shows that at this period the Andhras had traversed the intervening territories and conquered the kingdom of Ujjayinī. Their earliest known coins bear the name of a king Sāta, who is probably to be identified with Çātakarṇi ; and they are of what numismatists call the 'Mālwā fabric' and of that particular variety which is characteristic of the coins of W. Mālwā (Avanti), the capital of which was Ujjayinī<sup>1</sup>. If we may suppose, then, that Çātakarṇi was the actual conqueror, his performance of the horse-sacrifice is evidently explained ; for Ujjayinī was one of the most famous of all the cities of India, and its conquest may well have entitled the Andhra kings to a place in the imperial records preserved by the Purāṇas. It was, and still is, one of the seven holy places of Hinduism<sup>2</sup>. Such fragments of its ancient

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, B.M. Cat., *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty &c.*, p. xcii.

<sup>2</sup> The seven are recorded in the couplet:

*Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāçī, Kāñcī, Avantikā,  
purī Dvāravatī caiva, saptaitā mokṣadāyikāḥ.*

history as may be recovered from the past are given elsewhere<sup>1</sup>; and the indigenous coins which can be attributed to this period add little to our knowledge. The only inscribed specimen yet discovered bears the name of the city in its Prākṛit form, *Ujēni* (Pl. V, 18). Other coins have a type which has been supposed to represent the god *Çiva* (Pl. V, 19), whose temple stood in the *Mahākāla* forest to the north of the city. It was destroyed by the Muhammadans in the thirteenth century A.D., and the present temple was built on its site.

It appears most likely, then, that *Ujjayinī* was wrested from the first *Çuṅga* king, *Pushyamitra*, by *Çātakarni*. Of its history for many years to come we have no information. We can only infer from the conditions of the time that its politics cannot have been dis severed from those of the neighbouring kingdom of *Vidiçā*; and early in the first century, c. 90 B.C., we find evidence of the existence of diplomatic relations between *Vidiçā*, which was still under the rule of the *Çuṅgas*, and the *Yavana* house of *Eucratides* at *Takshaçilā* in the north-west of the Punjab (p. 521). There were therefore at this period three powers which were politically important from the point of view of *Ujjayinī*—the *Yavanas* in the north, the *Çuṅgas* on the east, and the *Andhras* of *Pratishthāna* in the south; and it is probable, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that *Ujjayinī* remained in the possession of the last of these. But a few years later, c. 75 B.C., there arose another formidable power on the west. The *Scythians* (*Çakas*) of *Seistān* had occupied the delta of the *Indus*, which was known thereafter to Indian writers as *Çakadvīpa*, 'the doāb of the *Çakas*,' and to the Greek geographers as *Indo-Scythia*. The memory of an episode in the history of *Ujjayinī* as it was affected by this new element in Indian politics may possibly be preserved in the *Jain* story of *Kālaka*, which is told in Chapter VI, pp. 167-8. The story can neither be proved nor disproved; but it may be said in its favour that its historical setting is not inconsistent with what we know of the political circumstances of *Ujjayinī* at this period. A persecuted party in the state may well have invoked the aid of the warlike *Çakas* of *Çakadvīpa* in order to crush a cruel despot; and, as history has so often shown, such allies are not unlikely to have seized the kingdom for themselves. Both the tyrant *Gardabhillā*, whose misdeeds were responsible for the introduction of these avengers, and his son *Vikramāditya*, who afterwards drove the *Çakas* out of the realm, according to the story, may perhaps be

<sup>1</sup> Chapters VII, pp. 185-7; XIII, pp. 310-1.

historical characters; and, from the account which represents Vikramāditya as having come to Ujjayinī from Pratiṣṭhāna, we may infer that they were connected with the Andhras<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that we may recognise in this story the beginnings of that long struggle between the Andhras and the Çakas for the possession of Ujjayinī, the varying fortunes of which may be clearly traced when the evidence of inscriptions becomes available in the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup> With the imperfect documents at our disposal, we can do little more than suggest such possibilities. It is hopeless to attempt to discriminate between the elements which may be historical and others which are undoubtedly pure romance in the great cycle of legend which has gathered around the name, or rather the title, Vikramāditya, 'the Sun of Might.' Many kings at different periods and in different countries of India have been so styled; and it seems that the exploits of more than one of them have been confused even in those legends which may be regarded as having some historical basis. While it is possible, nay even probable, that there may have been a Vikramāditya who expelled the Çakas from Ujjayinī in the first century B.C., it is certain that the monarch who finally crushed the Çaka power in this region was the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (380–414 A.D.). Indian tradition does not distinguish between these two. It regards the supposed founder of the era, which began in 58 B.C. (p. 571), and the royal patron of Kālidāsa, who lived more than four hundred years later, as one and the same person.

During the first quarter of the first century B.C., such dominion as the Andhras may have exercised over the region now known as Mālwā must have been restricted to its western portion, Avanti, of which Ujjayinī was the capital; for the Çuṅga kings were still in possession of Ākara or E. Mālwā (capital Vidiçā). But there is evidence that, presumably at some date after c. 72 B.C. when the Çuṅgas came to an end, E. Mālwā also was annexed by the Andhras. An inscription (no. 346) on one of the Bhilsa Topes (Sānchī, no. 1) records a donation made in the reign of a king Çātakarṇi, who cannot be identified more precisely, but who must certainly have been an Andhra. The inscription is not dated; but there is now a general consensus among archaeologists that it probably belongs to about the middle of the first century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These kings belonged probably to the family of Gardabhilas, who appear in the Purānas among the successors of the Andhras; see *Kali Age*, pp. 44–6, 72.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Cat., *Andhras &c.*, pp. xxxv, xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> B.M. Cat., *Andhras &c.*, pp. xxiii, xxiv; Marshall, *Guide to Sānchī*, p. 13; Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 15.

Andhra coins of a certain type have also been attributed to E. Mālwā; but their date is uncertain, and they may belong to a later period<sup>1</sup>. The conquest of E. Mālwā marks the north-eastern limit to which the progress of the Andhra power can be traced from the evidence of inscriptions and coins.

The other great nation, which arose on the ruins of the Maurya empire to take its part in the struggle for supremacy, had also its home in the lowlands of the eastern coast. The Kaliṅgas<sup>2</sup>, who occupied the country of the Mahānadī, were no doubt connected ethnographically with the Aṅgas and the other peoples of the plains of Bengal with whom they are associated in the Purāṇas (p. 317). They had been conquered by Açoka c. 262 B.C.<sup>3</sup>; but at some time after his death they had regained their independence; and the next glimpses of their history are afforded by inscriptions in the caves of the Udayagiri Hill near Cuttack in Orissa<sup>4</sup>. The immediate object of these inscriptions (nos. 1345-50) was to preserve the memory of pious benefactors—two kings, a queen, a prince, and other persons—who had provided caves for the use of the Jain ascetics of Udayagiri; and one of the inscriptions (no. 1345) in the Hāthigumphā, or 'Elephant Cave,' contained a record of events in the first thirteen (or possibly fourteen) years of the reign of one of the kings, Khāravela, a member of the Cheta dynasty. This is one of the most celebrated, and also one of the most perplexing, of all the historical monuments of India. Unfortunately it has been badly preserved. Of its seventeen lines only the first four remain in their entirety. These describe the fifteen years of the king's boyhood, the nine years of his rule as prince (*yuvarāja*), his coronation as king when his twenty-fourth year was completed, and events in the first two years of his reign. All the other lines are more or less fragmentary. Many passages are irretrievably lost, while others are partially obliterated and can only be restored conjecturally. Time has thus either destroyed or obscured much of the historical value of this record.

Even the fundamental question whether the inscription is dated or not is still in dispute. Some scholars contend that a passage in the sixteenth line can only be interpreted to mean that the inscription was engraved in the 165th year of the Maurya kings, or of the Maurya king, while others deny the existence of

<sup>1</sup> B. M. Cat., *Andhras &c.*, pp. xcv, xevi.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter xxiv, pp. 601-2.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter xx, pp. 495, 503.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter xxvi, pp. 638 ff.

any such date<sup>1</sup>. The discussion of problems of this kind does not fall within the scope of the present work; but it may be pointed out here that the acceptance of the supposed date would seem to involve no chronological impossibilities, and that, in any case, the inscription probably belongs to about the middle of the second century B.C. We know from analogous instances that the origin of imperial eras is usually to be traced to the regnal years of the founder of the empire. A Maurya era, therefore, would naturally date from the accession of Chandragupta c. 321 B.C.; and, if such an era is actually used in the present instance, the inscription must be dated c. 156 B.C., and the beginning of Khāravēla's reign c. 169 B.C. With this hypothetical chronology other indications of date seem to agree.

Epigraphical considerations show that the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla and the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāganikā, the queen of Çātakarṇi, belong to the same period as the Nāsik inscription of Kṛishṇa<sup>2</sup>. Even, therefore, if it must be admitted that the Hāthigumphā inscription is undated, there is still reason to believe that Khāravēla may have been contemporary with Çātakarṇi in the first half of the second century B.C. Moreover, a Çātakarṇi is actually mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription as Khāravēla's rival; and it appears most probable that he is to be identified with the Çātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt inscription. Like this Çātakarṇi, Khāravēla was also the third of his line, if we may accept the usual interpretation of a passage in the Hāthigumphā inscription<sup>3</sup>; and, as the rise of both the Andhra and Kaliṅga dynasties must no doubt date from the same period when the Maurya power began to decline, the probability that these two kings were contemporary is thus increased.

On two occasions, according to the inscriptional record, did Khāravēla invade the Andhra dominions in the Deccan. In his second year he sent a large army of horse, elephants, foot-soldiers, and chariots to the West in defiance of Çātakarṇi; and in his fourth year he humbled the Rāshṭrikas of the Marāthā Country and the Bhojakas of Berār, both feudatories of the Andhra kings of Pratiśṭhāna (pp. 530-1). Such expeditions were undoubtedly in the nature of a challenge to the predominant power of the Deccan;

<sup>1</sup> For the literature which bears on the interpretation of the Hāthigumphā inscription, see the Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* v, p. 71; *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> The different translation given by Mr Jayaswal seems not to be necessitated by the new reading to which he calls attention in *Jour. Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.*, 1918, p. 454.

but they appear not to have been pursued beyond the limit of safety. We may suppose that the armies of Khāravela passed up the valley of the Mahānadi and over the water-shed into the valleys of the Godāvāri and its great tributaries the Waingangā and the Wardhā. They would thus invade territory which the Andhra monarch regarded as lying within his realm. But it is not stated, and there are no grounds for surmising, that the forces of the Kalingas and the Andhras came into actual conflict on either of these occasions or that any important political results followed. Such military expeditions, as is abundantly proved by inscriptions, formed part of the ordinary routine in a state of society, in which war had become a profession and the soldier was an hereditary member of a professional caste. They supplied to some extent the place which is occupied by manœuvres in the training of modern armies; and they also afforded the king such opportunities as there might be for the fulfilment of that desire to extend his rule which, according to the law-books, is one of the chief qualifications for kingship (Manu IX, 251; X, 119 etc.). Our knowledge of this feature in the life of ancient and medieval India is derived from the eulogies of kings which fill so large a proportion of the inscriptions which have come down to our time. These compositions are the work of grateful beneficiaries or court-poets, whose object was rather to glorify their royal patron than to hand down to posterity an accurate account of the events of his reign. It is evident that in them successes are often grossly exaggerated, while reverses are passed over in complete silence. The statements of the inscriptions are, therefore, very frequently those of prejudiced witnesses; and they must be weighed as such if we are to estimate rightly the value of these few scattered fragments of historical evidence which time has preserved. The achievements of Khāravela loom large in the Hāthigumphā inscription; and there is no reason to doubt that, as a military leader, he played an important part in the affairs of the time. But if, as the expeditions of his second and fourth years seem to indicate, his ambition led him to entertain the project of wresting the suzerainty from the Andhra king of Pratiśthāna, the attempt must be held to have failed. His family has found no place in the dynastic lists of suzerains which were handed down to posterity by the Purānas.

From the West, Khāravela turned his attention to the North. In his eighth year he harassed the king of Rājagriha, who fled at his approach; in his tenth year he sent an expedition to Bhāratavarsha; and in his twelfth year he produced consternation



among the kings of Uttarāpatha, humbled the king of Magadha, and, according to Mr Jayaswal's translation which is not undisputed, brought back trophies which had been carried away by king Nanda.

For the present we must be content with this brief summary of the relations of Kaliṅga with other countries after the fourth year of Khāravēla's reign; and even these few statements raise problems for which no satisfactory solution can yet be proposed. The identification of the kings of Rājagṛiha and Magadha is still uncertain. The former bears no personal name in the inscription, and the question whether the latter is named or not is still undecided<sup>1</sup>. Both Bhāratavarsha and Uttarāpatha are often general designations of Northern India; and it is useless to speculate as to what particular regions they may possibly denote in this instance. All that appears to be certain is that Khāravēla repeatedly invaded Northern India, and that on one occasion he won a decisive victory over the king then reigning at Pāṭaliputra. Who that king was we do not know. It seems natural to assume that the Ṣuṅgas were still the lords of Magadha; but there is no undoubted evidence that this was the fact. The Yavana invasion of the capital (p. 544) may have taken place before the twelfth year of Khāravēla's reign, and decisive events may have happened of which no record has yet been discovered.

The mention of a king Nanda, or of Nanda kings, in two passages of the Hāthigumphā inscription seems to supply a link of connexion between the histories of Kaliṅga and Magadha before the Maurya period. But even this is doubtful; and the doubt cannot be dispelled so long as uncertainty remains in regard to the interpretation of the date, which is apparently indicated in one of these passages<sup>2</sup>. If *ti-vasa-sata* in line 6 of the inscription can mean 'three centuries before (the fifth year of Khāravēla's reign),' we must suppose that, in the middle of the fifth century B.C., Kaliṅga was under the rule of a Nanda king, and it is natural to

<sup>1</sup> Mr Jayaswal holds that the king of Rājagṛiha was also the king of Magadha, whose name he reads in the inscription as Bahasatimitra, and whom he identifies with Pushyamitra. Apart from the proposed reading of the name, which cannot be verified from the reproduction of the inscription in Plate I of the *Jour. Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.* 1918, the identification of the Bahasatimitra of the Pabhosā inscription and the coins with Pushyamitra appears not to be possible, if Mr Jayaswal is correct in assigning the Pabhosā inscription (no. 904) to the tenth year of Odraka (p. 521). According to the Purānas there was an interval of twenty-five years between the reigns of Pushyamitra and Odraka (p. 518); and Āshāḍhasena, the donor of the Pabhosā cave, was the maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter XIII, pp. 314-5.

associate him with the well-known predecessors of the Mauryas. If, on the other hand, the expression means 'one hundred and three years before (the fifth year of Khāravela's reign),' or 'in the one hundred and third year (of the Maurya era)<sup>1</sup>,' the reference must be, in the former case, to a king called Nanda who was reigning over Kalinga before its annexation by Açoka, and, in the latter case, to a predecessor of Khāravela in the Cheta dynasty after the kingdom had regained its independence.

As is so often inevitable in our attempts to reconstruct the mosaic of ancient Indian history from the few pieces which have as yet been found, we can do little more than define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance. For greater certainty we must be content to wait until the progress of archaeological research has furnished us with more adequate materials.

### KEY TO PLATE V.

1. Æ. **Eran**: Dharmapāla. *Obv.* Rañio Dhamapālasa in ancient Brāhmī<sup>2</sup> characters written from right to left.
2. Æ. **Kauçāmbi**: Bahasatimitra. *Obv.* Humped bull to r. facing *chaitya*; above, symbol. *Rev.* Bahasatimitrasa. Tree within railing; on either side, symbols.
3. Æ. **Pañchāla**: Agnimitra. *Obv.* Agni, with head of flames, standing between posts on railing. *Rev.* in incuse, *Agimitasa*; above, three symbols.
4. Æ. id.: Indramitra. *Obv.* Indra seated on railing. *Rev.* in incuse, *Idamitasa*; above, three symbols.
5. Æ. **Mathurā**: Gomitra. *Rev.* *Gomitasa*. Standing figure; on either side, symbols.
6. Æ. id.: Brahmamitra. *Rev.* *Brahmamitasa*. Standing figure, with r. arm raised; on either side, symbols.
7. Æ. id.: Hagāmasha. *Obv.* Horse to l. *Rev.* *Khatapasa Hagāmashasa*.  
● Standing figure, with r. arm raised; on either side, symbols.
8. Æ. id.: Hagāna and Hagāmasha. *Obv.* Horse to l. *Rev.* *Khatapāna Hagānasa Hagāmashasa*; to r., thunderbolt.
9. Æ. id.: Rañjubula. *Obv.* The *abhisheka* of Lakshmi. *Rev.* *Mahākhatapasa Rājvulasa*. Standing figure; on either side, symbol.
10. Æ. id.: Çoḍāsa. *Obv.* Indistinct, probably as on no. 9. *Rev.* *Mahākhatapasa putasa Khatapasa Çoḍāsasa*. Type as on no. 9.
11. Æ. **Ayodhyā**: Āryamitra. *Obv.* Peacock to r. facing tree. *Rev.* in incuse, *Āryamitasa*. Humped bull to l. facing post.

<sup>1</sup> K. G. Sankara Aiyar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> All the coin-legends in this Plate are in Brāhmī, except when 'Kharoshthī' is specially indicated.

12. Æ. id.: Mūladeva. *Obv.* *Mūladevasa*. Elephant to l. facing symbol. *Rev.* Wreath; above, symbol; below, snake.
13. Æ. **Rājanya Janapada**. *Obv.* Humped bull to l. *Rev.* *Rājanya-janapadasa*. Standing figure.
14. Æ. **Udumbara**: Dharāghosha. *Obv.* *Mahadevasa raño Dharaghoshasa* | *Odumbarisa*; r., tree within railing; l., trident battle-axe. *Rev.* Similar legend in Kharoshthī characters. Viçvāmitra standing, with r. hand raised; across field, *Viçpa—mitra* in Kharoshthī characters.
15. Æ. **Çaka**: Azilises. *Rev.* (Kh.) *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa* | *Ayilishasa*. One of the Dioscuri standing.
16. Æ. **Kuṇinda**: Amoghabhūti. *Obv.* *Raño Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūtisa Mahārājasa*. Deer to r. facing female figure; above, symbol; below, *chaitya*. *Rev.* Similar legend in Kharoshthī characters. *Chaitya* surmounted by *nandipada*; r., tree within railing; l., *svastika* and another symbol.
17. Æ. **Almora**: Çivadatta. *Obv.* Railing with symbols between the posts. *Rev.* *Sivādatasa*. Type uncertain (symbol or letter?); in margin, deer and tree within railing.
18. Æ. **Ujjayinī**. *Obv.* Elephant to r. *Rev.* *Ujeni[ye]*; above, a hand.
19. Æ. id. *Obv.* Three-headed standing figure. *Rev.* The symbol usually found on coins of Ujjayinī.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

THE disintegration of the Maurya empire was followed by foreign invasions. Now that the unifying power was removed, the frontiers could no longer be held securely; and the history of N.W. India becomes for many centuries the record of successive conquerors who came along the routes which led from Bactria (N. Afghānistān) over the Hindu Kush into the Kābul valley or from Ariāna (Seistān and Kandahār) over the Brāhūi Mountains into Sind.

The first three of the series, who belong to the period before the Christian era, are known in Indian literature and inscriptions as Yavanas or Yonas (Greeks), Cakas or Sakas (Scythians), and Pahlavas (Parthians). Like other invaders they are regarded by the Sanskrit law-books and epics as degenerate Kshatriyas who had lost caste through their neglect of the religious and social code, and they are supposed to be of Indian origin, the descendants of Turvasu; but their names alone are sufficient to prove that they were foreigners, and that they came into India from Bactria or from Irān.

The Yavanas are the Iaunā of the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius, which show that the Persians applied to all Greeks without distinction the name of the Ionians of Asia Minor who were conquered by Cyrus in 545 B.C. Greek soldiers and officials formed no unimportant element in the administration of the empire of the Achaemenids; and it is not surprising therefore to find that the Greeks were known in India at a time when a large portion of the North-West was still under Persian rule. The occurrence of the word Yavana in a grammatical rule of Pāṇini (iv, 1, 49) is a certain indication that it had been adopted into Sanskrit before the middle of the fourth century B.C. Its Prākṛit equivalent, Yona, is used in the inscriptions of Aṣoka to describe the Hellenic sovereigns of Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, Epirus, and Syria; and there can be little doubt that, in all Indian documents earlier than the third century A.D., the term denotes a person of Greek descent, in spite

of the fact that, like other foreign settlers in India, many of the Yavanas had become Hinduised and had adopted Indian names. At a later date, foreigners generally are classed as Yavanas.

On three occasions have Yavana conquerors occupied the Kābul valley, the North-Western Frontier Province, and large portions of the Punjab. The earliest of these episodes, the Indian expedition of Alexander the Great, has for more than twenty-two centuries been celebrated in the Western world as one of the most amazing feats of arms in the whole of history. Of its progress detailed accounts have been preserved by Greek and Latin authors whose information was derived from the writings of officers who themselves took part in the events which they describe; and in all these accounts Alexander himself is the great central figure. No personage of the ancient world is better known; but of this great conqueror the records of India have preserved no certain trace: he had failed to reach the Midland Country, to which the literature of the period is almost exclusively confined.

On the second occasion, Bactrian princes of the house of Euthydemus, whose conquests began c. 200 B.C., succeeded in rivalling and in surpassing the exploits of Alexander; and on the third occasion, Eucratides, who had supplanted the family of Euthydemus in Bactria, deprived it of its possessions in the Kābul valley and of a portion of its territory in N.W. India, before 162 B.C. (p. 457).

No connected account of these two rival Yavana houses has been preserved; and practically nothing is known about the personal character or achievements of the leaders who directed the affairs of a period which must have been full of stirring events. A few isolated references in literature, Greek, Roman, and Indian, a single Indian inscription, and the coin-legends of about thirty Greek kings and two Greek queens supply the evidence which enables us to retrace very imperfectly a few outlines in the history of the successors of Alexander the Great in India during the second and first centuries B.C.

For about a century after the treaty of peace between Seleucus and Chandragupta, c. 305 B.C., and half a century after the foundation of the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria, c. 250 B.C., the southern limit of the Yavana dominions was marked by the Hindu Kush. This broad band of mountainous country, which separates the great river systems of the Oxus and the Indus, was thus also the political boundary between Bactria and Paropanisadae (the Kābul valley and the country north of the Kābul river now known as Laghmān, Kohistān, and Kāfiristān). The mountain barrier,

although a formidable natural obstacle, has never effectually prevented intercourse between the two fertile regions which it divides. In all ages it has been traversed by migrating tribes, by military expeditions, or by peaceful traders and pilgrims. It was crossed by Alexander, from the Paropanisadae to Bactria, in fifteen days, and recrossed in eleven days<sup>1</sup>. The routes which led from Bactria over its passes converged at a point near the present Chārikār where Alexander had founded the city of Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus; and, so long as this strategical position could be held, invasion was impossible. But already in 206 B.C. the expedition of Antiochus the Great had shown that the way was now open; and the object lesson was not lost. Within a few years, the Bactrian king Euthydemus and the princes of his house began their triumphal career, the first stage of which was marked by the occupation of the Kābul valley.

From Kābul ancient routes led, on the one hand, into the provinces of Ariāna—Aria (Herāt) on the west, and Arachosia (Kandahār) on the south-west—and, on the other hand, into India through Gandhāra (Peshāwar and Rāwalpindi) on the south-east. It is probable that the Yavana power expanded in all three directions; but it was in the second and third of these—to Arachosia and to India—that its progress was most marked. In these directions it must no doubt have followed the routes once trodden by the armies of Alexander the Great. The full extent of the Yavana conquests is described by Strabo (XI, 516) who quotes Apollodorus of Artemita, the author of a history of Parthia which has been lost:

The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariāna and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraostos, and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast...They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni. (Trans. M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 100-1.)

This passage is not without its difficulties; but the general purport is clear. The conquests of the Bactrian kings are said to have been carried to the south over the Hindu Kush into S. Afghān-

<sup>1</sup> (1) M'Crindle, *The Invasion of Ind. by Alex. the Great* (ed. 1896), p. 39; cf. Holdich, *Gates of India*, pp. 87-8. (2) *Itinerarium Alex. Mag.*, 104, trans. M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 150.

istān, the North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, and Kāthiāwār, and to the east over the Pāmirs into Chinese Turkestan. Unfortunately the Indian limits of this extension are somewhat doubtful. The Hypanis must certainly be intended for the Hyphasis (Beās), the eastern limit of Alexander's march; and the Isamus must probably be intended for the Jumna. Patalene, the country of Patala, is the Indus delta. If the reading Saraostos, which has been restored from the MSS., be correct, it must undoubtedly represent Surāshtra (Kāthiāwār). The identification of Sigerdis is uncertain.

The Indian conquests, attributed by Apollodorus to Demetrius and Menander, were ascribed by Trogus Pompeius (Justin, *Prologue* to Book XLI) to Apollodotus and Menander. It seems probable that Apollodotus and Menander, as well as Demetrius, belonged to the house of Euthydemus, and that all these three princes were contemporary.

Some of the principal stages in the routes which the conquering armies must have followed, together with the distances between the stages, are known from ancient authorities who derived their information from the campaigns of Alexander and Seleucus. The most complete record has been preserved by Pliny (VI, 17 (21)). Many of his measurements are no doubt correct, when due allowance is made for the necessary detours in marches; but, as others are evidently less exact, it will be more convenient to summarise here such information as is supplied by the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and to estimate other distances approximately by straight lines drawn on the map (Railway and Canal Map of India, 1910).

From Chārikār (Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus) to Kābul (Ortospanum)	40 miles.
„ Kābul (1) S.W. to Kandahār (Alexandria-among-the-Arachosians)	313 miles.
„ „ (2) S. to Indus delta, in a straight line	725 „
„ „ „ to S. Kāthiāwār	1000 „
„ „ (3) E. to Jalālābād (Nagara)	101 „
„ Jalālābād E. to Peshāwār (Purushapura)	79 „
(Stages on the 'royal road' which ran from Chārsadda, 16 miles N.E. of Peshāwār, to Patna, measured in a series of straight lines.)	
„ Chārsadda (Pushkalāvati) E. to Shāhdheri (Takshaçilā)	80 „
„ Shāhdheri S.E. to Jhelum (Nicaea)	70 „
„ Jhelum S.E. to Siālkot (Çākala)	55 „
„ Siālkot S.E. to the Beās (Hyphasis)	65 „
„ the Beās S.E. to the Sutlej (Hesydrus) at Rūpar	85 „
„ the Sutlej S. to the Jumna (Yamunā) at Karnāl (old bed)	100 „

The second great Yavana invasion had thus passed beyond the bounds of Alexander's Indian realm in two directions—beyond the Beās eastwards, and beyond the Indus delta southwards. But it is doubtful if the successors of Demetrius, Apollodotus, and Menander exercised any permanent sway over the very wide expanse of territory indicated in Strabo's *Geography*. It is more likely that most of the princes whose coins we possess ruled over various kingdoms in the northern region of this area, that is to say, in the Kābul valley, in the North-Western Frontier Province, and in the northern districts of the Punjab. It is certain however that the military expeditions of the Yavanas were by no means confined within these limits. One such incursion which broke through the Delhi passage and penetrated the Midland Country as far as Pāṭaliputra (Patna) is described in the Yuga Purāṇa, one of the chapters of the Gārgī Saṃhitā.

As in all Purāṇic literature, we find here a record of past events in the conventional form of prophecy; and, however late the work may be in its present form, there is no reason to doubt that, like the Purāṇas generally, it embodies a more ancient tradition. From the passage in question we gather that 'the viciously valiant Greeks,' after reducing Sāketa (in Oudh), the Pañchāla country (in the doāb between the Jumna and Ganges), and Mathurā (Muttra), reached Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra); but that they did not remain in the Midland Country because of a dreadful war among themselves which broke out in their own country<sup>1</sup>—an evident allusion to the internecine struggle between the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides.

This account is to some extent supported and supplemented by two examples given by the grammarian Patañjali (a contemporary of the Çuṅga king, Pushyamitra) in illustration of the use of the imperfect tense to denote an event which has recently happened—'The Yavana was besieging Sāketa: the Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā' (Nagari, near Chitor in Rājputāna)<sup>2</sup>. Such incursions brought the Yavanas into collision with the Çuṅgas who were now the predominant power in the Midland Country; and Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act v) preserves the memory of a conflict on the banks of the river Sindhu (*v. sup.* p. 520), in which a Yavana force was defeated in the reign of Pushyamitra by the king's grandson Vasumitra.

It is clear that such warlike inroads were followed by no permanent occupation of the Midland Country, and that the period of

<sup>1</sup> Kern, *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* vii, p. 266.



military conquest, in which they are ineffective episodes, belongs to the earlier part of the second century B.C., when the Yavana power was as yet undivided by internecine strife. But the struggle of Greek with Greek was not long delayed. The conflict between the rival houses in Bactria was decided in favour of Eucratides; and the third Yavana invasion under his leadership deprived the princes of the house of Euthydemus of their dominions in Kābul and Kandahār (the Paropanisadae and Arachosia) and in N.W. India (Gandhāra).

After about 162 B.C. there were therefore two royal houses of Yavanas in India, and several branches of these houses were established in different kingdoms and ruled at the same time. The names and titles of a number of princes belonging to these families have been preserved by their coins; and a study of the coins enables us to recover a few facts in their history.

In the first place it is evident that some members of both royal houses ruled both to the north and to the south of the Hindu Kush. Their coins belong to two distinct and unmistakable classes. The coins struck in Bactria are purely Greek in style, in language, and in weight. They are the most noble examples of Greek art as applied to portraiture. No rivals to the lifelike portraits of Euthydemus and Demetrius appeared in the world until after the lapse of sixteen centuries, when the Greek spirit was again kindled at the renaissance and manifested itself in the medals of the great Italian artists. Contrasted with these, the coin-portraits executed to the south of the Hindu Kush are lifeless and conventional. Between the two styles of art there is a gulf fixed. Neither can be brought into relation with the other. They are the work of different regions and the outcome of different types of civilisation. In Bactria the Greeks ruled supreme amid peoples of a lower culture. On the south of the mountain barrier, in the Kābul valley and in India, they were brought into contact with a civilisation which was in many respects as advanced as their own and even more ancient—a civilisation in which, as in that of Ancient Egypt, religious and social institutions had long ago been stereotyped, and in which individual effort in literature and art was no longer free but bound by centuries of tradition. With this deeply-rooted civilisation the Greeks were forced to make a compromise; and the results are seen in their bilingual coin-legends, and in their adoption of the Indian (or Persian) weight-standard.

Differences less strongly marked, differences of degree rather than of kind, are to be observed in the style of the coinages which

the Yavanas issued in the kingdoms south of the Hindu Kush. This diversity is no doubt the result chiefly of varying local conditions. The Yavana dominions were very widely extended; and the influence of Greek models was naturally less strong in the more remote districts.

#### THE HOUSE OF EUTHYDEMUS

The princes of the house of Euthydemus who reigned both in Bactria and in kingdoms south of the Hindu Kush are Demetrius, Pantaleon, Agathocles, and probably also Antimachus.

Of these Demetrius alone is known to the Greek historians<sup>1</sup>, whose statements as to his Indian conquests are confirmed, though scarcely supplemented, by the evidence of coins. The district, in which his bilingual square copper coins were struck, has not been determined; and all that can be said of his round coins, with types 'Elephant's head: Caduceus' and Greek legend only, is that they were directly copied by the Çaka king Maues, and that they must therefore have been in circulation in the lower Kābul valley or in N.W. India (Pl. VI, 1, 2).

Pantaleon and Agathocles were undoubtedly closely connected, since they struck coins which are identical in type and form. These were borrowed from the earlier native currency which prevailed generally in the Paropanisadae and Gandhāra. From a general consideration of the *provenance* of their coins, which are found in Kābul, Ghazni, and Kandahār, Cunningham concluded that Pantaleon and Agathocles must have ruled over the Western Paropanisadae and Arachosia (*N.Chr.*, 1869, p. 41). They would seem therefore to represent the south-western extension of the Yavana power.

The commemorative medals struck by Antimachus show that he claimed to be the successor of Diodotus and Euthydemus; but there is nothing to indicate his relation to Agathocles who makes the same claim. The two princes may have been ruling at the same period in different kingdoms. From the recorded discoveries of the Indian coins of Antimachus, Cunningham inferred that he ruled in the lower Kābul valley (the districts of Jalālābād and Peshāwar). The reverse type in which the king is represented on a prancing horse and wearing a flat cap (*kausia*), as on the obverse of the large silver Bactrian coins, is evidently a portrait; and the same type is continued on the coins of Philoxenus, Nicias, and

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xvii, pp. 445-7.

Hippostratus, who may have succeeded to the kingdom of Antimachus. But if these four princes really ruled over the same kingdom, its locality must be sought rather in the country of the Jhelum than in the lower Kābul valley. The coins of Philoxenus are found only to the east of Jalālābād (B.M. Cat., p. xxxviii), and those of Nicias only in the Jhelum District (Smith, *Early Hist. of Ind.*, 3rd ed., p. 243); while the types 'Apollo: Tripod' which are also struck by Hippostratus seem undoubtedly, in later times, to have been confined to the eastern districts of the Punjab (p. 552). The occurrence of the type 'King on prancing horse' on the joint coins of Hermaeus and Calliope may, as Cunningham suggested, indicate the union of two royal houses.

The Bactrian and Indian coins of Antimachus with their types 'Poseidon' and 'Victory' must refer to a naval triumph; and it is difficult to explain the allusion except on the supposition that this king had won a victory on one of the great Indian rivers—the Indus or the Jhelum.

Numismatists usually distinguish between an earlier Antimachus I Θεός and a later Antimachus II Νικηφόρος (Pl. VI, 3); but it seems more probable that the coins assigned to these are merely the Bactrian and the Indian issues of the same monarch. The two classes are connected by their types; and the difference between them may well be local rather than chronological. They represent the workmanship of districts separated by some hundreds of miles and dissimilar in culture. They find their parallels in the coinages of other Graeco-Indian kings, viz. Demetrius, Eucratides, and Heliocles. Like the title 'Ανίκητος, which is borne by Demetrius, the Νικηφόρος of Antimachus has reference to Indian conquests and is not found on the coins struck in Bactria.

Of the Yavana princes who ruled only to the south of the Hindu Kush, Apollodotus would seem to have been the first. He is twice mentioned by ancient authors, and on both occasions in association with Menander. From such evidence as is forthcoming we may reasonably conclude that the two princes were members of the family of Euthydemus, that they belong to the same period—the period of Yavana expansion—and that Apollodotus was the elder.

The copper coins of Apollodotus bear types 'Apollo: Tripod' in evident allusion to the king's name (Pl. VI, 4). These were re-struck by Eucratides with his own types in the kingdom of Kāpiça (Kāfiristān) immediately to the south of the Hindu Kush (p. 555; Pl. VII, 36). The types of the silver coins, 'Elephant: Indian bull' (Pl. VI, 7) which may have symbolised the tutelary divinities of

cities, are commonly found on the earlier native coinages of the N.W., and the Indian bull is more particularly characteristic of Pushkalāvati (Chārsadda) in the Peshāwar District (p. 557). These types continued to be struck by Heliocles (Pl. VI, 8). The coins thus show most clearly the transference of the upper and lower Kābul valleys from one Yavana house to the other, and they determine the date of Apollodotus I: he was, like Demetrius, the contemporary of Eucratides, who was the predecessor of Heliocles.

From their home in the N.W. the coins of Apollodotus were carried far and wide into other regions. Such distribution may manifestly be the result either of conquest or of commerce: it is therefore no certain indication of the limits of a king's dominions. But in this case numismatic evidence of the kind may well be adduced to confirm the statement preserved by Strabo, that Yavana rule extended on the south-west to Ariāna and on the south to the Indus delta and Western India. Cunningham observed that, while coins of Apollodotus are found in Arachosia (Ghazni and Kandahār) and in Drangiāna (Seistān), those of Menander do not occur in these regions; and from this fact he inferred that these provinces of Ariāna were lost to the house of Euthydemus during the reign of Apollodotus and before the reign of Menander (*N. Chr.*, 1869, p. 146). They would appear to have come successively under the sway of Eucratides and of Mithradates<sup>1</sup>. That Menander did not rule in Ariāna seems certain. He is associated rather with the eastern Punjab (p. 549); and in this region he may have been reigning contemporaneously with Apollodotus in the N.W. and in Ariāna.

The memory of Apollodotus and Menander was preserved in Western India by their coins, which, according to the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (§ 47), were still in circulation in the last quarter of the first century A.D. at Barugaza (Broach). But Yavana rule had long ago ceased in this region. Early in the first century B.C. the country of the lower Indus had passed into the possession of the Çaka invaders from Seistān<sup>2</sup>.

After the conquests of Eucratides and Heliocles the dominions of the house of Euthydemus were confined to those districts of the Punjab which lie to the east of the Jhelum, that is to say, to the old kingdoms of Alexander's first and second Paurava, and to the region beyond. Here the types of Apollodotus, 'Apollo : Tripod,' were continued by Strato I, by the Çaka king Maues, and, with some modification in the representation both of Apollo and the

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XVII, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter XXIII, pp. 564, 570.

Tripod, by Apollodotus II Philopator, Dionysius, Zoilus, and Hippostratus (Pl. VI, 5, 6, and *Summary*, p. 587).

Menander is the only Yavana who has become celebrated in the ancient literature of India. He is unquestionably to be identified with Milinda, the Yavana king of Çākala (Siālkot), who is one of the two leading characters in the Milindapañha, the 'Questions of Milinda,' a Pāli treatise on the fundamental principles of Buddhist philosophy. It is in the form of a dialogue between the king, who had become notorious as 'harassing the brethren by putting puzzles to them of heretical tendency,' and the Buddhist elder, Nāgasena, who triumphantly solves these puzzles and succeeds in converting his royal antagonist. It is thus as a philosopher, and not as a mighty conqueror, that Menander, like Janamejaya, king of the Kurus, and Janaka, king of Videha, in the Upanishads, has won for himself an abiding fame.

As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. As in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end. (Trans. Rhys Davids, *S.B.E.* xxxv, pp. 6, 7.)

The capital is described in the same somewhat conventional style in a passage which begins :

There is, in the country of the Yonakas, a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sāgala, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. (*Ibid.* p. 2.)

Little is said which might not apply to any other important city lying on the great high road of N. India<sup>1</sup>. For more precise information we must seek elsewhere.

Çākala was a city of the Madras, who are mentioned in the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad (III, 3, 1; 7, 1) probably as early as 600 B.C., and who appear in the epics to occupy the district of Siālkot between the rivers Chenāb and Rāvi. Here Alexander found the second Paurava king, whose dominions he annexed to the satrapy of his relation and rival, the great Paurava, who ruled over the adjacent territory between the Jhelum and the Chenāb. We may conclude then that the kings of the Madras claimed to be

<sup>1</sup> In the Jain literature such conventional descriptions of persons and places have attained to their complete logical development: they have become stereotyped, and are to be supplied in each fresh instance from the bare stage direction, *varṇo*, 'the description as before.'

Pūrus, and that their dominions together with their capital, Çākala,<sup>1</sup> twice passed under the sway of the Yavanas—under Alexander and under his successor, Menander. At a later date, in the early part of the sixth century A.D., Çākala became the capital of the Hūna conqueror, Mihirakula<sup>1</sup>.

At his meetings with Nāgasena, the king is attended by his five hundred Greek (Yonaka) courtiers, some of whom bear Greek names which have been slightly Indianised; and, as the chief of these courtiers were no doubt related to the royal family which traced its origin to Bactria, it is not surprising to find among them a Demetrius (Devamantriya) and an Antiochus (Anantakāya).

In the illustrations which are brought to bear on the philosophical topics under discussion, certain facts of a more general interest emerge. Milinda, it appears, was born at the village of Kalasi in the *dvīpa* of Alasanda. Kalasi cannot be identified; but the *dvīpa* of Alasanda is no doubt the district of Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus—Alasanda of the Yonas, as it is called in the Mahāvamsa (XXIX, 39). Translators have persistently rendered *dvīpa* by 'island,' and have thus added to the difficulties of identifying the site; but this is only one of the meanings of this word, which often denotes the land lying between two rivers—the Persian *duāb*: the district of Çākala, for example, in the Rechna Doāb between the Chenāb and the Rāvi, is often called *Çākala-dvīpa*. There is no reason therefore why the term *Alasanda-dvīpa* should not be applied to the country between the Panjshir and Kābul rivers, in which the ruins of Alexander's city have been recognised near Chārikār. No other of the numerous Alexandrias has an equal claim to the honour of being Menander's birthplace, which, in reply to Nāgasena's question, the king himself describes as being 200 *yojanas* distant from Çākala. The *yojana* has very different values according to the period and the locality in which it is used; but there is good evidence of the use in Buddhist books of a short *yojana*, equal to about two and a half English miles; and an estimate of 500 miles for the route from Chārikār to Siālkot seems to be fairly correct (p. 543). The statement thus incidentally preserved by the Milindapañha has the appearance of truth. Some branch of the family of Euthydemus would naturally be settled in the district, which was strategically important as constituting the connecting link between Bactria and India, and we may reasonably conclude that Menander, like Apollodotus, belonged to this branch.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xv, p. 370; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123; Pargiter, *Mārk. Pur.* pp. 315-6; Fleet, *Trans. Inter. Gr. Cong.*, Algiers, 1905, I, pp. 164 ff.

Menander's fame as a great and just ruler was not confined to India. Some two centuries after his time Plutarch recounted to the Greek world the story how, after his death in camp, the cities of his realm contended for the honour of preserving his ashes and agreed on a division among themselves, in order that the memory of his reign should not be lost. The story is evidently derived from some Buddhist source; for, as Prinsep first pointed out, it is a reminiscence of the story of the distribution of Buddha's ashes<sup>1</sup>.

The coins of Menander show a greater variety of types and are distributed over a wider area than those of any other Graeco-Indian ruler. They are found not only in the Kābul valley and the Punjab, but also in the western districts of the United Provinces. There can be no doubt that Menander was the ruler over many kingdoms and that he was a great conqueror. It is most probably under his leadership that the Yavana armies invaded the Midland Country (p. 544). The statement, that the expedition was recalled on account of the war which had broken out between the Yavanas themselves in their own country, is in accordance with what may be inferred as to his date. Menander and Eucratides were almost certainly contemporary. Some of their square copper coins are so similar in style that they may reasonably be assigned not only to the same general period, but also to the same region—a region which must have passed from one rule to the other (Pl. VI, 13, 14).

The numismatic record of Menander is unusually full, but it is at the same time extraordinarily difficult to interpret. Few, if any, of his types can be attributed to the different cities in which they were struck. The most plausible suggestions are that the 'O' (Pl. VI, 17) may represent Bucephala, and the figure of 'VICIA' (Pl. VI, 15; continued on the coins of Strato, Pl. VI, 16) Nicaea, the two cities which Alexander founded on the Jhelum in the realm of Porus<sup>2</sup>.

The period is one of great historical complexity. The house of Euthydemus, after a career of conquest under Demetrius, Apollodotus, and Menander, was engaged in a struggle, under the same leaders, to maintain its newly won possessions against the encroachments of the house of Eucratides. Coins can only have preserved a few indications of the kaleidoscopic changes which must from time to time have taken place in the political situation. Nevertheless, their evidence clearly illustrates some of the main results of

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* (Moralia, 821, D); Prinsep's *Essays*, ed. Thomas, I, pp. 50, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter xv, p. 368.

the struggle. They show unmistakably that the dominions of the house of Euthydemus in the Kābul valley and in both western and eastern Gandhāra (Pushkalāvati and Takshaçilā) had passed into the hands of Eucratides (pp. 555 f.) and his immediate successors Heliocles (pp. 556 f.) and Antialcidas (pp. 558 f.). It is in the region which lies to the south and east of the Rāwalpindi District that we must seek henceforth the remnants of the house of Euthydemus. Here Apollodotus appears to be represented by Apollodotus II Philopator, and Menander by Agathocleia and her son Strato.

The types which these families continue to use in the eastern Punjab, and which are especially characteristic of the house of Euthydemus, are chiefly two: (1) the types of Apollodotus, 'Apollo: Tripod' (Pl. VI, 4)—Strato I (Pl. VI, 5), and, with some modification in the types which appears to indicate a later date, Apollodotus II (Pl. VI, 6), Dionysius, Zoilus, Hippostratus (*Summary*, p. 587); and (2) the type of Menander, 'Athene Promachos' (Pl. VII, 18)—Agathocleia and Strato (Pl. VII, 19), Strato I (Pl. VII, 20, 21 and *Summary*, p. 588), Apollodotus II (Pl. VII, 22), Dionysius, Zoilus, Apollonphanes (*Summary*, p. 589), Strato I and II (Pl. VII, 23).

In the long and distinguished list of queens who have ruled in India must be included the name of Agathocleia. Her relation to Menander cannot be proved very definitely; but it is by no means improbable that she was his queen and the governor of his kingdom after his death<sup>1</sup>. The fact that she struck coins on which her portrait appears together with the type of Euthydemus, 'Heracles seated,' shows that she was a princess in her own right and a member of the royal house; and her name suggests that she may have belonged to the family of Pantaleon and Agathocles (p. 546). She was undoubtedly the mother of Strato I Soter<sup>2</sup>.

The coins issued by Agathocleia in association with her son, and by Strato ruling at first alone and afterwards in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator, supply the most valuable evidence for the reconstruction of the history and chronology of this

<sup>1</sup> The evidence, such as it is, is as follows:—(1) The 'bust of Athena helmeted' which appears on coins of Menander (Pl. VI, 15) is perhaps a portrait of Agathocleia, like the similar bust on coins which she strikes in association with Strato (Pl. VII, 25); (2) the figure of a warrior king on the reverse of certain coins struck by Agathocleia during Strato's minority and bearing her own portrait may be supposed to represent the late king (*Corolla Numismatica*, Pl. XII, 4): a similar figure occurs as the obverse type on coins of Menander, where it is most naturally explained as that of Menander himself (*Lahore Cat.*, Pl. VI, 515).

<sup>2</sup> For the detailed proof see Rapson in *Corolla Numismatica* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 247-51.



period. They mark most clearly various stages in the long life of Strato. They begin at a time when the conquests of the house of Eucratides had not yet reached their limit; and they end on the eve of the complete overthrow of Yavana power in the eastern Punjab by the Çakas.

On the earliest of these coins Agathocleia appears as queen regent holding the place of honour with her portrait and Greek inscription on the obverse, while the Kharoshthī legend of the young prince occupies a subordinate position on the reverse (Pl. VII, 25). Afterwards, the combined portraits of mother and son declare their association in the government (Pl. VII, 19); and, later still, a series of portraits shows Strato first reigning alone—as a youth (Pl. VII, 20), or as a bearded man (Pl. VII, 21)—and then in advanced old age, with toothless jaws and sunken cheeks, both, as the Kharoshthī legends indicate, reigning alone (*Summary*, p. 588) and in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator (Pl. VII, 23). To judge from these portraits, we have here glimpses of a life of more than seventy years. Between the earliest and the latest there is indeed a long interval, and to some period in this interval must be assigned the reigns of Apollodotus II Philopator, Dionysius, and Zoilus. They are associated by their common use of a peculiar monogram (Pl. VII, 22 and *Summary*, p. 589); and it is probable that they were all descendants of Apollodotus I. Apollophanes, whose name suggests that he may have been a member of the same family, must belong to the period represented by the latest coins of Strato.

Coins of Agathocleia and Strato (Pl. VII, 25), and others of Strato reigning alone (Pl. VI, 16), are sometimes found restruck with the types of Heliocles (Pl. VII, 35). The restruck coins of Strato bear the reverse-type 'Victory,' which was inherited by him either from Menander or from Agathocleia ruling in the name of Menander (Pl. VI, 15 and *Summary*, p. 588); and this type may not improbably be supposed to represent the city of Nicaea on the Jhelum (p. 551). We have here unmistakable evidence of a further transference of the dominions of the house of Euthydemus to the rival house of Eucratides, and a certain indication that the conflict which was begun by Eucratides in the time of Demetrius and Apollodotus, was continued by Heliocles in the reign of Strato.

The lifetime of Strato witnessed not only the decline in the eastern Punjab of the royal house to which he belonged, but also the downfall of Yavana rule in Northern India; for in his reign there came still another great foreign invasion which led to the

supremacy of the Çakas and Pahlavas. The debased art of his latest coins and of those in which he is associated with his grandson seems to show that the house of Euthydemus had fallen on evil days; and other coins clearly suggest the manner in which it came to an end. The familiar type of the house of Euthydemus, 'Athene Promachos,' continues to appear on coins; but the strikers no longer bear Greek names. Their names are either Indian like Bhadrayaçasa, or Çaka like Rañjubula (*Summary*, p. 589 and Pl. VII, 24). The former is otherwise unknown: the latter was the satrap of Mathurā c. 50 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It appears most probable that the kingdoms held in the eastern Punjab by the last successors of Euthydemus were conquered not by the first Çaka king, Maues, but by his successor, Azes I (58 B.C.), who was either contemporary with, or later in date than, Apollodotus II and Hippostratus whose coins he restruck<sup>2</sup>.

#### THE HOUSE OF EUCRATIDES

From such notices of the history of Bactria and Parthia as have been preserved by Greek and Latin writers, a few main facts in the career of Eucratides may be gathered. He deposed Demetrius from the throne of Bactria (c. 175 B.C.); he invaded the countries to the south of the Hindu Kush, and wrested from Demetrius and the princes of his house their dominions in the Kābul valley, in Ariāna (Arachosia and Aria), and in N.W. India at some date before 162 B.C.; he was deprived by Mithradates I of his recently conquered possessions in Ariāna at some time between 162 and c. 155; and, while returning in triumph from an Indian expedition, he was slain by his son, c. 155. None of the princes of the royal house which he founded are named in ancient literature; all that can be known of them must be inferred from the numerous coinages which they issued and from a single Indian inscription.

The coins show that Heliocles, the successor of Eucratides, also ruled both in Bactria and in India, and that after his reign Greek power in Bactria ceased. Henceforth Yavana princes are found only in kingdoms south of the Hindu Kush, and they are divided into two rival dynasties—the successors of Eucratides in the Kābul valley and in N.W. India, and the successors of Euthydemus in the eastern region of the Punjab.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter xxiii, pp. 575 f.

<sup>2</sup> Lahore Mus. Cat. pp. 122-3; and Chapter xxiii, p. 572.

Some stages in the conflict between the two houses are reflected in the types of their coins ; and especially valuable is the evidence which is sometimes supplied by restrickings. Thus certain copper coins of Apollodotus I Soter, with the usual types 'Apollo: Tripod' (Pl. VI, 4) have been restruck by Eucratides (Pl. VII, 36). This must surely indicate that territory once occupied by Apollodotus had passed into the hands of Eucratides, and that consequently Eucratides must have been either contemporary with Apollodotus or later in date. Other evidence shows that these two kings were contemporary, for each of them was the predecessor of Heliocles (p. 557). This inevitable conclusion is perfectly in agreement with the style of the coins ; for the Indian issues of Eucratides appear to be at least as late in style as those of Apollodotus. The comparatively early date of Apollodotus is moreover proved by his use of the Attic weight-standard.

But these restruck coins not only show that the two monarchs represent the two rival houses : they also give the name of the kingdom which had been lost and won. The reverse type is 'Zeus enthroned,' and it is accompanied by two symbols, a mountain and the head of an elephant ; and the Kharoshthī legend describes the type as 'the divinity of the city of Kāpiçī' (Pl. VII, 36).

Kāpiçī, the *Kάπισα* (MSS. *Kάρισα*) of Ptolemy (VI, 18, 4), was a city of the Paropanisadae ; and, according to Pliny (VI, 23 (25)), it had been destroyed by Cyrus. It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 2, 99) ; and from his time onwards it is best known in Sanskrit literature as giving its name to a spirituous liquor distilled from the flowers of the Mādhavī creeper. But our chief knowledge of Kāpiça, as the kingdom may be called in distinction from its capital, Kāpiçī, comes from Chinese sources. For the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims it was the frontier country on their long journey to Northern India. It was a fruitful land of alpine valleys surrounded by mountains on every side. It was here that the Chinese princes who were detained as hostages in Kanishka's court spent the summer, while they passed the spring and autumn in Gandhāra and the winter in India. When Hiuen Tsiang visited Kāpiça in 630 A.D., it was a powerful kingdom, which, according to his description as interpreted by Cunningham, 'must have included the whole of Kāfiristān, as well as the two large valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir' (*Geog.* p. 18) ; and on it at that period were dependent the neighbouring kingdoms of Lampāka (Laghmān), Nagara (probably Jalālābād), and Gandhāra.

Hüen Tsiang's account includes a notice which furnishes an interesting explanation of the coin-type :

To the south-west of the capital was the Pi-lo-sho-lo Mountain. This name was given to the mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an *elephant* and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo*. (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 129.)

The name is explained as meaning 'solid as an elephant,' and its Indian form has been restored as *Pīlu-sāra*, the first part of the compound being supposed to be of Persian derivation (*bīl* = elephant).

In this case, as also in others recorded by the historians of Alexander, the Greeks sought to identify the Indian divinities with their own. They evidently regarded the tutelary deity of the city of Kāpiçī as Zeus. The coin-type thus inaugurated became characteristic of the house of Eucratides in the Kābul valley. It continued to be used by his successors until all Yavana rule in India came to an end. It is found on the coins of Heliocles, Antialcidas, Amyntas (*Summary*, p. 591), and Hermaeus (Pl. VII, 37).

The conquests which Eucratides carried beyond the Kābul valley into the region of eastern Gandhāra (Takshaçilā) seem to be represented by the coins bearing the type 'Dioscuri' (Pl. VIII, 39), which was continued by Diomedes (Pl. VIII, 40). One of its varieties which shows the pointed caps (*pilei*) of these deities (Pl. VIII, 41) was certainly imitated by Liaka Kusūlaka, the Çaka satrap of the districts of Chahara and Chukhsa in the neighbourhood of Takshaçilā (Pl. VIII, 42). The 'Pilei' appear also on coins of Antialcidas (Pl. VIII, 43), Lysias and Antialcidas (*Summary*, p. 591), and Archebius (Pl. VIII, 44). Whether the type 'Victory' (Pl. VI, 13) denotes that Eucratides was at some time in possession of Nicaea on the Jhelum must remain doubtful (p. 551).

Although the evidence for the very existence of Heliocles is purely numismatic, it is almost certain that he was the son of Eucratides, and quite certain that he succeeded Eucratides both in Bactria and in India. That he was the last Yavana king to rule in Bactria is shown by the fact that after his reign coins of Greek workmanship cease entirely in that region, and are replaced by the rude imitations of his coins which supplied the currency of the barbarous Çaka conquerors. That he extended the conquests of Eucratides in India is shown by his restriking of coins originally issued by rulers belonging to the house of Euthydemus (p. 553).

In the Kābul valley he continued to issue coins bearing the type 'Zeus enthroned,' with which Eucratides had restructed the coins of Apollodotus (*Summary*, p. 590), and others bearing the types 'Elephant: Bull' which are identical with those of Apollodotus himself (Pl. VI, 8). The type 'Elephant' occurs frequently both on the purely Indian, and on the Graeco-Indian, coinages of the Kābul valley and N.W. India. The various mints which it denotes cannot be identified more precisely; but it may be suggested that the type, like the 'Zeus enthroned,' derived its origin from the elephant-deity of Kāpiça. The 'Bull,' on the other hand, can be shown to have been the distinctive badge of Pushkalāvati (Peucelaotis) in the lower Kābul valley, the capital of western Gandhāra. The evidence which makes this identification certain is supplied by the gold piece illustrated in Pl. VI, 10. On the obverse is seen the goddess wearing a mural crown, the emblem of a Greek civic divinity, and holding in her right hand a lotus as the tutelary deity of 'the City of Lotuses.' The accompanying Kharoshthī legend describes her as 'the goddess of Pushkalāvati': and it is quite possible that her name may lie hidden in the three illegible Kharoshthī characters on the left. On the reverse is the figure of a humped bull; and above and below are the Greek and Kharoshthī equivalents for 'bull.' As in the case of the city divinity of Kāpiçī, the Greek artist has represented in accordance with Greek ideas an Indian deity who was supposed to bear the form of a bull. Here once again we are indebted to Hiuen Tsiang, who, in his description of Pushkalāvati, says :

Outside the west gate of the city was a Deva-Temple and a marvel-working image of the Deva. (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 214.)

The bull, like the elephant, is a common emblem in Indian mythology, and is associated with the deities worshipped by various sects; but in this case it would seem undoubtedly to be the bull of Çiva; for the coin-type passed from the Yavanas and their successors, the Çakas, to the Kushāna kings who added to it the figure of the god himself. The bull continued to appear on the coins of this region for many centuries. It is seen on the 'Bull and Horseman' coins of the Shāhis of Gandhāra as late as the eleventh century A.D., and from them it is borrowed by the early Muhammadan conquerors.

The successors of Heliocles who from such numismatic evidence are known to have ruled over the kingdom of Pushkalāvati are—Diomedes (Pl. VI, 11), Epander, Philoxenus, Artemidorus, and Peucolaus (*Summary*, p. 587).

The figure of Artemis, which occurs on the coins of Artemidorus, bears an evident allusion to the king's name; and, since it is found also on the coins of Peucolaus, it shows that the Greeks identified the city goddess with Artemis. The association of Peucolaus with Pushkalāvati is proclaimed by his name, which is simply the adjective of Peucolaitis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis.

The kingdom of Pushkalāvati was wrested from the Yavanas by the first Śaka king, Maues, who imitates the types of Artemidorus, 'Artemis: Indian bull' (Pl. VI, 12); and the date of this event was probably about 75 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The only Yavana king whose name has yet been found on a purely Indian monument is Antialcidas. The inscription on a stone column at Besnagar, near Bhilsa in the Gwalior State, records that the column was erected in honour of Kṛishṇa (Vāsudeva) by the Yavana ambassador Heliodorus, son of Dio, an inhabitant of Takshaçilā, who had come from the Great King Antialcidas to King Kāçiputra Bhāgabhadra then in the fourteenth year of his reign. The inscription is full of interest. It testifies to the existence of diplomatic relations between the Yavana king of Takshaçilā and the king of Vidiçā (Bhilsa); and it proves that already at this period some of the Yavanas had adopted Indian faiths, for Heliodorus is styled 'a follower of Vishṇu' (*bhāgavata*).<sup>2</sup>

The coins of Antialcidas with the type 'Pilei' also indicate that he was king of Takshaçilā (Pl. VIII, 43 and p. 556). As all the types connected with the worship of the Dioscuri are ultimately derived from the Bactrian coins of Eucratides (Pl. IV, 4-6), there can be no doubt that Antialcidas reigned after Eucratides.

Hitherto numismatists have assumed that Antialcidas was the predecessor of Eucratides; but the assumption, so far as it has any support, rests on an observation of von Sallet which may well have been mistaken; and what was originally a diffident suggestion on the part of von Sallet has been treated by each succeeding writer on the subject as a statement of fact<sup>3</sup>.

That Antialcidas succeeded Eucratides also in the kingdom of Kāpiça appears from his coins with the type of the city divinity of Kāpiçi with which Eucratides restruck the coins of Apollodotus (*Summary*, p. 591). Some connexion between Antialcidas and

<sup>1</sup> Chapter XXIII, p. 570.

<sup>2</sup> For the inscription see *J.R.A.S.* for the years 1909-10. For the kingdom of Vidiçā see Chapter XXI, pp. 522 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879, pp. 298, 305. The coin on which von Sallet very doubtfully read three syllables of the Kharoshthi legend—*a li ki*—was probably one of Apollodotus restruck by Eucratides (see Pl. VI, 4; VII, 36).

Heliocles is indicated by their common use of the types 'Bust of king: Elephant,' with which Heliocles restruck the coins of Agathocleia and Strato (*Summary*, p. 590). Heliocles was no doubt the elder, for no Bactrian coinage of Antialcidas is known; but, even if these two kings were father and son, their reigns in India may have been to some extent contemporary. The dominions of the house of Eucratides included a number of kingdoms, of which some, as, for instance, Kāpiça, Pushkalāvati, and Takshaçilā, can be identified by the types of their coins; and it seems probable that the government of some of these kingdoms was entrusted to the heir apparent and other members of the royal family. It is possible, therefore, that some of the princes whose coins we possess may have been ruling at the same time in different provinces.

On certain coins struck in the district of Takshaçilā (type 'Pilei,' *Summary*, p. 591), Antialcidas is associated with Lysias; but there is nothing to explain the relation which one bore to the other, or even to show clearly to which of the two royal houses of Yavanas Lysias belonged. Indeed, since one class of the coins which Lysias strikes as sole ruler bears types, 'Bust of king wearing elephant's scalp: Heracles standing,' which are identical with those of Demetrius, it is usually assumed that the two kings belong to the same family. But in this case, as so frequently, numismatic evidence is ambiguous. It is perhaps equally probable that the types introduced into India by Demetrius had become characteristic of a particular district, and therefore continued to be used in that district after it had passed from the house of Euthydemus to the house of Eucratides.

The type 'Pilei' is continued by Archebius (Pl. VIII, 44) after whose reign it is no longer found on any coins issued by a Yavana king. It next appears on the small silver coins which the Çaka satrap, Liaka Kusūlaka, struck in imitation of those of Eucratides with the same type (Pl. VIII, 42, 41). The evidence of coins thus shows that after the reign of Archebius the region of Takshaçilā passed from the Yavanas to the Çakas; and the evidence of the Takshaçilā copper plate indicates that Takshaçilā was conquered by the first Çaka king, Maues, who was reigning there in the year 78 of an unspecified era, a date which, until the era can be determined, may be regarded provisionally as the equivalent of about 72 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The two great kingdoms of Gandhāra, Pushkalāvati to the west of the Indus (p. 557) and Takshaçilā to the east, thus passed under

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xxiii, p. 570.

the sway of the Çakas during the reign of Maues. The Çaka conquerors, moving up the valley of the Indus from their Indian base in Indo-Scythia (Sind), had come in like a wedge, which for a time separated the remnants of the two Yavana houses. The descendants of Euthydemus, the families of Apollodotus and Menander, still continued to rule in the eastern districts of the Punjab (p. 552), and the descendants of Eucratides in the upper Kābul valley (the province of the Paropanisadae).

The house of Eucratides was now reduced to the possession of the region which represented its earliest conquest to the south of the Hindu Kush. In the city of Kāpiçi on the most northern extremity of this region Eucratides had first used the type 'Zeus enthroned' to restrike the coins of the defeated Apollodotus; and this type, deprived of the special emblems of the tutelary divinity of Kāpiçi, 'Elephant and mountain,' remained characteristic of the coinages of the upper Kābul valley until the chapter of Yavana rule in India was closed. It was continued after the time of Eucratides by Heliocles, Antialcidas<sup>1</sup>, Amyntas, and Hermaeus (*Summary*, p. 591, and Pl. VII, 37).

On some of his silver coins Hermaeus is associated with his queen, Calliope, who, like Agathocleia, must have been a princess in her own right. In the *obv.* type which represents the jugate busts of the king and queen, both of them wear the diadem; and their names are associated in the Greek and Kharosṭhī legends. These joint coins are distinguished from the other issues of Hermaeus by the *rev.* type 'King on prancing horse'; and, as this type is characteristic of Antimachus and his successors, it is probable, as Cunningham suggested, that Calliope was a princess of this family (p. 546 f., and *Summary*, pp. 586).

With the conquest by the Çakas of the kingdoms held by the last successors of Euthydemus in the eastern Punjab, Yavana rule had already ceased in the north-western region of the sub-continent which is now known as India, that is to say, the N.W. Frontier Province and the Punjab; and Hermaeus was the last king of his race to reign in India in its more extended historical and geographical sense, which includes the southern half of the present Afghanistan. His kingdom in the upper Kābul valley was the last survival of the Yavana dominions; and it was hemmed in on every

<sup>1</sup> Coins bearing this type no doubt circulated beyond the limits of the region which seems to have been their home. The type as it appears on coins of Antialcidas was imitated by Maues, who was never in possession of the upper Kābul valley (*Summary*, p. 591).



side by actual or possible foes—on the east and on the south-west by the Çakas and Pahlavas of Peshāwar and Kandahār, and on the north by the *Yueh-chi*, who, since their settlement in the rich land of Bactria, had become a great power under the leadership of their chief tribe, the *Kushānas*. From one or other of these three possible sources—over the mountain region which is now traversed by the Khyber Pass, over the belt of highland country varying from 12,000 to 18,000 feet which lies between Ghazni and Kābul on the route from Kandahār, or over the Paropanisus—must have come the conquerors who put an end to the kingdom of Hermaeus. It was formerly held by the present writer that these hostile invaders were the *Kushānas* who came over the Paropanisus from Bactria; and the testimony of coins, on which the names of the last Yavana king, Hermaeus, and the first *Kushāna* conqueror, Kujūla Kadphises, are found in association, seemed to justify this conclusion<sup>1</sup>. But a fuller consideration of all the available evidence shows that the opinion of Dr F. W. Thomas is almost certainly correct, viz. that there was an intermediate period during which the Pahlavas were in possession of Kābul<sup>2</sup>.

The coins which bear the name of Hermaeus must, if we may judge from their style and fabric, extend over a long period; and those which were mechanically copied by Kujūla Kadphises to supply his first issues in the Kābul valley are themselves barbarous. They are of copper and very far removed from the silver coins which were their prototypes (Pl. VII, 37 and *Summary*, p. 591). The earliest coins are of good style and of good metal; and they belong to the period before any of the squared Greek letters had been introduced. Later issues are of coarser workmanship; the silver is alloyed, and the square □ appears in the Greek legend. So far, the deterioration of art and the debasement of the coinage are such as might well be expected to have taken place during the reign of a king who was menaced by enemies on every side. But further stages of degradation can only be explained as the result of a complete change in the character of the civilisation of this region. The alloyed coins are succeeded by barbarous issues which are undisguisedly of copper, and finally by others in which the word ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, 'the saviour,' in the king's title appears as ΣΤΗΡ□ΣΣΥ and is rendered in the corresponding Kharoshthī legend by the word *mahatasa* (*mahantassa*), 'great'<sup>3</sup>. It is clear that the Greek language was no longer properly

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 194, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 319.

understood by the die-engravers. These last are the coins which are imitated by Kujūla Kadphises (Pl. VII, 28 and *Summary*, p. 589), whose date can scarcely be earlier than 50 A.D., since, according to Sir John Marshall's observations, the evidence of the discoveries at Takshaçilā shows that he was rather later than Gondopharnes, who is known to have reigned during the period from 19 A.D. to 45 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

It would appear then that, while Hermaeus may have been reigning for some time before and after c. 40 B.C., as would seem to be indicated by the square □ in his later Greek coin-legends<sup>2</sup>, a coinage bearing his name and his types was issued by his conquerors until a much later date, in the same way and for the same reasons that the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Mughal Emperor, Shāh 'Alam. That these conquerors were not Kushāṇas may, from chronological considerations, be regarded as certain. That they were the Pahlavas of Kandahār is made probable by the evidence of the coins which were struck by Spalirises with the characteristic type of the Yavana kings of Kābul, 'Zeus enthroned' (Pl. VII, 38)<sup>3</sup>. It was probably not until at least seventy years after the death of its last Yavana king that the Kābul valley passed from the Pahlavas to the Kushāṇas, the next suzerain power in Afghānistān and N.W. India.

<sup>1</sup> The four stages in the currency which bears the name of Hermaeus are shown in the B.M. Cat. : (1) pp. 62-3, nos. 1-4, Pl. XV, 1, 2; (2) p. 63, nos. 20-1, Pl. XV, 4; (3) pp. 64-5, nos. 25-40, Pl. XV, 6; (4) p. 65, nos. 45-50.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter XXIII, pp. 571-2.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter XXIII, p. 574.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE SCYTHIAN AND PARTHIAN INVADERS

THE Scythian (Çaka) and Parthian (Pahlava) invaders of India are often mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and nearly always in association with each other and with the Yavanas. But, as this literature is not historical, we must turn to other sources—to Greek and Chinese historians, to the inscriptions of Persia and India, and to coins—for information as to their origin and their rule in India.

The Yavanas had come from Bactria over the Hindu Kush into the upper Kābul valley, and thence along the Kābul river into India by a route which has since been abandoned for that which now leads through the Khyber defile. It was formerly assumed that the Çakas came directly into India from the same region and by the same way. But this view is attended with difficulties which cannot be explained. In the first place, if the Çakas came through the Kābul valley, all traces of their invasion must be supposed to have disappeared from that region; for, among the many thousands of coins which were collected on its ancient sites at the time when the country was still open to archaeological investigation, the coins of the earliest Çaka kings are conspicuous by their absence; and secondly, it is certain that the Kabul valley remained in the possession of the Yavana princes of the house of Eucratides after the Yavana dominions in N.W. India on the eastern side of the Khyber Pass, that is to say, in Peshāwar and Rāwalpindi, had been conquered by the Çakas. Ingress from Bactria was therefore barred at this period.

The alternative suggestion that the Çakas may have come into India from their northern home in the country of the Jaxartes through Kashmir involves a physical impossibility. The geographical difficulties of this region are such that an invasion from this direction of tribal hordes or armies sufficiently powerful to overwhelm the Yavana kingdoms and to conquer the whole of the N.W. Frontier Province and the Punjab is inconceivable<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the authorities quoted by Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 635, notes 1 and 2.

Any direct invasion from the north seems, in fact, to be out of the question. It is therefore far more probable, nay almost certain, that the Çakas reached India indirectly, and that, like the Pahlavas, they came through Ariāna (W. and S. Afghānistān and Baluchistān) by the great highway, associated in modern times with the Bolān Pass, which led from the Parthian provinces of Drangiāna (Seistān) and Arachosia (Kandahār) over the Brāhūi mountains into the country of the lower Indus (Sind). This route was well known and comparatively easy. By it Craterus had returned with that division of Alexander's army which included the elephants<sup>1</sup>.

The Scythian (Çaka) settlements, which can only have been the result of invasions along this route, gave to the region of the Indus delta the name 'Scythia' or 'Indo-Scythia' by which it was known to the Greek geographers, and the name 'Çaka-dvīpa' or 'the river country of the Çakas' as it appears in Indian literature. This region still continued to be governed by the Pahlavas, who are inseparably connected with the Çakas, at the end of the first century A.D.<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that Indo-Scythia was the base from which the Çaka and Pahlava armies moved up the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries to attack the Yavana kingdoms of the successors of Euthydemus and Eucratides.

In all ages the name 'Scythian' has been applied generally to the nomads inhabiting the northern regions of Europe and Asia; and, according to Herodotus (VII, 64), the term 'Saka,' as used by the Persians, was equally vague. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius it denotes no less than three different and widely separated settlements of Scythians. These, enumerated from east to west, have been identified as follows:—

(1) The Sakā Tigrakhaudā, 'wearers of pointed helmets.' They are so described by Herodotus (VII, 64), who states that they were included together with their neighbours, the Bactrians, in the army of Xerxes. They were therefore the Çakas whose home was in the country of the river Jaxartes (the Syr Daria).

(2) The Sakā Haumavarkā, the Ἀμυργίοι of Herodotus (*loc. cit.*) who have been identified<sup>3</sup> with the Çaka settlers in the Persian province of Drangiāna, the country of the river Helmand, which was afterwards known as Çakasthāna, 'the abode of the Çakas,' the later Persian Sijistān and the modern Seistān.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter xv, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, VII, 1, 55; *Periplus maris Erythraei*, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* 1906, p. 186.

(3) The Sakā Taradarayā, or 'the Çakas over the sea'; that is to say, the Scythians of Europe who inhabited the steppes of Russia to the north of the Black Sea.

These three settlements are no doubt merely specimens of the larger deposits left by the waves of Scythian migration which may be traced back in history to about the middle of the eighth century B.C. The flood had now for some three and a half centuries been held in check by the barrier maintained in Bactria, first by the Achaemenid kings of Persia and afterwards by the successors of Alexander. But the strength of Bactria had been sapped by foreign and domestic strife, and it was no longer capable of resisting the pressure of barbarian hordes on the frontier.

The initial impulse of the tribal movements, which were destined to overwhelm Greek civilisation in the Oxus country, and to determine the history of N. India for many centuries to come, may be traced to an incident in the turbulent history of the Huns, against whose inroads the Chinese emperors had protected themselves by building the Great Wall. In the neck of country between the Great Wall and the mountains which forms part of the province of Kan-su, lived a people known to Chinese historians as the Yueh-chi. Being attacked and defeated by the Huns, c. 165 B.C., the Yueh-chi were driven from their country, and began a westward migration which necessarily brought them into conflict with other nomads, and produced a general condition of unrest among the tribes inhabiting the northern fringe of the deserts of Chinese Turkestan. The pressure caused by the steady onward movement of Yueh-chi tribes, numbering probably from half a million to a million souls<sup>1</sup>, forced before it other nomads, and set up a flood of migration which, after sweeping away the Yavana power in Bactria, was only stayed in its westward course by Parthia.

Certain incidents in this migration, which must have extended over some thirty or forty years, are recorded by Chinese authors. In the country of the Ili river, now called Kulja, the Yueh-chi came upon a tribe called the Wu-sun. The Wu-sun were routed, and their king was slain; and the Yueh-chi continued their journey westwards towards the Issyk-kul Lake in the country which was until recently Russian Turkestan. Here they appear to have divided themselves into two bands—the one, afterwards known as the Little Yueh-chi, going southwards and settling on the borders of Tibet, and the other, the Great Yueh-chi, continuing their movement to the west until they came into contact with a people

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Early Hist. of Ind.* (3rd ed.), p. 248.

whom the Chinese called Sse (Sai) or Sek, and who are probably to be identified with the Çakas of the Jaxartes. The Yueh-chi took possession of the country of the Çakas; and the Çakas being driven to the south-west occupied the country of the Ta-hia or Bactria.

The immediate cause of the downfall of Greek rule in Bactria would therefore seem to have been an overwhelming invasion of Çaka hordes who had been driven from their own lands. The native inhabitants of Bactria, the Ta-hia or Dahae, are represented as an unwarlike people living in towns and villages which were governed by their own magistrates. The state of society described is such as prevailed also in India: it is a society made up of local groups self-governed and self-contained. In the case of such communities the military conquest of a country merely determines the landlord to whom the customary dues must be paid. It is probable that for a brief period Çaka warrior chiefs took the place of Eucratides and Heliocles as rulers of the Ta-hia. Such would appear to have been the state of affairs when the Chinese envoy in 126 B.C. visited the Yueh-chi and found them still in the territories to the north of the Oxus from which they had expelled the Çakas. The political conditions then existing were in a transient stage of unstable equilibrium. They were the outcome of a disturbance of peoples which began in far distant China nearly forty years before. But the movement had not yet completed its course: it was resumed in consequence of an attack on the Yueh-chi.

The infant son of the Wu-sun king, who was slain by the Yueh-chi in their earlier conflict, had been adopted by the Huns; and when the boy grew up to manhood and became king of the Wu-sun, he with the aid of his protectors led an expedition against the Yueh-chi and drove them into the country south of the Oxus. The result must necessarily have been a further dispersal of the Çakas. A concise summary of events is given in the Chinese encyclopaedia of Ma-twan-lin:

In ancient times the Hiung-nu having defeated the Yueh-chi, the latter went to the west to dwell among the Ta-hia, and the king of the Sai (Çakas) went southwards to live in Ki-pin. The tribes of the Sai divided and dispersed, so as to form here and there different kingdoms. (Translated from Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, I, p. 205.)

This account is supplemented in the *Annals* of the Han Dynasty which state that the Çaka king became the lord of Ki-pin<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> O. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen*, pp. 46, 54.

The summary records the complete annihilation of Çaka rule in Bactria. The king himself becomes king in Ki-pin—a geographical term which is used in various senses by Chinese writers, but which, in this case, would most naturally mean Kāpiça (Kāfiristān); and the tribes formerly under his command are dispersed. There is no indication that any considerable body of Çakas accompanied their king to Ki-pin. The main movement, impeded by the Yavana power in Kābul, would naturally be westwards in the direction of Herāt and thence southwards to Seistān. The tide of Scythian invasion had no doubt been flowing in these directions since the time when the Çakas were first expelled from their territory beyond the Jaxartes by the Yueh-chi; for there is good evidence to show that the earlier Scythian settlements in Irān were reinforced about the time when the Çakas first occupied Bactria. The kings of Parthia who now held eastern Irān were engaged during two reigns (Phraates II, 138–128 B.C., and Artabanus I, 128–123) in unsuccessful struggles with their Scythian subjects; and the contest was only decided in favour of Parthia in the reign of the next monarch, Mithradates II the Great (123–88). Parthia had now taken the place of Bactria as the barrier which impeded the westward course of migrations from upper Asia. But the stream of invasion was only diverted into another channel: checked in Ariāna, it forced its way along the line of least resistance into the country of the lower Indus (Indo-Scythia). The Çaka invasion of India, like the invasion of the Huns (Hūnas) between five and six centuries later, was but an episode in one of those great movements of peoples which have so profoundly influenced the history not only of India, but also of Western Asia and Europe.

On a few of their coins, generally imitated from those of their Yavana predecessors (e.g. B.M. Cat., Pl. XVI, 1; XVII, 7; XIX, 12) the Çaka and Pahlava kings repeat the Greek royal title 'King' or 'Great King'; but their normal style is 'Great King of Kings,' a title which is distinctively Persian. It has a long history from the *Kshāyathiyānām Kshāyathiya* of the inscriptions of Darius down to the *Shāhān Shāh* of the present day. Like the Indian *Chakravartin*, 'the wielder of the discus,' the Persian 'King of Kings' was the supreme monarch to whom other kings paid homage. In the Parthian empire the title was probably first assumed by Mithradates II the Great (123–88 B.C.) in imitation of his predecessors, the Achaemenids<sup>1</sup>. It was in his reign that

<sup>1</sup> Some numismatists attribute the Parthian coins on which the title first occurs to Mithradates I (171–138). See Wroth, B.M. Cat., *Parthia*, p. xxv, note.

the struggle between the kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Irān was brought to a close and the suzerainty of Parthia over the ruling powers of Seistān and Kandahār confirmed. In these subordinate governments Parthians (Pahlavas) and Scythians (Çakas) were so closely associated that it is not always possible to distinguish between them: the same family includes both Parthian and Scythian names. It is therefore little more than a convenient nomenclature which labels the princes of the family of Maues, who invaded the lower Indus valley, as Çakas, and those of the family of Vonones, who ruled over Drangiāna (Seistān) and Arachosia (Kandahār), as Pahlavas. The relation between Maues and Vonones is uncertain; but it is clear that their families were associated in a later generation.

It has been supposed that the introduction into India of the Persian and Parthian title, 'Great King of Kings,' was the result of an actual conquest of N.W. India by Mithradates I; and a statement of the historian Orosius that this monarch conquered all the peoples between the Hydaspes and the Indus has been interpreted to mean that he extended the power of Parthia beyond the Indus as far as the Indian Hydaspes (the Jhelum)<sup>1</sup>. But to an author who is writing from the standpoint of Parthia, the expression 'between the Hydaspes and the Indus' must surely connote an extension from west to east—from a Persian river to the great Indus which has so often in history been the boundary between Irān and India. Hydaspes is a Persian name, and the river mentioned in this passage is no doubt the Medus Hydaspes of Virgil (*Georgics*, IV, 211)<sup>2</sup>. The theory of a conquest of N.W. India by Mithradates I would therefore seem to be founded on a misunderstanding of the historian's statement. The invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Irān; not to the reign of Mithradates I, but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II, when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent. The association to which the coins bear witness is not one between Parthia and eastern Irān, but between Irān and N.W. India. In fact, all through the period of Çaka and Pahlava rule the countries to the west and east of the Indus were governed by members of the same royal house. There were normally three contemporary rulers of royal rank—a King of Kings associated

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Early Hist. of Ind.* (3rd ed.), p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Hydaspes (2). The remark in Rapson, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 171, should be corrected.



with some junior member of his family in Irân, and a King of Kings in India; and the subordinate ruler in Irân usually became in due course King of Kings in India.

The assumption of the imperial title, 'King of Kings,' by these Çaka and Pahlava suzerains is most significant as testifying, in a manner which cannot be mistaken, to the diminished power of Parthia at this period. In Parthia itself the title remained in abeyance during the interval from 88 to 57 B.C. which separates the reigns of Mithradates II and III; and in the meantime it was assumed not only by the Çaka king Maues in the East, but also, in the years 77-73, by Tigranes, king of Armenia, the great rival of Parthia in the West<sup>1</sup>.

In eastern Irân the 'King of Kings' and the prince of his family who was associated with him in the government issued coins bearing the names of both—the former in Greek on the *obverse*, and the latter in Kharoshthī on the *reverse*. Greek was the ordinary language of coins throughout the Parthian empire: it was not characteristic of any particular province. Kharoshthī, on the other hand, was, in eastern Irân, restricted to Arachosia (Kandahār). We may reasonably infer therefore from his Kharoshthī coin-legends that the viceroy governed this province in the upper valley of the Helmand and its tributaries. The other province, Drangiāna (Seistān), was most probably under the direct rule of the suzerain.

In India the 'King of Kings' ruled with the aid of satraps and military governors. The first three Çaka suzerains who succeeded to the dominions of the Yavanas in the N.W. Frontier Province and the Punjab were Maues, Azes I, and Azilises. Their numerous coinages are, almost without exception, copied from those of their Yavana predecessors: and it is therefore probable that the coins represent only those districts of the Çaka realm which were formerly held by the Yavanas<sup>2</sup>. The great variety of the types thus imitated indicates the wide extent of these territories; and the astonishing difference of style shown by coins struck in the same reign proves that the art of different regions varied enormously at the same period. The best coins belong no doubt to Gandhāra (Pushkalāvati and Takshaçilā). Inferior workmanship is a sign of remoteness from this region rather than of a late date,

<sup>1</sup> Wroth, B.M. Cat., *Parthia*, p. xxv, note; Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd ed.), p. 772; von Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> The province of Indo-Scythia (Sind) appears to be very inadequately represented by coins. It may, perhaps, have been held by the viceroy together with Arachosia.

as the numismatists have commonly assumed. It was in Gandhāra that the Graeco-Buddhist school of art, the outcome of a fusion of Greek and Indian ideals and methods, grew up and flourished, but it was not until the end of the first century A.D. that this school reached its highest state as seen in the religious sculptures of the Kushāṇas. Its beginnings are no doubt to be traced in the coins of an earlier date, and such beginnings were naturally progressive. The finest coins of Maues, for instance, are excelled by those of Azilises two reigns later<sup>1</sup>. The early date, viz. c. 120 B.C., which is usually assigned to Maues entirely on grounds of style and on the gratuitous assumption that art was retrogressive from the time of the Yavanas onwards, cannot therefore be maintained. It is far more probable that he invaded India after the end of the reign of Mithradates II (123–88 B.C.) when Parthia ceased to exercise any real control over Seistān and Kandahār.

The precise date of Maues cannot at present be determined. He is undoubtedly to be identified with the Great King Moga who is mentioned in the Takshaçilā copper-plate inscription of the satrap Pātika. The inscription is dated in the reign of Maues and in the year 78 of some unspecified era. None of the known Indian eras seems to be possible in this case; and it may not unreasonably be suggested that the Çakas, like other foreign invaders at all periods, may have brought with them into India their own system of reckoning, and that this may be the era used in Seistān. The month in the inscription is Parthian; and from this fact it may be inferred that the era itself is probably of Parthian origin. It may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistān after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates c. 150 B.C. If so, the date of the inscription would be c. 72 B.C., or which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues.

The coins of Maues are copied from those struck by princes of both the Yavana houses (Pl. VI, 2, 9, 12; VIII, 48, and *Summary*, 586 ff.). The numismatic evidence combined with that of the Takshaçilā copper-plate indicates that he conquered Gandhāra, Shkalāvati to the west of the Indus (Pl. VI, 12, and *Summary*, 587) as well as Takshaçilā to the east—and it is possible that he may have invaded the Yavana dominions in the eastern Punjab. It is clear that in the direction last mentioned the Çaka conquests failed to reach their limit during his reign. For a time the remnants of the two Yavana houses in the upper Kābul valley and

<sup>1</sup> Whitehead, Lahore Mus. Cat., *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 93.

in the eastern Punjab seem to have been separated by the Çaka dominions which lay between them in the valley of the Indus.

The evidence for this is supplied by the coins of Azes I and Azilises, who not only continue the issues of Maues (*Summary*, pp. 587-9), but also strike a number of additional types which are manifestly borrowed from those of the Yavana princes whose kingdoms they conquered<sup>1</sup>. The most noteworthy of these is the *rev.* type 'Athene Promachos' which is characteristic of the families of Apollodotus and Menander in the eastern Punjab. It appears on coins of Azes I, but not on those of Maues (*Summary*, p. 589). Such additional types bear witness to a considerable extension of the Çaka dominions, and seem to indicate that after the reign of Maues the house of Euthydemus was extinguished and Yavana rule in the Punjab brought to an end. The house of Eucratides, now probably represented by its last king, Hermaeus, still continued for a while to hold the upper Kābul valley—the base from which the Yavana power had first extended to Arachosia and to India.

To Azes I has been attributed the foundation of the Vikrama era beginning in 58 B.C., and, according to Sir John Marshall, an inscription discovered by him at Takshaçilā is actually dated 'in the year 136 of Azes.' This interpretation may well be correct (*v. inf.* p. 581), in spite of the tradition that this era was founded by King Vikramāditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of the Çakas; and, whatever may have been the origin of this era, the assignment of the reign of Azes I to this period is justified by other considerations. It is consistent with the date ascribed independently to his predecessor, Maues (c. 75 B.C.), and with the date of his third successor on the throne, Gondopharnes, who almost certainly began to rule in 19 A.D. (p. 576); and it is supported by evidence drawn from the epigraphy of the Greek coin-legends.

On the earlier coins of the Yavanas and on those of the first Çaka king, Maues, the round form of the Greek *omicron* only is found. On some of the later Yavana coins, e.g. those of Hippostratus, and on the coins of Azes I the square form, □, makes its appearance side by side with the round form. The same change took place in Parthia during the reign of Orodes I (57-38 B.C.)<sup>2</sup>. That at this period there was constant communication between Parthia and India there can be no doubt. It is

<sup>1</sup> The most complete list of types is given in the Lahore Mus. Cat., vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Cat., *Parthia*, p. 73, no. 37, Pl. XV, 2, a tetradrachm of the later coinage struck in 40-39 B.C.

reasonable, therefore, to suppose that this epigraphical change is due to a fashion which spread from one country to the other, and that the occurrence of the square *omicron* on a Parthian or Indian coin is an indication that its date is not earlier than c. 40 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Judged by this test, the Yavana king, Hippostratus, must have continued to reign after the death of Maues; and he must have been contemporary with the successor of Maues, Azes I, who restruck his coins and continued to use some of his most distinctive monograms, no doubt after the conquest of his kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

There is no reason to question the almost unanimous opinion of numismatists that Azes I was succeeded by Azilises; but there was certainly a period in which these two kings were associated in the government. On some coins which they issue conjointly both bear the imperial style, 'Great King of Kings'; but Azes I, as the elder, occupies the place of honour on the *obverse* with its Greek legend (B.M. Cat., p. 173, Pl. XXXII, 9).

On other coins, however, the same two names appear with the same titles, but with a change of position—Azilises occupying the *obverse* with a Greek legend, and Azes the *reverse* with a Kharoshthī legend (B.M. Cat., p. 92, Pl. XX, 3); and, as degrees of dignity or seniority are undoubtedly indicated by these positions in similar instances, it has been inferred that Azilises was associated with two kings named Azes—possibly with his father and predecessor at the beginning of his reign and with his son and successor at its close. The existence of a second Azes might well be questioned if it could be proved by no more cogent argument than this. But the coins which bear the name show so great a diversity of style that, from this fact alone, numismatists have suspected that they must have been struck by more than one king; and, if our system of chronology be correct, the Azes who succeeded Maues in 58 B.C. cannot possibly have been the Azes who was succeeded by Gondopharnes in 19 A.D. (p. 577).

At some time during the period when the first three Çaka kings were establishing their empire in India, Vonones was reigning as suzerain over the kingdoms of eastern Irān with the same imperial title, 'Great King of Kings.' It is inconceivable that such a dignity should have been usurped in this region so

<sup>1</sup> This chronological test must be applied with caution. Isolated instances occur earlier; and the squared forms of the Greek letters □, ◻, and ◻ are characteristic of certain regions. In other regions they are not found. See Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Lahore Mus. Cat., p. 122, note; B.M. Cat., pp. 59, 73.

long as it remained under the suzerainty of Parthia. Vonones, like Maues, must, therefore, be later than the reign of Mithradates II the Great (123-88 B.C.)—precisely how much later must for the present remain uncertain.

The two classes of coins which bear his name are distinguished respectively by the type of Demetrius, 'Heracles standing,' and the type of Heliocles, 'Zeus standing' (Pl. VII, 27, 31). They were issued presumably in districts of Arachosia which were once under the sway of these Yavana kings. Their Greek legends show the round form of *omicron* which, in some other cases, indicates a date earlier than c. 40 B.C.; but it appears that this epigraphical test cannot be applied in this particular instance, since the square form seems not to occur in connexion with these types until much later (*Summary*, pp. 589-90). The most trustworthy evidence as to the date of Vonones is supplied by the coins of Spalirises, 'the king's brother.' If 'the king,' who is not named, was Vonones himself, as is usually assumed, the earlier coins of Spalirises, i.e. those struck by him before he became suzerain of eastern Irān in succession to Vonones, may perhaps afford a valuable historical indication. There are two classes of these, both of them issued in the district in which the type of Heliocles, 'Zeus standing,' prevailed (*Summary*, p. 590). In the first, Spalirises appears alone as 'the king's brother' without any distinctly royal title. In the second, he as senior (Greek legend) is associated with Azes as junior (Kharoshthī legend), both of them bearing the subordinate or viceregal title 'Great King.' Vonones was evidently still reigning as Great King of Kings at this time. The relationship of Azes to Spalirises is not expressed in the Kharoshthī legend; and in such cases it seems to be assumed that the junior is the son of the senior: otherwise, i.e. when the junior is a brother or a nephew, the relationship is stated. We may conclude, then, that this Azes was most probably the son of Spalirises and the nephew of Vonones, and we may identify him with Azes II who afterwards became suzerain of N.W. India and ended his reign in 19 A.D. Vonones was at least a generation earlier; that is to say, he appears to have been contemporary with Azilises and possibly with Azes I. Until more definite evidence can be discovered, he may be supposed to have begun his reign c. 30 B.C. It seems impossible, therefore, to identify him with Vonones I of Parthia (8-11 A.D.).

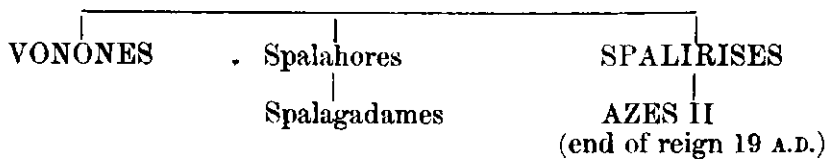
The family of Vonones is one in which the two ruling elements of eastern Irān have been blended. The name of Vonones himself is distinctly Parthian; but the names of his brothers, Spalahores

and Spalirises, and of his brothers' sons, Spalagadames and Azes, are Scythian. For the sake of convenience we may call this family 'Pahlava,' in order to distinguish it from the better known 'Parthian' dynasty of Ctesiphon, although in reality the two terms are etymologically identical.

A characteristic feature of the coins of Vonones and his family is, as we have seen (p. 569), the association of the Great King of Kings with the viceroy of Arachosia, whose relationship to the suzerain is sometimes expressed in the Kharoshthī legend of the *reverse*. Thus Vonones ruled conjointly with his brother, Spalahores, and with his nephew Spalagadames, the son of Spalahores (Pl. VII, 27, 31, and *Summary*, pp. 589-90). If we may assume with Mr Whitehead<sup>1</sup> that the Scythian name, Spalahores (Çpalahora) appears in a Greek guise as Spalyris, this brother of Vonones and his son also ruled conjointly as viceroys over the district of Arachosia in which coins bearing the type of Euthydemus, 'Heracles seated,' were current. This district had formerly been under the direct government of the Great King of Kings, Azilises (*Summary*, p. 589).

The *rev.* type of the coins which Spalirises issued as the successor of Vonones in the suzerainty of eastern Irān is 'Zeus enthroned' (Pl. VII, 38); and, as it is evidently borrowed from the coins of Hermaeus, it may perhaps be interpreted as an indication that the kingdom of Kābul had now passed from the Yavanas to the Pahlavas. If so, it would appear that this last stronghold of Yavana power had yielded to an invasion of the Pahlavas of Kandahār. The types of these coins of Spalirises are sometimes found restruck on coins of Vonones as if they were intended for circulation in a newly conquered territory (B.M. Cat., p. 101, note).

The family of Vonones may thus be reconstructed from the numismatic evidence<sup>2</sup>:



The coins and inscriptions of the satraps of the Çaka suzerains of N.W. India enable us to supply a few additional outlines of the history before the Christian era. The names of a considerable

<sup>1</sup> Lahore Mus. Cat., vol. I, p. 143, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The names of suzerains are printed in capital letters.

number of these provincial administrators are known; but it must suffice here to mention only those whose date and province can be determined approximately.

In the satrapal system of government a Great Satrap was associated with a Satrap, usually his son, who succeeded to the higher dignity in due course. The earliest recorded ruler of this kind is Liaka Kusūlaka, who, according to the Takshaçilā copper-plate inscription of the year 78 (= c. 72 B.C. ? *v. sup.* p. 570), was satrap of Chhahara and Chukhsa, districts which have not been identified, but which were presumably in the neighbourhood of Takshaçilā. His coins were imitated from those of Eucratides (Pl. VIII, 42). His son, Pātika, who made the deposit of relics which is commemorated by the inscription, bore no title at that time; but there can be little doubt that he must have succeeded his father first as satrap and afterwards as great satrap. His name with the higher title is among those inscribed on the Mathurā Lion-Capital (c. 30 B.C. ?).

This remarkable monument of the rule of the Çakas in the south-eastern extremity of their dominions was discovered at Mathurā by an Indian scholar, Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī, in 1869, and was bequeathed by him to the British Museum on his death in 1888. It is of the local red sandstone, and represents two lions reclining back to back and facing in the same direction. Its style is strikingly Irānian. The capital must originally have surmounted a pillar, and must itself have supported some religious emblem; but its purpose had long ago been forgotten; and when it was discovered it was built into the steps of an altar devoted to the worship of Çitalā, the goddess of small-pox. The Kharoshthī inscriptions with which the surface is completely covered associate in the religious merit of the foundation the donor herself (the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla) and all the members of her family together with certain contemporary satraps governing other provinces of the Çaka realm and other eminent personages of the time. The Great Satrap Rājūla, whose name appears as Rājuvula in other inscriptions, is unquestionably the Rañjubula who, both as satrap and as great satrap, struck coins in imitation of those of Strato I and Strato II, the last of the Yavana kings to reign in the E. Punjab (Pl. VII, 24); and he was the father of Çoḍāsa in whose reign as satrap the monument was erected. Subsequently Çoḍāsa himself appears as great satrap on the Āmohinī votive tablet at Mathurā, which is dated in the second month of Winter of the year 42. As the month is thus recorded in an Indian style, the

era must probably also be Indian; and if, as seems likely, it is the era of Azes (58 B.C.), we may conclude that Çoḍāsa was great satrap in 17-16 B.C.

Among the names of contemporary Çaka governors mentioned in the inscriptions of the Lion Capital is found that of Pātika, now a great satrap, who during the reign of Maues made the benefaction recorded in the Takshaçilā copper-plate (year 78 of the era of Seistān = c. 72 B.C.?). At that time he was a private individual without any official title. It may be assumed that in due course he succeeded his father in the administration of Chhahara and Chukhsa. When the Lion Capital was inscribed, he was a great satrap and contemporary with the Great Satrap Rañjubula (Rājūla) of Mathurā. If a period of about forty years may be allowed for his whole official career, the date of the Lion Capital may be given provisionally as c. 30 B.C.; and we may tabulate the chronology of the two satrapal families as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

	Chhahara and Chukhsa		Mathurā	
	<i>Great Satraps.</i>	<i>Satraps.</i>	<i>Great Satraps.</i>	<i>Satraps.</i>
c. 72 B.C.		Liaka		
	[Liaka]	[Pātika]		
c. 30 B.C.	Pātika		Rañjubula	Rañjubula
16 B.C.			Çoḍāsa	Çoḍāsa

In that portion of Pahlava history which comes after the Christian era, the period of the reign of Gondopharnes may be regarded as almost definitely fixed. The date of its beginning appears to be certain; and it is certain also that it lasted for at least 26 years. The evidence for this is supplied by a monument of this king's rule in the Peshāwar District commonly known as the Takht-i-Bahi inscription. It is dated in the 26th year of the king's reign, and on the 5th day of the month Vaiçākha in the year 103<sup>2</sup>. There can be little doubt that the era is the Vikrama samvat which began in 58 B.C., and that, therefore, Gondopharnes began to reign in 19 A.D. and was still reigning in 45 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Takshaçilā copper-plate, Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, iv, p. 54; Mathurā Lion Capital, *Ep. Ind.*, ix, p. 139; Coins of Rañjubula and Çoḍāsa, Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 547; Āmohinī votive tablet, Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, ii, p. 199, No. 2 and Plate. Bühler originally read the date as 40 (?) 2. He subsequently corrected this to 70 2 (*Ep. Ind.*, iv, p. 55, note 2); but his original reading seems undoubtedly to be justified by the accompanying Plate, and by his own table of numerals in *Indische Palaeographie*, Plate IX. On grounds of style, Sir John Marshall holds that this votive tablet 'dates from about the beginning of the Christian era'; *v. inf.* Chapter xxvi, p. 633.

For the satrap Zeionises, *v. inf.* p. 582, n. For Hagāmasha and Hagāna, *v. sup.* p. 527. For other satraps commemorated on the Lion Capital see Thomas, *op. cit.*; Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 1009; Marshall, *ib.*, 1914, p. 985.

<sup>2</sup> For the reading of the date see Thomas, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 636.



The king's name is unquestionably Pahlava (Parthian), for the various forms in which it appears on the coins are merely attempts to render local pronunciations of the Persian *Vindapharna*, 'the winner of glory,' in Greek letters. Many of his types are continued from the money of his predecessors, and, like them, may be traced back to Yavana originals (Pl. VII, 32; VIII, 47, 52, 53). They seem to indicate that he succeeded to the dominions of the Pahlavas and Çakas both in eastern Irān and in N.W. India. That he ruled also in the Kābul valley, which was probably annexed before his reign (p. 574), appears to be shown by the large numbers of his coins which were found on its ancient sites by Masson and other explorers at the time when such exploration was still possible.

Coins show also that his immediate predecessor on the throne was Azes II; for the two monarchs are associated with the same *strategos* or 'commander-in-chief,' Aspavarman, son of Indravarman (Pl. VIII, 46 and *Summary*, p. 590)<sup>1</sup>.

The Greek title *strategos*, which is the equivalent of the Indian *senāpati*, 'lord of the army,' was inherited by the Çakas and Pahlavas from the Yavanas<sup>2</sup>. Aspavarman is a representative of the Çaka military chiefs<sup>3</sup> who are repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions of Western India in the second century A.D., when this region was governed by Çaka satraps. The names ending in *-varman* and *-datta* show that they had become Hinduised, and claimed to be Kshatriyas. To this class belongs the Çaka Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta), the brother-in-law of Nahapāna. On the coins of Gondopharnes and on those of his successor, Pacores, we find the name of another of these military governors, Sasas, who no doubt succeeded Aspavarman as commander-in-chief (Pl. VII, 33). The sequence of the *strategoi* thus affords valuable evidence for the order of succession of their sovereigns and for the chronology of the period. Two generations of these military chiefs—Aspavarman and his nephew, Sasas (pp. 580–1)—held office during the reigns of Azes II, Gondopharnes, and Pacores, and for a period which began before 19 A.D. and ended after 45 A.D.

But before he succeeded Azes II as Great King of Kings in India, Gondopharnes had also succeeded him as viceroy of

<sup>1</sup> For the detailed proof see Whitehead, Lahore Mus. Cat., vol. I, *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 150, note.

<sup>2</sup> For another Greek title which was used in India—*μεριδάρχης*, 'the governor of a province,' see Thomas, *Festgrüss Windisch*, and *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, pp. 279 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For these Çaka families see Lüders, *Sitz. K.P.A.*, 1913, p. 412.

Arachosia. In this subordinate rule he was at one time associated, under the suzerainty of Orthagnes, with Guḍa or Guḍana (Guḍāna) who may perhaps have been his brother (p. 579, Pl. VIII, 51). The coins, on which Orthagnes still appears as chief ruler but with Guḍana alone as his subordinate<sup>1</sup>, must no doubt be assigned to the period after Gondopharnes had succeeded Azes II in the sovereignty of N.W. India.

The name of Orthagnes is Pahlava. It is of Persian origin, and the Greek equivalent of *Verethragna*, 'the Victorious.' The type 'Victory' on his coins may be an allusion either to an actual victory or to the king's name. It is used also by Vonones I of Parthia (8–11 A.D.) (Pl. VIII, 50) whose name has a similar meaning—*Vanāna*, 'the Conqueror'; but in this case it would seem undoubtedly to refer to the victory over Artabanus<sup>2</sup>.

Most of the coins which Gondopharnes struck either alone (Pl. VII, 32) or together with his nephew, Abdagases (VII, 34), and all of those which he struck in association with his commanders-in-chief, Aspavarman and Sasas (*Summary*, p. 590, and Pl. VII, 33), bear the symbol ☩ which is so characteristic of his rule that it is usually called by his name; and, as this symbol is found counter-marked on coins of the Parthian kings Orodes I (57–38 B.C.) and Artabanus III (10–40 A.D.), it is not improbable that Gondopharnes may have conquered some of the Parthian dominions<sup>3</sup>. There can be little doubt that under his sway the Pahlava power attained its height; and it appears probable that this power was now controlled by a single suzerain who reigned supreme over both eastern Irān and N.W. India; for the coins of Gondopharnes bear the types both of Orthagnes (Pl. VIII, 52) and of Azes II (Pl. VIII, 47), and seem to show therefore that he had succeeded to the dominions of both of these suzerains.

The name of Gondopharnes, and possibly those of two princes of his family, Guḍa and Abdagases, have been preserved in connexion with the legends of St Thomas in the literature of the early Christian church. The apocryphal *Acts of Judas Thomas the Apostle*, which contains an account of the ministry of St Thomas in India, exists in Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions; and of these the earliest, the Syriac, is supposed to date from before the middle of the third century A.D. The story, as told in this version, begins:

<sup>1</sup> Whitehead, *Lah. Mus. Cat.*, vol. 1, *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 156, no. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M. Cat.*, *Parthia*, p. 144, Pl. XXIV, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 677, referring to Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 119.

And when all the Apostles had been for a time in Jerusalem.....they divided the countries among them, in order that each one of them might preach in the region which fell to him and in the place to which his Lord sent him. And India fell by lot and division to Judas Thomas (or the Twin) the Apostle. And he was not willing to go, saying: 'I have not strength enough for this, because I am weak. And I am a Hebrew: how can I teach the Indians?' And whilst Judas was reasoning thus, our Lord appeared to him in a vision of the night, and said to him: 'Fear not, Thomas, because My grace is with thee.' But he would not be persuaded at all, saying: 'Whithersoever Thou wilt, our Lord, send me; only to India I will not go.' And as Judas was reasoning thus, a certain merchant, an Indian, happened (to come) into the south country from ——<sup>1</sup>, whose name was Habbān; and he was sent by the king Gūdnaphar<sup>2</sup>, that he might bring to him a skilful carpenter. (Trans. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, II, pp. 146-7.)

Because of the unwillingness of St Thomas, our Lord appears, and, claiming him as His servant, sells him to the merchant Habbān for twenty pieces of silver; and St Thomas journeys with Habbān to the court of King Gondopharnes, who orders him to build a palace. St Thomas spends the money of the king in acts of charity—to build a palace not made with hands, immortal in the heavens; and the disappointed king casts St Thomas and the merchant into prison. While they are lying there, Gad, the king's brother, dies, and being carried by the angels to heaven is shown the heavenly palace which St Thomas had built by his good works. Gad is restored to life; and in the sequel both Gondopharnes and Gad are converted.

There can be no question that Gūdnaphar, who is definitely called 'the king of India' (*op. cit.*, p. 159) is to be identified with Gondopharnes; and Gad, 'the brother of the king' (*op. cit.*, p. 162) may possibly be the Guda or Gudana, who is associated with him on coins (Pl. VIII, 51). The legend of St Thomas has thus been furnished with an historical setting which is chronologically possible. The fact of St Thomas's visit to the court of Gondopharnes may be doubted; but the story remains to show that the fame of this king had spread to the West. A still more distant echo of his name, transmitted through its Armenian form *Gathaspar*, has been recognised by von Gutschmid<sup>3</sup> in *Gaspar*, the traditional name of the first of the three wise men who, according to the Gospel story, came from the East to worship Christ at His nativity.

Another apocryphal work, the *Evangelium Ioannis de obitu Mariæ* gives the name Labdanes to the sister's son of a king to whom St Thomas went. So far as the form is concerned, *Labdanes*

<sup>1</sup> The name is illegible in the ms., and it is not found in any other version.

<sup>2</sup> Γουδάρφορος in the Greek version.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhein. Museum*, 1864, p. 169.

may well be a corruption of *Abdagases* in the manuscripts; but the identification of the two names is far from certain. The name of the king is not mentioned: he may have been either Gondopharnes or Mazdai, whom St Thomas also visited, and under whom he suffered martyrdom; and moreover the Abdagases of the coin-legends is the brother's son, not the sister's son, of Gondopharnes<sup>1</sup>.

As none of the coin-legends of Abdagases bear the imperial title, there is no evidence that he reigned independently at any time. The types suggest that he ruled as the viceroy of Gondopharnes in Irān (Seistān and Kandahār) (Pl. VIII, 54; VII, 34).

There can be no doubt that, soon after the reign of Gondopharnes, the Pahlava power in India came to an end. Some stages in the disintegration of the empire are clearly reflected in the coinage.

The successor of Gondopharnes was Pacores. His coins show that he was undoubtedly suzerain in Irān; for they bear the imperial title together with the type 'Victory' which was first issued by Orthagnes (Pl. VIII, 55; cf. Pl. VIII, 51); and his portrait, combined on coins found at Takshaçilā with the symbol of Gondopharnes and the legend of the commander-in-chief, Sasas, proves that he exercised at least a nominal sway in India (*v. inf.*). The types of another king, Sanabares, with their purely Greek legend, must be attributed to Seistān. There is no evidence of his rule either in Kandahār or India (Pl. VIII, 56).

The passing of Pahlava rule in eastern Gandhāra (Takshaçilā) is illustrated by the remarkable hoard of 21 small silver coins, which was found by Sir John Marshall in an earthen jar on the ancient site of Sirkap. The coins belong to four distinct classes, all hitherto unknown—two belonging to the reign of Gondopharnes, and one each to the reigns of Pacores and Vīma Kadphises.

The first two classes bear the portrait and the symbol of Gondopharnes, with the names respectively of Sapedana and Satavastra and the style 'Great King, King of Kings,' which is only one degree inferior to the most lofty title assumed by Gondopharnes, viz. 'Great King, Supreme King of Kings.' Such a style can only mean that, even in the reign of Gondopharnes, the allegiance of the governors to the suzerain was becoming merely nominal.

The third class has the portrait of Pacores and the symbol of Gondopharnes combined with the legend of Sasas, who uses the subordinate title, 'Great King,' and is described as 'the brother's

<sup>1</sup> Philipps, *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 153.

son of Aspa.' There can be no doubt that this Aspa must be the *strategos* Aspavarman, who held office in the reigns of Azes II and Gondopharnes. During the reign of Gondopharnes he was succeeded by his nephew, Sasas, who was governor of Takshaçilā in the reign of Pacores. The line of *strategoi* was no doubt continued under the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas. It is apparently represented by the coins which bear the title, Σωτήρ Μέγας, 'The Great Saviour,' and which were formerly attributed to 'the unknown king.'

The fourth class marks the transition from Pahlava to Kushāṇa rule in Gandhāra. The coins show the protrait of the Kushāṇa conqueror, V'ima Kadphises, wearing the conical headdress which distinguishes him, while the legend describes him as 'Great King, Supreme King of Kings, the Kushāṇa Chief'<sup>1</sup>.

The chronological limits of the period covered by these coins are clear. Gondopharnes was reigning in the year 45 A.D.; and V'ima Kadphises was reigning in the year 78 A.D. Within these thirty-three years must be included (1) the latter part of the reign of Gondopharnes, (2) the reign of Pacores, and (3) some portion of the reign of V'ima Kadphises.

The period of V'ima Kadphises is determined by the evidence of a Kharoshthī inscription discovered by Sir John Marshall in the Chir Tope at Takshaçilā. The inscription is dated on the 5th day of the Indian month Āshādha in the year 136. If, as seems almost certain, the era is that which begins in 58 B.C., this date would be equivalent to the year 77-8 A.D., that is to say, the last year in the reign of V'ima Kadphises, according to those scholars who hold that his successor, Kanishka, began to reign in 78 A.D.

According to the interpretation of Sir John Marshall this inscription is actually dated in the era of Azes; for after the year comes the word *ayasa* which, on the coins, is the ordinary Kharoshthī equivalent of the Greek AZOY, 'of Azes'<sup>2</sup>. He therefore translates: 'In the year 136 of Azes.' This view is probably correct; and, if so, the discovery is of great importance, as it determines the origin of the so-called Vikrama Era and fixes the beginning of the reign of Azes I in 58 B.C. The bald designation of an era by a king's name without the accompaniment of any royal title has,

<sup>1</sup> For the coins here described see Marshall, *Arch. Sur. of Ind., Annual Report*, 1912-13. (1) *Sapedana*, Pl. XL, 35, nos. 35-39, pp. 50, 51; (2) *Satavastra*, Pl. XL, 41, nos. 40-44, p. 51; (3) *Sasas*, Pl. XL, 27, 29, 30, nos. 27-34, pp. 49, 50; (4) *V'ima Kadphises*, Pl. XL, 45, 46, nos. 45-47, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> In the inser. probably = the adjective *āyasa*, '(of the era) of Azes.'

however, appeared so strange to some scholars that they have displayed no slight ingenuity in their endeavours to find some alternative explanation of the word *ayasa*. But it is doubtful if any real difficulty exists. It must be remembered that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takshaçilā had passed from the Çakas and Pahlavas to the Kushāṇas. Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings,' in this inscription, without prejudice to the house then actually reigning.

The monarch then ruling at Takshaçilā is described in the inscription as 'Great King, Supreme King of Kings, Son of the Gods, the Kushāṇa (Khushana)'; and, although his personal name is not given, there is sufficient evidence to show that he is almost certainly to be identified with V'ima Kadphises, the second king of the Kushāṇa dynasty. His titles—except for the substitution of the ordinary royal designation of the Kushāṇas, 'Son of the Gods,' in place of 'Chief'—are identical with those which occur in the legend of the small silver coins bearing the portrait of V'ima Kadphises (*v. sup.* p. 581); and the first two of these titles, inherited from the Pahlava kings, are included in the style usually assumed by this monarch on other coins. Moreover at the end of the inscription is affixed the symbol (the *triçūla* or *nandipada*) which is likewise characteristic of the coins of V'ima Kadphises<sup>1</sup>.

We may conclude, therefore, that the Kushāṇa V'ima Kadphises was ruling over Takshaçilā as the successor of the Pahlava Pacores in 78 A.D.; and this year would appear to have been the last of his reign, since it is also most probably the first in the reign of his

<sup>1</sup> For the inscription, which was discovered in the Chir stūpa, see Marshall, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.; Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, pp. 284 ff., for the coins of V'ima (Ooemo) Kadphises, Gardner, *B.M. Cat., Gk. and Scyth. Kings*, pp. 124–8, Pl. XXV.

Sir John Marshall (*loc. cit.*) prefers to identify the king of the inscription with the first Kushāṇa, Kujūla Kadphises, on the assumption that both the titles and the symbol occur also on his coins. But the coins to which he refers bear the name not of Kujūla Kadphisee, but of Kujūla Kara Kadphises, who was probably another member of the dynasty; see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 68. Kujūla Kara Kadphises seems to have succeeded the satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvati (*Summary*, p. 588), and he may have been contemporary with V'ima Kadphises.

The royal title, 'Son of the Gods' (*devaputra*), was no doubt brought by the Yueh-chi from their home on the borders of China. It is the usual designation of a king in the Kharoshthī inscriptions discovered by Sir A. M. Stein in Chinese Turkestan, see Boyer, Rapson, and Senart, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions*, Part I (Oxford, 1920), p. 76, no. 195. These inscriptions, which belong to the third century A.D., preserve other traces of Kushāṇa rule, e.g. in the proper name, *Kuṣanasena* (*ibid.* p. 2, no. 5).

successor, Kanishka, and the starting point of the era used in the inscriptions of the later Kushāṇa kings.

The chronology of this period has been one of the most perplexing problems in the whole of Indian history; and the problem can scarcely be said to be solved positively even now; that is to say, it has not yet been placed beyond all possibility of doubt. But the evidence obtained by Sir John Marshall from his excavations of the ancient sites of Takshaçilā proves conclusively that the period of Kanishka's reign must have been somewhere about the end of the first century A.D.; and a comparison of this evidence with the statements of Chinese historians and with the dates supplied by inscriptions makes it seem almost certain that Kanishka was the founder of the well-known era which began in 78 A.D.

Some outlines of the early history of the Kushāṇa empire have been preserved by Chinese writers<sup>1</sup>. From these it appears that the Yueh-chi, who drove the Çakas out of Bactria, consisted of five tribes, each governed by a prince bearing the Turkish title which is usually translated as 'Chief'—the *yavuga* of the coins. More than a hundred years after their settlement in Bactria, at a date which, according to Dr Franke, must lie between 25 and 81 A.D. and probably nearer to the first of these limits than to the second, the Chief of one of these tribes, the Kushāṇas, gained the supremacy over the Yueh-chi, and founded a united kingdom which became known by the name of his own tribe. Thus once more Bactria became the nursery of a great power which was destined to dominate N.W. India. History repeated itself; and the Kushāṇas, like their predecessors, the Yavanas, speedily became masters of the adjacent territories lying to the south of the Hindu Kush, that is to say, the modern Southern Afghānistān, or the ancient provinces of the Paropanisadae (Kābul) and Arachosia (Kandahār). These first conquests were made, as the Chinese authorities state definitely, by the first Kushāṇa monarch, who has been identified with Kujūla Kadphises—Kujūla being no doubt a title, like the *Kusūlaka* of the Çaka satrap, Liaka (p. 575), and Kadphises the proper name; and, as they took place after 25 A.D., they were made at the expense of the Pahlava suzerain, who was either Gondopharnes or Pacores. As other evidence will show, their date cannot be much later than the middle of the first century A.D. at the latest.

<sup>1</sup> O. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen* (1904) in *Abhandlungen d. könig. preuss. Akad.*

Most of the coins of Kujūla Kadphises show clearly both by their types and by their fabric that they were struck in the Kābul valley. They are imitated from the barbarous issues of that region which still continued to reproduce mechanically the legends with the name of the last Yavana king, Hermaeus, long after his death. They are found in enormous numbers beyond the limits of the Kābul valley in Takshaçilā, where the stratification of the objects discovered in the excavations proves unquestionably that, in that district, they are rather later than the coins of Gondopharnes. At first sight the evidence of the finds would thus seem to show that Kujūla Kadphises himself was later in date than Gondopharnes and that he was the actual conqueror of Takshaçilā; but, since the coins in question manifestly come from the Kābul valley, we must suppose rather that they represent the ordinary currency of the Kushāṇas at the time when the invasion took place, and that they were introduced into Takshaçilā as large numbers of Sassanian coins were brought into the country of the lower Indus from Irān by the Hūnas in the fifth century A.D. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that Kujūla Kadphises may have been not later than, but contemporary with, Gondopharnes; and there is no reason to doubt the statement of the Chinese writers that it was not Kujūla Kadphises, but his son and successor, V'ima Kadphises, who extended the dominions of the Kushāṇas from the Kābul valley to N.W. India.

That this extension had been completed before 64 A.D. appears certain from the evidence of an inscription which was discovered near Panjtār in the Yūsufzai sub-division of the Peshāwar District<sup>1</sup>. It is dated on the first day of the month Çrāvaṇa in the year 122; and there can be no doubt that the era is the same as that which occurs in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of Gondopharnes, that is to say, the era of Azes which began in 58 B.C. The inscription was set up in the reign of a Kushāṇa (Gushana) who is styled 'Great King'; but, as the personal name of this monarch is not given, he cannot be identified. If he was not V'ima Kadphises himself, he was, as the subordinate title may perhaps indicate, most probably one of his viceroys and possibly the Kara Kadphises whose coins seem to belong to the region in which the inscription was found (p. 582, note).

The precise date at which the Pahlava suzerainty in India came to an end is unknown, but it undoubtedly lies within the comparatively narrow limits marked by the years 45 and 64 A.D.—the

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 372.



last recorded year of Gondopharnes and the earliest mention of a Kushāṇa king on an Indian monument. But the Çakas and Pahlavas, although they had lost the proud predominance which they once held, had by no means ceased to play a part in Indian history. Like the Yavanas, they continue for some centuries to be mentioned in Indian inscriptions in a manner which shows that they still formed organised communities; and there is evidence to show that they still governed their own states, no doubt as feudatories more or less nominal of the Kushāṇas. In the last part of the first century A.D. their original Indian settlements in the country of the Indus delta continued to be ruled by princes of their own race whom the author of the *Periplus* calls Parthian (Pahlava) and describes as turbulent chiefs perpetually engaged in turning one another out<sup>1</sup>. But that these princes of foreign origin who governed the country of the lower Indus had at this period been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas, is proved by the Suë Vihāra inscription in the Bahāwalpur State which is dated in a regnal year of Kanishka (year 11 = 89 A.D.)<sup>2</sup>.

It was from this country, too, and under the leadership of Çaka and Pahlava satraps that the Kushāṇa power was extended to Western India; and in this manner were laid the foundations of the kingdom of the Kshatrapas of Surāshṭra and Mālwā, the 'Western Satraps,' who are known in the later Indian literature and inscriptions as 'Çakas.' This kingdom lasted from about the beginning of the second century to the end of the fourth, when it was conquered by the Guptas. The dates which appear on the coins and inscriptions of its princes are all in the era which starts from the beginning of Kanishka's reign in 78 A.D. They range from the year 41 to the year 310 (119–388 A.D.) and form the most continuous and complete chronological series found on the monuments of ancient India. It was in consequence of its long use by the Çaka princes of Western India that the era became generally known in India as the Çaka era—a name which effectually disguises its origin, and one which has in no small degree perplexed modern scholars in their endeavours to unravel 'the secret of Kanishka.'

<sup>1</sup> *Periplus maris Erythraei*, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.*, 1881, p. 324.

SUMMARY OF NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE  
YAVANA, ÇAKA, AND PAHLAVA INVADERS OF INDIA

(CHAPTERS XXII AND XXIII)

Demetrius Bilingual square Æ; B.M. Cat., *Gk. and Scyth. Kings*, Plates.  
p. 163, no. 3, Pl. XXX, 3.

*Types 'Elephant's head : Caduceus.'*

Demetrius *Obv.* Head of elephant to r.; bell suspended from neck.  
*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Caduceus. Æ VI, 1.  
Maues Same types. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ. Æ VI, 2.  
Menander Same *obv.* type; B.M. Cat., p. 50, no. 68, Pl. XII, 6. Æ

*Indian types of Pantaleon and Agathocles.*

Pantaleon B.M. Cat., p. 9, no. 3, Pl. III, 9. Æ  
Agathocles B.M. Cat., p. 11, no. 12, Pl. IV, 9. Æ  
" Kharoshthi legend *Hitajasame*; B.M. Cat., p. 12, no. 15,  
Pl. IV, 10; Lahore Mus. Cat., vol. I. *Indo-Gk.*  
*Coins*, p. 18, Pl. II, 51. Æ

*Bactrian types of Antimachus.*

Antimachus Type 'Poseidon'; B.M. Cat., p. 12, no. 1, Pl. V, 1;  
*v. sup.* Chapter XVII, p. 449. Æ III, 8.  
" Commemorative medals; *v. sup.* Chapter XVII,  
pp. 450-1. Æ

*Indian types of Antimachus.*

Antimachus *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.  
Victory l. holding palm and wreath. VI, 3.  
*Rev.* *Mahārajasa jayadharasa Antimakhasa.* King  
on prancing horse r. Æ


*Same rev. type.*

Philoxenus B.M. Cat., p. 56, no. 3, Pl. XIII, 6. Æ  
Nicias " p. 58, no. 1, Pl. XIII, 11. Æ  
Hippostratus " p. 59, no. 4, Pl. XIV, 2. Æ  
Hermaeus and " p. 66, nos. 1, 2, Pl. XV, 9, 10. Æ  
Calliope

*Types 'Apollo : Tripod.'*

Apollodotus I *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.  
Apollo facing, holding arrow in r., and bow in  
l. hand. VI, 4.  
*Rev.* *Maharajasa Apaladatasā tradarasa.* Tripod in  
square of dots. Æ  
Strato I *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ  
ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ. Same type. VI, 5.  
*Rev.* *Mahārajasa pracachasa tratarasa Stratasā.*  
Same type. Æ  
Maues B.M. Cat., p. 72, no. 26, Pl. XVII, 7. Æ

*Same types varied.*


Apollodotus II	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ   ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.	Plates.
	Apollo r. holding arrow with both hands. Mono-	
	gram 	VI, 6.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa tradarasa</i>   <i>Apuludatasa</i> .	
	Tripod. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Dionysius	B.M. Cat., p. 51, no. 2. (Same types but different monogram.) <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Zoilus	B.M. Cat., p. 53, no. 11, Pl. XII, 13. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Hippostratus	„ p. 60, no. 14, Pl. XIV, 7. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Strato I and II	<i>Corolla Numismatica</i> , p. 257, Pl. XII, 16. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	

*Types 'Elephant: Indian bull.'*

Apollodotus I	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.	
	Elephant r. <span style="float: right;">VI, 7.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa Apuludutasa tratārasa</i> . Indian bull r. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Heliocles	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. Same type. <span style="float: right;">VI, 8.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa</i> . Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Maues	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑ-ΥΟΥ. Similar type. <span style="float: right;">VI, 9.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa</i> . Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Azes	B.M. Cat., p. 87, no. 160, Pl. XIX, 7. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Azilises	„ p. 97, no. 40, Pl. XXI, 6. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	

*Types of the city of Pushkalāvati, 'City goddess: Indian bull.'*

City of Pushkalāvati	<i>Obv.</i> r. <i>Pakhalavadi devada</i> ; l. illegible Kharoshthī legend. City goddess wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus in her r. hand. <span style="float: right;">VI, 10.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> above, ΤΑΥΡΟΣ; below, <i>Uṣabhe</i> . Indian bull r. <span style="float: right;">A</span>	
Diomedes	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ. The Dioscuri. <span style="float: right;">VI, 11.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajasa tratārasa Diyumedasa</i> . Indian bull r. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Epander	B.M. Cat., p. 51, no. 1, Pl. XII, 8 ( <i>Rev.</i> type 'Indian bull'). <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Philoxenus	B.M. Cat., p. 57, no. 13, Pl. XIII, 10 (Types 'City goddess: Indian bull'). <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Artemidorus	B.M. Cat., p. 54, no. 1, Pl. XIII, 2 (Types 'Artemis: Indian bull'). <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Peucolaus	Lahore Mus. Cat., p. 80, Pl. VIII, 642 (Types 'Artemis: City goddess'). <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Maues	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΜΑ-ΥΟΥ. Artemis r. <span style="float: right;">VI, 12.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Rajatirajasa mahatasa</i>   <i>Moasa</i> . Indian bull l. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Azes	B.M. Cat., p. 85, no. 137, Pl. XIX, 5 (Types 'Goddess: Indian bull'). <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	

Azilises	<i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1905, p. 788, Pl. 3 ( <i>Rev.</i> type 'City goddess and Zeus').	Plates. Æ
Zeionises	<i>B.M. Cat.</i> , p. 110, no. 1, Pl. XXIII, 4 ( <i>Rev.</i> type 'King and City goddess').	Æ
Kujūla Kara Kadphises	<i>B.M. Cat.</i> , p. 112, no. 10, Pl. XXIII, 7; cf. <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1892, p. 65, Pl. IV, 9-13 ( <i>Rev.</i> type 'Camel').	Æ
	<i>Type attributed to the city of Nicaea, 'Victory.'</i>	
Eucratides	<i>Obv.</i> ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ   ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Bust of king l. thrusting spear.	VI, 13.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa Evukratitasa.</i> Victory r.	Æ
Menander	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ   ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Bust of king l. thrusting spear.	VI, 14.
	[ <i>Rev.</i> type 'Athene.']	Æ
"	<i>Obv.</i> Same legend. Bust of Athene (or of Agathocleia) r., wearing helmet.	VI, 15.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajasa tratārasa Menamdrasa.</i> Victory r.	Æ
Strato I	[ <i>Obv.</i> type 'Bust of Heracles r.'] <i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa tratārasa Stratasa.</i> Victory r.	VI, 16.
	(For the type 'Victory' see also p. 592.)	
	<i>Type of the city of Bucephala, 'Ox-head.'</i>	
Menander	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Ox-head.	VI, 17.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Manārajasa tratārasa Menamdrasa.</i> Tripod.	Æ
	<i>Type 'Athene Promachos.'</i>	
Menander	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ   ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Bust of king r.	VII, 18.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajasa tratārasa   Menamdrasa.</i> Athene Promachos l.	Æ
Agathocleia and Strato I	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ   ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ. Busts of Strato and Agathocleia jugate r.	VII, 19.
	[ <i>Rev.</i> type 'Athene Promachos.']	Æ
Strato I	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ   ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ. Bust of king r., wearing helmet.	VII, 20.
	[Same <i>rev.</i> type.]	Æ
"	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ   ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ. Bust of king r., bearded.	VII, 21.
	[Same <i>rev.</i> type.]	Æ
"	<i>B.M. Cat.</i> , p. 40, no. 7, Pl. X, 13. (Same legends and types. The king represented as an old man.)	Æ
Polyxenus Apollodotus II	<i>Lahore Mus. Cat.</i> , p. 53, Pl. V, 371. (Same types.) <i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ   ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. Bust of king r.	VII, 22.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa tratarasa   Apaladatas.</i> Athene Promachos. Monogram 	Æ

Dionysius	B.M. Cat., p. 51, no. 1, Pl. XII, 9. (Same types and monogram.)	Plates. Æ
Zoilus	B.M. Cat., p. 52, no. 3, Pl. XII, 11. (Same types and monogram.)	Æ
Apollophanes	B.M. Cat., p. 54, no. 1, Pl. XIII, 1. (Same <i>rev.</i> type.)	Æ
Strato I and II	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ [ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟ]   ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ. Bust of king r. <i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajanam tratarasa Stratasa potrasa casa priyapita-   Stratasa.</i> Athene Promachos l.	Æ VII, 23.
Azes I	B.M. Cat., p. 78, no. 56, Pl. XVIII, 2. (Same <i>rev.</i> type.)	Æ
Bhadrayāsa	<i>Corolla Num.</i> , p. 258, Pl. XII, 17. (Same types.)	Æ
Rājubula	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΡΑΙΥ. Bust of king r. <i>Rev.</i> <i>Apratihatacakraśa chatrapasa Rajubulasa.</i> Athene Promachos l.	Æ VII, 24.
Gondopharnes	B.M. Cat., p. 103, no. 5, Pl. XXII, 7. (Same types, degraded.)	Æ
<i>Type 'Heracles seated.'</i>		
Euthydemus	Bactrian coins; <i>v. sup.</i> Chapter xvii, p. 444.	Æ III, 1, 2.
Agathocleia and Strato I	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟ-ΚΛΕΙΑΣ. Bust of queen (as Athene) r., wearing helmet. <i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa tratārasa dhramikasa Stratasa.</i> Heracles seated l. on rock.	Æ VII, 25.
Azilises	B.M. Cat., p. 95, no. 23, Pl. XXI, 1. (Same <i>rev.</i> type.)	Æ
Spalyris and Spalagadames	B.M. Cat., p. 100, no. 1, Pl. XXI, 12. (Same <i>rev.</i> type.)	Æ
<i>Type 'Heracles standing.'</i>		
Demetrius	Bactrian coins; <i>v. sup.</i> Chapter xvii, pp. 444-5.	Æ III, 3.
Lysias	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ   ΛΥΣΙΟΥ. Bust of king r., wearing elephant's scalp. <i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa upadīhatasa   Lisikasa.</i> Heracles standing.	Æ VII, 26.
Maues	B.M. Cat., p. 69, no. 8, Pl. XVI, 5. ( <i>Obv.</i> )	Æ
Azes	„ p. 89, no. 187, Pl. XIX, 11. ( <i>Obv.</i> )	Æ
Azilises	„ p. 96, no. 39, Pl. XXI, 5. ( <i>Obv.</i> )	Æ
Vonones and Spalahores	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΟΝ-ΩΝΟΥ. Heracles standing. [ <i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajabhrata dhramikasa   Spalahorasa.</i> Athene standing l.]	Æ VII, 27.
Vonones and Spalagadames	B.M. Cat., p. 99, no. 6, Pl. XXI, 11. ( <i>Obv.</i> )	Æ
Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises	[ <i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ   ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. Bust of king r.] <i>Rev.</i> <i>Kuyulakasasa kuśanayavugasa dhramathidasa.</i> Heracles standing.	Æ VII, 28.

*Type 'Zeus standing.'*

Heliocles	[ <i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ   ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. Bust of king r.]	Plates.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajasa dhramikasa</i>   <i>Heliyakreyasa</i> . Zeus standing facing.	Æ VII, 29.
Azes	[ <i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΑΖΟΥ. King r., on horseback.]	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa</i>   <i>Ayasa</i> . Zeus standing facing.	Æ VII, 30.
Vonones and Spalahores	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΟΝ-ΩΝΟΥ. King r., on horseback.	VII, 31.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajabhrata dhramikasa</i>   <i>Spalahorasa</i> . Zeus standing facing.	Æ
Vonones and Spalagadames	B.M. Cat., p. 99, no. 2, Pl. XXI, 10. (Same types.)	Æ
Spalirises as king's brother	„ p. 100, no. 1, Pl. XXII, 1. (Same types.)	Æ
Spalirises and Azes II	„ p. 102, no. 3, Pl. XXII, 3. (Same types.)	Æ
Azilises	„ p. 93, no. 1. Pl. XX, 4. ( <i>Rev.</i> type 'Zeus standing r.')	Æ
Gondopharnes	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΒΝΔΟΦΡΡ. King r., on horseback. Symbol ☩.	VII, 32.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharaja rajatiraja tratara devavrata</i>   <i>Gudapharasa</i> . Zeus standing r.	Æ
Gondopharnes and Asparvarman	Lahore Mus. Cat., p. 150, Pl. XV, 35. ( <i>Obv.</i> type 'King l., on horseback.' Symbol ☩. <i>Rev.</i> type 'Zeus standing r.')	Bil.
Gondopharnes and Sasas	<i>Obv.</i> Gk. legend corrupt. King r., on horseback. Same symbol.	VII, 33.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa mahatasa devavrata</i>   <i>Gudapharasa</i>   <i>Sasasa</i> . Zeus standing r.	Æ
Gondopharnes and Abdagases	<i>Obv.</i> Gk. legend includes [ΓΥ]ΝΔΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙ- [ΔΕΩΣ]. King l., on horseback. Same symbol.	VII, 34.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Gudapharabhradaputrasa maharajasa tradārasa</i>   <i>Avadagaçasa</i> . Zeus standing r.	Æ

*Types 'Bust of king : Elephant.'*

Heliocles	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. Bust of king r.	VII, 35.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajasa dhramikasa Heliyakresasa</i> . Elephant l.	Æ
Antialcidas	B.M. Cat., p. 166, no. 1. ( <i>Rev.</i> type 'Elephant r.')	Æ

*Type of the city of Kāpiçī, 'Zeus enthroned, with emblems representing an elephant and a mountain.'*

Eucratides	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Bust of king r., wearing helmet.	VII, 36.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Kaviçiyē nagara devatā</i> . Zeus enthroned; l., forepart of elephant; r., mountain.	Æ

Antialcidas	B.M. Cat., p. 25, no. 5, Pl. VII, 11. ( <i>Obv.</i> Bust of king. <i>Rec.</i> Same type without mountain.)	Plates. Æ
Maues	B.M. Cat., p. 70, no. 14. ( <i>Obv.</i> Zeus enthroned; l, forepart of elephant. <i>Rev.</i> Heracles standing.)	Æ
<i>Type 'Zeus enthroned' without emblems.</i>		
Heliocles	B.M. Cat., p. 166, no. 2, Pl. XXXI, 1. ( <i>Rev.</i> Zeus enthroned and Greek legend.)	Æ
Amyntas	B.M. Cat., p. 61, no. 3, Pl. XIV, 10. ( <i>Rev.</i> Zeus enthroned and Kharoshthi legend.)	Æ
Hermaeus	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ   ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. Bust of king r.	VII, 37.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajasa tratārasa</i>   <i>Heramayasa</i> . Zeus enthroned.	Æ
„	B.M. Cat., p. 65, no. 45. (Same types, degraded, Gk. leg. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣΣΥ   ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.)	Æ
Spalirises	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ. King standing l.	VII, 38.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa mahamtakasa Spalirisa</i> . Zeus enthroned.	Æ
<i>Type 'Dioscuri.'</i>		
Eucratides	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Bust of king r., wearing helmet.	VIII, 39.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa Evukrātīta</i> . Dioscuri charging r.	Æ
Diomedes	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ   ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ. Bust of king r., wearing helmet.	VIII, 40.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa tratarasa</i>   <i>Diyumedasa</i> . Dioscuri charging r.	Æ
<i>Type of the region of Takshailā, 'Pilei of the Dioscuri.'</i>		
Eucratides	<i>Obv.</i> Bust of king r., wearing helmet.	VIII, 41.
	<i>Rev.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Pilei of the Dioscuri.	Æ
Liaka	<i>Obv.</i> Same type.	VIII, 42.
Kusūlaka	<i>Rev.</i> ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ. Same type.	Æ
Antialcidas	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ   ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ. Bust of Zeus r.	VIII, 43.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialkitasa</i> . Same type.	Æ
Lysias and Antialcidas	B.M. Cat., p. 166, no. 1, Pl. XXXI, 2. ( <i>Obv.</i> Bust of Heracles r. <i>Rev.</i> Same type.)	
Archebius	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ. Bust of Zeus r.	VIII, 44.
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Mahārajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa</i> . Same type.	Æ
<i>Type 'Athene.'</i>		
Azes II	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΑΖΟΥ. King r., on horseback.	VIII, 45.

	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharājasa rajarajasa mahatasa</i>   <i>Ayasa.</i> Athene standing r. <span style="float: right;">Plates. Æ</span>	
Azes II and Aspavarman	<i>Obv.</i> Same legend and type. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 46.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Imdracarmaputrasa Aṣṣavarmasa strategasa jayatasa.</i> Same type. <span style="float: right;">Bil.</span>	
Gondopharnes	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ·   ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟ. Same type and symbol ☩. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 47</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharaja rajatiraja trataru devavrata</i>   <i>Gudapharasa.</i> Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
	<i>Type 'Victory' (see also p. 588).</i>	
Maues	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΜΑΥΟΥ. Zeus standing l. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 48.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Rajatirajasa mahatasa</i>   <i>Moasa.</i> Victory standing r. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Azes I	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ   ΑΖΟΥ. Same type. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 49.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa rajarajasa mahamtasa</i>   <i>Ayasa.</i> Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
	(This type on the coins of Maues and Azes I is perhaps to be attributed to Nicaea, <i>v. sup.</i> Pl. VI, 13, 15, 16.)	
Vonones I of Parthia	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΟΝΩΝΗΣ. Bust of king l. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 50.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ   ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ   ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ   ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Victory standing l. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Orthagnes, Gondophernes, and Guḍa	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗΣ. Bust of king l. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 51.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Guḍa</i> [sa or na?]. Victory standing r. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Gondopharnes	<i>Obv.</i> Fragmentary Greek legend. King seated on throne (cf. 'Zeus enthroned,' Pl. VII, 37, 38). <span style="float: right;">VIII, 52.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> Fragmentary Greek legend. Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
"	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ. Bust of king r. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 53.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa Gudapharnasa tratarasa.</i> Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Abdagases	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ. Similar type. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 54.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Tratarasa maharajasa Avudaguḥasa.</i> Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Pacores	<i>Obv.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΑΚΟΡΗΣ. Bust of king l. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 55.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa.</i> Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	
Sanabares	<i>Obv.</i> Imperfect Greek legend beginning ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. Similar type. <span style="float: right;">VIII, 56.</span>	
	<i>Rev.</i> Gk. legend including ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥ. Same type. <span style="float: right;">Æ</span>	



## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE EARLY HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA

#### I. THE DRAVIDIAN PEOPLES

THE great peninsula of India, from the Vindhya mountains southward to Comorin, is the home of the 'Dravidian' peoples. And here at the outset we are faced by a difficulty of terms.

The word 'Dravidian' comes from an ethnic name *Draviḍa* or *Dramida*, in Pali *Damīḷa*, which is apparently identical in origin with the adjective *Tamil*; and thus a title which is strictly applicable only to a single branch, the Tamils, is extended to a whole family. Again, not only is the term 'Dravidian' used sometimes to denote all the members of the one ethnic family, but it is also often employed to designate all the cognate languages spoken by that family—the Tamil, Malayālam, Telugu, Kannada (Kanarese), and various minor dialects—without regard to the possible differences of race among the groups speaking these tongues; and furthermore, by a still more deplorable looseness of terminology, it has been applied by anthropologists to a group of races characterised by common physical features<sup>1</sup>, who are chiefly inhabitants of the peninsula, and for the most part, but by no means entirely, use languages which are variants of Dravidian speech. Lastly, we must note that an ancient Tamil tradition speaks of a *pañcha-draviḍam* or five Dravidian regions, understanding thereby the Tamil, Andhra or Telugu, and Kanarese countries, the Mahārāshṭra or Marāthā provinces, and Gujarāt. The conclusion which is suggested by a review of all the available data is as follows.

At some very early date, several millennia before the Christian era, the greater part of India was inhabited by a dark negroid race of low culture characterised more or less by the physical features now known as 'Dravidian.' This early people however

<sup>1</sup> These features are very dark hue; long head; broad nose; abundant and sometimes curly hair; and dark eyes.

should more properly be termed *pre-Dravidian*. In course of time another race, higher in culture and speaking a language of 'Scythian' affinities, from which are derived the tongues now known as 'Dravidian,' gradually made its way from the north or north-west—probably through Baluchistān—into the plain of the Indus, and thence ultimately passed down into the regions south of the Vindhya. This race may be called the *proto-Dravidian*. Wherever it came, it mixed its blood to a greater or less degree with that of the earlier inhabitants. From this combination have arisen the Dravidians of history, who have preserved few traces of the physical characteristics of the proto-Dravidians, whatever those may have been<sup>1</sup>. Most of the pre-Dravidian tribes in the countries south of the Vindhya adopted the speech of the proto-Dravidians, while they absorbed their blood, notably in the centre and south of the peninsula, the Tamil, Kannada, and Telugu regions. In Gujarāt the waves of Āryan immigration gradually submerged Dravidian blood and speech; in Mahārāshṭra the same influences obliterated the language, and the same has happened in Kalinga (now Orissa and part of the Circārs), where a Dravidian language, the Telugu, survives only in the southern districts.

Long before the beginning of the Christian era the Dravidian South had developed a considerable culture of its own, and its inhabitants had consolidated themselves into powerful kingdoms, some of which carried on a thriving trade with Western Asia, Egypt, and later with the Greek and Roman empires<sup>2</sup>. The chief of these were the three Tamil kingdoms, the Andhras, Kalingas, and Mahārāshṭra.

## II. THE TAMIL KINGDOMS

The Tamils have retained more tenaciously than any of their kindred the ancient traditions of the proto-Dravidian race. True, they have written no histories until modern times; but they have preserved a large number of ancient poems relating to the exploits

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the 'Scythian' features that have been observed among the Marāthā Brāhmans, Kunbis, Coorgs, and Telugus may be survivals of proto-Dravidian characteristics. For other views see Chapter II, pp. 40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Tyrians apparently imported thence ivory, apes, and peacocks (Tamil *tōgai*, Greek *ραῶς*), as we know from I Kings x, 22 and II Chronicles ix, 21. Somewhat later we find India—to a large extent Southern India—exporting pepper (*πέπερι*, Tamil *pippalī*), rice (*δρουσα*, Tamil *ariṣi*), ginger (*ἰγγίβερις*, Tamil *iṅgi-vēr*) and cinnamon (*αδριον*, Tamil *karuppu* or *kārppu*), besides spices, precious stones, coral, pearls, cloth, muslin, silk, tortoise-shell, etc. See J. Kennedy, *The Early Commerce of India with Babylon*, J. K. A. S., 1898, pp. 241 ff.

and administration of kings and princes in an age far earlier than the oldest existing literature of their Dravidian neighbours.

In the earliest time of which we have any record the *Tamīl-agan* or Tamil realm extended over the greater part of the modern Madras Presidency, its boundaries being on the north a line running approximately from Pulicat on the coast to Venkatagiri (Tirupati), on the east the Bay of Bengal, on the south Cape Comorin, and on the west the Arabian Sea as far north as the 'White Rock' near Badagara, to the south of Mahé. Malabar was included in it; the Malayālam language had not yet branched off as a separate tongue from the parent Tamil. It consisted of three kingdoms, those of the Pāṇdyas, Chōlas or Çōlas, and Chēras or Kēralas. The Pāṇḍya kingdom comprised the greater part of the modern Madura and Tinnevely Districts, and in the first century also Southern Travancore, and had its capital originally at Kolkai (on the Tāmbraparni river in Tinnevely), and later at Madura. The Chōla region extended along the eastern coast, from the river Penner to the Vellār, and on the west reaching to about the borders of Coorg. Its capital was Uraiyr (Old Trichinopoly), and it had a great port at Kāviri-paṭṭinam or Pugār, on the northern bank of the river Cauvery (Kāveri). Another of its chief towns was Kāñchī, now Conjeeveram. The Chēra or Kērala territory comprised Travancore, Cochin, and the Malabar District; the Koṅgu-deça (corresponding to the Coimbatore District and the southern part of Salem District), which at one time was separate from it, was afterwards annexed to it. Its capital was originally Vañji (now Tiru-karūr, on the Periyār river, near Cochin), and later Tiru-vañjikkalam (near the mouth of the Periyār). It had important trading centres on the western coast at Toṇḍi (on the Agalappulai, about five miles north of Quilāndi), Muchiri (near the mouth of the Periyār), Palaiyr (near Chowghāt), and Vaikkarai (close to Kottayam).

The races within these bounds were various. To the oldest stratum of pre-Dravidian blood probably belonged the savages termed by the ancient poets *Villavar* ('bowmen') and *Mīnavar* ('fishers'), of whom the former may possibly be identical with the modern Bhīls, while the latter may have descendants in the Mīnās. Another group is that termed by the poets *Nāgas*, a word which in Hindu literature commonly denotes a class of semi-divine beings, half men and half snakes, but is often applied by Tamil writers to a warlike race armed with bows and nooses and famous as freebooters. Several tribes mentioned in early literature are known

with more or less certainty to have belonged to the Nāgas, among them being the Aruvālar (in the Aruvā-nādu and Aruvā-vada-talai around Conjeeveram), Eyinar, Maṛavar, Oḷiyar, and Paradavar (a fisher tribe). A race of uncertain affinity was that of the Āyar, who in many respects resembled the Abhīras of Northern India, and seem to have brought into the south the worship of the herdsman-god Kṛishṇa.

The overlords of the Tamil-agam were the descendants of the proto-Dravidian invaders, the Tamils in the strict sense of the term. They with the races subject to them formed the three kingdoms of the Pāṇdyas, Chōlas, and Chēras, where the ruling element was the land-tilling class or Vellālar, at the head of whom were the kings. The Pāṇdyā king claimed descent from a tribe styled Mārar, which however had for many years another important representative in the princes bearing the title Palaiyan Māran, 'the Ancient Māran,' whose capital was Mōgūr, near the Pōdiya Hill, not far from Comorin. The Chōla kings were alleged to belong to the tribe of Tiraiyar or 'Men of the Sea'; another Tiraiyan dynasty was reigning at Conjeeveram in the time of Karikāl Chōla. The Chēra kings in their turn were said to be of the Vānavar tribe. Lastly we may mention a tribe called Kōçar, who may possibly belong to the Tamil race. From the references of the poets to them it would seem that they once made an unsuccessful attack on Mōgūr, and found allies in the Vamba-Mōriyar or 'Bastard Mauryas' (possibly a branch of the Konkani Mauryas). At one time—possibly in the first century A.D.—they seem to have wielded considerable authority in the Pāṇdyan regions and Koṅgu-deça, and to have given some trouble to the Chōlas.

Even in the first century of the Christian era the south seems to have felt little influence from the Āryan culture of Northern India. Some Brāhman colonies had made their way into the south, and in a few cases Brāhmins had gained there a certain position in literature and religion; but on the whole they counted for little in the life of the people, especially as their teachings were counterbalanced by the influence of the powerful Buddhist and Jain churches, and Dravidian society was still free from the yoke of the Brāhman caste-system<sup>1</sup>. Next to the *arivar* or sages, the highest place among the Tamils was held by the land-owning

<sup>1</sup> The tradition that the Brāhman sage Agastya led the first Āryan colony to the Pōdiya Hill and created Tamil literature probably arose in a later age, after Brāhman influences had gained the ascendant in the south, on the basis of the legends in the Sanskrit epics.

class, after whom ranked herdsmen, hunters, artisans, soldiers, and at the bottom of the social scale fishers and scavengers. Government was under the supreme control of the kings; but they were considerably influenced by the "Five Great Assemblies," bodies representative of five classes of society<sup>1</sup>. Probably there was also some organisation of the provinces for local administration, as we find in historical times that each shire or *nādu* was divided into village communities and its representatives met in a shire-mote of several hundred men representing the families of the *nādu*, which possessed considerable power in the control of local affairs.

Before the first century of the Christian era there are very few allusions in the literature and historical records of other nations that testify to the vigorous life of these southern kingdoms. Of the evidence of their commerce with the west we have already spoken (above, p. 594). Megasthenes, who visited the court of Chandragupta the Maurya towards the end of the 4th century B.C., has left on record some rumours concerning them, including a legend that Heracles (i.e. the god (īva) put the south under the rule of his daughter 'Pandaia.' The Sanskrit epics mention them vaguely, as foreign lands outside their purview, though the legendary connexion of the Pāṇḍyan kings of Madura with the Pāṇḍava heroes of the Mahābhārata seems to have been acknowledged in the north as early as the second century B.C., if any reliance is to be placed on the scholion to Pāṇini IV, 1, 168. Açoka in his inscriptions speaks of them among the foreign nations who have accepted the teachings of Buddhism<sup>2</sup>. Lastly, Strabo (xv, 4, 73) makes mention of an embassy sent to Augustus Caesar about the year 22 B.C. by a king 'Pandion,' possibly a Pāṇḍya of the Tamil country. Even in the next century the history of the Tamils is sadly obscure. Ancient Tamil poems and the commentaries upon them, supplemented by meagre notices in Pliny and other western writers, are almost the only sources of information, and their data are very uncertain. It seems however fairly probable that the course of events was as follows.

<sup>1</sup> The actual constitution of these *Aim-beruṅ-guḷu* is rather uncertain. They are said to have been composed of ministers, chaplains, generals, commissioners, and secret agents (e.g. by Aḍiyārkkunallār on *Çilapp'-adhikāram*, v, 157; but see *ibid.* on III, 126).

<sup>2</sup> The references in the edition of Senart are as follows: Chēras, G. II, XIII, K. II, Kh. II; Chōḷas, G. II, J. II, K. XIII, Kh. II, XIII; Pāṇḍyas, G. II, J. II, K. XIII, Kh. II, XIII. The Chōḷas also appear in the scholion on Pāṇini IV, 1, 175 (possibly dating from the second century B.C.).

About the beginning of the Christian era the Chōla king was Peru-nar-killi and the Chēra Neḍuñ-jēral-ādan. They went to war with one another, and both perished in the same battle. Peru-nar-killi was succeeded by his son Iḷaṅ-jēt-çenni, the latter by his son Karikāl, a vigorous ruler under whom the Chōlas became the leading power of the south. Karikāl at Veṅṅil (possibly the modern Koyilvenni, in Tanjore District) defeated an allied army of Chēras under Ādan I and Pāṇdyas, and made a successful expedition to the north. At home he suppressed the turbulent Āyar, Aravālar, Kurumbar, and Oḷiyar, and made his capital at Kāviri-paṭṭinam or Pugār, which he secured against floods by raising the banks of the Cauvery and constructing canals.

After his death the Chōla kingdom suffered grievously from rebellion within and attack from without. The course of events is obscure; apparently Neḍu-muḍu-killi, who was reigning some time after him, gained a victory over the allied Chēras and Pāṇdyas by the river Kāri, but later was reduced to sore straits by a flood which destroyed Kāviri-paṭṭinam and by an insurrection. He was however released from his difficulties by the aid of his kinsman the Chēra Çeñ-guṭṭuvan, the son of Ādan II by a daughter of Karikāl, who defeated the rebellious Chōlas at Nēri-vāyil and restored Neḍu-muḍu-killi. By Çeñ-guṭṭuvan the Chēra kingdom was raised to the hegemony of the south, and this position it maintained as long as he lived. The defeat of his successor Çēy (Yānai-kaṭ-çēy) at Talaiy-ālaṅgānam by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñ-jeliyan II made the Pāṇdyas the premier power until the rise of the Pallavas. Neḍuñ-jeliyan II was the son of Verri-vēr-çeliyan or Iḷaṅ-jeliyan, and grandson of Neḍuñ-jeliyan I, who is reputed to have defeated an Āryan army of unknown *provenance*.

### III. THE ANDHRAS OR TELUGUS

The tribe of the Andhras, now known by the name of Telugus<sup>1</sup>, appears early in Sanskrit literature<sup>2</sup>. But these references are very vague, and only tell us that the Andhras were a non-Āryan people of some importance in the north-east of the Deccan. It may be inferred that their home then, as now, included the modern Telingāna—the provinces along the eastern coast between the

<sup>1</sup> The word *Telugu*, *Teluṅgu*, *Tenuṅgu*, is of uncertain derivation. Native scholars derive it from the Sanskrit *traiṅga*, 'belonging to the Trilinga' or land of the Three Phallic Emblems, a title sometimes given to the Telugu country, or from the Telugu word *ten* 'honey.' It seems more likely to be from *ten*, 'south,' and to mean 'southern' (probably from the standpoint of Kaliṅga).

<sup>2</sup> It is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii, 18) and the epics, and often later.

deltas of the rivers Godāvāri and Kistna—together with as much of the Circārs as they could hold against the rival kingdom of Kaliṅga on the north. More light is thrown upon them by the statements recorded by Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 19 (22), from which it would appear that some time before the first century A.D., perhaps in the age of Chandragupta the Maurya, they formed an independent kingdom and that they possessed 30 fortified towns and an army estimated at 100,000 infantry, 2000 horsemen, and 1000 elephants. Their earliest capital, according to the current view, was Çrī-kākulam (now probably Sreewacolum on the Kistna, some nineteen miles west from Masulipatam)<sup>1</sup>. Somewhat later we find them with a capital at Dhānya-kaṭaka (Dharanikōta or Amarāvati on the Kistna, in the Guntūr District), and in the first century A.D. again with the centre of their western provinces at Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan on the Godāvāri, in North-western Hyderābād). How far their territories in the earlier period stretched westward into Central India and the Deccan is unknown; their extent probably varied from time to time. Açoka mentions them in his catalogues of the foreign countries which, according to him, had espoused his doctrine<sup>2</sup>; but there is nothing to show that the Andhras were in any sense subject to him. Soon after his death however their history entered upon a new phase, on which considerable light is thrown by coins, inscriptions, and literature.

After the death of Açoka the Maurya empire rapidly decayed, and neighbouring rulers were left free to indulge their ambitions and enlarge their boundaries. Among these was a certain Simuka, who in the last quarter of the third century B.C. established the powerful Sātavāhana or Çātakarṇi dynasty, which ruled the Telugu country for nearly five centuries<sup>3</sup>. In his reign or in the reign

<sup>1</sup> This is however denied by Mr P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. XIII and K. XIII, ed. Senart.

<sup>3</sup> The origin and the meaning of the name of this dynasty are obscure. Usually the word Çātakarṇi is regarded as a patronymic from an assumed Çata-karṇa, 'Hundred-Ears,' which however is found nowhere; more probably it is connected with Sāta-vāhana, which means 'having for emblem the sāta.' One is tempted to connect them with the Sātiya-putas mentioned by Açoka (inscr. II), the Setae to whom Pliny alludes directly after his description of the Andhras, and the tribe of the Sātakas (*Epigr. Ind.* vol. x, App. no. 1021) or Çātakas (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVIII, 46). The inscriptions give the following forms of the name: Sātakani, Satakani, Sadakani, Sāta, Sada, and Sati. If the identification with the Sātiya-putas is right, it would seem that the Çātakarṇis were originally a tribe living outside the borders of the Andhra country, perhaps on the west of it, who about a generation after Açoka made themselves masters of the Andhradeça and played in it a part like that of the Normans in England. Mr V. S. Sukthankar (*On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings*, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, I, I, pp. 21 ff.) seeks with much probability to locate their original home in the Bellary District.

of his immediate successor, his younger brother Kṛishṇa (vernacularly Kaṇha), the Andhra empire spread westward to at least 74' long., and possibly even to the Arabian Sea<sup>1</sup>. Under these early Sātavāhana kings the boundaries of the Andhra dominions were enlarged so as to include a great part, if not the whole, of Vidarbha (Berār), the Central Provinces, and Hyderābād. A conflict between this formidable power and the declining Çuṅga empire of Magadha was inevitable; and about 170 B.C. war broke out between Agnimitra, ruling as viceroy of his father Pushyamitra at Vidiçā (Bhīlsa), and the king of Vidarbha, who at this period must almost certainly have been a feudatory of the Andhras<sup>2</sup>. The campaign against Vidarbha is the only event in the struggle which is mentioned in literature; and in this the Çuṅgas were successful. There can, however, be no doubt that the Andhras were ultimately victorious. Although no detailed records have been preserved, coins seem to show that the Andhras were in possession of Ujjain (W. Mālwā) in about the middle of the second century B.C., and an inscription bearing the name of a king Çātakarṇi proves that they had superseded the Çuṅgas in the kingdom of Vidiçā (E. Mālwā) about a hundred years later (*v. sup.* pp. 531 ff.).

But the Çuṅgas and the Andhras were not the only powers which at this period were contending for the mastery in the region now known as Central India. The Hāthigumphā inscription shows that, c. 150 B.C., Khāravēla, king of Kalingā, appeared in the field as a new combatant. We find here mention of a Çātakarṇi, who is supposed to be the successor of Kṛishṇa and the third monarch of the Andhra dynasty; and, according to the interpretation most commonly accepted of two passages in the inscription, Khāravēla in the second year of his reign sent a large army to the West 'disregarding Çātakarṇi,' and in his fourth year humbled the Rāshṭrikas (of the Marāthā districts) and the Bhojakas (of Berār), who were no doubt subjects of the Andhra suzerain (*v. sup.* pp. 530-1).

In his twelfth year Khāravēla marched into Magadha, and there seems to have forced its king to sue for peace. Whether that king was still Pushyamitra, or indeed any member of the Çuṅga dynasty, is at present uncertain (p. 537). In any case this humiliation of the once powerful kingdom of Magadha was doubtless to the advantage of the Andhras.

<sup>1</sup> This is indicated by the inscriptions at Nāsik (no. 1144) and at Nānāghāt, 50 miles north-west of Poona (no. 1114).

<sup>2</sup> The poet Kālidāsa in his play *Mālavikāgnimitra*, writing some centuries later, gives to this king of Vidarbha the name of Yajñasena; he may be right.



The Nānāghāt inscriptions of this period record the names of a king Çatakarni, who may be identified with the rival of Khāravela, of his wife Nāganikā or Nāyaṇikā, and of their young sons Vedi-siri and Sati Sirimanta; but it is not clear whether either Vedi-siri or Sati ever attained to manhood and a throne<sup>1</sup>. For many years after this date Andhra history lies in darkness, faintly lighted only by the uncertain records of the Purāṇas. Trustworthy data fail us at this point, and the Andhras disappear from sight until the period to which the second volume of this History will be devoted.

#### IV. THE KALIṄGAS

The boundaries of Kaliṅga, the territory under the Eastern Ghāts lying along the coast of the Bay of Bengal on the north of Telingāna, seem to have been uncertain. On the north it may at one time have reached up to the delta of the Ganges, if reliance can be placed on the statements of Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 17-18 (21-22)<sup>2</sup>, and thus included Odra-deça, now Orissa; but usually its northern limit was somewhat lower. South of this it comprised Utkala (Ganjām) and the Northern Circārs down to the basin of the Godāvāri, or thereabouts<sup>3</sup>. Early literature however distinguishes the Kaliṅgas from the Odras or natives of Orissa. A somewhat unedifying epic legend (*Mbh.* I, 104) makes the races of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma (*v. sup.* p. 317) to be descendants of the saint Dīrghatamas by Sudeshṇā, wife of king Bali; and similarly the grammar of Pāṇini (IV, 1, 170; cf. II, 4, 62, schol.) groups together Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, etc. The Odras also appear very early in Sanskrit literature (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, II, 1, 11, and the epics); and the law-book of 'Manu' wrongly classes them, with the natives of Puṇḍra and the Dravidas, as degraded Kshatriyas (x, 44). How far Kaliṅga is to be regarded as a Dravidian province is not clear. The name *Pertalis*, which is given by Pliny, *H.N.* VI, 18 (22), as that of the capital of Kaliṅga,

<sup>1</sup> The name *Sati* was taken by Bühler as equivalent to Sanskrit *Çakti*, and hence Sati has been identified with Haku-siri (*Ep. Ind.* vol. x, App. no. 1117) and Mahā-haku-siri (*ib.* no. 1141). But there are serious phonetic difficulties. Possibly Sati is the same person as the prince Sātavāhana of inscr. no. 1118, and the name of Haku-siri may perhaps be connected with that of Sakasena in the Kānheri inscription (*Arch. Survey of W. India*, v, p. 79; cf. Rapson, *Andhra Coins*, pp. xlvi, lxxv).

<sup>2</sup> He speaks of *Maccocalingae* or *Mactocalingae* as a subdivision of the 'Brachmanae,' of *Calingae* on the coast, and of *Modogalingae* on an island in the Ganges.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny (*ut supra*) mentions a cape Calington, probably Point Godāvāri, as being 625 miles from the mouth of the Ganges.

has a Dravidian sound, and Dravidian etymologies for it readily suggest themselves<sup>1</sup>. At the present day the Circārs and southern Ganjām are mainly Telugu in speech, and 'Dravidian' physical features are found in their populations, as well as in Orissa.

The only data of the early history of Kaliṅga, apart from unenlightening references in literature, are those that are supplied by the inscriptions of Açoka and the Hāthigumphā cave in Orissa. The edicts of Açoka (XIII, ed. Senart) tell us that early in his reign—about 262 B.C.—he conquered Kaliṅga and ravaged it pitilessly. The sight of the horrors which he had brought upon the wretched land caused a revulsion of feeling in the king, and inclined him towards the Buddhist faith. When after his death the Maurya empire began to decay, Kaliṅga asserted its independence, and rose again to prosperity. The most important of the Hāthigumphā inscriptions is the record of Khāravēla or Bhikshurāja, to whom reference has already been made (p. 600). From this we learn that Khāravēla of the Cheta family succeeded to the throne in the 24th year of his age. He claims to have had a population of 350,000 men in his capital, and to have increased the power of Kaliṅga by triumphs gained over his western and northern neighbours. He seems to have been a magnificent ruler of liberal tendencies, and styles himself 'a worshipper of men of all sects.' Other inscriptions record the names of king Vakradeva, probably his son, and of a prince Vaḍukha<sup>2</sup>. For the rest, all is dark.

## V. MAHĀRĀSHTRA, ETC.

On the western side of the peninsula, south of the Vindhya, and forming approximately the southern half of what is now the Bombay Presidency, lies a group of provinces, which in ancient times were inhabited by a population of more or less Dravidian blood, upon which were superimposed successive strata of Āryan immigrants entering apparently from Vidarbha (Berār). The term *Dakṣiṇā-patha*, 'southern region,' whence comes the modern *Deccan*, is often applied to the greater part of this country, but not very accurately, for strictly it denotes only the region around the upper waters of the Godāvāri and the lands between it and the Kistna, which were also known by the names of Daṇḍakāraṇya

<sup>1</sup> The first syllable is most probably *per, peru*, 'great'; the rest of the word may be connected with *talī*, which in Kanarese means 'covert,' 'refuge,' and in Tamil 'temple,' or Tamil *talai*, 'office of a district official,' or *talai*, 'head.'

<sup>2</sup> *Epigr. Indica*, vol. x, App. nos. 1347-8.

and Mahārāshṭra, and were the home of the race which in later times became famous in history under the name of Māhārāshṭras or Marāthās. With the latter were probably connected the tribes of Raṭṭas and Rāshṭrakūṭas who some centuries later played an important part in the history of the Deccan, as well as the Rāṭhikas whom Aṣoka mentions as having accepted his doctrine (K. v, Dh. v, ed. Senart). West of the Mahārāshṭra lay the realm of Aparānta (the Northern Konkan), with a capital at Ḷūrpāraka (now Sopāra), also included by Aṣoka in his list of believers (K. v, Kh. v, Dh. v, ed. Senart). The Peṭenikas, mentioned by him in the same connexion (K. III, v, XIII, Kh. XIII, G. XIII), have been plausibly identified with the Paithānikas or natives of Paithan (above, p. 599). Another tribe to whom he alludes is that of the Sātiya-putas (inscr. II). Possibly they may represent the region around Mangalore ; but it is at least equally likely that they were the forefathers of the Sātavāhana dynasty of the Andhra-deṣa (above, p. 599). It is recorded in the Mahāvamśa (XII) and Dīpavamśa (VIII) that Buddhist missions were sent by Moggali-putta Tissa to Mahārāshṭra, Aparānta, Vanavāsa (Banavāsi, in the extreme south of North Kanara), and Mahisa-maṇḍala (probably Mahishmant or the country of the Mahishakas, who in the Purāṇas are associated with the Mahārāshṭras and are said to have had a capital Māhishmatī on the Narbadā), and hence it would appear that these regions were fairly civilised ; but no trustworthy details of their history in this period have been preserved.

## CHAPTER XXV

### THE EARLY HISTORY OF CEYLON<sup>1</sup>

LEGEND and ethnographic observation are the only materials for constructing the history of Ceylon in the early period previous to the death of Gautama Buddha (probably B.C. 483). Events from that date onward are recorded in the official chronicles kept by the Buddhist Church after its introduction into Ceylon by Mahinda (Mahendra) in 246 B.C.; and these chronicles were incorporated in the *atthakathās* or canonical commentaries upon the Pāli Scriptures, and thence into the Pāli histories known as *Dīpavaṃsa*, the 'Chronicle of the Island,' and *Mahāvaṃsa*, the 'Great Chronicle.' These records, while mainly interested in the relations of the kings of Ceylon to the Church, and often erring in important details, are nevertheless on the whole valuable sources of information, to which however the later histories or *Rājāvaliyas*, 'Lists of Kings,' and the inscriptions form an indispensable supplement.

The oldest and purest race in Ceylon is that of the *Vāddas*, who inhabit the larger part of the Eastern Province, a small region in Tamankaduwa, and nearly one-fifth of Uva, but are known to have been formerly spread over the whole of Uva and a large portion of the Central, North Central, and North Western Provinces, and no doubt were at first undisputed masters of the island. Their ethnical affinities are somewhat uncertain; but there is good reason for classing them with the Kurumbas, Irulas, and some of the wilder tribes of the mainland as pre-Dravidian<sup>2</sup>. A few of them still live under the most primitive conditions as homeless hunters; others are somewhat more civilised, and practise rude arts of culture similar to those of the Sinhalese peasantry.

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter names and titles usually appear in their Pāli form, and the following abbreviations are used: Mhv. = *Mahāvaṃsa*, Dīp. = *Dīpavaṃsa*, Msr. = *Mahā-sammata-rājāvaliya*, R. = *Rājāvaliya*, Rvp. = *Rājavikrama-pravṛtṭiya*, Vr. = *Vijaya-rājāvaliya*, Vrv. = *Vijayarāja-vaṃsaya*. Dates in these works are given in years of the era of Buddha (A.B.) which probably began originally in 483 B.C. After the middle of the eleventh century A.D. the era of Buddha was reckoned from 544 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Haddon, *Races of Man*, pp. 7, 13. Here and elsewhere the terms 'Dravidian' and 'Āryan' are used with all due reserve.

The population of Ceylon however is for the most part a mixed race. Besides Vādḍas, both Dravidians and Aryans have contributed to their blood; and in modern times Europeans—Portuguese, Dutch, and British—and the usual cosmopolitan visitors to their ports have all added something to the strain. The proportion of Vādḍa blood in the stock is uncertain, but probably considerable. To judge from the legends recorded in Mhv. and Dīp. and from the vernacular ballads, it is not unlikely that in pre-Buddhist times some of the Vādḍas had reached a fair degree of civilisation, mingling on terms of approximate equality with the Āryan and Dravidian invaders, and by this combination producing the main stock of the Sinhalese race. The relative proportion of Āryan and Dravidian blood is likewise uncertain. The stream of immigration from the Dravidian regions of India, especially the Tamil country, has been constant since the dawn of history, sometimes proceeding in drops, sometimes in great waves, and at the present day the northern part of the island is mainly Tamil; but the Sinhalese language, though marked by traces of Dravidian influence, is Āryan, and is descended from a Sanskritic tongue closely akin to the Vedic<sup>1</sup>. This fact, and certain data of legend to which we shall recur in the succeeding paragraph, suggest that at some early date an invading band of Āryans, conquering part or the whole of Ceylon, imposed its language and perhaps something of its culture and institutions upon the mixed Vādḍa-Dravidian population which it found there, and then gradually became fused in the racial congeries of the island.

Sinhalese tradition also relates that the Nāgas, or semi-divine snake-men of Hindu myth, once dwelt in Ceylon, and gives details of their wars, which are said to have been settled by the intervention of Gautama Buddha. These Nāgas belong to the realm of fiction; but as traditions record that they drove out the earlier inhabitants from the North and West, and it is a fact that the name *Nāgadīpa*, 'Nāgas' Island,' long clung in early times to these regions down to the neighbourhood of Madawachchiya, it is possible that in these legends there may lie some faint shadows of historical reality.

The Mhv. (VI, VIII) and Dīp. (IX), with which a number of late histories and popular ballads agree more or less, tell a singular story. According to them, a daughter of a King of Vaṅga (Bengal) and a princess of Kaliṅga (Orissa) was carried away by a lion,

<sup>1</sup> Even the Vādḍas now use a dialect of Sinhalese. Only the Tamils who have settled in Ceylon in comparatively modern times speak Tamil.

who begot on her a son, Sīhabāhu ('Lion-Arm'), and a daughter, Sīhasīvalī (in Sinh. ballads *Siṃhavalli*). After slaying his father, Sīhabāhu reigned at Sīhapura, 'Lion's Town,' in Lāḷa (Lāṭa, i.e. Gujarāt)<sup>1</sup>. His son Vijaya, banished for his lawlessness, departed from Sīhapura with a band of adventurers and sailed southward. After stopping at Suppāraka (Çūrparaka, the modern Sopāra, in the Thāna District, Bombay Presidency), he continued his voyage to Ceylon, where he arrived very shortly before the death of Gautama Buddha, who in a prophetic vision learned of his coming and commended him to the care of the god Sakka (Çakra, or Indra)<sup>2</sup>. He found the island in the possession of *yakkhas*, or fairies. Having overcome the wiles of the Yakkha princess Kuvannā (in Sinh. Kuveni), he took her to wife, and drove away her kinsmen. When he had established himself, he repudiated her and his children by her—who became the ancestors of the Pulinda tribes of the interior—in order to marry a daughter of the Pāṇḍyan king of Madura, and reigned for 38 years (c. 483–445 B.C.) with much righteousness in the town of Tambapaṇṇi, which he had founded. Anurādhapura, Upatissagāma, Vijitagāma, Uruvelā, and Ujjenī were founded by his followers.

This tale seems to contain the following nucleus of fact. There were apparently two streams of immigration celebrated in the earliest legends<sup>3</sup>. The first, which probably was mainly Dravidian, came from Orissa and perhaps southern Bengal; the second, mainly Āryan, started from Sīhapura in Lāṭa (possibly the modern Sihor, in Kāthiāwār) and Sopāra<sup>4</sup>. The latter band belonged to the Siṃhalas (Sīhalas) or 'Lion-tribe,' and it was probably they who imposed their Āryan tongue on Ceylon (*v. sup.* p. 605). At any rate, they gave to their new home the name of *Siṃhaladvīpa* (in Pāli *Sīhaladvīpa*), whence are derived its later titles, the Arabic *Sarandīb*, the Portuguese *Ceilão*, and our *Ceylon*<sup>5</sup>. Popular imagination combined the two movements by giving the eponymous Sīhabāhu a home on both sides of India, and so the legend shaped

<sup>1</sup> The *Mhv.* vi, 4 seems to locate Lāḷa in Magadha; this may be due to a crude recollection of the extent of the early Gupta empire.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhist legend relates that the Buddha thrice visited Ceylon, and that after his death his collar-bone was brought thither to be enshrined in the Mahiyāṅgana (Miyuguna) Thūpa; see *Mhv.* i.

<sup>3</sup> The same conclusion is suggested by the legends of the coming of the gods—e.g. of Oḍḍisa from Orissa and the Devol Deviyo from Debal in Sind.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xvi, pp. 1 ff. and 49 ff.

<sup>5</sup> From *Siṃhala* or *Sīhala* is derived the term *Heḷu* or *Eḷu*, which is applied to designate the pure classical dialect of ancient Sinhalese literature, in opposition to *Siṃhala*, 'Sinhalese,' the Sanskritised and unclassical speech of modern times.

itself into its classical form<sup>1</sup>. The lion, Kuvannā, and the Yakkhas are pure fiction<sup>2</sup>.

Sinhalese chronology begins with the landing of Vijaya, which, as we have seen, is made to coincide with the decease of Gautama Buddha in 483 B.C. The correctness of this synchronism may well be doubted; but probably the records on this and other points, if not absolutely reliable, are not very far from the truth. It will therefore be most suitable to base our account of subsequent events upon that of the *Mhv.*, premising that our belief is subject to due reservations, and adding some of the more important variants and supplementary data given in other works.

The death of Vijaya was followed by an interregnum of one year (c. 445–444 B.C.).

The *Mhv.*, a *Rājāvaliya*, and several other Sinhalese histories fill up this interregnum by stating that Tissa, a minister of Vijaya, who built Tissanuvara or Upatissagāma north of Anurādhapura, near the Kolon Oya (now Malwatta Oya), reigned for that time.

The next king was Paṇḍu-Vāsudeva<sup>3</sup>, the youngest son of Vijaya's brother Sumitta. He married Bhaddakachchānā<sup>4</sup>, daughter of the Çākya Paṇḍu, who bore to him ten sons and a daughter, Chittā. After reigning 30 years (c. 444–414 B.C.) he died, and was succeeded by his son Abhaya, who after ruling for 20 years (c. 414–394 B.C.) in Upatissagāma was deposed.

The *Msr.* states that Paṇḍu-Vāsudeva died A.B. 74, and assigns 16 years to the reign of Abhaya.

An interregnum of 17 years (c. 394–377 B.C.) then followed, after which Paṇḍukābhaya, an illegitimate son of Chittā by her cousin Digha-Gāmaṇī, established himself after a long struggle as king in Anurādhapura, and reigned 70 years (c. 377–307 B.C.) (*Mhv.* VIII–X). He was succeeded by his son Muṭasiva<sup>5</sup>, who had a

<sup>1</sup> It is however noteworthy that there was also a Simhapura on the east, the capital of the ancient kings of Kalinga (see *Epigr. Zeylanica*, vol. 1, p. 124). This fact probably contributed to the formation of the legend.

<sup>2</sup> It is usually supposed that the Yakkhas in this legend represent the aboriginal Vāḍḍas, as apparently is the case in the history of Paṇḍukābhaya (*Mhv.* X). But the legend of Kuvannā is strictly myth, being remarkably like that of Circe; and it seems likely that the Yakkhas in it arose from the same source.

<sup>3</sup> In Sinh. *Paṇḍuvas*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Mhv.* (IX) relates that her brothers Rāma, Uruvela, Anurādha, Vijita, Dighāyu, and Rohana founded Rāmagōna and other towns bearing their names. As regards the second, third, and fourth of these heroes the story is obviously a duplicate of the legend mentioned in *Mhv.* VII (above, p. 605).

<sup>5</sup> Muṭasiva or Moṭa Tissa, in some Sinhalese histories.

reign of 60 years (c. 307–247 B.C.). The latter was followed by his second son Devānaṃpiya Tissa<sup>1</sup> (*Mhv.* XI).

The Msr. states that Paṇḍukābhaya, whom it calls the son of Abhaya, built Anurādhapura and reigned 37 years, and that his son Muṭasiva constructed the Mahāmegha-vana (see below) and died A.B. 187. The Rvp. allots a reign of 40 years to Gaṇapa Tissa, a son of Paṇḍukābhaya, whom it places after Muṭasiva. A R. agrees in making Tissa the son of Paṇḍukābhaya and giving him a reign of 40 years; but the Vr. places him between Abhaya and Paṇḍukābhaya.

In the month Jetṭha of the year of Devānaṃpiya's coronation (c. 246 B.C.) the Buddhist apostle Mahinda<sup>2</sup>, son of the Maurya King Aṣoka (Dhammāsoka), miraculously travelled to Ceylon in company with the four friars Itṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla and the novice Sumana, son of his sister Saṅghamittā. He alighted at Mahindatala<sup>3</sup>, where he met Devānaṃpiya and converted him and his people (*Mhv.* XIII, XIV). The Mahāmegha-vana, a park south of Anurādhapura, was assigned to the service of the new Church, and the buildings erected in it were known afterwards as the Mahāvihāra (*Mhv.* xv). On the spot where Mahinda had alighted was built the Chetiyapabbata-vihāra (*Mhv.* xvi). A *thūpa* (Skt. *stūpa*) and a monastery in connection with it, the Thūpārāma, were constructed at the south of Anurādhapura to receive the collar-bone of the Buddha (*Mhv.* xvii), and the southern branch of the famous Bodhi-tree of Gayā was brought and planted at Anurādhapura in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign (*Mhv.* xviii–xx).

After a pious reign of 40 years (c. 247–207 B.C.) Devānaṃpiya died, and was succeeded by his brother Uttiya, who ruled for 10 years (c. 207–197 B.C.) (*Mhv.* xx).

According to the Msr. Uttiya died in A.B. 237.

Next reigned Uttiya's younger brother Mahāsiva for 10 years (c. 197–187 B.C.), and another brother, Sūra Tissa, previously known as Suvannaṃpiṇḍa Tissa, likewise for 10 years (c. 187–177 B.C.). The latter was conquered by two Tamils named Sena and Guttaka, sons of a horse-dealer (*assa-nāvika*), who reigned justly for 22 years (c. 177–155 B.C.), and were then overcome by Asela, the youngest of Muṭasiva's nine sons. Asela then reigned in Anurādhapura for 10 years (c. 155–145 B.C.), and was then ousted by Ēlāra, a Tamil from the Chōla country, who ruled for 44 years (c. 145–101 B.C.), and was famous for his justice (*Mhv.* xxi).

<sup>1</sup> In Sinh. *Devenipā Tisa*.

<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit *Mahendra*, Sinh. *Mihindu*.

<sup>3</sup> Mihintale, about eight miles east of Anurādhapura.



A Rājāvaliya inserts after Sūra Tissa an Upatissa with a reign of 10 years, and makes the two brothers Sena and Guttaka into one person, whom it describes as *aniçchāri* (perhaps for *açrāchāri*) *devi kenek*; the printed R. describes them as 'two brothers who were horsemen.' The Dīp. (xviii, 47) assigns to them only 12 years. Asela is not said by the Vr. to be a son of Muṭasiva. His successor's name is usually given in Sinhalese as *Elāla*; the same R. calls him a Malala (Malabari) from Soli (Chōla-deça), and says that he brought over 1,080,000 Tamil soldiers and behaved with great impiety, desecrating the monasteries of Devenipā Tisa.

Devānampiya Tissa had a brother, Mahānāga, who resided in Mahāgāma<sup>1</sup> and governed the province of Rohaṇa<sup>2</sup>. He was succeeded in this office by his son Yatṭhālaya Tissa, the latter's son Abhaya or Goṭhābhaya<sup>3</sup>, and the latter's son Kākavaṇṇa Tissa<sup>4</sup>. The last had two sons, Gāmaṇī-Abhaya, better known as Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī<sup>5</sup>, and Saddhā-Tissa<sup>6</sup>.

The Vrv. states that Yatṭhālaya Tissa reigned in Kālaniya and built there a sanctuary; his son Golu Abhā ruled in Ruhuna, and was followed by his son Kāvan Tisa. The Vr. gives the succession as Mahānāma, Kālani Tissa (apparently meant for Yatṭhālaya Tissa), Goṭhābhaya, and Kāvan.

When Kākavaṇṇa Tissa died at the age of 64 years, Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī, who had previously quarrelled with him (whence his name, meaning 'Wicked Gāmaṇī') and taken refuge in the interior, set himself up as king in Mahāgāma and waged a successful war against Saddhā-Tissa (*Mhv.* xxii-xxiv). He then embarked upon a series of campaigns against the Tamils, which ended in the conquest of Eḷāra in Anurādhapura (*Mhv.* xxv). Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī was now master of the island. To make amends for a somewhat questionable past, he proceeded to patronise the Church royally. He founded the Marichavattī Vihāra<sup>7</sup>, the Lohapāsāda<sup>8</sup>, and the Great Thūpa, in which he enshrined a casket full of relics said to have been brought from the land of the Nāgas by the Thera Soṇuttara, and performed many other pious works. His reign lasted for 24 years (c. 101-77 B.C.) (*Mhv.* xxvi-xxxii).

His brother Saddhā-Tissa ('Tissa of the Faith,' so styled from his pious works, one of which was the rebuilding of the Lohapāsāda after it had been burnt), then ruled for 18 years (c. 77-59 B.C.).

He is said by the Msr. to have died in A.B. 492.

<sup>1</sup> Magama, north-east of Hambantota.

<sup>2</sup> Sinh. *Ruhuna*.

<sup>3</sup> Sinh. *Golu Abhā*.

<sup>4</sup> Sinh. *Kāvan Tisa*.

<sup>5</sup> Sinh. *Duṭṭhagāmunu*.

<sup>6</sup> His original name was Tissa Abhaya (see below); inscriptions style him *Devana-piya Maharaja Gamini Tisa*.

<sup>7</sup> Mirisvāti Vehera, south-west of Anurādhapura.

<sup>8</sup> In the Mahāmegha-vana, north of the Mahāvihāra.

Saddhā-Tissa was followed by his younger son Thūlathana<sup>1</sup>, who after a reign of 1 month and 10 days (c. 59 B.C.) was ousted by his elder brother Lañja Tissa<sup>2</sup>, who ruled for 9 years and 15 days (c. 59–50 B.C.). His younger brother Khallāṭanāga<sup>3</sup> then reigned for 6 years (c. 50–44 B.C.).

The Vrv. gives the succession : Sādāhū-Tissa (i.e. Saddhā-Tissa), Tulla, Rālāmin Tissa (*sic*), Khallātha Tissa. Lañja according to the Dīp. (xx, 9) reigned 9 years and 6 months. The Msr. states that Khallāṭanāga died in A.B. 444.

Khallāṭanāga was ousted by a general named Kammahārattaka, who in his turn was slain by Khallāṭanāga's younger brother Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇi Abhaya<sup>4</sup>, who now became king.

The date of Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇi's accession is given by the Vr. as A.B. 439, and by the Vrv. as 441. Kammahārattaka is called Mahārattaka in the Dīp. (xx, 13), where he is said to have reigned one day.

After Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇi had reigned 5 months (c. 44 B.C.) he was defeated by seven Tamil adventurers and fled, remaining in hiding in the interior of the island for 14 years and 7 months (c. 44–29 B.C.), while the throne was occupied successively by five Tamil usurpers, named Puḷahattha (3 years), Bāhiya (2 years), Panayamāra (7 years), Pilayamāra (7 months), and Dāṭhika (2 years). Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇi then conquered and slew Dāṭhika, and reigned in Anurādhapura for 12 years (c. 29–17 B.C.). One of his pious foundations was the Abhaya-giri monastery (*Mhv.* xxxiii).

Khallāṭanāga's son Mahāchūli Mahātissa<sup>5</sup> then reigned righteously for 14 years. He was followed by Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇi's son Choranāga, who had previously been an outlaw, and now ruled impiously for 12 years (c. 3 B.C.–9 A.D.). He was then poisoned by his queen Anulā. The next king was Mahāchūli's son Tissa<sup>6</sup>, who after a reign of 3 years (c. 9–12 A.D.) was poisoned by Anulā, who raised to the throne Siva, one of the guards of the palace. Siva reigned for 14 months with Anulā as his queen, after which she transferred her affections to a Tamil named Vaṭuka, and poisoned Siva. When she had reigned with Vaṭuka for 14 months, she wearied of him and poisoned him, choosing for her new consort a

<sup>1</sup> Sinh. *Tulnā* (for Pāli Thūlanāga?).

<sup>2</sup> Also called Lajji Tissa, and in Sinh. Lāmāṇi Tissa from his family, the Lāmāṇi (Pāli *Lambakanni*). Inscriptions style him *Devanāpiya Tisa Abaya*.

<sup>3</sup> Sinh. *Kalunnā*.

<sup>4</sup> In Sinh. he is styled *Valagambāhu* (or *obā*) *Abhā*; in inscriptions his title is *Devanāpiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya*.

<sup>5</sup> This name appears in Pāli as *Mahāchūli*, *°chālīka*, and *°chūla*; in Sinh. as *Mahasilu* and *Mahadūliya* (the former implying a Pāli *°chūli*, the latter a Pāli *°jāliya*).

<sup>6</sup> Known as *Kuḍā Tissa*.

wood-carrier (*dāru-bhatika*) named Tissa. After 13 months she poisoned him also, and elevated a Tamil chaplain named Niliya, but 6 months later removed him in the same manner, and reigned alone for 4 months. Mahāchūli's second son, Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa<sup>1</sup>, who had fled from the court and taken orders in the Church, now raised an army, overthrew and killed Anulā, and reigned with justice and piety for 22 years (c. 16–38 A.D.).

There is much discrepancy in the accounts of this period. The Msr. gives the names and dates thus: Balat Sivuvā, 14 months; Vaṭuka, 14 months; the chaplain, 6 months; Vāsuki, an astrologer, 13 months; Bālā Tisu, 13 months; Anulā alone, 4 months; Kalan Tisa, 20 years. The Vr. has the variant names Balavat Siṭuvāya and Bālani Tissa, and calls Kuṭakaṇṇa Kalantika Tissa. One R. gives Sūra for Siva, with 14 months (but 1 year in the Rvp.), and places after him a Tamil named Mukalan with a reign of 14 months (in the Rvp. called Mukhanandi, with a reign of 1 year), the chaplain with 6 months (1 year in the Rvp.), Anulā with 4 months, Mukalan Tissa with 1 year, etc. The Dīp. assigns 3 months to Niliya (xx, 29).

<sup>1</sup> Also called *Kālakaṇṇi Tissa*, in Sinh. *Kalan* or *Makalan Tissa*.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE MONUMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIA

It is the misfortune of Indian History that its earliest and most obscure pages derive little light from contemporary antiquities. Before the rise of the Maurya Empire a well-developed and flourishing civilisation had existed in India for at least a thousand years; yet, of the structural monuments erected during those ages not one example has survived save the Cyclopean walls of Rājagṛiha; and of man's lesser handiwork, few objects except the primitive implements, pottery, and tombs of the stone and early metal ages. Moreover, such as they are, the value of these antiquities is still further diminished by the fact that there are none among them to which a precise date can be ascribed, while in the case of the majority, even apart from the remains of palaeolithic man, it is impossible to affirm within half a millennium when they were produced. This strange scarcity of materials in a country so vast and thickly populated as India is due in a great measure to the custom which then generally, though not universally, prevailed of building in wood, as well as to the destructive agency of the Indian climate which rapidly obliterates everything of a perishable nature; but it is due, also, to the neglect, until the last few years, of scientific exploration on the ancient town sites of India, which alone are likely to yield the stratigraphical evidence indispensable for determining the chronology of these early ages.

With the palaeolithic peoples of India we are scarcely here concerned. Their rough-chipped implements (Pl. IX, 1-5) have been found in large numbers in the southern half of the Peninsula, and in deposits which indicate that countless centuries must have elapsed between their last appearance and the dawn of Vedic history, while the forms of the implements themselves, strikingly unlike those of the Neolithic Age, have suggested to some writers that their authors may not even have had an ethnical connexion with the later inhabitants of the land. The neolithic races, on the other hand, are invested with a more immediate interest for

the historian, not only because there are good reasons for supposing that some of the existing peoples of India—notably the Dravidians—are directly descended from them, but because this phase of civilisation was preserved in some parts of the country until medieval and probably more recent times. The stone weapons and utensils which are specially characteristic of it are found scattered over a much wider area than the more rudimentary palaeoliths, though mainly in regions where the trap rock, used especially in their manufacture, abounds. They exhibit a remarkable variety, illustrated by at least a hundred distinct types, some of which belong to the polished, others to the unpolished class (Pl. IX, 6-10). With few exceptions, however, they are identical in form with similar objects from Western Asia and Europe, and this identity has led to the supposition that the Dravidian peoples, with whom the neolithic culture in India appears to have been peculiarly associated, once dwelt in the highlands of Western Asia and penetrated thence by way of Baluchistān into India; and, at first sight, the survival in Baluchistān of a Dravidian language, Brāhūī, would seem to support this view. Other linguistic considerations, on the other hand, have been thought to point to the conclusion that the Dravidians were indigenous in the Deccan and spread thence over a part of Northern India. Whatever the truth may be regarding these particular tribes and whether they played a part or not in the introduction of neolithic culture into India, there can be no doubt that this culture was closely related to and, it may well be believed, mainly derived from the culture of the later Stone Age in Western Asia. Among the implements of non-European types referred to, the most noteworthy is a class of curious chisel-shaped, high-shouldered celts which are found in Burma, Assam, and Chotā Nāgpur, and which appear to have been manufactured by the ancestors of the present Mon-Khmer stock. Similar instruments occur also in Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula, where they seem to have been produced, not by the aboriginal tribes of the interior, but by later invaders who were in a more advanced state of civilisation.

It is to the later Stone Age, also, that are to be ascribed a class of chipped trap implements from Bundelkhand and the pygmy flints that occur in myriads among the off-shoots of the Vindhya. Some of the caves in which the latter have been found are adorned with rude drawings in ruddle or haematite, and from the outlines of the primitive weapons depicted in them it has been thought that the drawings were executed during the neolithic

period, but though the conjecture is plausible enough and is borne out, let it be said, by the discovery of rubbed specimens of red haematite and palettes for grinding down the material at various neolithic sites in the Deccan, it is by no means certain that these drawings go back to so remote an age. This observation applies still more forcibly to the megalithic tombs, which occur in vast numbers in the central and southern parts of the Peninsula, and to the accumulations of prehistoric scoria, often of considerable size, which are known to antiquarians as 'cinder-mounds,' as well as to the so-called 'cup-marks' or small hollowed depressions in the rocks, which have been interpreted by some investigators as a forgotten system of writing. In Europe, megalithic tombs analogous to the Indian examples are referred to the close of the neolithic period or to the succeeding age of bronze and copper; but in India there are few such tombs which there is reason for regarding as anterior to the iron age; and in their case, as well as in that of the cinder-mounds which have yielded smooth stone celts, it is a plausible theory that the people who erected them were still in the neolithic state, when iron had long been in vogue among other races of the Peninsula.

As the stone age passed gradually away in Northern India, it appears to have given place, not to an age of bronze, as it did in most parts of Europe, but to one of copper. Finds of seven bronze implements, it is true, have been recorded from various parts of the Empire, but it has rightly been pointed out by Dr Vincent Smith that out of these seven one only can claim to be of real bronze, deliberately and knowingly manufactured as such, and the evidence of a single specimen, which may well have been imported from abroad, is wholly insufficient to justify the assumption of a bronze age. Copper implements, on the contrary, occur in relatively large quantities and over a wide range throughout Northern India, from Hooghly in the east to Baluchistân in the west. Among them are bare and shouldered celts, harpoons, spear-heads both plain and barbed, axe-heads, swords, and an object suggestive of the human shape (Pl. X, 11-20). The last mentioned, as well as some of the swords, which are remarkable for their excessive weight and the form of their handles (Pl. X, 18-20), may have been used for cult purposes. One hoard of these implements, which came from Gungeria in the Central Provinces—the most important, be it said, yet recorded in the Old World—contained as many as 424 specimens of almost pure metal, weighing in all 829 pounds, besides 102 ornamental laminae of

silver. Such a collection, comprising as it did a variety of implements intended for manifold domestic and other purposes, affords evidence enough, as Dr Smith has remarked, that their manufacture was being conducted in India on an extensive scale; while the distinctive types that had been evolved and are represented both in this and in other finds, connote a development that must already have extended over a long period, though at the same time the barbed spear-heads and harpoons and flat celts, manifestly copied from neolithic prototypes, bespeak a relatively high antiquity. The presence of silver ornaments in the Gungeria hoard has suggested doubts as to its remote date, but there seems little reason for assuming that a race familiar with the difficult metallurgical processes by which copper is extracted from its ores, were incapable of smelting silver from the rich argentiferous galenas which occur in various localities.

At what date iron came to supplant copper in the north of India is uncertain, but literary evidence from the Vedas seems to indicate that it was introduced into the north-west during the second millennium B.C.<sup>1</sup> It was about the same time, too, that it came into general use in Mesopotamia, and it is probable enough that the knowledge not only of this metal but of copper also in a previous age was acquired from that region. Between the Babylonian, or Assyrian, and Indian civilisations, indeed, many archaeological links are traceable, among which may be noticed, parenthetically, the remarkable resemblance presented by the oblong, short-legged terracotta sarcophagi from the neighbourhood of Baghdad to those of a prehistoric date found at Pallāvaram and other places in the Madras Presidency.

In Southern India there was no copper age, and iron probably did not take the place of stone until about 500 B.C. Up to that time the Āryans of the north seem to have possessed no very distinct knowledge of the south of the Peninsula, which was at once isolated and protected against invasion by the natural defences of the Vindhya hills and the trackless jungles of Central India, and when at last they penetrated through these barriers they found the Dravidian and other races in the south still in the neolithic stage of culture. The supposition that iron was first conveyed into Southern India by sea from Egypt, has nothing to commend it<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A date c. 1000 B.C. is suggested in Chapter II, p. 56; cf. Chapter IV, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the works detailed in the bibliography at the end of this volume, the author is much indebted to a very valuable note on the prehistoric antiquities of India by Mr J. Coggin-Brown, M.Sc., of the Geological Dept., whose knowledge of this subject is perhaps unrivalled.

Notwithstanding the wide extent and long duration of Vedic civilisation in Northern India, there is but one group of monuments now existing to which there is any warrant for assigning a Vedic origin. These are the well-known mounds at Lauriyā Nandangarh in Bihār, which were opened a few years ago by the late Dr Bloch and identified by him with the burial mounds (*çmaçāna*) described in Vedic ritual. Two of these proved to be composed of horizontal layers of clay alternating with straw and leaves, with a post (*sthūṇā*) of sāl wood standing erect in the centre, above which was a deposit of human bones and charcoal accompanied by a small gold leaf. The latter (Plate XI, 21) bore impressed upon it in crude outline the figure of a female, which has been interpreted as the Earth Goddess referred to in the Vedic burial hymn, but both this interpretation and the date (seventh or eighth century B.C.) hazarded by the explorer for these mounds must be regarded as tentative only. Of actual structures anterior to the Maurya epoch the only examples, as already remarked, known to have survived until the present day, are the walls and remains of dwellings in the old city of Rājagṛiha, all built of rough cyclopean masonry. This city was reputed in antiquity to have been forsaken during the reign of king Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha, who removed the capital to New Rājagṛiha, but as to how long the walls or houses had then been standing, tradition is silent. Such structures, built of durable materials, were certainly the rare exception rather than the rule in ancient India, and were probably essayed only in localities where stones suitable for such masonry were ready to hand. In primitive India, as among the poorer classes of to-day, the materials most commonly in use were mud or mud bricks, bamboo canes, and other kinds of wood. The simplest kinds of dwellings were constructed of screens of bamboo inwoven with palm branches or the like, the roofs being either flat or arched. In the latter case, the bamboos were lashed together at the apex and tied in near the lower end, thus forming a singularly strong framework of curvilinear form, while the walls were strengthened to resist the outward thrust. In other cases, the walls were constructed of unbaked brick or mud, and the latter material was also used as a covering for the flat roofs or for plastering the screens of the walls on the 'wattle and daub' principle. At a later date cut timbers came to be used in the more pretentious dwellings, and afforded opportunities for the development of that exuberant surface decoration in which the genius of India has always excelled.



These materials left their character deeply and permanently impressed on Indian architecture. From the use of the bamboo came the curvilinear type of roof which was afterwards reproduced in cut timber and subsequently in stone, and from which were evolved the familiar *chaitya* arches used over doorways and windows. Log capitals were imitated in stone, and the more finished timbering of walls, roofs, and gateways in the same material, every detail down to the nail-heads being copied with sedulous care and accuracy by the masons of later days. As a protection against destructive insects, wooden posts were set in *gharas* or jars of earthenware, and from these resulted the 'pot and foliage' base, so beautifully developed in the Gupta age. A striking illustration of the influence exerted by wood as contrasted with brick construction is to be found in the pillars of the cave temples. In the earliest examples the stone pillars are manifestly copied from wooden prototypes and are relatively slender, though amply thick enough for their purpose. In the later examples, on the other hand, the pillars are heavy and cumbersome, not because extra strength was required, nor yet in order to save labour, but because they were copied from the brick-in-mud pillars of famous *vihāras*, which necessarily required to be much thicker in proportion to their height than columns of stone. It is stated by Arrian that cities on the banks of rivers and in other low-lying spots were built of wood, those in more commanding situations, where they were less exposed to floods, of mud or brick. This statement refers to the time of Megasthenes, Ambassador to the Court of Chandragupta Maurya, on whose writings the *Indica* of Arrian is believed to have been based. It has been endorsed by the discovery of portions of the wooden palisades of Pātaliputra and of the mud or brick walls of Çrāvastī, Bhītā, and other towns. But no kiln-burnt bricks have been found in the Gangetic plains which can be referred to an earlier date than the fourth century B.C., and it is improbable that they came generally into vogue in this part of India until after the reign of Açoka; for the unwieldy size of the bricks used in the buildings of Açoka at Sārnāth and other places, coupled with their inferior quality, betoken but little experience of brick-making. The potter's art, on the other hand, had been practised throughout India from time immemorial, and in the Punjab and North-West, which were in closer touch with Persia and Mesopotamia, it is likely enough that burnt bricks were used at a more remote age. In this connexion a special interest attaches to

certain seals of unknown date and origin (Pl. XI, 22, 23), which are said to have been found from time to time among the remains of brick structures at Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab. The majority of these seals are engraved with the device of a bull with head outstretched over some uncertain object, possibly in the act of being sacrificed, and all of them bear legends in a pictographic script, which remains still to be deciphered. ❧

With the advent of the Mauryas, the obscurity, in which the earlier monuments are wrapped, rapidly disperses, and from this time onwards we are able to trace step by step and with relative precision the evolution both of architecture and of the formative arts. Of Indian art, generally, it was said by Fergusson, and the statement has often been repeated, that its history is written in decay; that the noblest and most perfect examples of it are the works of the Emperor Açoka; and that each succeeding monument is but a landmark in the steady process of decline. In reality, as we shall presently see, its history is one of continuous forward progress, and, when the works of extraneous schools have been recognised and eliminated, it is found to follow a clear and logical sequence, in obedience to the fixed and immutable principles which govern the artistic efforts of all primitive peoples.

As it happens, it is the earliest monuments that have proved the greatest stumbling-block. Yet the fallacies, which have grown up around them, are not difficult to correct. They arise, in a great measure, from the tendency, common in all ages, to magnify the exploits of great heroes, and to ascribe to them feats and achievements in which they bore no part. What happened in this respect to Alexander, to King Arthur, or to Charlemagne, happened also to the Emperor Açoka. In ancient days his name became the centre of a cycle of heroic legends, and the same process of glorification has continued in modern times by fathering on to him a multitude of works with which he had no connexion. The monuments that can with relative certainty be assigned to the Maurya age, or to the age immediately succeeding it, are few. Besides the brick buildings referred to above they comprise the following: a series of isolated columns erected by the Emperor Açoka at various spots in Northern India; the remains of a pillared hall at Patna, which probably formed part of a royal palace designed, perhaps, on the model of the Achaemenian palaces of Persia; a group of rock-cut shrines in the Barābar hills in Bihār; a small monolithic rail at Sārnāth; a throne in the interior of the temple at Buddh Gayā; some portions

of *stūpa* umbrellas at Sānchī and Sārnāth; and three statues in the round, two in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, the third at Mathurā. Of these monuments, twelve bear records of Açoka himself, and three of his successor, Daçaratha; the age of the others is determined by their style, by the inscriptions carved upon them, or by their peculiar technique, every member but one in the group being identical in two distinct features, namely, in the exceeding care with which they are chiselled and in the brilliant polish afterwards imparted to their surface. Moreover, with the exception of the caves cut out of the natural gneiss rock in the Barābar hills, they are one and all of sandstone from a quarry near Chunār.

The pillars or *lāts*, as they are commonly called, are of singularly massive proportions, consisting of a round and slightly tapering monolithic shaft with bell-shaped capital surmounted by an abacus and crowning sculpture in the round, the whole rising to an average height, from base to summit, of between 40 and 50 feet. One of the best preserved, though not the best in style, is that at Lauriyā Nandangarh, illustrated in Pl. XI, 24. The crowning figure on this pillar is a lion, and the relief which adorns the abacus a row of geese, symbolical, perhaps, of the flock of the Buddha's disciples. In other cases, the single lion is replaced by a group of lions set back to back with or without some sacred symbol between them, or by an elephant or bull, while the abacus is adorned with a lotus and honeysuckle design or with wheels and animals alternating. Shafts of a precisely similar pattern, but smaller proportions, were employed in the great hall at Patna, but there the capitals and entablature appear to have been of wood. The dignified, massive simplicity of these pillars is common to all the other architectural remains of the Maurya epoch. The rail at Sārnāth and the throne at Buddh Gayā are devoid of ornament, but each is cut entire and with exquisite precision from a single block of stone, and the plainness of the umbrellas is only relieved by delicately defined ribs radiating on their under side. Equally chaste and severe are the dwellings and chapels excavated for the Ājīvika ascetics in the hills of Bihār. Like the *chaityas* or hermitages from which they were copied, these consist of a small oblong chamber (in one instance with rounded ends) with or without a circular apartment at one extremity, but in only one example is the timber work of their prototypes reproduced in the stone. The example referred to is the Lomas Rishi Cave, the ornamental façade of which (Pl. XI, 25) is an accurate replica of a wooden model. This

particular cave, however, bears no inscriptions either of Açoka or of Daçaratha, and the fact that its interior was left in an unfinished state suggests that it was the latest of the whole group. Probably, it was not excavated until after the close of Daçaratha's reign.

Hardly less striking than the skill with which these monuments were chiselled and the brilliancy to which they were polished, is the disparity evinced in the style of their sculptured ornamentation. This disparity is well exemplified by comparing the primitive treatment of the statue from Pärkham in the Mathurā Museum with the highly developed modelling of the Sārnāth capital (Pl. XII, 26-28). The former represents a stage of art not yet emancipated from the binding law of 'frontality' or from the trammels imposed by the mental prepossessions of the artist. The head and torso are so posed that, were they bisected vertically, the two halves would be found to be all but symmetrical; while the flattened sides and back of the figure, connected only by a slight chamfering of the edges, are conclusive proof that the sculptor failed to grasp more than one aspect of his subject at a time, or to co-ordinate its parts harmoniously together as an organic whole. These features are not mere superficial details of technique, due to the caprice of the artist. They are the fundamental characteristics of the nascent sculpture of all countries, and the primitiveness of the art which they signify is borne out in this particular statue by other traits, namely, by the subordination of the side and back to the front aspect, by the inorganic attachment of the ears, by the uncouth proportions of the neck, by the schematic rotundity of the abdomen, and the absence of modelling in the feet.

The Sārnāth capital, on the other hand, though by no means a masterpiece, is the product of the most developed art of which the world was cognisant in the third century B.C.—the handiwork of one who had generations of artistic effort and experience behind him. In the masterful strength of the crowning lions, with their swelling veins and tense muscular development, and in the spirited realism of the reliefs below, there is no trace whatever of the limitations of primitive art. So far as naturalism was his aim, the sculptor has modelled his figures direct from nature, and has delineated their forms with bold, faithful touch; but he has done more than this: he has consciously and of set purpose infused a tectonic conventional spirit into the four lions, so as to bring them into harmony with the architectural character of the monument, and in the case of the horse on the abacus he has

availed himself of a type well known and approved in western art. Equally mature is the technique of his relief work. In early Indian, as in early Greek sculpture, it was the practice, as we shall presently see, to compress the relief between two fixed planes, the original front plane of the slab and the plane of the background. In the reliefs of the Sārnāth capital there is no trace whatever of this process; each and every part of the animal is modelled according to its actual depth without reference to any ideal front plane, with the result that it presents the appearance almost of a figure in the round which has been cut in half and then applied to the background of the abacus.

What, then, is the explanation of the gulf which separates these two sculptures—the primitive unifacial image of Pārkhā and the richly modelled capital of Sārnāth? The answer to this question is not far to seek, and will readily occur to any one who is familiar with the art of Western Asia. Long ago M. Senart pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the decrees of the Achaemenian monarchs engraved on the rocks of Bahistān and elsewhere furnished the models on which the edicts of Aḥoka were based. It was in Persia, also, that the bell-shaped capital was evolved. It was from Persian originals, specimens of which are still extant in the plain of the Murghāb at Istakhr, Naksh-i-Rustam, and Persepolis, that the smooth unfluted shafts of the Maurya columns were copied. It was from Persia, again, that the craftsmen of Aḥoka learnt how to give so lustrous a polish to the stone—a technique of which abundant examples survive at Persepolis and elsewhere. Lastly, it is to Persia, or—to be more precise—to that part of it which was once the satrapy of Bactria and was at this time asserting its independence from the Empire of the Seleucids, that we must look for the Hellenistic influence which alone at that epoch of the world's history could have been responsible for the modelling of the living forms on the Sārnāth capital. Little more than two generations had passed since Alexander the Great had planted in Bactria a powerful colony of Greeks, who occupying as they did a tract of country on the very threshold of the Maurya dominions, where the great trade routes from India, Irān, and Central Asia converged, and closely in touch as they were with the great centres of civilisation in Western Asia, must have played a dominant part in the transmission of Hellenistic art and culture into India. Every argument, indeed, whether based on geographical considerations or

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Asiat.* 8me sér., t. v (1885), pp. 269 ff. and *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, t. II, pp. 219 ff.

on the political and commercial relations which are known to have been maintained between India and Western Asia, or on the happy fusion of Hellenistic and Iranian art visible in this monument, indicates Bactria as the probable source from which the artist who created it drew his inspiration. At the time of which we speak the Hellenistic spirit then vigorous in Bactria was mastering and vitalising the dull expressionless forms of Iran. At a later date, as the strength of Hellenism weakened and declined, other elements from the neighbouring steppes of Central Asia asserted or re-asserted themselves in the cosmopolitan art of this region, and, in their turn, were borne to India on the stream of influence which, until the fall of the Kushāna Empire, flowed ceaselessly over the passes of the Hindu Kush.

While the Sārnāth capital is thus an exotic, alien to Indian ideas in expression and in execution, the statue of Pārkhāma falls naturally into line with other products of indigenous art and affords a valuable starting point for the study of its evolution. These two works represent the alpha and the omega of early Indian art, between which all the sculptures known to us take their place, approximating to the one or the other extreme according as the Indian or Perso-Hellenic spirit prevailed in them. Thus, the two statues from Patna in the Calcutta Museum (Pl. XIII, 29, 30) are akin in many respects to the Pārkhāma image, but exhibit a nearer approach to plurifaciality in the moulding of the torso. The lion capital at Sānchi, on the other hand, though not quite as successful as that of Sārnāth, shows so close an affinity to it, that there can be little doubt that it was the handiwork of one and the same artist; and the well-developed modelling of the figures on the other columns of Aṣoka shows that, in spite of their occasionally inferior execution, they belong to the same Perso-Hellenistic group. It is not, of course, to be presumed that a single sculptor was responsible for all these monuments, nor yet that all the sculptors employed were of equal ability. Probably, there were many Indians assisting the foreign artists in the mechanical part of their work, and these, we may believe, were responsible for some of the sculptures noticed above, but it is incredible that any Indian hand at this period should either have modelled in clay or chiselled from the stone such perfected forms as those of the Sārnāth capital.

The contrast between Indian and foreign workmanship exhibited by these sculptures is equally apparent in the minor arts of the Maurya period. Thus, the indigenous coins (Pl. XIII, 31-33) known commonly as 'punch-marked,' which were current at this time, are

singularly crude and ugly, neither their form, which is unsymmetrical, nor the symbols, which are stamped almost indiscriminately upon their surface, having any pretensions to artistic merit. On the other hand, the coins of Sophytes (Saubhūti), who was reigning in the Punjab at the close of the fourth century B.C., are purely Greek in style (Pl. XIII, 34), having seemingly been copied from an issue of Seleucus Nicator, with whom Sophytes probably came into contact when the former invaded the Punjab in 305 B.C. It is the same, also, with the contemporary terracottas. Side by side with products of Perso-Hellenic art, such as those illustrated in Pl. XIV, 35 and 36, the features of which are markedly classical in character, is found a class of coarse primitive reliefs, the execution of which betrays their Indian origin, though in a few cases, such as that illustrated in Pl. XIV, 37, the type of the winged figure depicted on them is derived from Persian or Mesopotamian prototypes. Indeed, so far as is known at present, it was only in the jewellers' and lapidaries' arts that the Maurya craftsman attained any real proficiency, and in this domain his aptitude lay, not in the plastic treatment of form, but in the high technical skill with which he cut and polished refractory stones or applied delicate filigree or granular designs to metal objects. The refined quality of his gold and silver work is well illustrated in two pieces reproduced in Pl. XIV, 38, 39, which were discovered on the site of Taxila in company with a gold coin of Diodotus, a large number of local punch-marked coins, and a quantity of other jewellery and precious stones. Of the stone-cutter's art, also, some beautiful examples are furnished by the relic caskets of beryl and rock crystal from the *stūpas* of Bhattiprolu<sup>1</sup> and Piprahwa<sup>2</sup>, the latter of which is probably to be assigned to this epoch (Pl. XIV, 40).

The art of the jeweller has at all times appealed strongly to the Indian genius, and throughout Indian history has exercised a deep influence upon the national sculpture and painting, supplying them with a variety of rich and artistic motifs which were quickly and cleverly adapted for purposes of decorative design, but at the same time inclining the ideas of the artists towards meticulous detail and thus obstructing a free, bold, anatomical treatment of the human figure.

With the rise of the Çuṅga power in Hindustān during the second century B.C. and the simultaneous extension of the Bac-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, vol. xv, *A.S.R.* (New Imperial Series).

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 573 and Plate.

trian dominion to the Punjab, the national art of India underwent a rapid development. Foreign and especially Hellenistic ideas now flowed eastward in an ever-increasing volume, and from them the Indian artist drew new vitality and inspiration for his work. At the same time stone more and more usurped the place of wood for architectural purposes, and by reason of its greater durability tempted the artist to expend more pains upon its carving, while it naturally lent itself to more perfect technique. Of the monuments of this period, the most notable is the Buddhist *stūpa* at Bhārhut in Central India, erected about the middle of the second century B.C. Before its discovery by Sir A. Cunningham in 1873, the body of this *stūpa* had been almost destroyed by the neighbouring villagers, but portions of the eastern gateway (*torana*) and of the railings which encircled the monument were found beneath its ruins and are now deposited in the Calcutta Museum. The *stūpa* itself was of brick, and apparently of much the same design as the Great *stūpa* at Sānchī, described below. Around the base was a massive stone railing of the usual type, divided into four quadrants by entrances at the cardinal points, while other railings of smaller dimensions, of which fragments have been found around the structure, once flanked the berm and ascending stairway, and no doubt enclosed the crowning *hti*. At the eastern entrance was a gateway about 22 feet 6 inches in height (Pl. XV, 41), and possibly similar gateways may once have adorned the other entrances also, though no remains of them have been found. Both gateway and railings are lavishly enriched with sculptured reliefs, many of which illustrate incidents in the *Jātakas* or scenes connected with the life of the Buddha, and these illustrations are made all the more valuable by the descriptive titles attached to them, which leave no doubt as to their identification. Thus, one relief depicts the Nāga Jātaka; another (Pl. XVI, 42), the dream of Māyā; a third, the Jetavana at Ārāvastī, with its trees and shrines and the ground half strewn with coins which Anāthapiṇḍa is taking from a bullock cart; others, again, represent the royal processions of Ajātaśatru or Prasenajit visiting the Buddha (Pl. XVI, 43); and in others is depicted the worship of Buddha's head-dress in the Devaloka (Pl. XVI, 44), or of the Bodhi-tree by the Nāga king Erāpata (Pl. XVI, 45). Besides these and many other miscellaneous scenes there are a multitude of single images carved in high relief upon the pillars of the rail—Yakshas and Yakshīs, Devatās or Nāgarājas (Pl. XVII, 46, 47). The style of the carvings on the



ground rail is by no means uniform. Some show little advance on the indigenous work of the previous century, the defects of rudimentary technique being almost as striking in these reliefs as they were in indigenous sculpture in the round. In such cases the figures are portrayed as silhouettes sharply detached from their background, an effort towards modelling being made merely by grading the planes of the relief in severe and distinctive layers, and then rounding off the contours of the silhouette or interior details. At the same time the forms are splayed out to the verge of distortion, and the influence of mental abstraction on the part of the artist is still manifest in the treatment of the feet or of hands in the attitude of prayer, which, irrespective of anatomical accuracy, are turned sideways and presented in their broadest aspect. In other carvings, the treatment of the relief is more mature. In these, occasional traces of mental abstraction, due to force of habit, are still visible, and they all show the same aversion to depth, but the individual figures are conceived and modelled in general conformity with nature, not in a gradation of separate planes or as mere silhouettes, and are presented, moreover, at various angles and in a variety of natural poses. This superior execution is shared, also, by some of the sculptured balusters between the architraves of the eastern gateway, and it is significant that these balusters are further distinguished by the un-Indian countenances of the figures carved upon them and by the presence of Kharoshthī letters engraved as masons' marks in contradistinction to the Brāhmī characters which appear on the railing. The only rational explanation of these phenomena is that some of the sculptors engaged on this railing came from the north-west of India, where, thanks to western teaching, the formative arts were then in a more advanced state, and that these sculptors were responsible for the better class of reliefs, the inferior work being done by the local artists of Central India. In this connexion a special interest attaches to a *Garuḍa* pillar (Pl. XVIII, 48) set up about this time at Besnagar near Bhīlsa, the ancient Vidiçā, in Gwalior State, the inscription on which states that it was dedicated to Vāsudeva by a Greek named Heliodorus, an inhabitant of Taxila and an envoy of King Antialcidas, and thus furnishes incontrovertible evidence of the contact which was then taking place between this part of India and the Greek kingdoms of the Punjab.

The next important landmark in the history of the early Indian school is supplied by the well-known railing round the great

Temple at Buddh Gayā and the pillars of the *chaṅkrama* or promenade to the north of it. This railing (Pl. XIX, 49) was disposed in a quadrangle measuring 145 feet by 108 feet, but in other respects was designed and adorned in much the same way as the rail at Bhārhut. On the outside of the coping was a continuous band of flowers; on the inside, a frieze of animals or mythical monsters; on the cross-bars, lotus medallions centred with busts or other devices; and on the upright pillars, standing figures in high relief (Pl. XIX, 50) or medallions and panels containing a variety of miscellaneous scenes.

As at Bhārhut, many of these sculptures are relatively crude and coarse—the handiwork, no doubt, of inferior local craftsmen; but it needs no very critical eye to perceive that, taken as a whole, their style is considerably more developed than that of the Bhārhut reliefs and, at the same time, more pronouncedly affected by the influence of western art. Witness, for instance, in the matter of technical treatment, the freer movement of planes leading to more convincing spatial effect, the more organic modelling of the figures, the relative freedom of their pose and composition, and the effort to bring them into closer relationship one with the other; and witness, again, in the matter of motifs, the centaurs, winged monsters, and tritons, the schematic treatment of the animal friezes, and the scene of Sūrya in his four-horse chariot copied directly from a Hellenistic prototype (Pl. XIX, 51). These and many other features of the Buddh Gayā railing prove incontestably that at the time of its erection Indian sculptors were borrowing freely from the hybrid cosmopolitan art of Western Asia, in which Greek and Scythic, Persian and Mesopotamian cultures were blended and fused together, and that, partly under this alien inspiration, partly through their own initiative, they had made important progress since the time when the Bhārhut reliefs were executed. On the other hand, in point of development the reliefs of Buddh Gayā fall short of those on the *toranas* at Sānchī, which, as we shall see below, are to be assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C., and accordingly we shall probably not be far wrong if we assign the Buddh Gayā monuments to the earlier years of the same century. This date, let it be added, is substantiated by inscriptions on two of the rail pillars recording that they were presented by the Queens of King Indramitra and King Brahmanitra, respectively. These two kings have been plausibly identified with the two rulers of the same names, whose coins have been found in considerable numbers in Northern India, and who, whether

they were connected with the Çuṅga dynasty or not, appear from the script of their coin legends to have flourished not earlier than the first century B.C. (pp. 525–6; Pl. V, 4, 6).

✓ We come now to the famous gateways of Sānchī, the most perfect and most beautiful of all the monuments of the Early School. Four of these adorn the four entrances to the Great *stūpa* situated on the levelled summit of the hill; the fifth—a gateway of smaller proportions—is set in front of a subsidiary *stūpa* (No. III) close by, to the north-east. As it now stands, the Great *stūpa* (Pl. XX, 53) is about 54 feet high, excluding the rail and umbrella on its summit, and consists of an almost hemispherical dome set on a lofty plinth, the narrow berm between the two serving in old times as a processional path. This was not, however, its original form. The earliest structure, which was erected, apparently, by Açoka at the same time as the lion-crowned pillar near the South Gateway (p. 622 above), was of brick, crowned by a stone umbrella, and of not more than half the present dimensions. At that time, the floor laid around the *stūpa* and column by the workmen of Açoka was several feet below the present level. As years passed by, however, much *débris* collected above this floor, and over the *débris* another floor was laid, and then a third one, still higher up, and last of all—at least a century after the erection of the column—a stone pavement covering the whole hill-top. These facts have an intimate bearing on the history of this important monument; for, simultaneously with the laying of this final pavement, the *stūpa* itself was also enlarged to its existing size by the addition of a stone casing faced with concrete; on its summit was set a larger umbrella with a plain stone rail in a square around it, and encircling its base another rail equally plain but of more massive proportions. These works, and particularly the erection of the great ground rail, the pillars, bars, and copings of which were the gifts of many devotees, must have taken many decades to accomplish. Then came the construction of smaller decorated rails round the berm of the *stūpa* and flanking the steps by which it was ascended; and, finally and to crown all, the four gateways at the entrances between the quadrants of the ground rail, which can hardly be relegated to an earlier date than the last half century before the Christian era.

These two *stūpas* with their richly carved *toranas* are not the only monuments of an early age on the hill-top of Sānchī. To the south-east of the Great *stūpa* is a lofty plinth of stone, approached by two broad stairways and surmounted by rows of heavy octagonal

pillars, which once supported a superstructure of wood ; the pillars bear inscriptions in early Brāhmī, probably of the first century B.C., but the plinth dates back to Çuṅga or Maurya times, and was originally rounded at its southern end, having served apparently as the base of an apsidal temple of wood, which perished by burning before the stone pillars were erected. Then, in the south-west part of the enclosure, there is another plinth of a similar type but square in plan ; and on a lower spur of the same hill is another *stūpa* (Pl. XXI, 54), designed on the same lines as the Great *stūpa*, but without any *toranas* to adorn the entrances, and with this further difference, that its ground rail is lavishly decorated with sculptured panels and medallions. These reliefs present the same phenomenon, but in a more accentuated measure, that we observed in the railing of Buddh Gayā. A few, that is to say—and these are confined to the corner pillars of the entrance—are of a refined style and infused with a strongly classical feeling (Pl. XXI, 55, 56); but the majority, though remarkably decorative, and, indeed, better adapted to their purpose, are conspicuous for their crude, coarse workmanship (Pl. XXI, 57, 58). In this case, however, it is important to observe that the two classes of reliefs were not executed at one and the same time ; for an examination of the rail shows that the whole of it was originally adorned with the more primitive kind of carvings, and that some of these were subsequently chiselled off in order to make way for the more finished reliefs.

To revert, however, to the gateways of the Great *stūpa*, in which the interest of Sānchī mainly resides. The earliest of them to be erected was the one at the south entrance, opposite to the steps by which the berm was approached ; then followed, in chronological order, the northern, the eastern, and the western, their succession in each case being demonstrated by the style of their carvings and by the tectonic character of the extensions to the rail, which were made at the time that each was set up. All four gateways are of similar design—the work of carpenters rather than of masons—and the marvel is that erections of this kind, constructed on principles wholly unsuited to work in stone, have survived in such remarkable preservation for nearly two thousand years. Each gateway was composed of two square pillars surmounted by capitals, which in their turn supported a superstructure of three architraves with volute ends, ranged one above the other at intervals slightly in excess of their own height. The capitals were adorned with standing dwarfs or with the forefronts of lions or elephants set back to back in the Persepolitan fashion ; and,

springing from the same abacus and acting as supports to the projecting ends of the lowest architrave, were Caryatid figures of graceful and pleasing outline. Other images of men and women, horsemen, elephants, and lions were disposed between and above the architraves, while crowning and dominating all was the sacred wheel, so inseparably connected with Buddhism, flanked on either side by attendants and *triçūla* emblems. For the rest, both pillars and superstructure were elaborately enriched with bas-reliefs illustrative of the *Jātaka* legends or scenes from the life of the Buddha or important events in the subsequent history of the Buddhist religion. Besides which, there were representations of the sacred trees and *stūpas* symbolical of Çākya-muni and the preceding Buddhas; of real or fabulous beasts and birds; and many heraldic and floral devices of rich and varied conception (Pl. XXI, 59).

The inscriptions carved here and there on the gateways record the names of pious individuals or of guilds who contributed to their erection, but say not a word, unfortunately, of the scenes and figures delineated, the interpretation of which has been rendered all the more difficult by the practice, universal in the Early School, of never portraying the Buddha in bodily form, but of indicating his presence merely by some symbol, such as his foot-prints or the throne on which he sat or the sacred tree associated with his enlightenment. Thanks, however, to the light afforded by the sculptures of Bhārhut, with their clear, explicit titles, and thanks, also, to the brilliant labours of Mons. A. Foucher and Prof. Grünwedel, the interpretation of the majority of these reliefs has now been placed beyond dispute, and it will probably not be long before the meaning of the rest becomes equally clear. A good illustration of the methods of narration followed by the artists and of what has been achieved towards the interpretation of the sculptures, is afforded by the front façade of the East Gateway (Pl. XXII, 60). On the right pillar are represented, in six panels, the six *devalokas* or stages of the Buddhist Paradise, their respective deities seated like mortal kings in each. On the left, starting from the base, is Bimbisāra with his royal cortege issuing from the city of Rājagṛiha on a visit to the Buddha, here symbolised by his empty throne. This visit took place after the conversion of Kāçyapa, and in the panel above is depicted one of the miracles by which Buddha converted the Brāhman ascetic. The Nairāñjanā river is shown in flood, with Kāçyapa and two of his disciples hastening in a boat to the rescue of Buddha. Then,

in the lower part of the picture, Buddha, represented again by his throne, appears walking on the face of the waters, and in the fore-ground the figures of Kāçyapa and his disciples are repeated, now on dry ground and doing homage to the Master. The third panel portrays the temple at Buddh Gayā, built by Açoka, with the throne of Buddha within, and, spreading through its upper windows, the branches of the sacred tree. It is the illumination of Buddha; and to right and left of the temple are four figures in an attitude of prayer—perhaps the Guardian Kings of the four quarters; while ranged above in two tiers are groups of deities looking on in adoration from their celestial paradises. The scenes on the lintels are still more elaborate. On the lowest we see, in the centre, the temple and tree of Buddh Gayā; to the left, a crowd of musicians and devotees with water vessels; to the right, a royal retinue and a king and queen descending from an elephant, and afterwards doing worship at the tree. This is the ceremonial visit which Açoka and his queen, Tishyarakshitā, paid to the Bodhi-tree, for the purpose of watering it and restoring its pristine beauty after the evil spell which the queen had cast upon it. The middle lintel is occupied with the scene of Buddha's departure from Kapilavastu (*mahābhinishkramaṇa*). To the left is the city with wall and moat, and, issuing from its gate, the horse Kaṇṭhaka, his hoofs supported by Yakshas and accompanied by the divinities in attendance on the Buddha, and by Chhandaka, his groom, who holds the umbrella symbolical of his Master's presence. In order to indicate the progress of the Prince, this group is repeated four times in succession towards the right of the relief, and then, at the parting of the ways, we see Chhandaka and the horse sent back to Kapilavastu, and the further journey of Buddha indicated by his footprints surmounted by the umbrella. Lastly, in the topmost lintel, are representations of the seven last Buddhas, the first and last symbolised by thrones beneath their appropriate Bodhi-trees, the rest by the *stūpas* which enshrined their relics.

On the execution of these sculptures, with their multitudinous figures and elaborate details, many years of labour must have been exhausted and many hands employed. It is not to be expected, therefore, that their style should be uniform; yet there is none of the clumsy, immature workmanship here which we noticed in the inferior carvings of the balustrade round the smaller *stūpa* and at Buddh Gayā. These reliefs are the work of trained and experienced sculptors, and though they exhibit considerable variety in

their composition and technical treatment, their style throughout is maintained at a relatively high level. The finest are on the Southern Gateway, the poorest on the Northern; but in the matter of technique, the greatest contrast, perhaps, is afforded by the reliefs of the Southern and Western Gateways. Compare, for example, the scene on the inner face of the middle architrave of the South Gateway, depicting the Chhaddanta Jātaka, and the same scene on the front face of the lowest architrave of the Western Gateway (Pl. XXIII, 61, 62). In the former, the figures are kept strictly in one plane, in order that all may be equally distinct to the observer, and the relief low, that there may be no heavy shadows to obscure the design, with the result that the effect is that of a tapestry rather than of a carving in stone. The elephants, again, are treated in broad flat surfaces with a view to emphasising their contours; the trees sketched in rather than modelled; and the lotus pond indicated by conventional lotuses out of all proportion to the size of the beasts wading through it. In the latter, the leaves and flowers are of normal size; the water is portrayed by undulating lines; the banyan tree is realistically true to nature; the modelling of the elephants is more forceful and elaborate; and, though the figures are kept religiously to one plane, strong contrasts of light and shade and a suggestion of depth are obtained by cutting deep into the surface of the stone. Both reliefs are admirable in their own way, but there can be no two opinions as to which of the two is the more masterly. The one on the South Gateway is the work of a creative genius, more expert perhaps with the pencil or brush than with the chisel, but possessed of a delicate sense of line and of decorative and rhythmic composition. That on the West, on the other hand, is technically more advanced, and the individual figures, taken by themselves, are undoubtedly more effective and convincing; but it fails to please, because the detail is too crowded and confusing, and the composition too regular and mechanical. The same remark holds good, if we compare the 'war of the relics' on the Southern Gateway, with the somewhat similar scene on the Western (Pl. XXIII, 63, 64). In both there is abundance of fancy and expressive movement, but the movement and fancy are of a different order. In the earlier, the scene is living and real, because the artist has conceived it clearly in his own brain and expressed his conception with dramatic simplicity; in the later, the houses and the figures framed in the balconies are stereotyped and lifeless, and the movement and turmoil of the crowd surging towards the city less convincing,

because the artist has depended not so much upon his originality as upon the conventional treatment of such scenes. In the earlier, the depth of the relief and the intervals between the figures are varied, and the shadows diffused or intensified accordingly; in the later, the figures are compressed closely together, with the result that the shadows between them become darker, and a 'colouristic' effect is thus imparted to the whole. In the earlier, lastly, the composition is enhanced by varying the directions in which the figures move; in the later, though the attitudes are manifold, the movement taken as a whole is uniform. These differences in style are due in a large measure to the individuality of the artists, but they are due, also, to the changes which were coming over Indian relief consequent on the deepening of extraneous influences, on improved technical skill, and on the growing tendency towards conventionalism. The extraneous influences referred to are attested by the presence of exotic motifs, which meet the eye at every point and are readily recognised—by the familiar bell capitals of Persia, by floral designs of Assyria, by winged monsters of Western Asia, all of them part and parcel of the cosmopolitan art of the Seleucid and succeeding empires of the West, in which the heterogeneous elements of so many civilisations were fused and blended together. But it is attested still more forcibly by the striking individuality of many of the figures, as, for instance, of the hill-men riders on the Eastern Gate, by the occasional efforts towards spatial effects, as in the relief of the ivory workers of Vidiçā, by the well-balanced symmetry of some of the groups, and by the 'colouristic' treatment with its alternation of light and dark, which was peculiarly characteristic of Graeco-Syrian art at this period. By the side of these mature and elaborate compositions the reliefs of Bhārhut are stiff and awkward, and, as we recall their features to mind, we are conscious of the gulf which separates the two and of the great advance that sculpture must have made during the century or more that elapsed between them. The wonder is that these monuments could ever have been classed together or regarded as products of one and the same epoch.

The steady growth of plastic art which we have traced in the foregoing pages derives additional light from the pre-Kushāna sculptures of Mathurā, which are the more instructive, because they all emanate from one and the same school. These sculptures divide themselves into three main classes, the earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century B.C.; the second



to the following century; and the last associated with the rule of the local Satraps. Of these, the first two are so closely akin in style to the reliefs of the Bhārhut rail and Sānchī *toranas*, respectively, that it is unnecessary to dwell further upon them. The sculptures of the third class are more exceptional. Their style is that of the Early School in a late and decadent phase, when its art was becoming conventionalised and lifeless. Typical examples are the plaques reproduced in Pl. XXIV, 65, 66, the former a Jain *āyūgapata* or votive tablet dedicated, as the inscription on it informs us, by a courtesan named Loṇaṇobhikā; the latter, which is decorated on both sides, from a small *torana* arch. In all works of the Mathurā school of this period the same tendency towards schematic treatment is apparent, but it appears to have affected the Jain sculpture more than the Buddhist. The dramatic vigour and warmth of feeling which characterised the reliefs of the Sānchī gateways is now vanishing; the composition is becoming weak and mechanical, the postures formal and stilted. The cause of this sudden decadence is not difficult to discover. A little before the beginning of the Christian era Mathurā had become the capital of a Satrapy either subordinate to or closely connected with the Scytho-Parthian kingdom of Taxila<sup>1</sup>, and, as a result, there was an influx there of semi-Hellenistic art, too weak in its new environment to maintain its own individuality, yet still strong enough to interrupt and enervate the older traditions of Hindustān. It was no longer a case of Indian art being vitalised by the inspiration of the West, but of its being deadened by its embrace. As an illustration of the close relations that existed between Mathurā and the North-West, the votive tablet of Loṇaṇobhikā is particularly significant, the *stūpa* depicted on it being identical in form with *stūpas* of the Scytho-Parthian epoch at Taxila, but unlike any monument of the class in Hindustān. Another interesting votive tablet of the same class is one dedicated by a lady named Āmohinī in the reign of the Great Satrap Ṣoḍāsa, which, to judge by the style of its carving, dates from about the beginning of the Christian era.

Wherever important *stūpas* like those described above were erected, monasteries were also provided for the accommodation of the monks or nuns residing on the spot, and chapels or *chaitya* halls in which they could assemble for their devotions. The monasteries, as might be expected, were designed on the same

<sup>1</sup> For an account of another most important monument, the Lion-Capital, see Chapter XXIII, pp. 575-6, where the date of the Āmohinī tablet is also discussed.

plan as private houses: that is, with an open square courtyard in the centre surrounded on the four sides by a range of cells. Perhaps the earliest existing example of such a monastery is one by the side of the Piprahwa *stūpa* (p. 623), which is said to be built of bricks of much the same size and fabric as those employed in the *stūpa* itself. As a rule, however, the early architects built their structural monasteries and *chaitya* halls either wholly of wood or with a superstructure of wood set on a stylobate of stone, like the more primitive temples of Greece; and it was not until about the first century B.C. that more durable materials came into vogue for pillars and walls, and not until a still later period that they came to be used for entablature and roofs. The *chaitya* halls were remarkably similar in plan to the early Christian *basilicas*, being divided by two rows of columns into a nave and two narrow side aisles, which were continued round the apse. The only remains of such structural halls prior to the Christian era are those at Sānchī and Sonārī in the Bhopāl State of Central India. In both cases the superstructure seems to have been of wood, and what now survives of the original hall consists only of a lofty stone plinth approached by flights of steps, but the form of the plinth and the plan of the interior foundations leave no doubt that the superstructure must have been similar in design to the rock-hewn *chaitya* halls of Western India.

While these structural edifices—*stūpas*, chapels, and monasteries—were being erected in Hindustān, the Buddhists and Jains of Western and Eastern India were engaged in fashioning more permanent monuments of the same class by hewing them from the living rock. The practice of hollowing out chambers had been common in Egypt from time immemorial, and by the sixth century B.C. had spread as far east as Persia, where the royal tombs of Darius and his successors of the Achaemenian dynasty up to the time of Codomannus (335–330 B.C.) were excavated in the cliffs of Naksh-i-Rustam and Persepolis. From Persia the idea found its way during the third century before our era into Hindustān and resulted, as we have already seen, in the excavation of dwelling places and chapels for ascetics in the Barābar hills of Bihār. These artificial caves of the Maurya period were of very modest proportions, and were at first kept severely plain, or, like their Irānian prototypes, adorned only on the outer façade. As time went on, however, the Indian excavators became more ambitious and, rapidly expanding their ideas, proceeded to copy their structural *chaitya* halls and *vihāras* on the same scale as the originals, and

to imitate their details with an accuracy which says more for their industry and patience than for the originality of their genius. So literal, indeed, was the translation of wooden architecture into the new and more durable material, that infinite toil was expended in perpetuating forms which became quite meaningless and inappropriate when applied to stone. Thus, in wooden structures there had been valid enough reason for inclining pillars and door jambs inwards, in order to counteract the outward thrust of the curvilinear roof, but, reproduced in stone, this inclination entirely missed its purpose and served only to weaken instead of strengthening the supports. Again, it was mere waste of labour to copy roof timbers; still greater waste was it, first to cut away the rock and then insert such timbers in wood, as was done in some of the earlier caves.

This close imitation of wooden construction affords a useful criterion for determining the relative ages of these rock-hewn monuments, since it is logical to infer that the older the cave, the nearer it is likely to approximate to its wooden prototypes. But this index of age must not be pressed too far; for, though the rule generally holds good, there are many exceptions to it, and in every case, therefore, careful account must be taken of other features also, and especially of the plastic treatment of the sculptures and decorative ornaments which are found in many of the caves.

Among the earlier *chaitya* halls of Western India the finest examples are those at Bhājā, Kondāne, Pitalkhorā, Ajanta, Bedsā, Nāsik, and Kārli. The plan and general design of these halls is approximately the same, and the description of one will suffice for all. The finest example, undoubtedly, is the hall at Kārli (Pl. XXV, 67, 68), which is at once the largest, the best preserved, and most perfect of its type. It measures 124 feet 3 inches long by 45 feet 6 inches wide and is of the same apsidal plan as the contemporary structural *chaityas* referred to above. Between the nave and the aisles is a single row of thirty-seven columns, of which those round the apse are of plain octagonal form, while the remainder, to the number of fifteen on either side of the nave, are provided with heavy bases and capitals of the bell-shape type surmounted by kneeling elephants, horses, and tigers, with riders or attendants standing between. Above these figures and rising to a height of 45 feet at its apex, springs the vaulted roof, beneath the soffit of which is a series of projecting ribs, not carved out of the stone itself, but constructed of wood and attached to the roof. At the apsidal end of the hall

the vault terminates in a semi-dome, beneath which, and hewn like the rest of the hall out of the solid rock, is a *stūpa* of familiar shape with a crowning umbrella of wood above. At the entrance to the hall is a screen pierced by three doorways, one leading to the nave, the others to the side aisles; this screen rose no higher than the tops of the pillars within the hall, and the whole of the open space above it was occupied by a great horse-shoe window, within which there still remains part of its original wooden centring. It was through this window that all light was admitted into the hall, the nave and the *stūpa* being thus effectively illuminated, but the side aisles left in comparative darkness. In front of the entrance to the hall was a porch 15 feet deep by about 58 feet high, and as wide as it was high, closed in turn by a second screen consisting of two tiers of octagonal columns, with a solid mass of rock between, once apparently decorated with wooden carvings attached to its façade.

Though similar in general disposition to the one at Kārli, the *chaitya* halls at the other places mentioned above vary considerably in their dimensions and details. Thus the halls at Bhājā and Kondāne (Pl. XXVI, 69) are about 60 feet long, the earliest at Ajanta 96 feet, and that at Nāsik (Pl. XXVI, 72) 45. At Bhājā, Kondāne, Pitalkhorā, and the earliest at Ajanta, the screen which closed the entrance to the hall was originally of wood, and in all these caves, as well as in those of Bedsā and Nāsik, the pillars incline inwards to a greater or less degree. In the Ajanta hall, again, the pillars are quite plain without base or capital, and here, as at Pitalkhorā, the coved ceiling of the side aisles is adorned with coffers, the ribs between which are carved from the rock, not framed in wood.

From these and other peculiarities in their construction and decoration it has generally been inferred that the earliest of all the *chaitya* halls to be excavated were those at Bhājā, Kondāne, and Pitalkhorā, together with the tenth cave at Ajanta; that next to them in chronological order came the hall at Bedsā; then the ninth cave at Ajanta, followed closely by the *chaitya* at Nāsik; and, lastly, the great hall at Kārli. On the assumption, moreover, that the *chaitya* at Nāsik is of about the same age as the small *vihāra* close by, and that the Andra king Kṛishṇa, during whose reign the latter was excavated, was reigning at the beginning of the second century B.C., the conclusion has been drawn that the four earliest caves were excavated towards the close of the third century B.C., the cave at Bedsā during the first or second decade

of the second century B.C., those at Nāsik about 160 B.C., and the one at Kārli about 80 B.C. Against this chronology, however, there are insuperable objections based on epigraphical as well as plastic and architectural considerations. In the hall at Kārli, for example—to take the last of the series first—is an inscription recording that it was the work of one Seth Bhūtapāla of Vaijayantī, whose age cannot for epigraphical reasons be far removed from that of Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of the Kshatriya Nahapāna. In this cave, too, the form of the pillars and the modelling of the stately sculptures above them preclude an earlier date than the first century of our era. Again, in the *chaitya* hall at Nāsik the form of the entrance doorway, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persepolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvārapāla* figure beside the entrance—all bespeak a date approximately contemporary with the Sānchī *toranas*, and at least a century later than the work of Bhārhut. Equally strong are the objections in the case of the Bhājā and Bedsā *chaityas*, the sculptures of which are too fully developed to have been executed before the first century B.C., while, as regards the latter hall, the design of the ponderous columns in front of the entrance and the modelling of the figures surmounting them, though manifestly earlier than the work at Kārli, cannot be removed from it by a long period of time. From these and many other indications of a similar nature it is apparent that the chronology of these caves needs complete revision. At present it seems hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the whole series of these rock-cut halls—from the one at Bhājā to that of Kārli—are more modern by at least a century than has been usually supposed, and that Messrs Fergusson and Burgess were not far from the truth, when in their work on the *Cave Temples of India* they assigned the Nāsik Hall to the latter half of the first century B.C.

The above remarks apply in an equal degree to the other great class of rock-cut remains—namely, the *vihāras* or residential quarters of the monks. These *vihāras* call for little comment. The most perfect examples of them were planned like the structural edifices of the same class, but with this unavoidable difference, that the range of cells on one side of the court was replaced in the cave *vihāras* by an open verandah, through which light and air could be freely admitted to the interior. In other cases, and among these are to be reckoned the majority of the early *vihāras*, the plan is irregular, the cells being disposed in one or two rows only,

and often at erratic angles ; while in one instance—at Bedsā—they are ranged round an apsidal court, manifestly imitated from a *chaitya* hall. A striking feature of these *vihāras* and one in which they present a great contrast to those of the Eastern Coast, is the almost total absence of figure sculpture. In nearly all the examples known to us the façades of the cells are embellished only by simple architectural motifs, such as horse-shoe arches, rails, lattices, and merlons, and it is only in rare instances, as at Nadsūr (Pl. XXVI, 71) and Pitalkhorā, that the severity of this treatment is relieved by figures of Lakshmī placed over the doors or pillars, or by pilasters of the Persepolitan type surmounted by kneeling animals. In only one *vihāra* is there any attempt at more diversified sculpture. This is at Bhājā, where standing figures of guards and more elaborate scenes are executed in relief on the walls of the verandah and interior hall. One of these scenes, from the west end of the verandah, is illustrated in Pl. XXVI, 70. It depicts a four-horse chariot with three figures—a male and two females—riding within, attendant horsemen at the side, and monster demons beneath. This composition has been interpreted as the car of Sūrya accompanied by his two wives driving over the demons of darkness, but it is more than doubtful if this interpretation is correct. Four-horse chariots of this type are a familiar motif in early Indian art, and in this instance there is nothing special to indicate the identity of Sūrya.

The composition of these sculptures is strangely bizarre and fanciful, and their style, generally, is not of a high order ; but it is easy to perceive from the technique of the relief work, from the freedom of the composition and of the individual poses, as well as from the treatment of the ornaments, that they are to be classed among the later efforts of the Early School, not among its primitive productions. Their date certainly cannot be much earlier than the middle of the last century before the Christian era.

Of the early caves along the East Coast the only ones that merit attention here are the two neighbouring and intimately connected groups on the hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa. Unlike the rock-hewn monuments of Western India described above, which were the handiwork of Buddhists, these Orissan caves were both excavated and for many years tenanted by adherents of the Jain religion, who have left behind them unmistakable evidences of their faith both in the early inscribed records and in the medieval cult statues which are found in several of the caves. To this sectarian difference is due many distinctive features of the archi-

ecture, including, among others, the entire absence of *chaitya* halls, for which, apparently, there was no need in the ceremonial observances of the Jains. Taken together, the two groups comprise more than thirty-five excavations, of which the more remarkable in point of size and decoration are the Ananta Gumphā on Khandagiri, and the Rānī Gumphā, Ganesh Gumphā, and the Jayavijaya caves on the Udayagiri hill. Besides these, there are two caves in the Udayagiri group—namely, the Hāthi Gumphā and the Manchapurī cave—to which a special interest attaches by reason of the inscriptions carved on them. Of the whole series the oldest is the Hāthi Gumphā, a natural cavern enlarged by artificial cutting, on the over-hanging brow of which is the famous epigraph recording the acts of Khāravēla, King of Kaliṅga. This inscription was supposed by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī and others to be dated in the 165th year of the Maurya epoch, which, if reckoned from the accession of Chandragupta, would coincide with 157–6 B.C. Other scholars have, however, since denied that any such date occurs in the inscription, and, at the present time, there is still a sharp division of opinion on the point<sup>1</sup>. In the absence of an undoubted date in this record or in the records of Khāravēla's Queen and of his successor (?) in the Manchapurī cave, we must endeavour to determine the age of these monuments from other sources of information. In the case of the Manchapurī cave, the problem luckily derives some light from the style of the sculptured reliefs of the interior. This cave, erroneously called Vaikuṅṭha or Pātālapurī by earlier writers, possesses two storeys, the lower (Pl. XXVII, 73) consisting of a pillared verandah with chambers hollowed out at the back and at one end; the upper of similar design but of smaller dimensions and without any chamber at the extremity of the verandah.

It is in the upper storey of this cave that the inscription of Khāravēla's Queen is incised, while in the lower are short records stating that the main and side chambers were the works, respectively, of Vakradeva (Vakadepasiri or Kudepasiri), the successor, apparently, of Khāravēla, and of Prince Vaḍukha. It may be presumed, therefore, that the upper storey is the earlier of the two. The rail pattern which once adorned the broad band of rock between the two storeys is now all but obliterated, but in the ground-floor verandah is a well preserved frieze which confirms by its style what the inscriptions might otherwise lead us to

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXI, pp. 534 ff.

suppose: namely, that, next to the Hāthi Gumphā, this was the most ancient cave in the two groups. Some of the reliefs of this frieze are illustrated in Pl. XXVII, 74. Like most of the sculptures in this locality they are of poor, coarse workmanship, but in the depth of the relief and plastic treatment of the figures they evince a decided advance on the work of Bhārhut, and, unless it be that sculpture in this part of India had undergone an earlier and independent development (a supposition for which there is no foundation) it is safe to affirm that they are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bhārhut. Next, in chronological sequence, comes the Ananta Gumphā—a single-storeyed cave planned in much the same way as the Manchapurī, which seems to have been the prototype of all the more important caves excavated on this site. Over the doorways of this cave are ornamental arches enclosing various reliefs; in one is a standing figure of Lakshmī supported by the usual elephants on lotus flowers (Pl. XXVII, 75); in another is the four-horse chariot of the Sun-god (?) depicted *en face*, with the crescent moon and stars in the field; in a third are elephants; in a fourth, a railed-in tree and figures to right and left of it bearing offerings in their hands or posed in an attitude of prayer. The arch fronts themselves are relieved by bands of birds or of animals and Amorini at play or of garlands intertwined, and over each is a pair of triple-headed snakes, while in the intermediate spaces are flying Gandharvas disposed in separate panels (Pl. XXVII, 76). The last mentioned are more stiff and schematic than the similar figures in the Manchapurī cave, and this taken in conjunction with other features, such as the chubby Amorini and the treatment of the Sun-god's chariot, seems to indicate for these sculptures a date not much earlier than the middle of the first century B.C. A further stage in the development of this architecture is reached in the Rānī Gumphā, which is at once the most spacious and elaborately decorated of all the Orissan caves (Pl. XXVIII, 79). It consists of two storeys, each originally provided with a verandah—the lower 43 feet in length with three cells behind, the upper 20 feet longer with four cells behind; in addition to which there are chambers of irregular plan in the wings, to right and left of the verandahs. In both storeys the façades of the cells are enriched with pilasters and highly ornate friezes illustrating episodes connected with the Jain religion, of which unfortunately the interpretation has not yet been established. The friezes resemble each other closely, so far as their general treatment is concerned, but the style of the sculptures in the two storeys is



widely different. In the upper (cf. Pl. XXVIII, 78) the composition is relatively free, each group forming a coherent whole, in which the relation of the various figures to one another is well expressed; the figures themselves are posed in natural attitudes; their movement is vigorous and convincing; and from a plastic and anatomical point of view the modelling is tolerably correct. In the lower, on the other hand, the reliefs are distinctly elementary and crude. The best of them, perhaps, is the group reproduced in Pl. XXVIII, 77, but even here the figures are composed almost as independent units, connected only by their tactile contiguity; their postures, too, are rigid and formal, particularly as regards the head and torso, which are turned almost direct to the spectator, and in other respects the work is stiff and schematic. At first sight, it might appear that in proportion as these carvings are more primitive-looking, so they are anterior to those of the upper storey; but examined more closely they betray traces here and there of comparatively mature art, which suggest that their defects are due rather to the clumsiness and inexperience of the particular sculptors responsible for them than to the primitive character of plastic art at the time when they were produced. Accordingly, it seems probable that in this cave, as in the Manchapuri, the upper of the two floors was the first to be excavated, though the interval of time between the two was not necessarily a long one; and there is good reason, also, to suppose that the marked stylistic difference between the sculptures of the two storeys was the result of influence exercised directly or indirectly by the contemporary schools of Central and North-Western India. In this connexion a special significance attaches to the presence in the upper storey of a doorkeeper garbed in the dress of a Yavana warrior, and of a lion and rider near by treated in a distinctively Western-Asiatic manner, while the guardian door-keepers of the lower storey are as characteristically Indian as their workmanship is immature. It is significant, too, that various points of resemblance are to be traced between the sculptures of the upper floor and the Jain reliefs of Mathurā, where, as we have already seen, the artistic traditions of the North-West were at this time obtaining a strong foothold. The pity is that the example of these outside schools made only a superficial and impermanent impression in Orissa—a fact which becomes clear if we consider some of the other caves on this site. In the Ganesh Gumphā, for example, which is a small excavation containing only two cells, the reliefs of the frieze are closely analogous in style and subject, but, at the same time, slightly

inferior to those in the upper verandah of the Rānī Gumphā. Then, in the Jayavijaya, we see the style rapidly losing its animation, and in the Alakāpurī cave, which is still later, the execution has become still more coarse and the figures as devoid of expression as anything which has survived from the Early School (Pl. XXVIII, 80). The truth appears to be that the art of Orissa, unlike the art of Central or Western India possessed little independent vitality, and flourished only so long as it was stimulated by other schools, but became retrograde the moment that that inspiration was withdrawn.

It remains to consider the paintings and minor antiquities of the Early Indian school. Of the former our knowledge is the scantiest ; for though many of the buildings described above, both rock-cut and structural, must have been adorned with frescoes, only one specimen of such frescoes is known to exist, and this one, unhappily, is too fragmentary and obscured to afford a criterion of what the painters of that age were capable. The fresco referred to is in the Jogīmārā cave of the Rāngarh hill within the confines of the small and remotely situated State of Surgujā. At first sight, it appears a mere medley of crudely painted figures, destitute alike of coherent composition and intelligible meaning ; but a closer examination reveals here and there a few drawings, from which the colour has vanished, but the line work of which is tolerably dexterous and bold, and it reveals others also quite vigorously outlined, but spoilt by the colours roughly daubed upon them. Evidently, the fresco has been repainted and added to by some untutored hand at a time when most of its colouring had faded, and these few linear drawings are all that is left of the original work. It is to the later period that belong not only the existing pigments—red and crimson and black—with which the older figures have been restored, but the bands of monochrome yellow and red which divide and subdivide the panels, as well as the numerous ill-drawn and primitive-looking figures applied indiscriminately on the fresco, wherever the older paintings had been obliterated. Of the earlier work, all that can now be made out is that it was disposed in a series of concentric panels separated from one another by narrow bands ; that the bands were adorned with rows of fishes, *makaras*, and other aquatic monsters ; and that in the panels were various subjects depicted in a very haphazard fashion, among which are the familiar *chaitya* halls with pinnacled roofs, two-horse chariots, and groups of figures seated and standing, manifestly analogous to those found in the early reliefs, but too much effaced to admit of a

detailed comparison. That the fresco appertains to the Early School is sufficiently apparent from these features, but its more exact date must remain conjectural. The late Dr Bloch, who visited the cave in 1904, failed to perceive the repainting which the fresco had undergone and assigned the whole as it stood to the third century B.C. This was on the assumption that it was contemporary with a short inscription in the early Brāhmī character engraved on the wall of the cave. It is very doubtful, however, if the record in question is so ancient, and equally doubtful if the fresco has any connexion with it. More probably the latter was executed in the first century before our era.

With the terracottas of this period we are on firmer ground, for examples of them are numerous, and in many cases their age can be determined not only by the internal evidence of their style, but by the associations in which they have been found. These terracottas consist of figurines of men and animals or toy carts in the round, or of small plaques stamped with figures or miniature scenes. The Indian specimens of the Maurya period were, as we have already seen, very crude and primitive, corresponding in this respect with the indigenous stone sculpture of that age. In the second and first centuries B.C., however, terracotta work steadily improved, and towards the beginning of the Christian era we find it hardly less carefully modelled or less richly decorated than contemporary reliefs in stone. By this time, the use of dies for stamping the clay had come into general vogue, and, as a consequence, even the cheaper toys of children were enriched by pretty floral designs in relief. The same thing happened, also, in the case of metal ornaments, which exhibit precisely the same kind of designs as the terracottas. A good illustration of the minute delicacy with which some of these dies were engraved is afforded by a terracotta medallion from Bhitā (Pl. XXIX, 81), which might almost be a copy in miniature of the relief work on the Sānchī gateways, so exactly does it resemble it in style. One of the sculptures at Sānchī, it may be remembered, was the work of the ivory carvers of Vidiçā, and it was of ivory probably that the die for this medallion was made. Of about the same age, but of much coarser execution is the copper *lotā* from Gundlā in Kulū reproduced in Pl. XXIX, 82. Here, again, the scene engraved round the body of the vase is the familiar one of a prince seated in a four-horse chariot with a band of musicians in front, a cortège of horsemen and an elephant rider behind. The figure in the chariot has been identified with Gautama Buddha, as

Prince Siddhārtha, but it seems, *prima facie*, unlikely that this should be the one and only exception to the rule which obtained among the early Indian artists, of never representing the figure of Gautama Buddha.

In following step by step the history of Indian indigenous art during this early period we have seen that much extraneous influence was exerted upon it, and that this influence was a prominent factor in its evolution. Yet, if we examine this art in its most mature form, as illustrated for example in the gateways of Sānchī, we can detect in it nothing really mimetic, nothing which degrades it to the rank of a servile school. Many of its motifs and ideas it took from Persia, but there is no trace in it of the icy composure, the monotonous reiteration, or the dignified spaciousness which characterise Irānian art. It owed a debt to the older civilisations of Assyria, but it knows nothing of the stately and pompous grandeur or the grotesque exaggerations in which the Assyrian fancy delighted. Most of all, it was indebted to the Hellenistic culture of Western Asia, but the service which it exacted from the genius of Hellas served to develop its own virile character, not to enfeeble or obscure it. The artists of early India were quick, with the versatility of all great artists, to profit by the lessons which others had to teach them ; but there is no more reason in calling their creations Persian or Greek than there would be in designating the modern fabric of St Paul's Italian. The art which they practised was essentially a national art, having its root in the heart and in the faith of the people, and giving eloquent expression to their spiritual beliefs and to their deep and intuitive sympathy with nature. Free alike from artificiality and idealism, its purpose was to glorify religion, not by seeking to embody spiritual ideas in terms of form, as the medieval art of India did, but by telling the story of Buddhism or Jainism in the simplest and most expressive language which the chisel of the sculptor could command, and it was just because of its sympathy and transparent sincerity that it voiced so truthfully the soul of the people, and still continues to make an instant and deep appeal to our feelings.

To complete our survey of the arts of early India, we must retrace our steps, finally, to the North-West and pick up once more the threads of Hellenistic and Western Asiatic culture which became established there in the second century B.C., and subsequently led to the development of an influential school of Buddhist art. The all-important part played by Bactria and

Persia in connexion with the monuments of Aḥoka has already occupied our attention. Forty years after the death of that Emperor the Bactrian armies of Demetrius overran the north of the Punjab and paved the way for the foundation of an independent Greek rule, which remained paramount in the North-West for nearly a hundred years and lingered on still longer in the hills of Afghānistān. The antiquities which these Eurasian Greeks and their immediate successors, the Scytho-Parthians, have bequeathed to us, are not numerous, but one and all consistently bear witness to the strong hold which Hellenistic art must have taken upon this part of India. Most instructive, perhaps, among them are the coins, the stylistic history of which is singularly lucid and coherent (Pl. XXX, 83, *a-l*). In the earliest examples every feature is Hellenistic. Their standard is the Attic standard; their legends are in Greek; their types are taken from Greek mythology, and designed with a grace and beauty reminiscent of the schools of Praxiteles or Lysippus; and their portraiture is characterised by a refined realism, which, while it is unmistakably Greek, demonstrates a remarkable originality on the part of the engravers. With the consolidation, however, of the Greek supremacy south of the Hindu Kush, the Attic standard quickly gave place to one—possibly based on Persian coinage—more suited to the needs of local commerce; bilingual legends were substituted for the Greek, and little by little the other Hellenistic qualities gradually faded, Indian elements being introduced among the types and the portraits losing their freshness and animation. And so the process of degeneration continued, relatively slowly among the Eurasian Greeks, more rapidly when added barbarian elements came to be introduced from Parthia. The testimony of these coins is specially valuable in this respect: it proves that the engravers who produced them were no mere slavish copyists of Western models, but were giving free and spontaneous expression to their own ideas; and it proves further that, though the art which they exhibit underwent an inevitable transformation in its new environment and as a result of political changes, its influence, nevertheless, was long and well-sustained on Indian soil.

Nor does this numismatic evidence stand alone. It is endorsed also by the other antiquities of this age which have come down to us, though in their case with this notable difference—a difference for which political considerations readily account—that, whereas the coins of the Indo-Parthians evince a close dependence on

Parthian prototypes, warranting the presumption that the kings who issued them were of Parthian stock, the contemporary architecture and other antiquities show relatively little evidence of the semi-barbarous influence from that region. Of the buildings of the Eurasian Greeks themselves no remains have yet been brought to light save the unembellished walls of some dwelling houses, but the monuments erected at Taxila and in the neighbourhood during the Scytho-Parthian supremacy leave no room for doubt that architecture of the classical style had long been fashionable in that quarter of India ; for, though by that time the decorative features were beginning to be Indianised, the Hellenistic elements in them were still in complete preponderance over the Oriental. Thus, the ornamentation of the *stūpas* of this period was primarily based on the 'Corinthian' order, modified by the addition of Indian motifs ; while the only temples that have yet been unearthed are characterised by the presence of Ionic columns and classical mouldings. In the example of the former class of structures shown in Pl. XXXI, 85, the Indian elements in the design are more than usually conspicuous, but even in this *stūpa*, which is referable to the reign of Azes, they are restricted to the small brackets over the Corinthian capitals, and to the subsidiary *toranas* and arched niches which relieve the interspaces between the pilasters.

As with the architectural, so with the minor arts ; they, one and all, derived their inspiration from the Hellenistic School, and in the very slowness of their decline bear testimony to the remarkable persistency of its teachings. Of earlier and purer workmanship a charming illustration is afforded by some fragmentary ceramic wares from the neighbourhood of Peshāwar, the designs on which are singularly human, and singularly Greek, in sentiment. On one of them are depicted little Amorini at play ; on another, a child reaching for a bunch of grapes in the hands of its mother ; on a third, a scene from the *Antigone*, where Haemon is supplicating his father Creon for the life of his affianced bride. Equally Hellenistic in character, and equally devoid of any Indian feeling, is an ivory pendant adorned with two bearded heads from Taxila, and the vine-wreathed head of Dionysus in silver repoussé (Pl. XXXI, 84) from the same site. Then, a little later—about the beginning, that is to say, of the Christian era—we find Indian forms appearing among the Hellenistic, just as they did in the case of architecture. Witness, for instance, the relic casket of gold encrusted with balas rubies, which was found in a tope at Bīmarān (Pl. XXXII, 87).

Here, the figures of the Buddha and his devotees—the chief and central features of the design—are in inspiration demonstrably Hellenistic; but the arches beneath which they stand are no less demonstrably Indian in form; while the sacred Indian lotus, full-blown, is incised beneath the base of the casket. Doubtless, it was in the sphere of religious and more particularly of Buddhist art, with its essentially Indian associations, that Indian ideas first began to trespass on the domain of Hellenism in the north-west, and this partly explains why the monuments which betray the first encroachments of indigenous art, belong without exception to that faith, and why other objects of a non-religious character, such as engraved gems or the graceful bronze statuette of a child from Taxila (Pl. XXXII, 86), preserve their classical style intact until a much later date. But it must be borne in mind, also, that it was in architectural forms that the earliest symptoms of Indian influence appeared, and that at the time of which we are speaking India was already in possession of a national architecture of her own and likely, therefore, to exercise more influence in that particular sphere than in the glyptic or plastic arts, in which she had then made less independent progress. The engraved gems referred to are found in large numbers throughout the whole north-western area and are proved by the presence of legends in early Brāhmī or Kharoshthī, as well as in Greek characters, to be the work of resident artists. Some typical specimens are illustrated in Pl. XXXIII, 88, *a-k*. The first is a cornelian intaglio from Akra in the Bannu district, of pure Hellenistic workmanship, designed and executed with a fine sense of composition and relief. Judging by the persistency with which it was repeated, the motif of the fighting warriors on this gem must have been almost as favourite a one in India as it was in Greece. Next to it and of about the same date is a remarkably spirited elephant cut on a pale sard. Then comes a jacinth (*c*), the jugate heads on which recall to mind the busts of Heliocles and Laodice on coins of Eucratides, though it is slightly later than they. The lion, also, on pale sard (*d*) is a fine example of delicate technique; but in fig. *e*—a singularly beautiful sardoine—the style shows incipient signs of falling off, and in the three following specimens, a black garnet and two sards, we watch its slow and sure deterioration until the beginning of the Christian era. The next two gems of the series (*i* and *j*) are still more decadent. The treatment of the drapery and other details of the seated Athena in the former remind us irresistibly of coins struck about the time of Hermaeus, and we cannot be far wrong in assigning this gem to

about 50 A.D., and the one which follows it to the close of the same century. The latter is a cornelian from the Hazāra District, engraved with a figure of Aphrodite and bearing a legend in corrupt Greek characters. Finally, in fig. *k*, we have a representative of a large group of gems executed in a meretricious and distinctive style, which appears to have been fashionable in India in the first and second centuries A.D. and which, taken in conjunction with other facts, suggests that a strong wave of influence—due, perhaps, to Roman expansion—set in about that time from Asia Minor.

It was during the Scytho-Parthian supremacy that the local school of Buddhist art, known as the Gandhāra School, must first have sprung into being. The story of this school belongs to a subsequent chapter; for it was under the rule of the Kushāna kings that it produced the majority of the sculptures which have made it famous. But that it had taken shape long before the Kushānas came upon the scene, is evident from the fact that the types of the Buddha peculiarly associated with it, and the evolution of which presupposes a long period for its achievement, were already fixed and standardised in the reign of Kanishka, and that the influence of the school had penetrated by that time as far as the banks of the Jumna. Unhappily, among the many thousands of sculptures by which it is represented, there is not one which bears a date in any known era, nor do considerations of style enable us to determine their chronological sequence with any approach to accuracy. Nevertheless, it may be taken as a general maxim that the earlier they are, the more nearly they approximate in style to Hellenistic work, and, accepting the relic casket from the *stūpa* of Shāh-ji-ki-dherī as a criterion of age, it may safely be asserted that a number of them, distinguished by their less stereotyped or less rococo character, are anterior to the reign of Kanishka. One of the earliest of these, if we accept the judgment of Mons. Foucher, is the Buddha image reproduced in Pl. XXXIV, 89, which is certainly conspicuous among its fellows for its graceful and restrained simplicity. Yet, even of this image the type is demonstrably a well matured one, and, if we would seek for the beginnings of the school, we must look still further back and learn from the Bīmarān casket and other antiquities of that time the process by which Hellenistic art came into the service of Buddhism.

The question of the rôle played by classical art in India has been a much disputed one in the past, some authorities maintaining



that it was almost a negligible factor, others that it underlay the whole fabric of Indian art. The truth, as so often happens, lies between the two extremes. In Hindustān and in Central India it took, as we have seen, an important part in promoting the development of the Early National School both by clearing its path of technical difficulties and strengthening its growth with new and invigorating ideas. In the north-west region and immediately beyond its frontiers, on the other hand, it long maintained a complete supremacy, obscuring the indigenous traditions and itself producing works of no mean merit, which add appreciably to our understanding of the Hellenistic genius ; here, too, as Indian influence waxed stronger, it eventually culminated in the School of Gandhāra, which left an indelible mark on Buddhist art throughout the Orient. Nevertheless, in spite of its wide diffusion, Hellenistic art never took a real and lasting hold upon India, for the reason that the temperaments of the two peoples were radically dissimilar. To the Greek, man, man's beauty, man's intellect were everything, and it was the apotheosis of this beauty and this intellect which still remained the key-note of Hellenistic art even in the Orient. But these ideals awakened no response in the Indian mind. The vision of the Indian was bounded by the immortal rather than the mortal, by the infinite rather than finite. Where Greek thought was ethical, his was spiritual ; where Greek was rational, his was emotional. And to these higher aspirations, these more spiritual instincts, he sought, at a later date, to give articulate expression by translating them into terms of form and colour. But that was not until the more spacious times of the Guptas, when a closer contact had been established between thought and art, and new impulses imparted to each. At the age of which we are speaking, the Indian had not yet conceived the bold and, as some think, chimerical idea of thus incarnating spirit in matter. Art to him was a thing apart—a sensuous, concrete expression of the beautiful, which appealed intimately to his subconscious aesthetic sense, but in which neither intellectuality nor mysticism had any share. For the rest, he found in the formative arts a valuable medium in which to narrate, in simple and universal language, the legends and history of his faith; and this was mainly why, for the sake of its lucidity and dramatic power, he welcomed with avidity and absorbed the lessons of Hellenistic art, not because he sympathised with its ideals or saw in it the means of giving utterance to his own.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A.** Aṅguttara Nikāya.  
**Abh.** Abhandlungen.  
**Āçv.** Āçvalāyana.  
**Air. Wb.** Altiranisches Wörterbuch.  
**Alt. Leb.** Altindisches Leben.  
**Āp. or Āpast.** Āpastamba.  
**A.S.R.** Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. (Cunningham.)  
**Arch. Sur. Ind.** Archaeological Survey of India. (Annual Reports.)  
**Arch. Sur. West. Ind.** Archaeological Survey of Western India.  
**Av.** Avesta.  
**Bab.** Babylonian version.  
**Baudh.** Baudhāyana.  
**Bh.** Bahistān inscription.  
**B.M. Cat.** British Museum Catalogue of Coins.  
**Brih.** Brihaspati.  
**Brihannār.** Brihannārāyana.  
**Buddh. Ind.** Buddhist India.  
**Çata. Br.** Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa.  
**Cull. V.** Cullavagga.  
**D.** Digha Nikāya.  
**Dar. Pers.** Inscription of Darius at Persepolis.  
**Dar. Sus.** Inscription of Darius at Susa.  
**Dh. Ç.** Dharma Çāstra.  
**Dh. S.** Dharma Sūtra.  
**Dhp.** Dhammapada.  
**Dhp. A. or Dhp. Comm.** Commentary on the Dhammapada.  
**Die ar. Per.** Die arische Periode.  
**Dīp.** Dīpavaṃsa.  
**Divy.** Divyāvadāna.  
**El.** Elamite version.  
**Ep. Ind.** Epigraphia Indica.  
**E.R.E.** Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.  
**F.H.G.** Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.  
**Gaut.** Gautama.  
**G.G.N.** Nachrichten v. d. k. Gesells. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.  
**G.S.** Gṛihya Sūtra.  
**Grund. d. indo-ar. Phil.** Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.  
**Grund. d. ir. Phil.** Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.  
**Hir.** Hiranyakeçin.  
**Hist. Num.** Historia Numorum.  
**Imp. Gaz.** Imperial Gazetteer of India.  
**Ind. Alt.** Indische Alterthumskunde.  
**Ind. Ant.** Indian Antiquary.  
**Ind. Stud.** Indische Studien.  
**J.A. or Jour. As.** Journal Asiatique.  
**J.A.O.S.** Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
**J.A.S.B.** Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
**J. Bomb. Br. R.A.S.** Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
**Jāt.** Jātaka.  
**J.H.S.** Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
**J.P.T.S.** Journal of the Pali Text Society.  
**J.R.A.S.** Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
**Kali Age.** The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.  
**Le Z.A.** Le Zend Avesta.  
**M.** Majjhima Nikāya.  
**Mār. Pur.** Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna.  
**Mbh.** Mahābhārata.  
**Mhv.** Mahāvam̐sa.  
**Mil.** Milindapaṇḥa.  
**Ms.** Mahāsammata-rājāvaliya.  
**M.V. or Mah.** Mahāvagga.  
**N.C. or Num. Chron.** Numismatic Chronicle.  
**N.H.** Naturalis Historia.  
**NR.** Inscription at Naksh-i-Rustam.  
**Num. Zeit.** Numismatische Zeitschrift.  
**obv.** obverse.  
**O.P.** Old Persian.  
**Pāc.** Pācittiya.  
**Pār.** Pāraskara.  
**Peta-v. A.** Commentary on the Peta-vatthu.  
**Proc. Proceedings:** A.S.B. Asiatic Society of Bengal; R.I.A. Royal Irish Academy.  
**Pss.** Psalms.  
**P.T.S.** Pali Text Society.  
**Pur.** Purāna.  
**R.** Rājāvaliya.

- Rām. Rāmāyaṇa.  
 rev. reverse.  
 Rev. Num. Revue Numismatique.  
 Rh. D. Rhys Davids.  
 Rv. Rīgveda.  
 Rvp. Rājavikrama-pravṛttsiya.  
 S. Saṃyutta Nikāya.  
 S.B.E. Sacred Books of the East.  
 Sitz. K.P.A. Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss.  
 Akad. d. Wissens.  
 Sitz. Wien. Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad.  
 d. Wissens zu Wien.  
 Smp. Samanta-pāsādikā.  
 S.N. Sutta Nipāta.  
 Sum. or Sum. VII. Sumāṅgala-vilāsinī.  
 Thag. or Therag. Theragāthā.  
 Thag. A. Commentary on the Theragā-  
 thā.  
 Thīg. or Therīg. Therīgāthā.  
 Thīg. A. Com.  
 Trans. Trans. Inter. Or. Con-  
 International Congress of Orientalists  
 B.I.A. Boylston Academy.  
 Ud. Udāna.  
 Vag. Vasiṣṭha.  
 Vd. Vendidad.  
 Vin. Vinaya.  
 V.O.J. (= W.Z.K.M.) Vienna Ori-  
 Journal.  
 Vr. Vijaya-rājavahya.  
 Vrv. Vijayarāja-vamśya.  
 W.Z.K.M. (= V.O.J.) Wiener Zeitschr.  
 für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.  
 Yt. Yaśt.  
 Ya. Yasna.  
 Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Mor-  
 genländischen Gesellschaft.  
 Z.N. Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

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## CHAPTER V

## THE PERIOD OF THE LATER SAMHITĀS, THE BRĀHMANĀS, THE ĀRANYAKAS, AND THE UPANISHADS

## 1. ORIGINAL SOURCES.

- Atharvaveda, Samhitā text. Ed. by R. Roth and W. D. Whitney. Berlin, 1856; Samhitā and Pada text, with Sāyaṇi's commentary. Ed. by Shankar P. Pandit. Bombay, 1895-8.  
Translations by R. T. H. Griffith, Benares, 1897; W. D. Whitney (with additions by C. R. Lanman), Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., 1905; in part, M. Bloomfield, Sacred Books of the East, XLII, Oxford, 1897.
- Sāmaveda. Ed. with translation, by Th. Benfey, Leipzig, 1848; by Satyavrata Sāmaçraṃ, Calcutta, 1873.  
Translation by Griffith. Benares, 1893.
- Yajurveda: 1. Taittirīya Samhitā. Ed. by A. Weber, Indische Studien, XI and XII, Berlin, 1871-2; with the commentary of Mādḥava, Calcutta, 1854-99.  
— 2. Kāṭhaka Samhitā. Ed. by L. von Schroeder. Leipzig, 1900-11.  
— 3. Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā. Ed. by von Schroeder. Leipzig, 1881-6.  
— 4. Vājasaneyi Samhitā. With Mahidhara's commentary. Ed. by Weber. London, 1852.  
Translation by Griffith, Benares, 1899; by A. B. Keith, Cambridge, Mass., 1914.
- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Ed. by Th. Aufrecht. Bonn, 1879.  
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Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa. Ed. by B. Lindner. Jena, 1887.  
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Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Ed. by A. Weber. London, 1855.  
Translation by J. Eggeling, Sacred Books of the East, XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV. Oxford, 1882-1900.
- Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. Ed. by Rājendralāla Mitra and H. Vidyabhūṣaṇa. Calcutta, 1872.
- Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. Ed. with translation, by O. Böhtlingk. Leipzig, 1889.  
Chhāndogya Upanishad. Ed. with translation, by Böhtlingk. Leipzig, 1889.  
Kāṭhaka Upanishad. Ed. by Apte. Poona, 1889.  
Translation of the principal Upanishads by F. Max Müller, Sacred Books of the East, vols. I and XV; by P. Deussen, Sechzig Upanishads, Leipzig, 1897.

## 2. MODERN WORKS.

In addition to the books given in the Bibliography to Chapter iv may be mentioned :

Bloomfield, M. *The Atharvaveda*. Strassburg, 1899.

Deussen, P. *Die Philosophie der Upanishads*. Leipzig, 1899.

Fick, R. *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit*. Kiel, 1897.

Foy, W. *Die königliche Gewalt nach den Dharmasütren*. Leipzig, 1895.

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Hopkins, E. W. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xv, 21 sq. (on the Pañcaviṃṣa Brāhmaṇa).

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Senart, E. *Les Castes dans l'Inde*. Paris, 1896.

Weber, A. *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra*. Berlin, 1861. *Indische Studien*, especially vol. 1 (geographical etc. data from the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa), III (data from the Kāthaka Saṃhitā), x (complete collection of data regarding the castes). Many papers in the *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy*, 1889-1901.

Whitney, W. D. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vi and viii (on the Nakshatras).

*The Indian Empire* (Imp. Gaz.), vol. 1, chap. vi (Ethnology and Caste); chap. vii (Languages). Oxford, 1907.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE HISTORY OF THE JAINS

## 1. SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The complete bibliography of European and (so far as is known) of Indian literature concerning the Jains up to the year 1906 is given in Guérinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris, 1906 (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études*, vol. xxii); further notices given by Guérinot, J.A., 1909: 2, pp. 47 ff. All known inscriptions of Jain character or having reference to the Jains are registered together with references to the literature concerning them in Guérinot, *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Jaina*, Paris, 1908 (*Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. x).

## 2. HISTORY AND DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

A sketch, by no means exhaustive, of the whole domain of Jain history and literature is given in Barodia, *History and Literature of Jainism*, Bombay, 1909 (review by Guérinot, J.A., 1910: 1, pp. 378 ff.). A useful summary of the religion is given in Outlines of Jainism by Jagmānderlal Jaini, Cambridge, 1916.

The most important treatises dealing with the older history and the doctrines of Jainism are the following :

- Jacobi, H. *Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, pp. 1 ff. (*Abhandlungen der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; vol. vii. Leipzig, 1879).
- Introductions to S.B.E. vols. xxii and xlv.
- *Das Kālakācāryakathānakam*, Z.D.M.G. vol. xxxiv, pp. 247 ff.
- *Über die Entstehung der Śvetāmbara- und Digambara-Sekten*, *ibid.*, xxxviii, pp. 1 ff.; xl, pp. 92 ff.
- *On Mahāvīra and his predecessors*, *Ind. Ant.* ix, pp. 158 ff.
- Hoernle, A. F. R. *Proceedings of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, 1898, pp. 39 ff.
- Bühler, G. *Über die indische Secte der Jainas*. Wien, 1887. (Translated by J. Burgess, London, 1903.)
- *Articles on the Jain inscriptions from Mathurā in the V.O.J.* i-v and x.
- Leumann, E. *Die alten Berichte von den Schismen der Jaina*, *Ind. Stud.* xvii, pp. 91 ff.
- Bloomfield, M. *The life and stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha*. Baltimore, 1919. [Based on *Bhāvadevasūri, Pārçvanātha Carita*, ed. Shrivak Pandit Hargovinddas and Shrivak Pandit Bechardas, Benares, 1912.]

The canonical writings of the Jains are exhaustively described by Weber, *Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina*, *Ind. Stud.* xvi, pp. 211 ff., xvii, pp. 1 ff. (translated by Dr H. W. Smyth, in *Ind. Ant.* vols. xvii-xxi), and in his *Katalog der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. ii, ii, Berlin, 1888.

The history and doctrines of Gosāla are treated with references to the literature by Hoernle in *Hastings, Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i, pp. 258 ff.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE BUDDHISTS

## 1. ORIGINAL SOURCES—TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

- Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Ed. Richard Morris and Edmund Hardy. P.T.S. London, 1885–1900.
- Apadāna*. Not yet edited.
- Attha-sālini*. Ed. Eduard Müller. P.T.S. London, 1897.
- Dhammapada*. Ed. Sūriyagoḍa Sumaṅgala Thera. P.T.S. London, 1914.
- Trans. F. Max Müller. S.B.E. x. 2nd edn. Oxford, 1898.
- Commentary. Ed. H. C. Norman. P.T.S. London, 1906–14.
- Dīgha Nikāya*. Ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter. P.T.S. London, 1890–1911.
- Commentary. See *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*.
- Dīpavaṃsa*. Ed. and trans. H. Oldenberg. London, 1879.
- Divyāvadāna*. Ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil. Cambridge, 1886.
- Jātaka*. Ed. V. Fausböll. London, 1877–97.
- Trans. by various hands under the editorship of E. B. Cowell. Cambridge, 1895–1913.
- Lalita-vistara*. Ed. Rajendralal Mitra. Calcutta, 1877.
- Ed. S. Lefmann. Halle, 1902–8.
- German trans. (i–v) S. Lefmann. Berlin, 1874.
- Mahāvamsa*. Ed. W. Geiger. P.T.S. London, 1908.
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- Majjhima Nikāya*. Ed. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers. P.T.S. London, 1888–99.
- Milindapañha*. Ed. V. Trenckner. London, 1880.
- Trans. T. W. Rhys Davids. S.B.E. xxxv, xxxvi. Oxford, 1890–4.
- Peta-vatthu*. Ed. Minayef. P.T.S. London, 1888.
- Commentary. Ed. E. Hardy. P.T.S. London, 1901.
- Samanta-pāsādikā*, commentary on the Vinaya. Part of the Introduction ed. H. Oldenberg in *Vinaya III*.
- Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Ed. Léon Feer and Mrs Rhys Davids. P.T.S. London, 1884–1904.
- Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*, commentary on the *Dīgha*. Ed. Rhys Davids. P.T.S. London, 1886.
- Sutta Nipāta*. Ed. D. Andersen and H. Smith. P.T.S. London, 1913.
- Trans. V. Fausböll. S.B.E. x. 2nd edn. Oxford, 1898.
- Thera-gāthā*. Ed. H. Oldenberg. P.T.S. London, 1883.
- Trans. : *Psalms of the Brethren*, by Mrs Rhys Davids. P.T.S. London, 1913.
- Commentary. Not yet edited.
- Theri-gāthā*. Ed. R. Pischel. P.T.S. London, 1883.
- Trans. : *Psalms of the Sisters*, by Mrs Rhys Davids. P.T.S. London, 1909.
- Commentary. Ed. E. Müller. P.T.S. London, 1893.
- Udāna*. Ed. P. Steinthal. P.T.S. London, 1885.
- Trans. D. M. Strong. London, 1902.
- Vimāna-vatthu*. Ed. E. R. Goonaratne. P.T.S. London, 1886.
- Vinaya*. Ed. H. Oldenberg. London, 1879–83.
- Vinaya Texts*. Trans. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg. S.B.E. xiii, xvii, xx. Oxford, 1881–5.

## 2. SUMMARIES.

The historical information afforded by these original authorities is collected and discussed by T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India (London, 1903).

The summary (*supra*, pp. 192-7) of the known facts as to the age of the early Pāli literature is there stated with the utmost brevity. For longer accounts see Rh. D., Buddhist India, pp. 140-209; Dialogues of the Buddha, I, ix-xx, and II, 70-7; Winternitz, Gesch. d. ind. Lit. II, I, 17-139. Oldenberg's introduction to Vinaya Texts, S.B.E. XIII (1881) is still the best critical discussion of the growth of the Vinaya literature. A similar study of the growth of the Abhidhamma is much required. Steps towards such a study have been taken by Mrs Rhys Davids in Buddhist Psychology (London, 1914), chap. VII, pp. 134-55.

## CHAPTER VIII

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ACCORDING TO EARLY BUDDHIST LITERATURE

#### 1. ORIGINAL SOURCES.

See Bibl. to Ch. VII.

For the Sanskrit law-books see S.B.E. II (Gautama), XIV (Vasishṭha, Baudhāyana), XXV (Manu).

#### 2. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

The following works deal with economic and social conditions in ancient India:

Fick, R. *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit.* Kiel, 1897.

Rhys Davids, Mrs C. A. F. Economic conditions in ancient India. *Economic Jour.*, Sept. 1901.

— Notes on early economic conditions in Northern India. *J.R.A.S.*, Oct. 1901. [With fuller details on money and the consumption of wealth.]

Rhys Davids, Buddhist India; see Bibl. to Ch. VII, 2.

Subba Rao, N. S. Economic and political conditions in ancient India. Mysore, 1911. [An analysis of information contained in the Jātaka.]



## CHAPTERS IX—XII

THE PERIOD OF THE SŪTRAS, EPICS, AND LAW-BOOKS;  
FAMILY LIFE AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS AS THEY AP-  
PEAR IN THE SŪTRAS; THE PRINCES AND PEOPLES  
OF THE EPIC POEMS; THE GROWTH OF LAW AND  
LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

## I. TEXTS.

- Āçvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. A. F. Stenzler. Leipzig, 1864.  
 Çāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. Hermann Oldenberg in *Ind. Stud.* xv, pp. 13 f.  
 Pāraskara Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. A. F. Stenzler. Leipzig, 1876.  
 Āpastambīya Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. M. Winternitz. Vienna, 1887.  
 The Mantrapāṭha (of the Āpastambins). Ed. M. Winternitz. Oxford, 1897.  
 Gobhila Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. F. Knauer. Dorpat, 1884.  
 Hiranyakeçi Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. J. Kirste. Vienna, 1889.  
 Mānava Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. F. Knauer. St Petersburg, 1897.  
 Khādīra Gṛihya Sūtra. Ed. with trans. by Oldenberg in *S.B.E.* xxix.  
 Kauçika Sūtra. Ed. M. Bloomfield. New Haven, 1890.  
 Gautama Dharma Çāstra (Sūtra). Ed. Stenzler. London, 1876.  
 Āpastambīya Dharma Sūtra. Ed. G. Bühler. Bombay, 1868 and 1872 (two parts).  
 Baudhāyana Dharma Çāstra. Ed. E. Hultsch. Leipzig, 1884.  
 Vāsishṭha Dharma Sūtra. Ed. A. Führer. Bombay, 1883.  
 Mānava Dharma Çāstra. Ed. N. N. Mandlik with commentaries, Bombay, 1886;  
 J. Jolly, London, 1887. Earlier editions: Calcutta, 1813; London, 1825;  
 Paris, 1830.  
 Vaishṇava Dharma Çāstra. Ed. Jolly. Calcutta, 1881.  
 Yājñavalkya Dharma Çāstra. Ed. Stenzler. Berlin, 1849. (Mitāksharā. Bombay, 1909).  
 Nārada Smṛiti. Ed. Jolly. Calcutta, 1885.  
 The Dharma Çāstra Saṅgraha. Ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara. Calcutta, 1876.  
 [Contains the texts attributed to Atri, Vishṇu, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, Ushaṇas, Aṅgīras, Yama, Āpastamba, Saṃvarta, Kātyāyana, Bṛihaspati, Parāçara, Vyāsa, Çāṅkha, Likhita, Daksha, Çātātapa, Vāsishṭha, Gautama, and 'Vṛiddha Gautama.']

The text of the epics has come down in different recensions represented more or less accurately by different editions. The Mahābhārata as published in the Calcutta edition (1834-9) contains the Harivaṃça, and differs slightly from the Bombay edition (1888), which omits the Harivaṃça. The text of the poem according to South Indian tradition has been published in Bombay (1906-10): it differs materially from the northern recension. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bengal text, without the last book) was published by G. Gorresio (Paris, 1843-50). Another edition containing the complete text appeared in Bombay (1895), and a third text, but practically identical with that of Bombay though 'according to the southern readings,' was published in 1905.

## 2. TRANSLATIONS.

The chief Gṛihya Sūtras, those of Āçvalāyana, Çāṅkhāyana, Pāraskara, Khādira, Gobhila, Hiranyakeçin, and Apastamba, have been translated by Oldenberg in S.B.E. xxix and xxx. In conjunction with the texts mentioned above have appeared German translations of Āçvalāyana by Stenzler (1865); of Çāṅkhāyana by Oldenberg (*Ind. Stud.* xv); of Gobhila by Knauer (1887); and of Pāraskara by Stenzler (1878).

The S.B.E., vols. II and xiv, contain translations by Bühler of the Dharma Sūtras of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasishṭha, and Baudhāyana. The Mānava Dharma Çāstra, originally translated by Sir William Jones, appeared in a revised translation by Bühler in S.B.E. xxv, and by A. C. Burnell and E. W. Hopkins (London, 1884). The Vishṇu Smṛiti is translated by Jolly in S.B.E. vii; the Nārada Smṛiti with the fragments of Bṛihaspati, *ibid.* xxxiii. The text of the 'shorter Nārada' is separately translated by Jolly (London, 1876). A German translation of the Yājñavalkya Dharma Çāstra appeared with the text (1849).

Translations of the epic poems: The Mahābhārata in the northern recension has been translated into English by various pandits under the nominal editorship of Pratapa Chandra Ray (Roy) in Calcutta (1883-96); also by M. N. Dutt (Calcutta, 1896); and an abridged translation by R. C. Dutt (London, 1899). The Rāmāyaṇa, text and Italian translation by Gaspare Gorresio (1843-67); abridged translation by R. T. H. Griffith (Benares, 1895).

## 3. GENERAL SURVEYS.

The most important works bearing on the period represented by the Sūtras, Çāstras, and Epics are as follows:

For a general survey of the subject: R. C. Dutt, *History of civilization in Ancient India* (revised edn. London, 1893); Mrs Manning, *Ancient and mediaeval India* (London, 1869); J. W. M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Bombay, 1877); *idem*, by Ktesias (1882); *idem*, by Ptolemy (1885); *Antiquities of India* by L. D. Barnett (London, 1913); *Ancient India* by E. J. Rapson (Cambridge, 1914); Colebrooke's *Essays* (*Life and Essays of H. T. Colebrooke*, new edn. by E. B. Cowell, London, 1873) contain papers on Hindu Courts of Justice and Preface to the Digest, which are still valuable. West and Bühler's *Digest of Hindu Law* (Bombay, 1867-9) contains many extracts from later law-books. The best general review of Hindu law (Sūtras and Çāstras) is found in Julius Jolly's *Recht und Sitte* (1896). For the religious life of this epoch compare M. Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (4th edn. London, 1891) and *Indian Wisdom* (1893). J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts* (London, 1868-84) give copious extracts from the religious chapters of the epics.

## 4. SPECIAL STUDIES.

Special studies are those of W. Caland on burial practices, *Die altindischen Toten- und Bestattungsgebräuche* (Amsterdam, 1896); of the same writer on *Altindische Zauberei* (Amsterdam, 1908); on the marriage-customs, E. Hass in *Ind. Stud.* v, pp. 267 f. [containing part of the Kauçika Sūtra]; The Hindu law of marriage and Stridhana (woman's property) by G. Banerjee (Tagore Lectures revised, Calcutta, 1896); see also the references given above in chap. x, p. 233, n. 1; on the ordeals, *Die Gottesurtheile der Inder* by E. Schlagintweit (Munich, 1866); *Alter u. Herkunft des german. Gottesurtheils* by A. Kaegi (1887).

## 5. THE EPICS.

For the epic compare in general A. Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata* (Kiel, 1892-5); J. Dahlmann, *Das Mahābhārata als Epos u. Rechtsbuch* (Berlin, 1895); H. Jacobi, *Mahābhārata, Inhaltsangabe* (Bonn, 1903); E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*; and *India Old and New* (New York, 1901). Special studies: Bühler and Kirste, *Contributions to the history of the Mahābhārata* (Sitz. Wien, 1892) and *Die indischen Inschriften u. das Alter der ind. Kunstpoesie* (ibid. 1890). Apart from the *Bhagavadgītā*, which has its own literature, may be mentioned *inter alia* the collection of philosophical texts of the epic by Paul Deussen and Otto Strauss, *Vier philosophische Texte des Mahābhāratam* (Leipzig, 1906). A special study of the Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste was published in the *J.A.O.S.*, 1888, by the writer.

The best commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa* is by H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa* (Bonn, 1893). For the synchronous character of part of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, *Harivaṃṣa*, and *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* compare Lesný in *Z.D.M.G.* LXVII, pp. 497 f. On the original linguistic form of the epics see Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.* I, p. 436; Jacobi, *Z.D.M.G.* XLVIII, p. 407; and Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 435 f. Compare also Lüders on the *Ṛishyaçriṅga* story, *G.G.N.*, 1897, pp. 87 f.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE PURĀṆAS

#### 1. TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

For a full bibliography see Winternitz, *Übersicht über die Purāṇa-Litteratur* (*Gesch. d. ind. Litt.* I, pp. 450-483).

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Ed. with French trans. by E. Burnouf, continued by Hauvette-Besnault and Roussel. Paris, 1840-98.

*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Trans. F. E. Pargiter. Calcutta, 1904. [The geographical notes are most valuable.]

*Vishṇu Purāṇa*. Trans. H. H. Wilson (vols. I-V = Works, ed. Fitzedward Hall, vols. VI-X. London, 1864-70). [A storehouse of information concerning the mythology and legendary history of the epics and Purāṇas.]

Pargiter, F. E. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. Oxford, 1913. [A most useful collection of the different texts with various readings and an English translation. Mr Pargiter's theories as to the literary history of the Purāṇas are not generally accepted.]

#### 2. GENERAL.

Abbott, J. E. *The Topographical List of the Bhagavata Purana*. Ind. Ant., 1899.

Bhandarkar, D. R. *Lectures on the Ancient History of India*. Calcutta, 1919.

Bhandarkar, R. G. *Early History of the Dekhan*. 2nd edn. Bombay, 1895.

Deb, H. K. *Udayana Vatsaraja*. Calcutta, 1919.

Fleet, J. F. *The Kali-yuga era*. J.R.A.S., 1911.

Jackson, A. M. T. *Epic and Puranic Notes*. Jour. Bombay Br. R.A.S., Centenary Memorial Volume, 1905.

Kennedy, J. *The Puranic Histories of the early Aryas*. J.R.A.S., 1915.

Lacôte, F. *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*. Paris, 1908.

Pargiter, F. E. *Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology*. J.R.A.S., 1910.

— *Earliest Indian traditional 'History.'* J.R.A.S., 1914.

— *The North Pañcāla Dynasty*. J.R.A.S., 1918.

## CHAPTER XIV

THE PERSIAN DOMINIONS IN NORTHERN INDIA DOWN  
TO THE TIME OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION

## I. ORIGINAL SOURCES, TEXTS, AND TRANSLATIONS.

## (a) ORIENTAL.

- For Vedic authorities see Bibl. to Chapters iv, 1 and v, 1.
- Avesta. Ed. K. F. Geldner. Stuttgart, 1886-96.
- Eng. trans. J. Darmesteter and L. H. Mills. Oxford, 1880-7. S.B.E. vols. iv, xxiii, xxxi. (Part I, the Vendidad, S.B.E. vol. iv, also in 2nd edn. Oxford, 1895.)
- French trans. C. de Harlez. 2nd edn. Paris, 1881.
- French trans. J. Darmesteter. Paris, 1892-3. Annales du Musée Guimet, vols. xxi, xxii, xxiv.
- German trans. F. Wolff. Strassburg, 1910. [Contains all except the Gâthas, for which consult Chr. Bartholomae, Die Gatha's des Awesta, Strassburg, 1905.]
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## NOTE TO CHAPTER XIV

### ANCIENT PERSIAN COINS IN INDIA.

On Persian coins generally see B. V. Head, *The Coinage of Lydia and Persia* (London, 1877), and E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides* (Paris, 1893), pp. i-xx. The intimate connexion between the countermarks on Persian *sigloi* and those upon early Indian coins was suggested by E. J. Rapson, J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 865 ff. Subsequent observations have tended to disprove this view, since it appears that most of the countermarked *sigloi* were not found in India; see G. F. Hill, J.H.S., 1919, pp. 125 ff. On the comparative value of gold and silver in ancient India see A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1891), p. 5. In some parts of Asia in the thirteenth century the ratio was as low as 1 : 5; see Marco Polo, Book II, Chapters L and LIII.



## CHAPTERS XV AND XVI

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; INDIA IN EARLY GREEK  
AND LATIN LITERATURE

## I. ANCIENT AUTHORS.

Arrian (Flavius Arrianus), a Greek, or Hellenised native, of Bithynia, and an official of the Roman empire; consul suffectus c. 130 A.D. and still alive in 171-2 A.D. Two of his works bear on India:

(a) Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνάβασις, *Alexandri Anabasis*; recent edn. that of A. G. Roos (Leipzig, 1907). [The most trustworthy of the ancient accounts of Alexander's expedition which have come down to us, based mainly on the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristobulus.]

— Trans. J. W. M'Crindle. (In *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*. 2nd edn. Westminster, 1896.)

(b) Ἰνδική, *Indica*. (Included in edn. of Arrian's *Scripta Minora* by A. Eberhard. Leipzig, 1885.) [A brief account of the geography, manners, and customs of India, drawn from Nearchus, Megasthenes, and Eratosthenes.]

— Trans. M'Crindle. (In *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. London, 1877.)

Diodorus, of Agyrion in Sicily; travelled in the Eastern Mediterranean c. 60 B.C.; lived till after 36 B.C. [See Pauly-Wissowa, v, 663.] He wrote a history of the world, under the title Βιβλιοθήκη; edn. of Books I-XV by F. Vogel (Leipzig, 1888, 1890, 1893), of Books XVI-XVIII by C. T. Fischer (Leipzig, 1906). [Book II, chaps. 35-42, gives an account of India taken from Megasthenes; trans. M'Crindle in *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. Book XVII contains an account of Alexander's expedition, derived in part from Clitarchus; trans. M'Crindle in *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*. Book XIX, chaps. 33-4, contains the account of the *satī* (*v. sup.* pp. 414-15); trans. M'Crindle in *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901), pp. 202 f.]

Quintus Curtius Rufus; nothing known of his life, fixed by his style to the first century A.D.; title of his Latin work, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*; ed. by Hedicke (Leipzig, 1908). [The rhetorical character of the book points to Clitarchus as its main source.] Trans. of the part relating to India by M'Crindle (in *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*).

Plutarch, of Chaeronea in Boeotia; c. 45-125 A.D. [Chaps. 57-67 of his *Life of Alexander* are concerned with India. Edn. of the *Lives* by K. Sintenis (Leipzig; vol. III, 1881); trans. by M'Crindle in *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*.]

Justin (Marcus Junianus Justinus); second half of second century A.D.; composed an *Epitome* of the (now lost) *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus, a man of Gallic origin, who published his Latin *Historiae* some time between 20 B.C. and 14 A.D.; edn. of Justin's *Epitome*, together with a series of short summaries by another hand of the contents of the 44 Books of the lost work (the *Prologi*), by L. Ruehl (Leipzig, 1886). [Book XII contained an account of Alexander's campaigns in India; trans. of Justin's *Epitome* of the Book in M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India*. The chief source of Trogus was probably a Greek work *Περὶ Βασιλέων* by Timagenes of Alexandria (born between 80 and 75 B.C.), who himself drew, for his account of Alexander, mainly upon Clitarchus.]

# Bibliography to Chapters XV and XVI 675

Polyaenus, a Macedonian, wrote his *Strategemata* (in Greek) c. 162 A.D. [Book iv, chap. 3, deals with Alexander; ed. J. Melber. Leipzig, 1887.]

Two slighter works relating to the campaigns of Alexander seem occasionally to give details derived from the contemporary accounts but dropped in our more important extant sources:

(a) *Alexandri Magni Macedonis Epitomae Rerum Gestarum*, an abridgement made in the 4th or 5th century A.D. of a lost Latin work of uncertain date, combining history with elements taken from the Romance of Alexander; ed. Wagner in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Supplementband xxvi (1901), pp. 105 ff.

(b) *Itinerarium Alexandri*, written c. 360 A.D.; printed at the end of the Didot Arrian; trans. M'Crindle in *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*.

Strabo, of Amasia in Asia Minor; c. 64 B.C.–19 A.D.; his great geographical work (Greek) contains incidental notices of India and Alexander's campaigns. [Book xv, chap. 1, is devoted to India, its geography, manners, and customs, its material being drawn from the companions of Alexander and from Megasthenes; ed. A. Meineke (Leipzig, 1852–3); trans. M'Crindle in *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*.]

Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus); 23–79 A.D.; his encyclopaedic work in Latin, the *Naturalis Historia*, contains notices of India drawn from the Greek books or from more recent reports of merchants; ed. D. Detlefsen (Berlin, 1866–73); a translation of the passages relating to India is given in M'Crindle's *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*.

A collection of the Fragments of Ctesias by Karl Müller is appended to the Didot edn. of Herodotus; trans. M'Crindle, in *Ancient India as described by Ktesias* (London, 1882).

A collection of the Fragments of the contemporary accounts of Alexander (Ptolemy, Aristobulus, Clitarchus, etc.) by Karl Müller is bound up in the Didot edn. of Arrian (Paris, 1846).

A collection of the Fragments of Megasthenes, Daimachus, and Patrocles is contained in K. Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. II, pp. 397–439. [The references to Megasthenes, Nearchus, and Onesicritus in these chapters of *The Cambridge History of India* follow Müller's numeration. An earlier collection of the Fragments of Megasthenes, with notes by E. A. Schwanbeck (Bonn, 1846), now out of print, is still useful. This is the collection on which M'Crindle's translation (*v. sup.*) is based.]

## 2. MODERN WORKS.

An account of Alexander's campaigns is contained in the histories of Grote, Droysen (best read in the French trans. by A. Bouché-Leclercq, entitled *Histoire de l'Hellénisme*, vol. I, Paris, 1883), Holm (Eng. trans. London, 1894–8), Niese (*Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, vol. I, Gotha, 1893), Kaerst (*Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Leipzig, 1901), Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*, vol. III, Strassburg, 1904).

For monographs and articles see the Notes appended to M'Crindle's translations (*v. sup.*).

Smith, V. A. *The Early History of India*. 3rd edn. Oxford, 1914. [In his account of Alexander's campaigns Dr Vincent Smith makes use of more recent topographical researches than seem to be known to the German scholars, for whom Cunningham is still generally the last authority.]

Anspach, A. E. *De Alexandri Magni Expeditione Indica*. London, 1903. [The most full and thorough arrangement of the literary material.]

- Cunningham, A. *The Ancient Geography of India*. Vol. I. London, 1871. [A work still of fundamental value, though necessarily to some extent corrected by subsequent research.]
- Raverty, H. G. *Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*. London, 1880, 1881, 1883.
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- For the battle on the Hydaspes see *reff.* in note 1 on p. 367 (*supra*).

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XV

### ATHENIAN AND MACEDONIAN COINS IN INDIA.

For the most comprehensive discussion of the whole subject see B. V. Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1906, pp. 1 ff., and *Historia Numorum*, 2nd edn., pp. 832 ff. For Sophytes see A. Cunningham, J.A.S.B., 1865, pp. 46 f., and *Num. Chron.*, 1866, pp. 220 ff., as well as other references given by Rapson (*Indian Coins*, p. 4), to which add *Num. Chron.*, 1904, pp. 323 ff. and *Z.f.N.* xxiv, pp. 89 f. The 'square' bronze coin of Alexander (p. 388) was first published by A. von Sallet, *Z.f.N.* vi, p. 285, the attribution to Bactria having been proposed by Dannenberg. On the decadrachm (p. 389; Pl. I, 16) see P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.*, 1887, pp. 177 ff., and on the double darics (p. 390; Pl. I, 6) see E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. xx; Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 828 ff.; and F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeit.*, 1895, pp. 1 ff. On the Oxus find see Cunningham, J.A.S.B., 1881, pp. 151 ff., and 1883, p. 258; cf. also O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (1905), Introduction.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE HELLENIC KINGDOMS OF SYRIA, BACTRIA, AND PARTHIA

#### I. ANCIENT AUTHORS.

- Appian. L. Mendelssohn. Leipzig, 1879-81.  
Arrian, *Tà μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*. Éd. C. Müller. Paris, 1846.  
Athenaeus. Ed. G. Kaibel. Leipzig, 1887-90.  
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Josephus. Ed. S. A. Naber. Leipzig, 1888.  
Pausanias. Ed. L. Dindorf. Paris, 1845.  
Polybius. Paris, 1839.  
Ptolemy, Bk. VII. Ed. C. F. A. Nobbe. Leipzig, 1843.

For Quintus Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny the Elder, Justin and Pompeius Trogus, and Strabo see *Bibl. to Chapters xv and xvi*, 1.

The chief ancient authorities are cited in the text. See, moreover, for the partitions of Babylon and Triparadisus: (a) Diodorus XVIII, 3; Arrian, *Tà μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*, 5 ff.; Dexippus in *F.H.G.* III, 667 f.; Curtius x, 10; Justin XIII, 4; and (b) Diodorus XVIII, 39; Arrian, *Tà μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*, 35 ff.

#### 2. MODERN WORKS.

H. G. Rawlinson's *Bactria, The History of a forgotten Empire* (1912), is a handy summary of the main facts and references.

Among modern works of a more general character the following are important:

- Bevan, E. R. *The House of Seleucus*. London, 1902.  
Bouché-Leclercq, A. *Histoire des Séleucides*. Paris, 1913 etc.  
Droysen, J. G. *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. 2 Auf. Gotha, 1877 etc.  
von Gutschmid, A. *Geschichte Irans*. Tübingen, 1888.  
Niese, B. *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*. Gotha, 1893 etc.  
Rawlinson, G. *The Sixth Oriental Monarchy*. London, 1873.

For Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, and Smith, *Early History of India*, see *Bibl. to Ch. xiv*, 2.

Various special articles in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encycl.* by Tomaschek, W. Otto, and others; also in *Encycl. Brit.* (11th edn.) by E. Meyer.

W. W. Tarn's *Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India*, *J.H.S.* XXII, pp. 268 ff., touching on some interesting historical points.

#### 3. NUMISMATICS.

Rapson's *Indian Coins*, *Grund. d. indo-ar. Phil.*, 1898, gives full references to the numismatic authorities. Here the following may be cited as the more important:

- Cunningham, A. *The Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*. London, 1873 = *Num. Chron.*, 1868-73.

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 Berlin, 1883 = *Z.f.N.*, 1879-83.
- Gardner, P. *Coins of the Greek* Scythic of Bactria and  
*B.M. Cat.*, 1886.
- Imhoof-Blumer, F. *Zur Münzkunde der Seleukiden.* *Num. Zeit.* xiv  
 pp. 171 ff.
- Smith, V. A. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.* Calcutta  
 Oxford, 1906.
- Whitehead, R. B. *Indo-Greek Coins.* *Labore Mus. Cat.* Vol. I. Oxford
- Gardner, P. *Seleucid Kings of Syria.* *B.M. Cat.*, 1875.
- Babelon, E. *Les Rois de Syrie.* Paris, 1890.
- Wroth, W. *Coins of Parthia.* *B.M. Cat.*, 1903.

## CHAPTERS XVIII AND XIX

### CHANDRAGUPTA, THE FOUNDER OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE; POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

#### 1. GREEK AND LATIN AUTHORS.

For Arrian (*Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀνάβασις* and *Ἰνδική*), Quintus Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Megasthenes, Plutarch, and Strabo see *Bibl. to Chapters xv and xvi*, 1.

For Arrian (*Τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*) and Ptolemy see *Bibl. to Ch. xvii*, 1.

#### 2. BRĀHMAN AUTHORITIES.

*Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya (*Kauṭalya*, *Chāṇakya*, or *Vishnugupta*). Ed. R. Shama Sastri. Mysore, 1909.

— Trans. by the same: Books I-IV (= chapters 1-88), Mysore, 1908 etc.; Books V-XV (= chapters 89-150), *Ind. Ant.*, 1909-10.

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## THE SCYTHIAN AND PARTHIAN INVADERS

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- See also Gen. Bibl., 3.



## CHAPTER XXV

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF CEYLON

## ORIGINAL SOURCES.

## 1. Pāli.

For the Māhavaṃsa and the Dipavaṃsa see *Bibl. to Ch. VII, 1*. There are other translations of the Mahāvaṃsa by G. Turnour (Colombo, 1837), and C. Wijesinha (Colombo, 1889).

Dāthāvaṃsa [a history of the Tooth Relic written by Dhammākitti c. 1200] Kelaniya, 1883.

Mahābodhivaṃsa [a history of the Bo Tree by Upatissa]. Ed. S. A. Strong. London, 1891.

## 2. Sinhalese.

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Nikāya-saṅgraha [a history of Buddhist sects by Dhammakitti]. Ed. Don M. Wickremasinghe. Colombo, 1890.

Pūjāvaliya [a collection of legends and stories of worship by Mayūra-pāda Thera]. Ed. V. Dhammānanda. Colombo, 1903-8.

Rāja-ratnākaraya [a history of Ceylon by Abhaya-rāja Thera of Valgam-pāya c. 1542 A.D.]. Ed. S. de Silva. Colombo, 1907.

Rājāvaliya [a history of Ceylon]. Ed. B. Gunasekhara. Colombo, 1899-1900.

Thūpavaṃsa [a history of the sanctuary of Ruvanvāli by Parākrama Paṇḍita]. Colombo, 1889 etc.

Much of the historical material is still unpublished. The following Sinhalese works may be mentioned :

Daḷadā-pūjāvaliya, a history of the cult of the Tooth Relic, written c. 1300 A.D.; Daḷadā-sirita, on the same subject, by a priest of the Pārakumbā Pirivena, written c. 1325; Daḷadā-sirita, on the same, by Kitsiri Mevan Rājasundara, in 1485-6; Lakrajalō-sirita, a work on the rules of succession, constitutional powers etc., of the kings of Ceylon; Mahābodhivaṃsa (*v. sup.*) [of this work there are two Sinhalese translations, viz. by Vilgammula Thera (c. 1300) and Sarapaṅkara (1725), besides a Sinhalese commentary called Dharma-pradīpikāva or Bodhivaṃṣa-parikathāva by Guruḷu-gomi. There is also a Chūla-bodhivaṃsa by Sumaṅgala (1798)]; Mahāsammata-rājāvaliya, a history of Ceylon; Narendra-charitāvalokana-pradīpaya, a modern compilation on Sinhalese history, which however contains some old materials; Rājāvaliya [several histories bearing this name are existent, besides a Rājāvali-saṅgrahava or abridgment, and two works in the British Museum styled respectively Suḷu Rājāvaliya or Rājavaṃṣa and Rājāvaliya or Suḷu Rājavaṃṣaya]; Rājavaṃṣa-saṅkshepaya, an abridged history; Rājavikrama-pravṛttiya, another history; Ruvanvāli-kathāva; Saddharma-ratnākaraya, on Buddhist doctrine and legends, by Vimalakīrtti or Siddhārtha (c. 1410); Suḷu Dipavaṃsaya, a history of the Ruvanvāli sanctuary, also known as Ruvanvāli-vaṃṣa-kathāva; Vijaya-rājāvaliya, a history of Ceylon; Vijaya-rājavaṃṣaya, another

history; *Vijitavelli-rājāvaliya*, a modern local chronicle by Yaṭihalagala Polvattē Vidānē, but containing some ancient material.

The *Kadaim-pot*, or local geographies, sometimes give data of some historical interest. Mention may be made also of Vāchissara's Pāli version of Parākrama Paṇḍita's *Thūpavaṃsa*, and of the Pāli commentary on the *Mahāvāṃsa*.

There is a copious popular ballad-literature concerned more or less with the legends of Vijaya, Paṇḍuvas, and Mala Raja, the legendary hero who is said to have healed the 'perjury-sickness' of Paṇḍuvas with the aid of the Vāḍḍas. Through him this saga is brought into connexion with the legend of Rāma. Among these poems may be mentioned the following: *Uru-dānaya*; *Vijayindulatanē*; *Laṅkā-bodhi-vastuva*; *Kuveni-asnē*; *Vijalindu-divi-dos-upata*; *Vijayindupuvata*; *Palavāla-dānē*; *Siṃhala-vistarē*; *Siṃhavalli-kathāva*; *Oḍḍisa-upata*; *Maha-asnē*; *Vāḍi-yak-yādinna*; *Malalu-kumaru-kavi*; *Yāga-alalākāraya*; *Kaḍavara-vidiya*; and *Irugal-baṇḍāra-kavi*.

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## CHAPTER XXVI

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## CHRONOLOGY

The following dates are accepted in this volume. Many of them can only be regarded as approximate, while others are conjectural.

- B.C.
- 2500 Probable date of the beginning of Āryan invasions (p. 70).
- 1400 Boghaz-köi inscriptions of kings of the Mitāni (pp. 72-3, 110-1).
- 1200—1000 Chhandas period of Indian literature: the earliest hymns of the Rigveda (p. 112).
- 1000—800 Mantra period, sometimes called the earlier Brāhmaṇa period: later hymns of the Rigveda and the Vedic collections—Rigveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda (p. 112).  
The tradition of the Purāṇas places the war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus in the earlier Brāhmaṇa period, c. 1000 B.C. (p. 307).  
The Mahābhārata which celebrates this war belongs in its present form to a much later date (pp. 252 ff.).
- 800—600 (Later) Brāhmaṇa period: the extant Brāhmaṇas (p. 112).  
The earliest Upanishads are probably not later than 550 or 600 B.C. (pp. 112, 147).  
It is possible that the story of the Rāmāyaṇa may have its origin in the later Brāhmaṇa period (p. 317).
- 600—200 Sūtra period (pp. 112, 227).
- 563—483 Siddhārtha Gautama, the Buddha (pp. 171-2, 312).  
According to Charpentier, 478 (477) B.C. appears to be a more probable date for the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha (p. 156, n. 1).  
Among the contemporaries of the Buddha were Prasenajit (Pasenadi), king of Kosala (pp. 180, 309), Bimbisāra (Çreṇika) and Ajātaçatru (Ajātasattu, Kūṇika), kings of Magadha (pp. 183-4, 311), Pradyota (Pajjota), king of Avanti (pp. 185, 310-1), and Udayana (Udena), king of Vatsa (Vamṣa) (pp. 187, 308, 310).
- 558—530 Cyrus, king of Persia.  
Conquered Bactria and certain countries in the Kābul valley and N.W. India including Kāpiça and Gandhāra (pp. 329-33).
- 543—491 Bimbisāra (Çreṇika), king of Magadha (pp. 157, 183, 311-2).  
Conquered Āṅga c. 500 B.C. (pp. 311, 315).
- 540—468 Vardhamāna Nātaputra, Mahāvīra (pp. 156, 163).  
Traditional date 600-528 B.C. (p. 155).  
Pārçva, the predecessor of Mahāvīra as *tīrthakara*, is said to have died 250 years before him (p. 153).  
For the contemporaries of Mahāvīra and Buddha *v. sup.*
- 522—486 Darius I, king of Persia.  
The Greek geographer Hecataeus lived in his reign (pp. 336, n. 2, 394).  
Naval expedition of Scylax c. 517 B.C.; conquest of 'India' = the country of the Indus c. 518 B.C. (pp. 335-6).
- 491—459 Ajātaçatru (Kūṇika), king of Magadha (pp. 157, 311-2).  
Probably added Kāçi, Kosala, and Videha to the dominions of Magadha (p. 315).
- 486—465 Xerxes, king of Persia.  
The continuance of Persian domination in Northern India during his reign proved by statements of Herodotus (p. 340).



B.C.

483 B.C.—38 A.D. Kings of Ceylon.

Vijaya, the conqueror of the island, 483–445 B.C. (p. 606); Paṇḍu Vāsudeva 444–414 B.C.; Abhaya 414–394 B.C.; Paṇḍukābhaya 377–307 B.C. (p. 607); Muṭasiva 307–247 B.C.; Devānaṃpiya Tissa 247–207 B.C.; Uttiya 207–197 B.C.; Mahāsiva 197–187 B.C.; Sūra Tissa 187–177 B.C.; Sena and Guttaka 177–155 B.C.; Asela 155–145 B.C.; Ēlāra 145–101 B.C. (p. 608); Duṭṭha-Gāmaṇī 101–77 B.C.; Sāddhā-Tissa 77–59 B.C. (p. 609); Thūlathana 59 B.C.; Lañja Tissa 59–50 B.C.; Khallātanāga 50–44 B.C.; Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya 44, 29–17 B.C.; Mahāchūli Mahātissa 17–3 B.C.; Choranāga 3 B.C.—9 A.D.; Kuḍā Tissa 9–12 A.D. (p. 610); Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa 16–38 A.D. (p. 611).

415—397 Ctesias, the Greek physician, at the court of Artaxerxes Mnēmōn, king of Persia (p. 397).

336—323 Alexander the Great, king of Macedon.

Conquest of Persia 330 B.C.: a statement of Arrian shows that Persian dominion in India continued until the end of the Achaemenian dynasty (p. 341).

Invasion of India at the end of 327 or the beginning of 326 B.C. (p. 354).

Retreat from the Beās, July 326 B.C. (p. 373).

Leaves India 325 B.C. (p. 380).

Death 323 B.C. (p. 386).

321—184 The Maurya Dynasty (pp. 471, 512).

Chandragupta 321–297 B.C. (pp. 471–2).

The Jain authorities give the year of his accession as 313 (312) B.C., a date at which the canon of the Jain scriptures was fixed (p. 482).

Megasthenes at the court of Chandragupta c. 300 B.C. (pp. 433, 472).

Bindusāra or Amitrochates, successor of Chandragupta: his reign variously stated as of 25, 27, or 28 years (pp. 433, 495).

Açoka 274–237 B.C. Accession 274 B.C. at latest; coronation 270 B.C. at latest; conquest of Kaliṅga 262 B.C. at latest; Buddhist council at Pāṭaliputra 253 B.C. ?; death 237 or 236 B.C. ? (p. 503).

Contemporary Hellenic kings—Antiochus II Theos of Syria 261–246 B.C.; Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247 B.C.; Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon 278–239 B.C.; Magas of Cyrene d. 258 B.C.; Alexander of Epirus 272–258 B.C. ? (p. 502).

Contemporary king of Ceylon—Devānaṃpiya Tissa 247–207 B.C. (p. 608).

Successors of Açoka (pp. 511–3).

312—280 Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria (p. 429).

Indian expedition c. 305 B.C. (p. 430).

Treaty of peace with Chandragupta (pp. 431, 472).

250 Approximate date of the establishment of the kingdom of Bactria by Diodotus (p. 435) and of the kingdom of Parthia by Arsaces (p. 439).

246 Conversion of Ceylon by the Buddhist apostle Mahendra (Mahinda), the son (or brother, p. 500, n. 4) of Açoka, in the year of the coronation of king Devānaṃpiya Tissa (p. 608).

220 Approximate date of the establishment of the Andhra power (Çāta-vāhana dynasty, pp. 317–8, 529, 530, n. 1, 599) and of the kingdom of Kaliṅga (Cheta dynasty, pp. 534–5).

Early Andhra kings—Simuka (pp. 318, 529, 599); Kṛishṇa (pp. 529,

- B. C.
- 535, 600); Çātakarṇi, contemporary with Pushyamitra, probably conquered Avanti from the Çuṅgas (pp. 530-2), also contemporary with Khāravela, *v. inf.*
- King of Kaliṅga—Khāravela (acc. c. 169 B.C. if the Hāthigumphā inscr. is dated in the Maurya era) (pp. 314-5, 534 f., 602); invaded the dominions of Çātakarṇi (pp. 535-6, 600); defeated kings of Rājagriha and Magadha (pp. 536-7, 600).
- 206 Indian expedition of Antiochus III the Great, king of Syria, during the reign of Euthydemus, king of Bactria (pp. 441-2).
- 200—58 Yavana princes of the house of Euthydemus.
- Their Indian conquests began in the reign of Euthydemus early in the 2nd century B.C., and were carried out by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, and other princes of his family (Apollodotus I and Menander) (pp. 444 ff., 541, 543).
- Their conquests in the upper Kābul valley and in N.W. India were wrested from them by Yavana princes of the house of Eucratides from c. 162 B.C. onwards (p. 554). Reconstructed coins show the transference of certain kingdoms in these regions from one house to the other (pp. 547, 551-2).
- Subsequently the rule of the successors of Euthydemus—the families of Apollodotus I and Menander—was confined to kingdoms which lay to the east of the Jhelum (p. 548). These appear to have been conquered finally and incorporated into the Çaka empire during the reign of Azes I (acc. 58 B.C.) (pp. 554, 572).
- To the house of Euthydemus belonged Demetrius (supposed limits of reign c. 190-160 B.C., pp. 444, 447), Apollodotus I, and Menander—all contemporary with Eucratides (pp. 548, 551).
- Apollodotus I was deprived of the kingdom of Kāpiça by Eucratides, and was succeeded in the lower Kābul valley by Heliocles (pp. 547-8). The later princes of his family—Apollodotus II, Dionysius, Zoilus, and Apollophanes—ruled over kingdoms in the eastern Punjab (pp. 552-3).
- Menander ruled over many kingdoms (p. 551). He was probably the leader of the Yavana incursion into the Midland Country (pp. 544, 551). Menander and Eucratides may perhaps have ruled at different times over Nicaea in the former realm of Alexander's Paurava king between the Jhelum and the Chenāb (pp. 551, 588). In Buddhist literature Menander (Milinda) is known as king of Çākala (Siākot) in the former realm of Alexander's second Paurava king between the Chenāb and the Rāvi (pp. 549-50). The family of Menander seems to be represented by Agathocleia who may have been his queen, his son Strato I, and his great-grandson Strato II. Numismatic evidence apparently shows that this family was dispossessed finally of the kingdom of Nicaea by Heliocles in the reign of Strato I. Its rule in the eastern Punjab continued until the Çaka conquest in the reign of Azes I (pp. 553-4).
- Hippostratus probably belonged to the house of Euthydemus, but his family is uncertain. He was contemporary with Azes I (pp. 554, 572).
- 184—72 The Çuṅga Dynasty.
- The dates depend on the statements of the Purāṇas (p. 518).

B.C.

- Pushyamitra (184–148 B.C.), originally king of Vidiçā and commander-in-chief of the last Maurya emperor, seized the Maurya dominions and reigned at Pāṭaliputra (pp. 517–8).
- Deprived of the kingdom of Çākala by the Yavanas (probably by Menander) (p. 519).
- War between Vidiçā, now governed by his son Agnimitra as viceroy, and Vidarbha (assumed date c. 170 B.C.) (pp. 519, 600).
- Defeat of the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu by his grandson Vasumitra (p. 520).
- Invasion of his capital, Pāṭaliputra, by the Yavanas (probably under Menander) (pp. 544, 551).
- Deprived of the kingdom of Avanti (Ujjayinī) by the Andhra king Çātakarṇi (pp. 531–2).
- Later Çuṅga kings:—Agnimitra (p. 520); Vasumitra or Sumitra (p. 521); Odraka, probably contemporary with Bahasatimitra, king of Kauçāmbī (pp. 521, 525); Bhāga or Bhāgavata, contemporary with Antialcīdas, the Yavana king of Takshaçilā, c. 90 B.C. according to the Purāṇas (pp. 521–2, 558); Devabhūti (p. 522).
- Feudatories of the Çuṅgas at Bhārhut, Mathurā, Kauçāmbī and Ahicchatra (pp. 523–6).
- 171—138 Mithradates I, king of Parthia.
- 165 The Yueh-chi defeated by the Huns began their migration wards (p. 565).
- 162—25 Yavana princes of the house of Eucratides.
- Eucratides deposed Euthydemus from the throne of Bactria c. 162 B.C. (p. 446).
- Conquered the Kābul valley, Ariāna (Arachosia and Aria), and N.W. India before 162 B.C. (pp. 447, 554).
- Evidence of his rule in Kāpiça as successor of Apollodotus I (p. 555), in Takshaçilā (p. 556), and possibly in Nicaea (ibid.).
- Deprived of his conquests in Ariāna by Mithradates I between 162 and 155 B.C., the assumed date of his death (pp. 457, 554).
- Heliocles, probably the son of Eucratides and his successor in both Bactria and India, ended his rule in Bactria c. 135 B.C. (pp. 460–1, 556).
- Evidence of his rule in the upper Kābul valley and in Pushkalāvati (p. 557).
- Extended the conquests of Eucratides—probably to the east of the Jhelum—in the reign of Strato I (p. 553).
- Antialcīdas, a member of the house of Eucratides and one of his successors in the Kābul valley (p. 558).
- He may have been the son and immediate successor of Heliocles (pp. 461, 559); on this assumption his accession may be conjecturally dated 120 B.C. (p. 522).
- Evidence of his rule in Takshaçilā (p. 558); in this kingdom he was at one time associated with Lysias, whose family is uncertain (p. 559).
- As king of Takshaçilā he was contemporary with the Çuṅga king of Vidiçā, Bhāga or Bhāgavata (Bhāgabhadra), whose 14th year may be estimated from the Purāṇas as c. 90 B.C. (pp. 521–2, 558).

B.C.

- Later princes of this house:—(1) In Pushkalāvati after the reign of Heliocles—Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Artemidorus, and Peucolaus (p. 557); (2) in Takshaçilā after the reign of Antialcidas—Archebius (p. 559); and (3) in the upper Kābul valley after the reign of Antialcidas—Amyntas and Hermaeus (at one time associated with Calliope) (p. 560). The date c. 25 B.C. for the end of the reign of Hermaeus is conjectural: it seems consonant with the view that the upper Kābul valley was conquered in or before the reign of the Pahlava suzerain Spalirises, the brother of Vonones (pp. 561–2, 573–4).
- 138—128 Phraates II, king of Parthia.  
His conflicts with the Scythians (Çakas) in eastern Irān (p. 567).
- 135 Bactria overwhelmed by the Çaka invasion in the reign of the last Yavana king Heliocles (p. 461).
- 128—123 Artabanus I, king of Parthia.  
The struggle with the Çakas was continued in his reign (p. 567).
- 126 The Chinese ambassador Chang-kien visited the Yueh-chi who were still to the north of the Oxus. The Yueh-chi expelled the Çakas from Bactria soon afterwards (pp. 459, 566).
- 123—88 Mithradates II the Great, king of Parthia.  
His final triumph over the Çakas (p. 567).
- 75 B.C.—50 A.D. Period of Çaka and Pahlava supremacy in the Punjab.  
Earliest Çaka settlements in the region of the Indus delta (Indo-Scythia or Çaka-dvipa) (p. 564).  
Maues wrested from the Yavanas Pushkalāvati after the reign of Artemidorus, and Takshaçilā after the reign of Archebius. The date, c. 75 B.C., ascribed to these conquests is conjectural: it depends on the view that the assumption by Maues of the title 'King of Kings' must necessarily be later than the reign of Mithradates II (123–88 B.C.) (pp. 558–9, 569–70).  
Azes I acc. 58 B.C.—so dated on the hypothesis that he was the actual founder of the Vikrama era (p. 571).  
He extended the conquests of Maues to the more easterly kingdoms of the Punjab (pp. 553–4).  
Azilises appears to have reigned (1) in association with Azes I, (2) alone, and (3) in association with Azes II (p. 572).  
Azes II: his association with the *strategos* Aspavarman proves that he was the immediate predecessor of Gondopharnes (pp. 572, 577).  
Gondopharnes, the successor of Azes II as viceroy of Arachosia under the suzerainty of Orthagnes; at one time associated in this office with his brother Guḍa; he appears to have succeeded Orthagnes as suzerain in eastern Irān, and Azes II as suzerain in India (pp. 577–8).  
He is known to have reigned from 19 to at least 45 A.D. (p. 576).  
In different kingdoms he was associated with (1) his nephew Abdagases who was probably his viceroy in eastern Irān (pp. 578–80); (2) Sapedana and Satavastra who were probably governors of Takshaçilā (ibid.); and (3) the *strategoi* Aspavarman and Sasas (pp. 577, 580–1).

B.C.

Pacores, the successor of Gondopharnes as suzerain in eastern Irān and, nominally at least, in India. In Takshaçilā he was associated with the *strategos* Sasas (pp. 577, 580-1).

His rule is supposed to have come to an end in the upper Kābul valley c. 50 A.D., and in N.W. India soon afterwards (both dates must lie between 45 and 64 A.D.) (pp. 583-4).

Satrap:—(1) at Pushkalāvati—Zeionises (p. 582, n. 1); (2) in the region of Takshaçilā—Liaka Kusūlaka (contemporary with Maues) and his son Pātika who appears as great satrap c. 30 B.C. (the supposed date of the Lion Capital of Mathurā) (p. 575); (3) at Mathurā—Hagāmasha and Hagāna (p. 527), Rañjubula (supposed dates—satrap c. 50 B.C., great satrap c. 30 B.C.), Çodāsa (supposed date as satrap c. 30 B.C.) great satrap in 16 B.C. (pp. 575-6).

*Strategoi*:—(1) Aspavarman, son of Indravarman (Azēs II and Gondopharnes); (2) Sasas, nephew of Aspavarman (Gondopharnes and Pacores) (pp. 577, 580-1).

58

Initial year of the Vikrama era.

Traditionally ascribed to a king Vikramāditya of Ujjain who is said to have expelled the Çakas from India. The tradition may have some historical foundation; but in any case it seems probable that the supposed founder of the era has been confused with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (380-414 A.D.) who finally crushed the Çaka power in Western India (the Western Satraps) (pp. 532-3). It seems more likely that the era marks the establishment of the Çaka suzerainty by Azēs I (p. 571), and that its use was transmitted to posterity by the Mālavas and other peoples who had once been feudatories of the Çakas (p. 491).

57-38

Orodes I, king of Parthia.

The squared letters which characterise the coin-legends of the later Çaka and Pahlava rulers in India first appear on Parthian coins during his reign (p. 571).

30

Conjectural date of Vonones, Pahlava suzerain of eastern Irān (p. 573).

With him were associated, as viceroys of Arachosia, (1) his brother Spalahores, (2) his nephew Spalagadames: these two (father and son) also held this office conjointly, and (3) his brother Spalirises, who at one time held this office conjointly with his son Azēs II (pp. 573-4).

Other suzerains of eastern Irān (in addition to those who ruled also in India, for whom *v. sup.*) were:

Spalirises, the successor of Vonones. The former kingdom of Hermaeus in the upper Kābul valley appears to have been annexed by the Pahlavas in or before his reign (p. 574); Orthagnes, contemporary with Gondopharnes (p. 578); and Sanabares, in Drangiāna (Seistān); there is no evidence of his rule in Arachosia (Kandahār) (p. 580).

A.D.

8-11

Vonones I, king of Parthia (p. 573).

50

Approximate date of the extension of the Kushāna power from Bactria to the Paropanisadae (upper Kābul valley) and Arachosia (Kandahār) in the reign of Gondopharnes or Pacores. The Kushāna conqueror was Kujūla Kadphises (pp. 583-4).

A. D.

- 64 The extension of the Kushāṇa power from the upper Kābul valley to N.W. India (Pushkalāvati or W. Gandhāra) had taken place when the Panjtār inscription was set up (year 122 = 63—4 A. D.). The Kushāṇa king mentioned in the inscription may be either Wīma Kadphises or one of his viceroys—possibly Kara Kadphises whose coins are found in the same region (pp. 582, n. 1, 584).  
Inscription of a Kushāṇa king (identified with Wīma Kadphises) reigning at Takshaçilā in the year 136 = 77—8 A. D. (pp. 581—2).
- 78 Initial year of the Çaka era.  
The Çaka era appears to have been so called at a later date when it was best known as the era of the Çakas of Western India (the Western Satraps) who were originally feudatories of the Kushāṇas. It most probably marks the establishment of the Kushāṇa empire by Kanishka (pp. 583, 585).
- 89 The Suē Vihāra inscription of the 11th year of Kanishka proves that the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas extended to the country of the lower Indus at this date (p. 585).

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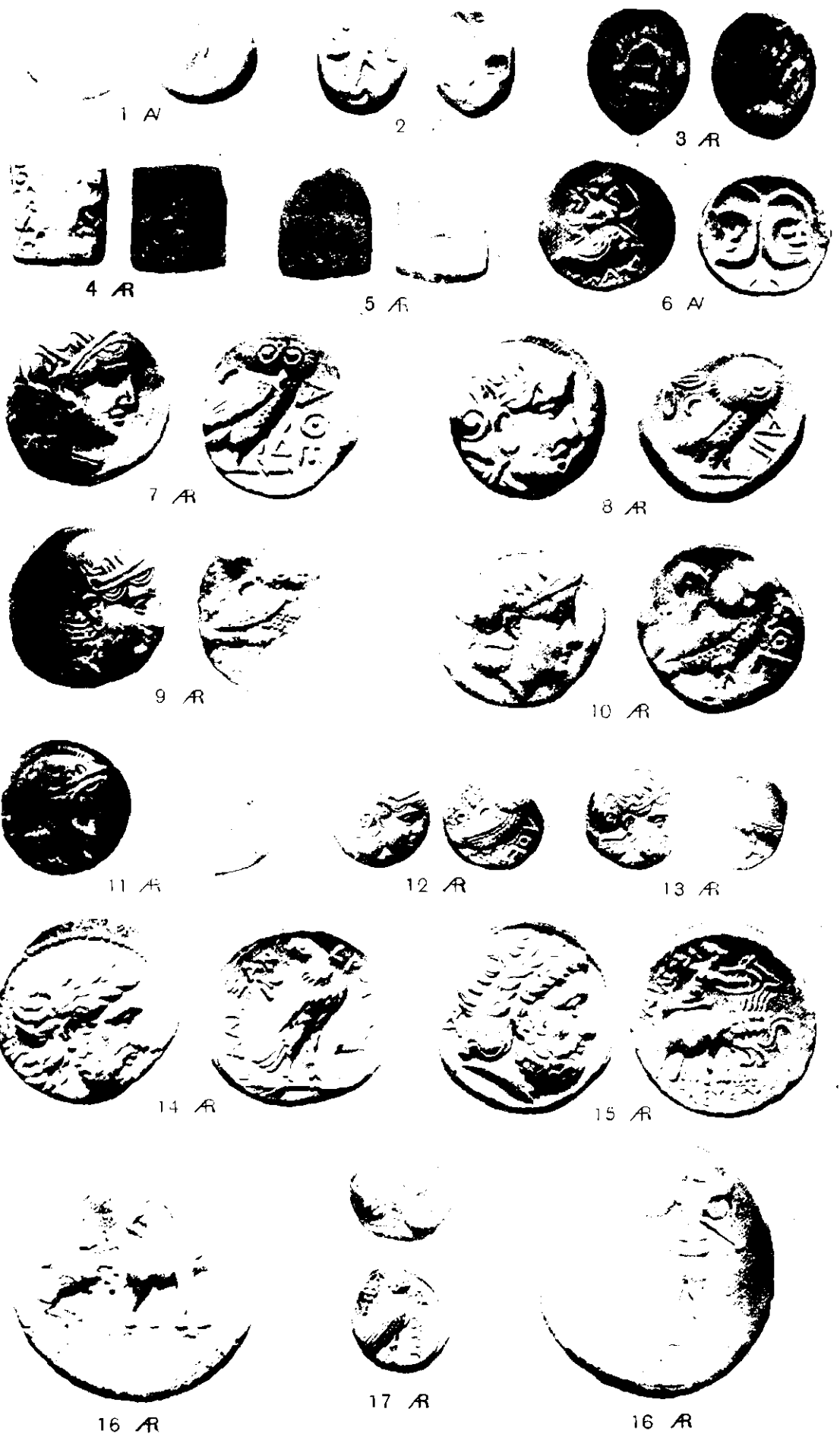
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PERSIAN, ATHENIAN, AND MACEDONIAN TYPES IN INDIA



COINS OF THE SELEUCID KINGS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS





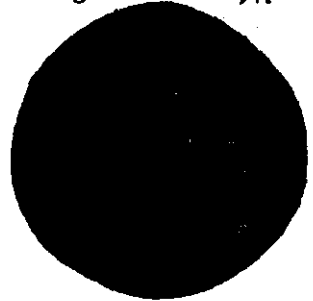
1 R



2 R



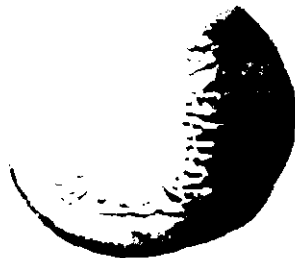
3 R



4 R



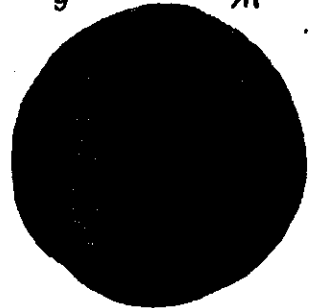
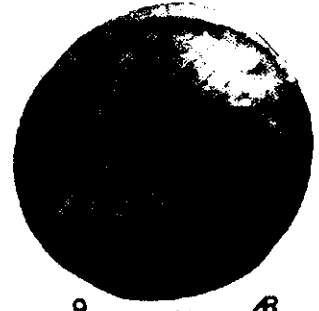
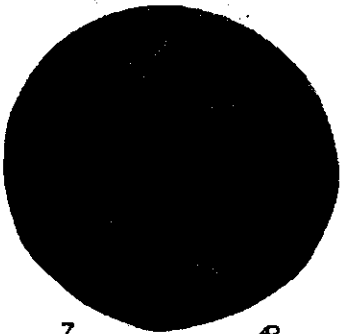
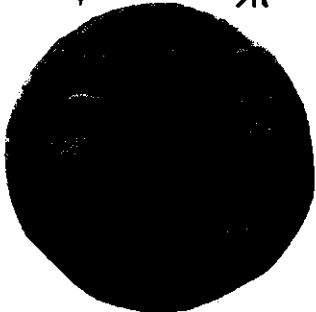
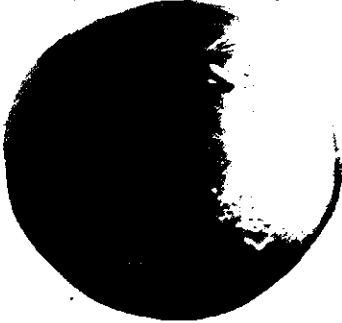
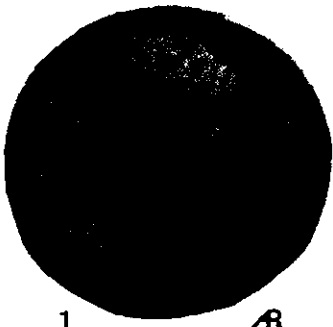
5



6



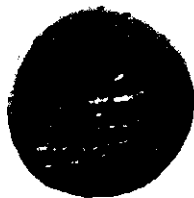
COINS OF BACTRIA



COINS OF BACTRIA



1 A



2 A



3 A



4 A



5 A



6 A



7 A



8 A



9 A



10 A



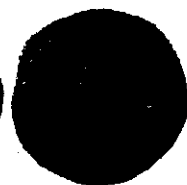
11 A



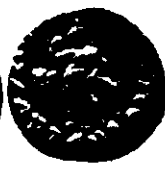
12 A



13 A



14 A



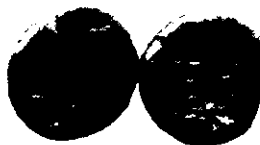
15 A



16 A



17 A



18 A



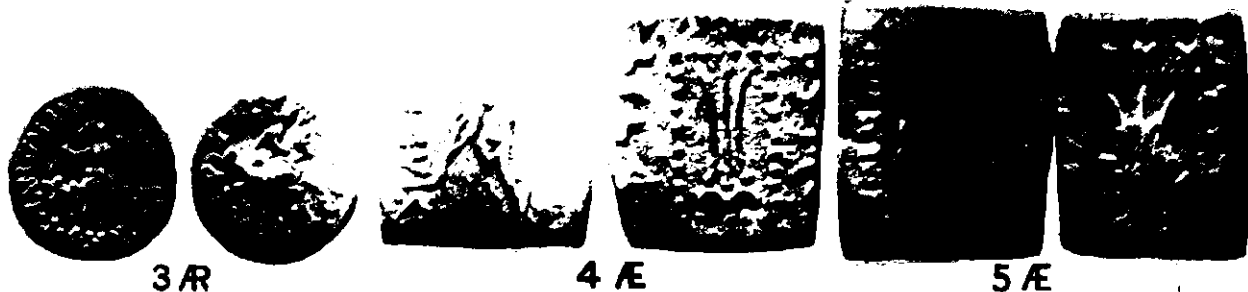
19 A

COINS OF NATIVE INDIAN STATES



1A

2A



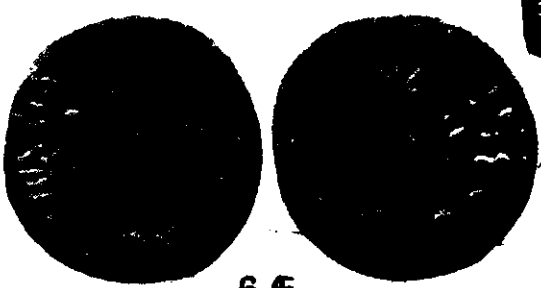
3A

4A

5A



7A



6A



8A



10

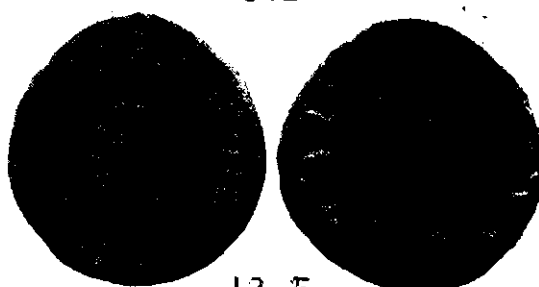
AV



9A



11A



12A



13A

14A

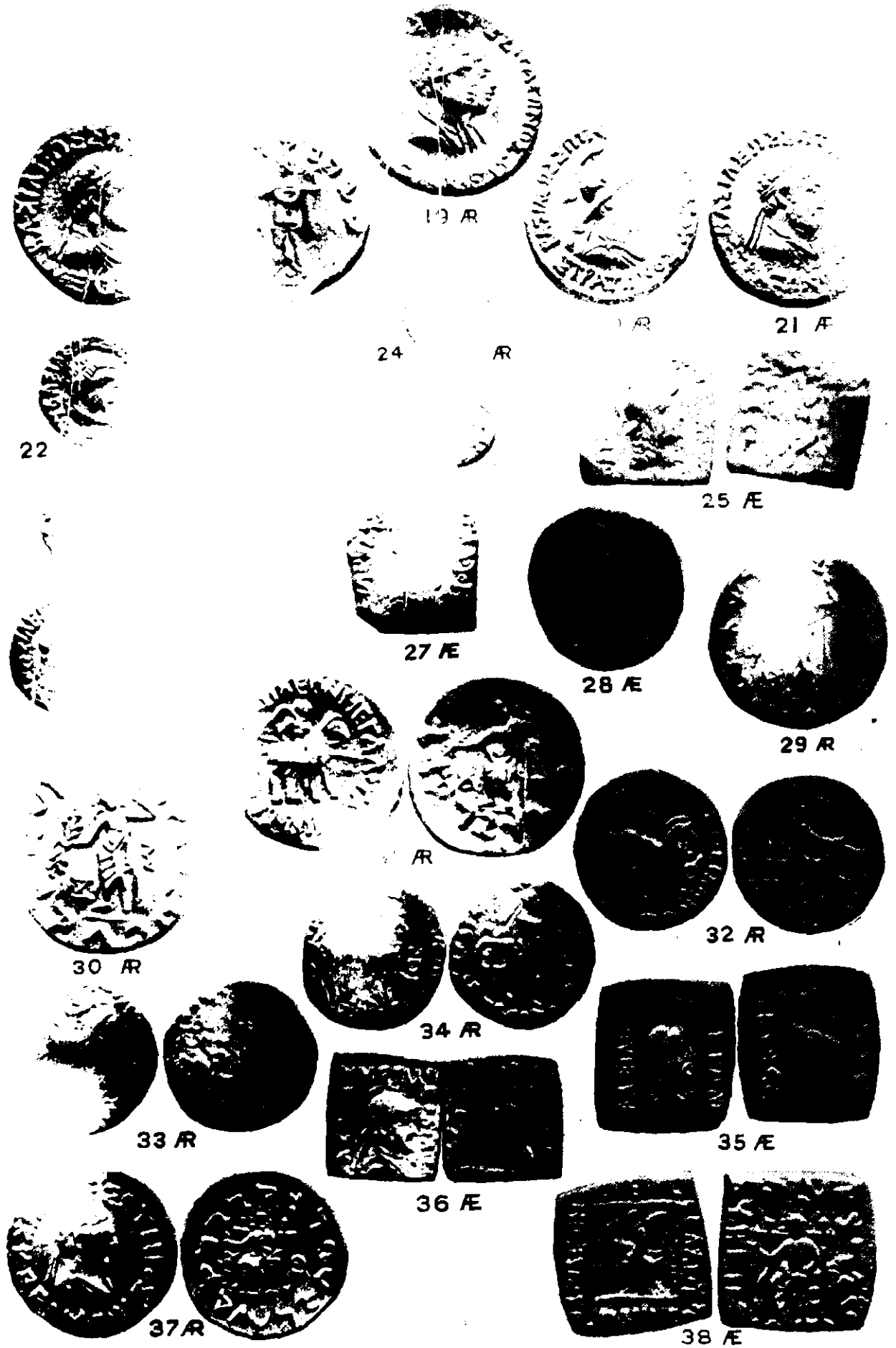


15A

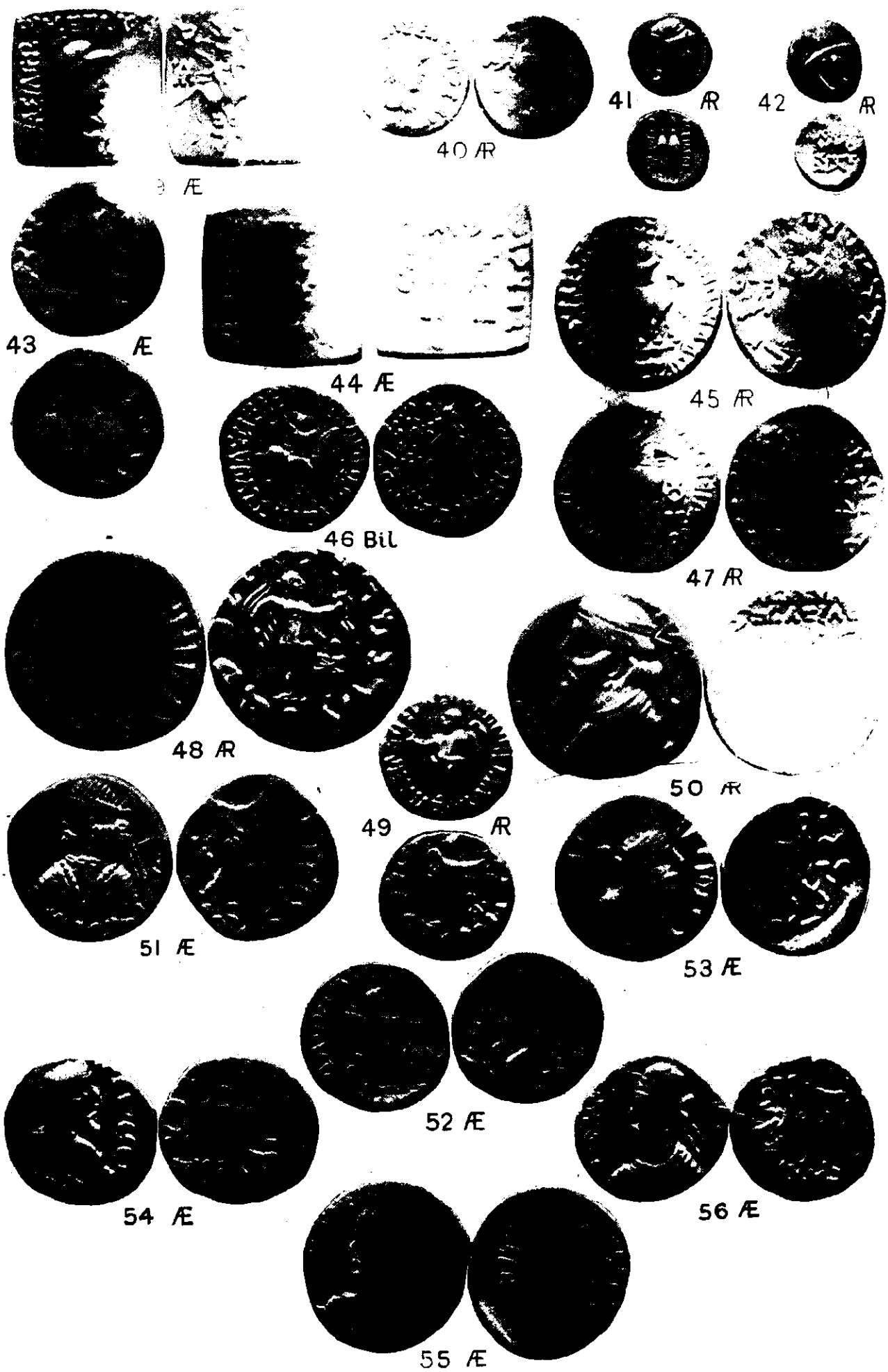
16A

17A

COINS OF THE GREEK, SCYTHIAN, AND PARTHIAN INVADERS



COINS OF THE GREEK, SCYTHIAN, AND PARTHIAN INVADERS



COINS OF THE GREEK, SCYTHIAN, AND PARTHIAN INVADERS

**PLATE IX**

**(Nos. 1-10)**

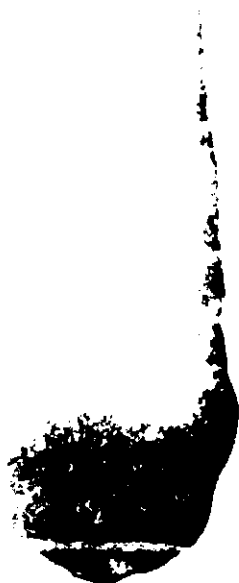
**PALAEOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC  
IMPLEMENTS**



1  
Straight-edged cleaver of brownish quartzite: from Chingleput District, Madras. 13 cms.



2  
Pebble-buttled boucher of quartzite: from Chingleput District. 14 cms.



5  
Boucher of banded ferruginous quartzite: from Kistna District, Madras. 19 cms.



6  
Polished celt with pointed butt of speckled trap: from Bāndā District, United Provinces. 19 cms.



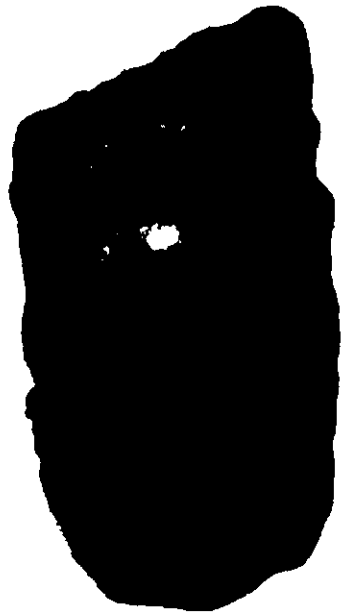
9  
Polished chisel-celt of hardened clay slate: from Burma. 20 cms.





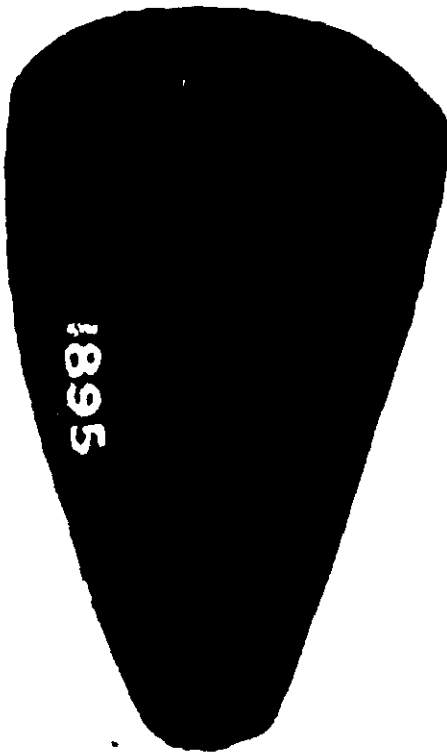
3

Discoid palaeolith of reddish-grey quartzite: from north of the Ghatprabha river, Belgaum District. 7.5 cms.



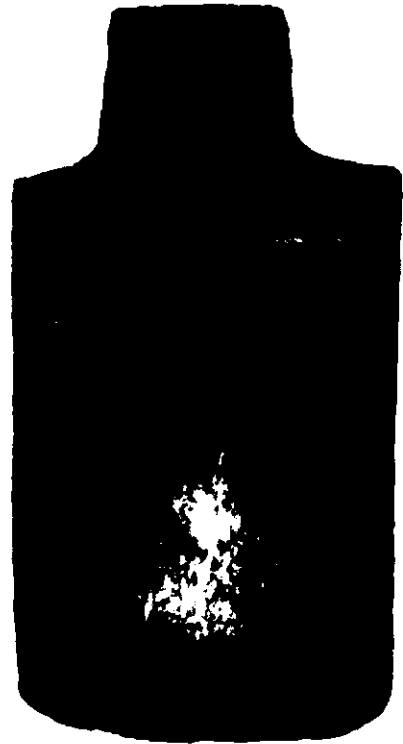
4

Guillotine-edged palaeolith of reddish quartzite: from the Bennihalla river, Dhärwār District, Bombay. 23 cms.



7

Polished celt, weathered, with flattened butt and crescentic edge of trap: from Mahobā, Bundelkhand. 9 cms.



8

Polished shouldered celt with adze-like edge, of dark grey slate: from Burma. 10 cms.



10

Core of nummulitic flint with 12 flakes: from the Indus at Sukkur. 14.5 cms.

PALAEOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS



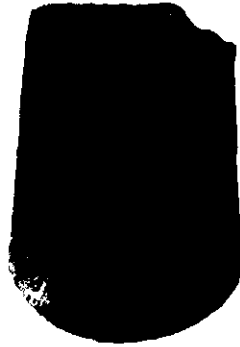
11



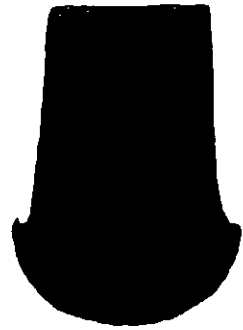
12



13

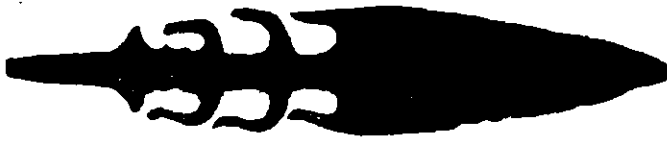


14



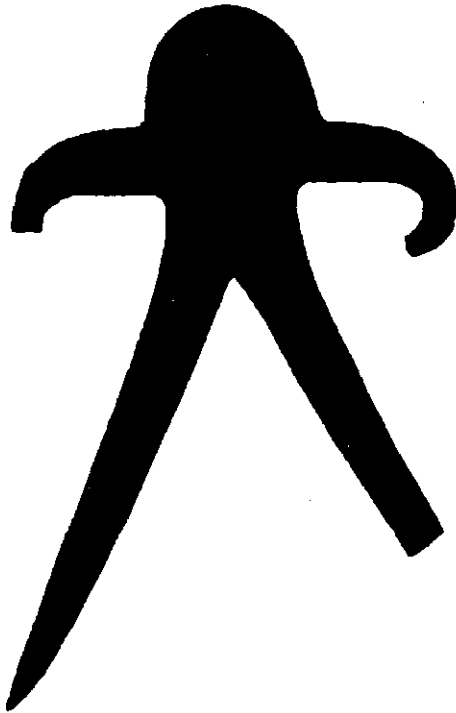
15

Celts from Bijnor District, U.P. Scale =  $\frac{1}{16}$ .



16

Barbed spear-head from Bijnor District, U.P.  
Scale  $\frac{1}{16}$ .



17

Object of uncertain character from  
Fatehgarh, U.P. Scale =  $\frac{1}{16}$ .



18



19



20

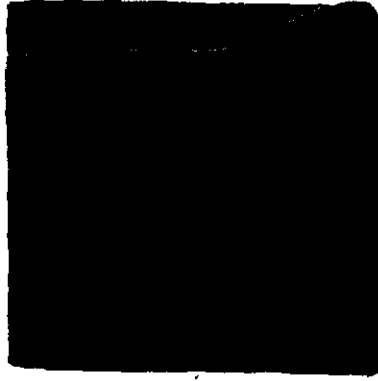
Swords from Fatehgarh, U.P. Scale =  $\frac{1}{16}$ .

PREHISTORIC COPPER OBJECTS



21

Gold leaf from Vedic (?)  
burial mound at Lauriyā  
Nandangarh.  
(Actual size.)



22

Seals from Harappa, Montgomery Dist., Punjab. (Actual size.)



23



24

Açoka Pillar at Lauriyā  
Nandangarh.  
(Height 39' 7½".)



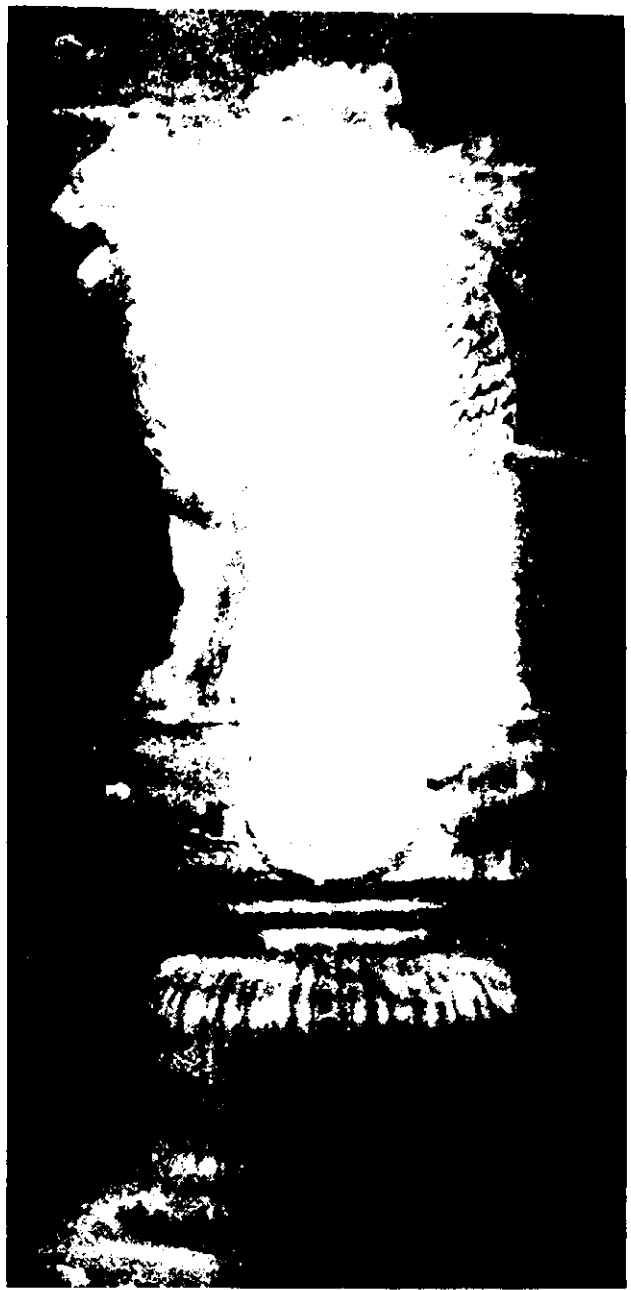
25

Façade of the Lomas Rishi Cave.



26

Yaksha (?) Statue from Pārkhām, near Mathurā. (Height 8' 8".)



27

Capital of Aśoka Column at Sārnāth. (Height 6' 10½".)



28

Relief on Capital of Aśoka Column at Sārnāth.



29  
(Height 6'.)



30  
(Height 5' 4''.)

Yaksha figures from Patna. (Indian Museum, Calcutta.)



31



32



33

Indigenous punch-marked Coins.



34

Coin of Sophytes (Saubhūti).



35

Terracotta head from Sarnath.  
(Actual size.)



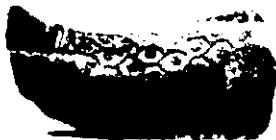
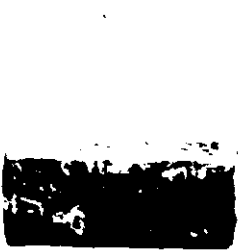
36

Terracotta head from Basachi.  
(Actual size.)



37

Terracotta relief from Basarh. (Actual size.)



38

from Taxila. (Actual size.)



40

Crystal reliquary from Piprahwa  
Stupa. (Height 3½")



41

GATEWAY AND RAILINGS OF THE BHĀRHUT STŪPA  
(INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA)

PLATE XVI

(Nos. 42-45)

RELIEFS ON THE RAILING  
OF THE BHĀRHUT STŪPA



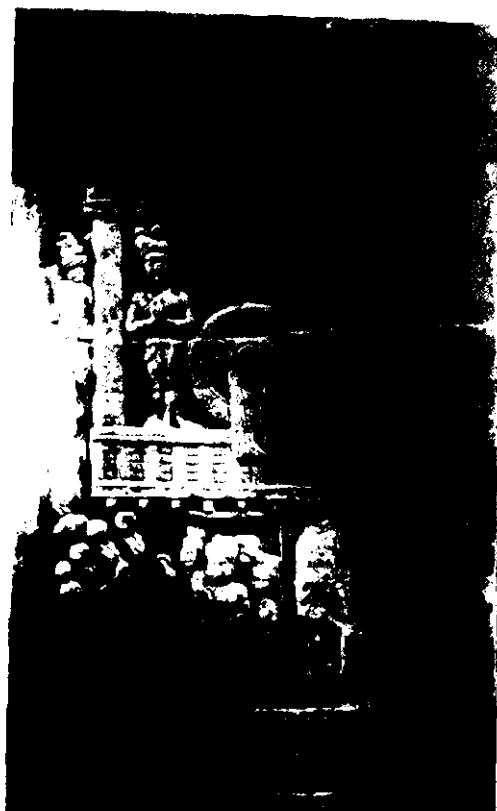


42



44

RELIEFS ON THE RAILING OF THE BHĀRHUT STŪPA



43



45

RELIEFS ON THE RAILING OF THE BHĀRHUT STŪPA

**PLATE XVII**  
**(Nos. 46, 47)**

**RELIEFS ON THE RAILING  
OF THE BHĀRHUT STŪPA**



RELIEFS ON THE RAILING OF THE BHĀRHUT STŪPA



RELIEFS ON THE RAILING OF THE BHĀRHUT STŪPA



48

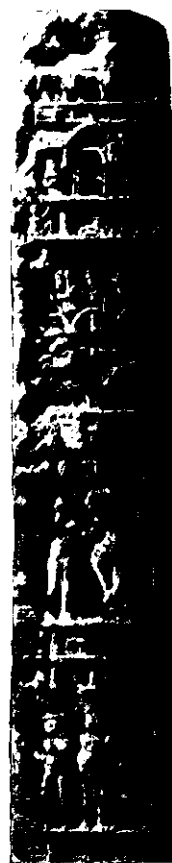
**GARUDA PILLAR AT BESNAGAR NEAR BHĪLSA (VIDIĀ)**  
(Height 21' 3'')



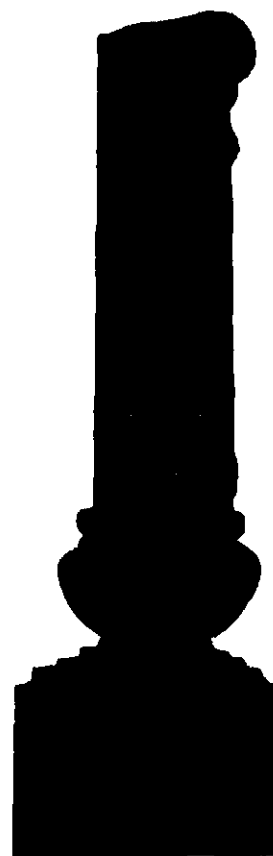
19



50  
Pillar of Railing.



51  
Pillar of Railing.



52  
Pillar of Chaṅkrama.

**RAILING AND RELIEFS AT BUDDH GAYĀ**

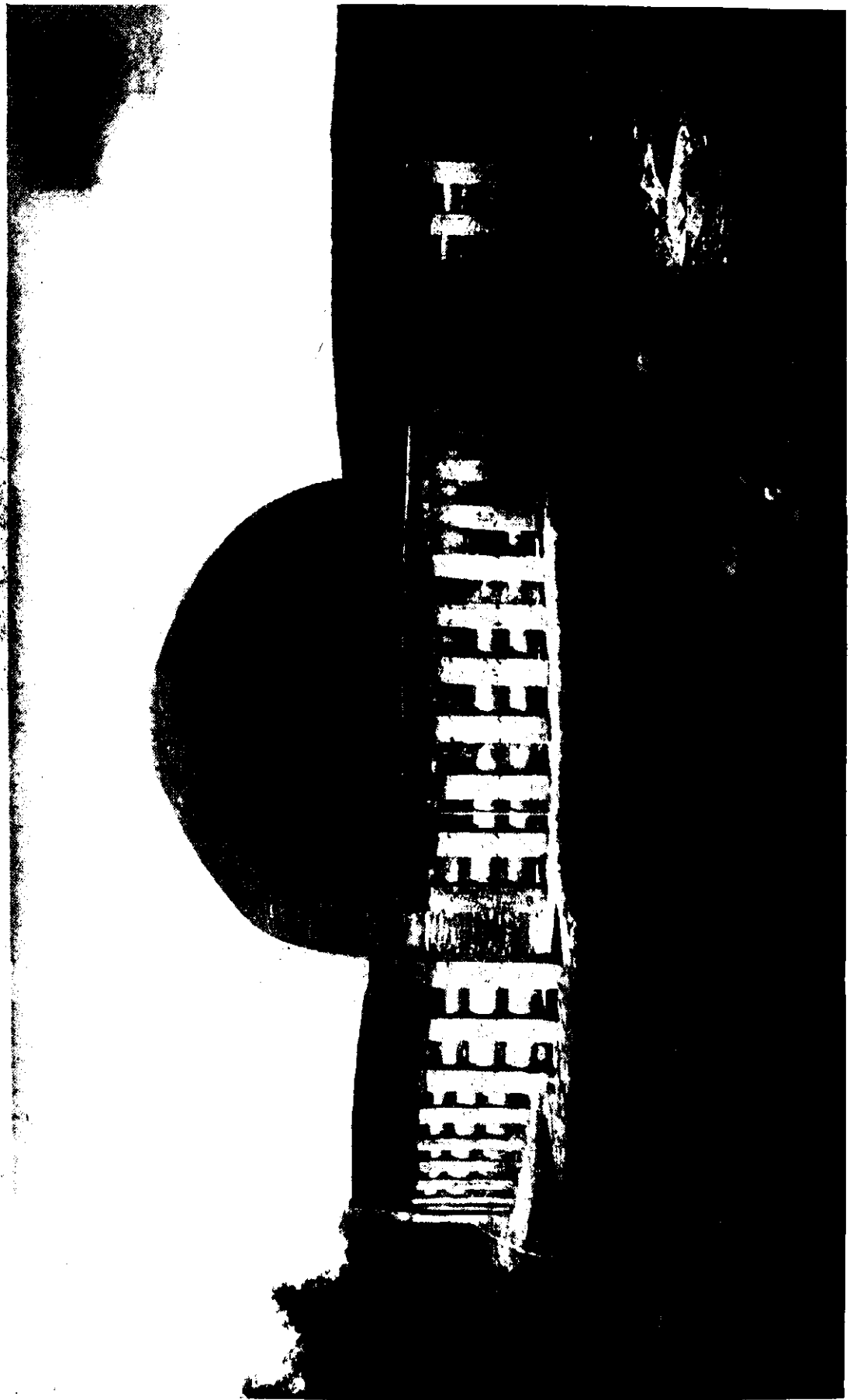


GENERAL VIEW OF THE MAIN STŪPA AT SĀNCHĪ FROM THE NORTH-EAST. (Height about 54')



PLATE XXI  
(Nos. 54-59)

GENERAL VIEW AND RAILING  
PILLARS OF STŪPA II AT SĀNCHĪ





55



56



57



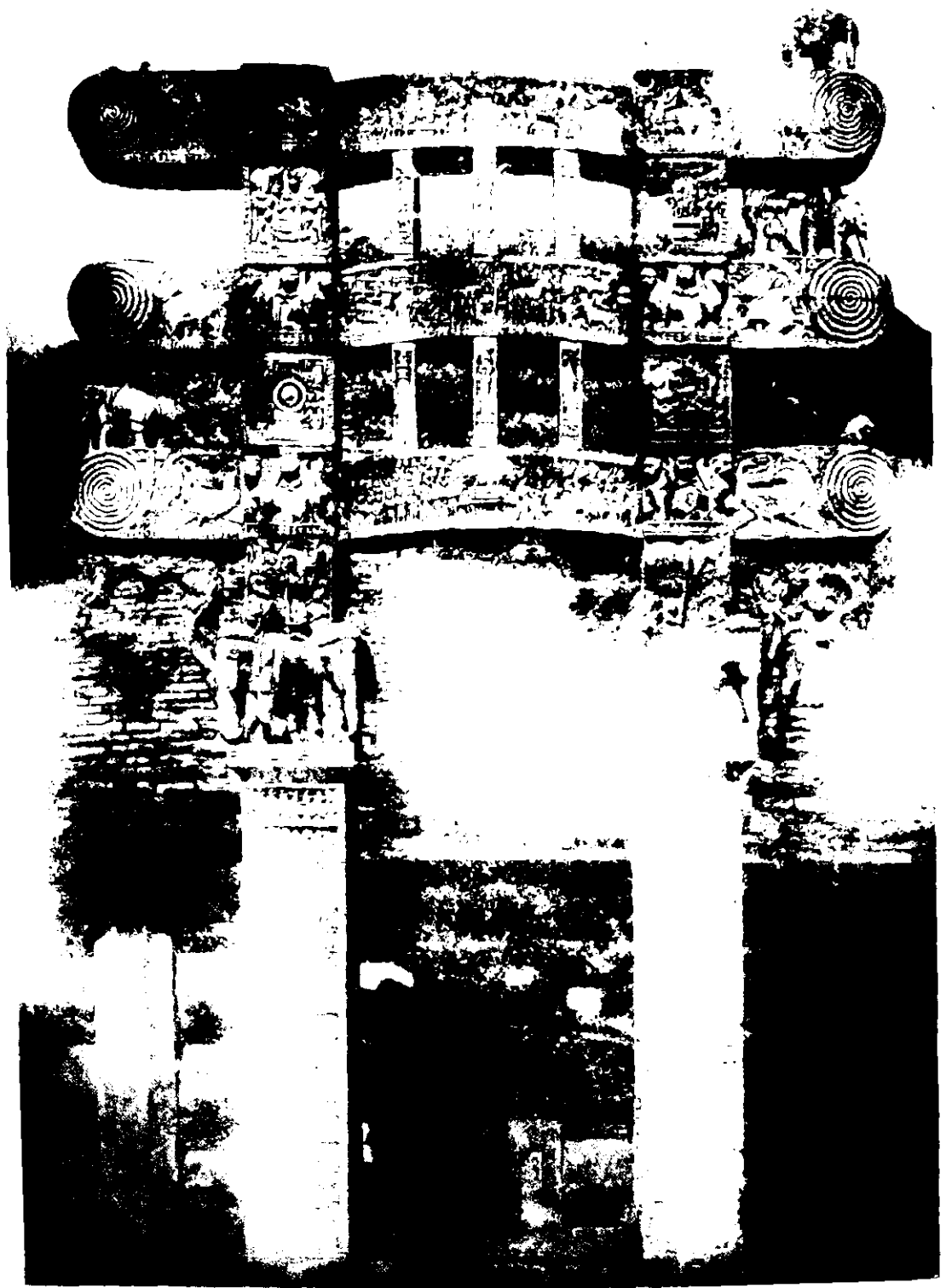
58



59

RAILING PILLARS OF STŪPA II AT SĀNCHĪ

Relief on South  
Pillar of West  
Gateway of the  
Main Stūpa.



FRONT FACE OF EAST GATEWAY OF THE MAIN  
STŪPA AT SĀNCHĪ

PLATE XXIII

(Nos. 61-64)

ARCHITRAVES OF GATEWAYS  
OF THE  
MAIN STŪPA AT SĀNCHĪ



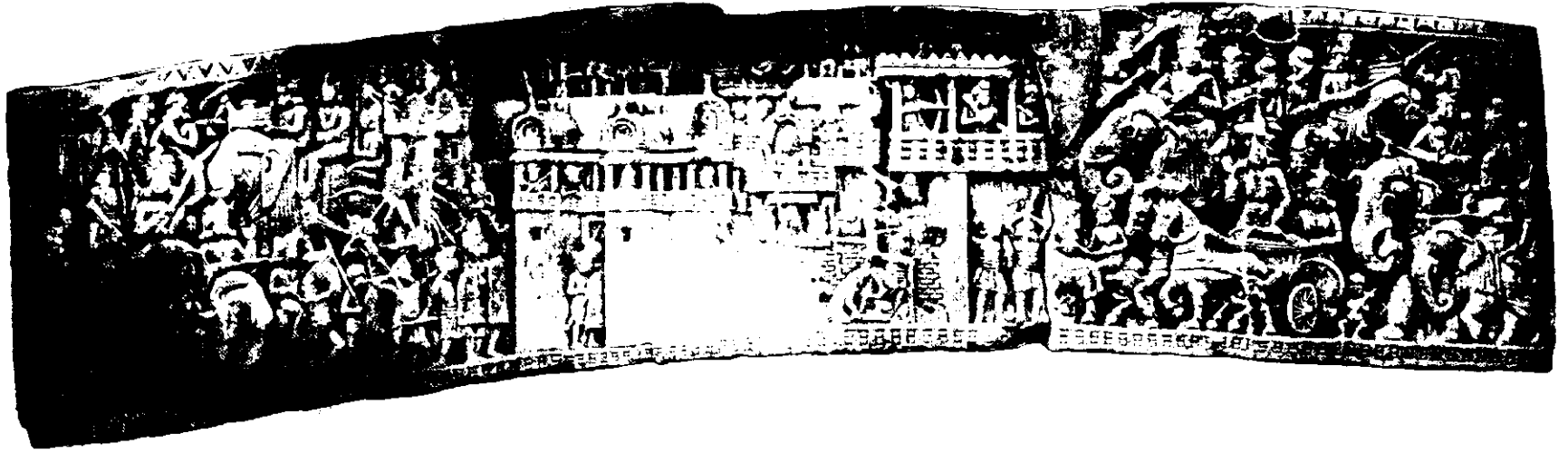
61

Middle Architrave of South Gateway.



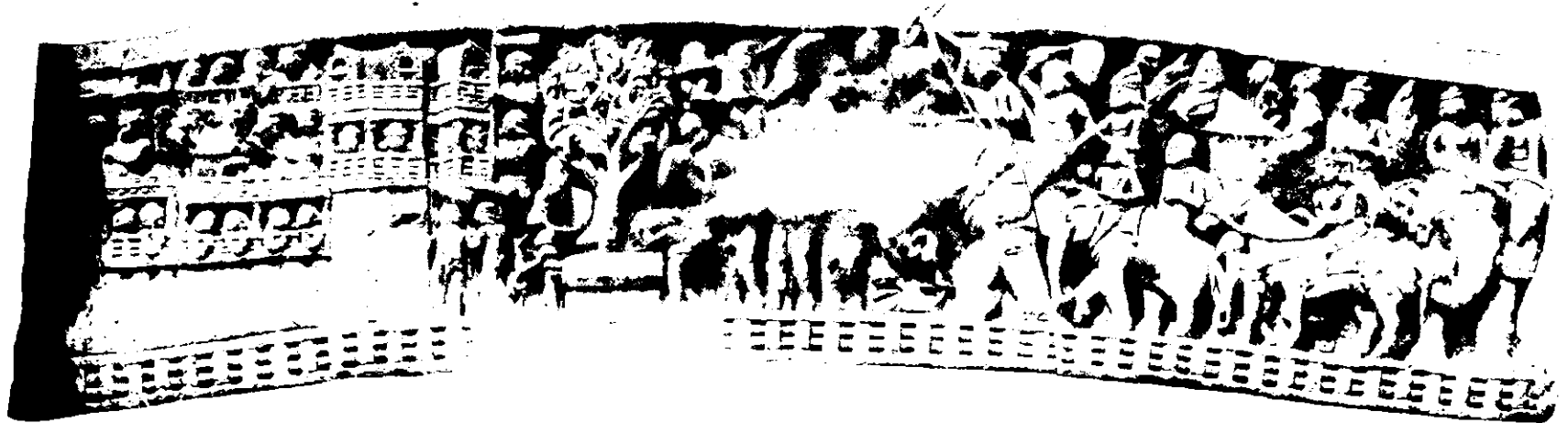
62

Lowest Architrave of West Gateway.



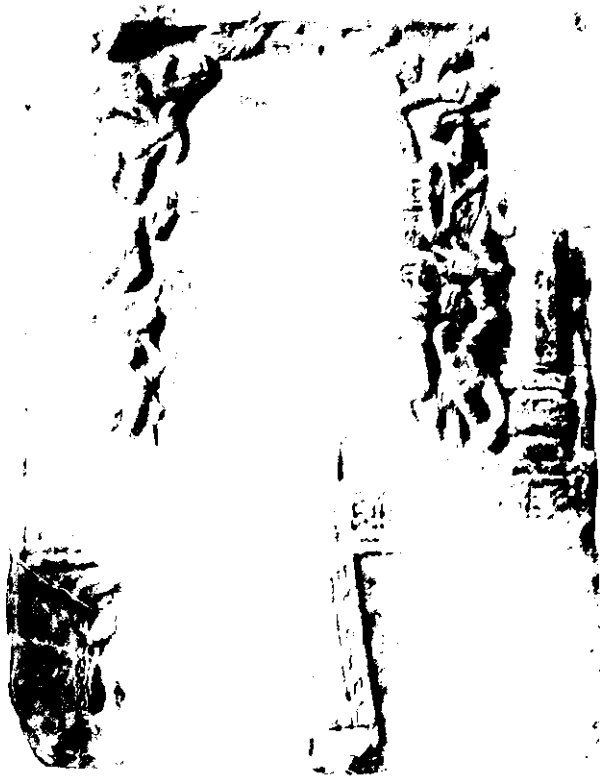
63

Lowest Architrave of South Gateway.



64

Upper Architrave of West Gateway.



Jain votive stupa (from Mathurā. Height 2' 4".)



Portion of Torana arch from Mathurā. (Height 3' 3".)



PLATE XXV

(Nos. 67, 68)

THE CHAITYA CAVE AT KĀRLI



67

Front view of Chaitya Cave at Kārli.



68

Interior view of Chaitya Cave at Kārli.

PLATE XXVI

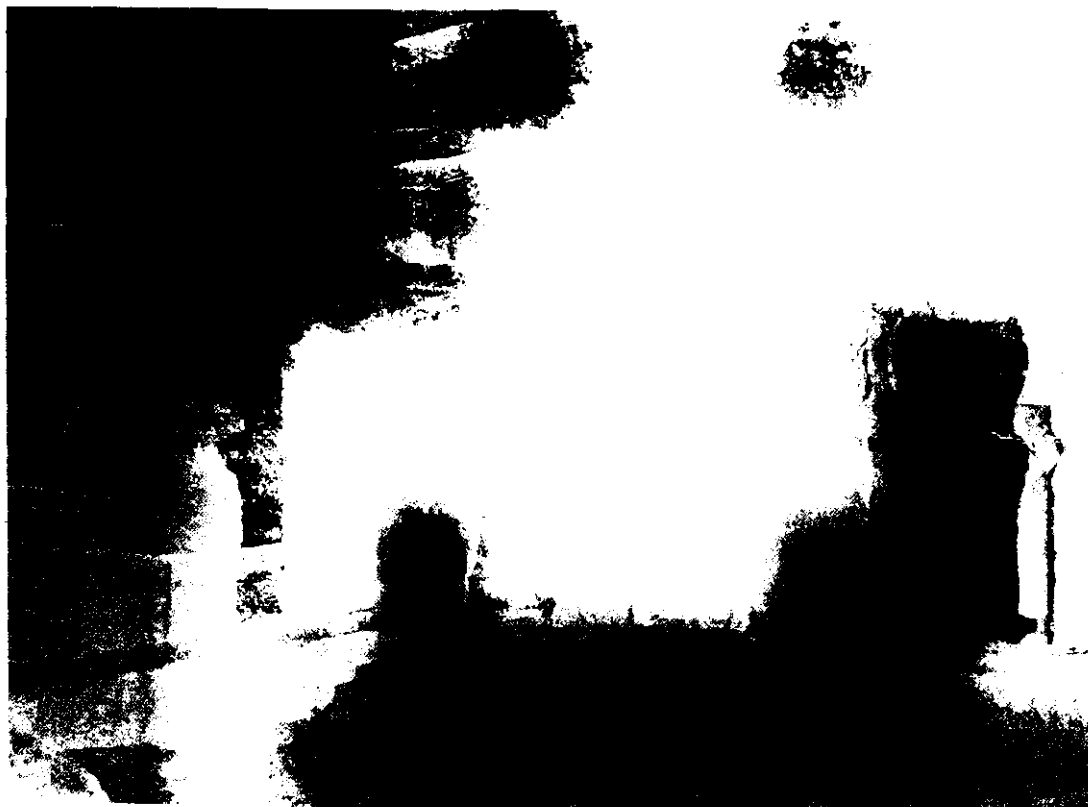
(Nos. 69-72)

CAVES AT KONDĀNE, BHĀJĀ,  
NADSŪR, AND NĀSIK



69

Front view of Chaitya Cave



71

Interior of Vihāra Cave at Nadsūr.



70

Relief from Vihāra Cave, Nāsiq.



72

Front view of the Pāṇḍulena at Nāsiq.

PLATE XXVII

(Nos. 73-76)

MANCHAPURĪ CAVE AND  
ANANTA GUMPHĀ



73

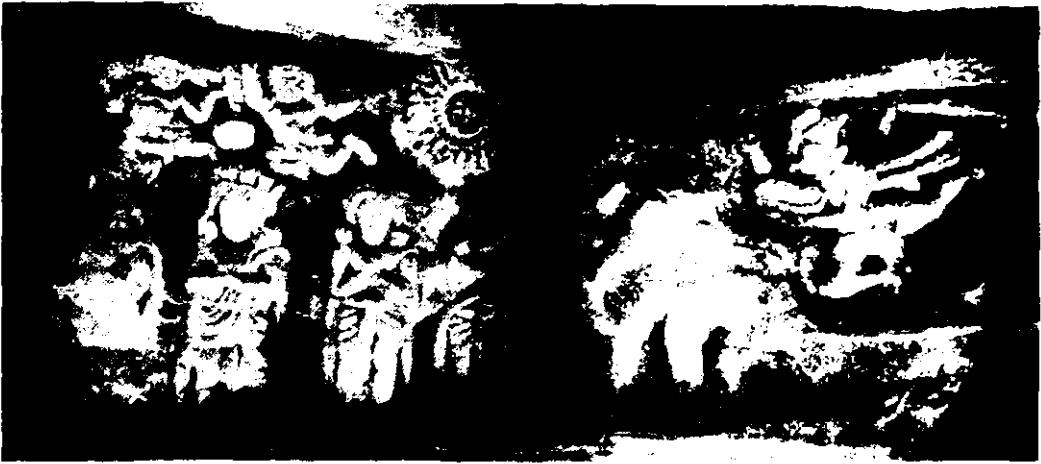
The Manchapuri Cave.



75

Relief from arch of Ananta Gumphā.





74

Part of frieze from lower storey of Manchapuri Cave.



76

Part of frieze from Ananta Gumphā.

PLATE XXVIII

(Nos. 77-80)

RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ AND

ALAKĀPURĪ CAVE



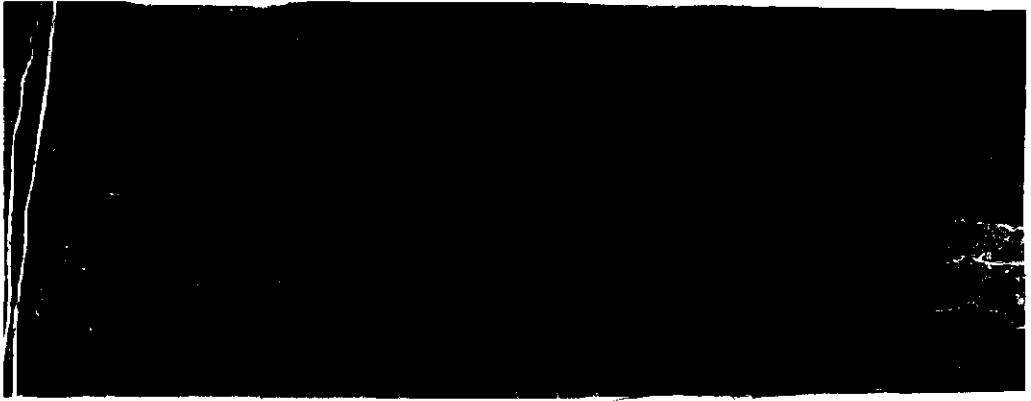
77

Part of frieze from the east story of Rani Gumphā.



79

The Rānī Gumphā.



78

Part of frieze from upper storey of Rānī Gumphā.



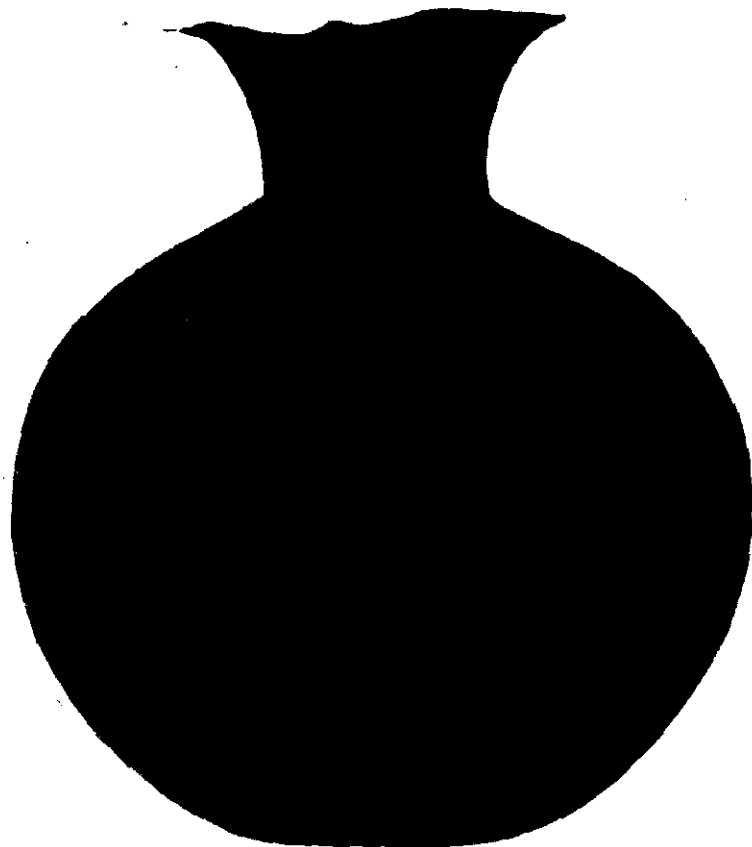
00

Part of frieze from upper storey of Alakāpurī Cave.



81

Terracotta plaque from Bhīlū. (Actual size.)



82

Copper lotā from Kulū.

PLATE XXX  
(Nos. 83 *a*-83 *l*)

COINS OF BACTRIA AND  
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA



*a*  
Demetrius.



*b*  
Eucratides.



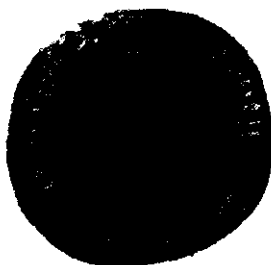
*c*  
Antialcidas.



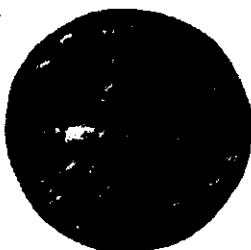
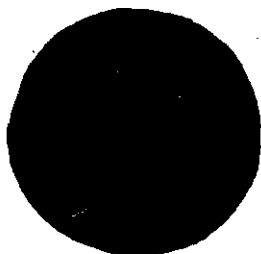
*d*  
Archebius.



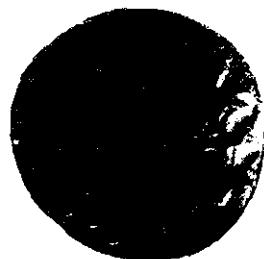
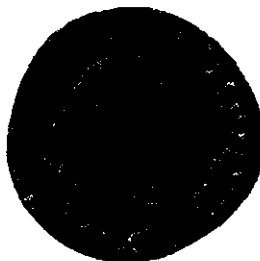
*e*  
Apollodotus.



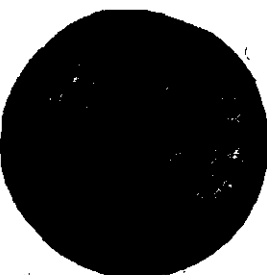
*f*  
Menander.



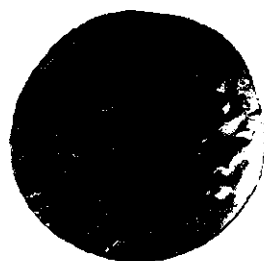
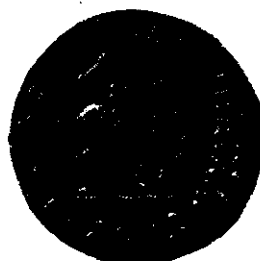
*g*  
Philoxenus.



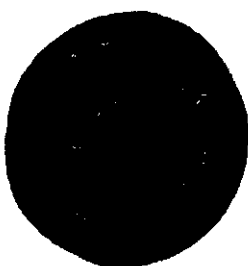
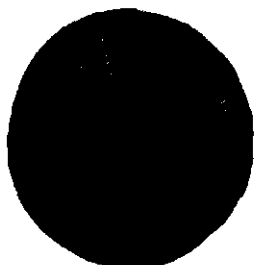
*h*  
Hermaeus.



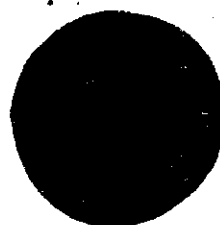
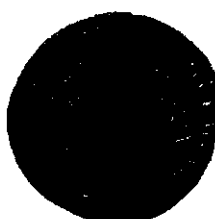
*i*  
Maues.



*j*  
Azes.



*k*  
Azilises.



*l*  
Gondopharnes.





84

Head of Dionysus. Silver repoussé. Taxila.  
(Height 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".)



85

Stūpa base of Scytho-Parthian epoch. Taxila.



86

Bronze statuette. Taxila. (Height 5".)

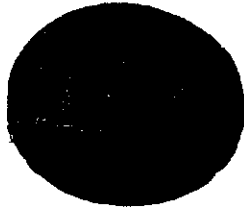


87

Gold casket from Stupa at Bimaran. (Height 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".)



a



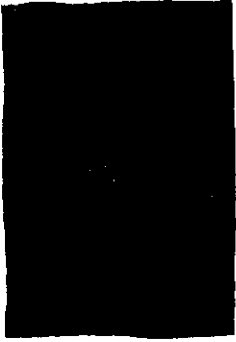
b



c



d



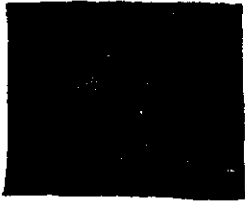
e



f



g



h



i



j



k

INTAGLIO GEMS FROM THE NORTH-WEST OF INDIA



89

Life-size statue of Buddha from Gandhāra.