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TOILET TRAYS FROM GANDHARA AND BEGINNING OF HELLENISM IN PAKISTAN

Dr. Saifur Rahman Dar *

General

From all levels of the Greek city of Taxila and from many other sites in Gandhara have been discovered in the past a number of small round dishes usually called 'TOILET TRAYS'. These trays are usually from 9 to 17.5 centimeters in diameter and are made exclusively of soft varieties of stones such as steatite, phyllite, schist etc. Almost all have been turned on lathe. Obverse of these trays generally consists of concave surface and raised border whereas bottom side is usually convex. Only in some cases, the back is flat. The concave surface is left plain or is divided into two, three or more parts to receive the main motif in relief. The main motif, sculptured in high relief, occupies either the whole circular concave surface or, as is in majority of cases, the upper 3/4 part of it. Rest of the space is either left plain or is decorated in incised geometric-cum-floral or figural designs. Scallop shell and lotus petals form the usual background of the motifs on the obverse with sun rays in the exergue. Though in numerous cases back side receives some incised floral or geometrical motifs (No. 7), in majority of cases, however, it is left blank. The main motif on the obverse consists of either two, three or more human figures grouped in thematic arrangements (so far rarely identified) or human and animal or animal and

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composite figures alone. Out of 123 toilet trays listed here (See Appendix) the find spots of 85 are known exactly or approximately. Among these 82 come from city sites¹ and only three are from some religious sites². Among all the sites from where these toilet trays have come, only the site of Taxila has been subjected to proper excavations. But even the trays from this site have been somewhat summarily described by Sir John Marshall³. Only six more trays are known from proper excavated sites namely three from Udegram, Swat (S. Nos. 65-67), one each from Butkara (S. No. 68), Bala Hisar (S. No. 74) and Hatra (S. No. 85). On the whole these trays have never been made a subject of serious study by any scholar with the result that the origin and purpose of these trays as well as meaning of the motifs appearing thereon have never been ascertained properly⁴. Above all the question of placement of these trays in Gandhara-Art, chronologically or the matically, has never been confirmed.

Distribution

So far I have been able to trace out 115 trays distributed in various museums all over the world. I have also seen a good number of them in antique dealers' shops in Peshawar, Lahore and some in private collections as well. A lot of others, I am sure, still remain untraced. In one single group the greatest number of 62 comes from Taxila⁵ alone. The approximate location of only 22 other trays are known: 9 trays from Swat⁶, from Charsada area⁷, one each from Narai⁸, Akra⁹, Sar Dheri¹⁰, Tor Dher¹¹ near Pir Saddhu, Oxus¹², Helmund¹³ area in Afghanistan and Hatra (Iraq).¹⁴ Majority of these trays are still unpublished or have been published summarily. So much so that the largest group from one single site i.e. Taxila was published in the form of a quite insufficiently illustrated catalogue and even that contained only apart of the collection found from that site.

Herald of Hellenism

Limited though our knowledge about these trays is, for us the importance of these trays lies in the fact that these mark the beginning of Hellenism in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent and in this capacity have acted as a "Herald" to the Hellenistic Art of Gandhara. This is because these trays are the earliest evidence of the Graeco-Hellenistic influence on the soil of Pakistan. Besides, almost all the figural motifs are taken from the Greek mythology and contemporary Hellenistic traditions as assimilated by the Bactrian and Indus Greeks¹⁵, Scythians and Parthians. These were introduced by the Bactrian Greeks but practically disappeared in the 1st. century AC without leaving any successor. Their influence on Gandhara Art is as much as they transmitted to the Gandhara artists the tradition of carving in stone, making stone sculptures in high relief and a number of decorative motifs—figural and/or floral.

Dating and Chronology

Dating of these trays has also been problematic. Every scholar who refers to these trays gives his own hypothetical dates coloured with his own views regarding Gandhara Art. An absolute date is almost impossible. However, an almost correct date can be appraised by scrutinising some 40 trays coming from proper excavations—34 alone coming from Taxila¹⁶. At Taxila 2 trays come from the Greek, 8 from early and late Scythian, 18 from Parthian and 5 from Kushana strata¹⁷. This makes it clear that at Taxila these trays made their first appearance sometimes in the 2nd. Cent. BC and continued uninterruptedly uptill first century AD. Iconographically too the material from these different strata of Sirkap city of Taxila confirms the changing patterns of culture of that city from Greek to the Kushana periods. Analytical studies show that these trays made their first appearance during the Greek period with pure Hellenistic themes (No. 4 and No. 8). But during the Scythian period the entire repertoire of scenes except one (S. No. 31) changed to the animal style for which the Scythian art is well known¹⁸. These trays enjoyed greatest popularity during the Parthian period in the 1st. Cent. AD when, as we can expect, Hellenistic motifs reappeared and gradually dominated the pure animal style of the Scythian period. Out of 18 trays found in this period 5 show drinking and erotic scenes, 3 show animals and riders, 7 are in pure animal style and 3 are simple ones. The Hellenistic motifs during Parthian period consist of purely Aphrodisiac and Dianysiac scenes. This re-emergence of Hellenistic motifs during Parthian supremacy and later is quite in keeping with other material excavated at Taxila¹⁹. In the present state of our knowledge no toilet tray from Taxila can be dated later than the 1st./2nd. Cent. A.D. A small number of five trays discovered in the largest excavated area of Taxila i.e. stratum I of early Kushana period testifies that these trays lost their popularity, at least at Taxila, after the decline of the Parthians. This is natural to expect because under the impact of Buddhism, moderation and morality gradually crept into the politics and arts of Kushanas in contrast to Bacchanalian character of the Parthian culture. However, the trays discovered from sites like Charsada²⁰ and Udegram Bazar²¹ show that these continued to exist elsewhere upto the 4th century AD. But, then the subject matter had changed completely²². To conclude we can say that the Gandharan toilet trays started in the 2nd. Cent. BC and continued uptill 4th Cent. AD.

This chronological framework is also confirmed on iconographical and stylistic basis too. The earliest trays from the Greek period of Taxila represent pure Hellenistic themes with a quality of carving better than those of late period trays (S. Nos. 27 and 35). During the subsequent Scythian period not only the Greek art started deteriorating, but the whole repertoire of scenes switched over to pure animal style (S. Nos. 3, 5, 16, 17, 20, 21, 26, 33, 37-39) for which Scythian art is well known²³. In the Parthian period we observe a notable but short period revival of an art which is reminiscent of Greek art both in style, themes and the quality of carvings. During

Parthian period, the subject matter is invariably Aphrodisiac and Dionysiac (S. Nos. 6, 7, 22, 24, 36) for which Hellenistic art is well known²⁴.

Origin

Origin of these trays is a big problem. Since majority of these trays is made of schist stone there is no doubt that these were carved locally and were not imported from outside Gandhara. But where do the designs of the trays come from? General characteristic of these trays are :—

Small size, round dish or plate with concave surface and convex bottom, decorated on high relief with figural motifs of mythological origin on the and floral motifs on the back. The circular surface is usually divided into two unequal halves, or in multiple divisions of three, four or more segments. The main motif normally occupies the most significant part of the division on the obverse²⁵.

Tray, or any other object with these characteristics, are not known in any earlier art style of Pakistan and India. These have certainly nothing common with silver dishes of Achaemenian and Sassanian periods.²⁶ Depiction of scenes within a circular space is not unknown in ancient India. We know stone medallions from Bharhut (185-72 BC)²⁷ No. I), Sanchi (72-25 BC)²⁸ and Amaravati (25 BC—320 AD)²⁹. But these cannot be compared with our trays either in size or in themes and iconography. Besides, the Indian medallions are part of a larger architectural composition. Instead of being separate and independent like our trays, these are fixed and inseparable from their larger units. Two silver plaques or medallions, now in the British Museum and originally part of the Oxus Treasure³⁰, are typically Indian and have been regarded as "smaller metal counterparts of similar designs found at Sanchi and in the roundels of the Bharhut Stupa³¹. As a matter of fact these circular plaques of Oxus Treasure are actually the Indian counterparts of the classical circular metallic plates from Bactria now in the Hermitage, Leningrad. Of this we shall speak more below³².

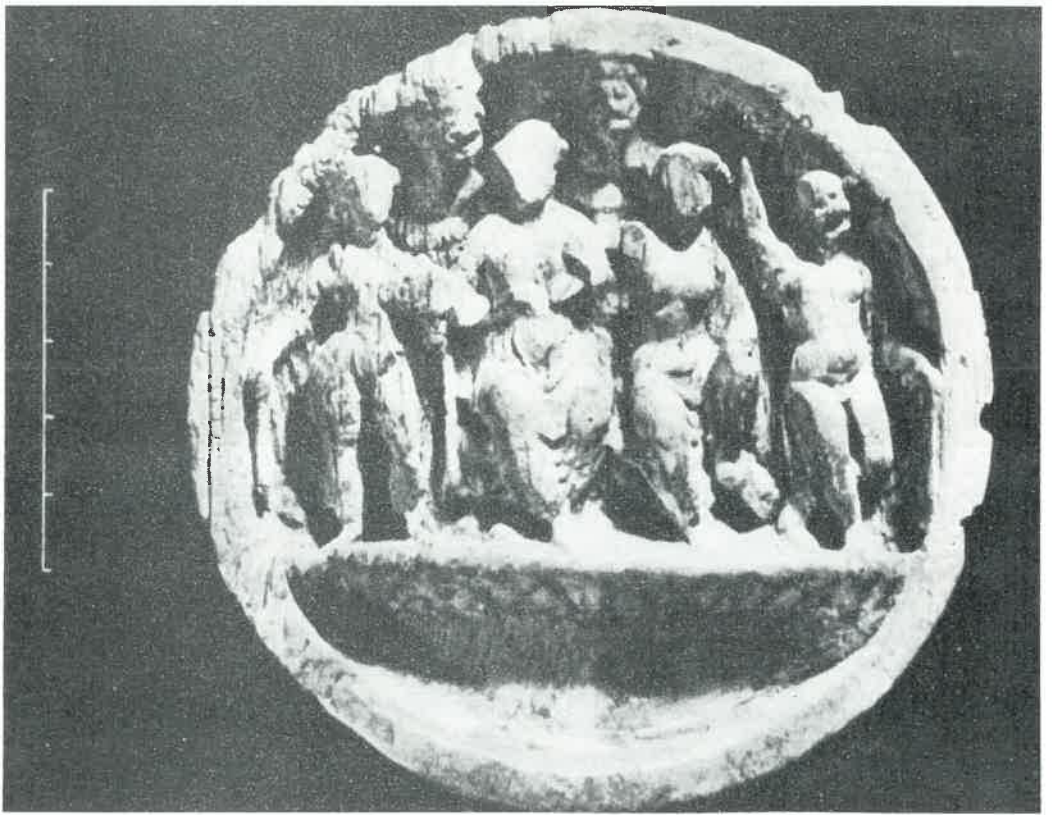
Indeed in shape and figural decorations as well as in subject and technique Gandharan trays are essentially western and Hellenistic. The depiction of mythological themes and other decorative motifs within circular space were common both in classical and Hellenistic periods. But the exact counterparts of these trays in all essentials have never been found anywhere in Asia Minor or the main-land Greece. The only closely resembling examples that I know are a steatite dish in the National Museum, Athens showing Hermes Nikephoros surrounded by Tyche and Harpocrates³³ and a large silver dish in Istanbul Museum depicting the Personification of India³⁴—both from Asia Minor and datable from 2nd. to 6th. Cent. AD. Besides, a tray of exact Gandhara type has recently been discovered from Pantheon Temple at Hatra in Iraq³⁵.



I. Stone Medallion on a Rail Cross-bar, Bharhut Stupa. (185-72 BC).



II. Naked Hercules, club in right-hand, riding a ram-headed Sea-monster to left. (S. No. 93).



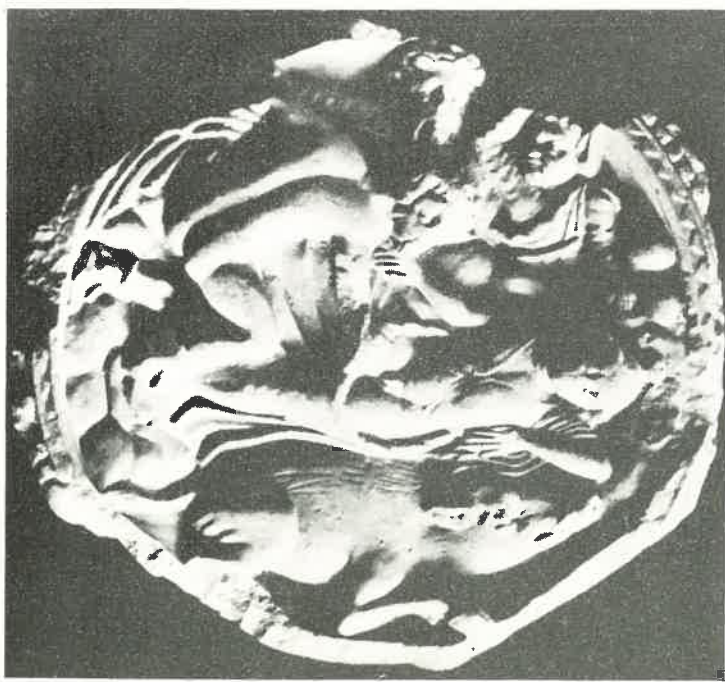
III. *Assembly of gods, Pantheon Temple, Hatra. In ivory (S. No. 85).*



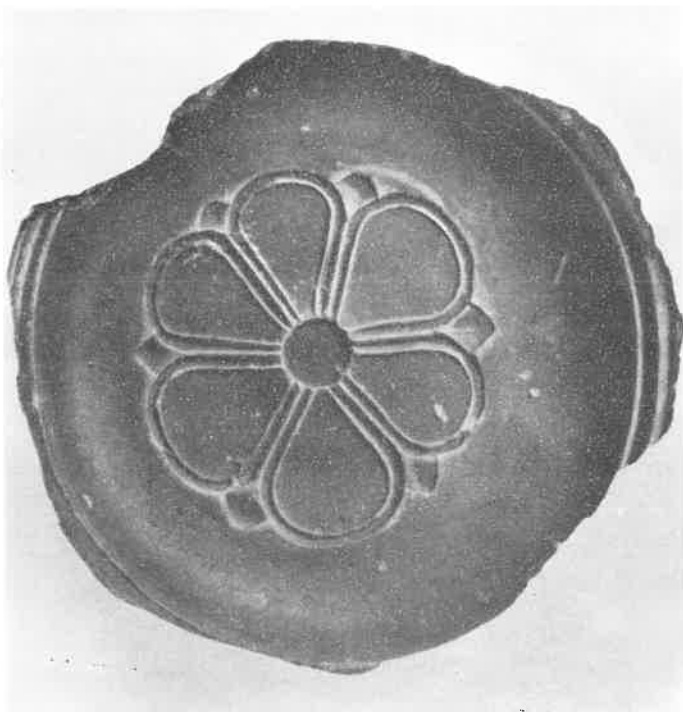
IV. *Apollo disrobing daphne. From Taxila. (S. No. 35).*



V. *Apollo and Daphne or Nymph and Satyr. From Charsada. (Photo courtesy V & A Museum, London) (S. No. 75).*



VI. *Rape of Dionysos, From Taxila. (Photo courtesy Willian Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art-Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City.) (S. No. 62).*



VII. *Backside of a tray from Taxila (photo courtesy William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Arts, Kansas City). (S. No. 62).*



VIII. *Funeral Banquet. From Taxila. (S. No. 27).*



IX. *Funeral Banquet.* (photo courtesy from British Museum, London) (S. No. 44).



X. *Artemis and Actaeon.* Akra. (photo courtesy British Museum, London). (S. No. 81).



XI. *Hercules and Queen Omphale. Peshawar Museum (S. No. 86).*



XII. *Surya (Helios) and Savitri in Solar Chariot. From Udegram Swat Museum. (S. No. 65)., and fish-tailed Winged monster (S. No. 10).*



XIII. A couple with three attendant figures offering libation to gods. (photo courtesy V & A Museum, London) (S. No. 98).



XIV. Marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne. From Taxila. (S. No. 24).



XV. *Dionysiac Dance. From Sirkap Taxila Museum. (S. No. 25).*



XVI. *A couple each holding a wine bowl. Lahore Museum (S. No. 110).*

XVII. Aphrodite beating an Eros. From
Narai. (photo courtesy British
Museum) (S. No. 80).



XVIII. A couple in an erotic
pose. From Sar Dheri. (S. No. 82).



XIX *Semi-nude female (or Neried) with a child riding a hippocampus, From Taxila. (S. No. 34).*



XX. *Four griffins. From Malka Dheri, Charsada. (S. No. 72).*



XXI. Two birds facing each other and holding a necklace. Lahore Museum (S. No. 109).



XXII. Swastika—a symbol of 'Sun' or surya. In Taxila Museum. (S. No. 8).



XXIII. Two trays with Libation Scenes. Both in Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif (S. Nos. 66 and 69).



XXIV. Un-identified scene of Dionysiac composition. From Utmanzai. (S. No. 73).



XXV. Death of Achilles or an Erotic scene. Peshawar Museum (S. No. 88).

It depicts a Consul of Gods (No. 3). This too is datable in between 1st. Cent. to 240 A.D. Obviously none of these trays could have acted as proto-type for Gandharan trays which made their first appearance in the 2nd. Cent. BC and remained popular uptill 1st. Cent. AD.

As early as 1908 attention was invited that these trays are similar to those black steatite dishes which have been found in great number in Egypt³⁶. Since then the notion has been accepted without scrutiny. A close examination and comparison of these mutually resembling objects from two different regions show more differences than similarities. The Egyptian trays (?) have always two handles and one pseudo-spout which never occurred on Gandhara Toilet Trays. The figural motifs such as Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Horus, Harpocrates etc. as well as animals (crocodile, scorpion, gazelles, fish etc.) appearing on Egyptian dishes are related to Egyptian mythology. On the contrary, all figural motifs of Gandharan trays are derived from the Greek mythology and at the worst some animal motifs are Scythian in style or have been borrowed from Mesopotamia. F. Petrie dates the Egyptian dishes in the 1st-2nd. centuries³⁷ of the Christian Era whereas Sir Evans puts them in the 4th century³⁸. This shows that the Egyptian trays are essentially of the Roman period and came to light at a time when the Gandharan trays were losing their popularity after an existence of about 300 years. Petrie regards the Egyptian trays as decoration for toilet tables but Sir Evans regards them as libation vessels. The spout and double handle of Egyptian dishes confirm Evans' idea. But there is no such thing to show as to how the Gandharan trays were used. However, there is one thing common: the Egyptian trays, like Gandharan trays, come to light fully developed and disappear without leaving any successor. Some writers³⁹ have suggested an Alexandrian origin of Gandharan trays. This is hardly possible. Firstly, the very existence of a separate and independent Alexandrian School of Art is now being questioned⁴⁰. At least nothing like that as yet has been discovered from Alexandria itself. Secondly, if the two have a common source, they must share among themselves some common motifs as well which as a matter of fact they do not. The Gandharan artists were not abhorrent to accept Egyptian gods. We find statues of Harpocrates and Heracles-Serapis among the antiquities from Taxila and Begram⁴².

There are plentiful indications that the Gandharan trays must have been copied from some proto-types in the West probably Greece proper. There the practice of presenting a legend/legends in a circular space—flat, concave or convex—and in a variety of materials—metal, stone or clay—was in vogue in ancient times. Among these, Rhodian plates of 7th-6th century BC bear maximum resemblance with great majority of trays from Gandhara. In both these types, the circular space is usually divided into two unequal segments with figural decoration confined to the upper bigger part and the lower exergue either left plain or decorated with floral petals or sun rays⁴³—a pattern frequently repeated in Taxila trays (S. Nos. 1, 12, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27,

30, 33, etc.). The motifs, however, consist mainly of animals and scenes of heroes taken from Homer. These Rhodian plates which are well distributed both in the east and west⁴⁴ belong to that East Aegean group of pottery which commonly shows oriental influence. This Rhodian tradition appears to have been carried on to the 6th-5th centuries B.C. when the motifs of the Rhodian plates were adopted to the circular internal medallions of Kylix by cutting out a circular piece from a composition originally created for a rectangular composition⁴⁵.

In both the above mentioned types (Rhodian plates and Kylix) the decorations within a circular space were carried on in paintings. This tendency gradually decreased. During the 3rd-1st. centuries BC the relief decoration in circular space started appearing on ceramics of the type of Megarian Bowls in Greece⁴⁶ and Calenian Phiale in Italy⁴⁷. Among these the Phiale or circular shallow plates show mythological scenes of one, two or more figures fitted in the centre—the whole placed within two or more moulded rings⁴⁸. The scenes depicted include almost whole range of imagery of Greek mythology, specially, as also in the Megarian Bowls and the toilet trays from Gandhara, the Dionysiac and Aphradisiac figures.

Side by side we find in Greece proper two groups of terracotta discs dating in the 4th Cent. BC. One type, called Calykes of Karaplastic ((KALYKES TIS KOROPASTIKIS) shows one or more Eros lying on a full blown rose⁴⁹. The other type usually shows Pan and the dancing nymphs in flat relief⁵⁰. On one such terracotta disc in the Berlin Museum⁵¹ the scene depicted is Aphrodite, Anchise and a winged Eros. Whether or not these discs were ritualistic is not confirmed. But it is certain that these continued as late as 3rd. Cent. AD because we find a disc of this period from the Athenian Agora²². From Calenian dishes the tradition of relief decoration seems to have found its way to the moulded circular discs and moulded terracotta lamps (LYX NOI)⁵³. These reproduce almost all the repertoire of the Calenian dishes. The terracotta discs are datable from 4th to 2nd. centuries BC and represent the same mythological figures such as Pan, nymphs, Eros, Aphrodite etc. etc. The terracotta lamps with moulded top discs show a great variety of mythological figures. These are also more widely spread in time and space as these can be traced to the Roman period of 3rd. Century A.D.

The last in the series are numerous Oscilla or marble discs of 2nd. century A.D. of Greco-Roman origin⁵⁴. The figures on Oscilla are carved in relief on both sides and there is a hole on the top to suspend them in the gates of the shrines of Dionysiac cult⁵⁵. Like Toilet Trays of Gandhara, the figures of Oscilla were carved by cutting away the surplus stone from the centre of the marble disc, thus, like Toilet Trays, providing a concave background to the figures. These date in the 2nd. half of the

1st. and early 2nd. centuries A.D.—a period when at Taxila too the trays were decorated mostly with Dionysiac scenes.

The bronze mirrors and covers of mirror-boxes of the Graeco-Roman world could have also acted as proto-type for the Gandharan trays⁵⁶. These mirrors date from the 5th Cent. B.C. down to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The circular discs of the mirror covers were decorated with figures in repoussé on the upper side and with incised patterns on the under side—a mode copied in toto in the trays of Gandhara. Like Gandharan trays, here too the exclusively Dionysiac or Aphrodisiac scenes are arranged in a circular space.

From the foregoing discussion it becomes clear that the Gandhara Toilet Trays were greatly influenced by one or more of the types innumerable above from the Greco-Roman world. Thus in exact mode of decorating interior of a tray, the Gandharan artists followed the technique of Rhodian plates whereas in relief figures they followed the artists of the Calenian Phiale. From bronze mirrors they opted the tradition of decorating the obverse and reverse of the trays in relief and incised pattern respectively. But the Gandharan artists never produced one single article of the type of Rhodian plates, Calenian Dishes, Oscilla, bronze mirrors or any other type mentioned above. The reasons are not far to seek. The only technique that the artists of Gandhara knew well was stone carving and they used all the above mentioned proto-types and their decorations to produce a new article i.e. the so-called toilet trays. These trays were certainly introduced at Taxila and elsewhere in Gandhara by the Greeks who seems to have brought this technique with them from Bactria. The true Greek culture in Bactria forming a genuine background for Gandhara art has only recently been unearthed at Ai Khanum⁵⁷. Thus this probable link of Gandharan artists with Greek artists is not absolutely hypothetical. In the Hermitage, Leningrad are, a few small circular metallic plates from Bactria⁵⁸. One plate shows the inner circular space divided in two unequal halves: main motif above the ledge occupying upper larger half and the exergue empty. These plaques have been regarded as “undoubtedly exports from the Seleucid West, but some at least . . . having haunting technical and stylistic features that would appear related to this isolated Hellenistic province” (Bactria)⁵⁹. Though the main motif of this plaque i.e. elephant and rider, never occurs on Gandhara trays, serpent-tailed sea-monster on the saddle-cloth of the elephant of the Bactrian plaque is certainly of the same type frequently met on Gandhara trays from Taxila and elsewhere. From Ai Khanum has been discovered one silver circular plate showing goddess Cybel riding a chariot. The motifs have been executed in repoussé in much the same fashion as Gandhara Trays⁶⁰. Similarly, we have remarkable collection of plaster copies of Hellenistic circular plaques unearthed at Begram⁶¹. But it is strange that majority of the scenes occurring on circular plaques from Begram never appeared on Gandharan trays. But nevertheless, these few examples from Bactria and Kabul Valley are sufficient indication that some proto-type of

our trays did exist in Bactria during the 3rd. Cent. BC executed on the spot or as exports from Seleucid West. The Gandhara trays, therefore, have undoubted Hellenistic origin. This will be further confirmed when we shall discuss the subject matter of motifs on these trays.

Purpose and Function

There is no consensus among scholars as to the purpose or function for which these trays were made. Most of the writers regard them as mere decorations. Some of these may be regarded as such but not necessarily all. On the contrary, there is strong evidence to suggest that these trays were meant to perform some religious function. For example, the only tray discovered from outside Gandhara region (No. 3) comes from a temple at Hatra and depicts an Assembly of Olympian Gods⁶². From Taxila, at least one tray No. 5) depicting one serpent-legged giant also comes from a Buddhist temple (No. 21). The scene on the tray in the Museum of Prague (S. No. 100)⁶³, the Libation Scene on a tray in the V&A Museum (S. No. 98) and the group of figures on two trays (No. 24) in the Peshawar Museum (S. Nos. 73 & 89) and two trays in Swat Museum (No. 23) are not very different from the scene on the Hatra tray and cannot be regarded as mere decorations. Similarly, the four trays (S. Nos. 27, 28, 44 and 78) each depicting a Funeral Banquet essentially belong to the cult of "Ancestor Worship" (Nos. 3 & 9). Similarly, the two trays, one each in Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin (S. No. 99) and Swat Museum (S. No. 65) (Pl. XII) each depicting Helios (Surya—Sun God) riding a Solar Chariot⁶⁴ is an eastern manifestation of an intellectual movement which had spread throughout Western Asia, Roman Empire, Persia and Ancient India from 2nd. Cent. BC onward⁶⁵.

Another tray from Swat (S. No. 67) has been identified as belonging to Mithraic Cult⁶⁶ which is another form of the Sun Worship. Mithraic Cult was definitely in practice in Gandhara. Zeus-Mithra appears on Indus-Greek coins and more frequently on the coins of Kushana⁶⁷.

Besides above, a study of the distribution of these trays in Sirkap (Taxila) alone shows their concentration in an area where there once stood a maximum number of temples. Majority of other trays, as I shall show, belong to "Dionysiac Cult" which definitely existed in Gandhara in one form or the other⁶⁸. The one tray from Tor Dher (S. No. 79), now in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, depicting Dioscori brothers—Caster and Pollux, should also be studied in this context. The cult of Dioscori was quite popular in the near east as far as Palmyra⁶⁹, though, its popularity in Gandhara was limited. Here, beside on the tray from Tor Dher, the two brothers appear frequently, both on horse-back and striding, on the coins of Greeks in Bactria and Gandhara⁷⁰. They continued to hold some position in the religious belief even of the Scytho-Parthian kings of Gandhara⁷¹. Their appearance on the coins of the

region makes it almost certain that the Dioscori brothers were actually tutelary divinities connected with a particular dynasty or dynasties. However, their complete disappearance from the coins of Kushana indicates that the symplegma of Greek cult, which found its way in Gandhara in the wake of Bactrian Greeks gave way completely to the rising popularity of Buddhism.

In the light of above discussion, it is difficult to regard these trays as mere decorations. Majority of them essentially belong to some cult, though it is difficult, at this stage of our knowledge, to say what precise cult or cults they used to represent. Most probably, it was Dionysiac cult or some other similar Greek cult in which Baccanian rites play some significant part. The presence of Greek Temple at Taxila⁷² is a good confirmation of this view. Had these trays been mere decorations, we fail to discover the reason for their discontinuation after the Parthians as they practically did. Their sudden and almost complete disappearance during Kushana period from 2nd. Cent A.D. onward shows that the cult which these trays were meant to represent declined rapidly making it totally unnecessary to carve fresh ones⁷³.

The following chart shows the main motifs appearing on these trays and their distribution in time and space:—

(See Back Page)

CHART OF MAIN MOTIFS APPEARING ON TOILET TRAYS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN TIME AND SPACE

T A X I L A									
DYNASTY	Early Kushanas Late 1st. Cent. A.D.	Parthians uptil 60 A.D.	Late Scythians Late 1st. Cent. B.C.	Early Scythians 90 P.C. onward	Greeks 190-90 B.C.	Unstratified areas of Taxila	Total Taxila	Other unstratified sites in Gandhara	Grand Total
STRATUM	I	II	III	IV	V				
TYPES									
A. Human alone	Motifs 23, 25, 28	6, 7, 22, 24, 36	31	—	27, 35	41, 42, 44, 50, 51, 52, 56, 59	19	63, 64, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 80, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 98, 100, 102, 106, 107, 110, 111=25	44
B. Human & Animal Motifs	I 1	13, 15, 29, 34	—	—	—	4, 14, 32, 43, 62	10	65, 66, 76, 79, 81, 83, 93, 94, 97, 99, 103, 104, 108, 114=14	24
C. Animal/Monster Motifs alone	—	2, 10, 11, 12, 19, 26, 30	17	3, 5, 16, 20, 33	—	21, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 49, 55, 58, 60, 61	24	68, 70, 72, 77, 84, 87, 91, 96, 105, 109, 112, 115=12	36
D. Geometrical & Floral Motifs	—	8, 9, 18	—	—	—	40	4	101	5
E. Non Descript or Motifs not known	—	—	—	—	—	45, 47, 53, 54, 57	5	113, 116-123	14
TOTAL:	4	19	2	5	2	30	62	54	123

Type	Broad Categories	At Taxila ⁷⁴	At other places
1.	2.	3.	4.

A. Aphrodisiac Scenes		(Nos. below refer to S. Nos. of the list at the end)	
1.	Man (Apollo) disrobing and woman (Daphne) (No. 4)	35	—
2.	Satyr running away from a Maenad (No. 5)	—	75
3.	Rape of Dionysos (No. 6)	62	—
4.	Artemis and Actaeon (No. 10)	—	81
5.	Hercules and Omphale (No. 11)	—	86
6.	Marriage of Ariadne (No. 14)	24	—
7.	Achelis and Thetis (No. 15) or An Erotic scene	—	88
8.	Woman (Aphrodite with a child (Eros) (No. 17)	34	80, 107
9.	Aphrodite (Maenad or nymph) riding an animal or a monster	43	—
10.	Aphrodite with Eros riding an animal/monster	3-4	—
11.	Cupid/child (No. 19)	1, 34	69, 80, 107
12.	Cupid riding a lion	1	—
13.	Erotic scenes—man & woman in an erotic pose (No. 18)	36	82

1.	2.	3.	4.
14. Naked Hercules riding a Sea-monster	—		93
B. Dionysiac Scenes			
Couple holding wine cups, hand-in-hand or thle other poses (No. 16)	4, 6, 7, 22, 23, 31, 50, 51(?), 52, 56	70, 90, 95, 102, 106, 110 & 111	
2. Male or/and female figures in group of three drinking, dancing etc. (No. 15)	25, 41		64, 100
3. Scenes with more than three figures (No. 23)	42, 59(?)		66, 73, 89, 98
4. Libation to god/gods (No. 13)	—		98, 99
5. Assembly of gods (No.3)	—		85, 100
6. Funeral Banquet (No. 2 & 9)	27, 28, 44		78
7. Man or woman riding a real or mythical animal (Pl. II, XIX)	1, 13, 14, 15, 29, 34, 43	76, 83, 93, 94, 97, 103, 104, 108, 114	
8. Girl playing a musical instrument	—		74
9. Non-descript figure/figures	51, 59		63, 92
C. Sun-Cult			
1. Helios in Solar Chariot (No. 12)	—		65, 99
2. Dioscori Brothers on horses	—		79
3. Mithraic composition (busts of three figures with Phrygian caps)	—		67
4. Buddhist Themes (seated Buddha and worshippers type(?))			100

1.	2.	3.	4.
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D. Mythical Beings

1. Monster & human being together	2, 4, 13, 14, 15, 34	—
2. Serpent-legged being	32	115
3. Sea-monsters and other mythical creatures—Makara, Hippocampus etc. (No 12)	2, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 30, 32, 33, 37, 48, 55 & 58	68, 70
4. Griffins—winged or wingless (No. 20)	12, 26	72
5. Winged lion	29	—
6. Winged stag/deer/antelope	29	—
7. Winged goat	29	—
8. Winged horse	46	—

E. Animal World

1. Lion fighting/facing lion	5, 38, 39, 49	87, 105
2. Lion fighting/facing a bull	—	84, 91
3. Lion	3, 21, 60	112
4. Lion and rider	1	—
5. Soar	62	96
6. Ram	—	66
7. Deer		77

1.	2.	3.	4.
8. Horse	46		65, 79, 99, 108
9. Dogs	—		81
10. Birds (No. 21)			109
F. Geometrical and Floral Patterns			
1. Swastika (No. 22)	8	—	
2. Curved Cross	9, 40	—	
3. Simple compartments	18	—	
4. Floral design (rosette, leaves, lotus etc.) (No. 7)	almost on every tray such as: 1, 3, 6, 9, 16, 17, 77, 65, 66, 67, 77 18, 19, 21, 22, 88, 90, 100 31, 32, 40, 62		
5. Scallop shell	—		101
G. Miscellaneous			
1. Altar	—		66, 69, 98
2. Chariot	—		65, 99
3. Sun rays	12, 13, 27, 28, 44		64, 69, 71, 78, 98
4. Seat/throne/bed etc.	27, 28, 44, 36		78, 80, 85, 100
5. Musical Instrument	24		74
6. Rocks	1, 35, 62		75, 81
7. Wine cup, bowls, dishes etc.	6, 7, 23, 28, 31, 41, 52		71, 90, 95, 97, 98, 104, 106, 110, 111

1.	2.	3.	4.
8. Wine-crushing equipment	24		
9. Floral wreath	27, 28	—	
10. Thyrsos	—	66	
11. Mirror	43	—	
12. Apple	—	75	
13. Herm-pillar	—	80	
14. Club	—	86, 93	
15. Bow	—	86	
16. Scenes not known (mostly fragmentary or badly mutilated pieces	45, 47, 53, 54, 57	63, 113	

Even a cursory glance at the above chart shows that the trays with Aphrodisiac and Dionysiac scenes (Type A, B & C) predominate all others. It is in these trays that the Hellenistic influence is at its maximum. In our context, the few trays with Mithraic, Helios and Dioscoride themes—all penultimately connected with Dionysiac cult, are more Hellenistic than Asiatic. On trays under sub-heads "D" and "E", however, the Scythian, Iranian and Mesopotamian influences dominate. The types under sub-heads "E", "F" and "G" cannot be ascribed to any specific cultural sphere. Iconographically speaking, the trays are broadly divided into Aphrodisiac, Dionysiac, animal and other styles of religious import. Scenes on only a few of these trays can be discussed here.

Apollo disrobing Daphne

The most interesting of all these trays is the one out of two earliest trays from Taxila. It measures 10.6 cm diameter (S. No. 35) and is made of fine grey schist (No. 4). In the centre, occupying a plain 2/3 upper space, is an erotic scene within a beaded border of running spirals: A young man, nude save for a chlamys and petasos or hat, is disrobing a young girl wearing a himation. With her left arm clutching a rocky outcrop, the girl is resisting the advance of her companion who has already exposed

her whole front. Coming from the early levels of the Greek city of Taxila⁷⁵, this tray, both in style, technique and subject matter is distinct from all other trays⁷⁶. The figures, almost in round, stand out with effective simplicity against a plain background. The modelling is conscientious and is comparable with some early works in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent executed by the Greek-Persian artists of 3rd. Cent. BC.

As a matter of fact the scene is an all period popular classical motif of mythological rapes so well known from bronze mirrors, cameos, terracotta plaques etc. and as such can be ascribed to any one of the following pairs:—

1. Apollo Daphne⁷⁷
2. Dionysos and Ariadne⁷⁸
3. Nymph with Hermes⁷⁹
4. Nymph with Selinus⁸⁰
5. Nymph with Satyr⁸¹
6. Peleus and Thetis⁸²
7. Eros and Psyche⁸³ etc. etc.

A terracotta mould recently discovered from Port Cheli—a city site of 5th and 4th Cent. B.C. in Peloponnus (Greece), depicts an exactly similar scene and has been tentatively identified as Dioscori and one of the Lukippidai⁸⁴. There are, however, some indications to show that the tray at S. No. 35 depicts a scene which is nothing but that of Apollo and Daphne. The pebbles on the ground stand for Daphne's River-father Peneius (or Ladon) whereas the rocky out-crop, she is catching hold of, may indicate Daphne as a mountain nymph⁸⁵. If so, the moment here depicted is just before Daphne's transformation into a laurel tree.

Seduction of Bellorophon, Hippolytus, Selinus, Statyr, Peleus or Eros.

The tray at S. No. 75 from Charsada, now in V & A Museum, shows another scene of mythological rapes (No. 5). In it a nude man is shown running away from a pursuing lady. Here too, the scene occupies the entire circular space of the tray. The figures are executed in high relief against a simple background and stony ground. The muscular bodied male is completely nude. The dress of the female has slipped down and covers only the lower part of her body. With her left hand she has caught the right arm of her companion whereas she is offering an applelike round object in

her right hand to the male. The pose of the left hand of the male indicates that he is reluctant to accept the 'object'. Position of the legs, bent pose of their bodies and flowing female robe indicate a swift movement as both are running one after another. This scene too can stand for any one of the following :—

1. Anteia's attempted seduction of Bellerophon⁸⁶
2. Phaedra's seduction of her step-son Hippolytus⁸⁷
3. Eos seduction of so many people like Orion, Cephalus, Cleitus, Ganymedes, Tithonus⁸⁸ etc.
4. Silene and Endymeon⁸⁹

I am, however, tempted to identify the scene with a satyr and nymph because the crooked object near the left knee of the male figure can be nothing else but "tale of a satyr". On the other hand the round fruits in the hand of the female figure suggests her identification as Aphrodite⁹⁰. In this case the timid male figure can be that of Paris whose reluctance to accept the "Apple of Beauty" from either of the Charis or "Graces" is depicted in classical arts more than once⁹¹. But if the crooked object near the left knee of the male figure be interpreted as satyr's tale oddly placed, which I am tempted to accept, then the scene is unmistakably that of a satyr running away from a nymph. In any case the scene depicted here is again a mythological rape so popular in all periods of Western Art. This tray is much superior in workmanship and harmony than the frozen expression of figures on Taxila trays at S. No. 35. The later, on basis of style, iconography and its findspots, is datable in the middle of 2nd. Cent. B.C. The Charsada tray likewise must be dated in the same period if not earlier.

Rape of Dionysos or a Traveller

In the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City is another round tray with dot and dentil border (Nos. 6 & 7). It is reportedly from Taxila and, as we shall see, on basis of style, subject matter etc. must belong to Greek period and hence may date in the 2nd. Cent. BC. The entire circular space is occupied by a scene of four human figures and one crouching boar or pig. The scene of tray at S. No. 75 is reversed here. In the centre is lying a half clad male figure whose chlamys has stippled exposing his male nakedness. He wears a crossed breast chain or, what is more sure, a diaphanous jacket⁹². Another completely nude figure, identified by the presence of anklet in feet as female, is descending on the male figure. The position of her right hand clearly shows that it is she who has exposed the masculine front of the sleeping male by putting down his chlamys. Behind a rocky barrier are two male busts—one typically an Indian figure—both looking with astonishment what is happening there.

The symplegma of a female enjoying an entranced or sleeping (usually ithyphallic) male figure is well known in the history of Greek mythology and art of Hellenistic and Roman world. In Roman copies of this scene the sensuous part of this scene is usually over emphasised. This scene can be identified variantly as:—

(i) Selene descending on entranced Endymion

(ii) Eros and Psyche

(iii) Siren and a sleeping traveller

Among numerous emblemata in plaster casts discovered from Begram, there is one emblemata (16.5 cms) now in Kabul Museum which represents a similar scene with female counterpart being winged⁹³. A Roman period marble copy of the same subject exists in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston⁹⁴. The Begram plaster cast undoubtedly belongs to a later period but it was made from an earlier Greek and Hellenistic metalware⁹⁵. As the Kansas City tray reportedly comes from Taxila, it probably comes from an earlier level of middle of 2nd. Cent. B.C. or early first Cent. B.C. when Greek influence was at its maximum in this city. But undoubtedly this tray belongs to that cycle of Dionysiac or Aphrodisiac rites which was current in Gandhara and Bactria throughout this period. Most of the scenes on plaster cast emblemata from Begram also belong to Aphrodisiac or Dionysiac rites⁹⁶. All these three trays discussed above are comparable with one another in style and workmanship.

All these trays must belong to the same period and can easily be placed in the 2nd. Cent. B.C. These trays, to the best of my knowledge, are the earliest examples so far discovered in Gandhara marking the beginning of Hellenistic influence in this region. Unfortunately, none of the figures on these trays possess any characteristic to pin point their precise identification and hence that of the scene. The scenes represented here are among those innumerable mythological rapes which one encounters in Greek and Hellenistic mythology. A mere glance at them is sufficient to convince us of their Hellenistic origin.

Funeral Banquets

Another interesting schist tray, diameter 13.2 cm, from the Greek levels of Taxila (S. No. 27)⁹⁷ is divided in the manner of Rhodian plates into two unequal parts. In the upper bigger part is a man reclining on a bed with a wine cup in his hand. He is talking to another figure seated beside him while a third figure stands behind the bed and is in the act of crowning the reclining figure with a laurel (No. 8). All figures wear Greek dresses. At least three other free reproductions of the same tray are

known, one each now in the Taxila Museum (S. No. 28), the British Museum (S. No. 44) (No. 9) and Peshawar Museum (S. No. 78). Though found in Greek stratum and hence contemporary with above discussed three trays, the figures on our tray are crudely modelled and are stiff in their poses. Perhaps it is the work of some local artists not yet fully well versed with the Hellenistic workmanship.

The excavator insisted that this tray depicts a genere drinking scene. But certainly it is more than that. Both in Greece proper (Attica, Peloponnus and Islands)⁹⁸ and Asia Minor⁹⁹ from 5th-4th Cent. B.C. down to the Roman period a great number of grave steles depict similar scenes and have been interpreted as Funeral Banquet or Hero Feast. The one of 400 B.C. from Hellespontic (Phrygia)¹⁰⁰, is very close to our example. From there it found its way to Palmyra¹⁰¹, into Parthian sculptures and went as far as Bactria¹⁰² and has been identified as Greek influence on the religious ideas of the population of Mesopotamia¹⁰³. The theme was actually part of the ancient cult of "Ancestor Worship" which itself is believed to have been introduced in Greece as part of the Eastern luxury¹⁰⁴. It is certain that the Greeks in Bactria were familiar with this theme as early as third Cent. B.C.

From Bactria the cult of "Ancestor Worship" appears to have penetrated into Gandhara where it flourished as late as 1st. Cent. A.D. It is believed that the slabs showing such scenes were set up, some time in private houses, as a constant reminder to the survivors¹⁰⁵. It is possible that the tray under reference served some similar purpose in a house of Taxila. However, later on the theme greatly influenced the iconography of Buddhist art of Gandhara of 2nd. Cent. A.D.—especially the several Gandhara slabs depicting scene of "Buddha's Life in Palace" and his "Great Departure"¹⁰⁶. The one such panel in Peshawar Museum gives all the essentials of a Funeral Banquet with the exception that the figures here are holding lotus flowers instead of wine cups in their hands¹⁰⁷.

Artemis and Actaeon

From many other sites are numerous other trays which depict stories from Greek mythology. Most important of all is a marble tray (diam: 12 to 15 cm) from Akra (Bannu) now in the British Museum (S. No. 81) which in a simple but effective way narrates the story of Artemis and Actaeon¹⁰⁸ (No. 10). The scene, with figures in high relief, is arranged in two tiers and reminds, in technique, the famous relief of Archelaos from Priene (B. M. No. 2191)¹⁰⁹.

On the left hand above the exergue Artemis is taking bath whereas Actaeon is looking at her from behind a barrier. On the right, Artemis' dogs are devouring Actaeon for his crime of looking at the naked body of a scene being. This is the only tray that I know, which depict two scenes or two acts of a scene. This is unmistakably

a scene taken from the Greek mythology. The tray both in technique and subject matter must be contemporary to the four trays discussed above and must form as one of the earliest specimens of the Hellenistic workmanship in Gandhara.

Herakles and Queen Omphale (Pl. XI)

The scene on another fragmentary tray from Peshawar Museum (S. No. 86) can be identified as Herakles and the Lydian Queen Omphale. Only 1/4 of the tray is preserved. In it a lady wearing a "sari"-like dress and crossed breast-chain or a tight sleeveless dress of the type seen in tray at S. No. 62¹¹⁰ is seated on a high stool. On her left is the muscular bodied Herakles standing naked with bow in one hand and club in the other. What was on the right side of the seated body is not known. The scene has a haunting resemblance with a similar scene on an Etruscan Bell-krater in the British Museum¹¹¹, on a Roman relief from Herakles¹¹² and on a 4th-3rd Cent. B.C. terracotta mould of a medallion from Chersonesse (Black Sea)¹¹³. The tray can be dated in the late first Cent. B.C. or early first Cent. A.D. on account of haunting resemblance of the female figure with a small stone female statue from Sirkap¹¹⁴ and a terracotta female figure from Priene¹¹⁵. Suffice here to point out that the scene of Herakles and Omphale has precise Dionysian implication¹¹⁶ of which we shall speak more below.

The two trays bearing Helios in Solar Chariot (P. XIII) (S. Nos. 65 & 99) and one tray showing Dioscori brothers (P. XIII) (S. No. 79) have already been discussed (Supra p. 148)¹¹⁷.

Aphrodisiac and Dionysiac Scenes

Most original and interesting character of Hellenistic art, in general, is its Dionysiac and Aphrodisiac aspects¹¹⁸. They became popular because they were closer to human passion. A drunken Dionysos leaning on a young satyr, light footed Nymphs playing with Pan or Satyrs—naked or dressed, Aphrodite ostentatiously exposing her voluptuous beauty, Nereids riding tritons and other sea-monsters etc. became the passion with the artists. The heroism, violence and rapes gave way to tender idyll, refined courtship and passionate seduction.

Gandhara trays are fully reflective of this new spirit of Hellenistic age. By far the greatest number of these trays depict Dionysiac and Aphrodisiac scenes. As already stated, it is almost certain that same sort of Dionysiac cult did exist in Gandhara¹¹⁹. A silver repousee figure of Dionysos¹²⁰ and a fine stucco head of a satyr¹²¹ from a temple of Sirkap are among the earliest sculptures in Gandhara. A bronze head of Silenus is also known from Begram¹²². Even during mature Gandhara period,

Dionysiac scenes occur with great persistence side by side the moralistic Buddhist themes and this shows the strength of this still unidentified cult¹²³.

Marriage of Ariadne and Dionysos No. 14

By far the most elaborate of all the the trays is one (S. No. 24) from layer II of Sirkap (diam: 15.5 cm)¹²⁴. The scene covers the whole circular surface and, like the Artemis and Actaeon tray, is divided into three tiers by projecting floors. In the top register, under a vine canopy is seated a couple surrounded by different persons playing musical instruments. The man with staff in his right hand is embracing the woman, who with her back and buttocks bare, is offering him a cup of wine. In the middle tier is the scene of crushing of wine in so-called Alexandrian fashion and in the third tier are shown figures lying dead drunk. The scene has rightly been identified as Marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne. The style is typical of Hellenistic Art of first Cent. A.D. The figures are in high reliefs and on the whole pulsates life and movement. The same story, though bit in a different way, has been told on two silver dishes one from Tank in the D.I. Khan District and another from Badakhshan in Afghanistan¹²⁵.

From Taxila comes another tray of rough workmanship (S. No. 25) showing a man drunk and dancing with two women. In a similar tray from Swat¹²⁶, the man in the centre is completely nude whereas one of the two women holds a cup of wine in one hand and an upside down torch in the other (No. 15). In another unpublished tray from Taxila (S. No. 41), all three figures stand still each holding a wine-cup in right hand against their breasts. The Dionysiac scenes representing Dionysos, Maenads, Silene, Pan, Eros, Satyr etc. in a variety of grouping of three, four or more figures was quite a frequent subject on vase painting¹²⁷ and on mirror-lids¹²⁸ of third Cent. B.C. onward. In the Musee Naprstick, Prague¹²⁹ (S. No. 100), V & A Museum (S. No. 98), Swat Museum (S. No. 66)¹³⁰ and in Peshawar Museum (S. No. 89) are a few trays which depict Dionysiac scenes in a more complicated manner and need not be elaborated here.

Among the most simplest version of Dionysiac scenes are those which depict only busts of a couple or a group of couples holding cups of wine in their hands (No. 16). Majority of such trays come from Taxila (S. Nos. 6, 7, 23, 31, 50, 52). The workmanship is not always of high standard and sometimes local influence dominates (S. No. 23). Such two figures on a terracotta medallion from Myrina¹³¹ have been tentatively identified as Dionysos and Ariadne and it is possible that the figures on Taxila trays can also be identified similarly.

Aphrodisiac Trays

From Taxila proper Aphrodisiac trays are very few. Outside Taxila the best example is from Narai¹³² (No. 17), now in the British Museum (S. No. 80). In

this tray, in the upper three-fourth register the scene is set beside a statue of Priapus on a low pillar. Aphrodite, with her back bare in Gandharan fashion, is beating an Eros, whereas two other winged Eros fill up the rest of the space. Her identification is provided both by Priapus and Eros, her sons, and a dolphin near her seat as a symbol of her birth from sea. The style is typical of so-called Alexandrian School. Of special interest is the feature of Aphrodite with bare back, prominent buttocks and drapery falling from her left arm—a feature well known in Graeco-Roman art, especially on bronze mirrors¹³³. This was a very popular feature at Taxila during early first Cent. A.D. and we have already seen it in the trays depicting Marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne (S. No. 24) as well as two other trays from Taxila (S. Nos. 34 and 43)—the latter now in the Indian Museum, Berlin¹³⁴, and two trays in Peshawar Museum (S. No. 73 & 82). One such tray (S. No. 82) in Peshawar Museum shows a seated half draped woman approaching a man with a wine cup (No. 18). The motifs of Aphrodite engaged with Eros in various activities was a favourite theme in the Hellenistic and Roman arts. In the Louvre is a plaster cast of a medallion of Hellenistic Period from Egypt which depicts the same theme in more or less the same details¹³⁵. In the British Museum a fragmentary Calenian phiale of c. 200 B.C. repeats within a medallion the same story with minor differences¹³⁶.

Among other trays bearing Hellenistic motifs is a group of trays from Taxila showing figures riding animals or depicting animals alone. These include lion with a rider (S. No. 1), winged stag with winged cupid (S. No. 29), fish-tailed sea-monsters of different shapes (S. No. 13, 14, 15, 34, 93) No. 2 and 19) etc. There are two such trays in V & A Museum (S. Nos. 76 & 97, and three in the British Museum (S. Nos. 83, 93 & 94). Riders often seated astride, are invariably women and usually carry something in their hands. The sea-monsters are of variety of forms: simple hippocampus, sometimes fish-tailed, hippocampus of makara-type, lion-headed, griffin-headed etc. These echo the popular Hellenistic and Roman period motifs of Nereids riding all sorts of sea-monsters.¹³⁷ Aphrodite riding a sea-monster with Eros, (No. 19) as on a Taxila tray (S. No. 34) is known to have been executed on mirror lids since 5th-4th Cent. B.C. (National Museum Athens Nos. 7417 and 7418)¹³⁸. The trays from Taxila showing Nereids carrying something on a sea-monster¹³⁹ may represent Nereid or Thetis transporting the arms of Achilles—a theme frequently occurring in Greek art, especially on Greek and Etruscan mirrors (National Museum Athens Nos. 7678 and 7422)¹⁴⁰. The rider on the back of a lion can either be infant Dionysos or more probably an Eros. This motif also found its way into Buddhist art of Gandhara from the West. From Taxila itself¹⁴¹ and from other sites¹⁴² we know several reliefs depicting Eros drinking wine on back of a lion or teasing it. In some later period, some pious Buddhist artists replaced the Eros with the figure of Sarasvati—Goddess of Music, still riding a lion¹⁴³.

Among all the toilet trays only those bearing Dionysiac and Aphrodisiac stamps found their way into the Buddhist art of Gandhara, especially in its early period. There are scenes of dancing, drinking bouts, love-making, Eros playing with lions, Maenads and Satyrs etc.¹⁴⁴ Continuity of such scenes on otherwise purely religious and ethical art of Gandhara shows the strength of Hellenistic tradition in this region.

The number of trays showing animals alone are also numerous. Most of the animals shown on these trays are known in the Hellenistic world. These include: hippocampus and other sea-monsters with fish-tails and heads of different animals—lions and griffins. Hippocampus are certainly of Western origin. But the motifs of lion and griffins are difficult to trace. These are always regarded as guardian-animals. These were popular with the Scythians¹⁴⁵ as well as in the Hellenistic world¹⁴⁶. Griffin was particularly sacred to Apollo (No. 20). Since antiquity, it was also regarded as guardian of gold mines of Scythian Hyperborean mountains¹⁴⁷. Lion was particularly popular in Gandhara because of its association with Buddha—the Lion of the Sakya family. Of special significance is a tray from Taxila (S. No. 5) and another from Peshawar Museum (Si Noi 87) depicting two lions standing face to face. In British Museum are two trays (S. Nos. 84 & 91) which, instead, show a bull fighting a lion. From Taxila we know a terracotta medallion on the base of a bowl showing a lion fighting an elephant¹⁴⁸. Whereas the lion killing bull or some other animal is a well known theme in the Greek art, the theme of lion fighting a lion is comparatively very rare of which I know only two instances. On one of the longer sides of a sarcophagus from Athens¹⁴⁹, two lions are shown facing each other in beligerent mood. Similarly, in the pediment of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta of 6th Cent. B.C., a pair of lions confront each other¹⁵⁰. The significance of lion-fighting-lion is, however, difficult to gauge.

As a tail-piece to this story of Hellenistic motifs on Toilet Trays, I append herewith a tray from a Buddhist temple of Taxila (S. No. 32), showing a winged sea-monster and a serpent-legged giant with a small female figure on his leg (S. No. 32). Its Hellenistic origin is beyond doubt and needs no elaboration. This motif also continued to be represented during mature Gandhara period as a result of which we have a number of pseudo-Gigantomachia¹⁵¹.

APPENDIX "A"

LIST OF TOILET TRAYS

Sr. No.	Site	Present location & Museum or Collection No.	Brief Description	Remarks
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1.	Taxila	TM. 69, Sk' 26-2, 367	Cupid riding a lion moving in the rocks.	
2.	"	TM 70, Sk' 29-2292	Winged Makara—like seamonster.	
3.	"	TM. 71, Sk' 28-2400	Lion in one of the nine compartments.	
4.	"	TM. 72, Sk' 29-2223	Frag. Fore-quarter of a hippocampus in one of the compartments and busts of five pairs in remaining five divisions.	
5.	"	TM. 73, Sk' 27-13	Two lions facing each other.	
6.	"	NM, Karachi. 8473, Sk' 28-2159	Busts of a couple with wine cups.	
7.	"	TM. 8474, Sk' 19-695	Couple with wine bowls in hand.	
8.	"	TM. 8475, Sk' 24-316	Swastika (No. 22).	
9.	"	TM. 8476, Sk' 15-841	No figure. Four divisions with curved cross.	

NOTE: For abbreviations see page 175.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
10.	„	TM. 84 77, Sk' 12-1336	Fish-tailed winged monster (No. 12).	
11.	„	TM. 8478, Sk' 22-384	Conventionalized winged Makara.	
12.	„	TM. 8479, Sk' 13(A-461)	Winged griffin.	
13.	Taxila	TM. 8480, Sk' 15-277	Male rider on a fish tailed hippocampus (No. 22).	
14.	„	TM. 8481, Sk' 27-607	Rider (male) on a fish tailed griffin.	
15.	„	TM. 8482, Sk' 29-306	Draped woman riding side-way on a hippocampus.	
16.	„	TM. 8483, Sk' 29-1138	Winged Makara.	
17.	„	TM. 8484, Sk' 29-394	Double horned winged Makara.	
18.	„	TM. 8485, Sk' 27-501	No figure. Nine compartments.	
19.	„	TM. 8486. Sk' 27-1649	Winged hippocampus in a floral design. (No. 22).	
20.	„	TM. 8487, Sk' 22-801	Winged Makara.	
21.	„	TM. 8488, Sk' 20-230	Lion in the central one of the nine compartments.	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
22.	„	TM. 8489, Sk' 29-2285	Fragment. Nine divisions by 8 radii. Couple with wine-cups in four divisions.	
23.	„	Karachi NM. 8490, Sk. 20-763	Busts of a couple holding wine-cups.	
24.	„	NM, New Delhi. 8491, Sk' 28-1776	Marriage of Ariadne scene (No. 14).	
25.	„	TM. 8492, Sk' 12-814	Man dancing with two women (No. 15).	
26.	„	TM. 8493, Sk' 12/A-461)	Four winged griffins.	
27.	„	TM. 8494, Sk' 29-2572	Funeral Banquet (No. 8).	
28.	„	TM. 8495, Sk' 28-2530	Funeral Banquet.	
29.	„	TM. 8496, Sk' 27-501	Winged stag, winged lion and goat. Winged man riding the stag.	
30.	„	TM. 8497, Sk, 12-642	Winged fish-tailed sea-monster with hare-like head.	
31.	Taxila	TM. 8498, Sk' 28-635	Couple with wine cups.	
32.	„	TM. 8499, DH' 15-613	Makara in one division and serpent-legged demon in another.	
33.	„	TM. 9500, Sk' 29-2455	Winged hippocampus.	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
34.	„	TM. 8501, Sk' 28-763	Semi nude female with a child riding a hippocampus (No. 19).	
35.	„	NM, Karachi. 8502, Sk' 29-1894	A man (Apollo) disrobing a woman (Daphne) (No. 4).	
36.	„	TM. 8503, Sk' 28-1486	A man reclining on bed and kissing his female companion.	
37.	„	TM. S. 5128, Sk' 19-299	Winged sea-monster.	
38.	„	TM. 5158, Sk' 16-871	Two lions facing each other.	
39.	„	TM. S. 5199. Sk' 26-1825	Two lions facing each other(?)	
40.	„	TM. S. 5211. Sk' 27-937	No figure. Four divisions by curved cross.	
41.	„	TM(?) Sk' -186	Three standing figures with wine bowls in their hands.	
42.	„	TM. Purchase and Presentation Reg, Sr. No. 58.	Four mutilated standing figures. One female.	
43.	„	Museum of Indian Art, West Berlin.	A semi nude lady holding a mirror is riding a hippocampus.	
44.	„	British Museum No. 1918, 7-6	Funeral Banquet (No. 9).	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
45.	„	TM-S. 5103, Sk' 13-2135	Frag. Details not known.	
46.	„	TM-S. 5111, Sk' 15-571	Frag. Winged horse.	
47.	„	TM-S. 5120, Sk' 17-686	Frag. Details not known.	
48.	„	TM-S. 5128, Sk' 19-299	Frag. Winged Makara.	
49.	Taxila	TM-S. 5203, Sk' 26-2230	Frag. Two lions.	
50.	„	TM-S. 5205, Sk' 26-2367	Frag. Couple in centre.	
51.	„	TM-S. 5209, Sk' 26-3132	Frag. Bust of a human figure. Probably originally a couple(?)	
52.	„	TM-S. 5220, Sk' 20-355/ 353	Frag. Busts of a couple holding cup in hands.	
53.	„	TM-S. 5241, Sk' 26-3545	Frag. Details not known.	
54.	„	TM-S. 5242, Sk' 26-3857	Frag. Details not known.	
55.	„	TM-S. 5292, Sk' 29-1713	Frag. Hind-quarter of a serpent tailed Makara.	
56.	„	TM-S. 5313, Sk' 28-1679	Frag. Two standing figures.	
57.	„	TM-S. 5315, Sk' 28-2860	Frag. Details not known.	
58.	„	TM-S. 5382, Sk' 37-444	Frag. Hind quarter of a hippocampus.	
59.	„	TM. Sk' 13-1087	Ornamental plaque with figures.	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
60.	"	Sent to India on 12.4 1949 (Sirkap) Probably in the NM, Delhi.	Frag. Lion.	
61.	"	-do-	Frag. Bird in the upper compartment.	
62.	"	William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, No. 49-8	A "pig", two nude male and female figures and busts of two other male figures (No. 6 and 7).	

SWAT

63.	Thana	V&A Museum, London	Details of figures mutilated beyond recognition.	
64.	Barikot	V&A Museum, London Neg. No. S 1220	One naked man supported by two women.	
65.	Udegram	SM-UD-372	Surya and Savitri driven in a two-horses chariot (No. 12).	
66.	Udegram	SM-UD-251	Two male standing, one male sitting, one ram and one altar. Dionysiac composition (No. 13).	
67.	Udegram	ISMEO, (Rome(?))	Busts of three figures. Mithraic composition.	
68.	But Kara	SM, Butkara 5466	Makara-like winged sea-monster.	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
69.	Swat	SM, Recently purchased	Two female, one male and one cupid—all standing beside an altar (No. 23).	
70.	Tota Kan	BM No. 1930, 12-9, 1	Winged hippocampus in the upper half.	
71.	Swat	PM 1105, purchased in 1934	A man offering a wine bowl to a woman—both standing.	
CHARSADA AREA				
72.	Malka Dheri	PM-1117 M	Four winged griffins (No. 20).	
73.	Utmanzai	PM-989 M	A scene of seven figures in a Dionysiac composition (No. 24).	
74.	Bala Hisar (Charsada).	Probably Lahore Fort Antiquities Godown.	A girl playing a vina.	
75.	Charsada	V&A Museum. I.S. 695-1950	Apollo and Daphne or a nude man running away from a woman (No. 5).	
76.	-do-	V&A No. I.S. 490-1950	A male riding a sea-monster.	
77.	-do-	V&A No. I.M. 71-1930 (A 79770)	A seated deer in centre of a flower.	
OTHER AREAS				
78.	Tor Dher	P.M. 0984 (715M)	Funeral Banquet.	
79.	Not known	NM, Karachi: 988M	Dioscuri brothers Pol-lux and Castor riding on horses (No. 13).	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
80.	Narai	Former L.W. Jardin Collection, now in British Museum No. 1973, 6-18, 1	Aphrodite beating a winged Eros (No. 17).	
81.	Akra	BM No. 1936, 12-23-1	Artemis and Actaeon (No. 10).	
82.	Sar Dheri	PM No. 1188 M	Erotic couple. Female approaching for the man (No. 18).	
83.	Oxus	BM No. 1937, 3-19, 2	A male figure riding a lion headed sea-monster.	
84.	Helmund	BM No. 1913, 10-22, 2	Lion and bull standing face to face.	
85.	Hatra (Iraq)	Hatra Museum No. N.K.	Assembly of gods (No. 13).	
OTHER AREAS				
86.	Not known	PM No. 1103 M	Heracles and Queen Omphale (No. 11).	
87.	"	PM No. 1107 M	Two lions attacking each other.	
88.	"	PM No. 113 M	Death of Achilles or an Erotic scene (No. 25).	
89.	"	PM No. 1100 M	Two female standing figures attended by two dancers one on either side.	
90.	"	Seen in Karachi Market.	Couple with drinking bowls in hand.	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
91.	„	BM No. 1939, 1-19, 12	A bull surrendering before a triumphant lion.	
92.	Not known	BM No. 1939, 1-19, 13	Busts of two male figures each standing in a separate division of upper half.	
93.	„	BM No. 1898, 10-27-1	Naked Herculeses, club in hand, riding a sea-monster (No. 2).	
94.	„	BM No. 1937, 3-19, 3	Man riding a lion-headed hippocampus.	
95.	„	BM No. 1939, 1-19, 14	Busts of a couple holding wine cups in one of the nine divisions.	
96.	„	BM No. not known.	A boar and another animal. 152.	
97.	„	V&A Museum No. I.S. 3-1958	Female holding a dish in hand riding a sea-monster.	
98.	„	V&A Museum No. I.S. 64-1948. V. 259.	Five male and female standing figures, one offering libation (No. 13).	
99.	„	Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin.	A pair of figures making libation from a Solar Chariot.	
100.	„	Musee Naprstok, Prague.	Bearded figure seated cross-legged and two other figures one each on his right and left.	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
101.	"	V&A No. Nil		Scallop shell like those on Roman terracotta lamps.
102.	"	Haughton London	Collection	Busts of a couple putting arms round the neck of each other.
103.	"		-do-	A fully clad woman seated astride on a Makara-like sea-monster.
104.	Not known	Dr. Salim's Collection; Peshawar University.		Female riding a hippocampus whom she is offering a bowl of milk (wine?).
105.	"		-do-	Two lions standing face to face in one of the nine compartments.
106.	"		-do-	Busts of a couple holding cups of wine in their hands.
107.	"	Lahore Museum No. G. 339		Fragmentary, Half nude Aphrodite beating a cupid. Bare buttock type.
108.	"	LM No. G. 814		Winged Horse.
109.	"	LM No. 815		Damaged. Two birds facing each other and holding a necklace (No. 21).

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
110.	„	L M No. 816	Fragmentary. Couple with wine cups in hand (No. 16).	
111.	„	Bahawalpur Museum No. not known.	Couple with cups.	
112.	„	Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia 69: 132.	Lion in upper surface.	
113.	„	-do- 69: 133	Fragment. Scene not known.	
114.	„	Saint Louis Museum of Arts, St. Louis	Serpent-tailed man with animal's hoofs & forepart with a lady riding on it.	
115.	„	National Museum (Eastern Art & Archaeology Wing) Tokyo	A lady with each of her leg in form of two interwined serpents or fish. Both legs raised to sides and held by arms at level to shoulders.	
116.	Not Known 152	BM No. 1880-91	Fragment of a toilet dish of steatite width 4/3/8 in.	
117.	Not Known,	BM No. 1939, 1-19, 11	Toilet dish of steatite Diam. 3-13/16 inches. Donated by H.H.R. Deane.	
118.	Not Known,	BM No. 1945, 4-17, 10	Fragment of a toilet dish of steatite Donated by A.D. Chisholm. Length 1-3/4 inch.	

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
119.	Not Known,	BM No. 1963, 7-11, 2	Toilet dish of schist Diam. 4-1/8 inches.	
120.	Akra, Bannu District.	BM No. 1967, 2-21, 1	Toilet dish of schist. Diam. 4-3/4 inches.	
121.	Not Known,	BM No. 1967, 2-21, 2	Toilet dish of schist. Diam. 4-1/2 inches.	
122.	Not Known,	BM No. 1967, 2-21, 3	Fragment of a toilet dish of schist. Length 2 inches.	
123.	Not Known,	BM No. 1971, 5-17, 1	Fragment of a toilet dish in schist. Diam. 5-1/2 inches.	

NOTE: LM = Lahore Museum BM = British Museum, London
SM = Swat Museum PM = Peshawar Museum
V&A = Victoria & Albert Museum, London. TM = Taxila Museum
NM = National Museum.

FOOT NOTES

1. Among these 81 trays, 65 (S. Nos. 1-31, 33-41, 45-61, 65-67, 73-74, 78, 81-82 of the list attached) are definitely from city sites. The remaining 16 are probably from such sites, but it is not certain.
2. These are one each from Dharmarajika Stupa, Taxila, (S. No. 32) Butkara Stupa, Swat (S. No. 68) and Pantheon Temple, Hatra, Iraq (S. No. 85).
3. John Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge: 1951, II, 493-498.
4. It has been learnt that Henri Frankfort of DAFA has done an exhaustive study of the subject. But so far his work has not been made available to scholars.
5. *Taxila II*, loc. cit. But not all the trays from Taxila are mentioned therein. Also see M. Hallade, *Gandhara Style and Evolution of Buddhist Art*, London: 1968, 25-26, fig. 19-20.

6. Barger & Wright, *Excavations in Swat, Mem. Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 64, 1941, 63, no. 339; M.L. Carter, "Dionysiac Aspect of Kushana Art" *Arts Orientalis*, VII, (1968), 121-146; M. Taddei, *East and West*, 16, nos. 1-21, (1966), 89-93; Dr. F.A. Khan, *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan* (Karachi: 1968); 130; Butkara Register no. 5466; British Museum no. 1930-12-9, 1; H Ingholt, *Gandharan Art of Pakistan*, New York: 1957, 177, no. 486; and one tray recently purchased by the Swat Museum.
7. Peshwar Museum nos. 1117 M and 489 M; Wheeler, *Charsada*, Oxford: 1962, 123, pl. XLC; M. Hallade, *op. cit.*, 8, fig. 2; V&A Museum, London nos. I.S. 498-1950 and I.M. 71-1938.
8. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge: 1960, 19, pl. 16, fig. 18.
9. M.O. Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, London: 1962, 51; B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, Harmondsworth: 1970, 147, fig. 93.
10. Peshawar Museum no. 1188 M.
11. *Ibid*, no. 715 M.
12. Dalton, *op. cit.*, 51, (197), pl. XXVI; S. Reinach, *Repertoire du reliefs grec et romaine*, II, Paris: 1912, p. 472 (3).
13. British Museum no. 1913, 10-22, 2.
14. *Illustrated London News*, Dec: 18-25, 1954, 1161, fig. 7.
15. I prefer the term Indus-Greek over the more popularly used term Indo-Greek.
16. Besides those from Taxila (see *supra*, f.n. 183), other trays coming from proper excavations are those from Udegram (S. Nos. 65-67), Butkara (S. No. 68), Bal Hisar, Charsada (S. No. 74) and Hatra (S. No. 85).
17. Marshall, *Taxila-II*, 493-497. Among the two earliest trays, about one (S. No. 35) there is some confusion. In two of his earliest articles (*JRAS*-1946/and *JRAS*/1947/4), Marshall ascribed this tray to Stratum "V" but in his two last books (*Taxila II*, 494, no. 62 and Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, 17) he assigns it, without any reason, to the stratum IV. But still he prefers to place it in the second Cent. BC. The pure classical theme of this tray and its developed technique suggests that it must be placed, at least for chronological reasons, in stratum V.
18. Borouka Gregory, *Scythian Art*, New York: 1928, and T.T. Rice, *The Scythian Art*, London: 1957, 72-73, fig. 12-13.
19. *Taxila*, I, 65.
20. Wheeler, *Charsada*, loc. cit.
21. M. Taddei, loc. cit.

22. For example S. nos. 65 and 67 of the list belong to Sun-worship and Mithraic cults respectively.
23. G. Borouka, *loc. cit.*
24. G. Becatti, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* (London: 1968), 250.
25. *Taxila*, II, 504, nos. 129-132, pl. 147, b-d.
26. A. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, London: 1964, I, 369 & II, 718.
27. B. Rowland, *op. cit.*, 83, fig. 31.
28. *Ibid*, 85, fig. 32.
29. *Ibid*, 211, fig. 147.
30. O.M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvii, 199-200.
31. B. Rowland, *op. cit.*, 107, fig. 51-52.
32. *Infra* p. 9.
33. Pierre Amandry, *Collection Hellene Stathatos*, III, Strasbourg: 1963, 276-277, pl. XL, fig. 176.
34. M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of Roman Empire*, Oxford: 1957, 132, pl. xviii, i. Also, D.T. Rice, *The Beginning of Christian Art*, London: 1957, 52, fig. 7.
35. *Illustrated London News*, Dec: 18 and 25, (1954), 1161, fig. 7. Also D. Schlumberger, *Syria*, 37 (1968), 295-296, fig. 4-5.
36. Sir John Evans, *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries*, Feb: 13, 1908, 89-102, fig. 1-12 and F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, London: 1927, 37-39, pl. xxxiv, nos. 23-35.
37. F. Petrie, *op. cit.*, 38.
38. J. Evans, *op. cit.*, 101.
39. For example Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, 19.
40. G. Richter, *Three Critical Periods of Greek Sculpture*, 32.
41. *Taxila* II, 605, no. 417.
42. R. Ghirshman, *Begram*. MDFA, XII (Caire: 1946).
43. G. Perrot et ch. Chipiez, *Historie de l'art dans l'antiquite*, IX: *Grec Archaïque—LeCeramique*, Paris: 1911, 413-440, and 460-463.

44. Arthur Fairbank, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Cambridge; Mass: 1928), 89.
45. G. Becatti, *op. cit.*, 103-104, fig. 87-88. Also H.B. Walter, *A Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge: 1897, XX (46), pl. xxviii (73a).
46. *Archaeologika Analekta ton Athenon*, III (1970), 137-151.
47. H.B. Walter, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, London: 1896, 224-225, 256-261.
48. G. Touratsoglov, *BCH*, xcii (1968), 61-77, fig. 9-13, pl. xiii.
49. *Ibid.*
50. S. Benton, *BSA* (1931-32), 230; *Ibid.*, xxxix (1938-39), 45, no. 66, pl. 20 and G. Dontas, *Archaeologike Ephemeris* (1964), 28-30, pl. 6a.
51. Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, II, (Paris: 1912), 11, 2.
52. The Athenian Agora, VI. *Terracotta and Plaster Lamps of the Roman Period* (New Jersey: 1961), 32, no. 1113.
53. Baur, P.V.C., *The Excavation at Dura Europas, Final Report*, IV, pl. III—The Lamps New Haven: 1947, 50-56, pl. viii; Athenean Agora, Vol. VI, *loc. cit.*; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII; Lamps of the Roman Period; Philippe Bruneau, *Exploration Archéologique de Delos—Les Lamps*, Paris: 1915, Corinth, IV, 2—*Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge: 1934 and Gerard Siebast in *BCH*, XC, (1966), 472-513, figs. 1-27.
54. Ludwig Budde and R. Nicholis, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Cambridge: 1964, 79-80.
55. *JHS*, XXIII (1903), 318-319, fig. 15-16.
56. G.A.M. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York: 1915, 251 ff.
57. Paul Bernard, *Ai Khanum*, (London: 1967).
58. K.V. Trever, *Monuments of Greco Bactrian Art*, Moscow-Leningrad: 1949, pl. i. and ii.
59. Rowland, *op. cit.*, 145, fig. 87.
60. Paul Bernard, *loc. cit.*
61. S. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan*, London: 1971, 11-21, pl. 95-104.

62. Illustrated London News (Dec: 1825, 1954), 1161, fig. 7.
63. Taddei, M. *Inde* (Paris: 1970), 97, 255.
64. Taddei, m., EW, XVI, 1-2, (1966), 91; EW, XIII, (1962), fig. 22-23.
65. M.I. Rostoutzeff, *op. cit.*, 407, 617 n, 36. For fuller discussion on the cults of Apollo, Helios, Mithra and Surya see J.M. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of Kushnas* (Los. Angeles: 1967), 189-197. The existence of this (cult in Gandhara has been amply testified. Philostratus life of Apollonius of Tyana, XXIV) clearly states its existence at Taxila. There existed one Sun-Temple in the city and the king of Taxila was a Sun-worshipper. The Solar Chariot was engraved on coins at Taxila as early as 155 BC (Narain, A.K., *The Indo Greeks*, Oxford: 1957, 71). The Solar Chariot was also painted in another Temple outside the city of Taxila which is believed to be the present day Jandial Temple (Philostrtus, XXII). Similarly a statue of early 1st. Cent. A.D. from Taxila is also believed to be that of Surya or Sun-god (Taxila II, 702(7), pl. 212(7). Indeed this Hellenistic theme is a most popular one incorporated in Gandhara Art in 2nd. Cent. A.D. and onward and in the long run became the prototype from which iconography of Helios-Surya of the Hindu mythology took its root. For example see Rowland, B., *Art and Architecture of India*, 175, fig. 119; *Ibid*, Ancient Art of Afghanistan, 107, A. Foucher, LAGBG I, 207-208, fig. 83; Taddei, M., *Inde*, 255, no. 92, pl. 92; Barger and Wright, *op. cit.*, pl. vii-4; B. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan*, 49, fig. 165.
66. EW, XVI, no. 1-2, (1966), 89-93, fig. 1-3, Also for date of stratification in which this tray was found see D. Faccenna, *A Guide to the Excavations in Swat* (Pakistan) 1956-1962 (Rome: 1964), 17-20.
67. James Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, I, (Varanasi: 1971); 360-365; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, 63, and 122; R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum*, Vol. I, 202-205.
68. Martha L. Carter, *loc cit.*
69. Schlumberger, D., *La Palmyrene du nord-ouest* (Paris: 1951), 56, no. 17, pl. xxi, 4; H. ingholt' *op. cit.*, 176, pl. 480.
70. G. Gnoli in E.W. 14. no. 1-2 (1963), 32, 32, fig. 8.
71. *Ibid*, Dioscori brothers appear frequently on the coins of Scytho-Parthian Kings, especially those of Azilises. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, 133.
72. Saifur Rahman Dar, *Hellenistic Elements in the Architecture of Taxila*, Salonica: 1973, 104-119, pl. VI-IX fig. 14 *Ibid*, *Taxila and Hellenism*, Lahore: 1976, 9.
73. For two later trays see *supra* p. 4, f.n. 20 and 21.

74. The break-up of 33 trays from Taxila as discussed by Marshall, *Taxila*, II, 493, is as follows:

1. Satyr and nymph	1
2. Figure reclining on couch and attended by a female	2
3. Drinking and dancing scenes	2
4. Couples holding wine cups	5
5. Animals/monsters with riders	6
6. Animals/monsters without riders	14
7. Geometric and floral designs	3
Total	33

75. *Supra* p. 176 f.n. 17.

76. Marshall in *ASI* (1920-30), 90, no. 93, pl. xvi; *Taxila* II, 494, no. 62, pl. 144; *JRAS* (1946), 117-118; *Ibid* (1947), 4; *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, 17-18, pl. ii, fig. 13; Ingholt, 176, no. 479; Buchthal, *Proc., Br. Acad.* (1945), 6-7, fig. 13; *Artibus Asiae*, XVI (1953), 130-131 and Mr. Waliullah Khan, *EW*, XV (1964) 54-55.

77. Reinach, *Repertoire du Peintures*, 26 (1-2), 5-7.

78. Babelon, M.E., *Catalogue des Cameos Antiques et Modernes de la Bibliotheque Nationale—Albums et Planches*, Paris: 1897, 47, no. 81, pl. 80, no. 149.

79. Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, 478, no. 2.

80. Babelon, *Bronzes Antique*, 545, fig. 1337.

81. *Ibid*, 545, fig. 1337; Walter, H.B., *Cat. Bronzes in British Museum*, 41, no. 2881, pl. ix; Smith, A.H., *Cat Greek Sculpture*, III, 264, no. 2202.

82. Roscher, *Lexicon*, 219, fig. 3.

83. *Taxila* II, 632 (98), pl. 191(v).

84. *Hesperia*, XXXVIII (1969), 330, pl. 82.

85. Graves, R. *Greek Myths*, London: 1958, 78, k, 1 and Downey, G., *Ancient Antioch*, New Jersey: 1963, 41.

86. Graves, *op. cit.*, 75, a-f, I.

87. *Ibid*, 101, a-e.

88. *Ibid.*, 40, 1-b.

89. Strong, D.E., *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plates*, London: 1966. 104, pl. 29A. Also on a mirror lid from Demetrias now in National Museum, Athens.
90. Reinach, *Rep. Statuaire*, II, I (1897), 331; 332, 2; 335, 3; 361, 4 & 9; 362, 1; 363, 8; 370, 1; 348, 2.
91. Harrison, J.E. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge: 1903, 292-301,
92. Two small sized female statues from Taxila *Taxila* II, 101, nos. 3-4, pl. 211, nos. 3-4) have been dated by Marshall in the Scythian period (Ist. Cent. BC) and have been regarded by him among the few which mark the beginning of Gandhara Art (Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, 20, fig. 19-20. Same dress is worn by a lady in a tray from Peshawar (S. No. 86).
93. *MDFA*, XI, fig. 291.
94. *MDFA*, XI, fig. 416; *AJA*, 68, 1964, p. 334.
95. G.M.A. Richter, "Ancient-Plaster Casts of Greek Metalware", *AJA*, 62, 1958, 369-378.
96. O. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan*, 18.
97. Marshall in *ASI* (1929-1930), 90, no. 94, pl. xv, 2; *Ibid*, *Taxila* II, 494-95, no. 63, pl. 144, no. 63 and *Ibid*, *Buddhist Art*, 17-18, pl. 12, fig. 14; Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61 (1941), 225, no. 9; Buchthal, *op. cit.*, 5, fig. 3; H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, 178, no. 488, pl. 488.
98. Gardner, Percy, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* (London : 1196), 87, 94.
99. *Monuments Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, II, Manchester: 1931, 85, pl. 37 (114), Vol. VI, 8, pl. 10 (48, 50) and Vol. III, 17, pl. 5 (97) etc.
100. Metzger, H., *Anatolia II*, London: 1969, 145, pl. 67.
101. Comte du Mensil du Buisson, *Les Tesserres et les Monnaies de Palmyra*, Paris: 1962, 416, fig. 217, pl. 469, fig. 230-231.
102. CF. *AJA* 46 (1942), 295-301.
103. Rostoutzeff, M.I., *Caravan Cities*, (1932), 136, pl. xx (2), xxiii(1).
104. Gardner P. *loc. cit.*
105. Gardner, p. *loc. cit.*
106. Ingholt, 58-60, pl. 38, 39, 44.
107. *Ibid*, pl. 38.

108. Rowland, B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, 147, pl. 93.
109. Pinkwart, D. Doris, in *Antik Plastik*, IV (1965), 55-56, fig. 1-3, pl. 28-35.
110. For similar dress and date see f.n. 92 above.
111. Walter, Cat. *Greek and Etruscan Vases*, 215, 494, fig. xiv.
112. Reinach, *Rep. Relief*, III, 74, no. 2.
113. Richter, *AJA*, 62, (1958), 373?
114. Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, 20-21, fig. 20.
115. T. Weigand and H. Schrader, *Priene* Berlin: 1904, 351-352, fig. 418.
116. M. Taddei, *EW*. XIV, 1-2 (1963), p. 50, f.n. 59.
117. For Dioscori see G. Gnoli in *E.W.* XIV, 1-2, (1963), 32-33, Where the tray can be dated earlier than the Kushan period.
118. Decatti, G., *op. cit.* 250.
119. *Supra* p. 11.
120. *Tuxila* II, 694, pl. 209.
121. *Ibid*, 517, no. 1, p. 148, no. 1.
122. J. Hackins, *Begram*, Paris: 1954, 280, no. 77, fig. 329, no. 77; Grishman, *Begram*, Paris; 1946, 64-65, pl. xvi, 2-3, xxxvii.
123. For example see Dionysiac Procession on front of the pedestal of Panchika and Hariti from Sahri-Bahlol (Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 144) and the famous Bacchanalian scene carved on a lion-footed pedestal of some Buddha/Bodhisattva statue in the Lahore Museum (*Ibid.*, fig. 51). In the later the two ladies are sitting with their backs and buttocks bare in the same fashion as seen in trays at S. nos. 24, 34, & 80.
124. Marshall, *Taxila* II, 495 (65), pl. 144; *Ibid*, *Buddhist Art*, 18-19, fig. 16; L. Bachhafer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India", *JAOS* 61, (4), 225, pl. I, fig. 2.
125. Dalton, *op. cit.*, 58-59, pl. xxxiii, 204 and 49-50, pl. xxvii, fig. 75.
126. Barger and Wright, *op. cit.*, pl. vii-4.
127. Reinach, *Rep. des vases peints*, II, 246-7, 289-303, 313, 344, 360; *Ibid*, *Rep. Satuaire*, II, I, 189; *Ibid*, *Rep. Reliefs* II, 1912 (?).

128. Richter, G.A.M., *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York: 1915, 273-275, fig. 797-798; Walter, H.B., *Cat. of Bronzes in British Museum*, 16, No. 70, pl. vii, 70 and *AJA*, XXII (1918), 257-258, fig. 3 and 4.
129. Taddei, M., *Inde* (Paris: 1970), 97, pl. 100.
130. Khan, F.A., *Architecture and Art Treasure in Pakistan*, Karachi: 1968, 130.
131. Mollard-Busque, S., *Cat. Raisonné de Figurines et Reliefs en terre cuite Grecs et Romains*, II-Myrina (Paris: 1963), 146, pl. 178 h.
132. Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, 19, fig. 18.
133. Babelon, M.E., *Bronzes Antiques*, 555, no. 1356.
134. Hallade, M., *Gandhara Style*, 25, fig. 19.
135. Richter, *AJA*, 62 (1958), 373, fig. 23, pl. 93.
136. Walter, H.D., *Cat of Greek and Etruscan Vases in British Museum*, IV (London: 1896), 260, no. G. 141.
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138. Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, II, 269, 1, 263, 3.
139. Hallade, *op. cit.*, 25, fig. 19.
140. Walter, *Cat. of Bronzes in British Museum.*, 95, no. 624, p. 125, no. 728; Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, II, 78 (1-4), 357 (4) and III, 492 (1-2), *Ibid*, *Rep. Statuaire*, I, 4308.
141. Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 171, pl. 458.
142. Foucher, *LAGBG*, I, 216, fig. 9, Ingholt, 156-157, pl. 142, 396, 397; Majumdar, *Guide to Indian Museum Calcutta*, 114, no. 201-202, pl. xib.
143. Grunwedel, A., *Buddhist Art in India* (Sec ed. 1965), 105, fig. 56, Ingholt, pl. 363.
144. *LAGBG*, 252, pl. 120-131, 134-136; Ingholt, figs. 389, 396-399, 411-414; Facenna, D. and Gullini, G., *Reports on the Campaign 1956-1958 in Swat (Pakistan)*, II, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of But Kara I* (Roma: 1962), pl. cclxxxix and cccxcv; Marshall, *Buddhist Art* figs. 40, 41, 49, 50, 51, 82, 83, 91, 105.
145. Rice, T.T., *Treasures from the Scythian Tombs* (London: 1969), 20, pl. 3, 8, 10; p. 68-69, fig. 31; p. 50, fig. 93, and *The Scythians* (London: 1957), 151.
146. *Ionian Antiquities*, V. 21. The Lion of Mycanae, Lion of Dels, Lions of Branchidae, Lion of Amphipolis are well known in this connection.

147. *Ibid.*, I. 51, ix, x.
148. *Taxila* II, 435 año. 242, pl. 131c.
149. Reinach, *Rep. Statuaire*, II, 2, 355, 1-4.
150. Lawrence, A., *Greek Architecture*, 116.
151. Foucher, *LAGBG*, I, 245, fig. 124,, 125 and *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol, IV (1968-69), pl. 18c, 19b, etc.
152. List of toilet trays S. Nos. 116 to 123 has been supplied to me by the kind courtesy of Mr. Wladimir Zwalf, Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, London, who has also supplied me some of the photographs at S. No. 44, 70, 80, 81, 83, 84, 91-95.

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