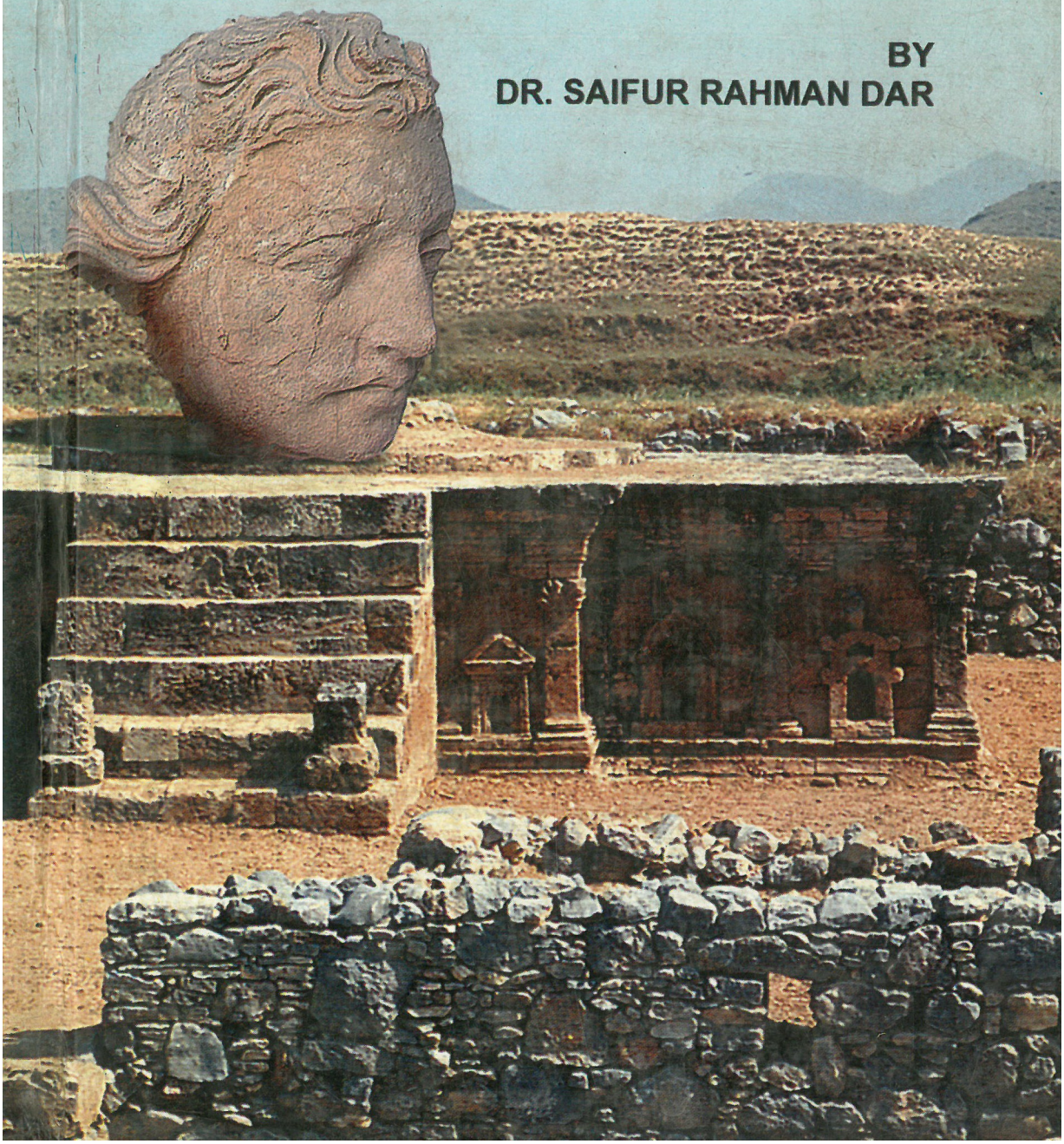
TAXILA
& THE WESTERN WORLD

BY
DR. SAIFUR RAHMAN DAR



TAXILA

AND
THE WESTERN WORLD

By
Dr. Saifur Rahman Dar (T.I.)

Revised Edition with Coloured Plates

Library and Information Management Academy
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To
my children
Rifa'at, Waseem and Sa'adia
who desperately needed my attention
during all these years
I worked on
TAXILA.

Between the Indus and
the Hydaspes is Taxila a large city
and governed by good laws. The surrounding
country is thickly populated and extremely fertile, as
the mountains here begin to subside into the plains. The
inhabitants and their King Taxiles received Alexander with kindness,
and in return came by more than they bestowed, so that the
Macedonians were jealous, and said it appeared as if
Alexander had found none worthy of his bounty untill he
had crossed the Indus. Some say that this country
was larger than Egypt.

(Strabo, *Geography*, XV.1.28)

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FOREWORD

It is very satisfying to find a new book on Taxila — the oldest city of the Indus Valley -- a city vital in the march of human history from the heart of Asia to the Indo-Gangetic plain and also from the Chinese mainland towards the Arabian Sea. So much work has been done on this city but still we are far from understanding its real historical importance: why Taxila has remained the focus of history in this part of the world. Dr. Dar lived in Taxila for a number of years and pondered over the different problems concerning the historic city of Taxila. He has made a re-appraisal of some of the evidence which have been earlier discussed. But his main contribution lies in the fact that he has presented a new perspective of the city and its problems and has given to us new ideas and interpretation of some of the evidence. It is hoped that the publication of this book will generate re-thinking on the historical problems of Taxila and scholars will try to have a new look over its problems and reconstruct the city better than what has been done by Sir John Marshall. I am sure the book will be of help in creating new interest on the subject.

Islamabad
December, 1983.

Professor Ahmad Hassan Dani

PREFACE

(First Edition)

When in October 1963, I was sent to Taxila as Assistant Custodian of the Museum there, I was already a great admirer of Sir John Marshall for what he had contributed in the field of archaeology of Pakistan in general and Taxila in particular. That admiration still continues. However, my prolonged official contacts with Taxila right upto August 1974, turned my admiration into my love for this great historical centre of art and learning. The more I read about it, more I was convinced that despite copious writing of John Marshall about this city, he had not done full justice with its monuments and antiquities. The work of probing the full archaeological potentials of the area was never taken up seriously, the monuments exposed were described perfunctorily and antiquities were dealt with summarily. For Marshall, history of Taxila began in 324 B.C. and ended in 456 A.D. My first shock about Marshall's being an omniscient came in 1964, when a team of archaeologists, including myself, led by Professor Elden Johnson of Minnesota University, Minneapolis (U.S.A.) discovered a mesolithic period cave at Khanpur not far from Bhamala — a site excavated by Marshall. It was followed by another sensational discovery in 1968 in the form of a Kot Dijian site at Sarai Khola only about 2 kilometers from Taxila Museum. Ever since then several more startling discoveries have been made in the valley of Taxila — the last one being Hathial (1980). These have extended the horizon of history of Taxila from 324 B.C. to the Neolithic period. As regards the other end of the bracket, no serious study has so far been directed towards this problem. However, whatever little has been done in this field is enough to show that the area around Taxila is not completely devoid of monuments of later period. Taxila did survive the ravages of White Huns in 456 A.D. and managed to flourish, though with an ever-changing fortune, down to our own times. Thus, during the last 20 years, an entirely new picture of Taxila has emerged — a city with longest history in South Asia. A new comprehensive book has to be written about Taxila. In my book: *Taxila—An Ancient City of Punjab* (Punjabi), published in 1977, I have only hinted upon these new dimensions of the history of this great city of Asia.

But, these expanding horizons of the history of Taxila have not diminished the significance and charm of the periods on which Sir John Marshall focussed his attention. A careful sifting of the archives, once available at Taxila — now threatened to b lost, a fresh study of great number of antiquities in its reserves — sculptures (particularly of stucco and terracotta), household objects, tool and implements, jewellry, seals and sealings, coins, etc. and a re-appraisal of architectural remains immediately bring to our attention the omissions and commissions of the excavators. Having served Taxila Museum for a long time in three various capacities, I had a singular privilege of unhindered access to its archives and reserve areas as well as its monuments, and I could make full use of it. Thus, when in September 1969, I got an opportunity of higher studies in Greece, I decided to take up the subject of 'Taxila' for my intended research. But, one of my senior colleagues — who had already done his Ph.D. on *Archaeology of Taxila* in 1950 and who during my absence abroad also became my director, 'advised' me not to pursue this topic because, according to him, there is no more room for research on this subject. This only whetted my curiosity and his wrath. My book: *Hellenistic Elements in the Architecture of Taxila* (Greek) published in 1973 by the Society of Macedonian Studies, Greece has proved my contention. Ever since then, two of my former colleagues have also completed their Ph.D. theses on two different aspects of Taxila. I am confident that still a few more Ph.Ds. can easily be done on the remaining material available in the reserve collection of Taxila Museum. Material excavated more recently, and dumped away, is in addition to that . A fresh organised exploration of the whole area under the leadership of a competent explorer and a re-appraisal of existing monuments is also a must. This present volume is a humble study only of some of the problems of history of Taxila which have kept me occupied for last few years.

In the preparation of this book I have been benefitted by the advice, guidance, assistance, cooperation and encouragement of many scholars, friends and colleagues. It is not possible for me to acknowledge their contribution individually. However, I shall be failing in my gratitude if I do not mention the names of a few of them. I have always been greatly encouraged by my two teachers F.A. Khan and A.H. Dani and my friend and former colleague M. Rafique Mughal. A.H. Dani has very kindly written the *Foreword* of this book. I am thankful to all of them. For my

on-the-spot studies at Taxila, I have greatly benefitted from the company of two of my University-days friends and my former colleagues in the Department of Archaeology namely M.A. Halim, Director, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi and former Custodian, Taxila Museum and its present curator Gulzar Mohammad Khan. With both of them I had long fruitful discussions on intricate problems of early history of Taxila. Their cordial hospitality and willingness to cooperate and assist me in my studies have been the major factors of my repeated and unannounced visits to Taxila. To Gulzar I am especially indebted for his kind permission to use some of the unpublished material on Hathial of which he is the excavator. I am also grateful to my friend and former custodian at Taxila and now Director General of Archaeology in Pakistan, Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan for providing several facilities of stay, study and photography at Taxila. To Wladimir Zwalf of the British Museum, London, I am thankful for a complete set of photographs of toilet trays from his museum. I have also taken the liberty of printing here the map of Gandhara from his booklet *The Shrines of Gandhara*. I am grateful to Henri-Paul Francfort of Centre de Recherches Archeologiques, Paris for allowing me to use some of the drawings from his book *Les Palettes du Gandhara*. It is also my privilege to acknowledge the guidance and encouragement frequently received in my studies of numerous Gandhara problems from D. Faccenna of IsMEO, Rome; M. Taddei of Naples University, Naples; Francine Tissot of Musee Guimet, Paris; Gerard Fussman, Director de l'Institute de Civilizations, Indienne, Strasbourg; and Paul Bernard, Professor of Ecole Pratique des Hautes Studies, Sarborne, Paris.

In all of my officers of Lahore Museum, I have found a spirit of willingness to work and assist one another. Their spirit of team work and close cooperation among themselves have relieved me of several of my administrative worries and allowed me to concentrate on my academic pursuits. I am thankful to all of them individually and collectively. The burden of locating references and procuring publications from various, often difficult, sources entirely rested upon Mohammad Asghar, the Librarian. The willingness and efficiency with which he shared with me this burden, is a singular example of devotion and service. Shahbaz Khan and Humera Alam, both Research Officers, have prepared several drawings included in this book. Salahuddin, Modeler, has assisted me in my collection of photographs for this work. Nusrat Ali, Keeper, Islamic Collections has guided me in the lay-out of this book. Tariq Masood,

Research Officer has prepared the Index. He, together with Humera Alam and Salma Jaffery, Tourist Guide have helped me in proof reading. To all of them I must record my sincerest thanks. Ghazanfar Ali of the Fine Arts Department, Punjab University is a well-known artist of our country. I am grateful to him for designing the dust-cover of this book. And, last of all, to my children Rifa'at, Waseem and Sa'adia, who have always sided with me in my mental pursuits at the cost of time, which Kishwar — my wif — thinks is theirs, I dedicate this book.

Lahore Museum
25th December, 1983

(Saifur Rahman Dar)

PREFACE

(Revised Edition)

The first edition of this book, published in 1984, ran out of print shortly. There has always been some demand for its reprinting. But, due to my other preoccupations, it took me long to go through the whole book and up-date information where ever necessary. Besides, I had desired to add a few more chapters to this volume but when I completed those chapters I felt that this will make the book too bulky. So, I decided to keep them for a separate volume and hurried to satisfy myself with up-dating information, selecting additional photographs and drawings and adding a complete new set of 24 pages of coloured photographs of monuments and objects. In this edition, only four new drawings have been added but the order of the earlier set is changed. Number of black and white illustrations has been reduced from 103 to 82 whereas a new set of 46 coloured illustrations has been added afresh. The format of the book has also been changed and so is the presentation of the text and illustrations.

In preparing this book and seeing it through the press I have been constantly assisted and guided by my former colleague Mohammad Asghar, now Deputy Director (Library), American Center, Lahore. But for his help and persuasion, perhaps I would not have been able to undertake this work. I am thankful to him. All of my colleagues in Lahore Museum and friends remained a constant source of inspiration and encouragement.

83-G, Murghzar Colony
Multan Road, Lahore
1st March, 1998

(Saifur Rahman Dar)

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Pl. XVI Pottery

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***

1 ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROFILE OF THE CITY

Today Taxila is a sizeable busy town located almost on the outer periphery of and eclipsed by the evergrowing capital of Pakistan-Islamabad. Its exact bearings are: longitude 72° 49'-51' E and latitude 33° 44'-47' N.[1] It is situated at the open west-end of a valley which is some 20 km east-west and 8 km north-south (Fig. 1). The valley itself occupies a picturesque position (Pl. I, II & 'A') at the head of Sindh-Sagar Doab between Indus and Jhelum rivers. Here at the foothills of Himalayan mountains, a series of low hills girdle the valley on three sides while the western side provides a wide open gap. On the east, Murree hills separate the valley from the city of Islamabad. A low ridge running east-west divides the Taxila Valley into two unequal halves — larger one on the north and smaller one on the south. This ridge also dies down into the plain on the east bank of Tamra Nullah with renowned Taxila Museum located on the opposite bank.

Average height of the valley is about 549 metres (1,800 ft.) above sea level. The highest mountain on the east is 2,438 metres (8,000 ft.) high whereas the one on the north is about 1,215 metres (3986 ft.) high. The whole area is well watered by the main River Haro as well as numerous smaller rivulets such as Tamra, Lundi etc.— all fed by a number of perennial springs.[2] Here rainfall is abundant and climate congenial and invigurating as was in ancient times.[3] The whole valley is famous for its fruit gardens. Hills are covered with dark wild olive trees and *snatha* shrubs. Inhabitants of the valley are of mixed races and speak a dialect of Punjabi language. Administratively, the valley partly belongs to the Punjab and partly to the N.W.F. Province of Pakistan.

Taxila is situated at a very strategic position. Here used to meet in the past, as they do even today, three ancient trade routes, one each from the Western Asia, Central Asia and the mainland India (Fig. 2). It was also connected with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf through a sea route linking sea ports of Barygaza (Bharoch) and Barbaricon near Karachi through a caravan route which corresponds to the present day national highway of Pakistan passing through Punjab and Sind. It was due to this geographical location that Taxila owed its every existence. These routes not only lured invaders, soldiers and adventurers but alongwith them

travelled merchants, settlers, teachers, pupils as well as commercial commodities and new ideas. These people, commodities and ideas, all of diverse origin, when met and mingled at Taxila, gave to this city a cosmopolitan character right from the beginning — a character which Taxila retained at least up to the 5th century A.D.

In ancient times Takshasila or Taxila, as Greeks had named it, was not only a big city of the Punjab but it stood for an empire as well. Plutarch reports that empire of Taxiles (Ruler of Taxila) was as large as Egypt, afforded good pasturage and had a very fertile soil.[4] Huien-tsang (629-645 A.D.) described Takshasila country as above 2000 li in circuit (5 li =1 mile = 1.6 km) and its capital above ten li in circuit.[5] He further describes the country as having fertile soil which bore good crops and had flowing streams, luxuriant vegetation and genial climate.[6] The capital of this empire, the city of Taxila itself, was regarded by the Greeks to be the greatest of all the cities which lay between the river Indus and Jhelum.[7] It was a great educational, scientific, religious and commercial centre of whole of central and south Asia. It was esteemed and revered by all the major religions of the area, namely Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. But, it was the last named religion which gave this city a pre-eminence and status always vied but never equalled by any other city in ancient India.

As far historical record goes, Taxila was introduced in the western world for the first time by the historians of Alexander the Great in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., and still later by the Indus-Greeks[8] who lived and ruled here for some time and made this city their one-time capital. During the ensuing periods, and till the end of the Kushan rule, Taxila persistently kept its banner up by maintaining a remarkable high standard of civilization, arts, crafts and even of education and religion. Whatever the other cause or causes might have worked to give Taxila a place of honour during its early history, it was the Buddhism which served as a hub round which the wheel of its life turned so lustrously and sucessfully during the first four centuries of our era. And it was due to the decline, if not extinction, of Buddhism in this area in the 5th century A.D. that the city of Taxila lost its glamour and consequently the economic basis of its existence. Thus, what was once an international city, it shrank to the status of a town, then a village, and finally went into complete oblivion. So much. so that when in the 19th century archaeological reconnaisance was started in this region, no one knew where precisely Taxila once stood. Local

traditions and literature had preserved nothing about this once the glorious city of ancient India.

The credit for re-discovering in 1863 this lost city and identifying the Dheri Shahan (Mound of Kings) in Rawalpindi District with ancient Takshasila goes to Sir Alexander Cunningham.[9] This identification has been confirmed by the discovery of several inscriptions in this valley.[10] Sir John Marshall, on account of his background in classical Greek archaeology,[11] took a special fancy of Taxila and its association with Alexander the Great, Bactrian Greeks, Indus-Greeks, and philhellenic Parthians. Starting his excavations in this area in 1913, he spent here almost half of his active life (1913-34) excavating and exploring a cluster of sites around the city of Taxila. As a result of these prolonged excavations partial remains of three city sites and about two dozen stupas, monasteries and temples and a fortress have come to light (Fig. 1). From these sites was unearthed an enormous amount of material -- sculptures, utensils, tools, implements, jewellery, coins etc. which helps us in reconstructing the social, economic and religious life of the people of Taxila from the 6th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D.

These 21 years of excavations, however, could not stop luring other archaeologists to try their luck on various sites of the Taxila Valley. In 1944, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, a Romanist in classical archaeology,[12] re-excavated Marshall's first and second (now second and third) city sites (Bhir Mound and Sirkap) with the purpose of re-interpretting earlier levels of both these cities.[13] In 1967, the Department of Arehaeology, Pakistan, once again excavated a part of Bhir Mound in order to know more about the Achaemenian levels of the city.[14]

But there is still more than this in the Taxila Valley for archaeologoists, historians and art critics. Although Marshall did find some polished stone celts and a mace head in his excavations of Sirkap site, he never considered these artifects seriously.[15] On the contrary, as late as 1951, he worte: "Upto the present no pre-historic settlement has been discovered at Taxila, nor is there any reason to suppose that any ever existed there".[16] This hypothesis, was soon challenged. Several archaeologists, were covinced that the location which Taxila enjoys should never have remained un-noticed and un-utilised during pre- and proto-historic periods. The first positive proof of it was available in 1964, when Elden Johnson of Minnesota University (USA) discovered the ever-first Mesolithic period site with micro-lithic blade industry in a cave near

Khanpur in the eastern end of the Taxila Valley.[17] The cave has since then been excavated by a team of the Department of Archacolgy, Peshawar University.[18]

In 1968, another pre-historic site was discovered at Sarai Khola (now Taxila I) not for away from Bhir Mound (P1. 'D'), Taxila II. It has been extensively excavated during 1968 to 1972.[19] Results of these excavations have shown unmistakably that the foundation stone of Taxila city, no doubt, in the form of a small village, was laid at the site of Sarai Khola during the neolithic period sometime in the middle of 4th Millennium B.C. (Pl. 'B'.) Once founded, Sarai Khola remained inhabited continuously till about 1000 B.C. and even afterwards. At the end of the Neolithic period of 3rd millennium B.C., a new life started at Sarai Khola in the beginning of 3rd millennium B.C with Bronze Age cultural traits of Kot Dijian affinities (P1. III). The last important phase of this site is also significant as it marks the presence of a Grave Culture of about 1000 B.C., usually associated with the coming of Aryans in this region[20] (P1. III). Thus in one stride, history of Taxila was pushed back for almost three thousand years from the 6th century B.C. to the middle of 4th millennium B.C. Several other prehistoric sites were also located in the surrounding area of Sarai khola. These are : Pind Nausheri, Khanda and Jhang Batar.[21] The last named site has already been excavated. Its report, however, is still awaited.

Biggest surprise, however, came in 1980 when a team of archaeologists detected the presence of a Kot Dijian site on the spur of Hathial range within the fortifiction wall of the Greek City of Sirkap (P1. IV & 'C') and where Marshall had conducted excavation for almost 21 years. Whatever can be known from the limited excavations and so far un-published results[22] shows that like Sarai Khola, the site of Hathial too was first occupied by the people of Kot Dijian culture and later on was inhabited by the invading Aryan hordes, usually identified archaeologically with the so-called Gandhara Grave Culture. For the first time this Grave Culture has been discovered east of the Indus River. It appears that whereas Sarai Khola was the main site of Taxila during the Kot Dijian period and what follows, Hathial existed contemporaneously either as a suburb or as a village of it.[23]

There is still another lacuna in the Taxilan studies. Whereas sufficient work appears to have been carried out in order to shed new light on the earlier history of Taxila, no interest has so far been shown by

archaeologists and historians as to what happened to this once great city after it was invaded by White Huns in 456 A.D. It was definitely existing in the 7th century A.D, When Hieun Tsang (Xuan Zang) visited it.[24] It was also existing at the time of invasion of Mahmood of Ghazna and during the Sultanate period.[25] Similarly, a number of coins of Akbar's period were discovered in proper excavations at Taxila by Marshall but have been reported inadequately.[26] A number of earlier Muslim period monuments have also been reported in the vicinify of Taxila such as: a mosque at Giri, another mosque in Usman Khattar, a *sarai*, a *bauli* and a mosque in Sarai Kharbooza, a sizable portion of paved Grand Trunk Road and a road-side inscription both at Margala Pass, another magnificent *bauli* and a Mughal Halting Place (Farudgah-i-Shahanshahan-i-Mughlia) at Wah, two tombs and a tank in Hassan Abdal etc. etc. But apart from a few brief articles,[27] no serious attempt has so far been made to recapitulate the history of Taxila, from the 5th to the 19th Century A.D. A serious attempt at the hands of archaeologists and historians is the dire need of the time so that, as far as possible, a complete history of Taxila from middle of the 4th millennium B.C. down to the present date can be reconstructed.

There is hardly another archaeological site in Asia which can boast of having attracted the attention of archaelogists and explorers for such a long and continuous period. No doubt, Taxila is being probed, explored and excavated for last 135 years (1863-1997), but we have not yet been able to hold the two ends of the thread of its story together. We do not know what still lies there in surprise for us. However, one thing is now almost sure. Taxila is one of those civic centres of ancient world which, once founded, life never drained out of it. It is, no doubt, the oldest existing city in South Asia which has been flourishing, of course with changing fortunes, since neolithic period in the middle of 4th millennium B.C. It changed its name and location intermittently several times, lost or gained its importance and diminished or enlarged in size, but throughout this long period, the area of the Taxila Valley never lost sight of human interest. And now, with Islamabad, as capital of the country, having its boundaries only a few kilometers from Taxila and an Engineering University and several heavy mechanical factories established at Taxila, the city is simply repeating its history when it was really an international centre of ancient India and Pakistan.

Although a lot of literature on Taxila has already been published (see Bibliography) a lot still is desired to be written about it. Recent discoveries of last three and a half decades already indicate that the whole area needs to be re-explored and the huge material already at our disposal to be re-interpreted.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ptolemy (VII.i.45) gives the bearings of Taxila as Pke' and LBd' which correspond to 125 degree E and 32 degree 15' N. Pliny (Bk. VI xxi.62) also places Taxila wrongly at a distance of 60 miles (96 kilometers) from Pushkalavati i.e. almost 10 miles (16 kilometers) further north-west than its actual position. Many earlier explorers failed to locate the site of Taxila only because of wrong distances recorded by ancient writers. Also see Cunningham, Geography, p. 104.
2. Somadeva in his Katha Sarit-sagara, a work of 1070 A.D. wrongly places Taxila on the banks of the Vitasta or Jhelum River, where dwelt a king named Kalingadatta. (See N.M. Pinzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. III, (London: 1925), p. 2
3. Samuel Beal, *Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, (London: 1906; (Rep. CalcuttValley", *PkA.*, No. 5, 1968, pp. 6.19.

18. Shahbaz Khan, "Khanpur Excavations", a: 1958), Vol. II, Bk., III, 3, pp. 179-80.

4. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, LIX.
5. Thomas Watters, On Yuan. *Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.*,. (London: 1905), I., P. 240.
6. Ibid.
7. Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII.
8. The term "Indus-Greek" has been used here intentionally in preference to an off quoted phrase "Indo-Greak" and, in the contexts of this book, it stands for those Greeks who were forced by circumstances to live in the territory now comprising Pakistan.
9. *CSR, II* (1973), pp. III-135; CSR, V (1875), pp. 66-74 and CSR, XIV, (1879), pp. 7-24.
10. See below Chap. 10: Kharoshthi Inscriptions, pp. 215-244.
11. BSA, XI, 1904-5, p. 335. Also Sir Mortimer Wheeler. *My Archaeological Mission to India and Pakistan*. (London: 1976), p. 17.
12. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Still Digging: Adventures in Archaeology*. 3rd ed., (London: 1958), pp. 83ff.
13. A Ghosh, "Taxila (Sirkap) (1944-45)", *AI*, No. 4, 1947-48, pp. 4-84. Report of Wheeler's excavations at Bhir Mound have never been published.
14. Muhammad Sharif, "Excavations at Bhir Mound, Taxila", *PkA.*, No. 6, 1969, pp. 4-99.
15. *Taxila* I, p. 11.
16. *Ibid.*, II, p. 484.
17. (Saifur Rahman Dar), "Field Survey Report of Exploration in the Soan Paper presented to the First National Seminar on Taxila, at Taxila, from 30th April to 2nd May, 1982.
19. M.A. Halim, "Excavations at Sarai Khola", Pt. I, *PkA.*, No 7. 1970, pp. 23-89 and *Ibid.*, Pt. II., *PkA.*, No. 8, 1972. pp. 1-112.

20. Halim, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, *PkA.*, No. 8, p. 111. However, Wolf Bernhard has emphasized that Sarai Khola skelethons belong to Greeks and hence are of later date. See his "Ethnic and Morphological Affinities of the Iron-Age Cemetry of Sarai Khola near Taxila (Pakistan)", *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1981, pp. 180-210.
21. M. Rafique Mughal, "A Summary of Excavations and Explorations in Pakistan (1971-72)". *PkA.*, No. 8, 1972, pp. 131-2.
22. Gulzar Mohammad Khan. "Hathial Excavations", *Journal of Central Asia* VI, 2, Dec. 1983, pp. 35-44. Also see Ibid., "New Elments of Chronology in Taxila Valley", Paper presented in the First International Symposium on Pakistan Achaeology, held at Peshawar, 1st-3rd March, 1982.
23. Dani accepts Hathial and Sarai Khola as twin villages both exhibiting—a similar pattern of settlement. However, he also opines that out of the two only Hathial became a permanent settlement (See A.H. Dani, The *Historic City of Taxila,* (Paris: 1986), pp. 81.
24. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vo. I, (London: 1904), p. 240.
25. M.A. Chaghatai, *Taxila Revisited,* (Lahore: 1975). reprinted from *Proceedings of the History Congress*, 1973. The name 'Taxila' remained alive in folk traditions as late as the 9th to the 13th centuries when Somadeva compiled his famous book: *Katha Sarit Sagara or the Ocean of Stories* wherein Takshasila (Taxila) appears several times as an important city, though now as a centre of Hinduism. The entire 5th volume of the Ocean of Stories is devoted to the adventures of Vatsa, the King of Taxila, and his son Naravahandatta, the future King of Vidyadhara and husband to many wives.

    The city again reappeares in Vol. VI, p. 14 as exploiting Pushkaraksha, son of Bhadraksha, King of Takshasila and a worshipper of Lakshmi.
26. A good number of Akbars coins are lying in the Coins Cabinet of the Taxila Museum where I studied them during the period of my Curatorship (1965-69). As far I can remember, these coins were all in copper and were discovered from some site within the 4th city site of Taxila namely Sirsukh.
27. Chaghatai, *loc. cit.* Abdur Rahman, "Taxila Under the Ghaznavids", *JCA*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Dec. 1983, pp. 173-178; and Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Some Hitherto Unstudied Monuments of Islamic Period In and Around Taxila", *JCA*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Dec. 1983, pp. 179-186.

2 MEANING AND ORIGIN OF THE NAME TAKSHASILA

Much has been written about Taxila. Majority of the scholars, however, either keep silence over the meaning and origin of the name Takshasila (Taxila) or just give different versions of the name as these occur in ancient literature and pass on.

In ancient times Taxila or Takshasila or Takhasila, was a great city renowned as a great centre of trade, education and science. Besides, all ancient religions of South Asia held this city in great esteem. Particularly, the followers of Buddhism spread its fame far and wide in Asia. In the Western world fame of Taxila reached because this was the only city where Alexander the Great was received well and which, later on, the Greeks made their capital.

Personalities Associated with Taxila

Taxila was one of the two great educational centres in South Asia — the other being Nalinda in Bihar province. The University of Takshasila, however, was famous for its teaching in science subjects, particularly the science of medicine.[1] This university produced some of the greatest names in the ancient history of the country. Among them Jivaka, the great physician of Rajagriha, was educated at Taxila.[2] Jivaka, son of Raja Bimbisara, was a contemporary and great companion of Buddha. He donated the famous Jetvana Garden in Rajagriha to Buddha. Alexander of Macedon,[3] Susima, son of Bindusara and elder brother of Asoka,[4] Asoka himself,[5] and his son Kunala[6] had lived in Taxila. Among other names associated with Taxila are: Kumaralabhda — the founder of Sautrantika School,[7] Ghosha — a contemporary of Asoka and a great physician and an oculist or a specialist in eye-surgery,[8] Brahmadatta,[9] Setaketu,[10] etc. It is also believed that the famous grammarian Panini[11] and scholar Patanjali used to teach at Taxila in the 6th or 5th cent. B.C.; the illustrious Viyas lived in this city and composed his renowned epic poem *Mahabharta* here; Uddalika Aruni — the narrator of *Upanishda* and his son Suvita Keeto were educated at Taxila,[12] and Jotipala son of Purohit of Raja of Kashi obtained his military education in the same city and later became the commander-in-chief of the king. Even Chandra Gupta Maurya and his

Minister Kautilya.— the author of *Arthashastra*, and Prasenajit, the enlightened Raja of Koshala, are believed to have been educated in the university of the same city.[13] Prasenajit was also a contemporary of Buddha.[14] Somadeva, author of Katha Sarit Sagara, a work dated in 1070 A.D., mentions a king named Kalinjadatta, the ruler of Takshasila in ancient times. He was a distinguished Buddhist as were his subjects and his city shining with splendid Buddhist temples densely crowded together. His queen was named Taradatta. The King had a beautiful daughter named Kalingasasena. On her pursuits, Somadeva devotes almost one full volume of his Katha Sarit Sagara.[15]

Religious Associations of the City

All the three ancient religions of Indo-Pakistan have tried to give an imaginary and remote history to this city. According to *Ramayana*,[16] Pushkalavati and Takshasila were founded by Bharta, the younger brother of Sri Rama Chandara. He appointed two of his sons, Taksha and Puskala as ruler of these two cities. After them both the cities got their names, i.e., Takshakasila and Pushkalavati, respectively. *Mahabharata*[17] mentions that when Pandus could not rule Hastinapur (Delhi), they came to Taxila under the leadership of Parikshat and ruled here. Under him Taxila prospered. His son Janemjaya subjugated Naga tribes and performed here the great *Ashvamedha* or Horse Sacrifice. On this occasion the poet Viyas or Vaisampayna read full-length of his long epic poem *Mahabharta* for the first time.[18] In Vedas, it is mentioned that at Takshasila were taught the 18 arts (Shilpa or Sippas).[19] Pali texts narrate at length how Brahmana youths, Kshattriya princes and sons of Setthis from Rajagriha, Kashi, Koshala and other places went to Takshasila for learning the Vedas and eighteen sciences and arts.[20] From a passage in Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara, N.M. Pinzer suggests that the 'Saiva' and Buddha religions were both professed in the city of Takshasila.[21]

According to Jaina traditions, millions of years ago the first Trithankara Rshabhanatha came here and left his footprints.[22] Later on, Jainas built on those footprints a "Wheel" which was several miles in height and in width. Still later, Bahubali or Gomateshvara, the son of Rshabhanatha, ruled at Taxila for several years.[23]

It is a historical fact that Buddha himself never visited this part of the country. However, later on, as Taxila became a great centre of Buddhist learning and activities, the area became a veritable holy land of Buddhist religion. Many stories were invented to show Buddha's association with

Taxila both in his erstwhile and historical lives. Many Jataka tales allude to these connections.[24] For example, it is said that Buddha in one of his previous lives as P'usa or Prabhachandara (Moonfaced) was born in this city and here he offered his head to a hungry lion. Similarly, in form of King Dipankara, he ruled at Taxila and after him twelve of his sons and grandsons ruled over their kingdom from Taxila.[25]

The Real History of the City

Only till recently it was believed that all this is fiction and that the history of Taxila does not go beyond 5th-6th century B.C. Recent archaeological excavations, however, have revealed that the history of this city goes as far back as 3100 B.C. when the people of this city were in the neolithic stage of their cultural history. Later on, it was ocupied by people who practised the Kotdijian Culture (2800-2400 B.C.). Still late, the Aryans, who had recently arrived in this area, built in about 100 B.C. two cemetries here.[26] The later history of Taxila is too well-known to be narrated here at length.[27] Suffice here to say that from 558 B.C. till 456 A.D., Taxila, though a great commercial, art and educational centre, was constantly under the heels of foreign rulers — Achaemenians, Macedonians, Mauryans,[28] Indus-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, Sassanians, Kidara Kushans, and finally the White Huns — all used Taxila as hub for their political expansion. The Empire of Taxila, which once included the land between the Indus and the Jhelum down to Trimmu Head Works and up in the Hazara hills, was finally shattered to pieces apparently by White Huns. The city of Taxila was also burnt down. It was never the same again. When Hieun Tsang, the Chinese traveller visited Taxila in the 7th Century (629-645 A.D.), he found it a small town and a dependency of Kashmir.[29] Its glory was passing into oblivion. In 1026 A.D., when Al-Beruni passed through this region, the city still retained its ancient name but at the same time a new name Marikala (Margala of present day) was coming up.[30] In Babur's *Memoirs* and in *Ain-i-Akbari*,[31] the name Kacha Kot is mentionad in place of Taxila. The name Margala has also been mentioned in an inscription of Aurangzeb's period (1658-1707 A.D.) fixed in Margala Pass near Taxila.[32] After this period, we do not hear about Taxila anymore. Even the location was lost and nobody knew where exactly this one of the most glamorous cities of the past used to exist. In the 3rd quarter of the 19th century Sir Alexander Cunningham once again brought Taxila to the focus of the learned world by identifying the remains near Shah-dheri (See supra, pp. 3-6).

Meaning and Origin of the Name Taxila

According to some Buddhist traditions, in some very ancient times, and in this place, was a city known as Bhadrasila.[33] When it was destroyed, a new city was built up in its place which was then named as Takshasila. Where was Bhadrasila situated? When was it exactly founded and when precisely it was destroyed? It is difficult to say anything positively. In the whole history of Taxila we meet only one Bhadra, i.e., Bhadrapala, husband of Chandrabi,[34] who lived at Taxila during the reign of Azes I. But, this inscription is dated in the 23rd regnal year of Azes I. If Bhadrasila really ever existed in place of Taxila, it must date earlier than 325 B.C. i.e., prior to the invasion of Alexander the Great. At this time the name Taxila was already well established. Taxila was then regarded as the greatest of all cities between Indus and Jhelum.[35] Similarly, Bhadrasila should not be looked for at Bhir Mound because with all probablity, though according to some definitely, Taxila of Alexander's days was situated at this place. Moreover, we meet this name in the Vedas, Ramayana and Mahabharta. It clearly shows that the name Taxila or Takshasila is much interior to the 4th century B.C. As such, if the Nepalese tradition is correct and there really once existed the city of Bhadhrasila, in the whole Taxila valley there is only one other place where this city could have existed. It is the site of Sarai Khola some 2½ kilometers south-west of Bhir Mound.[36] The site prominently occupies a bend of Kalapani nullah and is visible from the Grand Trun Road near Sarai Kala. The site was discovered in 1968 and since then has been extensively excavated.[37] The discoveries made at this site have pushed back the history of Taxila for at least another three millennia i.e. from the later parts of 4th millennium B.C. down to 100 B.C. and follows.' On the other hand, history of Bhir Mound begins sometimes in the middle of 6th century B.C.[38] Naturally, the city at Sarai Khola preceded the one at Bhir Mound and hence Bhadrasila, if it really ever existed, must be identified with the former site. Thus, if we accept the reference of Takkshasila in Vedas as contemporaneous with the advent of Aryans in Pakistan or a little later, then it is quite possible that the city of Bhadrasila was destroyed by the Aryans[39] or was already deserted for reasons unknown) before their arrival. It is also probable that when it was refounded on the same site, it was rechristened by them as Takkashila or Takshasila. In this way the name Taxila can go as far bback as 1500 to 1000 B.C. This will also explain the presence of name Takshasila or its variants in the Ramayana, Mahabhara and other earlier local literature.[40]

Now we know that the city ;of Taxila was built at four or five different places in the Taxila valley at five different times — last time it occupied the same place where it first took its birth in about 3100 B.C. i.e. Sarai Khola. These are:

Taxila I	(Bhadrasila)	at Sarai Khola or Hathial	3100-1000 B.C. and follows
Taxila II	(Takshasila)	at Bhir Mound	550-190 B.C.
Taxila III	(Takshasila)	at Sirkap	190 B.C - 60 A.D.
Taxila IV	(Takshasila)	at Sirsukh	60 A.D - 456 A.D.
Taxila V	(Takshasila or Marikala)	at Sarai Khola	7th Cent A.D. and follows.

In historical periods, the city has been known by the name of Taxila or by its different variants, such as Takkasila, Takshasila, Takhasila or Takshakasila. In medieval periods it was also known as Marikala,[41] Babarkhana or Babarkan[42] and Kacha Kot.[43] The name Takkasila or Takhasila has been variously interpreted. Apparently, the oldest tradition records that the city was founded by Bharta, the younger brother of Sri Ram Chandara, who made one of his sons Takksha the ruler of this city.[44] As 'sila' in Sanskrit means 'city', the city of Taksha started being called as Takshakasila, i.e. the city of Taksha.

According to Cunningham's researches Takkas belonged to the naga tribe[45] and, according to others, legendary Taksha was a Naga King.[46] Thus either Taksha got his name from his tribe or the tribe got its name from its leader. Now, Taksha is very close to Takshan. The term Takka may be a briefer version of Takshan or Takksha. There are some strong evidences to show that Takas or Takshan was the real founder of this city. McCrindle,[47] A.B. Keith[48] and Marshall[49] are of the opinion that 'sila' also means a hillock or a rock. According to them the area around the city was once ruled by the Naga king Takkshaka who had his abode on one of the rocks of the area named Nshada[50] and after him it was known as Takshasila or the Rock of Taksha. I identify the high mountain of Nshada with Sarda (Sarra) hill in Taxila Valley. This hill across the Haro river is the highest in the area. According to others, Takkkas, a powerful Naga tribe, once ruled the territory between the rivers Attock (Indus) and Chenab from their headquarters in the city which was named after the tribe as

Takshakasila or the City of Takka tribe. Cunningham is sure about it.[51] According to him Takka people were of Turaniam origin,[52] but they were expelled from the Sind Sagar Doab before the arrival of Alexander the Great. This expulsion must have taken place long before the 4th cent. B.C. when Naga tribes, on account of having become assertive were quelled by Janamejaya, the famous Pandu King of Taxila.[53] Thomas Watters[54] identifies Takkas with Che-Ka of Hiuen Tsang but, at the same time, he places them somewhere between Gandhara and Lampa i.e., outside the territory of present day Pakistan. It is possible that after their explusion from Sind Sagar Doab, Takkas dispersed and retired into far off places. But they were not extirpated from Taxila Valley completely. Legends point to the existence of a race of Nagas and their habitat i.e. Patala-loka or Patalene of the Greek writers, where the Nagas might have gone after their expulsion from Taxila.[55] In Kalhana's *Rajatrangani*, there is a mention of Takka people (*Rajatrangani*, VII, 474), Takkka-desa (*Rajatrangani*, VII, 159) and Takka-visaya (*Rajatrangani*, VIII, 1091)[56] in connection with events taking place in Kashmir between 883-1128 A.D. During the reign of king Harsha, certain Takkas are mentioned by their names such as: Valliya Takka, Lakksmidara Takka and Lavaraja Takka-visaya.[57] Thus, it becomes clear that, at least in Kashmir, Takka was an ethnic group of people and the term Takka-desa or Takka-visaya, therefore, was applied to the land occupied by them. There is no identity of views as to where was the Takka-visaya. I am inclined to believe that Takka-visaya is only another and later form of Takka-sila. Takkkasila (Taxila) was a name applied both to the city and the country that once extended from the Indus in the west to the Jhelum in the east and to the Trimmu-head in the south. This view gets corroboration from Cunningham according to whom Takka-visaya is synonymous with the Punjab extending from the Indus in the west to the Beas in the east and to the confluence of the five rivers below Multan in the south.[58] He further identifies Takkka-desa with Tseh-Kia (local equivalent Taki) of Hiuen Tsang which the latter visited in the 7th century. The capital of Tseh-Kia was She-Kie which has been identified as Sakala or Sialkot.[59] Aurel Stein[60] and Cunnigham[61] both agree in identifying Takkas with Madras or Bahikas of *Mahabharata* — both seeing the ancient inhabitants of the Punjab. In the lexicon of Hemacandra also, the Bahikas are said to be the same as Takkas (*Bahikash takka-namano*).[62] Cunningham has further tried to identify et-Takin territory of Masudi (951 A.D.), Tafak of Suleman (851 A.D.), Taffa of Ibn Khurdabha (912 A.D.), Taifand of

Kazwini (1023 A.D.), Takisher of Al-Beruni (1023 A.D.), Taban of M. Rainaud etc. with Takka-desa which he regards as Punjab, with Takkawar, and Tahora of Peutingir's Tables, as capital of the Punjab.[63] In the 7th century A.D. kingdom of Taki or Punjab was divided into three provinces — Taki proper in the north, Multan in the south and Shorkot in the middle.[64] The Taki province consisted of Bhera, Boucephalia, Mikkala, Gujrat, Sakala, Asarar, Lahore etc.[65] almost corresponding to the kingdom of Takshasila in ancient times — Taxila city notwithstanding having been reduced to a very insignificant status at that time.

All this clearly shows that Takkas were the inhabitants of the ancient Punjab with their seat probably at Taxila in the northern Punjab. From here they spread or dispersed in all directions till, in the 7th century, entire Punjab was under their heels. In the 9th century and afterwards, they had been reduced to an insignificant position but the old memories never left them. As late as the 9th century, they were regarded as an agricultural race living in the lower hills between the Jhelum and Ravi.[66] The greatest remnant of this tribe in the Punjab is the old Nagari script which was called Takari as well as Mundi and Lundi.[67]

It has been mentioned that Takkas were Naga people. There is nothing improbable in it. According to the Satapatha Brahmana (XIII.4.3), Nagas were old people with scripture or tradition of their own. They were named as such because of the serpent being their symbol.[68] Naga cult is very old in Pakistan and India. Its existence is testified by the presence of terra-cotta fingurines in the form of serpent-legged deities and representation of serpent deities on sherds and pots discovered from Gumla, Kot Diji, Anjira, Rahman Dheri, Jhang Batar, etc. of about 4th-3rd millennia B.C.[69] It is also known from the cities of Harappan civilisation.[70] There is a mention of snake-worship in *Atharva-veda* (V.13.68) and in Rigveda. Buddha Parkash[71] has traced deep rooted similarities of serpent symbology among the un-Aryan people of Pakistan and India on the one hand and, on the other hand, the people of Middle East — Turanians, Kurds, Akkadians, Chaldeans, Persians etc. This strengthens the view "of their having belonged to a common social and culural stock." These Nagas soon obtained sufficient power and became assertive. As we are informed in the celebrated Sarpa-Sutra, they were defeated by king Janamejaya who held his courts at Takshasila.[72]

Taxila has always been regarded as a strong centre of *naga* worship and was ruled by a Naga king.[73] But it is strange that although Naga king

and his queen appear very prominently and frequently on Gandharan reliefs and that a Naga king is believed to have been living in or near Taxila,[74] *naga* figures are least popular amongst the statutary of Taxila.[75]

Some Chinese travellers tried to provide a religious background to the name of Takshasila. Fa-Hien (Fa Xian), a Chinese traveller who visited Taxila in 400 A.D., mentions the city under the name of Chou-Cha-Shi-Lo and gives its meaning as "Cut-off Head".[76] Hieun Tsang[77] (Xuan Zang) mentions the name of the city as Ta-Cha-Shi-Lo which has approximately the same meaning. It appears that, due to some difficulty of phonetics, the Chinese travellers heard 'sila' (city) as 'sira' (head) and thus the original Takkasila sounded as Takkasira, to the pious Buddihist pilgrims, and translated as "Cut-off Head". Fa-Hien interpreted this name with the help of a Buddhist Jataka. According to him Buddha, in one of his erstwhile lives, was born at Taxila as Pusa or Chandraprabha (Moon-faced). In his youth he, as an act of charity, fed a hungry lion or Devadatta, his arch enemy. So, the locality was christened as Takkasira or "Cut-off Head". Cunningham[78] believes that Jandial Stupa (later proved to be a Greek Temple) is the place where Buddha cut-off his throat. Marshall,[79] on the other hand, opines that this *sirshadanam* or *sirdan* (the head-sacrifice took place at the site of Bhallar Supa in the valley of Taxila.

It appears that this tradition of "cut-off head" became so popular during Buddhist supermacy at Taxila that no subsequent period could ever shake it off. It persisted, though in a different form, even during Muslim period. The area in front of present day Sirkap (Taxila III), was known in the 19th century as Babar Khana or the House of Tiger.[80] In Al-Beruni's *Indica*[81] there is a reference to a Babarhan or Babarkan, situated midway between the Indus and the Jhelum from where takes off the route to Kashmir. This, according to Cunningham, must be identified with Babar Khana to the north of Sirkap. The same name also alludes to the same place in *sirshadanam* story. Similarly, in the city of Taxila, there is a range of hills on the south of the Taxila Valley, which even today is known as Margala. Among other meanings assigned to this name, Margala also means 'cut-throat' i.e., 'mar' (to cut) & 'gala' (throat). Here, 'cutting-off head' is transformed into 'Cutting-off throat' and hence Margala and Takkasira connote the same meaning. The oldest reference to Margala is in Abu Raihan Al-Beruni's *Indica* wher he mentions Margala (his Marikala) as an alternate name of Takshasila.[82] Later on, the name 'Margala' recurs in an inscription (dated 1084 A.H. / 1672 A.D.) of Aurangzeb period fixed on a

roadside about two kilometers from Sarai Khola.[83] The name persists even today.

The tradition of 'cut-off head' is also preserved in the form of Sirkap — modern name of Taxila III, which also means 'cut-off head', though usually a different story is alluded to this name.[84]

Some scholars have tried to interpret meaning of the word Takshasila in accordance with the results of excavation conducted on the site. According to them the name Takshasila was given to this city on account of building material universally in vogue here in all the ages. Sila also means stone and *'tak'* or *'tuk'* means 'to cut', 'to dress' or 'to give shape'. Since the entire city of Takshasila, and other religious monuments around it, have been built up with dressed stones, the city was named accordingly (or conversely it got its name) Takshasila i.e., 'a city built of cut or dressed stones'.[85] This view is substantiated from other sources too. From Taxila III (Sirkap) was discovered an Aramaic inscription of Ashoka's period (3rd cent. B.C) wherein the name of the city has been given as Naggaruda i.e., Carpentery.[86] According to some scholars Naggaruda is the Aramaic version of Takkasila. This appears to be quite sound. *Taksha* or *Takshan* are the old forms of the world *tarkhan* i.e., carpenter.[87] In Tibetan language the name of this city has been mentioned as rdha-hjog.[88] This too means cut-stone or dressed stone. One Chinese author transcribed the name as "Sio-Shih" meaning thereby, a cut-off rock.[89] Another Chinese author gives a slightly different version i.e., Ts'o-shih i.e., carved rock.[90] Ts'o-Shih is sometimes also taken to mean as the Rock of the Takka Tribe.

These inscriptional and literary references carry enough weight. According to these Taxila means city of dressed stones or a city of Takshana (Tarkhana) or *Carpenters*. Perhaps, a few people knew that even today Taxila is renowned throughout the country for the capability of some of its inhabitants of cutting, dressing, carving and sculpturing stones. It is also a fact that even today the job of cutting and dressing stones, as well as carpentery and smithy works are done by one and the same group of people living in the are around Taxila. Though all scholars regard Takkas to be Kshatri, there is a possibility that by profession they were *takshan* or *tarkhan* and that somehow or other these Takkas assumed supreme power in the territory. Now the idea of Vaishyas ruling a territory may not be palatable to some scholars. But, it should be kept in mind that this region has always been like a big mixing bowl where races, men and ideas soon loose their identity. Pathans are a good example of this process. There are

also historical evidences that the families of menial origin were ruling big empires in Pakistan and India. Mauryan dynasty is one glaring example. They succeded Takkas at Taxila.

The local Taxilans even today pronounce the name of the city as Tas-Kala (تاکشر قلعہ). It is quite probable that Taskala of the local people is actually a changed form of Tashkala of the Turkish language. The latter well reminds us the Turkish inhabitants who occupied and ruled this city and the area around it at different times. These were Scythians (Ist cent. B.C.), Kushans (Ist to 3rd cent. A.D.), Turk Shahis (8th to 11th cent. A.D.) and finally the Mughals (16th to 18 cent. A.D). All of them had originally migrated from Central Asia and were Turkish in origin.[91] It is quite possible that some of these tribes might have transcribed Takshasila into Tash-kala or Teskala in order to sound more meaningful to the Turkish speaking people. If so, the name Babar Khana, as mentioned above, can also be alluded to them because it is also of Turkish origin and its mention by Al-Beruni proves its antiquity.

Whatever the meaning and origin of the name Takashasila, there is no doubt that it was already famous when Alexander of Macedon visited this city in 325 B.C. The Greek historians have given the name of the city as Taxila. According to them Taxila was the greatest city in whole of India and Pakistan known to them.[92] Plinly spells the name as Taxilla,[93] whereas Ptolemy writes the form Taxiala[94] which appears to be only a copying mistake. Diodorus,[95] Curtius,[96] Isidorus Characene,[97] Plutarch,[98] Philostratus,[99] the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea[100] and many other Greek and Latin writers mentioned the name of the city as Taxila. This name is found in Western literature unchanged till today. The name Taxila is actually a Greek version of Tak-sila or Takkasila and not of Takshasila or Takhasila. The Greek historians called it Ta Taxila — 'Ta' being an article in the neutral plural gender form meaning thereby that for Greeks Tak-sila meant a city of 'Taka people' and Taxiles as the ruler of the city of Takka Tribe.

All Greek historians agree that at the time of Alexander's invasion the ruler of Taxila was Raja Ambhi (also written as Memphi, Amphi, or Omphi with the title Taxiles. Plutarch[101] and Strabo[102] mention him only by his title. Curtitus,[103] however, clarifies that 'Taxiles' is indeed a dynastic title. He writes:

> Omphis, under Alexander's permission and according to the usage of

> the realm, assumed the ensigns of royalty along with the name which his father has borne. His people called him Taxiles, for such was the name which accompanied the sovereignty, on whomsoever it devolved.

The father of Ambhi has been mentioned only by his title 'Taxiles' and Ambbhi assumed the title of his father only when he ascended the throne.[104] It is generally believed that 'Taxiles was a title rather than proper name of Ambi's father and Curtius' statement supports this view. But there is no definite proof of this assumption. If Taxiles was only a title why all the Greek historians have failed to mention his real name? I it not possible that Taxiles was his proper name and after him his successors assumed this as a dynastic name?

According to some other scholars `Taxiles' was a regional title while a few others maintain that the title was a dynastic one.[105] But, probably it was a dynastic rather than a regional title. The first known historical king of Taxila has been mentioned by the name Taxiles, whereas in case of Ambhi it has been clearly stated that Taxiles, was his title. In the case of his father, there is no hint to suggest this. Instead, all Greek historians mention it as a proper name. Ambhi was probably the first and the last scion of this family to adopt this dynastic title. Even if 'Taxiles' was the title of Ambhi's father, as was in the case of Ambhi himself, and not his proper name, there is no ground to say that 'Taxiles was a regional title.[106] It has already been pointed out that the city (Taxila) might have derived its name from the *Naga* tribe Takka or even from the name of legendary *Naga* King Takshaka — hence Takkasila or Takshakasila. Now it can be objected that Takshaka is purely a legendary being and it might or might not have any historical existance. But even if we confine ourselves to historical period, the conclusions, remain to be the same, that is:

→ Takka was a tribe living in the neighbourhood of Taxila,
→ Taxiles was a patronym of the rulers of the city known as Taxila at least at the time of Alexander's invasion, and
→ Taxila and Taxiles must have been derived only from Takka with whatever meaning.

Now, whether the city, got the name from the tribe or the tribe got its name from the city, it is difficult to say.

According to some, the name Ambhi itself is a patronym. Thus, a French scholar has tried to show that at the time of Alexander's invasion a Kshatri tribe from Ambha race was ruling at Taxila.[107] Ambhi got his name from this tribe. The name Omphis (as mentioned by the Greek historians) is identical with Ambhi, mentioned in a *ganapatha* of Panini, and recalls the Ambhiyas, who represented a school of political thought, according to the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya.[108] Perhaps Opiai of Hecataeus also represent the same tribe.[109] This can be accepted only if we believe that Ambhi and his family also belong to Takka tribe — a Kshatri group of people. And if M.S. Levi is to be believed, Ambhia might have been one of the many sub-tribes of Takka ethnic group. Only from Takka tribe the city could have been named as Takkasila and its ruler as Taxlavi (belonging to Taxila)[110] which the Greeks transcribed into Taxiles. Taxlavi or Taxiles, therefore, can equally mean a ruler of Takka tribe,[111] a ruler of the city of Takkas (Taxila) or a ruler of the Empire of Takkas.

If so, Cunningham is wrong when he says that the Takka tribe was expelled from Sind-Sagar Doab before Alexander the Great invaded this region. Actually, Takka tribe came to a complete end after Ambhi's disappearance from the scene or after the Mauryans came in power in or about 317 B.C. But although Takka tribe came to an end, the name which they gave to an empire and the city persisted for centuries to come. Every new ruler who came to power in this city tried to discredit the Takka tribe for this honour and gave his own meanings to the name Takkasila but they could not obliterate it. M.A. Chaghatai has tried to identify Taxila with Usaifan of Futuh-ul-Buldan of Baladuri, but with no justification.[112] The Usaifan of Baladuri is actually the name of a country and not a town. The description and location of Usaifan country, however, terribly tallies with the ancient empire of Taxila i.e., a country between Kashmir, Kabul and Multan.[113]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ratilal N. Metha, *Pre-Buddhist India: Based Mainly on the Jataka Stories*, (Bombay: 1939). pp. 299-505.
2. R.R.P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama,* (London: 1911, pp. 195-199: Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* (London: 1905). II, p.

150-51: and Buddha Parkash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, (Rep. Lahore: 1976), p. 11.

3. Arrian, *Anabasis*. V.8.2. and V.3.6.
4. Cunningham, *Geography*. p. 106.
5. Thomas Watters, op. cit., I, p. 241. According to a Tibetan tradition, Asoka died at Taxila (Ibid). But, this is not certain. However, he did rule at Taxila as viceroy under his father Bindusra and, later on, as emperor he built here at least one large stupa enshrining the relics of Buddha. See *Taxila I*, p. 256 and pp. 234-235.
6. Thomas Watters, op. cit. Kunala was viceroy of Taxila where he lost his eye-sight through the beguile of his step-mother. Here, Hieun Tsang saw one stupa consecrated to the memory of this prince (*Taxila I*, pp. 245-246 and *II*, pp. 100 and 295).
7. The famous Sastra, master and foudner of Sautrantika School whose name in Chinese appears as Kou-mo-lo-lo-to (*Taxila I*, p. I, 245). or Tung-shou (Ibid., *II*, pp. 286-89).
8. Probably he is the same Ghosha who restored Kunala's eys-sight at Taxila (Ibid., *I*, p. 245). In Buddhist literature he is regarded as an *arhat*.
9. According to Rajovada jataka, Brahmadatta was a future Buddha born as a Prince of Benares. At the age of 16, he went to Takshasila for purpose of education and became accomplished in all arts. Rhys Davids. *Buddhist Birth Stories*. Vol..I. (London: 1880). pp. xxii.
10. An ex-student of Taxila University. See Ratial N. Mehta. op. cit.. 305.
11. Buddha Parkash. op. cit.. p.141. "Panini and Kautilya two master-minds of ancient times. were also brought up in the academic traditions of Taksasila. (Ibid., pp.141. 179).
12. Buddha Parkash, op. cit.. p.12 and Sibt-e-Hasan. *Pakistan main Tahzeeb ka Irtiqa*. (Karachi: 1975). pp. 48. 99, 103, 104, Nos. 112 and 120.
13. Buddha Parkash. op.cit.. pp. 140-141, 171-1772, 182-193 and Sibt-e-Hasan, op. cit., pp. 110-112. We learn from Pali chronicles that Kautilya, also known as Chanakya, was a resident of Takshasila. (Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 179-180, 188).
14. Buddha Parkash, op.cit., p. 141.
15. .N.M. Pinzer. *The Ocean of Story: Being C.H. Tawhney's Translation of Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara (or Ocean of Story)*, Vol. III, (London: 1925), en passim.
16. *Ramayans*, VIII, 101, v.v. 10.16.
17. *Mahabaharta*, Adiparva, III 20.
18. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 133, 144.
19. R.N. Mehta, op. cit., p. 303. For details see Sibt-e-Hasan, op.cit., p. 103.
20. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 140-141. N.M. Pinzer, op. cit., p. 2, fn. 2
21. N.M. Pinzer, op. cit., p. 2, fn. 2.
22. For references, see *Taxila I*, p. 11.
23. M.N.P. Tiwari, "A Note on Some Bahubli Images from North India", *East and West*, N.S. Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4, 1973, p. 347.
24. For references of Taxila in *Jataka Tales* see various stories in "*Jataka*" (Six Volumes edited by V. Fausboll, published in London from 1877 to 1897; E.B. Cowell, *The Jataka*, translated by Robert Chalmer, Vol. I. 1st ed., (Cambridge: 1895, rep. London: 1957); Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales*, op.cit.; J.S. Speyer, *The Gatakamala or Garland of Birth Stories*, in: *Sacred Books of the East*, ed., by F. Max Muller (London: 1895), and Ratilal N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, loc. cit.
25. Thomas Watters, op. cit., I, p. 192.
26. For Neolithic, Kot Dijian and Aryan periods of Taxila, see the results of recent excavations: M.A. Halim, "Sarai Khola Excavations", *PkA*., No. 7. 1970-I, pp. 23-89 and Ibid., No. 8, 1972, pp. 1-112. For a different view regarding the Grave Culture at Sarai Khola see supra. Chapter I, fn. 19.
27. For history of later period see *Taxila I*. Chap. 2: Historical, pp. II, 86.
28. In an age when spirit of nationalism in the modern sense was not yet born even

in the embryo, the Mauryans, ruling Taxila from Patliputra, were considered as much foreigners as were the Greeks from Bactria and Kabul Valley or Scythians from Sakadvipa (Sindh). This is perhaps, the reason as to why a great number of rebellions broke at Taxila during Mauryan rule. Historians, however, have garbed these as risings on account of harsh rule of the Mauryans. For details of three rebellions at Taxila see Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 208-212.

29. Thomas Watters, op. cit., I, p. 240.
30. Edward C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India,* Vol. I, (London: 1910), p. 302.
31. Cf. Cunningham, *Geography*, pp. 4, 116.
32. K.A. Rashid, "The Margala Inscription", *Historical Dissertations,* (Karachi: 1962), pp. 46-53.
33. Bimal Churn Law, "Geographial Data from Sanskrit Buddhist Literature", in: *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poone, Vol. XV, Pl. I-II, October 1933-Jan. 1934, p. 330; Rajendralal Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 310; and Thomas Watters, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 241. In Divyavadana (315), it has been mentioned that in Uttarapatha there was a city Bhadrasala, rich, prosperous & populous. It was 12 yojnas in length & breadth, and divided with four gates and adorned with high vaults and windows. There was a royal garden in the city named Manigarbha. Quoted in Law, op. cit., p. 33. According to Bodhisattavadana Kalpalata, the city was situated to the north [sic.] of Himalaya and that it was ruled by king named Chandarprabha. The city later on came to be known as Taksasila. (Divyavadanemata, N.B.L.P.S.10).
34. *Taxila I*, 5 and 327.
35. Arrian, *Anabassis*, V.8.2. and 3.6.
36. With the discovery in 1980 of another site at Hathial (part of Sirkap city) with almost the same chronological frame-work as of Sarai Khola, we have now another claimant for Bhadrasila. But for this we have to wait for publication of results of excavations.
37. For description of this site and results of many season's excavations see M.A. Halim, loc. cit.
38. Three attempts have been made to probe the earliest levels of this site. Sir John Marshall excavated it in 1912-13. (*Taxila I,* pp.3, 12-14 and Chapt. 3: (Bhir Mound, pp. 87, III), whereas Sir Mortimer Wheeler dug in 1944. Proper report, however, has never been published. Finally, M. Sharif excavated here in 1968 (*Pakistan Archaeology,* No. 6, 1969, pp. 4-99). There has never been found a conclusive evidence as to when and by whom the city at Bhir Mound was founded. On the negative side we can say that there is nothing in this site that goes beyond the middle of 6th century B.C. i.e., the Persian occupation of this region.
39. The city could have equally been destroyed by the earlier wave of Scythians who, according to new researches had settled in the Punjab as early as 9th cent. B.C. (Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 116, ff). A.J. Toynbee has gone to the extent that war-like communities of the Indus Valley who gave a stern encounter to Alexender in 327-324 B.C. were actually descendants of Eurasian nomads, who had been deposited there by a more recent Volkerwanderung than that of the Aryans (A.J. Toynbee, *A Study of History,* Vol. V, p. 274). If so, the graves of two periods at Sarai Khola should belong to Scythians rather than Aryans. Also see supra, Chap. I, fn. 19.
40. V.S. Sukthankar, "A Selection of Literary References to Taxila Gleaned from Indian Sources", *ASI AR*, 1914-15, pp. 36-41.
41. E.C. Sachau, loc. cit.
42. Ibid., p. 206. For identification of Babar Khana with Taxila see Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 110.
43. Cunningham, *Geography*, pp. 4 and 116.
44. *Ramayana,* VIII. v.v 10.16.

45. *CSR*, II, pp. 6-11.
46. See McCrindle, Keith & Marshall in footnotes, 47-49 below.
47. J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as Described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin*, (Westminster: 1986), pp. 342-343, Note .I: Taxila.
48. A.B. Keith and A.N. Macdonnel, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (Rep. Delhi: 1967), I., p. 296, V.V. Takshaka Vaisaliya.-
49. Marshall, *Taxila I.* p. I, n.1.
50. E.C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, op. cit., I, pp. 231, 247 and II, p. 120.
51. *CSR*, Vol. II (Rep. Varanasi: 1972), pp. 6-11. Cunningham opines that the now deserted city of Attock on the left bank of the Indus, was also founded by Takka tribe. As a matter of fact the name 'Attock' for this city does not go beyond the period of Akbar the Great (1556-1606f). But Cunningham (Ibid.) opines that Tahora of Peutinger's Tables (situated west of Alexanderia Boucephalia) is the same as Attock. Rashiduddin, the historian, mentions it under the name Tankor or At-Tankor. According to Cunningham Tankor changed into Attock.
52. Cunningham, loc. cit. In Turanian mythology the serpent (*Naga*) is regarded as a symbol of the highest deity. See Buddha Parkash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, op. cit., p. 47.
53. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 133.
54. Thomas Watters, op. cit., pp. 286-291.
55. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 44-49.
56. M.A. Stein, *Kalhana's Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir* (Westminister: 1900), I, pp. 205, 301; II; p. 86.
57. *Rajatrangini*, VIII, pp. 520, 1001, 1064 and 1207 and VIII, 1091 (fn).
58. Cunningham, *Geography*, pp. 148-154.
59. M.A. Stein, op. cit., I, p. 205, fn. 150, Goeja (Bibl. Geograph. Arabicorum) identifies Takkas as Attock River and Takka-desa as Sharda, Cf. Stein, loc. cit.
60. Stein, op. cit. I, p. 205.
61. Cunningham, *Geography*, pp. 148-154.
62. For a more detailed discussion on *Wahik* (وَاہِیک) (Bahik see relevant chapter in Asif Khan, *Nik Shuk* (نِیک شُک) (Punjabi), (Lahore: 1992). This author, a well-known scholar of Punjabi philology, is of the view that *Wahik* (Bahik) stands for a territory covering whole of the Punjab extending from the River Indus on the west to the River Beas on the east. According to him, this word for the first time is mentioned in Panini's book on Sanskrit grammar: *The Ashtadiai*, written in the 6th cent. B.C. and for the last time it is mentioned by a Kashmiri poet in 1050 A.D. It is not mentioned in the Rig Veda. In the *Ashtadiai*, *Wahik* means: "a territory free from religious fantacism". For details see Chap. B: Ancient Names of the Punjab, "Sapta Sindhu and Wahik" in Asif Khan, op. cit., pp. 48-53.
63. Ibid., pp. 148-151.
64. Ibid., pp. 153-154.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., pp. 152-153.
67. Ibid.
68. A. Banerji Sastri, "The Nagas", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Reasearch Institute*, Poone, Vol. XVIII, pp. 338-350.
69. A.H. Dani, *APk*, Vol. V, 1970-71, pp. 65-68; F.A. Khan, *PkA*, No. 2, 1965, P. 57; fig. 16(1) & Pl. XVII(b) and B. de Cardi, *PkA*., No. 2, p. 168, P1. VIII. Information regarding Jhang Batar is based on personal observations. Reports yet to be published. For Rehman Dheri see Farzand Ali Durrani, "Rehman Dheri Excavation", *APk*., Vol. VI, 1980, & Ibid., Ihsan Ali and G. Erdosy, "Further Excavations at Rehman Dheri", *APk*., Vol. VII, 1981, pp. 61-151.
70. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 46.
71. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
72. Ibid., p. 133.
73. Cunningham places the abode of Naga king at Hasan Abdal, some 15 km north-west of Taxila. see *CSR*, II., p: 138.

74. E.C. Sachau, op. cit.

75. During 21 years excavations, only one fragment of stone sculpture repre-senting the Hyms of the Naga Kalika has been discovered at Taxila. See *Taxila, II.* p. 708, No. 69.

76. H.A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.) or Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, (Cambridge: 1923), p. 12. Also quoted by Thomas Watters, op. cit. I. pp. 240-241.

77. Thomas Watters, loc. cit.

78. Cunningham, *Geography*, pp. 18, 112-113 and p. 117.

79. Marshall, *Guide*, p. 178.

80. Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 116: *CSR*, XIV, pp. 8-9 and Thomas Watters, op. cit., I, p. 241.

81. E.C. Sachau, op. cit., I, p. 302.

82. Ibid., p. 302.

83. See supra. fn. 32. This inscription has since been removed from the site & at present is stored in the office of the Department of Achacology, Lahore Fort, Lahore.

84. This story revolves round Raja Rasalu, son of Raja Salivahn of Sialkot, three Rakshsa brothers (Sirkap, Sirsukh and Ambha) and their four sisters (Kapi, Kalpi, Munda and Mundehi) as well as the facts as to how Raja Rasalu eliminated all of them. According to one legend, Raja Rasalu once bid with Sirkap and it was settled that who-soever looses will have to behead *(sir-kapna)* his opponent. He accepted Sirkap's daughter Kokila in his marriage.

The legend of Raja Rasalu is very common throughout the Punjab. Many sites are associated with him, though Cunningham regards it essentially as belonging to Pothowar area where Taxila is situated. For details see *CSR*, II, pp. 153 and 205, fn. and *Taxila, I*, p. 112.

85. *Taxila I*, fn. 1. Parenthetically, it may be mentioned here that outside Pakistan too, we find cities having names with similar meanings. Thus we know that the famous Central Asian city of Tashkand also means 'Stone' E.C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, op. cit., I, p. 298) or "Stone Tower on the carvan road between India and Serica," as Ptolemy prefers to call it. (Ptolemy's Geographia, as quoted by Al-Beruni in Sachau, loc. cit. and elaborated by Thomas Watters, op. cit., I, p. 86). In Turkish language, *tash* means 'a piece of stone, or 'a city built of stone'. Al-Beruni has given Tashkand the same meaning. It has generally been accepted that Hieun Tsang's Che Shih is Tashkand of present day and many sholars have given Che Shih the same meaning as above (St. Martin and Bretschneider quoted by Thomas Watters, op. cit., pp. 67-87). Thomas Watters contents that there is nothing in the city or locality to vouchsafe these meanings because all houses of Tashkand are built of mud. Only mosques and other buildings are made of second-hand stones. According to him, Che Shih is only a proper name of one of the members of the Ge-Ti or Yue-Chi family who once ruled Tashkand. Similarly, near Phocaia in Turkey, an 8th cent. B.C. tomb is still named as Tash-Kule i.e., 'Fort built of stones' and another site is known as Tash Surat, see George E. Beans, *Aegean Turkey*, (London: 1966), pp. 53, 54, 124-125.

86. Cf. C. Andreas, in: *Taxila I*, p. 1, fn., 1 and Ibid., p. 165. Also see Chap. 8: "A Reappraisal of Asoka's Aramaic Inscription from Takshasila (Taxila)" in: *Taxila and the Western World* by Saifur Rahman Dar, Ist ed., (Lahore: 1981), pp. 203-213.

87. N.A. Macdonnel and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects.*, op. cit., I, p. 297 (i) v.v. Takshan. Also Ibid., II, pp. 69-70 v.v. Brbu. In Sathapatha Brahmana there is mention of one teacher named Takshan, whose some 'formula' was not accepted by the King named Jivala. See *Vedic Index*, op. cit., I, p. 297. Brunhoffer (Iran and Ter. xx: xx, pp. 127, quoted in *Vedic Index*, op.

cit., II, p. 707), tried to identify a tribe Ta Koi with Takshan of the Vedas. But, Macdonnel and Keith (*Vedic Index*, loc., cit.) have outrightly rejected the idea.

88. *Taxila I*, p. 7, fn. 1.
89. *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, ch: 38 as quoted by Thomas Watters, op. cit., I, p. 241. Also A-yo-wang-chung, ch. I, as quoted by Thomas Waters, loc. cit.
90. A-yo-wang-chung, as quoted by Thomas Watters, op. cit., I, p. 241.
91. Saifur Rahman Dar, *Ta Ellenistica Stoicheia sten Architectonike ton Taxilon* (in Greek). (Thesalonike: 1973), pp. 24-25.
92. Strabo. XV. 1-28, Arrian. *Anabasis*, V. 82 and v. 3-6.
93. Pliny, V.I. xxi.2.
94. Ptolemy, Vol.II.
95. Diodrous, XVII.86.
96. Curtius, VIII, 12.
97. Isidorus, G.G.M.,I.
98. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, LIX.
99. Philostratus, *Life of Appollonius of Tyana*, (L.C.L. 1960).
100. Annonymous, *Periplus Maris Erythraci*, *GGM, I*, pp. 257-305.
101. Plutarch, loc. cit.
102. Strabo, loc. cit.,
103. Curtius, VIII, 12.
104. Diodorus, VII, 86.
105. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 273, fn.2, pp. 412-413.
106. Kingdom of Taxila survived 'Ambhi' for centuries to come. Had 'Taxiles' been a regional title only, at least some other rulers of the kingdom of Taxila might have carried the same title. But the discontinuation of the title after Ambhi clearly proves that the title was a patronymic and as the Takka family could never regain its power, the title was never used by any other ruler of the city.
107. M. Sylvain Levi "Notes sur l'nde a' l'epoque d' Alexander", *JA* (1890), I pp. 234-236 & 239. Also see Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 412-413. According to a very popular Punjabi legend Ambha was the name of one of the three Rakshsa brothers (Sirkap, Sirsukh and Ambha) who were exterminated by Raja Rasalu of Sialkot. Cunnigham has referred to three mounds, Ambha Kapi and Sirkap near Sheikhupura. Amakapis on the west bank of Ravi, Pinjor on the east bank of Sutlej and Saharanpur east of Jumna are the famous locales of this legend. *CSR*, II, pp. 156 & 205, fn.
108. As quoted by Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 152.
109. *CHI*, I, p. 345.
110. Same as Dehlavi (belonging to Delhi), Lakhnavi (belong to Lucknow), Peshawari (belonging to Peshawar) etc.
111. At present in the whole Punjab there is no tribe with the name 'Takka'. See Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, (Lahore: 1916). Only a few castes and sub-castes bears a faint memory of this name (such as Tokhi, a Turanian Tribe, (Ibid., p. 66) Khatak (Ibid., p. 75); Thakaria, Ibid., p. 187; Khakha, (Ibid., pp. 239, 241) or even Tikka etc.. However, it is difficult to co-relate these castes with Takkas of our history. Moreover, there numbers are too few to be quoted.
112. M.A. Chaghatai, *Taxila Re-visited*, (Lahore: 1975), (Rep. from the *Proceedings of the History Congress, 1973)*, p. 5.
113. Ahmad Al-Baladuri, *Futuh-al-Buldun*, (Cairo: 1901), pp. 438-450. English-trans, *The Origins of the Islamic States*, (New York, London: 1924), pp. 209-254.

3 TAXILA AND THE CLASSICAL WORLD

Though so many great discoveries in the world have been made accidently, still many owe their first exposure due to the pertinent and persistent interest of a group of people. Taxila is one such example. History and antiquity of this city span almost three millennia. However, after the 11th century A.D., this, once great city, gradually shrank in size, lost its importance and finally was forgotton even in local traditions and folklore. The name of the city was also forgotton and its location was lost. But, it did not happen so in the West. There, the memory of this city was kept alive through the teaching and reading of the classical literature wherein Taxila figured prominently and persistently. With this background, when a European scholar picks up to study Buddhist literature, the name of Taxila strikes home. Initial rediscovery of the lost city of Taxila owes to the interest of such a man. He was Sir Alexander Cunningham — a military Engineer converted to archaeology. His identification of the site has never been challenged ever since it was first proposed in 1862[1]. Again it was the Hellenistic background of this city which led another British archaeologist — Sir John Marshall, to spend almost half of his active life at Taxila, excavate it for 21 years (1913-34) and unravel its hidden treasures.[2] Ever since then Taxila has become a haven of scholars and tourists alike.

East and West always had their meeting points. From time immemorial the plateau of Iran and the Oasis of Ariana had acted as clearing houses between Mediterranean countries, Pakistan, mainland India and China (Fig. 2). There has always been coming and going of trade caravans. The land mass now comprising Pakistan, was the most active in these East-West contacts. Within historical periods, Darius I of Persia for the first time brought the Indus region in contact with the Western world by opening an Imperial Highway for commercial and military purposes. These East-West relations were made more effective and durable after Alexander the Great brought the West in physical contact with the East. As in the following centuries demand for the oriental luxuries increased in the Western world, so was enhanced the importance and significance of the routes which linked them and the cities and towns handling the trade.

Within the context of the sub-continent, Taxila acted as a focal point in these East-West routes.

Taxila always had, and still has an appeal for the Westerners. It had an appeal for the Greeks who accompanied Alexander and those who came and settled here after him. For them Taxila was a "*Mikri Hellada*" — a Miniature Greece. It also appealed to the early explorers and excavators from the West because they had read a lot about it in classical literature. And, it appeals even to the modern travellers and tourists for the wealth of its architectural and art treasures that smack of Classical heritage.

I. Taxila in Classical Literature

The region around Taxila — if not Taxila proper, had been in touch with Greece and Greeks, though indirectly, long before Alexander the Great invaded this city in the spring of 324 B.C. Even if we take the voyages of Hercules and Dionysos to this region as mythical and untrustworthy — as Strabo[3] would make us believe, the visit of Skylax of Caryanda in the service of the Achaemenian emperors, was definitely a historical fact.[4] A Greek gold coin of Croesus discovered from Mari on the Indus near Attock within the Empire of Taxila, testifies these early contacts of the Taxilans with the distant Greek[5]. Coins of Sophytes — a king of the Salt Range and a contemporary of Alexander, with a realistic portrait, figure of a cock and the Greek legend 'Sophytou'[6] also clearly shows that in this region the Greek influence had preceded the Greeks. This was not at all improbable. Administrative arms of the Achaemenian government reached both Greece on the one hand, and Gandhara and Punjab on the other. Darius I had developed the Imperial Highway that linked East and West for the first time and provided chance for many countries to trade with each other. Greeks were definitely in the service of the Persians as were also the 'Indians'. But, still the Greeks had seen the Indians only from some distance. Both came in physical contact with each other during the last five years of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.

Written history of South Asia, and particularly that of Taxila begins with the accounts of Alexander's historian preserved only in fragments. While reading between the lines, these accounts reveal an interesting story of the heroic resistence which the people of the region offered to this the most glorious hero of the West.[7] Taxila, however, was an exception. It was the only city where Alexander's forces were let in unopposed. Howsoever ignoble Ambhi, the local ruler of Taxila, may look to local patriotism

today, he was obviously a pleasant and obliging host for the Greeks Contemporary accounts leave no doubt as to the fact that after a long arduous journey and endless fighting in the present day N.W.F.P., Greeks rested at Taxila for about a fortnight and revitalized their energies. Their account of the Taxila city and its people, albeit brief and sketchy, is pleasant and informative. It provides a peep into the religious and social conditions then prevailing in this, one of the greatest cities of ancient India.

Following is the list of 19 Classical writters on the sub-continent of Indo-Pakistan who came here either with Alexander or were his contemporaries or visited this country not long after his death:

→ Amyntas. Author of Alexander's Stathmoi i.e., Halting Stages of Alexender.

→ Anaximenes of Lampsakus. Author of History of Alexander.

→ Androsthenes of Thasos. A navel officer and author of a Periplus.

→ Archelaos. A geographer.

→ Aristoboulus of Potidaia (Kassandreia).

→ Callisthenes of Olynthos. Author of Alexander's Campaigns in Asia.

→ Chares of Mitylene. He wrote anecdotes of Alexander's private life.

→ Cleitarchus, son of Deinon of Rhodes. Author of Life of Alexander.

→ Cyrsilus of Pharsalos. He wrote about the exploits of Alexander

→ Deimachus. An ambassador at Patilputra in the Court of Bhimbisar. He wrote on India of his times in two books.

→ Diodotus of Erythrai. Like Eumemes, he kept Alexander's Journal.

→ Diognetus. He measured and recorded Alexander's marches along with Baiton.

→ Eumenes of Cardia. He was Alexander's Secretary for writing Ephemerides or Court Journal.

→ Megasthenes. A friend of Sleucus Nicator and his ambassador in the Court of Chandra Gupta. He composed Indika.

→ Nearchus, a Cretan. He was the Admiral of the Fleet.

→ Onesicritus of Astypalaia. He was the Pilot of the Fleet.

→ Patrocles. A writer on geography

→ Polycleitus of Larissa. Author of history of Alexander.

→ Ptolemy, son of Lagos, later the King of Egypt.

Unfortunately, original works of all these historians, geographers, writers etc., without an exception, have perished. Some excerpts from these accounts, however, have been preserved in the writing of some later works — mostly written in the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era. Whatever we know about ancient India, about Alexander's campaigns in Pakistan and particularly about Taxila in the Classical writings — Greek or Roman, is based on the following accounts:

→ *Anabasis of Alexander* by Arrian of Nikomedia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

→ *Indika* by Arrian.

→ *History of Alexander the Great* by Quintus Curtius Rufus — a contemporary of Septimus Severus or Vespasian.

→ Life of Alexander. In *Parallel Lives* by Plutarch, a contemporary of Trajan.

→ *The History by Diodorus*, the Sicilian — a contemporary of Julius Caesar and Emperor Augustus.

→ *The Book of Macedonian History* compiled from the Universal History of Trogus Pompeius by Justinus Frontinus. Trogus was a contemporary of Augustus.

→ *Geography of India* by Ptolemy.

→ *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* by an anonymous writer.

→ *Geography* by Strabo.

notwithstanding this defect, the account of Taxila given by Philostratus appears to be one who has seen it with his own eyes.

The Classical sources referred to above provide us necessary information regarding the first historical ruler of Taxila — Ambhi, his family, his relationship with his contemporaries and his overtures with the invdading Greeks. They also provide information regarding religious and social practices of its inhabitants and some ideas about the economic prosperity of the city as well as geographical limits of the empire etc. These sources indeed provide the first historical account of Taxila and, of course, any city in ancient India.

The name *'Taxila'* is a purely Greek derivative of the local name *'Takshasila'* or *Takhasila'* which itself has prolonged history behind it.[9] Its Chinese version had been Ta-cha-shi-lo (*v.q*). All Classical writers, except Pliny[10] and Ptolemy,[11] give its prevalent spelling. The two later writters, however, spell it as *'Taxilla'* and *'Taxiala'.* No writer has explained why the city was so named. Since some classical writers have clearly indicated that the dynastic title of the rulers of Taxila was *'Taxiles'*,[12] it is possible that the city derived its name from the same root. Curtius clearly writes about it.[13]

And I have clearly shown elsewhere[14] that this dynastic title and regional name for the city has been derived from an ethnic group of the Punjab — namely Takka tribe of Kshatriya origin whose presence in Sind Sagar Doab before Alexander is well testified. Attock, the name of the city as well of the district not far from Taxila, is also a remniscent of the same ethnic group.

Pliny[15] places Taxila at a distance of 60 miles from Pushkalavati or modern Charsada i.e., almost ten miles north-west of its actual location (actual bearings are lattitude 33 degree 44-47' North and longitude 72 degree 49-51' East). Ptolemy[16] on the other hand gives the bearings as 32 degree and 15' North lattitude and longitude 125 degree East.

But, Taxila was also a name of an empire of the same name. The east west limits of this empire can very conveniently be fixed at Jhelum and Indus rivers respectively.[17] On the north beyond Hazara mountains was the kingdom of Abhisares of Kashmir and Punch. The southern most limit is only conjectured to be at the Trimmu Head near Jhang.

The kingdom of Taxila has been described as large as Egypt, with good pastures too, and in the highest degree productive of beautiful fruits.[18] Strabo calls Taxila "a city which is large and has most excellent

→ *Indika* by Megasthenes, preserved in later works.

→ *Indika* by Ktesias, of Cnidus — preserved in fragments in later period works.

→ *Stathmoi Parthikoi* or the Parthian Halting Stations by Isidorus of Charax.

Among the earlier sources, Herodotus and Ktesias and among the later Trogus Pompeius and Megasthenes provide information regarding India in general but nothing about Taxila. It looks strange that the city of Taxila, described as 'great' by the historians of Alexander, does not find any mention by Herodotus and Ktesias. Even Megasthenes failed to give any account of this city despite the fact that during his stay a crown-prince used to be appointed as viceroy of Taxila from Patliputra, the seat of Megasthenes. Accounts of Taxila are available in the form of scattered information., often lacking in clarity and precision, in books compiled by Greek and Latin writers of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The best one is that given by Arrian in his two books. Anabasis of Alexander and Indika. But even in the sketchy information supplied by other writers like Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Justin etc., are not without merits and interest. All togehter they provide a skeletal material to which we must add flesh and blood from our own imagination to complete the figure of a hustling bustling Taxila. It is however, interesting to note that none of the writers enumerated above had seen Taxila himself. Instead, they had based their information on origianl sources of Alexander's historians — now lost. However, whatever they wrote, was about Taxila of the 4th century B.C. and nothing before or after that. The only probable eye-witness account of Taxila of the 1st century A.D. is that which Philostratus has given in his Life of Apollonius of Tyana.[8] It is based on diaries of Damis, a permanent companion and disciple of the Syrian thaumatourgus and the magician saint named Apollonius who is claimed to have visited Taxila in about 42 .A.D. during the reign of King Phraotes, usually identified with the Parthian King Gondophares. This travalogue provides the earliest extent eye-witness account of Taxila in Classical literature. A general lack of credibility regarding the magic ridden account of Apollonius greatly undermines Damis' account of Taxila as well. But

laws, and the country that lies around it is spacious, and very fertile, immediately bordering also on the plains". He reckons Taxila kingdom larger than Egypt.[19] Pliny calls Taxila "a famous city situated on a low but level plain in a district called Amanda".[20] According to Arrian[21] Taxila was a large and wealthy city and most populous between Indus and Hydaspes (Jhleum). Philostratus is more precise when he describes the city of Taxila of the 1st cent. A.D. He writes:

> "Taxila is apparently similar to Ninevah in size. systematically fortified like a Greek city. and is the capital of the king who rules Porus' domain at the time."[22]

This description of Philostratus is aptly applicable to Taxila III i.e. (Sirkap) as excavated by Marshall (Pl. E & J).[23] He further describes the main Temple of the city, surely to be the Ionic Temple at Mohra Maliaran outside the northern gateway of the same city,[24] as a large many-columned temple decorated with fixed brozne panels illustrating deeds of Alexander, in a masterly manner after/or by Greek masters like Zeuxis, Polygnotus or Euphranorus.

We are made to believe that Taxiles, the father of Ambhi, was less enthusiastic to throw his lot with Alexander although he complied Alexander's orders to meet him west of the Indus and returned to the same river with a division of Macedonian army under Hephaistion and Perdiccas. Unlike his father, Ambhi (Omphi, Amphi, Memphi) while still a heir-apparent of Taxiles, made overtures with Alexander while the latter was still in Sogdiana. Unfortunately, Taxiles, the father, died before Alexander could cross the Indus. More loyal than the master, Ambhi postponed the crowning ceremony till he could receive it from the hands of Alexander.[25]

According to some Greek sources, Ambhi surrendered his kingdom to Alexander unconditionally and placed his forces at the disposal of the Macedonian. He also gave Alexander a gift of a large number of elephants, bulls, sheep and eighty talents of coined silver (one talent = 50 pounds), coupled with local hospitality for about a fortnight. Alexander in return reconfirmed Ambhi in his sovereignty of Taxila, returned his gift of coined silver and in addition gave him one thousand talents of coined gold and a vast array of gold and silver vessels as well as textiles.[26] Plutarch records an interesting dialogue (Why must we war?) between Alexander and Ambhi which preceded the exchange of gifts between the two. But lavish gifts of

Alexander for the ruler of Taxila, which to me appears nothing more than a political expediency, greatly and rightly vexed Alexander's friends who complained that their leader did not have any one, as it seemed, on whom to bestow his benefactions until he crossed the Indus.[27] One night one of his close friends — Melenger by name, under the influence of wine, satirically congratulated Alexander "on having found in India (at Taxila), if nowhere else, some one worthy of a thousand talents.[28]

According to the Classical sources available to us, Alexander, while in Taxila, performed customary Greek sacrifices, arranged games and received embassies, particularly of the neighbouring Raja of Abhisares (Hazara). Ambhi, now settled as Taxiles, gave 5000 more troups to enable Alexander to fight with Porus across the Jhelum. But despite all this, Alexander did not leave Taxiles free to handle his affairs of his own kingdom & capital. Instead, he made the city of Taxila, his advance-base for his invasion of the Punjab and reorganized his cavalry accordingly. He appointed his own Satrap named Philip son of Machatas, and a garrison of Macedonian soldiers at Taxila. While Alexander was still in Pakistan, his Satrap at Taxila was murdered by his own soldiers and Taxiles was ordered to carry on government in conjunction with Eudamus, the Thracian until a successor of Philip could be appointed. This appointment, however, never came because of the sudden death of Alexander. Instead, Perdiccas, his diadoches, confirmed Ambhi in his kingdom between Indus and Jhelum[29] without clarifying the position of Eudamus. In 317 B.C. Eudamus from Taxila and Peithon from Gandhra and Arachosia suddenly left their strongholds to join hands in the War of Successors — Eudamus joined Eumenes and Peithon with Antigonus.

Except the account of Philostartus (Bk. II), no account of architecture of Taxila has been given by any classical writer. However, here and there we get quite an interesting glimpses of city's life — social as well as religious. No religion is mentioned by name. But, description of saints, ascetics and philospohers, who then used to throng the market places of Taxila and with whom the Greek philosophers exchanged their ideas, as well as references to *sati* (widow burning), leaves no doubt that Hinduism and not Buddhism was the main religion of the area.[30] The reference to the practice of exposing deads to the vultures indicates the presence of some Fire-worshippers.[31] Philostratus[32] informs us that the king of Taxila in the 1st cent A.D. was a Sun-worshipper.

For a fuller and interesting details of exposition of inner traits of their philosophy, as explained by the sophists of Taxila, one is invited to read the relevant chapters of Strabo, Plutrach and others. It was a philosopher of Taxila (Calanus or Sophines by name) who, with the help of a dried hide, demonstrated to Alexander the advantages of administering his vast empire from some central point. The same sophist described Alexander as the only philosopher in arm and later accompanied him uptil Persia where he immolated himself on a pyre.[33] Another sophist of Taxila. Dandamis by name, sent away Onesicratus, a messenger of Alexander, scornfully saying : "Alexander is not God, since he has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberoboas."[34] Marshall has opined that this Tiberoboas river (also Tiberonabo, Tibero Boam, Tiberio-Potamos) is the same as the present day Tamra Nullah or Damrahi Nullah which passes through narrow defile that lies between Taxila II and Taxila III.[35] Some Classical writers also provide us information about some other novel and unusual customs prevalent at Taxila.[36]

Religious leaders, philosophers and mendicants of Taxila figure prominently in the accounts of Alexander's historians. Common men are shown to have great respect for their spiritual leaders who were permitted to move in the market and allowed to pick up any merchandise without making any payment. In case of oil, the same was poured on their heads in order to anoint their bodies. Some of such mendicants — called 'gymno-sophist' or naked philosophers, used to go out naked and devoted to endurance by under going physical austerities and exposing their bodies to sun and rain. Calanus happened to be lying on stones when he was visited by Onesicratus.[37] These philosophers refrained from visiting other people when invited. Even Alexander had to send a team of his philosophers to converse with them and learn about their philosophy. A few who were persuaded to call upon Alexander are said to have dined with him standing.

The religious leaders had no restrictions on their entry into private houses --- even to the women's apartments. They were permitted to share their meals in exchange of conversation with the family.

We also learn from the Classical writers that at Taxila, position of women was not enviable. They were required by customs to burn themselves on the pyre of their deceased husbands. Anyone not doing so was not respected in society. However, women having children and those required to support a family were exempted from self-imolation. According to another strange custom, girls, too poor to be provided with a dowry,

were sold out in open market. Accordingly, poor parents would lead their daughters in the flower of their age to the market. There in the company of sounds of drums and trumpets, first the rear of the girl was exposted upto shoulders and then her front parts. If she pleased the perspective buyer as well as allowed herself to be persuaded, then on approved terms the marriage between the two was arranged. From Strabo[38] we learn that polygamy was practised by some tribes of Taxila and the country around.

It is implied in the Classical accounts that most of the religious mendicants and philosophers used to live out side the city. A messenger of Alexander met 15 of them at a distance of 20 stadia from the city. However, there is no evidence to show whether or not they were living in permanent houses. Apart from pre-historic remains, the earliest religious structures so far excavated at Taxila hardly go prior to the middle of third cent B.C.

From Nearchus[39] we learn about extraordinary skill of the people of Taxila in imitating works of foreign origin. He particularly mentions their skill in making imitation-sponges copied from the originals which they saw with the Macedonians. These sponges they made by sewing tuffets and wool through and through with hair-like cords and threads and by compressing them into felts and dye them. Similarly, the people of Taxila started making strigils and oil-flasks. They were also writing messages on linen cloth which was closely woven, though some have reported that people of Taxila at that time did not know the art of writing. They have also been described as capable of making brass which is cast and not the kind that is forged. Vessels made of this special brass used to break like pottery.[40] This was probably what we today call *kansi* or bronze which needs no plating.

Obviously, there were only three classes of people in the society namely, a: royalty and nobility, b: philosophers or religious leaders, and c: the commoners. There is no direct mention of farmers' class whereas bussiness community has been hinted upon. We have already mentioned about the good laws of the city. Nearchus further informs us that the laws, some public and some private, were unwritten.[41] In the same paragraph he informs that different tribes cultivated their crops in common on basis of kinship and that at the time of harvest each group carried off a load sufficient for their sustenance during the year. Surplus crop used to be burnt in order to have work to do thereafter and not be idle. Some writer further informs us that the Brahmans were engaged in the affairs of the

state and that they attended the kings as their councillors. Some other sophists used to investigate natural phenomena such as rains, draughts and diseases. They were having families because it has been stated that wives used to join them in the study of philosophy.[42]

Weaponary of Taxila consisted of a bow and three-cubits long arrows, a javelin, a small shield and a broad three cubits long sword instead of bridles, Taxilans were using nose-bands.

In short, the classical accounts, regarding the city of Taxila provide us with a very interesting insight into the private and public life of the people of this city. These accounts, in the first instance, have been derived from some original sources now completely lost. Therefore the question of credibility of these secondary sources crops in. However, being the very first account regarding different aspects of the life and polity of ancient India, these are most valuable. After this we once again plunge into darkness, as no body after this period wrote history from that angle. Even in most of the histories of more modern periods, the common man hardly finds any place in the narrative. Broken pieces of pottery, fragments of sculpture, glittering jewellery and gems, poorly preserved structures and host of other tools and implements which are dug out from excavations are the only source of information regarding the life of a common man of ancient times. To this, when we add information provided by these classical writers as enumerated above, the picture becomes a little more bright and colourful. Result of one can be checked with the help of other and here lies the importance of our Classical sources.

II. Archacological Evidence

Architecture

By dint of its geographical position at the cross-roads of so many ancient trade routes, Taxila, after coming in contact with the Hellenistic world, was destined to play an important role in the dissemination of Hellenistic culture and civilizaiton in South Asia. This influence is very strong on the architecture of Taxila and has already been discussed elsewhere in details.[43] However, suffice here to say that the Hippodamian lay-out of the Greek city of Sirkap (Taxila III) together with its acropolis on the south and a Greek Temple on the north, as also its fortification are standing monuments of Hellenistic contribution towards the architecture of this region (Figs. 7-8, Pl. V-VI & 'E'-'H'). Occurence of so many other architectural motifs, such as Ionic and Corinthian capitals, pilasters,

pedimental arches, tarus and scotia type of mouldings, dentils, merlons etc., also owe to the Hellenistic influence in the region.

Beside architecture, this foreign influence is equally strong in all other walks of life of this city — sculptures, jewellery, gems, coins, metalware, ceramics etc., for example. Limitation of space forbids us to discuss the precise and ultimate origin of many antiquities and motifs in the Gandharan art of Taxila. For purpose of appreciating the nature and extent of Hellenistic influence on various classes of objects from this city, I have picked up only a few artefacts and compared them with those from the West. Comparison is confined to borrowing of motifs alone. The term "Hellenism" or "Hellenisticism"[44] has been used in this article in a very broad sense both in term of its geography and chronology. It includes anything of Western origin which found its way to Gandhara whether as a result of persistence of Greek traditions within the territory of present day Pakistan, or was brought here from Bactira by the Indus-Greeks and other phil-Hellenistic dynasties of Parthians, Scythians and Kushans, or even fresh ideas, tastes and trends from the contemporary Roman West. Similarly, the term 'Gandhara' has been used here to denote a territory embracing its cultural boundaries which at times overlap its geographical limits. In the same spirit, the term 'Gandhara art' is all-inclusive and does not merely stand for the sculptural art of the region during the first five hundred years after Christ. The Buddhist art of Gandhara is, therefore, only a part of the Gandhara art.

This art, also at times called 'Gracco-Buddhist' or 'Graeco-Romano-Buddhist art', received a great impetus when the dynasty of Kushans came into power. But there is no reason to presume, as many have done, that the Kushans were the creators of this art. As a matter of fact, the roots of this art, however flimsy, go back to the days when the Indus-Greeks and the phil-hellenistic Scythians and Parthians were ruling in this region from the beginning of the second cent B.C. to the middle of the first cent. A.D.[45] Unfortunately, from nowhere else, except Taxila, this evidence is forthcoming.

Toilet Trays (Fig. 24, Pl. XI-XI & Pl. 'N')

Earliest Gandharan sculptures are in the form of a group of small round stone dishes of varied sizes, called toilet trays found from all-over Gandhara (fig. 24 & pl. XI-XIV & 'N'). Two exhaustive studies of the toilet trays from Taxila and elsewhere, are now available,[46] both published

almost simultaneously but independent of each other. In all 151 toilet trays have been recorded in both these studies. In one single sizable group and from stratified layers, these are known only from Taxila. These are turned on lathe. On their obverse side scenes and motifis from the classical repertoire have been carved in high relief whereas on their back usually a lotus flower is incised. These trays are in and out occidental in design and decorations. Many of the scenes thus carved are referable to Greek mythology such as stories of Apollo and Daphne (Pl. XI), marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne (Pl. XII), funeral banquets (Pl. 'N'), serpent-leged giants, females riding hippocampus or other sea-monsters, Dionysiac bouts, erotic scenes etc., all from Taxila,[47] and Artemis and Actaeon (Pl. XII), Eos and Ganymede type, Hercules and Queen Omphale (Pl. XI), Dioscori brothers, Helios in charriot and Aphrodite beating an Eros (Pl. XIII), from elsewhere.[48] Usually, the circular space on the obverse is divided by a ledge into two unequal parts with main motifs occupying the upper larger half. This mode reminds us of the famous Rhodian plates.[49] The scenes on these trays are disposed off in a variety of other ways as well.

In all 69 of these trays have been listed from Taxila out of which 33 come from proper stratified excavations. An analytical study of these 33 trays shows that they made their first appearance at Taxila during the Greek period with pure Hellenistic themes and workmanship. During the next (Scythian) period their repertoire is entirely changed to the so-called 'animal style' for which the Scythian art is well-known.[50] These trays enjoyed the greatest popularity during Parthian period when the Hellenistic motifis also reappeared. In this period majority of the scenes are referable to the Dionysiac or Aphrodysiac cults.

Western origin of these so-called toilet trays is beyond doubt. But no such tray has ever been reported from anywhere else outside Gandhara. Anyhow these trays closely resemble the Roman period steatite dishes from Egypt[51] and a dish in the same material showing Hermes-Nikephoros in the National Museum, Athens[52], the famous silver tray showing personification of India now in the Islamabad Museum[53] and an ivory dish from Hatra (Iraq) showing an assembly of Olympian gods.[54] But all these trays are later in date than the trays from Taxila. A common source, probably in Classical and early hellenistic periods for all these trays, is beyond doubt. In Greece, the tradition of presenting a legend in a circular space and in a variety of materials was in vogue since ancient times. Among the possible Hellenistic sources one can mention: the Rhodian plates,[55] bronze mirrosrs

and mirror covers,[56] circular medallions of Kylix,[57] Megarian bowls[58] Calenian phiale,[59] various terracotta dishes representing Pan and Nymphs[60] and Sleeping Eros,[61] marble oscilla with Dionysiac scenes,[62] moulded medallions of terracotta lamps, etc. In exact mode of decoration of the interior of a toilet tray the Gandharan artists followed the technique which reached them through something having distant relationship with the older Rhodian plates,[63] whereas in relief figures they followed the artists of Calenian phiale. From bronze mirrors they adopted the tradition of decorating the obverse of these trays in relief and reverse sides with incised patterns.

Besides bearing strong Hellenistic strains, for us the importance of these Gandharan trays lies in the fact that these mark the beginning of Hellenism in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and in this capacity acted as a 'herald' to the Hellenism in the art of Gandhara. But, however, full artistic and chronological significance of these trays has been eclipsed to a great extent by the overwhelming quantity of specimens of the `Buddhist' art of Gandhara. Not only these trays are the earliet evidence of the Hellenistic influence on the soil of Pakistan, but also the figural motifs on them are taken from Greek mythology and contemporary Hellenistic traditions as assimilated by the Bactrian Greeks, Indus-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and even Kushans. These are distinct and different specimens from Gandharan art as we know the latter. These were introduced by the Greeks but disappeared in the first century A.D., without leaving any successor behind. Their influence on Gandharan art is confined to the tradition of working in stone, carving stone sculpture in high relief and a number of decorative motifs — figural as well as floral.

Statuary (Pl. XXV-XXVIII & Pl. 'V')

The existence of pre- or proto-Gandharan school of art is also indicated by a group of small stauettes in round — all discovered from the Parthian city of Sirkap at Taxila.[64] These have been made out of a special variety of schist and are datable from the mid. 1st cent. B.C. to the mid. 1st cent A.D. Some of these statuettes are clearly of Hellenistic derivatives. The earliest, perhaps in whole of Gandhara, is the female Caraytid datable in the mid. 1st cent. B.C.[65] (P1. XXVI, b & 'V', c). Another interesting statuette of a seminude lady with a lotus in her hand is an Indianized version of a Greek Aphrodite[66] (P1 XXVI, a). The statuette of seated Demeter with the horn of Amalthea in hand and Polos on the head,[67] (Pl.

XXVII, d), a grotesque male figure in Alexandrean style in the form of a Fountain-head[68] and another male figure in the form of a Herm[69] are clearly of Hellenistic origin.

But, these are not the only Hellenistic sculptures from the Parthian period of Sirkap (Taxila III). There also come a group of stucco sculptures of unmistakable Hellenistic origin.[70] Two of the heads — one each of a Satyr and a bearded man[71] (Pl. XVII, a & b) express vigour and dynamic animation in the Pergamon style and have been compared, though arbitarily, with the heads of Satyr in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens and the bust of Serapis from Alexandria.[72] Beside, during the early 1st cent. A.D. many small objects were imported from the Hellenistic West. Among them is an example of superb workmanship in the form of a bust of Dionysus or Silenus in silver repousse with a wine-cup or 'Kantharos' in one hand, a wreath over his head and a thyrsos in the background[73] (Pl. XXV, e). The solid cast bronze statuette of the child-god Harpocrates[74] (Pl XXV, a) and a terracotta female head with a delicate and sensitive modelling[75] are other examples of actual imports in this period. Among other items of statuary, mostly of decorative nature, are two figures of winged Psyche, two brooches with figures of Eros and Psyche (Pl. XXII) and a circular medallion showing a winged Eros reclining on flowing drapery — all in gold.[76] This winged Eros resembles clearly with Eros sleeping over flowing drapery on circular dishes of Hellenistic period both in Greece proper and in Myrina, Asia Minor.[77] Beside this, figures of Aphrodite, winged Eros and a Greek type figure holding a flower in hand[78] are found in bronze.

Jewellery (Pl. XXI-XXIII & 'P'-'S')

From Taxila also comes a wonderful collection of gold and silver jewellery, seals and sealing, coins and other household objects. Further details are now available for the study of Gandhara jewellery.[79] I shall therefore confine myself only to a few observations on the jewellery from Taxila which displays an array of variety of styles and techniques. It is predominantly Graeco-Roman in character[80] (Pl. XXI-XXIII). However, on the whole the material represents the same makes of Classical, Iranian, Sarmatian and Indian forms and techniques as one witnesses in the sculptural art of Gandhara. These reflect, on the one hand, current trends and taste, and, on the other hand, show the Gandharan types developed out of earlier ones. Commenest types of actual specimens include ear-rings of

leech-and-pendent type, necklaces and neckbands, bangles, bracelets and armlets, girdles, hairpins, brooches, decorative miniature figures of cupids, Psyche, animals, birds etc. Many of the gold ornaments have been decorated with exquisite granulation and filigree (*pulvisculus aureus*) work which the Gandharan goldsmiths definitely borrowed from Western Asia. On the other hand, the craft of incrustation with gems, which is also found at Taxila, was lent out to the West by the Orient. The gold and silver ornaments were made with dies, hammering, casting and moulding by *cire perdu* method and *repousse* technique. Among these the *cire perdu* and *repousse* techniques were difinitely borrowed from the Classical world. Quintus Curtius Rufus[81] informs us that Sophytus — the king of the Salt Range and a contemporary of Alexander the Great, used to wear bejewelled gold sandles and keep in his hand a golden staff set with beryls.

Pottery (Pl. XVI & 'V', d)

Local pottery at Taxila was constantly being supplemented and influenced by the many extraneous wares which the foreign rulers imported during their respective reigns (P1. XVI). These foreign wares are not numerous but still are of great interest. During Mauryan period, Hellenistic influence was confined to Greek pottery, terracotta figurines, coins and gems. Among these specimens of Greek 'black ware' are the earliest coming from the 4th-2nd cent B.C. layers of Taxila II (Bhir Mound) and also from the 2nd cent B.C. levels of Sirkap. This ware shows grey paste, covered with fine grey or burnt slip with lustrous varnished black paint.[82] It is unmistakably Greek in its ultimate origin though how it reached Taxila is difficult to pin point.

Alongwith this Greek 'black-ware' and belonging to the same period have been found specimens of Greek moulded or stamped ware. It is easily identifiable by the Hellenistic character of their embossed designs and can be regarded as cousin to the well-known Megarian, Arrentine and Campanian wares — all from common Hellenistic parentage and was much imitated in Asia Minor. Africa and Europe.[83] At Taxila this Greek ware is found mainly at Bhir Mound with a few specimens at Sirkap. Taxila pottery also imitated this ware freely.[84]

Of Hellenistic origin but of Parthian date is a series of lion-masks used to decorate sides of certain vessels. They are made with the help of

moulds (one actual mould has been discovered). Specimens are known mainly from Sirkap and Dharmarajika Stupa.[85]

Among plain un-decorated wares derived from Greek prototypes are: alabasteran–shaped flasks, handled jugs, beakers and bowls with deep flared mouths, dishes with raised bosses in the centre similar to the Greek phiale-mesomphalos (Pl. 'O'), and frying pans with one handle (Figs. 26 & 27, and Pl. XX), rectangular or tortoise-shaped lamps, inkpots, incense-burners — most of them making their first appearance during Parthian period.[86]

Glazed amphorae of Graeco-Roman form were most probably manufactured in Mesopotamia — possibly at Rakka in present day Syria,- and were imported here during Parthian period.[87] To the Parthians also belong the carinated vessels of medium or small capacity,[88] standard goblets with deep flared mouth constricted neck and horizontal ribbing,[89] etc. How much of these vessels were actual imports from the West and how much made locally by foreign or local potters is a matter of conjecture.

Metal Ware (Figs. 25-28, Pl. XX & 'W'-'X')

Metal ware from Taxila is equally instructive and interesting. It has been manufactured either by hammering, solid casting or by *circ perdue* process and decorated by embossing or *repousse* work. Only a small number of vessels have been recovered from the Greek levels of Sirkap city. However, the establishment of `philhellenic' rule of Parthian gave an immense impetus with importation as well as local manufacture of this class of objects. Vast majority of the vessels found from Sirkap city were copies from Graeco-Roman originals, whereas those from later period monasteries were local in character with traces of classical influence to be seen here and there. The imported forms include handled jugs (Pl. 'W', c) and ewers of Graeco-Roman form with a single handle at the side,[90] standard drinking goblets and beakers,[92] small flask-like bowls and cups, frying pans (Pl. XX, c), laddles, spoons, incense-burners and bowls, inkpots, pens and stili. As is clear, many of the forms in pottery are common with, copper, bronze and silver wares. Forty-two (42) pieces of silverware[91] and 350 copper and bronze objects from the Parthian levels of Sirkap all smack of Graeco-Roman culture (Fig. 27-30 & P1. XXIV). Types of vessels include *askos, phiale, mesomphaloi, aryballoi, kantharos, kylix, paterae,* pedestalled goblets etc.

Terracotta Figurines (Pl. XVII-XVIII & 'U')

Terracotta figurines from Taxila bearing Hellenistic influence are few and far between. Out of 187 figurines published by Marshall[93] a frustratingly meagre number of a little over 12 are regarded as `Hellenistic'. (Pl. XVII). These are the only specimens which deserve any claim to artistic merits and even those are no more than degenerated imitations. The bust of a 'gorilla' or `Orang-utan' from early 1st cent. B.C. layers of Sirkap (Pl. XVIII, d) and three female heads of a little later date are in good hellenistic style.[94] These were probably made out of imported moulds. A few other figures of the so-called Greek and quasi-Greek styles are Hellenistic only in some minor details. Their meaning, however, are essentially local. A broken figurine of an 'androgynous' of first cent. A.D. is a very rare example.[95] Only one such figure of Hermaphrodite, is known from other site.[96] Its classical origin is also not above doubt since we know that in ancient times Shiva was also worshipped in the form of an androgynous, or *Ardhanarisvara* i.e., half-man and half woman.[97] Local or foreign origin of a few round medallions or bullae of terracotta from Bhir Mound is also open to question.[98] Their purpose is also not clear. Perhaps these were like the bullae which the Romans boys wore as amulets. The medallions showing human masks are characteristically Greek.[99] One representing a lion killing a bull (No. 137) is a fine bit of Hellenistic relief whereas another (No. 136) probably represents either the head of Apollo or of Alexander the Great.

It has been opined that certain advanced technological processes of terractotta production owe to the impact of Hellenistic culture brought down to Taxila by the conquest of Alexander.[100] Terracotta figurines from Bhir Mound and Sirkap have some Western themes and motifs and in some cases are adaptation of western subject matter in local form or vice versa. "Detached heads with veils, polos, laurel leaves and wreaths are indication of definite Hellenistic borrowings. Other contributions of the Hellenistic tradition can be traced in such categories as those of Aphrodite, mother and child, Mithuna dwarfs and other types of figurines, architectural pieces, bullae and medallion.[101]

All this clearly shows that right from the advent of the Greeks at Taxila and afterwards, some sort of artisic tradition in almost all varieties and materials did exist. An artistic vacuum as proposed by many, never

existed at least at Taxila. Non-Buddhist and strong Hellenistic imprint is the most dominant feature of the whole artistic out-put of two and half centuries that preceded the Kushans. If the evidence is not plenty, this is not because it did not exist but because the number of sites and relevant area excavated are extremely limited. If still some doubt about the existence of an early art at Taxila lingers on in one's mind, it is set aside by the testimony of Philostratus[102] who informs that at Taxila Apollonius of Tyana saw brass plaques depicting scenes of wars between Alexander the Great and Porus. These plaques were in high relief and were finished in polychrome. Beside, he saw beautiful paintings executed in the style of famous Greek painters such as Zeuxis,. Polygnotus and Euphranorus and statues of Alexander in gold and of others in orichalco *i.e.* black bronze.

Beginning of Gandhara Art

When did the 'mature' Buddhist art of Gandhara actually start? It is a matter of controversy. Majority of the scholars now put it in the reign of Kanishka I i.e., Ist & 2nd centuries A.D.[103] However, still less clear is the role played by Taxila in the evolutin of this art. At first sight, there appears to be a gap at Taxila between the 'mature' phase and the `earlier' phase of Gandhara art just discussed.[104] But did this gap actually exist? I think not. The problem is that of lack of proper studies based on styles and techniques, further magnified by lack (rather non-existence) of satratified evidence from other sites, lack of inscribed material and, where such material exists, ambiguity of eras used.[105] In a study of drapery pattern A.W. Lawrence[106] has clearly shown that such a beautiful figure as the well-known Bodhisattave Maitreya (P1. XXVII) and some colossal stucco statues — all from Mohra Muradu (Taxila),[107] ceased to be produced approximately when the "mature" Gandhara art began in the mid. 2nd cent. A.D. In other words it means that adolescence of Gandhara art at Taxila and elsewhere started earlier than the advent of Kushans. I do not deny the assertion that Gandhara art is a gift of Kushans,[108] but it is the sculptural and purely Buddhist art that goes to their credit. But this is an art based on a movement whose origin is distant and obscure. We know only about its blossoming while seeding season remains hidden from the eyes. Beginning of the art of Gandhara is therefore not a priviledge of Kushans alone. At least no archaeological evidennce for the same is available. Sufficient studies are now available to show that the Gandhara art (sculpture, architecture, jewellery etc. all inclusive) made its embryonic beginning as a

result of Greek rule at Taxila and elsewhere.[109] By the time of the Parthian rule it was a positive feature. Famous gold reliquary from Bimaran is also a specimen of Gandhara art though it is databale, on basis of coins, to the Parthian ruler Azes I or II.[110] A group of stucco sculpture from the Apsidal Temple in Sirkap[111] already discussed, is also a product of Gandhara and so is the Jandial Temple, jewellery, silverware, gem intaglios and cameos and host of othe objects from Sirkap and Shaikahan Dheri. These are not isolated examples but are actually contemporary with the Bodhisattava Maitreya and other related stucco sculptures from Mohra Muradu and similar other statues from elsewhere.[112] This clearly shows that a chronological gap, as feared earlier, never existed at Taxila. On the contrary, Taxila played a significant role in the continuous development of Gandhara art. Sirkap group of stone statuettes, however, are essentially secular in nature meant for some household use and the earlier period toilet trays are perhaps meant for some domestic cult. On the other hand, Mohra Muradu group of stone and stucco sculptures are essentially communal, religious and Buddhistic. This explains the obvious dissimilarity between the two groups despite their contemporaneity.

The Hellenistic elements, Greek or Roman in the Buddhist art of Gandhara have been treated, briefly indeed, by many scholars[113] and thus need not be repeated here. The evidence from Taxila is merely of complimentary nature. The best example from Taxila is a figure in round of a winged Nike wearing a Greek Doric chiton[114] (Pl. 'T', a). It resembles the famous Aphrodite with one foot on a turtle from Dura Europos[115] and a fragmentary figure from Piacinza.[116] The motif appears to be a descendant of the Paionios from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.[117] Another bust of the so-called `Sleeping Musician'[118] (Pl. 'P') at once reminds us the famous head of Sleeping Woman in the Terme Museum, Rome (variously identified as Medusa, Fury, Ariadne etc.)[119] or another sculpture in the Vatican, Rome identified as Sleeping Ariadne.[120] A stone frieze with figures in squares of a coffered ceiling[121] at once reminds us of similar friezes met in Grave Towers at Palmyra.[122] A small statuette from Taxila represents a male figure carrying some load across his shoulders (Pl. XIX, c).[123] The only other similar representation is known from a relief once in the Lahore Museum.[124] The motif strikes us. It was very popular in the early Christian art (3rd-4th centuries A.D.) in the form of `Good Shepherd', though the ultimate source of this motif lies in the famous `Moschoporus' in the Acroplolis Museum, Athens.[125] Exact source of

Taxilan Moschophorus is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps some Gandharan artist was in possession of some old sketch book from Bactria or, what is more probable, he got some model of it from some nearby Hellenistic centre during the 1st-2nd cent A.D. A Baptistry of circa 240 A.D. at Dura Europos was decorated with a fresco depicting `Good Shepherd.[126] The motif must have been known at Dura and elsewhere at an earlier date as well. There are other sculptures in Taxila which, either in subject matter or in minor details, and above all in technique of stone carving show strong Hellenistic influence. But, this need not be discuss here.

Stucco Sculptures (Pl. XVII, XIX & 'T')

Main pride of Taxila is its rich and varied out put of stucco sculptures from various sites in the Valley.[127] In this area, stucco sculptures were first made at Ai Khanum in the second cent. B.C.[128] At Taxila, stucco was used as plaster as early as the times of Greeks, but for sculptural purposes the material, as far as our present knowledge goes, was used for the first time in the early first century A.D. Hence there is no evidence so far available suggesting that the stucco sculpture at Taxila was introduced from Ai-Khanum. The technique seems to have been introduced as early as the 1st cent A.D. either directly from Alexanderia where, in the late Hellenistic period, it had been used to replace marble, or what is more probable, from Dura Europos or any other Parthian site such as Seleucia, Warqa, Assur etc, where stucco was a favourite material of decoraion.[129]

Taxila has yielded specimens of earliest stucco sculptures ever made in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Some of these earlier stucco sculptures (Pl. XVII), already discussed above are so characteristically Hellenistic that these can equally claim their origin from Seleucia, Antioch or any other Hellenistic site. It has been presumed that these early stuccos were the work either of some foreign artists or a local artist trained outside Gandhara. But, majority of the sculptures in this group are in, what Marshall names, 'Bastard Hellenistic Style'[130] and evidently were the work of some local artists trying to copy Hellenistic models without properly grasping the essentials of Hellenistic art. To the same group now must be assigned the long panel of stucco sculptures in the Taxila Musem from Mohra Muradu. A.W. Lawrence[131] has clearly shown that on basis of drapery pattern of figures in this panel, the sculptures must be dated in the Parthian period rather than the 4th-5th cent A.D. as suggested by Marshall.[132] It is astonishing that Marshall, who himself observed Greek

rather than the Roman pattern of depicting drapery in these figures and other high points in style and technique, proposes such a late date. Figure with such a drapery pattern, according to the analysis of Lawrence, ceased to be produced after A.D. 150.

A great number of rest of the stucco sculptures from Taxila are dated by Marshall in the 4th-5th cent. A.D. (P1. XIX). This has led him to propound his theory of two separate and sucessive schools of art in Gandhara with a hiatus of more than one hundred years in between —— both distinct from each other in material as well as in distribution in space and time.[133] Though it has become a fashion to condem this theory outrightly,[134] its weight is being felt heavier and heavier as more systematic excavations are bringing to light more material. The recent archaeological reconnaisance in Dir area has clearly shown that stucco and terracotta sculptures mark the final stage of most of the Buddhist monasteries.[135] What cannot, as yet, be proved is the time-gap between the two schools as proposed by Sir John marshall. As a matter of fact both the stone and stucco sculptures always existed side by side though gradually stucco became more and more popular. This is particularly true at Taxila. Over one thousand of these stucco sculptures came from one single site of Jaulian all ranging from tiny flgures to giant statues upto 13 feet high. Except for a few classical pieces,[136] Hellenistic influence on these late stucco sculptures is now a matter of external form only. There has never been a revolt against the Hellenistic influence but, instead, it was gradually assimilated. Rightly, `Hellenistic influence has not been for India one of those poisons which the living organism strives and hastens to eliminate, but an invigorating food which she has perfectly succeeded in assimilating.[137]

The So-Called Taxila Cross

As a tail-piece, I append here a brief note on the so-called 'Taxila Cross' in stone on display in Lahore Cathedral (Pl. 'X', c). This 'Cross' of greyish colour measures 3 x 3.2 x .5 cm and bears a hole in one of its four arms. Its one arm is shorter than others. It seems to have been picked up in 1935 from somewhere on the outer limits of the Parthian city of Sirkap and presented to G. King, Commissioner Rawalpindi and a brother of Bishop King of Delhi Mission.[138] Among some Christian circles it has given rise to a belief that the 'Taxila Cross' is one of the six early 'Crosses' which help our study of the early spread of Christianity in Pakistan and India.[139] It is

also believed, though not yet proved, to have been left at Taxila by Saint Thomas, who, according to the Apocryphal Acts of Saint Thomas, converted Gondophares, the King of Taxila in about 42 AD.[140] Followers of 'Qadiani' religion in Pakistan have also accepted it as a support to their own belief that the Christ, after his resurrection visited Taxila along with his mother Mary and from here went to Kashmir where he died a natural death.[141] Saint Thomas' presence and activities in India have been the subject matter of several books and articles.[142] But, as a matter of fact so far nothing has been proved. Circumstances of discovery of this 'Cross' at best remain doubtful, its connection with Saint Thomas is far fetched and conversion of King Gondophares to Christianity still remains to be proved.[143]

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8. Philostratus, BK. II. 17.42.
9. Supra, Chap. 2.
10. Pliny. V. 1, XXI. 12.
11. Ptolemy, Bk. VII, Chap. I. 45.
12. Plutarch. VII.Lix and Strabo, XV. 1.28.
13. Curtius. VIII 12.
14. Supra, Chap 2.
15. Pliny. Bk. III. VII.
16. Ptolemy. VII. 46.
17. Ambhi received Alexander on the bank of the Indus and helped him fight against his formidable enemy Porus across the Jhelum.
18. Plutarch, VII. Lix.
19. Strabo, XV. 1.17,28.
20. Pliny, XXIII, 78.
21. Arrian, VII. 2.
22. Philostratus, BK. II. O.
23. *Taxila I*, pp. 112-216.
24. See infra, Chap. 5.
25. Curtius, VIII. 12 & Diodorus, XVIII. 86.
26. Plutarch, VII. Lix. 3.
27. Strabo, XV. 1.28.
28. Curtius VIII. XXII.
29. Diodorus, XVIII. 3.
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38. Strabo, XV. 1.62-63.
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4 TAXILA AND HELLENISM ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE

Of all the ancient cities east of Tigris, founded or visited by Alexander the Great or those founded by his successors, only the site of Taxila has been positively identified. This was the only big city in ancient India known to the Greeks.

Prolonged excavations at Taxila, which have revealed four successive city-sites and about two dozen other monuments, have placed at our disposal enormous and varied material which is the best means of studying the nature and extent of hellenism in ancient Pakistan. Architecture of Taxila is most instructive for this purpose. Unfortunately, this aspect of the city has so far been studied only perfunctorily. However, in the present state of our knowledge, 'hellenism' in Pakistan and India begins at Taxila and this is evident in its architecture more than in any other aspect.

Sources of Hellenism at Taxila

Hellenistic influence at Taxila, as also elsewhere in this region, is hybrid. However, fresh discoveries at Surkh Kotal[1] and Ai Khanum,[2] both in Afghanistan, have made it clear that 'hellenism' at Taxila, whatever its nature or form, was essentially a part of cultural heritage of those Greeks whom Alexander the Great forced to live in Bactria and in the Indusland, now called Pakistan. It was these unhappy Greeks who laid the foundation of a *Micri Hellas* (Greece Minor) in the heart of Asia and, who everafter, remained the basic source of hellenistic influence in this region.[3] Recent excavations at Ai Khanum — a true Hellenistic city of third century B.C.in the heart of Asia, have made the so-called 'mirage' of Graeco-Bactrian civilization a reality and provided a base for the Greeks at Taxila as also elsewhere in Pakistan and India, the absence of which had earlier left them culturally suspended in the air. The Greek city of Taxila is partly contemporary with Ai Khanum and partly has overlived it. Thus Taxila, together with Ai Khanum, now fills up that missing gap (C. 317-189 B.C.) which for over a century had been staring in the eyes of scholars.

Another factor responsible for dissemination of hellenistic influence was the continuous presence of Philhellenic dynasties of Scythians, Parthians and Kushans at Taxila. All of them were long in contact with Greeks in Bactria and were already impregnated with hellenistic ideals centuries before they arrived in Pakistan. Recent discoveries at Surkh Kotal (Bactria) and many other factors clearly show that the so-much propagated Roman influence during Kushan period (second century A.D. and afterwards) is a matter of over-exaggeration and over-calculations.[4] This is particularly true of the architecture of this region — especially of Taxila.

A third major source of Hellenistic influence at Taxila and elsewhere was the desert-cities of Syria (Dura Europos, Palmyra etc.). It is, however, difficult to support the usual hypothesis that any influence from Northern Syria can be taken for granted as Roman. A critical appraisal of existing sources clearly shows that the classical influence in Northern Syria, despite the fact that it flourished during Roman political dominance, was predominantly Greek rather than Roman in spirit and form.[5]

Whereas in Pakistan some sort of infiltration and trickling of Roman influence from various sources cannot be denied outrightly, it is difficult to justify the theory of wholesale Roman influence in this region at any time. The only region in South Asia where Roman Empire had any foot-hold was southern India and even there its influence was confined to certain minor aspects (exchanges of coins, amphoras etc). Even if there had been any major Roman influence in South India, we have good reasons to deny the same in Pakistan. In the first instance, there has so far not been discovered one single monument of pure or partly Roman origin in whole Indo-Pakistan peninsula. Moreover, many architectural details and decorative motifs in Gandhara art, usually ascribed to Roman influence, actually derive their origin from hellenistic traditions disseminated in Central Asia by the Graeco-Bactrian community. In other cases, certain motifs are to be considered Roman or Greeks depending upon the immeidate source from which we have derived our comparison: Roman architecture itself being an extension of the architecture of Greece — at least in Asia Minor and farther East.[6]

Alexanderia and the Red Sea are usually considered another source of hellenistic traditions in this region. If we study critically all the ancient tade-routes converging at Taxila from various directions[7] (Fig. 2), it shows that trade through the Red Sea did not play a dominant role in dissemination of the hellenistic ideas in Pakistan. Similarly, there is not

much truth in the claim that there was a great deal of Alexanderian influence in this region during Kushan period[8]

A fresh study of the architecture proper of Taxila leads one to contradict many old views and hypotheses. It is natural to expect that any study of Hellenistic architecture in this region should start with the five Alexandrias and many other smaller towns and military posts which Alexander the Great founded in Pakistan.[9]

Seventy Asiatic cities at least owed their existence to Alexander the Great. Of these, forty (40) can still be traced.[10] Unfortunately none of Alexander's cities in Pakistan can be located precisely. These are still no more than great names and literary myths. Therefore, for us in the present stage of our knowledge, 'hellenism' in Pakistan begins at Taxila. Certain features of Taxila architecture clearly show that this city must had been receiving cultural inspiration and technical expertise from some nearby hellenistic centres which could not have been other than these Alexandrias. Hence there is a crying need for locating and excavating all of Alexander's cities which were the real foundation of Hellenistic culture in this country Pending that, our main source of hellenism in Pakistan will remain Taxila. Though there can be traced out strong hellenistic elements in a variety of material excavated from various sites, this study is confined to the architecture of Taxila as this aspect provides an altogether new grounds for studying hellenistic traditions in Gandhara.

Town Planning

Most remarkable and important hellenistic influence at Taxila is evident in its town-planning and fortification. A re-appraisal of the available evidence and a comparative study shows that the Hippodamian lay-out of Taxila III (Sirkap) (Fig.7 and 8) was introduced by the Greeks and not by the Scythians as maintained by so many scholars.[11] Selection of the site reflects Seleucid tradition especially for its location on the river bank and the backing of hills (Pl.V & 'F').[12] Comparative study of Taxila III vis-a-vis other contemporary hellenistic cities show that most liberal proportions, then in vogue in the hellenistic world, were observed in determining the size of the city, its residential blocks, spaciousness of houses, width of streets etc.In this respect, Taxila III surpassed many well-known cities like Olynthus,[13] Priene[14] etc. In its internal planning, the city shows many points common with many hellenistic cities such a Peucolaitis (Pushkalavati) in Pakistan,[15] Begram[16] and Ai Khanum[17] (Afghanistan),

Dura Europos[18] (Syria), Perge, and Priene[19] (Turkey) etc. Tarn apparently over-stressed his point when he vehemently denounced that Taxila never enjoyed the status of a Greek *'polis'* i.e., city.[20] On the other hand, he regarded Begram, Pushkalavati, Bucephalia etc., each having attained the status of a Greek *'polis'*. This supposition is hardly tenable. Taxila was the only 'great city' which the Greeks knew in the Indusland (Pakistan) and it was this city which the Greeks made their capital in Pakistan and India. This, and many other factors, lead us to conclude that if there was any one single *'polis'* in this region, it could not have been any other than Taxila. There is also enough evidence to suggest that the same city had a rare hellenistic feature called synoecism.[21] There is also no grain of truth in the usual assertion that Taxila III was founded by Demetrius.[22]. Instead, on the strength of combined evidence, it can be suggested that it was probably founded by Menander the Great whose character as a 'builder-king' has so far never been considered by any scholar. Sagala (Sialkot ?) was his capital and even the Greek city of Pushkalavat is credited to have been founded by him. Whosoever, among the Greeks built Taxila III, its hellenistic features, however, were maintained with remarkable purity and consistency by the Scythians, Parthians and Kushans down to the second century A.D. Finally, when the Kushans founded a new city (Sirsukh or Taxila IV), they incorporated some features of the Greek city and improved upon many others. Indeed, Taxila III, or some other hellenistic city, and not some Central Asian city was their model.

Fortification

Hellenistic influence on the 'fortification' of Taxila is quite instructive and interesting[23] Fortified cities of good qualities did exist earlier than the invasion of Alexander the Great,[24] but it goes to the credit of Greeks to introduce an entirely new concept of siegecraft. The exclusive use of stone masonary in the city walls, bringing acropolis within the city proper, projected main gate of Western origin, outwardly protruding round or square towers (hollow or solid) etc.— all go to the credit of the Greeks (Figs. 7, 8, 12 & Pl. VI & 'E'). They also introduced the system of making use of natural factors, such as the backing of hills, gullies, ravines, rivers etc, for strengthening the defence of cities. Because of the increasing use of siege-machines and rams, the Greeks also introduced raised embankments in between towers to keep the siege-machines away from the walls. The

Kushans developed these embankments both aesthetically and strategically. (Fig. 12 and Pl. VI a, c & 'K').[25]

By comparison, it can be shown that the fortifications of Taxila, especially of Taxila III, have many points common with many other hellenistic cities such as Begram, Ai Khanum, Ctesiphon, Dura Europos, Palmyra, Priene, Perge etc. There is also enough evidence to show that the stone walls of Taxila III were built by the Greeks and not by the Scythians as maintained by some.[26] The enclosure on the north of Taxila III (Kacha Kot) has also been proved to be a suburb of this city as part of synoecism scheme — one of the only two examples known in the Indusland and India.[27] A comparative study of Taxila IV (2nd - 5th centuries. A.D.) with other contemporary cities shows that the Kushans, at least in matter of fortification, borrowed much from the West rather than from Central Asia. They borrowed many hellenistic elements either directly from Taxila III or from Bactria or from some other contemporary cities in the West.

A critical study of the available evidence about the small fortress of Giri, situated at a little distance south-east of Taxila III, clearly shows that its foundation dates to the Greeks of 2nd-Ist cent. B.C. and not to 4th - 5th cent. A.D. where it is usually placed.[28]

Domestic Architecture

The Greeks brought with them not only an improved technique of fortification and scientific town-planning but also spacious and better planed houses (Fig. 7).[29] They may be held responsible for the introduction of use of stucco in Pakistan, though it was left to the Parthians to use it on some large scale.[30]

Fresh study of available evidence shows that the building with a pillared-hall (Fig.6) in Taxila II (Bhir Mound), usually identified as the earliest Hindu Temple in South Asia is actually the earliest specimen of a well-to-do Greek house in the sub-continent.[31] It has comparable plans in the 4th century B.C. Dystus (Euboea) and third century B.C. Priene.[32] The building can tentatively be identified as the Palace of Philip, son of Machatas, the Macedonian Satrap of Alexander the Great at Taxila.

A fresh study of the two Palaces at Taxila III (Figs. 10 & 11)[33] shows that the plans were borrowed from the Graeco-Babylonian types of palaces as adopted by the Parthians at Dura Europos, Nippur and Seleucia. The ultimate source of these two palaces however, can be traced back to the Sargon Palace of Khorsabad[34] and the Vouni Palace in Cyprus.[35]

Religious Architecture

As far as the religious architecture at Taxila is concerned, we see that in the beginning there was a strong hellenistic influence but, as the time went on, local conservatism came back and the hellenistic influence was confined to certain architectural details and decorative motifs alone.. Among numerous religious buildings at Taxila, at least three temples are of unmistakable Western Asian origin and are unique and without any parallel in whole of Pakistan and India.

A detailed discussion, covering all aspects of the Greek Temple at Jandial (Fig. 13 & 14, Pl. IX, & 'J')[36] leads one to contradict many generally acepted hypotheses regarding its date, function and origin. For example it can be shown that this temple has nothing to do with the *hilani*[37] and *iwan*[38] types of Syrian and Persian buildings respectively, nor has it any connection with Zoroastrian temples[39] On the contrary, with its *pronaos, naos, opisthodomos,* mature Ionic capitals, pure Attico-asiatic bases, columns turned on lathe and joined by the process of *anathyrosis* with *poloi,* its cyma recta mouldings, plain caveto, half-engaged columns on the back-side etc., this temple is a pure Greek monument of second century B.C. A few non classical features in this temple do not affect its over-all Greek character. Instead, these reflect the hellenistic spirit of experiment, accommodation and adaptation. It can be shown with examples[40] (Temple of Apollo at Bassae, Temple of Olympian Zeus at Akragas Temple 'G' at Selinus, Temple of Athena at Tegea and Temple of Apollo at Didyma) that these so-called unclassical features at Taxila are not totally un-precedented in the Classical world. Some of the features of this Temple can be shown as having been borrowed from such classical buildings as the Temple of Apollo Epikurios at Bassae, Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, Erectheum at Athens, Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the earliest Heroon and the Temple *a'redans* at Ai Khanum etc., etc. About the Ionic capitals of this Temple, we shall say something further down.

Two other non-Buddhist temples at Taxila were excavated by Cunningham[41] in 1872-73 but these are no more extent. These have never been studied properly before. Among them, the Ionic Temple or Shrine 'A' at Mohra Maliaran (Taxila) (Fig. 17) was basically a Parthian Temple for some deity from Asia Minor. Its connection with some monuments in the West (Temple of Ba'al Shamin at Palmyra, Temple of Dushara at Si, Sanctuary at Sahr, Temple of Artemis-Nanaia at Dura Europos, Temple *a'redans* at Ai Khanum, Temple at Nebi Safa in Roman Syria etc.) can

easily be established. Its stuccoed Ionic capitals can be compared with some from the Parthian monuments at Nesa, Assur, Warqa etc. Its Syrian origin from the *hilani* type buildings can also be emphasised. On ground of its dating, location, size and some other factors, it becomes almost certain that it was this Temple (Shrine A) and not the Jandial Temple which was visited by Apollonius of Tyana.[42]

Temple B at Mohra Maliaran (Fig. 18) has actually a developed plan of Temple A and was built only when the latter was deserted. However, its plan and its most distinguishing character i.e., a buttressed exterior, can be traced back to Mesopotamia where the latter was popular from 4th millennium B.C. down to the Hellenistic times. Its resemblance with the Temple of Ba'al Shamin at Palmyra, Temple of Artemis-Nanaia at Dura Europos and the Fire Temple at Surkh Kotal in Bactria is extraordinary and worth noting.[43]

Stupas are generally considered to be of local origin and growth without any parallel outside. But if we study their architecture critically we find that the earlier ciruclar Buddhist stupas have haunting similarities with the Etruscan tombs and other similar (Pl. VII) grave-monuments in Italy, Asia Minor, Central Asia etc. Even the developed square stupa of Gandhara-type of later date shows strong resamblances with the funeral tumulus of Nicocreon at Salamis (Cyprus),[44] altars in the precincts of a temple at Dura Europos[45] and many tombs of the type of Absalom near Jerusalem.[46] But these are just resemblances: actual relationship is difficult to establish. There seems to be some truth in the opinion of James Fergusson that the Buddhist stupa is the direct descendant of the sepulchral tumulus of the Turanian races whether found in Etruria, Lydia or among the Scythians of northern steppe.[47]

Beside the basic structure, the outer embellishments of Gandhara stupas in particular, owe much to the prevailing mood of the Hellenistic tendencies in this region (Figs. 22 & 23). In this connection, the examples of Stupa of Double-headed Eagle[48] (Fig. 9 & Pl. 'I') and the concave curvature of the base of the Kunala Stupa (Taxila) (Pl. 'I') can be cited.[49]

Gandharan Buddhist monasteries, particularly those at Taxila, are superb examples of planning and execution of monastic architecture. These combine in best form the triangular relationship of man, nature and the creator. Jaulian Monastery (Fig. 20 & Pl. VIII, b) and Mohra Muradu Monastery (Pl. L & VIII, a) are the best examples. A typical Gandnara monastery is usually a square or oblong plot, repeated once, twice or more

with monastic cells, lecture halls, dining rooms, refactories etc. The stupa court usually consists of Main stupa on a square base and votive stupas and chapels arranged on all four sides of it. The cruciform shaped stupa of Bhamala is a rare example (Fig. 21).

Orders of Architecture and Other Details

All the three classical orders of architecture namely, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian were used in this region. In the present stage of our knowledge, all specimens of Doric Order, none from Taxila, are very late (8th cent. A.D.) and of course not of pure style. These are from Kashmir.[50] Although so late appearance or persistence of Doric Order is mysterious, nevertheless their possible source from Northern Syria can be pointed out.[51]

Available evidence suggests that use of Ionic Order was more popular and presistent at Taxila than anywhere else outside Asia Minor. Here, it came into use in the second cent. B.C. and was completely replaced by the Corinthian Order only in the 3rd century A.D. It can be clearly proved, against generally accepted views, that it was the Greeks and not the Parthians, who introduced this Order at Taxila and in the whole of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.[52] A comparative study of the Ionic capitals from Jandial with all other previously known[53] or recently discovered[54] Seleucid Ionic capitals shows that the Taxila examples (Figs.14, 17 & Pl. IX, 'J') are also essentially of Seleucid origin, but better than all of them. Ionic capitals from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Temple of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia and Temple of Athena Polias at Priene — all in Turkey — form a distant origin of these more dry and provincial Ionic capitals at Taxila. Similarly, comparative study of the Ionic capitals from the Temple 'A' at Mohra Maliaran with similar Ionic capitals from Hadda, Nesa, Warqa, Asur etc.,[55] leads us to propose that these Taxilan examples are essentially of Parthian date with the Jandial Ionic capitals acting as their prototype. Persistence of use of Ionic capitals at Taxila down to the 3rd century A.D. (Pippalan Monastery)[56] can be shown as a strong argument to contradict the theory held by Tarn[57] that at Taxila anyting that was Greek ceased to exist after c. 50 A.D.

Gandhara Corinthian Order, more often than not, is debased and stylized version of the original. Nevertheles, a study of the development of this order, particularly at Taxila, contradicts the taken-for-granted theory of its Roman origin. On the contrary, there is enough evidence to prove

that the Corinthian Order in Gandhara is essentially a part of the cultural heritage of Bactrian Greeks and hence of pure Greek origin. Though the evidence at Taxila for the use of acanthus foliage can be traced back as early as second cent. B.C., Corinthian capital as an Order was introduced at Taxila (Fig. 22-23 & Pl. 'M') in the later half of the Ist cent. B.C. or first half of the first cent. A.D. through miniature terracotta 'models' from some Hellenstic centre like Myrina.[58]

Recent discovery of Corinthian capitals at Ai Khanum of the type used at the Olympieion at Athens and in the Propylon of the Bouleuterion at Miletus, both built by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.), helps us in proving that a similar Corinthian capital from Kalawan Monastery at Taxila was copied from some such Seleucid capital, now lost.

Figural Corinthian capitals of Gandhara and Taxila[59] are also of Greek and not of Roman origin. In the repertoire of themes (human, animal, or composite figures), kinds of buildings in which used (tombs or temples), type of their supports (columns or pilasters) and their purpose (religious or decorative) etc., these Gandharan figural capitals correspnd more closely to the Hellenistic rather than to the Roman traditions.[60]

The "S" shaped and other types of brackets from Taxila were used in the Hellenistic world as early as second cent. B.C (such as in the House of Masks, Delos) from where the type was introduced in Syria (Jerash and Palmyra)[61] etc. Other motifs of unmistakable Western origin are the Caryatids, pedimental arches, carved door jambs, figures seated or standing under arches, birds perching on either sides of arches or frolicking in foliage and host of other decorative motifs such as meanders, vine-scrolls, laurel leaves, garland-bearers, atlantes, tritons, etc.[62] Besides, it were the Bactrian Greeks who introduced the dressed stone masonry as well as technique of stone-cutting, stone carving and stone-polishing.[63]

In short at Taxila, the Hellenistic influence was quite extensive, deep and persistent in every walk of life of the city particuarly and more expressively in its architecture. This, albeit brief, comparative study clearly shows that hellenism at Taxila is not an isolated phenomenon nor did the Greeks of Taxila lived a life of cultural seclusion. Further, it can be maintained that, apart from a few exceptions, whatever hellenistic elements we have in the architecture of Taxila, owe their existence to the 'Hellenes' (Greeks) in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Survival of these traditions and their continutity, centuries after the eclipse of the Greeks, depended upon the philhellenic tendencies of a few dynasties who suceeded them at Taxila in

quick succession. There had never been a cultural break. By dint of its geographical location as well as of its being a one-time Greek capital, Taxila played a key role not only in assimilation of hellenistic traditons but also in their dissemination in the rest of the sub-continent. The monuments of this city offer a very interesting example of 'Hellenism' in its eastern-most form and no account of hellenism in Asia east of the Tigris can overlook the evidence from Taxila.

Gandhara art has so far been studied as an isolated phenomenon *i.e.* without taking into acount the cities where it flourished, the buildings which it once embellished & hands which shaped it. Gandhara sculptures were part of Gandhara architecture. Thus, the spirit that pervades this architecture must also be reflected in its art. Fresh study pf architecture of Taxila shows 'Greek hands' that remained busy side by side the local hands everywhere. Roman elements are characteristically absent in Gandhara architecture and must they remain so in other spheres of artistic activities as well. Greeks lived in this region centuries after their political eclipse and their influence can still be felt in the Punjabi words like *kurri* (Gr. kori = girl), *piali* (Gr. phiali = cup), *kukarr* (Gk. kokaras = cock), *pathr* (Gk. petra = stone), *gunnia* i.e., carpenter's L-shaped implement for measuring right angles or *kona* (Gr. gonia = angle or corner) etc. over and above words of common Indo-Greek origin. Inhabitants of the village Sawaldher near Mardan are still nicknamed as *yoonani chuhey* or Greek rats.[64] In Bannu area rice is called "Varuji" which is actually Greek 'orizi' or modern 'rizi' namely rice. Similarly, '*kata*' in Swat region is actually a Greek word 'kato' which means below or lower.

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5. H.C. Butler, (New York: 1904), pp. 19-21.
6. S.B. Murray, *Hellenistic Architecture in Syria*, (Amsterdam: 1970),. p. 2 and H.C. Bulter, loc. cit.
7. For detailed discussion of these trade-routes see M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, (Hildesheim: 1961) and E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, (Cambridge: 1928).
8. Prof. A.H. Dani, for example, doubts if Kushans at all entered the arena of sea which was necessary for having contacts with Alexanderia. It was more advantageous for them to remain master of the land-routes. See his "Kushan Civilization in Pakistan", *JASP*, XIX, I (1969). Also See Chap. 6.
9. These are: Alexanderia-Bucephalia and Alexanderia-Nikaia, both on the Jhelum (Strabo, XV, 1, 29); Alexanderia-Makarane also called Alexanderia-Rhambakia or Alexanderia-Oreita near Makaran (Arrian, *Anabasis*, VI. 29 5.& VI 23, 3); Alexanderia-on-the-Upper Chenab, probably at Sohdra (Arrian, op. cit, V. 29. 3) and Alexanderia-on-the Indus, probably at Mithan-Kot (Arrian. op. cit. VI. 15.4). Alexanderia-on-the-junction of the Indus and Chenab is just probable to have existed (Arrian, op. cit. VI. 15.2) etc. Military posts and dykes are over and above these. Also see M.W. McCrindle, *In-vasion of India by Alexander*, (West-minister: 1896), p. 5. For some description of Alexan-deria-Nikaia at Jhelum, see C.P. Jones, *Philostratus' Life of Apollonius*, abridged by G.W. Bowersock, (Harmondsworth: 1970), BK II 42, p. 67.
10. Plutarch as quoted by McCrindle, op. cit., p 5., fn. 1.
11. *Taxila I*, p.39 & 139 ff and A. Ghosh. "Taxila (Shirkap) 1944-45", *Ancient India*, 4 (1947-1948), p. 8384.
12. Tarn, pp. 136-37.
13. D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus, III. Architecture and Sculpture*, (London: 1930).
14. Th. S.H. Wiegand, *Priene*, (Berlin: 1904).
15. A.H. Dani, "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation, 1963-1964 (In Search of the Second City of Pushkalavati), *AP.*, II, 1965-66.
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17. Paul Bernard, "Ai Khanum", *Proc. BA.*, LIII (1967).
18. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Preliminary Reports for 1929 and Onward*.
19. Th. S.H. Wiegand, loc. cit.
20. The term 'polis' (Gr. City) is applied in Greek history only to those cities which

have typical Greek establishments like a theatre, an *agora*, a *gymnassion*, a *bouleuterion* etc. and, above all, Greek *nomos* (law), paideia (education) and other Greek institutions. Actual remains of a typical Greek '*Polis*' has only recently come to light in the form of the city of Ai Khanum on the Oxus. All other '*poleis*' are hypothetical.

21. *Synoecism* stands for making of one or more smaller cities or communities into one, or moving out the old population to give place to the refined planning. This was a typical phencomenon quite frequently used by the hellenistic kings, such as Antigoneia Troas by Antigonus I, Thessaloniki by Cassander and Demetrias-Pagase by Demetrius etc. See W.W. Tarn, and G.T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization*, (London: 1966), pp. 67-68. At Taxila Sirkap and Kacha Kot, when viewed combinedly is an example of synoecism (Fig. 1).
22. Sir John Marshall was the first to float this assertion (*Taxila*, Vol. I, pp. 26-27, 83, 112) and everybody since then has taken it for granted.
23. *Taxila I*, pp. 113-118.
24. Fore example see Quintus Curtius, *Rufus Histroiae*, VIII. 10. pp. 23-26.
25. *Taxila I*, pp. 217-18.
26. A. Ghosh, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
27. The only other exception is Alexanderia-Makarane or Alexan-deria-Rhambakia. Cf. Tarn, W.W., *Alexader the Great*, Vol. II (Cambridge: 1948), pp. 251-352.
28. *Taxila I*, 342-343. Pl. 81. For the role played by Giri during the early Muslim period, see M.A. Chaghati, *Taxila Revisited*. (Lahore: 1975).
29. *Taxila I*, p. 123.
30. Ibid., II. p. 513.
31. Ibid. I. pp. 98-100
32. A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, (Harmondsworth: 1962), p. 241 & D.S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*. (Cambridge 1964), pp. 297-8.
33. *Taxila I*, pp. 171-77 & 214-16.
34. G. Perrot et Ch. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l' antiquite*, (Paris: 1884), II. p. 426.
35. Valentin Muller, "The Palace of Vouni in Cyprus". *AJA*, XXVI (1932), p. 414.
36. For detailed discussion see Chap. 5: Four Unique Temples at Taxila.
37. As stressed by H. Schaefer in "Two Gandhara Temples and their Near Eastern Sources", *JAOS*, LXII (1942), 61-67.
38. Proposed by Ugo Monneret de Villard, "The Iranian Temple of Taxila", *A Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. I, ed. by A.U. Pope, p. 446.
39. Nazimuddin Ahmad, "A Fresh Study of the Fire Temple (?) at Taxila", *PkA*,. IV (1967), pp. 153-159.
40. For full references to these examples see Infra, Chap. 5: Four Unique Temples at Taxila.
41. *CSR*, V (1872-73), pp. 68-73.
42. See Infra, Chap. 5, p. 43.
43. Ibid.
44. Vassos Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus*, (London: 1969), p. 156.
45. M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura Report*, IV (1933), pp. 14-15.
46. Th. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture*, (Cambridge: 1934), p. 57.
47. James Fergusson, *History of India and Eastern Architecture*. (London. 1910), Vol. I, p. 65.
48. *Taxila I*, pp. 163-64.
49. Ibid., p. 350. In essence, the story of Kunala and Tishyarakshita is the same as that of Hippolytus and Phaedra of Greek mythology, See *Taxila G.*, p. 151, fn. 1.
50. These examples are known from places like Andrikot, Brankoutri, Avantipura, Srinagar, Shadipur. Martands, Patan etc. For Doric architecture in Kashmir see James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, (London: 1855), I. pp. 124-132, Fig. 85; *CSR*, Vol. V, p. 89, Pl. xxvii; V. A Smith, *JASB* (1889). p. 110; Ibid., *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, (Oxford: 1920), p. 55; W. Simpson, *JRIBA* (1894), p. 101 ff

Figs. 7 & 8: *LAGBG*, I, pp. 230-232; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, (Bombay: 1959), p. 160, Pl. CXXXI, 2 and G. Combaz, *L'Inde l'orient classique*, (Paris: 1937), pp. 48-49.

51. H.C. Butler. op. cit., p. 41. Prof G. Fussman of France has informed me that very recently a pure Doric capital has been discovered at Ai Khanum. Also see Paul Bernard,. "An Ancient Greek City in Central Asia". *Scientific American*, Vol-246, No.1. Jan: 1982, p. 154 which indicates that Doric order was definitely used in Afghanistan and probably also in Pakistan during the 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. The Kashmir Doric Order, therefore must now be considered as descendant of some such now-lost Doric Order in Pakistan. It is, however, difficult to connect the two genetically.
52. See Infra, Chap. 5.
53. Ishkewt-i-Qizqapan, see C.J. Edmonds. "A Tomb in Kurdistan", *Iraq*, I, 1934, 183-192, Pl. XXIV-XXV, and Khurra in Western Iran, (Gen. E. von. Houtoum-Schinider, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London: 1897, p. 28).
54. Temple of Artemis Soteiras at Failaka in Persian Gulf. Kristian Jeppesen, "Hellenistic Fortress of Ikaros,-Persian Gulf". *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures peripheriques, 8me Congress Internationale d'Archeologie Classique-1963* (Paris: 1965), pp. 541-544, pl. 136, and P. Bernard. "Quatrieme Campagne de Fouilles a Ai Khanum (Bactrians)", *Comptes Rendus* (1969). p. 350, Fig. 2.
55. For examples of Ionic capitals at Warqa see Bernard Goldman, "The All-over Pattern in Mesopotamian Stucco-work", *Berytus* (1950-51), pp. 13-20. For those at Assur and Nesa, see Reuther. "Parthian Architecture", in: *A Survey of Persian Art*, (ed. A.U. Pope), Vol. I, p. 416, Fig. 94 and p. 444, fn. 2 respectively.
56. *Taxila I*, p. 366 & III, Pl. 100 (b).
57. W.W. Tarn, op. cit., p. 361.
58. For examples of such models discovered at Taxila, see *Taxila I*, p. 161 and II, p. 460 (125), Pl., 135, h.h. For examples from Myrina, see Mollard-Besque. *Cat. raisonne des figurines et reliefe en terra quitte Greecs et Romains II. Myrina*, (Paris: 1963), p. 150, Pl. 187, a.b.c.
59. *Taxila II*, pp. 103-05
60. For all types of figural-capitals see E. von Mercklin, *Antike Figural-kapitelle*. (Berlin: 1962). Also see Carol Labranche, "The Greek Figural Capital", *Berytus*, XVI (1966), 77-78.
61. Th. Fyfe, op. cit., pp. 8, 148. 151, 152. Pl XXVIII, a b and Fig. 24.
62. *Taxila II*. pp. 699-728.
63. Marshall, *Guide*, pp. 22, 29-30.
64. Ainul Haq Farid Koti, "Wad-i-Sind men Yunani Tehzib key Asrat (Influence of Greek Culture in the Indus Valley)", *Daily Imroze*, Lahore: 10th February, 1963

5 FOUR UNIQUE TEMPLES AT TAXILA

Ever since the third century B.C. the region anciently known as Gandhara (modern Peshawar Valley) has been regarded as a veritable holy land of Buddhism. In this region and within its cultural periphery, Buddhist sculptures have turned out in such a great profusion and Buddhist monasteries have been excavated in such a great number that scholars in the past closed their eyes on anything else that could have existed here contemporaneously. Many scholars have tried to trace out Western (Greek or Roman) influence on the art of this region and period and that is all. If anything else came in their way, they brushed it aside as trifle or digressive. The case of four temples under study is a typical example of such a behaviour.

Though much has been written on Taxila in general, but still many aspects of its history have never been told or have been told very briefly. No doubt, Taxila and Gandhara region became predominantly Buddhist during and after the reign of Asoka in the third century B.C., Buddhism got futher impetus when Kanishka transformed this religion into Mahayana creed and made it palpable for Western residents of this region. But what happened to Hinduism out of which Buddhism was born? What happened to Zoroastrian religion which was prevalent at Taxila at the time of Alexander's invasion? What happened to the religion of the Greeks, Scythians, and Parthians who ruled Taxila one after the other? Even all the Kushans were not Buddhist officially.[1] This state of affairs was more natural. Not all the foreigners might have accepted Buddhism and definitely none did so just after his arrival in the region. Faiths die hard and one's own religion is always the last thing to part with. There are quite many literary references and monuments, and antiquities as well, which indicate the presence at Taxila of certain creeds other than Mahayana Buddhism. For example, the historians of Alexander observed at Taxila the rites of exposing dead bodies to vultures[2] which pre-supposes the existence of Mazdean religion or fire worshippers. Similarly, Philostratus tells us that Apollonius of Tyana, the Magician-saint from Syria, visited a temple of Sun-worship[3] in Taxila. The king of Taxila at that time (42 A.D.) was also

a sun-worshipper. Fa-hsien, the Chinese traveller, visiting Gandhara and Taxila in the early 5th century A.D., observed that majority of the monastic establishments professed Hinayana creed.[4] Only one among the Greek rulers — Menander by name — claimed to have been converted to Buddhism.[5] The rest, along with the common Greek folks, appear to have continued to profess their ancestral heathenish religion as is evident form their coinage.[6]

Coming to the monuments and antiquities, the evidence, though insufficient, is not lacking entirely. A great number of terracotta plaques[7] discovered from Bhir Mound (Taxila II) representing seated or standing male or female deities/couples, as also numerous votive tanks[8] obviously belong to Hindu religion and prove the existence of Hindus in this region. Similarly, numerous round toilet trays decorated mainly with religious themes, coming from Taxila and other sites,[9] stucco head of a Satyr,[10] figures of Cupid, Venus and Psyche,[11] head of Dionysos,[12] Demter,[13] Victory (Nike)[14] etc., indicate the presence of Greek religion. Similarly, discovery of a statue of Harpocrates,[15] an Assyrian seal[16] and a statue of Surya[17] also point towards the same direction i.e. existence of religions other than Buddhism.

In respect of architecture, the evidence is not so abundant. There are a few buildings at Taxila[18] and one each at Manikyala[19] and Chanaka Dheri[20] which were definitely not Buddhist. The account of four temples discussed here, also tells this untold story of persistence of some foreign faiths which at present can be explained only in terms of architectural remains. An early identification of non-Buddhist elements in the life of this area will help us in determining the cosmopolitan character of the city of Taxila. The four temples under study here, were meant as shown below to cater the creeds of some foreigners — Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and/or Kushans. These monuments are usually known as Jandial 'C' Temple, Jandial 'D' Vihar, Shrine 'A' and Shrine 'B'. But, here I have designated them as Greek Temple at Jandial 'C', Temple at Jandial 'D', Mohra Maliaran Temple and Tamra Nullah Temple respectively. The first one was excavated in 1912-13 whereas all others were exposed more than hundred and fifteen years ago by Sir Alexander Cunningham. Today, no vestige of the last two temples, except one restored Ionic column and two Ionic bases preserved in the Lahore Museum, remains on the sites.

These four monuments were located at three different points in the neighbourhood of the Graeco-Parthian city of Taxila locally called Sirkap

(Fig. 13). Two of them, Jandial 'C' and 'D' stand in front of the northern gateway of Sirkap and just outside the northern boundary of Kacha Kot.[21] The third building (Tamra Nullah Temple) stands at a distance of some 100 metres to the west of the above two but across Tamra. It almost faces the north-western corner of the Sirkap city and thus practically stands in front of it. The fourth one (Mohra Maliaran Temple) was some 1500 metres exactly to the west of the N.W. corner of the Sirkap city but again across the Tamra Nullah and some 610 metres north of the present day village of Mohra Maliaran.

By dint of their isolated positions, independent structures and special architectural features of plans, all of them are definitely religious buildings or temples. The former two (Jandial 'C' and 'D') face towards south whereas latter two face east. Only one of them (Tamra Nullah Temple) does not face towards the city. However, all of them are on the pheriphery of Kacha Kot of Taxila.

Greek Temple at Jandial 'C'

Some 230 metres north of the northern wall of Kacha Kot is a small hamlet of Jandial or Jandialan. Tamra Nullah and Lundi Nullah come closest to each other near this point. Here on the west of Jandial hamlet is a group of two monuments on mounds designated by Marshall as 'C' and 'D'. There are two more monuments (Jandial 'A' & 'B') further north which, being purely Buddhist, do not concern us here (Fig. 13). The two monuments at Jandial 'C' and 'D' are problematic. Both are built on artificial mounds — Jandial 'C' being 13.72 metres and Jandial 'D' only 8.8 metres high. It is said that the ancient road to Kashmir used to pass in between these two mounds.[22] A motorable road still passes through the two and connects Sirkap city with the newly established Engineering University and the Haro river beyond.[23]

For more than one reason the building on Mound 'C' (Fig. 14 & Pl. IX, 'J', a) is most widely discussed but still least understood monument of Gandhara. Situated some 640 metres north of the northern gateway of the Greek city of Taxila (Sirkap) and 230 metres outside the Kacha Kot, this temple of unmistakable Greek origin is the only one of its type ever discovered in Pakistan, India and Afghnistan. This temple rests on a mound which was 76 metres square at base and 7.63 metres above the southern field.[24] It was first summarily examined by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1863-64.[25] In the hope of hitting upon a great temple, Cunningham dug the

mound 3.6 metres deep. He met only 3 walls of different thicknesses. The breadth of the room between east and west walls was 8.5 metres. Cunningham also found a great quantity of ashes mixed with a flaky substance like crushed asbestos which led him rightly to conclude that the building was destroyed by fire. Amidst the ashes Cunningham discovered a solitary coin of Azes.

Sir John Marshall re-started work on this mound in 1912-13 and excavated the whole mound. However, the walls excavated by Cunningham proved to be actually the remnants of some medieval period structure. Marshall removed them without publishing any plan of this medieval period building.[26] Hence it is difficult to confirm the nature and character of these structures.

The temple, as exposed by Marshall, is an imposing structure measuring externally 48 x 26 metres. It has a pronaos, distyle in antis (porch), a naos (sanctuary), an opisthodomos (back-chamber or posticum of Romans) and all other characteristics of a Greek peripteral temple.[27] All around the temple there is a passage of uniform width but slightly wider on the front side (Fig. 14). In place of a Greek peristyle here is a continuous wall pierced at regular intervals with window opening — 8 on east, 8 on west and 4 on the north (Pl. IX, b). As was normal in classical temples (Erechtheum at Athens and Temple of Apollo at Corinthos, for example),[28] the opisthodomos is entered from a back door flanked by two engaged half columns (Pl. IX, c). Two broad flights of steps give access to a broader space (Pl. IX) which in Greek temples, like the Parthenon at Athens,[29] is occupied by another chamber called adyton. However, here it comprises of a solid mass with 6 metres deep foundation. The naos is narrowed by squeezing in the side walls which are here very massive. The raised platform 1.06 metres high and 2.5 metres wide) against the northern wall of the naos is of later date. But how much later, it is not certain. A moulding of the Greek cyma-recta type runs completely around the outside of both inner and outer walls, and around the interior of the naos. The dado in the naos is 1.8 metres high and is surmounted by a cornice of plain cavetto. The rubble masonry — same as that of the contemporary city (Sirkap) on the south was originally covered with stucco plaster.[30] Three different types of stones have been used in the construction of this temple: walls are of local lime stone, moulding of soft porus stone and columns of grey sandstone. The foundations of walls descend to a depth of 2.74 metres. The foundation of inner walls projects from .15 metres to .62 metres

beyond the face of the wall whereas in case of outer walls these project as much as 1.53 metres beyond their inner face.

There are four columns and two pilasters of Ionic Order (Pl. IX. a) on the front and two engaged columns and two pilasters on the back (Pl. 'J', b). Their bases are of pure Attico-asiatic type (Fig. 14). They were composed of massive blocks of grey Taraki or Kambial sandstone. The fluteless shafts of columns are turned on lathe and are ground down one upon the other in Greek manners by the process of anathyrosis and are further strengthened with a square dowel or 'polos'.[31] The capitals are of mature Ionic Order with egg-and-dart and reel-and-bead decorations set between volutes (Fig. 14 & Pl. 'J', b). The roof was probably flat though at least one scholar has suggested a vaulted one.[32] Entablature consisting of architrave, frieze and cornice, though of wood, appears to have been of Ionic Order as suggested by Mouchopoulos (Fig. 15).[33] As attested by the very few antiquities, mainly coming from the debris covering the main building, the temple appears to have had an extermely short life.

Among the antiquities only two — a local Taxilan coin and a domical bead of turquoise were recovered from the trenches sunk below the level of the temple. All others[34] — and those are also very few — come from the debris covering the ruins where they found their way subsequent to the destruction of the temple but, as Marshall emphasises,[35] before the later building discovered by Cunningham was erected. Coins alone, ranging from Azes to Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D), suggest that the ruins remained un-occupied for a long period before the medieval period building of Cunningham was built.

Ever since its discovery, the temple, its origin, date, cult etc. have been a matter of discussion. Antiquities from within the temple are practically nil and as such there is no clue to the mystery of its date and the specific dynasty or religion which it served. Sir John Marshall believed that the solid mass beyond the naos originally rose into a tower some 12.20 metres (40 feet high) in the form of a ziggurat or 'Tower of Silence' on top of which used to burn the Eternal Fire of the Mazdean religion. This thesis of Marshall has generally been accepted by all without scrutiny. As regards the date of this temple, Marshall himself changed his opinion more than once but finally, in 1951, decided that the temple was built by the Bactrian Greeks in the 2nd century B.C.[36] Unfortunately, Marshall could never elaborate the grounds of his decision till his death in 1958. Majority of other scholars based their views on Marshall's earlier provisional opinion

and assigned this temple to Parthian period in the later part of 1st century B.C. or early 1st centure A.D. In all publications, therefore, the temple has been passed on uncritically as the Parthian Fire Temple. This needs revision. Most of the confusion as regards its date, function and ultimate source of its origin has resulted mainly from the fact that a few studies which have been devoted to this temple were based on some single aspect of it.[37]

The most distinctive features of this temple are its classical plan and the Ionic Order of its column. These we shall attend first.

As already remarked the resemblance of its plan to a Greek temple is striking. The only noticable difference is that at Taxila the adyton is replaced by a solid mass of masonry and its peripteral colonnade takes the form of a continuous wall pierced with huge windows. The solid mas behind the noas, of course, is unparallel in classical architecture but so too is Marshall's hypothetical tower in the whole history of the Fire Temples of Achaemenid or Parthian periods.[38] Godard has clearly shown that the combination of a fire sanctuary and a Fire Temple, as proposed at Taxila, never occurred well until the last part of the Parthian period[39] and there is hardly any possibility, as suggested by Hopkins,[40] that such combination occurred in this temple of Taxila. Besides, the Jandial Temple contains none of the peculiarities of a Fire Temple of Achaemenid, Parthian or Sassanian periods.[41] Such resemblances as an enclosed embularium of Archaemenid temple or the sanctum without any interior support are incidental and can be traced to more than one source.[42] Enclosed embularium, for example, can be traced back equally to Nabataen Syria (Temple of Ba'al Shamin and of Dushara at Sí) and to Egypt from new Kingdom down to Ptolemic age and Roman periods.[43] In classical architecture it is not altogether unrepresented. The chief peculiarity of Temple 'F' at Selinus (C. 560 B.C.) is the presence of a stone curtain-wall joining the 'pteron' columsn to about half their height[44] thus giving an impression of a semi-covered passage round the temple. The pseudo-peripteral temple of Zeus Olympios or the Temple of Giants at Akragas or Latin Agrigetum (c. 480 B.C.) had also the pteron columns engaged in a continuous curtain-wall.[45] The columns of this temple are half engaged, appended to the outside of the wall and have moulded bases of Attico-asiatic type.

By quoting these examples I do not mean to propose that this singular feature of Jandial Temple is derived from classical rather than

Iranian or Syrian architecture, as suggested by Schaefer.[46] Indeed the tradition of a covered passage or embularium is more deep rooted in South Asia than anywhere else and Hopkins has rightly suggested that the tradition has travelled from the East to West than vice versa.[47] To me the particular feature of the Jandial Temple appears to be more due to technical and geographically reasons than merely because of borrowing from this or that source. Not only that an open peripteros would have been quite incongruous amongst the otherwise typical oriental buildings at Taxila but quite uncomfortable in the chilling winters and hot summers. Besides, it was impossible to obtain in the locality some stone suitable for large columns. Moreover, during Hellenistic times there was already a tendency to dispense with open colonnades till the Romans discarded them absolutely as early as 1st century B.C.[48] Even as early as 421-407 B.C., we find a classical temple (Erectheum at Athens) without any peristyle. This shows that the closed peribolos of Jandial Temple should not be regarded as an evidence essentially of non-classical source of this temple. The Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Phigalea),[49] Temple of Olympian Zeus at Akragas,[50] Temple 'G' at Selinus,[51] Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea,[52] Temple of Apollo at Didyma[53] etc., show how at times a classical architect introduced a revolutionary plan and changed some of the otherwise accepted classical norms to his taste or suit the local condition. Temple of Jandial may also be studied in this light.

H. Schaefer took special pains to show tht the source of this temple lies in the *'hilani'* type buildings of ancient Syria[54]. Indeed both of his major arguments--covered passage and a 'hilani' facade, are flimsy and uncovincing. We have already shown that covered passage is not the property of Syrian or Parthian traditions. The term *'hilani'*, as applied to the facade of this temple, is certainly, a misnomer and misleading. There were no rooms or towers on either side of the entrance. The room-like projections on the front were of later addition, incongruous with the original plan and as such were omitted when Marshall repaired the whole monument.[55] Similarly, there is no ground to support the supposition of Ugo Monneret de Villard that Jandial Temple had an Iwan facade.[56] The pseudo-peristyle runs even across the front and there is no evidence of tripple-arched entrance which is characteristic of an *'Iwan'* type building. His comparison with the Parthian sanctuary called peripteros of Assur,[57] shows, instead, more differences than similarities. It is interesting to note

that Ugo Monneret himself had strong doubts as to this building being a Fire Temple.[58]

The engaged half-colums at the back of this temple (P1. IX, c) are also quite frequent, though not very common, in the classical architecture. We see them in cellas of the Temple of Apollo Epikuris at Bassae,[59] Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea[60] and also on the back of the western wall of Erechtheum at Athens[61] etc.

Recently some more evidence has come to light. At Ai-Khanum the earliest Heroon of Kineas (330-303 B C.) displays the essentially Greek plan of a cella preceded by a pronaos with two supports in-antis[62] in exactly the same manner as at Jandial. What is more striking is the fact that the cella or the naos both of the Heroon of Kineas at Ai-Khanum and Jandial is made longer than broader by squeezing in the side walls. The full significance of this feature is difficult to judge at present, but the similarity is definitely more than mere accidental. Similarly, the side hall in the opisthodomos of Jandial Temple has its counterpart in two similar lobbies on either side of the cella of the Temple 'a redans' at Ai-Khanum.[63] The function of these lobbies in both the temples is also not known, but at Ai-Khanum, it makes the cella look much smaller than the pronaos. Incidentally, the earliest specimen of an Ionic capital in Bactria, Pakistan and India was also found in this temple[64] and the earliest use of anathyrosis and fluteless columns as well as Attico-asiatic bases is also known from Ai-Khanum.[65]

The second most distinguishing factor of this temple is the Ionic Order of its columns and bases (Fig. 14 & P1. 'J'). The Ionic Order is very rare in Pakistan, India and Afghanistan. At Taxila, only at four other places the use of Ionic Order is attested[66] — all later than Jandial example. East of Taxila no true Ionic capital has ever been discovered. The colossal capitals from Pataliputra and Sarnath (3rd century B.C.) have been regrded as quasi-Ionic[67] and one from Mathura is known only from a representation on a fragment of a sculpture.[68] From Barhut, Ionic volutes and abacus are represneted on top of a companiform capital.[69]

The Ionic Order was introduced in the East only after the establishment of Seleucid Empire. But the examples are far and few between and only in very rare cases these are really functional. The 3/4the engaged Ionic columns of Ishkewt-i-Qizqapan in Iraqi Kurdistan[70] are undated and show strong Persian influence. On the basis of comparison of dress of the figure near the altar in between two columns with a similar

figure on a Persian Mirror in the British Museum,[71] the monument of Qizqapan can be dated in the 3rd century B.C. The Ionic columns of Khurra Temple in Western Persia[72] were once rightly regarded by E. Herzfeld as the only structure of the Seleucid architecture in Iran and India.[73] Now we are fortunate in knowing at least two other examples of undisputed Seleucid origin: the Ionic columns from the sanctury of Soteira in recently discovered Greek colony of Failaka,[74] Ikaros of Arrian,[75] off Bahrain in the Persian Gulf and the Wooden Ionic Capital from Ai-Khanum[76] (Fig. 16, a).To these we must add the Ionic columns under discussion from Taxila. Incidentally these are the only few examples in these countries in which the Ionic columns and capitals are functional and not mere decorative. The few other fragmentary Ionic capitals in stone, marble or terracotta from Antioch,[77] numerous debased examples from various places in Northern Syria,[78] many fragmentary and complete examples in stucco from Warqa, Assur,[79] Nesa,[80] Hadda[81] etc., are decidedly of much later date and are too much debased in style and mostly have been used decoratively than architecturally. Especially the Syrian examples are nothing more than crude imitations of classical prototypes and always mixed up with other orders.[82] The Jandial Ionic capitals surpass these later examples both in technique and form. Even when we compare them with the earlier Selecuid examples from Qizqapan, Khurra and Ikaros (v.q.) and Ai-Khanum, the Jandial examples turn out to be much superior to them and closer to classical standard more than any other example known east of Asia Minor. The strong Persian influence on the Ionic columns of Ishkewt-i-Qizqapan has already been noted. Khurra columns, the only ones still standing complete, have been correctly regarded as an erroneous interpretation of Greek architectural norms.[83] The same remarks can be applied more truly to the Ionic columns and capitals of Ikaros (v.q.). In both cases the bases are unclassical, shafts are smooth and capitals are bad Ionic with very thin abacus. Second century B.C. wooden capital from Ai-Khanum is tolerably faithful copy of classical Ionic ones (v.q.). Unfortunately, in case of latter example the shafts and bases are missing but there is no doubt that these were fluteless and of Attico-asiatic type respectively.

Jandial Ionic capitals, on the other hand, are lively and more accurate. Only one capital has been preserved and even that is fragmentary (Fig. 14 & Pl. 'J', b), It is decorated with leave-and-dart and bead-and-reel patterns running between sensitively carved out volutes — motifs seldom

found elsewhere. Indeed, the Jandial capitals are the provincial and dry version of the Ionic capitals of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, Temple at Magnesia and the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene.[84] Rowland, while emphasising on the Parthian date of this temple, tried to establish Qizqapan and Khurra columns as the prototypes of Jandial columns.[85] This conclusion is hardly justifiable. As a matter of fact, he failed to establish a direct connection between the Iranian and Taxilan monuments which, according to his own chronology are separated by about 150 years. Moreover, to suppose that the too much Persianized examples of Iran and Iraq acted as a source of more classical examples of Taxila is to put a cart before the horse. Indeed, the plan of the Jandial Temple, comparative purity of the bases and 'cyma recta', mouldings, use of anathyrosis and square dowels etc. — all purely classical aspcets, take us one step further to regard the Jandial Temple more classical both in spirit and form than the Selcucid monuments mentioned above. Its date is without doubt anterior to Parthian period and must be regarded essentially belonging to the Greek supermacy at Taxila. Rowland, while suggesting Qizqapan and Khurra columns as prototype for Jandial columns, was under one clear disadvantage: he had no example before him in Afghanistan to show how this form of architecture reached the soil of Pakistan. Despite this, nobody ever doubted the presence of Greek architect in close touch with Attic school responsible for the construction of this monument and in the claim that this is the earliest example of the Helenistic art in India and Pakistan.[86] But the so-called "mirage of the Graeco-Bactrian art" long remained a strong deterrent in accepting a direct lineage for anything that looked classical, like the one under review. But the discovery of a true Hellenistic city at Ai-Khanum (v.q.) and a later Hellenistic temple at Surkh Kotal,[87] both right in the heart of Bactria, are gradually diluting this mirage and the Graeco-Bactrian art and architecture is now becoming a reality.

We have already observed many similarities between the cities of Taxila and Ai-Khanum. And in this particular case we have seen that the Attico-asiatic bases, essentially Greek plan, and the particular shape of the cella of the Jandial Temple have their immediate counterparts at Ai-Khanum[88] This clearly shows that the immediate source of this temple must be sought for in Bactria with specific reference to Ai-Khanum. The type must have been introduced at Taxila before the Greeks were finally ousted from Bactria somestime between 145-100 B.C. and as such the date of the Jandial Temple must be placed somewhere in the middle of the 2nd century

B.C. Its commanding position just in front of the main gate of the city indicates that perhaps Menander[89] gave order for its construction at the same time when he commenced the building of Taxila III in front of whose gate this temple was planned to stand like an eternal guard.[90] The date is confirmed indirectly by another fact as well : all the Ionic columns that we now know in the neighbourhood of Pakistan and which are used structurally and not merely decoratively, date from Seleucid period. Since the columns of Jandial Temple also belong to the same category it must be dated in approximately the same age. The Jandial Temple is essentially an example of the continuity of Bactrian art in the sub-continent. Its links with some classical monuments in Asia Minor and further west have already been noted. Resemblance of certain elements with some monuments in Iraq, Syria and elsewhere should not be studied in terms of 'parentage' but of 'descendants' from a common source and in terms of ecology.

From external we come to the internal evidence. In a study, based mainly on the internal evidence, Nazimuddin Ahmad has tried to show that the date of the Jandial temple cannot be earlier than Azes I (C. 57 B.C.).[91] His main arguments against the Greek origin of this temple are:

→ No Bactrian Greek king is known to have professed Zoroastrian religion;

→ No coin of Indo-Greek ruler was found from the temple;

→ The covered passage around the temple is un-Greek;

→ This temple and the nearby Mohra Maliaran Temple are contemporary; and

→ The presence of a stone slab with foot-prints of Buddha points towards 1st century B.C. and no earlier.

All these arguments are either negative or derivative and in themselves carry no weight. No doubt no Greek king is known to have professed Zoroastrianism but same is true about the Scythian kings. Even the Parthians, though fire worshippers, did not profess any official religion.[91] However, the Zoroastrian character of the temple itself is controversial and Nazimuddin Ahmad himself has accepted it with some reservation.[93] Ugo Monneret also regarded this identification as highly dubious.[94] Keeping in view the remarkable scarcity of finds of any kind from this temple,[95] absence of certain material or the solitary presence of some other cannot be

a sure judge for any drastic conclusion. The three coins of Azes I, on which Nazimuddin has dated the monument, have been clearly stated by Marshall to have been found, alongwith other antiquities "from the deep accumulation of debris covering the ruins into which they must have found their way at some time subseqent to the destruction of temple but before the later medieval building discovered by Cunningham was erected".[96] Thus it becomes clear that the temple was destroyed during or before the rule of Azes I and, possibly, it was after its destruction that Azes I built the new Mohra Maliaran Temple nearby.[97] We shall discuss in detail later on the relationship between Jandial Temple and Mohra Maliaran Temple. The question of covered passage has already been dealt with in full. The stone slab with Buddha's foot prints is obviously a later intrusion since time and again, it has been stressed that this building has nothing to do with any local religion — Jainism, Hinduism or Buddhism.[98]

This brings us to another puzzling question, i.e., for what religion it was meant? Marshall's identification of it as a Fire Temple has generally been accepted. Monneret's view has already been quoted. Rostovitzeff[99] and J.J. Modi[100] accepted the identification in principle but they too could hardly agree how to make it look like a Fire Temple. The real trouble lies in the fact that most of the scholars accepted Marshall's view without ever giving it a serious thought. Marshall himself could never offer a satisfactory solution for the combination of plan of a Greek Temple and the religious practice for which it was never meant originally. Call it an experiment? But, such experiments are expected only in a country where no former tradition of temple architecture for the same religion exists. Zoroastrianism at Taxila, on the other hand, was already at least five hundred years old by the time Parthians settled here- a fact amply attested by Alexandar's historians as well.[101] To think that for five hundred years Taxilans remained unaware of the form of a Fire Temple as approved by the Achaemenids (v.q.) and which practically remained unaltered during Parthian and Sassanian periods (v.q.) is simply absurd. Whole theory of a Fire Temple falls to the ground when we analyse Marshall's basic argument, i.e., a solid tower or a ziggurat for the Sacred Fire. Rostovtzeff (quoted above) rejects the idea of tower and Modi (quoted above) has his own objections on placing Sacred Fire on top of a tower, if ever there was any, in a city like Taxila. He regards the tower meant for nature-worship. Other technical details also forbid us to accept the idea of a tower. The height of the Ionic columns dispells this idea finally. Even if we accept the sturdiest of all the proportions known

between bottom and top of a column of an Ionic order, i.e., 1:8,[102] the total height of the facade of Jandial Temple, including the height of the columns and that of the entablature could not have been less than 12 to 13 metres.[103] Now the total height of the proposed tower has also been suggested as about 12 meters. Thus a tower surrounded on all sides with walls equal to its own height, makes it meaningless.

Thus it is clearly established that Jandial Temple dates back to the rule of Bactrian Greeks and, as originally planned, it had nothing to do with Zoroastrianism.[104] Having been built by the Greeks and most probably for the Greeks themselves, the temple was meant to display, in its naos, some statues of Hellenistic pantheon. Though with a different dates in mind, Rostovtzeff (v.q.) also suggested that the podium in the naos was meant for displaying sitting and reclining statues of gods. It appears that after the expiry of Greek rule, the temple lost its patrons, was abandoned and denuded systematically of all its decorations before the building finally collapsed which, according to Marshall, might have happend round about 20-30 A.D. When a great earthquake destroyed most of the buildings of the surrounding area.[105]

Marshall has identified Jandial Temple with the temple visited by Apollonius of Tyana in 44 A.D.[106] The identification has generally been accepted. But if the temple was destroyed in 20-30 A.D., as I am sure it did and as Marshall himself believes, then it cannot be the temple visited by Apollonius who arrived at Taxila in 44 A.D. Another inconsistency in Marshall's identification has rightly been pointed out by Ugo Monneret.[107] He has suggested that if Jandial Temple was a Fire Temple it cannot be the one described by Philostratus as containing reliefs depicting fight between Alexander and Porus.[108] What relation can there be between these reliefs and the fire-workshop and what, after all, any type of reliefs have to do in a Fire Temple? asks Ugo Monneret. To this subject we shall revert again when we deal with another temple nearby, i.e., Mohra Maliran Temple.

Our discussion of Jandial Temple has taken us a little too far, but I think it was necessary. This most important monument of the Hellenistic period in Pakistan was never studied in its real perspective. Some miscalculations in its dating and over-estimation of some of its particular aspects has relegated this monument to the position of a second rate monument essentially belonging to the Iranian world than the Hellenistic world.[109] Our brief study has removed most of these ambiguities and has given this unique temple its real place in history.

Jandial 'D' Temple (Fig. 19)

This, so far unidentified, temple is situated on a mound just some 61 metres west of the mound of Jandial 'C'. In between the two is an ancient road to Kashmir and Gandhara.[110] The heights of unexcavated mounds have been reported to be 13.72 m. and 8.8 m. of Jandial 'C' and Jandial 'D' respectively.[111] Like Jandial 'C' temple, the building on the top of Jandial 'D' also faces south and is oblong with longer sides stretching north-south. Front or southern lines of both are approximately in one line though actually Jandial 'D' mound heads towards north.

Eversince its discovery by Cunningham in 1862-63, this monument has been a puzzle for archaeologists. This confusion has been more confounded by the fact that it has never been properly excavated and that whatever has been excavated has been very poorly reported by stalward scholars like Cunningham and Marshall.

This mound was first excavated by Cunningham in 1862-63[112] but the plan exposed was published much later.[113] The excavated remains show a huge building with external dimensions measuring 55 x 34.75 m. as compared to 48 x 26 m. of Jandial 'C' Temple as described above. The building was an oblong one and was disposed of parallel to the nearby temple. Like its neighbouring building, it too was approached from the south where Cunningham reported a ruined flight of steps now totally obliterated. Cunningham's plan shows a criss-cross of six parallel walls running north to south and four running east to west. The ruined flight of steps leads through a broad opening into a spacious courtyard 32 x 17.68 m. broad. From the middle of the northern end of the courtyard, a door opens into an oblong hall 23.48 x 10.3 m. This hall apparently had only one entrance door but no window and ventilation. Flanking on either side of this hall were two corridors approached from the courtyard side only. Each corridor gave access to two suites, one consisting of two and other of three rooms on each side. It is difficult to explain the two blind rooms one each at the end of a corridor, and the blind oblong hall on the north of the main hall. The long narrow passage at the extreme north of the building, for all intents and purposes, was a verandah. The walls were recorded as 1.28 to 1.97 m. thick and rooms, apart from the Central Hall, measured from 2.80 to 4.54 m. in breadth.

Cunningham identified this huge building as a monastery attached to the great Temple (at Jandial 'C') nearby. Sir John Marshall excavated the Jandial 'C' Temple in 1912-13.[114] But he did not seem to have bothered

much about the still larger and outwaredly similar building just 61 metres west of it. He summarily dismissed it by saying that nothing of Cunningham's description remains on the mound except the foundation. This is both astonishing and surprising because the remains of this building, are not only still intact in its nucleus form but since then some more details have come to light as will be discussed anon.[115] During my six years stay in the Taxila Museum (1963-69), I had the occasion to visit this mound several times and was always surprised to see all these remains in a recognizable form in contravention of the statement of Sir John Marshall. Last time the site was visited by me on 6th May, 1980, and a fresh plan of the existing remains on this mound was drawn (Fig 19). The solid portion of the new plan marks the existing structures of the building. As is clear from the new drawing, it presents a consistent and coherent picture of a building measuring some 33.23 m. north-south and 23.77 m. east-west. The centre of the building consists of three oblong chambers of varied dimensions (Room Nos. 5, 6 and 7). This was probably the main sanctum or sanctuary. On all sides of this sanctum(?) the space has been further partitioned into two square rooms (Nos. 3 & 11) measuring 2.73 x 2.73 m each, two oblong rooms (Nos. 1 & 9) measuring 4.69 x 2.73 m each and two corridors (Nos. 2 & 10) measuring 18.63 x 2.73 m. each. On the southern side, it is 4.69 m deep and 10.52 m wide and was most probably used as entrance porch. The walls, as these are preserved today, measure mainly 1.97 m thick. Only the side walls of rooms Nos. 4 & 8 are somewhat thinner and measure 0.91 m thick. Nowhere the existing walls stand more than 1.21 m high. Only the longitudinal walls of room Nos. 5, 6 & 7 are standing upto the maximum height. All other walls can barely be traced out on the surface. Beyond this the mound falls abruptly. In room No. 6 there are positive signs that it was filled, fully or partially, with earth. The north-east and north-west corners still retain this earthfill to a considerable extent. Was this to give rise to a platform like the one believed to be in Jandial 'C' Temple?

On re-examining the site of Jandial 'D', I detected that two westernmost walls extend beyond room No. 3, Further investigations led me to find out traces of two more walls further east and west of the existing remains. But only the outer edges of the walls are preserved here and there. As such we cannot be sure about them unless some clearance work is done on this site. If these walls are added to the existing structure, it gives the monument a width of about 31.50 m against 34.53 m given by

Cunningham. No remnants of any wall further north and south can be traced out today. But when I added 17.57 m. or 58 feet to the south of the building as courtyard of Cunningham's drawing, the total length came out exactly to be the same, i.e., 181 feet or 54.83 m.. For this I conclude that actually all the outer-most walls including the massive courtyard of Cunningham's drawing have disapeared from the site due to errosion. However, my measurements provided a very narrow passage 19.39 m. wide between the two outer walls and thus hardly leaves any space for Cunningham's five rooms on each side. There are more discrepancies between my drawing and that of Cunningham : two chambers (1 & 9) and porch are missing from Cunningham's drawing. The cells 5, 6 & 7 which are positively there at present, have not been mentioned by Cunningham. Instead, Cunningham mentions here a huge hall (77′ x 34′). The room No. 12 is marked by two definite walls one each on the east and west, but it has been omitted by Cunningham, who, instead, shows a long verandah covering the whole breadh of the building on the north. Similarly, I could trace no door, no ruined flight of steps and no boundary wall of the courtyard as shown by Cunningham. All these appear to have been washed away with the passage of time.

Despite all these discrepancies, the building as it stands to-day, is essentially the same as shown by Cunningham — at least its nuclues is there. But why these discrepancies? These are as difficult to explain. Marshall mentions this building only casually.[116] Washing away of outer walls on all the four sides of the sloping mound is understandable. But what about the additional structure now visible on the site, especially in Room Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, & 7 (Cunningham's Hall of Statues) and No. 12. I think that like the neighbouring Jandial 'C' Temple, here too Cunningham could never reach the original levels and thus could not expose the original lay-out. He could uncover the lay-out of the same building as it existed in some later period. But how much late? It is difficult to ascertain. A second period or additions and alterations are also known from the Jandial 'C' Temple.[117] Why not here?

Whether what remains on the ground today is mere foundations or part of some superstructure, there is no doubt that on basis of masonry style in both the buildings, it is absolutely certain that both were contemporary to each other. In 1912, Marshall recovered from the debris of this building, two votive reliefs of terracotta each depicting a draped female deity and a seated female deity holding a bird; 157 beads of stone,

clay shell, faience etc., (129 of them found buried below the floor level of the building); 16 coins ranging from four Local Taxilan coins (Chaitya & Taurine type) to the coins of Azes I (2), Kadphises (1), Kanishka (5), Huvishka (1) Vasudeva (2) and Vakkadeva (1) etc.[118] Particularly the coins, recovered from Jandial 'D' cover the same time range as those from Jandial 'C'. This shows that both these buildings were constructed at the same time, had the same duration of life, were deserted at the same time and were subsenquently occupied in one or the other way uptil the time of later Hindu Shahi rulers namely Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) and Vakkadeva (903-921 A.D.) of Kashmir.

From this the natural corollary is that both the Jandial 'C' and Jandial 'D' monuments represent together a complete complex in themselves. Should we conjecture that building at 'D' represent essentially a residential area for the priests of the Temple at 'C'? The suggestion appears to be quite plausible one but difficult to accept. The plan of the building at 'D' in all its essentials is the same as that of the main temple nearby. Besides, the lay-out of structure at 'D' is not that of a residential building. Moreover, in the entire religious world, particularly the Hellenistic West and the Orient to which the Jandial Temple belongs, the houses of 'gods' are always superior to the house of 'man' — even if the latter is caretaker of the temple. But here the building at Jandial 'D' is larger in size and more complex in lay-out than the one at 'C'. Moreover, it is unlike any house plan in the West and the East. Cunningham's four suites, two each on either side of the Central Hall would have meant just for four persons or priests. To build for four persons or priests a building larger than the temple which they looked after, is inconceivable. Therefore, I conclude that Jandial 'D' also represents a 'Temple' building and not house for priests. The central large hall, which Cunningham regards as Hall of Statues strongly supports this view. Now what cult did this Temple represent? It is difficult to say positively. Like its twin nearby, this temple too was systematically denuded of all its decorations before it was abondoned. The question still remains to be answered as to the necessity of building two colossal temples so close to each other? I venture to suggest that they were built by the Greeks of Taxila to serve two different sections of the Greek population professing their obeisance to two different deities of Greek pantheon. This practice of building two or more temples close to one another for the worship of one or more deities is not unknown in the Classical and Hellenstic world. The typical example is that of Acropolis, at Athens where atleast three major

temples namely Parthenon (488-480 B.C.), Erectheum (421-405 B.C.) and Temple of Nike Apteros (427-424 B.C.) are still standing in close proximity to one another. If this is accepted, it will easily explain another difficult question. Why both these temples were constructed and then deserted simultaneously? Obviously when the Greeks settled here in Sirkap and founded this new city, there were two sections among them. The king, in order to appease both of them constructed these two temples. But when, after due time, the Greek community in this city was supplanted in power and prestige by others, the new rulers and people abandoned the Greek temples as well. They denuded them systematically and buildt their own temples across the Tamra Nullah now called Mohra Maliaran Temple discussed below.

Ionic Temple at Mohra Maliaran

Another monument of a little later date also deserves our full attention. Cunningham calls it Ionic Vihara whereas Marshall names it as Shrine 'A'. This temple, which was once situated some 1500 metres exactly west of the north-western corner of Sirkap City and little to the north of Village Mohra Maliaran, was excavated some 125 years back.[119] It is situated across Tamra Nullah or ancient Tiberios Potamos. The mound on which the temple was once situated measured about 67 m. square. Here, on a raised platform, the temple itself measured 33.53 x 23.77 m) with a 4.51 m wide passage on all four sides (Fig. 17). Looking towards east, the temple consists of a projected porch supported on four columns, an entrance hall (11.97 x 4.77 m) with two side rooms (6.21 x 4.77 m) and a large oblong sanctuary (23.93 x 7.12 m) at the back. In the sanctum there was a raised bench or pedestal (1.21 x 2.42 m broad and 0.61 m high), running all along the four sides of the room and two columns in the centre. Many fragments of stucco sculptures along with considerable quantity of goldleaf were actually discovered in this hall. The statues were claimed to be those of Buddha but no photograph has ever appeared and no specimen can at present be located in any museum. Cunningtham has also conjectured that all around the temple was a roofed cloister or a colonnade. All the columns were of Ionic Order. The bases are of pure Attic type like those of the Erechteum in Athens. Attic shafts were smooth and abacus was very high. When first reported, these Ionic columns were hailed as "the first specimen of pure Greek architecture that has yet been discovered in the Punjab"[120] or "as correct as any that could be found in Greece or

Rome"[121] or "the oldest architectural remains of Hellenistic architecture in Gandhara"[122] Cunningham also described it as "the only instance in which any remains of the Ionic Order of Greek architecture have yet been found in India".[123] On the basis of a foundation deposit of 12 coins of Azes, this temple has been dated in the reign of Azes (circa 57 B.C.). This date has been generally accepted. Since these coins have never been published, it is difficult to know whether these belong to Azes I or II.

This temple, no donbt, belongs to the Ionic Order of Greek architecture. It has 6 Ionic columns with characteristic Attic bases and Ionic capitals.[124] But it is debased Ionic Order or a local version of the original.[125] The bases which are otherwise true Attic and as such have been compared by the excavator to those of Erectheum in Athens, have greater projection of the fillet immediately below the higher torus. Similarly, capitals are much inferior to Greek prototypes especially in the extreme height of their abacus. Volutes also differ consderably but present same side view of a usual Greek capital. However, all the bases of this temple were made of sand-stone and all the capitals and shafts were of porous stone locally called 'kanjur'. The entire unit was later plastered and probably gilded too.[126] One reconstructed column (P1. X, a) and two bases (P1. X, b) from this temple are now preserved in the Lahore Museum.

All the pillars had a lower diametre of 0.76 m. This, in usual proportion of 1 : 9 (9 lower diametres to one height of the column) will give the height of these columns some 6.10 m.[127]

What did these columns support? It is a puzzle. There is no evidence to suggest that these columns supported a gabled stone roof. If the roof was composed of beams and rafters of wood, then what was the function of these columns?

Since the temple faces east for admitting sufficient light in the sanctum, its roof must have been higher than that of the porch and adjoining rooms. This was necessary for provision of clerestory windows high up in the eastern and western walls. This in term will necessitate more height of the inner two columns than four outer ones. This will be true especially if we think that all these columns were supporting the roof. When Cunningham suggested that inner columns were shorter ones, perhaps he meant that atleast the inner columns never supported the roof proper. Instead, "the two inner pillars in the sanctum most probably supported a gorgeous canopy over the principal figure of Buddha, which would have been placed against the middle of the back wall"[128] This is

difficult to accept. Firstly, there is no concrete evidence to suggest that the statues of Buddha were there in the sanctum. Secondly, if some statues were there, there is nothing special for the main sculpture as conjectured by Cunningham. Thirdly, if two inner columns were used only to carry a canopy, what did the other four columns carry on top of them? Naturally, all the 6 columns are meant for one and the same purpose. I, therefore, dare to suggest that these columns carried on them a local version of Ionic entablature consisting of architrave, gables, anti-fixes etc in the same manner as suggested in case of Jandial Temple or something like the restored facade of Ba'al Shamin Temple. A temple with Ionic entablature having 33.50 m breadth and only 23.77 m length would have looked odd. But so were the defaced Ionic columns in the same temple.

This monument, which is the only one of its type in South Asia, also provides an important evidence as to the early date as proposed for the Greek Temple at Jandial 'C'. Not only that there is nothing common in the plans of the two temples, but also the only common factor Ionic columns i.e., show different technique, material and quality of work. Unlike Jandial 'C' Ionic columns, at Mohra Maliaran only the bases were made of sand-stone whereas capitals etc, are of soft porous stone. The columns as a whole must have been quite squatty in proportions. The capitals consist of a curiously under-cut and projecting echinus with Ionic scrolls attached on two faces of the blank like two discs without volutes. The abacus is quite high. The capitals were, however, finished with stucco plaster. This makes capitals of Mohra Maliaran Temple look considerably different from the Ionic capitals of Jandial 'C' Temple which are so near to the usual Greek type.[129] The use of stucco plasterning in connection with Ionic columns and capitals is especially associated with the Parthians whose temples, wherever fitted with columns, were provided with Ionic order in stucco plaster.[130] Our Ionic capitals from Mohra Maliaran Temple at once reminds us of so many examples of fragmentary and complete Ionic capitals in stucco, for example, found from Hadda, Nesa, Warqa, Assur etc., already quoted, all of Parthian period (from 1st cent. A.D. to 257 A.D.). The disc-like volutes without spirals, the projecting echinus and high abacus block have almost exact parallel in the stucco capitals from Assur.

The plan of Mohra Maliaran Temple is basically of *hilani* type of Mesopotamian origin which has a long history both in pre- and post-Parthian periods. The plan at once recalls to our mind many Nabatean temples of Syria such as Ba'al Shamin and Dushara at Si (22-13 B.C.) and

the sanctuary at Sahr (1st cent. A.D.).[131] The only major difference between the Nabatean temple at Si and that of Mohra Maliaran Temple is that the latter has only two columns in the sanctum instead of four and that the cella is oblong rather than square. It can also be compared with the Achaemenid temple at Susa[132] which possibly had acted as prototype for all these monuments including the colossal Fire Temple at Surkh Kotal.[133] The internal planning of Mohra Maliaran Temple is more appropriately comparable with the Temple of Artemis-Nanaia (42-32 B.C.) at Dura Europos,[134] and Temple 'a redans' (2nd. cent. B.C.) at Ai-Khanum[135] both of Mesopotamian origin. The only essential difference is that in the Mohra Malrian Temple the plan is completely reversed. Incidentally, the sanctum of the Temple *a redans* was also supported on two Ionic columns like that of Mohra Maliaran Temple.

As is evident from the use of stucco finished Ionic capitals, the plan too was introduced at Taxila by the Scytho-Parthian rulers. But whether they had some prototype close at hand to copy, lik the Temple *a redans*, or they brought it with them from Syria, is not certain. Keeping in view many things common between Taxila and Dura,[136] it is almost certain that the temple of Artemis-Nanaia of Dura, rather than Temple *a redans* of Ai-Khanum, acted as prototype for Mohra Maliaran Temple with which it is actually contemporary. It appears that after the Greek rule at Taxila was over, their national temples were also abandoned. Instead, the Scytho-Parthian rulers built their own temples according to plan which they brought with them from the West. Since the Parthian temples, wherever provided, were fixed with Ionic columns (v.q.), it is possible that for similar Ionic columns at Mohra Maliaran Temple or Shrine A, credit should go to the Scytho-Parthian rulers. The pure classical Ionic columns of Jandial 'C' Temple could hardly have acted as prototype. Since both Jandial 'C' Temple and Mohra Maliaran Temple, as judged by their size were monuments of national importance, it is absurd to think that these two temples of divergent plans and origins, having their columns built under different techniques and with different material, were the work of one age, one king and one architect as some scholars propose.

Basically both these temples were meant for the practice of two different cults, though it is difficult to know what precisely these cults were. In 1872-73, Cunningham proclaimed this temple to be a Buddhist Shrine of Ionic Order. On architectural grounds, the identification appears to be unconvincing.[137] However, confusion arises from the fact that a few

findings of stucco sculptures recovered from this temple have been positively identified by Cunningham as Buddhist.[138] But in the absence of any illustration of the material it is difficult to comment on the views of such a stalwart archaeologist of the subcontinent. There seems to be much weight in Marshall's reasoning that the few fragmentary sculptures discovered by Cunningham from Mohra Maliaran Temple or his Shrine 'A' essentially belong to some later period.[139] Originally, however, the temple might have been dedicated to some deity or deities from Asia Minor such a Artemis-Nania or Cybel as at Dura Europos and Ai.Khanum respectively or dedicated to the sun-god Helios, whose worship at Taxila in the first cent A.D. is amply attested by Philostratus.[140] This brings us to another important question. Which Temple at Taxila was visited by Apollonius of Tyana? The account of Apllonius' visit to Taxila has been described by his biographer Philostratus at length. The relevant portion concerning this temple is given below:

> They say they saw a temple in front of the walls a little less than a hundred feet in length and made of stone covered with stucco. Inside it there was a shrine comparatively small for such a large, many columned temple, but worth admiring. On every wall there are fixed bronze panels illustrating the deed of Alexander and Porus. On them, in orichalc, silver, gold and bronze, there are drawn elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets and shields, with spears, javelins and swords all in iron. A famous picture, for example one by Zeuxis, Polygnotus or Euphranor, is praised because the artists liked effects of shadow, vividness, and contrasts of emphasis ; and the same effects are apparently to be observed in these pictures where the materials are blended like colours. The purpose of the picture also pleased them. Porus had dedicated them after the death of the Macedonian, but even so the Macedonian is shown as the victor winning the wounded Porus over and giving him India after he had conquered it.[141]

Cunningham, almost more than hundred years ago, very timidly suggested this Ionic Temple to be the one visited by Apollonius of Tyana.[142] As already stated, Marshall took it for granted that the temple in question was at Jandial 'C' and other scholars simply followed him. To this we can add another contestant namely Jandial 'D' Temple. Some inconsistencies in Marshall's identification have already been pointed out.. This Capadocian traveller-saint visited Taxila in cirea 44 A.D.[143] and by this time Jandial 'C' Temple was already turned into ruins. Moreover, among the characteristics

of the temple visited by Apollonius, Jandial Temple shares only three : namely its position in front of the city wall, its sanctum being relatively longer and its walls finished with shell-like stucco. But these characteristics are equally shared by many other shrines which once stood outside the city wall, such as Jandial 'D' Temple Mohra Maliaran Temple and Tamra Nullah Temple, to be discussed below. On the other hand, length of Jandial 'C' Temple is 48 m and that of Jandial 'D' Temple even more (55.17 m) whereas length of the temple visited by Apollonius, has been recorded as about 30 m (a little less than 100 ft.). Unlike the description recorded in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana, Jandial Temple is not surrounded by a colonnade and there is no vestige of any sort of paintings or sculptured decorations within the temple. This proves once and for all that the temple visited by Apollonius could not have been that at Jandial 'C'. Our dating of this temple makes it rather impossible. There is no grain of truth in Marshall's identification. Jandial 'D' Temple also goes out of picture for this purpose because it is larger even than Jandial 'C' Temple. As already shown, Jandial 'C' and 'D' mounds bear on them two twin temples, stading side by side just 61 m. apart from each other. At least there were two large buildings close to each other. But Philostratus' account tells us about one building only. He does not mention the existence of another similar temple or an equally large building so close to the temple which Apollonius visited. This shows that by the time Apollonius and his companion Damis visited Taxila the Temples at Jandial 'C' and 'D' were no more existing. Otherwise he must not have failed to mention them together.

The main reason for Marshall's identification of Jandial 'C' Temple is its situation in front of the gateway of the city of Taxila. But Philostratus account does not guarantee it. The words used by him are "in front of the walls" (*teichous*) and not in front of the 'city', (*polis*) or 'in front of Gateway' (*pyle, pylon, eisodos* or *exothyra*) etc. The question is this : if not Jandial 'C' or 'D' temples which other temple outside Taxila II can have this claim? The only other temple which qualifies all these pre-requisites is Mohra Maliaran Temple under discussion. Like Jandial 'C' and 'D' temples, Mohra Maliaran Temple is also situated just in front of the walls of the city. Since the whole building was finished with stucco plastering including the Ionic columns, the description of *lithon kongchliaton* i.e., shell-like stone or stucco, applies better to Mohra Maliaran Temple than to Jandial 'C' Temple whose columns were left plain. Moreover, the maximum length of Mohra Maliaran Temple (33.53 m) is much closer to the one given by

Philostratus ("a little less than 30.48 m) than that of Jandial 'C' (48 m) or Jandial 'D' (55.17 m). Its naos is really quite large (24.087 x 7.167 m) as compared to that of Jandial (9 x 9 m), but its too much oblong look, further narrowed down by four metres due to raised platform on all sides, might have underscored it is size in the eyes of Apollonius and his companion Damis. The terrace outside was roofed like a cloister or colonnade which is in accordsance with the description of the exterior of the temple as "kai perikiona". If still some doubts remain regarding its identification that will be removed when we consider that Philostratus' description of colourful metal tablets depicting fight between Alexander the Great and Porus actually refer to the sculptured alto-relievos that were becoming popular at Taxila during the first century A.D. and were generally fixed to walls and were often richly gilded. A number of such fragmentary stucco sculptures were actually found both within and outside this temple. If Cunningham's identificatin of Mohrh Maliaran Temple as Buddhist has any weight (Buddhist/Jain stucco sculptures from the contemporary Apsidal Tempel in Taxila II[144] gives it some weight), then here we have a case of a classical motif adopted for some Buddhist story. Such adoptations are not un-known in Gandhara. The relief depicting Wooden Horse of Troy is a well known example.[145] It is possible that Apollonius mistook some Buddhist relief, possibly Mara's Attack, some of whose characters were always clad in Greek dress.[146] However, this matter cannot be discussed much because we are not absolutely sure what was actually found from Mohra Maliaran Temple. Nevertheless, it hardly bears any doubt that it was the Mohra Maliaran Temple and not Jandial Temple which was visited by Apollonius of Tyana in 44 A.D.

Tamra Nullah Temple

Another religious monument of unique plan is Marshall's Shrine B, and Cunningham's Tamra Nullah Vihar but here designated as Tamra Nullah Temple (Fig. 18). It was situated on the left bank of Tamra Nullah (locally known as Damarahi or Damrao) some 900 m north of the Ionic Temple at Mohra Maliaran just disucssed. Though excavated more than hundred years back,[147] the Shrine never got the attention of scholars which it deserves. It was located on top of a 4.88 m high and 61 m square mound. On top of this mound was a square enclosure on a platform (37.19 x 37.19 m) which encompasses the shrine proper (22.86 x 22.86 m) with its entrance looking east. Externally, the walls were relieved with four

buttresses and a central door on each face. None of the capitals or base of these pilasters was discovered. Internally, there were in all seven chambers and passages of different sizes all communicating with one another except the one entered from the back of western side. The sanctum, or what Cunningham calls the Hall of Statues (12.5 x 6.5 m) in the centre is entered through two doors from the long Entrance Hall (19.5 x 5.50 m) with a large image-niche set between two doors. In the cella there runs a continuous bench probably for images. The two corner rooms (5.8 x 2.8 m) on the western side were accessible through the narrow passage flanking the sanctum or cella. In between these rooms was another chamber (7.3 x 7.3 m) accessible only from the centre of the western wall. The purpose of this room is not clear. It is really an Opisthodomos probably used as a living room of the priest of the Temple, or the Temple-attendant. No statue or any minor antiquity has been reported from this Temple. As such its date, the religion it served etc., are problematic.

Having been square in plan and possessing four doors, one in centre of each wall, all the four sides of the Shrine present a uniform look externally. Each side presents a 22.72 m. feet wide facade of four massive pilasters and pierced with a door in the centre. Two corner pilasters of two adjoining walls join each other, thus giving rise to four (2.32 m.) corner towers or pavilions. Since neither any base nor capital of these pilasters has been discovered, I presume that these were not pilasters in the real sense of the word. Instead, these were buttresses giving both strength and beauty to the exterior of the Shrine by breaking monotony of about 22.72 m. wide face of each wall.

The plan of this Shrine is also unlike any we know in the subcontinent. With the exclusion of three western chambers of this Shrine, the plans of the Mohra Maliaran Temple and Tamra Nullah Temple are essentially the same, though inverted. In this respect the plan once again reminds us of the Temple of Artemis-Nanaia at Dura Europos (v.q.) and Temple 'a redans' at Ai-Khanum (v.q.). There is no clue as to how the roof of this Temple looked like. The idea of having a vaulted roof with a pointed arch over the sanctum and flat roofs on other chambers.[148] is purely hypothetical.

Some clue to its date is, however, provided by the comparative study of this temple. Buttressed exterior is the most dominant feature of this building. Buttresses provided at regular intervals on the exterior of temple walls originated in Al-Ubaid in 4th millennium B.C. and since then it

remained popular down to the Hellinistic age.[149] Mesopotamian temples continued to be distinguished from secular buildings by buttresses and recessed walls like those of Tamra Nullah Temple. The Temple of Ba'al Shamin (150 to 3rd cent. A D.) at Palmyra provides the best comparable external plan.[150] Another parallel nearer at home is provided by the recent discovery of a grand Fire Temple at Surkh Kotal whose heavily buttressed peribolos-wall of 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.[151] reminds us of the exterior of Tamra Nullah Temple. The internal disposition of this Shrine is, however, quite different from that of Surkh Kotal Temple. The former was neither a Fire temple as it has no comparable monument among Fire-temples of Parthian and Sasanian periods nor, on the same ground, it appears to have anything to do with any of the local religion — Hinduism or Jainism.

Cunningham has emphatically declared this Shrine to be a Buddhist Vihara. However, he gives no grounds for his identification. On the other hand, he compares his Hall of Statues or sanctum with two Jain Temples one each in the Fort of Gwaliar and the other in the deserted city of Buri Chanderi. It exists also in all the old Brahmanical temples at Jhalra, Patan..[152] But he gives no Buddhist parallel. With this argument, this Shrine, at best, can be identified as a Hindu or a Jaina Shrine but not a Buddhist one. Buddhist Viharas and other Buddhist monuments are too numerous at Taxila to be mistaken for identificatin. Not only at Taxila, but in whole Gandhara region and even in the entire Buddhist India, a Buddhist shrine with this plan is difficult to find.

The date of this temple can, however, be safely fixed somewhere in 2nd-3rd century A.D. It may be another variant of Kushan temples whose Pantheon include gods of all nationalities — oriental or occidental.[153] That this was the last of all the four monuments discussed above is apparent from the fact that it contains none of the Hellenistic features that we find at least in two other monuments.

All the four monuments described above are square or oblong in shape but internally all of them offer different plans. They were obviously temples for one creed or another. What these creeds were is difficult to prove on account of non-availability of supporting material other than the meagre architectural details. However, these were decidedy non-Buddhist. Buddhist architecture has a long history in this region. Even a lay-man in Taxila Valley can identify Buddhist chapel from any other building. These were also not Hindu temples as the Hindu temple took its concrete shape long after.[154] Whatever the local cults were there they had their temples

inside the city. The four temples under study here most probably represented the cults of the rulers — Greek, Scythian, Parthian and Kushan. These foreign rulers did not like to build their temples alongwith the temples of the local people. As such they pleased their gods by giving them prominence on the outer skirts of the city.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. If the deities appearing on Kushan coins can serve as an index, it shows that in their empire There were people professing a large variety of faiths such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Greek Pantheon, etc., there were also sunworshippers and believers in Mithraism.

1a. For Buddhist sects other than Mahayana sect in Gandhara see Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan, "Buddhism in Gandhara", Paper presented in the Pakistan-Japan Colloquium on: "Significance of Gandhara in Human History" held in Islamabad (Pakistan), from 5th-8th Sep. 1997.

2. Strabo, XV. c. 714: Aristobulus. Frag. 34 & *CHI*, I, pp. 415-16.

3. "They say there was also a shrine of the sun, with Ajax the elephant pasturing in it, and statues of Alexander in gold and others of Porus which were of dark bronze. The walls of the shrine were of red stone that had a golden sheen giving off a light like the sun's rays. The image itself was of mother-of-pearl, made in the symbolic shape that all barbarians use for their holy objects". *Philostratus*, Bk. II, 24.

4. H.A. Giles (Tr.), *The Travels of Fahsien (399-414 A.D.), Or Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, (Cambridge: 1923), pp. 11-12.

5. T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda, The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXV & XXXVI (Oxford: 1890).

6. *PMC*, pp. 9-87.

7. *Taxila I*, pp. 98-99 & II, p.440

8. *Taxila II*, pp. 463-465.

9. Infra, Chap. 7: Toilet Trays and Beginning of Hellenism in Gandhara.

10. *Taxila II*, pp. 517 (1).

11. Ibid., Pl. 186, (No. 418) & 190. (No.98).

12. Ibid., III, Pl. 209, (No. 21).

13. Ibid., III, Pl. 211, (No. 1).

14. Ibid., III, Pl. 217, (No.89).

15. Ibid., III, Pl. 186, (No. 417).

16. Ibid., III, Pl. 207, (No. S 1).

17. Ibid., III, Pl. 212, (No. 7).

18. Temples at mounds 'C' & 'D' at Jandial. Temple at Mohra Maliaran and one Temple at Tamra Nullah all discussed below.

19. So-called Blood-Stupa Vihara (*CSR*, XIV, p .3, Pl. III). It is not understood how Cunningham regarded the interior of this building as "similar in general arrangement to that of most of these Punjab Buddhist temples". This building presents the same functional problems as those offered by the two temples one

each at Mohra Maliaran and Tamra Nullah, discussed below.

20. *PkA*., No.5. 1968. pp. 144-145.
21. Kacha Kot is a mud-brick fortification outside the northern gateway of Sirkap city meant probably to provide place for safety and rest for travellers and traders alongwith their beasts of burden and merchandise for which there was no accommodation available within the city proper.
22. *Taxila I*, p. 222.
23. In ancient times a traveller coming from Kashmir used to cross the Haro River at Bhallar (hence Bhallar Stupa) and then proceed directly to Sirkap passing by two stupas at Jandial 'A' & 'B' and then through the passage between the temples at Jandial mounds 'C' & 'D'. A visitor from Pushkalavati across the Indus used to cross the Haro River somewhere above Hassan-abdal (Ancient Haro) and then proceed towards Taxila via Wah, Budho or via Hasanabdal, Pindi, Sri Kot etc., and then to Jandial and to Taxila (Sirkap). In all these cases, he was saved from the trouble of crossing Tamra Nullah. In any case, he would have passed through the gap between two mounds namely Jandial 'C' and 'D'. Alternately, a traveller after hitting Hasanabdal, could have crossed Tamra Nullah somewhere near Wah and then would have proceeded directly towards what is today Mohra Maliaran, then walked some 610 m. northward along side Tamra Nullah and then re-crossed it at a point where it makes a sharp bend towards west. Here the visitor could have found himself in front of mound 'C' and 'D' at Jandial and hence in front of the city of Taxila.
24. The original mound was only 7.63 m. high. But the un-excavated height, including the structures and debris measured 13.75 m. *ASI, A/R* 1912-13, p. 35.
25. *CSR*, II, p. 131.
26. *Taxila I*. pp 223-29, Pl. 44; *ASI, A/R* 1912-13, pp. 35-40, Pl. xxxiii-xxxv.
27. Also see supra, p. 60.
28. D.S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, (Cambridge: 1969), pp. 128-29, Fig. 54-55.
29. Ibid, p. 114, Fig. 49.
30. *Taxila I*, p. 223.
31. Several pieces of fluteless columns are lying scattered on the site ever since their excavations in 1912-13. Some of the pieces still retain the evidence of 'anathyrosis' and square holes for dowels (Pl. XI, d).
32. C. Hopkins, "The Parthian Temple." *Berytus*, VII, Fasc. I, 1942, p. 14. Marshall, however, opposes this idea. "Had it been sloping", writes Marshall, "tiles or metal plates must have been used to cover it, and some fragments of them would inevitably have been preserved amid the fallen debris." *Taxila I*, p. 224.
33. Drawing by Prof. Nik. Mouchopoulos in K.P. Sarandis' book: *Alexander the Great--From History to Thrill* (in Greek), (Athens: 1970), II, p. 207.
34. The few antiquities include: a colander bowl, a mould for iron mask, toy hut of applique ware, a stamp, all of pottery, terracotta figurines of a draped female, toy horse, rattles, head and bust of striking fine modelling, an unguent bottle, a claystone palette, a circular stand of green jasper, shell bangle, a stone slab with foot-prints, 18 beads of agate, carnelian, lapislazuli, shell, turquoise etc. Among coins these include: coins of local Taxila type (1), of Azes I (3), Azes II (4), Soter Megas (4), Kadphises I(3), Kadphises II (3), Kanishka (5), Huvishka (2), Vasudeva (4), Samantadeva (1) and Harsha of Kashmir (1).
35. *Taxila I*, p. 224.
36. *Taxila I*, p. 229 (Postscript).
37. B. Rowland, "Ionic Architecture in the East". *AJA*, XXI, 1935, pp. 489-96; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "The Iranian Temple of Taxila." *A Survey of Persian Art*, (New York: 1967), Vol. I, pp.445-448; H. Schaefer, "Two Gandhara

Temples and their Near Eastern Sources." *Jor. Of Or. Soc.* LXII, 1942, pp. 61-67: C. Hopkins, op. cit: pp. 1-18, Fig. 9 and Nazimuddin Ahmad. "A Fresh Study of the Fire Temple (?) at Taxila." *PkA*, No. 4, 1967, pp. 153-159.

38. Hopkins, op. cit. pp. 8-9 & 17.
39. Ibid., p. 9, fn. 27 & p. 15.
40. Ibid., p. 15.
41. O. Reuther, Friedrich Watch-moth and Rudolf Naumann on Parthian, Achaemenid and Sassanian Period respectively, in: *A Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. I. and Vol. XIX. Also C. Hopkins. op. cit., pp. 8-9.
42. H. Schaefer. op. cit., p. 62.
43. For examples see H. Schaefer. op. cit., p. 62.
44. D.S. Robertson. op. cit., p. 73. fig. 29 and A.W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture, (Baltimore: 1957). p. 112. Fig. 67, f.
45. Robertson. op. cit., pp. 123-124, Fig. 52 and Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 146-148, Figs. 85-86.
46. H. Schaefer. op. cit., p. 62. etc.
47. C .Hopkins. op. cit., p. 17. The Apsidal Temple in Sirkap (Taxila)—a Buddhist or Jaina Temple of First cent. B.C./ A.D.—and an embularium running round the temple. Shrine H at Dharmarajika also had an embularium dating back to 50 B.C.40. B.C. See *Taxila I*, pp. 247-48. Pl. 45, f.
48. Bruce Allsopp. *A History of Classical Architecture*, (London: 1965). p. 50.
49. D.S. Robertson, op cit., pp. 136-38. Fig. 58
50. Ibid., pp. 123-22,Fig 52.
51. Ibid., p. 86. Fig. 37
52. Ibid., pp. 142. Fig. 60.
53. Ibid., p. 152. Fig. 66.
54. H. Schaefer. op. cit.
55. While giving description of this Temple in his final report (*Taxila I*, pp. 223-229). Marshall ignores these so-called chambers altogether. These are not preserved on the site as it stands today.
56. Ugo Monneret. op. cit., p. 446.
57. Ibid., p. 446. Fig. 112.
58. Ibid., p. 448.
59. Helmet Berve and Gottfried. *Griechische Temple und Heiligtumer*, (Munchen: 1961) pp. 152, Pl. 92-95. Figs. 44-45.
60. Ibid., p. 154. Figs. 48-50.
61. Ibid., p. 182. Fig. 69, Pl. 22.
62. P. Bernard, "Ai Khanum on the Oxus.: A Hellenistic City in Central Asia", *Proc. BA*, LXII, 1967, p. 80. Pl. VIII: Ibid., Fouilles d'Ai Khanum, Cham-pagnes, 1965, 1966, 1967 & 1968, (Paris: 1973). I, pp. 86-88, 104; II, Plan 12.
63. Ibid., "Campagne de Fouilles 1969 a Ai Khanum en Afghanistan". *Camptes Rendus*. (Avril-Juine, 1970), pp. 317-337, Fig. II.
64. Measurements of this wooden Ionic Capital are: Abacus,-59 x 48.5 cm: principal face length, 61 cm: Lateral face 46 cm total height, 25 cm and Diameter Inferieur, 38.5 cm. See "Academie des Inscription et belles-letters", *Comptes Rendus*, (Juillet-October 1969), p. 350. n-I, Fig. 24.
65. P.Bbernard, "Ai Khanum on the Oxus". op. cit., pp. 78-79 & 142-145.
66. From Mohra Maliaran, *CSR*, Vol. V, pp. 78-79, Pl. xvii-xix: from Sirkap, *CSR*. Vol. II, pp. 128-129 & Vol. XIV, pp. 10-11: from Pippalan, *Taxila I*. p. 366, Pl. 98, b and from Dharamarjika: *ASI, AR*. 1934-35, p. 30).
67. L.A. Waddel, *A Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra, the Polibothra of the Greeks*. (Calcutta: 1903)). Pl. ii, p.17; J. Fergusson. *History of Indian and Eastern, Architecture*, (London: 1910). p. 207 and G. Combaz, *L'Inde et l' Orient Classique*,. (Paris: 1937), Pl. 10.
68. G.N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*. (Calcutta: 1920). p. 46. On a companiform capital are two lion's seated back-to-back. On top of it are two Ionic volutes and abacus. G. Combaz. op. cit., Pl. 9.
69. G. Combaz, op. cit., Pl. 9.
70. G.F. Edmonds, "A Tomb in Kurdistan". *Iraq*, I, 1934, pp. 183-192, Pl. xxiv-xxv. Fig. 2.

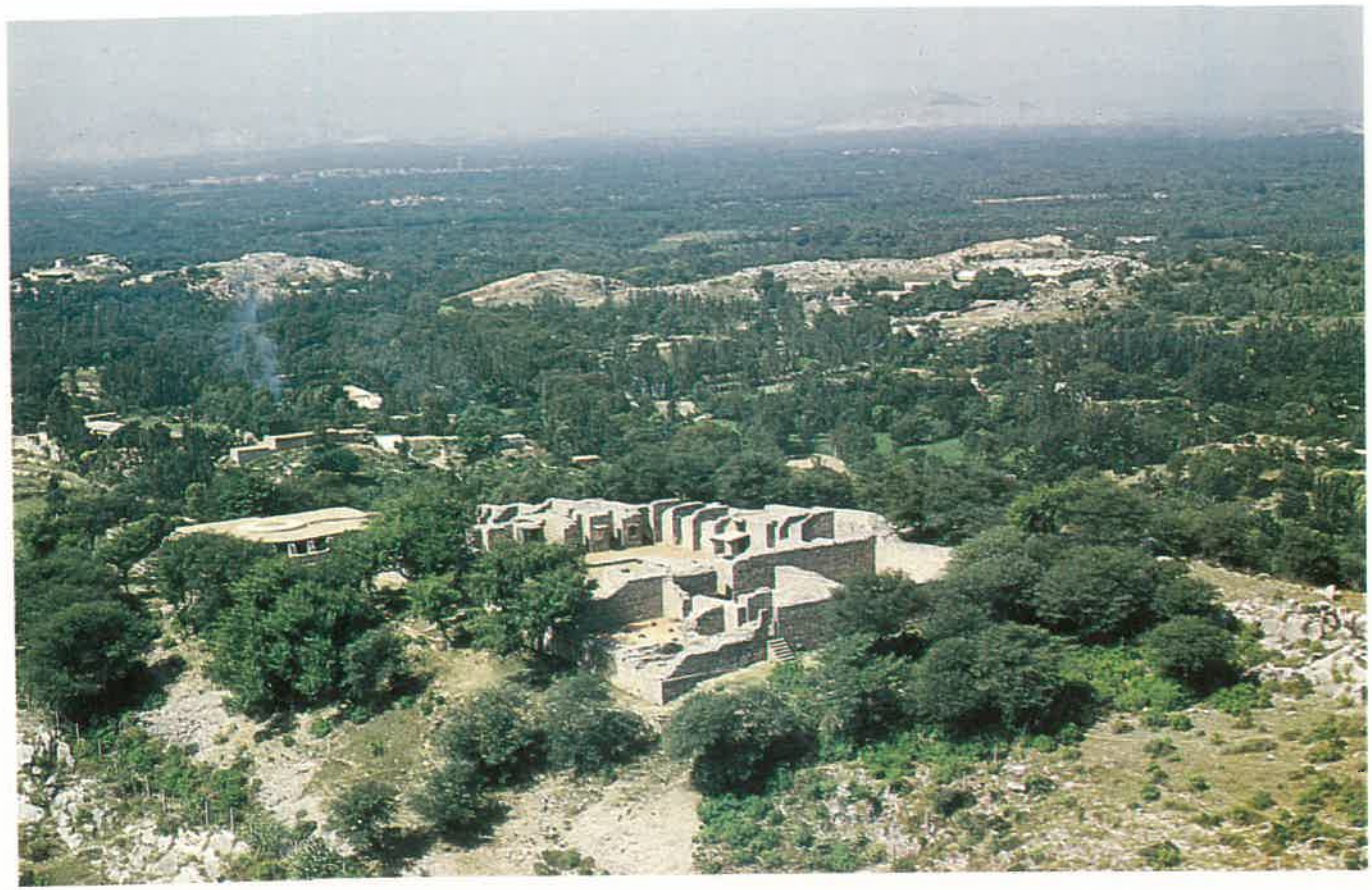
71. M.O. Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, (London: 1964), p. 119, No. 179, Figs. 35 & 74.
72. Gen. E. von Houtum Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, (London: 1897), pp. 98, ff and A.U. Pope, *A Survey of Persion Art*. Vol. VII, op. cit., P1, 129, a.
73. E. Herefeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, (Berlin: 1920), p. 32.
74. Kristian Jepenson. "Hellenistic Fortress of Ikaros-Persian Gulf." *Le ravonnement des civilisations Greque at Romaine sur les cultures peripheri-ques. Huitieme Congress Internatio-nale d'Archa-leogie classique-1963*, (Paris: 1965), pp. 541-554. P1. 136, Fig. I.
75. Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII, 20, 3-6.
76. P. Bernard, "Quatrime Campagne de Fouilles a Ai-Khanum (Bactriane)", *Comptes Rendus*, 1969, pp. 350, Fig. 24-25.
77. W.A, Campbell & E.W. Elderkin, *Antioch-on-Orontos*, II, pp. 84-88, Fig. 27, 33; and Ibid., I, pp. 150-60, P1. 37-38.
78. H.C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, II. (New York: 1904), p. 28 (Fig. 6), p. 41 (Fig. 81), pp. 122-123, 128, 172-173, 176, 232-33, (Fig. 106), 334-339, (Fig. 119), pp. 390-398.
79. O. Reuther, "Parthian Architecture", op. cit., p. 416, Fig. 98.
80. Ibid, p. 444, Fig. 2.
81. W. Simpson, "The Classical Influence on the Architecture of the Indus Region and Afghanistan", *JRIBA*, L. 3rd ser., 1894, p. 99, Fig. 6.
82. H.C. Butler. loc. cit.
83. E. Herzfeld, "Archaeological History of Iran", *Proc. BA*., 1934 (London: 1935), p. 51, P1. vi.
84. Berve and G. Gruben, op. cit., p. 245, Figs. 128-132 & p. 163, Fig. 147.
85. Rowland, *AJA*. XXXIX, 1935, pp. 49-94.
86. W.W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, XXII, 1902, p. 284; Ibid., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, (Cambridge: 1951) p. 360, and Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Pre-Muslim*, (Bombay: 1959), pp. 33-34.
87. D. Schlumberger, "Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India", *Proc. BA*. XLVII, 1961; Ibid., "Surkh Kotal: A Late Hellenistic Temple in Bactria", *Archaeology*, VI, 4, 1953, pp. 23-237; Ibid., "Le Temple de Surk Kotal Bactriane", *JA*, 1952, pp. 433-455; D. Schlumberger, Marc L. Berre and Gerard Fussman, "Surkh Kotal en Bactriane I. Les Temples", *Memoires DAFA*, Tome XXV, (Paris: 1983).
88. Beside, a wooden Ionic column from Ai Khanum has already been referred to. Prof. G. Fussman of France, has informed me that in 1974-75 another Ionic capital in stone was discovered at Ai Khanum.
89. I am of the opinion that the Greek City of Taxila was founded by Menander and not Demetrius as maintained by Sir John Marshall. For grounds of this assumption see Saifur Rahman Dar, *Hellenistic Elements in the Architecture of Taxila* (in Greek), (Salonica: 1973), pp. 77-80 & 151.
90. Ibid.
91. Nazimuddin Ahmad, "A Fresh Study of the Fire Temple (?) at Taxila", *PkA*., No. 4, 1967, pp. 153-59.
92. O. Reuther, "Parthian Architecture", op. cit., p. 439.
93. See the question mark (?) after the words 'Fire Temple' in the title of the article of Nazimuddin as referred to above.
94. Ugo Monneret, op.cit., p. 448.
95. *Taxila, I.*, pp. 224-25.
96. Ibid., p. 224.
97. Infra, p.p. 84-90.
98. Nazimuddin Ahmad, loc. cit.
99. In a personal letter dated 7th February, 1937, quoted by John Marshall in *Taxila I*, p. 226, Rostovtzeff compares this Temple with two temples at Uruk and another Parthian Temple at Seleu-cia i.e., "the Ziggurat at Opis" or the Square Parthian Tower (L. Waterman, *Tel Umar Report*, p. 75-78). The staircase at the

back he compares with similar staircase in the Temple at Palmyra leading to flat roof. The pedestal in the cella is compared by him with the one in the Temple of Adonis at Dura Europos where it was meant for statues. (M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura Europos*. Vol. VII-VIII, 1939, pp. 135-38, Fig. 43).

100. J.J. Modi: *Times of India*, 12 August, 1915.
101. Strabo, XV. I. 62.
102. R. Phene Spiers, The Orders of Architecture: *Greek, Roman and Italian* (5th ed. rev. & enl. London: 1926), p. 14. The standard proportion was I : 9. The Khurra column have the height equal to 11 diameters, (W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architec-ture of Ancient Greece*, London: 1950, p. 229).
103. From drawings, the diameter of Jandial 'C' Columns is about 1.22 m. This will give the column an approximate height of 9.76 m. Addition of Ionic entablature of three stages will make the total height of the facade about 12 to 13 m.
104. Nazimuddin Ahmad has compared this temple with the Fire Temple of Surkh Kotal (Nazimuddin Ahmad, op.cit.) but I fail to understand the grounds of his comparison. There is hardly anything common between the two. A time-gap of about 300 years makes the compari-son totally uncalled for.
105. *Taxila I*, p. 237.
106. *Taxila I*, p. 227, Also see fn. 141 below.
107. Ugo Monneret, op.cit., p. 448.
108. Philostratus, op.cit., oh. XX. Also see fn. 141 below.
109. C. Hopkins, "The Parthian Temple", op. cit., p. 14.
110. *CRS*, II, p. 120.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., pp. 131-32.
113. Ibid., XIV, p. II, Pl. VI.
114. *Taxila, I*, p. 228. For old and existing plans see Journel of Central Asia, Islamabad, III, 1, July 1980, pp. 131-132, figs. 10 & 11.
115. Such oversights about Taxila on the part of Sir John Marshall are now-a-days coming to light. A classical example of this is his pessimism about pre-historic sites at or around Taxila. But still in 1968, I, as Custodian, Taxila Museum, discovered the pre-historic site of Sarai Khola just about 2 to 3 kilometres from Bhir Mound. This further led to discoveries of more pre-historic sites in the neighbourhood of Taxila such as Jhang Batar, Pind Nausheri and Khanda. Now, a Kot-Dijian site has been discovered right inside the Sirkap city where Sir John Marshall and Sir Mortimer Wheeler excavated extensively. This Kot Dijian site is located on the south-western part of the Hathial ridge. see supra, pp. 6-7.
116. *Taxila I*, p. 228.
117. Ibid., I, p. 224 (podium in the cella).
118. Ibid., p. 229.
119. *CSR*, II, (Simla: 1871), (Rep. Varanasi: 1972), p. 129, Pl. XVII. *CSR*, V. (Rep.Varanasi: 1966), pp. 68-75, Pl. XVIII-XIX.
120. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 129.
121. J. Fergusson, op.cit., p. 218. Figs. 124-25.
122. V.A. Smith, "Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India", *JASB*, Pt. I, No. III, 1899, p. 116.
123. *CSR*, V, p. 69.
124. Before Cunningham excavated this temple in 1862-63, the villagers had discovered from here a complete base of a large sandstone column of .76 m. diam. The base itself measured 1.14 m. square and was .3 m. thick. Meanwhile, Delmerick discovered in this mound no less than four pillars. Still later, Cunningham himself discovered two pieces of a sand-stone pillar, each .53 m. diam. and .30 m. high. Two of these bases and one reconstructed Ionic column (Pl. X) are now on display in the Lahore Museum. See *CSR*, II. Pt. 129, fn. and Ibid., V, p. 190.

125. "……ruder and more primitive than any of the pure Greek examples". *CSR*, V, p. 70.
126. For gilding see *CSR*. V. p. 190.
127. The reconstructed Ionic column now preserved in Lahore Museum, mea-sures only 2.4 m high. Cunningham (*CSR*. V, p. 79) has suggested that the two Ionic columns in the saentum were shorter in height than the four in the porch.
128. *CSR*. V. p. 70.
129 *LAGBG*. I. p. 234.
130. C. Hopkins. *Berytus*. VII. 1942.
131. O. Reuther. *Parthian Architecture*. op. cit. pp. 437-39. Fig. 112. b: Hopkins. "Parthian Temple". op. cit., pp. 15-16, Fig. 10.
132. Marcel Dieulafoy. *L'Arcropole de Susa*. Vol. IV. (Paris: 1890). pp. 411, ff. Fig. 264.
133. D. Schlumberger. "L'Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane". *JA*. CCLII. 3, 1964, pp. 303-326, Fig. I: and Ibid, "The Excavations at Surkh Kotal". *Proc. BA*. XLVIII. 1961, p 92.
134. M.I. Rostovtzeff. *The Excava-tions at Dura Europos*. VI. 1936. pp. 396-411. Fig. 25, Pl. xiii.
135. P. Bernard. *Comptes Rendus*. 1970. p. 322, Fig. 11.
136. Saifur Rahman Dar. *Hellenistic Influence on the Architecture of Taxila*, op. cit., pp. 62-65. 75. 82,84. etc.
137. Taxila, in particular, and Gandhara in general, are the home of Buddhist architecture in this region. Dozen of Buddhist buildings in the Taxila Valley alone amply speak for what a Buddhist monument should look like here at Taxila or elsewhere in Gandhara.
138. "The plastic statues were all Buddhist, with curly hair, and hands in the lap or raised in the attitude of teaching" *CSR*, V. p. 70.
139. *Taxila I*, p. 9.
140. Philostratus. I. Bk. II. Chap., XXVI, XXXI. XXXIII. XXXVII & XXXVIII.
141. Translation is from C.P. Jones, *Philostratus' Life of Apollonius*, (Harmondsworth: 1970), p. 57.
142. *CSR*, II, p. 69.
143. Apollonius was a saint, magician and traveller from the remote city of Tyana in Cappadocia (Turkey). He raised the dead, healed the sick, and ascended bodily into heaven: This is what his biographer Philostratus affirms. His critics have labelled him as philosopher, a magician, a wizard and at times even a liar. Some schloras doubt if he ever visited Taxila alongwith his companion Damis. However, he has been usually accredited to have visited Taxila in 44 A.D. during the reign of Gondophares. Philostratus, however, records the name of the king as Phraotes. Sir John Marshall, the Exca-vator of the city of Taxila, regards Philostratus' account of Taxila as substantially accurate. *Taxila Guide*, pp. 28-30.
144. Taxila I, pp. 105-145 & II, pp. 513, 517-520.
145 *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, LXVI, 1946, pp, 21-33.
146. A. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*. (Sec. ed., London: 1965). p. 97, Fig. 48.
147. *CSR*, V. pp. 72-73, Pl. XIX.
148. Ibid., p. 73.
149. Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. (Rev. ed. London: 1958), pp. 3 & 9, Fig. 2-4.
150 *Jacques Vicari, Le Sanctuaire de Balshamin a Palmyr*. (Rome: 1969). II. Pl. X. XI. XIV. XV, XVII, XXXIII. and Th. Wiegand, *Palmyra*, op. cit., pp. 122-126, Figs. 154-159.
151 Schlumberger, Surkh Kotal, *Proc. BA*. XLVII (1961), pp. 86. 88, Figs. 3-5.
152. *CSR*., V, p. 73, fn.1 & 156, *Taxila I*. pp. 98-99.
153. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, (Harmondsworth: 1970). p. 124
154. *Taxila, I*, pp. 98-99

'A' Taxila Valley



General view from top of the Jaulian Hill.

'B' Sarai Khola (Taxila I)

General view of the site as seen in 1967.

'C' Hathial

General view of the Greek city of Taxila III showing prehistoric settlement at Hathial (left) and Greek acropolis (right).

'D' Bhir Mound (Taxila II)

General view of the city visited by Alexander the Great

'E' Sirkap (Taxila III)

Fortification showing berms between square bastions.

'F' Sirkap (Taxila III)

General view of the Greek city seen from the north.

'G' Sirkap (Taxila III)

General view of the Greek city seen from the south.

'H' Sirkap (Taxila III)

a. Shrine of the Double-headed Eagle.

b. Details of (a).

c. Details of (b).

'I' Kunala Stupa in the Greek City

It reminds the Greek legend of Hippolytus and Phaedra.

'J' Jandial

a. General view of the Greek Ionic temple in antis.

b. Volute of an Ionic capital.

c Áttico-Asiatic base of a pilaster.

'K' Sirsukh (Taxila IV)

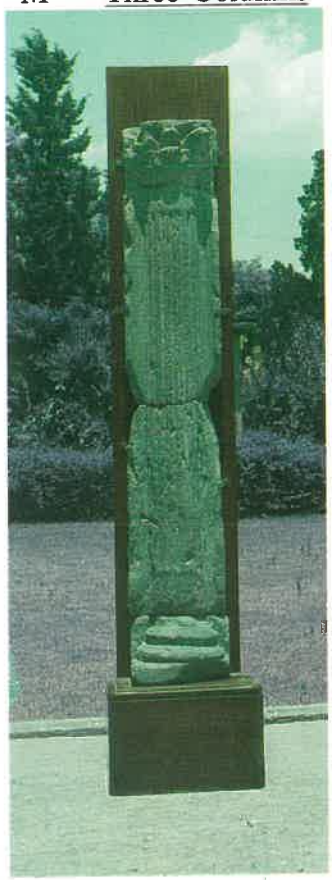
a. Fortification wall of the Kushan city with circular bastions.

b. Inner face of the above.

'L' Mohra Muradu

Panoramic view of the Buddhist stupa and monastery.

'M' Three Columns



a. Fluted Corinthian pilaster, phyllite, from Dharmarajika.

b. Pseudo-Corinthian capital, phyllite, from Dharmarajika.

c. Fluted column, terracotta, from Sirkap.

'N' Toilet Trays

a. Nereid with a baby riding a sea-monster, steatite, from Sirkap.

b. Scene of a Funeral Banquet, schist, from Sirkap.

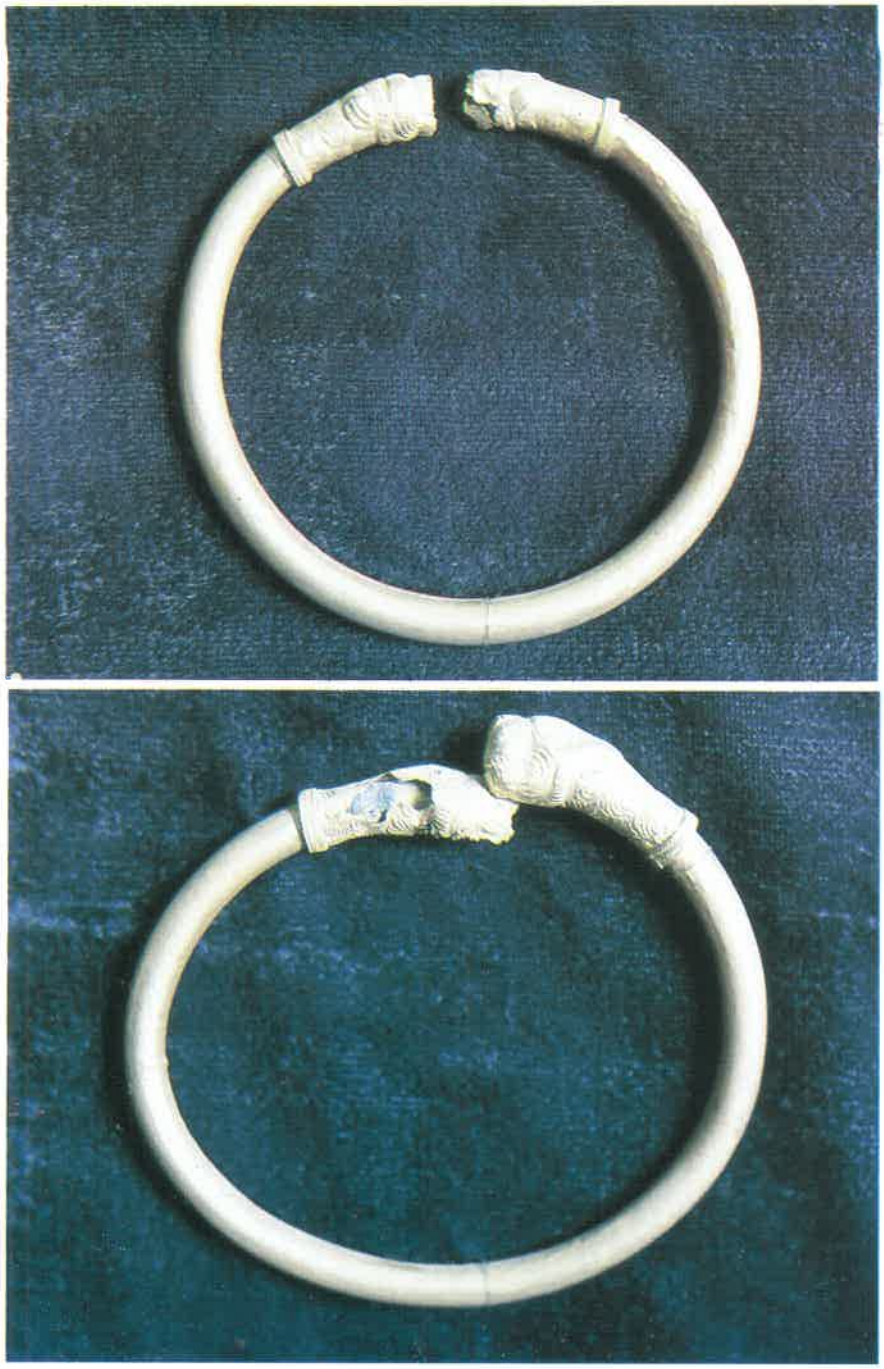
a. Mesomphalos, silver, from Sirkap.

b. A denarius of Augustus, from Dharmarajika.

a. Model showing jewellery worn by women in Gandhara.

b. Bust of a Sleeping Musician, phyllite, from Dharmarajika.

Gold bracelet studded with a semi-precious stone, from Sirkap.



A pair of gold armlet, lion-head terminals, from Sirkap.

A pair of gold ear-pendants decorated with a female bust and superb granulation work, from Sirkap.

a. Headless winged Nike wearing Greek dress, schist, from Dharmarajika.

b. A young man with a basket of flowers, stucco, from Jaulian.

a. Head of a *deva*, clay, from Kalawan.

b. Portrait head, unbaked clay, from Kalawan.

a&b. A headless female donor in round, slate stone, from Sirkap.

c. Miniature female Caryatid in round, schist, from Sirkap.

d. Part of the handle of a large *krater* adorned with head of Heracles, or Alexander, pottery, from, Bhir Mound.

a. A silver goblet. Part of a hoard from Sirkap.

b. A silver scent flask (aryballoi). From Sirkap.

c. A silver scent flask. From Sirkap.

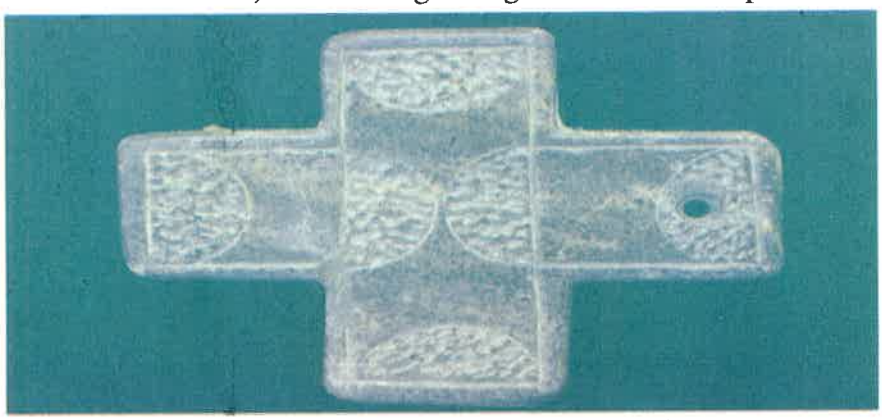
d. A glass bottle of green colour. From Sirkap.

e. Jug with narrow neck and handle at side. From Sirkap.

f. Incence burner, copper, from Sirkap.

a. Model of a light racing Parthian chariot, copper, from Sirkap.

b. Part of a copper and ivory flute (*aulos*) decorated with acanthus leaf, and a winged Pegasus. From Sirkap.



c. The so-called Taxila Cross now in the Lahore Cathedral.

6 NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE OF GRAECO-ROMAN INFLUENCE IN GANDHARA ART

The question whether the Western influence in Gandhara art is Greek or Roman is an old one. The problem is being debated ever since the discovery of this art in the 19th century. Opinions of scholars have been sharply divided: Cunningham, Grunwedel, Burgess, Foucher, Marshall, Schlumberger etc., regard Greek art as the main source of Gandhara art; whereas Smith, Wheeler, Soper, Rowland, Buchthal etc; give credit for the same to Roman art. Another class of writers, mostly Indians, totally disregard this art as being intrusive and disainful.

Gandhara Art is usually represented by a huge class of sculptures in stone, stucco and clay. This sculptural wealth has reached us mostly through unscientific excavations and unrecorded sources. Other facets of this art are usually ignored or taken out of contexts and interpreted to suit ones own predilections.

Actually, Gandhara art represents an age and its sculptures represent only one facet of a complex civilization which arose under different, often diametrically opposed cultural strains emanating from different directions. Its other facets may not be so fascinating but, as far as the question of sources of Gandhara art is concerned, these are equally important. At times they provide better information than sculptures. A study of this art from architectural point of view (Supra, pp. 37-38, 53-65) has given us extraoridinary results. Here we shall study this question with regard to numismatic evidence.

The Greek influence on the coins of the Indusland, that is now Pakistan, is too well-known to be treated at length here: it was extensive and prolonged.[1] There are now several monumental works available for the study of this subject.[2]. Suffice it here to say that the credit for introducing proper coinage in Pakistan and India goes to the Greeks. The custom of putting portraits of the rulers, their names and epithets, bilingual inscriptions, figures of deities etc., all owe to them. The Greek coins

greatly influenced the coins of many succeeding dynasties such as Parthians, Scythians and Kushans, who always retained on their coins Greek titles and Greek script of varying qualities.

The appearance and disappearance of Roman coins in Pakistan and India, on the other hand, is linked up with the rise and fall of the Roman Empire in the West (1st cent. B.C. to the 5th cent. A.D.). Roman coins have been found in abundance at many places in some districts of South and Central India (Coimbatore, Banglore, Trichnopoly, Cannanore, Madura, Kistna, Ganjam, Guddapah, Surat, Khandesh, Tranvancore etc.) and some places in Ceylon.[3] Wheeler has traced out in all 69 findspots of Roman coins in Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Among them 13 are in Ceylon, 44 in South India, 6 in North India, 4 near Taxila in Pakistan and only two in Afghanistan.[4] [See chart below].

In South India, the greatest quantity of Roman coins has come from places along the Coromandal Coast and in Coimbatore and Madura districts. A full account of Roman coins found in Southern India will be out of place here. To have an idea of the extent of Roman coins in Southern India, it will suffice to show that coins pertaining to one period only, i.e., up to 68 A.D. number 612 in gold and 1187 in silver, excluding, however, collections mentioned vaguely such as 'a five cooly loads of gold coins dug up in Cannanore', 'about 50 found in an earthern pot', 'a find of 163', 'some thousands' etc.[5]

Roman Coins from Gandhara

As compared to such a great number, the recorded yield of Roman coins in Gandhara does not exceed even the figure of one hundred. So far only the following Roman coins are recorded as having been found in Gandhara or in its cultural periphery.

Name	Date	Locality	Metal	Nos. of Coins
A. Roman Coins				
Late Consulate Period	31 B.C.	Site near Mansehra	Silver	5
Julius Caesar	59-44-B.C.	Manikyala & Mansehra	Silver	2
Brutus (Caesar's Murderer)	44 B.C.	Mansehra	Silver	1
Mark Antony	43-31 B.C.	Manikyala & Mansehra	Silver	2

Augustus	31 B.C. 14 A.D.	Manikyala(1), Taxila(1) (Pl. 'O', b) & Bedadi(1)	Silver	3
-do-	-do-.	Site near Mansehra	Silver	12
Tiberius	14-37 A.D.	Mansehra	Silver	2
Nero	54-68 A.D.	Purchased at Amritsar	Copper	1
Domitian	81-96 A.D.	Ahin Posh Stupa near Jalalabad	Gold	1
Trajan	98-117 A.D.	Ahin Posh Stupa	Gold	1
Hadrian	117-137 A.D.	Mansehra	Silver	1
-do-	-do-	Purchased at Amritsar	Copper	1
Julia Sabina, wife of Hadrian	117-137 A.D.	Ahin Posh Stupa,	Gold	1
Antoninus Pius and his wife	138-161 .A.D	Purchased at Rawalpindi	Gold	1
Unspecified	200 A.D.	Manikyala (bracelet)	Gold	5
Gallienus	253 .A.D	Purchased at Amritsar	Copper	1
Aurelian	270-275 A.D.	-do-	Copper	1
Probus	275-282 A.D.	-do-	Copper	1
Numerianus	282-284 A.D.	-do-	Copper	1
Diocletian	284-395 A.D.	-do-	Copper	1
Constantine I	306-337 A.D.	Manikyala?	Silver	1
-do-	-do-	Purchased at Amritsar	Copper	1
Crispus	305-323 A.D.	-do-	Copper	1
Licinius	305-324 A.D.	-do-	Copper	1
B. Byzantine Coins[7]				
Theodosius	371-395 A.D.	Hadda[7]	Gold	2
Marcianus	450-457 A.D.	One Hadda[7]	Gold	1
-do-	-do-	Purchased at Amritsar	Gold	1
Leo I., or	457-474 A.D.	Hadda[7]	Gold	2
Leo II	474 A.D.			
Zeno	474-491 A.D.	Purchased at Amritsar	Gold	1
Unidentified	----	Purchased at Amritsar(1895)	Copper	1
Unidentified	----	Purchased at Rawalpindi(1860)	Unspecified	Many
Unidentified	----	Site near Mansehra (1895)	Silver	Hoard & 55 pens.

Note: Fore detailes of discovery of these coins see fn. 6 below. Also see Chart 'A' at pp. 102-103.

Unfortunately the names of the Emperor or Emperors for five gold coins from Manikyala,[8] many Roman coins offered for sale in Rawalpindi in 1860,[8] and the remaining coins from Mansehra[10] could not be known. Similarly, six silver Roman coins obtained for Lahore Museum, three each in 1893 and 1895, have not yet been properly studied and identified.[11] These are the only Roman coins that I know ever having been recorded in the Punjab. There must have been many more which have been sold to other museums and private collectors for which we do not possess any information at present. In this connection Rodger's regret is worth quoting:

CHART-A
RECORDED ROMAN COINS DISCOVERED IN GANDHARA

Sr.No.	Site	Year	Founded by	Quantity	Period	Reference
1.	Ahin Posh Stupa Near Jalalabad (Afghanistan)	Feb: 1879	William Simpson.	Three gold coins	Domitian (1), Trajan (1) and Empress Julia Sabina Augusta Wife of Hadrian (1) together with 17 of Kadphises	Proc. A. S. B. 1879, pp. 78, 134, 208 JRAS. 1903, p. 34 & Warmington, op. cit., p. 300
2.	Manikyala Tope, Distt. Rawalpindi	1830	Capt. A. Court.	(a) Seven silver coins.	Kanishka and Huvishka (1). Julius Caesar. (1), Mark Antony (1). Augustus Constantine (?) Unidentified (3).	JASB, 11, 1834, pp. 559, 564, 645 and JRAS. XII (NS.) p. 264 C.S.R 11, 162.
				(b) Five gold coins strung on a bracelet of 200 A.D.	Not mentioned (5).	Ariana Antiqua, op. cit., pp. 15, 36. Prinsep, Essays, I, p. 48 and Proc. A.S.B. 1886, p. 86.
3.	Not known	1860	Offered for sale in Rawalpindi.	Many Roman coins strung on a gold wire.	Antoninus Pius, and his wife. The latest coin in the necklace was struck in 159 A.D.	Proc. A.S.B. 1886, pp. 86-89. C.S.R. 11, 148; and Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 21
4.	Mansehra, Distt. Hazara	About 1895	A great find of Roman denarri not far from Mansehra. Some secured for Lahore Museum. Remaining got into hands of dealers in Rawalpindi.	32 Silver denarii	Family coins of Consulate period: Julius Caesar (5), Mark Antony (1), Brutus (Caesar's Murderer) (1), Augustus (1), Tiberius (12), Hadrian (12).	"NC" 3rd. Ser. xix. 263; C.J. Rodgers. Catalogue of the Coins, Pt. III, p. iv. & Warmington, op. cit., p. 300.

Sr.No.	Site	Year	Founded by	Quantity	Period	Reference
5.	Hadda, near Jalalabad, Afghanistan	1989 (?)	Found in the Stupa No.10 at Hadda	5 gold coins of Byzantine Emperors.	Theodosius Marcian Leo (5).	JASB I. VIII. 1889. 1555.
6.	Naugram, near Peshawar	1901	Ph. Vogel	Two Seals.	Roman (2).	ASI, Punjab Circle, 1901-2.
7.	Taxila, Distt. Rawalpindi	----	Sir John Marshall.	One Silver denarius	Augustus (1).	Taxila, 1, p. 293, 830, 277, 293; II, p. 830. C.J. Rodgers.
8.	Not known	1895	C.J. Rodgers, now in the Lahore Museum, Lahore. (two purchased at Amritsar).	12 Roman, copper and two gold Byzantine coins.	**Roman Coins** Nero (1) (Amritsar) Unassigned (1)(Amritsar) Hadrian (with Greek inscription (1) Gallienus (1) Aurelianus (1) Probus (1) Numerianus (with Greek inspcrition) (2) Diocletian (with Greek inscription) (1) Constantine (1) Crispus (1) Licinius (1) **Byzantine Coins** Marcianus (1) Zeno (1).	C.J. Rodgers. Catalogue of the Coins, Pt. III, Calcutta: 1895, pp. 102-106.

> Had the Lahore Museum secured all the Roman coins which have been found in the Punjab. there would by this have been a famous collection. Unfortunately coins found in the Punjab are often sent to other museums first and the Lahore Museum gets what is left or no at all.[12]

The coins, so far identified, cover a long span of time from late Republican Period (1st cent. B.C.) down to fifth cent. A.D. when the main cultural centres of Gandhara art ceased to exist. Among the 55 coins enumerated above, 41 belong to 18 Roman, 7 to 4 Byzantine Emperors and 6 to unidentified rulers. All of the Byzantine coins are in gold. Among Roman Emperors, only 9 coins, one each of Domitian, Trajan, Julia Sabina, Antoninus Pius and 5 of unidentified ruler of 200 A.D. are in gold. Coins of Caesar, Brutus, Mark Antony, Augustus, and Tiberius are in silver.

Hadrian and Constantine each have one in silver and one in copper, whereas coins of all the remaining emperors, especially those dating after 200 A.D., are in copper. The silver coins are practically absent after 68 A.D. The greatest number of coins, however, belong to Augustus, (31 B.C.-14 A.D.) whose 15 silver coins are known from Manikyala, Mansehra and Taxila.

One thing is certain : the total absence of Roman coins prior to late Consulate period proves that the Romans did not enter into the field of Oriental trade until Julius Caesar conqured Alexandria in 47 B.C. In an illuminating study of Roman coins in India and Pakistan Robert Sewell[13] has identified the Roman areas of interests in Pakistan and India which shifted from one area to another according to the changing circumstances in Rome itself. According to him the most flourishing period of Roman trade with the East is from Augustus (31 B.C.) to the death of Nero in 68 A.D.[14] After Nero, Roman coins dwindled markedly. The extension of the Roman Empire into Asia under Augustus brought immeasurable wealth to Rome. The demand for Oriental luxuries — perfumes, unguents, personal ornaments, precious stones, muslin, ivory, spices, cotton, silk etc, increased. The discovery of the Etesian or Monsoon wind in the first century A.D. further facilitated this trade. 'Periplus' was written during this period (47 A.D.). Its author records that the Roman currency was exported to the marts of India.[15] Pliny, writing about 70 A.D., laments over the loss of Roman wealth for the oriental luxuries.[16] A cursory reading of the Periplus clearly shows how brisk and extensive was this trade with India

(see Chart 'B' at pp. 120-121). Belonging to this period of 127 years we have only 22 coins discovered in Gandhara. As compared to this, south India has yielded 612 gold coins and 1187 silver coins plus many other mentioned above belonging to the same period.

This extravagance on the part of Roman aristocracy in the procurement of oriental luxuries brought on a reaction by the emperors who succeeded Nero in 68 A.D. All Flavians, Antonines and other emperors till the death of Caracalla in 217 A.D., put restrains on this oriental trade. The items of export from India were confined, in the main, to articles of utility such as cotton and cotton products. Similarly, areas of contact were confined to cotton growing areas of Central India fed by Barygaza.[17] This period, which coincides with the last period of Gandhara art, has yielded only 6 coins in Gandhara. Thus the assertion of Rawlinson that "trade between India and Rome continued to thrive steadily during the second and third centuries A.D."[18] is contrary to all known historical evidence.

The period from the death of Caracalla in 217 A.D. till the division of the Roman Empire in 364 A.D. into East and West, was the worst. The most critical century in the history of Rome was the third century A.D. It was critical in economic, political, military as well as intellectual and moral spheres. The Empire all but collapsed in the face of internal strife and outside pressures.[19] In the words of Ernest Will: "Everywhere there were signs of this decay...By the end of the century it seems nothing will stop decay. One watches the world built by Greece crumbling away, the decay of Greek sensitivity, the death of its artistic vision, and we find no clear signs of an approaching spring".[20]

This decay was not confined to artistic activities. The commercial enterprises received equal set back. Trade practically ceased to exist. This was partly due to the rise of Sassanian power, partly due to troubles in Alexandria but mainly due to troubles at home (Rome) itself.[21] In Gandhara, only 10 coins — all (save one doubtful) in copper — have been discovered.

The division of the Roman Empire in 364 A.D. into two parts i.e., Eastern and Western gave a death blow to Rome's hegemony. In its place, however, Constantinople rose to pre-eminance by dent of its being the capital of the Eastern Roman empire in 376 A.D. It had both power and wealth. Belonging almost to Asia, the upper classes of this part once again became addicted to oriental luxuries through trade with India which once

again prospered. However, this time trade was confined to South India only where great numbers of Byzantine coins have been reported.[22] Out of the seven Byzantine coins known from Pakistan and Afghanistan, five were from one single place near Jalalabad, whereas the exact find-spots of the remaining two are not known. All are in gold which itself is a proof of prosperity of the Byzantine Empire.

The quantity of Roman and Byzantine coins found in Pakistan in gneral, and Gandhara in particular, stands in very poor contrast with those found in South India. It shows that quantitatively they followed the same pattern in South India as arrived at by R. Sewell. Nevertheless these few coins, together with other sporadic finds of Roman origin, could never have acted as a basis of formal commerce between the Roman and the Kushan Empires as B. Rowland will make us to believe.[23] I have no doubt that the few Roman coins found in Gandhara reached there from ports like Barygaza and Barbaricon. But these were nothing more than what straggled north-westward on the route which was casually used to bring down silk and skin from China, turquoise from Hindukush, lapislazuli from Badakhshan, anthracis from Magdalak near Kabul, beryls and asbestos from Punjab[24] etc. Had these coins reached from the West by land, we should have discovered at least some Roman coins west and north of Jalalabad in Afghanistan. All Roman coins, the exact finds spot of which are known, were discovered only from stupas where they appear to have been enshirned as 'curios'. That these coins were really stray objects in Gandhara is furher suggested by the fact that, whereas a few months excavations on a small Roman site of Arikamedu in South-India yielded a great amount of Mediterranean pottery such as Italian and red-glazed Arrentine ware, Rouletted ware, amphorae, intaglios, Roman lamps, Roman glass etc., and other Roman table wares, 21 years' prolonged excavations on one of the greatest cities of Indo-Pak subcontinent (Taxila) situated in the heart of Gandhara and on the Silk Route, have yielded only one single wine-jar, three or four fragments of western glass, one or two gems and a single Roman coin of Augustus[25] but not even a sherd of Arrentine table-ware, 'or a single Roman lamp'.

Sources of Kushan Gold

It has been often suggested that Roman gold coins are rare in the Kushan Empire because the Kushans collected and melted them in order to make their own.[26] Moreover, it has been suggested that Rome was the

main source of large quantities of gold needed for Kushan gold coins.[27] Historical facts however, do not support either of these assumptions. Firstly, if the gold coins were melted and restruck as Kushan coins, what about Roman silver denarii which were also imported? The unknown author of the 'Periplus' mentions that gold aurei and silver denarii were exchanged with native money at Barygaza.[28] Silver denarii are comparatively in slight majority both in south India and Gandhara. Kushans, on the other hand, never tried to establish a silver currency.[28a] But despite this, there is the same paucity of silver Roman coins as of gold or copper in Gandhara.

The source of Kushan gold has bothered scholars un-necessarily. The imaginary preponderance of Roman gold in the Kushan empire gives rise to many fanciful ideas. V.A. Smith wrote in 1903:

> Roman arts and ideas travelled with the stream of Roman gold, which flowed into the treasuries of the Rajas in payment for the silks, gems and spices of the Orient. During the Kushan period the Roman influence on India was at its height, and it is impossible to understand or tell aright the history of Kanishka without reference to that of Hadrian and his predecessors.[29]

Similarly, Rosenfield[30] laments the meagre gold resources of India and also rejects the possibility of availablity of Siberian gold, because, firstly, it was outside the Kushan Empire and, secondly, the Kushans did not have anything to offer in exchange. He assumes that the Roman gold coins in South India were their main source. This argument is very weak. All the South Indian centres where great quantities of Roman gold have been discovered also fall outside the frontiers of the Kushan Empire. His own reasoning limits the Kushan Empire considerably north of the Vindhya Hill, with Western Kshatraps of Kathiawar and Malwa not freely recognizing Kushan authority unless "coerced at time".[31] Kausambi was included in the Kushan Empire only "for a brief period of time".[32] We know from the Periplus that in about 47 A.D. the whole lower Sindh *(Scythia)* was being ruled by Parthians from their metropolis Minnagar.[33] Similarly, Ariake (*or Larike),* of which Barygaza near River Numnadios (*Narbada)* was the chief port, and Surastrene (*Surashtra*), formed the Kingdom of Mombaros.[34] It was the time when, the Kushans had just started to take root. The matter is a simple one. A Kushan gold coin, like a Roman aureus, was quite a big coin representing quote a considerable sum of money i.e., "about a month's

pay" according to Mac Dowall's reckoning "and would probably be exhcnaged principally in large scale commercial transactions by international traders".[35]

Therefore, I think that the number of Kushan gold coins could never have been so great. Moreover, there is no evidence to show that Siberian gold stopped reaching the hands of the Kushans — as perhaps it never did during the Bactrian, Parthian and Scythian periods. The rich collection of gold jewellery of the Parthian period from Taxila shows that the country was not destitute of gold supplies. Although 'India' had never been a major producer of the metal,[36] it did have its own sources.

One of the major sources of Indian gold was from wahsings on the upper Ganges, its tributries, upper gorges of the Indus River and some other rivers of the country[37] (Pl. XXIII, a). Strabo (XV. 2.57), quoting Megasthenes, says that rivers in India bring down gold-dust, a part of which is paid to the king. Curtius Rufus (VIII. ix) also informs that in India "gold is carried down by serval rivers". This is confirmed by earlier account of Herodotus (III, 106) who tells that part of the Indian gold is washed down by the streams and some dug out from earth. Unknown author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea[38] mentions the existence of one gold mine somewhere near the mouth of Ganges River where there was also in use a gold coin known as *Kaltis*. In ancient times the River Son, one of the tributaries of the Ganges was known as *Hiranyavaha* i.e., bearing gold.[39]

Besides this there were other local sources as well. Herodotus informs that the large quantity of ant-gold paid to Darius by the Indians as tribute was mainly obtained from the Thar desert.[40] According to Megasthenes, the ant-gold of India was obtained from the rich mines of Dardistan (Chitral).[41] According to Strabo (XV. 1.30) in the country of Sophytes i.e., the Salt Range, there were valuable mines of gold and silver.[42] Sifting of gold dust from sand or rivers is very very old because even in Mahabharta there are stories of ant-gold or *pipilika*.[43]

In certain ancient texts north eastern region of India is called "Kanaka" or the Gold Region.[44] Similarly, there was another 'Kanaka' or Gold Region in the western division i.e. in Aparanta in the Gulf of Cambay which may refer to imported gold from Omana, Arabia and Roman Empire.[45] Acording to Marshall, the Deccan, Madras and the Mysore had always been major sources of gold to the Punjab and Sind ever since the pre-historic times till modern times when Mysore alone was supplying some gold worth £ 2,000,000 annually.[46] The rivers of Tibet had also been

supplying gold,[47] and there must have been mines in ancient times. McCrindle is of the opinion that the legendary gold digging ants of the country of Dardas were actually the Tibetan miners.[48] Distant Sumatra, famous for its gold, must have been another source of gold supply to Saurashtra from where it was exported to Gandhara. There is hardly any doubt that the Chersonese (Gold Island) of Ptolemy,[49] Sonapranta (Auria Region) of Burmese documents and Suvarnabhumi (Gold-land) of Buddhist legends refer to Burma, Malaya, Sumatra or the entire area.[50] G.F. Hill includes even north Punjab amongst his sources of gold for Greek and Roman coins.[51]

Outside India and Pakistan too, there were may sources readily available for the supply of gold to Kushans in Gandhara. The "Gold Mountains" or the Altai Mountains, Obi and Yenisie systems of Rivers, Kusnetsk regions and countries of Lena and Amur in Siberia (Russia) had been best and major known sources of gold-dust or griffon-gold.[52] Though the gold-route and traffic from Siberia was, at times, interupted but, in antiquity it never stopped completely. In Gandhara, in the first cent. A.D., this supply was obtained either through Bactria or through difficult passes of Karakorum and Kashmir[53] (Pl. XXIII). In Eastern India, in the 1st cent. A.D., a good quantity of gold-dust was imported from Yunnan and the neighbouring provinces as a result of river-wahsings.[54] The gold mines of Aramenia and Colchis are also mentioned in this regard.[55] The Arabian Peninsula, especially western coast of the Persian Gulf has been in antiquity the greatest export centre of un-coined gold. Strabo mentions and applauds the great quantity of gold and silver which the Sabaeans and the Gerrhaei possessed.[56] Indeed we have clear reference in the Periplus regarding the import into India of Arabian gold: "both from Apologos and Ommana there were exported to Barygaza ... wine, dates in great quantity, and gold and slaves".[57] J. Kennedy regards the Arabian Peninsula as the only major source of gold for the Kushans.[58] Besides, the upper Oxus Valley is also said to yield some gold.[59]

This lengthy interlude is given just to show that Kushans had many sources, major and minor, from where they used to get their gold supplies. Their Empire was a large one and as such were its sources diverse. Roman gold, both bullion and coined if ever re-used by Kushans, would have formed only one among many such sources but never a major one — still less the only sources for Kushans. Thus when we consider all these sources

together, including some quantities of Roman gold as well, the myth of the Kushans' total dependence on Roman gold falls to the ground.

The 'popularity' of Roman coins in ancient India is attributed to various reasons.[60] For example, it is said that Roman coinage was the chief or almost sole medium of international commerce during the first three centuries A.D. Secondly, Roman coins became popular here, because there was no proper coinage in India, especially in the South and as a result of this Saka and Kushan monarchs initiated or restruck them.[61] But all these high claims cannot stand the test of scrutiny.

Confining ourselves to the subject of numismatic, we known that it is claimed that Kadphises used the portrait of Augustus on his coins[62] and that the Kushans struck their gold coins to the Roman standard because they wanted to compete with Roman aurei.[63] Wheeler even went so far as to assert that Kushan gold coins were in part restruck Roman aurei.[64] He further elaborates:

> The implication is that all Roman gold which could be recovered was absorbed by the Kushan Empire and thus regulated or reminted. and the all-powerful Kushans saw to it that such Roman gold as was admitted to their border states was removed by mutilation from possible rivalry as currency and relegated to use as bullion or ornament. The fact that most of this Roman gold is of first century date. whereas the Kushan Empire reached its prime in the second century. is readily explained by Roman exports restrictions from the latter part of the first century onwards and the consequence that little more than gold surviving in trade from the previous period was now in use.[65]

We have already shown that after Nero's death in 68 A.D. Roman commerce with South India and the Kushan Empire rapidly declined because of the austerities of Vespasian and his successors and it gradually declined, and almost sccumbed after the death of Caracalla in 217 A.D. Now, although it was Kujula Kadphises who is claimed to have copied the portrait of Augustus, and that Vima Kadphises was the first Kushan Emperor to start a gold coinage, the main power of the Kushans started under Kanishka in the 2nd century A.D. By then the Roman trade with India and Gandhara had already started dwindling. Thus there was no question of melting and restriking Roman coins or their being used as bullion. Similarly, there could not have been enough Roman aurei to impress and influence Kushan gold currency to that extent.

Head of Augustus on Kushan Coins

It has long since been observed that one of the copper coins of Kujula Kadphies bears a small head or bust copied from some Roman coin. Five such coins are in the Lahore Museum.[66] Though opinions vary, the consensus of opinion favours Augustus (31. B.C.-14 A.D.) as the prototype.[67] But this is not without chronological problems. Augustus died in 14 A.D. whereas the date of accession of Kaniskha[68] is usually as 128 or 144 A.D. If we accept the bust as that of Augustus, even if in his last days, we have to push back the chronology of Kushans considerably to or give more than 100 years to the rule of two kings, Kujula and Vima Kadphises. This is not at all probable. My own view is that the die-cutters of Kujula got fancy of some of Augustus coins then in circalation as bullion or as an ornament and used it for his master's coin. The type however was not favoured, because no other Kushan ruler copied it. The reverse of this coin shows king seated on a curule chair. This chair is definitely of western though not necessarily of Roman origin. The curule chair is known in Greek art and it must have been introduced in Pakistan by the Bactrian Greeks. A curule chair belonging to the Parthian period has actually been found at Taxila[69] (Fig. 25-26). The die-cutter could have adopted it from actual specimens current in his time. Morever, out of six types issued by Kujula Kadphises, the Roman bust appears only on one. Others have characteristically Greek figures on them such as Zeus, Hercules, winged Nike and a Macedonian soldier. Only one type has bull and Bactrian camel. Besides, he always used Greek and Kharoshti on his coins. Even if we take Augustus as the prototype on one of the coins it simply represents the liberal attitude of Kushan rulers in adopting anything that catches their fancy. Moreover, putting the bust of Roman king on one of many types does not necessarily mean a predominant Roman influence. We have an interesting parallel. The Sabaeans and Himyarites on the South West coast of Arabia and north of Arabia Eudaemon also put the head of Augustus on their coins[70] but, they ever remained the most substantial barrier to direct trade between Roman territory and India along the sea-route. Augustus' several military attempts under Aurelius Gallus failed to injur permanently the Himyarite power. The presence of the head of a Roman Emperor on some alien coin itself means nothing.

Weights and Denominations

The question of adoption of Roman weight standards is even more complicated. Smith says that the gold coins of Vima Kadphises agree exactly in weight with the aruei of the early Roman Empire.[71] MacDowall has tried to show that Kujula Kadphises, while issuing his bust-of-August-type coins, even adjusted the weight of his coin to that of the Roman silver denarius.[72] Gobl thinks that the Kushans cleverly adopted a gold dinar of Neronian standard.[73] E.J. Rapson[74] thinks that the gold coins of Vima Kadphises confirm to a weight standar adopted by Titus (79-81 A.D.). It is clear that there is no consensus of opinion as to when the Kushans adopted the Roman standard weight and which Roman coin acted as their prototype. The difference of time covers 65 to 112 years (from 31 B.C. to 81 A.D.) from Augustus to Titus. This inevitably leads us to another major problem. Those trying to establish relationship between Kujula and Augustus favour, per force, an early dating for the Kushan dynasty and those setting Titus as an example for Kujula favour a much late dating. Obviously, one of the two opinions is wrong — may be both? This I say, because now it is almost established that all earlier Kushan coins of Heraios, Kujula, Vima and Soter Megas were struck on the Indus-Greek standard south of the Hindu Kush.[75] All earlier Kushan die-cutters were Greeks both in Bactria[76] and in Kabul Valley.[77]

A little more than half a centuary back J. Kennedy proved how the Kushan standard weight remained unaltered, how the Roman standard weight of gold coin was in constant fluctuation, how the two coinages never bore any close approximation in their weights and thus, how "the Kushan coinage was based upon the Macedonian, the only alteration being that the weight of gold Stater was determined by the market value of the gold".[78] Fortunately, since then some more specialized studies on this subject are available to us which enable us to see the problem in its real perspective. MacDowall[79] and Rosenfield[80] have clearly shown how Kushan gold coins have no relationship with Roman aurei. The Kushan gold dinar has approximately the same size and weight as the Roman aureus — but here the resemblance ends. When we go into further details we see that there are more divergencies than similarities between the two. The Kushan gold coin was started by Vima Kadphises and for about 130 years afterward its standard weight remained fixed at about 123.2 English grains or about 8.00 grams as rough average. Contrary to this, the Roman standard weight of aurei was rarely stable. It reflects a gradual but

imperceptible decline in Roman standard. MacDowall, who based his studies on coins in the British Museum gives us the following table of declining, weight of Roman aurei.[81]

Table I: Weights of Roman Aurei (After MacDowall)

Ruler	Period	Weight	
Caesar to Mark Antonony	45-44 B.C. and 43-37 B.C.	In Grams 8.1	In Grains[82] 124.98
Augustus	36-37 B.C. 36-27 B.C. and 27-19 B.C. 19-12 B.C. 12-2 B.C. 2 B.C.-14 A.D.	 7.9 8.0 7.9 7.8	 121.90 123.44 121.90 120.35
Tiberius	14-37 A.D.	7.8	120.35
Gaius & Claudius	37-54 A.D.	7.7	118.81
Nero (Pre-reforms period	54-63 A.D.	7.6	117.27
Nero (Post-reforms period	64 A.D.	7.3	112.64

Domitian and Nerva (81-98 A.D.) tried to revert to Julio-Claudian standard of 7.8 grams but all subsequent emperors followed 7.3 grams as standard weight. J.M. Rosenfield[83] has arrived at approximately the same results. His delcining pattern of Roman aurei standard weight is as follows:

Table 2: Weights of Roman Aurei (After Rosenfield)

Name of the Ruler	Period	In Gram	In Grains[84]
Julius Caesar to Lepidus	60-44 B.C.	8.68	133.8
Triumvirate	43 B.C.	8.21	126.7
Augustus	31 B.C.-14 A.D.	7.82	120.7
		7.96	122.9
Nero (Post-reform period)	64 A.D.and after	7.39	114

This difference of 0.7 grams or 9.2 grains weight that existed between the Roman aureus and Kushan gold coin in 64 A.D. and ever-after is too big to

be explained in any way other than that both these coinages belong to two different worlds. As far our present studies go, it is not known if the Roman aureus was ever fixed at 123.2 grains, i.e. the same as that of Kushan gold coins. Even if we believe that the descending scale of the Roman aurei was definite and regular, the 123.2 grains weight must have been reached at sometime during the reign of the Triumvirate Rulers in 43 B.C. or at the latest during the early days of Augustus, i.e. last quarter of the Ist cent. B.C.[85] But no scholar has so far put the gold coins of Vima so early. The Roman denarii (silver coin) also saw the corresponding decrease in weight.[86]

Kushan gold coins differ from the Roman aurei in some other ways too. Whereas the latter never let the quality of gold decresae, the Kushan gold coins show a gradual but substantial loss of gold contents.[87] Similarly, the Kushans minted coins of such denominations which were unknown or were rare in the Roman Empire.[88] The Kushan authorities solved the econmic difficulties facing their coinage in a very different way them the Roman Emperors. They maintained their dinar at a constant weight but slightly reduced the gold contents as and when a need arose. Romans, on the other hand, maintained the quality of their gold but reduced weight of the coin as and when required. Thus it is clear enough that an exact parity betwen Roman aurei and Kushan gold coins was neither attempted nor ever intended. MacDowall has rightly observed:

> There would indeed have been no point anyhow in an exact parity between the Kushan and Roman gold denominations. They never seem to have circulated freely side by side in the same or even adjacent territories. and both coins represent quite a considerable sum of money — about a month's pay. and would probably be exchanged principally in large scale commercial transactions by international traders.[89]

Even in their copper coins, the Kushans followed the Greek and not Roman standard. Vima also introduced a large copper coin, which with their sub-divisions (half, quarter and 1/8) constituted a uniform copper coinage through out the Kushan territories. Each group struck to a remarkably close standard of 17, 8, 4 and 2 grams. MacDowall[90] has gone under great labour to show us as to how the larger copper issues (tetradrachm of his denomination) were struck on the Attic or Bactrian weight standard and how we can regard them as lineal denominational successors of a distinct silver series of the Indus-Greek kings struck on the Attic weight standard

with a tetradrachm of 17 grams. This clearly shows that thus the question of the standard weight of Kushan gold and copper coinage has nothing to do with that of corresponding Roman coinage.

The sources of different typological motifs (mostly figural) appearing on Kushan coins are also puzzling. Some of the obverses, (the bust-types, thigh-types,etc.), are influenced by Bactrian types.[91] The use of curule chair on Kujula Kadphise coin has already been discussed. The typological motifs are mainly iconographical. The obverses of most of the Kushan coins are like those of Roman coins. Some Kushan obverses look like reverses (biga, elephant rider, king sacrificing at the altar etc., types). The Kushan kings, especially Vima, are usually represented in, what Gobl called a statuaric and scenic manner.[92] This is also contrary to Roman practice according to which such representation always occurs on the reverse of the coins. The reverses of the Kushan coins are reserved, with a few exceptions, to deities of such diversity that is unknown to any other coinage.

Iconographic and other motifs appearing on the reverses of Kushan coins are problematic.In his interesting study Robert Gobl has taken for granted the unproven assumptions of Wheeler and Rowland and stresses that:

> Together with Alexandrian merchants, a great number of other mechanically skilled people reached India for the first time in history. Therefore, we are not mistaken in assuming that some technical people familiar with the art of die-cutting and dactylography were appointed to such an activity in the Kushan Court in India when the Kushans were ready to arrange a peculiar systematic coinage.[93]

He further asserts:

> These workers brought with them their own patterns originals as well as working designs.[94]

All this is an uproven hypothesis developed rhetorically just to cushion some more drastic one-sided conclusions. Gobl[95] admits that before reaching the Indusland, the Kushans were familiar with the coinage of the Hellenistic East. Later on (till 21. B.C.) they became familiar with the chief types of Roman Republican coinage. According to him, the Kushans

invaded the Indusland "due to their interest in the trade of the Roman and of the Chinese Empire with India". "This is the reasons", writes Gobl, "that we must search for the typological influence in Roman coinage first and then in the Graeco-Bactrian coinage, the latter's coin-system being already broken down at this time". This is a strange hypothesis and is hardly tenable before the proven facts.

Kushan Partheon

The reverse side of Kushan coinage, particularly those of Kanishka and Huvishka, have a large variety of deities — all fortunately identifiable with the help of Greek inscriptions. There are thirty-three different divinities with overlapping functions, such as Mao and Selene. So far the following deities have been identified on the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, (till 21. B.C.)[96] etc.

A. HELLENISTIC DEITIES

1. Hercules*[97]
2. Helios*
3. Hephaistos*
4. Rome or Riom (Rishno ?)*
5. Selene*
6. Sarapis*
7. Oron (Hour/Time)*

B. IRANO-BABYLONIAN DEITIES

8. Ardokhsho or Dokhsho+
9. Athsho (Loe, Oel, ?)+
10. Mao (Mao-Miiro)+
11. Mithra (Mithro, Miiro, Meiro, Mioro, Miuro)+
12. Nana (Nano, Nania, Nanao, Shaonana, Nanashao)+
13. Pharro (Pharo)+
14. Ashaikhsho*
15. Loraspo (Lrooaspo, Drooaspo)*
16. Mazdah (Mozdooano, Ooromozdo)*
17. Oakhsho*
18. Odiio*
19. Oado*
20. Orlagno (Oshlagno)*

21. Rishno (Roma, Riom ?)*
22. Oanindo*
23. Sharevar (Shaoreoro)*
24. Manaobago*

C. LOCAL DEITIES

25. Boddo (Sakamanobosdo, Bagobosdo)*
26. Shiva (Oesho, Oeshonan, Oesho-Ommo)+97
27. Mahasena (Maaseno)*
28. Skanda-Kumara (Skanda-Komaro, Bizago Maaseno)*
29. Vishakha*

Such imperfectly identified names as *Dpn, Op..., Onia, Dokhso* etc. on some coins of Huvishka, have not been taken into account.[98] Among properly identified deities the Hellenistic or Roman(?) types concern us here most. the Irano-Babylonian deities appearing on Kushan coins are definitely part of Hellenistic heritage, or, at the most depict the influence of oriental religions on the Hellenistic life and art of the age. Rosenfield, who has made an elaborate study of the subject, has given us full background on this issue and has shown how these few Western deities have a true Hellenistic rather than Roman background.[99]

Gobl has singled out 11 of these deities, a few other types and a Triad of gods or persons in order to trace out their Roman origin[100]. These deities are:[101]

Nana with sceptre.
Nana as Huntress
Ardoxsho
Siva (with a Buck)
Siva (with several heads)
Sarapis & Sarapis-Helios
Hercules
Rishno
Sharevar
Vanindo
Triad of gods or persons

To prove Nana, Ardoxsho, Siva, Sharevar and Vanindo as Roman, is to pull the strings too much. Rosenfield[102] has clearly shown how all these deities, except Siva, are characteristically Iranian, and Siva, par-excellence, is an Indian god of extreme antiquity of Harappa and Moenjodaro days.[103]

Gobl himself has dropped out of his list of Western deities the names of Selene and Hephaistos. But this, I think, is an over-sight. Gobl also regards the Nana-with-sceptre, Ardoxsho, Rishno, Sharevar, Vanindo & three gods in an aedicule as typical of Rome, whereas the remaining deities are Alexandrian.[104] Whereas the Triad in Aedicule can be merely an accidental resamblance, the other deities are Irano-Mesopotamian par-excellence. If these are also found on some Roman coins, it only proves, if it proves anything, the extension of Oriental influence on Roman coins and not the vice versa.

Hercules, Helios, Hephaistos and Selene are characteristic Hellenistic deities whose infleuce was not confined to any one place in the vast Hellenstic empire. All except Hephaistos, had already appeared on the coins of Indus-Greek rulers. Sarapis, is basically an Egyptian god but his cult is also wide-spread in the Hellenistic world. Even if we accept that all these deities (Hercules, Hephaistos etc.) originated from Alexandria and reached the hands of Kushan die-cutters, it is a moot point how far the credit for the Alexandrian art should go to Rome. Very little of the so-called Alexandrian art has actually come from Alexandria itself. From literature, however, we know that Alexandria, right from the beginning till its end in medieval period, had always acted as a hub for the spread of Greek culture in the world. However, it had a strong veneer of its Egyptian background. As a Hellenisitic city it gravely affected the Greek and Roman art and architecture as also their religion. The definite and distinct traces of Alexandrian architecture are scattered far and wide.[105] It always remained the chief centre of learning in the Greek world. Greek language remained dominant throughout its history. Latin fragments are very few and comprise mostly legal and military documents. It also remained the main theological centre of the Greek Church. When Egypt came under the Romans in 31 B C., Augustus continued the Ptolemaic system then in vogue. So great was the impact of Greek culture on Egypt that even the inhabitants of the only Roman city in Egypt — Antinoopolis founded in 13 A.D. by Hadrian, had its inhabitants named "Antinoites, Neoi Hellenes" i.e., "Antinoites — The New Greeks".[106] Even the city Antinoopolis is claimed as an expression of Hadrian's 'Philphellenism'. Thus it is clear that whatever

reached Gandhara from Alexandria—though it is not settled,[107] was not the legacy of Rome but belongs to Hellenistic traditions and spirit of the age.

There is however, one very rare coin type (only three examples are known) bearing a helmeted standing female goddess bearing the Greek legend Rom, Riom or Rishno. It is agreed by all that she is either Athena (Minerva) or Roma.[108] Rowland and other scholars of his thought see in her the goddess Roma and Gobl[109] has found some amazingly close parallels between it and certain issues of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius of Minerva-Pallas type issued from Alexanderia. That the helmeted goddess of Huvishka's coin is not Dea Roma is proved by the fact that Roma is always shown seated in profile whereas Riom is standing fully armoured like Athena-Pallas. She is known represented on the coins of earlier Indus-Greek kings such as of Diodotus, Strato, Polyxenos, Menander, Epander, and Zoilos,[110] where she is always shown standing like *Riom*. She may probably represent Avestan Rasnu Personification of Righteousness to ward off foes and an attendant of Mithra[111].It is probable that the Kushans who minted Mithra-type coins in great number and adopted the Athena-Pallas type of the Bactrian Greeks coins for Rasnu or Rishno type. Borrowing from Dea Roma seems therefore as far fetched.

Various scholars have expressed their views on the preponderance of deities on Kushan coins whereas the same deities are totally absent from the art of the day. Was it for popularising the Kushan currency in the Hellenised Orient and the Roman West? Was it for trade? Was it to compete with Roman denarii and aurei? Was it reflective of the various sections of the people professing different religious beliefs? Was it an indicator of the religious policy of the Kushans? All these questions have so far not been answered satisfactorily, and, I too do not have any specific answers to these.[112] Rosenfield's view of *comes augusti* or divine companions of the Emperor,[113] and Kennedy's view of syncretism-not of the philosphic but of a popular kind,[114] may only be regarded as 'half-way' solution. I am sure that the Kushan Pantheon, as known from their coins, has no bearing on the question of Roman influence on the Kushan art, in particular and on Gandhara art in general. It neither reflects the official Roman iconography, nor Roman artistic trends.

As a matter of fact Kushan coinage was never fretted with the Roman currency. Gradual debasement of the Roman coinage at the hands of Gaius, Lucius, Tiberius, Claudius, and above all Nero has made the

CHART-B

Commodities of Trade between RomanEmpire, Pakistan, India and Ceylon

Name of Port	Export	Import
Barbaricon Emporium (new Karachi)	Iron. sharp blades, cotton cloth of great width, coton for stuffing, sashes or girdles. dresses of skin with hair or fur, webs of cloth mellow tinted and gumlac (Periplus. 6).	Clothing—plain in considerable quantity, clothing—mixed but not much flowered cotton, yellow stone or topazes, coral, storax, frankincense (*Ioban*), glass, vessels, silver plate, money (species). wine but not much. costus—a spice, bdellium—a gum, a yellow dye. spikenard, emeralds or green-stones. sapphires. furs (from China). cotton. silk-threads. Indigo (Periplus. 39)
Barygaza	Corn. rice butter or ghee. oil of sesamum, fine cotton (muslin). cotton for stuffing. sahes or girdles. sugar, female slaves. copper, sandalwood. beams of rafters. horn, logs of Sasamina and ebony, Spikenard. costus. bdel-lium (from Rhambakia) ivory, onyx stones. porcelain, ruzot (buxtron). Silk — raw or spun. Mallowed coloured long cotton. pepper, (Periplus. 14. 31. 36. 37. 41. 49. 641). silk raw or spun. cotton and muslin were the distinction of exports from Barygaza.	Gifts for kings such as costly silver vases, instruments of music, handsome young women for concubinage, superior wine. apparel-plain but costly and choicest unguents. Also pearls of mean quality. purple cloth for the natives dates in great quantity. gold. slaves. wine-principally Italian as well as Laodicean and Arabian, brass or copper. tin and lead, corals. gold-stone, cloth plain and mixed of all sorts, variegated sashes half a yard wide, storax, sweet clover (melilot), white glass. gum Stibium (*Surma*), *Sandarach* (sindur). gold and silver, dinarii yielding a profit when exchanged for native money. perfumes or unguents, neither costly nor in great quantity (Periplus. 36. 49).

Nalkynda and Muziris.	Tortoise shell, precious stones, silk and above all pepper were the distinction of Nalkynda exports. Besides, pearls in great quantity and of superior quality, ivory, fine silks, spinkenard from Ganges, betel from countries further east, transparent precious stones of all sorts, diamonds, jacinths, tortoise-shell from the Golden Island and from island off the coast of Limurike. (Periplus 261, 61, 63).	Great quantity of currency, gold stone or Chrysolite or topaza, small assortment of plain cloth, flowered robes, stibium (*surma*), white glass, copper or brass, tin, lead, wine but not much, Sandarach (*sindura*), arsenic (orpiment), corn only for the use of ship's company. (Periplus, 56).
Ceylon	Pearls, precious stones, muslins, tortoise-shell (Periplus 61).	
Ganges Emporium on the third mouth of the Ganges River.	Betel, Gangetic spikenard, pearls, finest of all muslins or Gangetic muslins, finest tortoise-shell and malabathrum. There were also gold mines in this region and gold coins called Kaltis, and silk—raw and spun from Thina or Sinai. (Periplus, 63-64). Ptolemy also mentions export of Malabathrum, cotton and other commodities (cf. J.W. McCrindle, The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea. (Calcutta: 1879-1882, Amsterdam 1973, p. 146).	

Roman currency highly unreliable in India and the Indusland. As bullion it must have been valued for the pure contents of its gold. But if all the Roman gold, that reached the hands of Indians and the people of Gandhara was melted, when was there the time for Roman coins to affect the art of the country. There are also incidences where it has been found that the Roman coins exported to India were fake or were cheaper official imitations, or were copper coins with silver plating just to deceive the natives.[115] A number of such bad imitations have been discovered in Madras province and in the excavations at Kondhapur, Hyderabad.[116]

As a matter of fact Kushans ever remained Philhellenistic and the stroghest proof of it comes from numismatics, Kanishka disbanded the practice of using Kharosthi on his coins. Instead, he retained only one language and that was Greek. This favour to Greek language, even the Greeks could not show. Such a drastic action can be taken only by a person who has deep appreciation of Greek culture.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Greek coins reached Afghanistan and Pakistan long before the invasion of these countries by Alexander. In the Kabul Museum there is an unpublished hoard of silver coins including 30 Athenian drachmas and over 20 miscellaneous Greek coins of the 5th and 4th cent. B.C. (R.E.M. Wheeler, "Archaeology in Afghanistan", *Antiquity* XXI. 1947. p. 58). A gold coin of Croesus of 6th cent. B.C. was discovered in 1913 at Mari on the Indus River near Campbellpur (now Attock). (M. Roy Chowd-huri. "A Gold Coins of Croesus", *JASB*, X. 11, 1914. pp. 486-489) Greek coins of post-Alexander period are found in Afghanistan, Pakistan and even those regions of India where Greek rule never extended Saharanpur. Sonipat. Bundelkand. Kangra. Hoshiarpur, for examples are such regions. See A.K. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford: 1957, pp. 88-89). The unknown author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea records that coins with Greek inscriptions of Menander and Apolldotus were still current in the port of Barygaza in the middle of the first cent A.D. (Periplus. 47).

2. Charless Lassen, Trans. T.H. Edv. Roeen, *Greeks and Indo-Scythian Kings and Their Coins,* (Bonn 1835 Rep Delhi: 1972); James PRinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities,* Reprinted from various issues of *JASB,* ed. Edward Thomas, (Varanasi: 1971), Alexander Cunningham. *Coins of the Successors of Alexander in the East,* W. W. Tarn *Greeks in Bactria and India,* (Cambridge. 1951). A.K. Narain, *The Indo Greeks,* (Oxford 1957). A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*

(Calcutta: 1965); and Michael Mitchiner. *Indo-Greek* and *Indo-Scythian* Coinage, 9 Vols. (London: 1975); Osmund Bopearachchi, *Monnaies Greco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques: Catalogue Raisonne, Bibliotheques Nationale*, (Paris: 1991); Ibid., *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Partian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution*, (Washington, D.C.: 1993) and Ibid., and Aman ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, (Karachi: 1995).

3. The earliest catalogue of Roman coins found in India and Pakistan is that of Edgar Thurston. *Catalogue of Coins in the Government Central Museum Madras, No.2.*, (Madras: 1888, 2nd ed., 1894). Robert Sewel brought out an uptodate list of Roman coins known to him, (*JRAS*, 1904), pp. 591-637. The Madras Museum Catalogue was updated sometimes in 1946 by T.G. Aravamuthan under the title: *Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Coins in the Madras Government Museum*. The most updated list, however, is published by R.E.M. Wheeler, in: *Aspects of Archeology: Essay to O.G.S. Crawford* ed. W. F. Grimes, (London 1951).

4. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. (London: 1955), pp 165-166. Fig. 17.

5. R. Sewell, *JRAS*, 1804, pp 596-597; Wheeler in *Aspects of Archaeology*, op cit., pp. 375.

6. In 1830 Capt. A Court, a soldier under General Ventura found in one of the stupas at Manikyala, 20 kilometers from Rawalpindi, seven silver coins including one each of Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Augustus; Another was probably that of Constantine. The remaining three were illegible. These Roman coins were found along with four coins of Kanishka. *JASB*, III, 1834, pp. 559, 564, 735; *JASB*, XII, N.S. p. 264; *CSR*, II, p. 162; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, (London: 1841), pp. 15, 36, Prinsep's *Essays I*, pp. 138-153; and J. Fergusson *Illust. Hist. of Architecture*, (London: 1855), pp. 12-13.

In 1885 five gold coins of unspecified Roman emperors were discovered in a field around Manikyala. These were found strung on a bracelet which was supposed to have been made in 200 A.D. *Proc. ASB*, 1886, p. 86. Sir. John Marshall, during prolonged excavations at Taxila could find only one denarius of Augustus from Stupa 4 in the precincts of Dharmarajika in association with a silver coin of Saka King Azilises (*Taxila I*, pp. 277, 293, II, p. 830); Wheeler, (*Rome Beyond the Impiral Frontiers, op. cit.*, p. 189), identifices this coin as that of Tiberius, which is a mistake. C.J. Rodgers published in 1895, 12 copper coins belonging to the Roman Emperors Nero (1), Hardrian (1), Gallienus (1), Aurelianus (1), Probus (1), Numerianus (2), Diocletian (1). Constantine (1), Crispus (1), Licinius (1) and one unidentified, beside two gold coins of Byzantine Emperors Marcianus and Zeno. All these coins were reportedly procured in Punjab— two of them from Amritsar. Four of Rodgers coins belonging to Hadrian, Numerianus and Diocletian bear Greek legends. (Rodgers, op. cit. pp. 102-106). In 1860 many Roman coins were offered for sale at Rawalpindi. No exact location is given. At least one gold coin belonged to Antonius Pius (*CSR*, II p. 148 and *JRAS* 1904, p. 621). In 1879, William Simpson discovered in the relic chamber of Ahin Posh Stupa, near Jalalabad, three gold coins one each of Domitian, Trajan and Empress Julia Sabina, wife of Hadrian. (*Proc. ASB*, 1879), pp. 134 and 208 and E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and india*, (London: 1928, Rep., 1974) p. 300; Fergusson, op cit., p. 93; and *JRIBA*, I, 3rd ser. 1894, p. 110). These were found in association with 17 coins of Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka. Some ten years afterwards, five gold solidi of Byzantine Emperors Theodosius, Marcian and Leo (407 to 474 A.D.) were discovered in Stupa No.

10 at Hadda near Jalalabad (*JASB,* LVIII, 1889, p. 155). These were found in association with two Scythian and 202 Sassanian coins. About 1895 a great hoard of Roman silver . denarii was discovered at a site not far from Mansehra in District Hazara. Only 23 reached the Lahore Museum. The rest passed on to private hands. The 23 denarii of the Lahore Museum included five family coins of the Consulate period (ended in 31 B.C.), one each of Julius Caesar, Mark Antony. Brutus and Hardrian, two of Tiberius and 12 of Augustus. (*Numismatic Chronicle,* 3rd ser. XIX, p.263; C.J. Rodgers, *Cat. of Coins,* Pt. III. (Calcutta: 1895), p. iv.; and, Warmington, op. cit.; p. 300. One fine silver coin of Augustus, together with several coins of Soter Megas & of early rulers was dicovered at Bedadi in the Siran River, some 12 miles NNW of Mansehra, *CII,* p. 88.

7. *JASAB.* LVIII, 1889, p. 155.
8. *Proc. ASB,* 1886.
9. Ibid., Also see *CSR,* II. p. 148.
10. Rodgers, op. cit.. p. iv.
11. Original Accession Register Vol. I, p. 112 and p. 123. Recently, I have traced out 31 Roman denarei and two Roman copper coins in the Reserve Collection of Coins in the Lahore Museum. These are beside the 12 Roman copper coins and two gold Byzantine coins of Rodger's Catalogue which are also now in the Lahore Museum. Twenty-nine (29) of these denarei may include 23 of Mansehra Collection and six purchased in 1893 and 1895. Unfortunately, no record is available. I am working on these coins. I hope to discover a few more in this series. These Roman coins will form a separate study.
12. Rodgers, op. cit., p. iv.
13. R. Sewell, *JRAS,* 1904, p. 591.
14. Ibid, pp. 594-599, Wheeler, op., cit., p. 166
15. Peripl., pp. 39, 49, 56.
16. Pliny. *Nat. Hist.*. vi. 26, vi. 101, xii, 41, 19, xii., 84.
17. R. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 599-602, Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers,* op. cit., pp. 170.
18. H.G. Rawlinson; *Intercourse Between India and the Western World,* (New York: 1971), p. 127.
19. Cyril E. Robinson, *A History of Rome,* (London: 1963), pp. 408-416.
20. Ernest Will, "The Roman Empire and Late Antiquity", in: *Larousse Encdyopedia of Prehistoric and Ancient Art,* (ed. Rene Hughe) (London: 1967), p. 343.
21. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 603-607: R. A. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India,* (Bombay: 1963), pp. 120-121.
22. Sewell, op. cit., pp. 607-609.
23. B. Rowland, in: Preface to J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* (Los Angeles: 1968), p. viii.
24. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers,* op. cit., p. 183 and Warmington, op. cit., pp. 249-250. Also see p. 261 of Warmington, op. cit., for lack of information regarding commodities sent to India and Pakistan by land.
25. For finds at Arikamedu, see R.E.M. Wheeler, in: *Ancient India,* No. 2, 1964, pp. 17; J.M Casal, *Fouilles de Virampatnam Arikamedu,* (Paris: 1949); Wheeler, in: *Aspect of Archaeology, op. cit.,* p. 354; Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers,* pp. 173-179. for Wheeler's remarks about Taxila finds, see his *Rome Beyond Imperial Frontiers,* pp. 187-188. His one singular Roman coin of Tiberius is actually that of Augustus (Cf. *Taxila I,.* pp. 277, 293, II, p. 830).
26. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Art, op. cit.,* p. 22.
27. Ibid.
28. Periplus., p 49.

28a. More recent studies, however, indicate that Kushana did mint a limited silver both inside and outside the subcontinent, especially before Vima Kadphises reformed the Kushana inventory system and introduced gold coins. In the post reformation period, the silver coins were restricted to provincial series (See B.N.

Mukherjee, *Kushana Silver Coinage*, Calcutta: 1982, p. 75).

29. V.A. Smith, "The Kushan Period of Indian History", *JRAS*, 1903, p. 56.
30. Rosenfield, op. cit., p. 21.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
32. Ibid., p. 41.
33. Periplus., p. 38.
34. Periplus., pp. 41-46.
35. David W. MacDowall, "Weight Standard of Kushan Coinage", *JNSI*, XXII, 1960, p. 68.
36. Alexander's mining engineer Gorgias, who opened silver and gold mines in the Salt Range, observed that the Indian ideas of mining and refining were elementary (Strabo, xvi, 30). Megasthenes said that Indians did not even know how to separate gold from dross (Strabo, xvi, 30). Also see Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, (Cambridge: 1951), p. 108.
37. Megasthenes, in: Strabo, XV. 711; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIII. 6; E.H. Warmington. *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India,* (Cambridge: 1928) and (London: 1974), p. 258 and W.W. Tarn, *Greeks and Bactria and India*, op. cit., p. 108.
38. Periplus., p. 36.
39. J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, (*Westminister 1896), p. 187, fn. 2.
40. Herodotus, BK, III. 102-5. The exaggerated figure of Herodotus is 360 talents of gold dust equivalent to 4680 talents of silver and 20,736 pounds in weight (*Taxila*, I, p. 14, 4, n. I and Rawilson, op. cit., p. 187). Tarn thinks the source of this gold was Siberia (Tarn, op. cit., p. 105-108) whereas Marshall regards it of local origin (*Taxila, loc. cit.).* The tributes from the remaining parts of Darius' Empire totalled 9540 Euboic talents in silver including 1000 talents from Babylon, 700 talents from Egypt etc.
41. Strabo, XV, 705 sq.
42. Tarn, however, claims without any justification, that the mines referred to by Strabo produced little gold. (Tarn, op. cit. p. 108*).*
43. Cf. Tarn, op. cit., p. 107. Also McCrindle, op. cit., p. 342.
44. J.F. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, XXII, 1893, p. 171. Also Tarn, op. cit., p.108. fn. 5.
45. Tarn, loc. cit.
46. *Taxila I,* p. 14, fn. I.
47. Ibid.
48. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 342.
49. Cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.,* p. 5, 133.
50. P.V. Bapat, 2500 *Years of Buddhism.* (Delhi: 1956), pp. 59, 87, 95 and 230. The whole Malaya region, was colonised by ancient Indian as early as 75 A.D. by king Aditya. Java was colonised both by Hindus from Kalinga and Buddhist from Gujrat and Surashtra. (Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 139, fn. 17).
51. G.F. Hill, *A. Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins,* (London: 1899), p. 19.
52. Tarn, op. cit., p. 105-106.
53. Ibid., p.107
54. Ibid., p.107
55. Hill, op. cit., p.19.
56. Strabo, XVI.
57. Periplus., p. 36.
58. J. Kennedy, "The Secret of Kanishka" *JRAS,* 1912, pp. 994- 995.
59. Rosenfield, p. 285, note, 64.
60. Rawlinson, op. cit., pp. 101-104
61. In this respect the all-well known story of *Annius Plocamus,* the Roman Revenue Collector in the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.) as told by Pliny (VI. 22) and Kosmas Indikopleutas, (*Christian Topography*, BK. XI) is often quoted. According to this story Plocamus, ship-wrecked at the Ceylon Coast, was found with a wealth of pure rectangular and fine Roman coinage. Similarly, Strabo's statement of one hundred and twenty merchantmen sailing to India from Myos Hormos during the time of Augustus, is atributed as source of Roman influence (Strabo, II 5.12).
62. B.N. Puri, *India under the Kushans.* (Bombay: 1965), p. 213 B. Rowland

writes about this type:"The appearance of this type may be taken literally as a reflection of the enormous influx of Roman gold in the first century A.D. Rowland in the preface of J.M. Rosenfield's *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* op. cit., p. 169.

63. Smith, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 34; Wheeler, *Rome Beyond...*,.op. cit. p. 169.
64. Wheeler. *Rome Beyond...*, op. cit., p. 169.
65. Ibid., pp. 169-170.
66. *RMC*, I P. 181, No.. 24-28.
67. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India,* (London: 1876). p. XLIX: V.A. Smith, JRAS 1903, pp. 29-30, 34: R. Gobl, *JNSI*, XXII. 1960. p. 89-81: *PMC*, I, p. 173, pp. XVI, 24.
68. The chronology of Kushan dynasty, especially that of King Kanishka. is one of the most controversial topics of history. It has already been the topic of more than two international conferen-ces without arriving at any unanimity. For the result of the two conferences held in London see (*JRAS*), 1913 and A.L. Basham (ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka,*, (London 1960 & (Leydon: 1968) For the brief report on the Kushan Conference in Dushambe (Russia) by Guitty Azarpay see *Archaeology*, 23, No. 3, 1970, pp. 254-257.

    Four different dates are usually put forth for the accession of Kanishka: 58 B.C.; A.D. 78; 100 A.D. and 144 A.D. Now-a-days the question seems to lie between A.D. 128 and 144. Many scholars, however. prefer to refer to reigns rather than dates. The order of succession of Kushan dynasty usually accepted is: Kujula Kadphises, Vima Takto. Vima Kadphises. Kanishka I. Vasiska I, Huvishka Kanishka II. Vasudeva II, Kanishka III etc.
69. *Taxila II.* p. 545. No. 54 and III, Pl. 170. S No.54 Similar classical chairs also appear on the coins of Kadphasis I.
70. Warmington. op. cit.. p. 15.
71. Smith, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 34.
72. Cf. Rosenfield. p. 13.
73. R. Gobl, "Roman Pattern for Kusbana Coins", *JNSI*, xxii, 1960, p. 78.
74. E.J. Rapson, *Sources of Indian History, Coin,* Vol II, p. 18.
75. Michael Michiner, *The Early Coinage of Central Asia,* (London: 1973), pp. 55. 59-64.
76. Ibid., p. 55.
77. Ibid., p. 60.
78 J. Kennedy. "The Secret of Kanishka", *JARAS*, 1912, pp. 995-1002.
79. David W. MacDowall, "The Weight Standard of the Gold and Copper Coinage of the Kushan Dynasty", *JNSI* XXII, 1960 pp. 63-74. He based his conclusions on his studies of Kushan coins in the British Museum and of Kennedy's work on the average weights of well-preserved Kushan gold coins (*JRAS*, 1912, p. 977) and of S.K. Maity's studies of all sorts of Kushan coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*JNSI*, XVIII, p. 187).
80. Rosenfield, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
81. MacDowall, *JNSI* XXII, 1960, pp., 65.
82. Calculated at the following rates:
    1 gram = 15 43 grains and
    1 grain = 0 0648 gram.
83 Rosenfield, op. cit., p.20.
84. Smith (*JASB I*, 1893, p. 51) asserts that the Roman aureus denarius was based on the Attic Stater of 134.4 grains. Kennedy (*JRAS*, 1912, p. 1001) on the other hand, tells us that Kushan gold Stater was based on Macedonian Stater. The standard weight of Bactrian Greek Stater is reported to be 148 grains. (Kenned, op. cit., p. 996)
85. Smith, loc cit.
86. MacDowall. op cit., P. 187
87. S.K. Maity, *JNSI*, XVII, p. 187
88. Rosenfield, p. 21; MacDowall op. cit., pp. 63-64.
89. MacDowall, p. 68.
90. Ibid. pp. 68-71.
91. R. Gobl, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid. pp. 77-78.

94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., p. 77.
96. The list and classification followed here is from Rosenfield, pp. 72-101 and *PMC*, I, pp. 178-214.
97. The asteric mark (*) stands for rare and (+) for most common types.
97a. See fn. 103 below.
98. *PMC*, I, pp. 201 & 207.
99. Rosenfield, op. cit., pp. 69-103.
100. Gobl, op. cit., pp. 69-103.
101 Among them, he identifies Nana of Sceptre type with "Felicitas" (with Pistrix) of Pius; Nana as Huntress with "Artemis Diana" of Hadrian and Pius; Ardoxsho with "Fortuna" of Hadrian; Siva (buck type) with "Silvanus" of Dio Nusos of Hadrian and "Pictas" of Pius, Siva (Several heads-type) with "Janus" of Hadrian Sarapis with "Sarapis" of Helios-Sarapis of Domitian and Hadrian; "Hercules" of Hadrian and Pius; Rishno with "Pallas Minerva" of Hadrian and Pius Sharevar with (Ares-Mars) of Trajan and Pius Vanindo with "Nike-Victory" of Vitellius and finally the Triad in Aedicula of Huvishka with three gods" as persons appearing on Hadrian and Pius coins.
102. Rosenfield, op. cit , pp. 69-103
103. For a recent attempt at tracing out a combined Indo-Irano-Hellenistic background of emergence of Shiva cult on Kushan coins see Joe Cribb. "Shiva Images on Kushan and Kushan-o-Sassanian Coins", in: *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*, eds. Katsume, Joe Cribb and Helen Wan. (Kamakura: 1997), pp 11-66
104. See Gobl's *Synoptical Table*, in: op. cit. p. 91.
105. See S.R.K. Glanville. *The Legacy of Egypt*, (Oxford 1847), pp. 65, 300. For contributions of Alexandria in various fields of art and culture see *Larousse Encyclopedia of Prehisloric and Ancient Art*, (London: 1967), pp. 152, 153, 318-321, 325 etc.
106. Fergus Miller, *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours*, (London 1970). pp. 182-184.
107. I have strong feelings that whatever Alexandrian influence is traceable in various articles of Gandhara art must be viewed in a much broader perspective. Alexandrian influence permitted in the Hellenistic world and whatever its portion trickled down to Gandhara was through the contiguous territories of Afghanistan, Iran, Syria etc. Even such strong Roman centres in Syria, like Dura Europos and Palmyra have very little true Roman impact on their arts. See M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura Europos and its Art*. (Oxford : 1938) pp. 23, 61, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 98 etc. The art of Dura remained, in the main, Graeco-Mesopotamian. Also see *Larousse Encyclopedia*, pp. 96-98.
108 Rosenfield, op. cit., p. 97
109. Gobl, op. cit., pp. 86-87
110. Whitehead, *PMC*, I, Nos. 4, 355 371, 373, 515, 526 respectively. On Coins of Menander, however, Pallas is represented most frequently
111. Rosenfield, op. cit., pp. 96-98
112. For summary of different problems posed by the Kushan Pantheon and their various solutions see Rosenfield op cit., p. 69 ff.
113. Rosenfield, op. cit., pp 69
114. Kennedy. *JRAS*, 1912, p. 1005.
115. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, op. cit., pp 167-168
116. T.A. Aravamuthan, "The Chaker-bedha Find of Two Auri", *JNSI*, VII, 1945, p. 9

7 TOILET TRAYS AND BEGINNING OF HELLENISM IN GANDHARA

From all levels of the Greek city of Taxila and several other sites in Gandhara have been discovered in the past a number of small round dishes usually called 'Toilet Trays'. These are from 9 to 17.5 cm in diametre and are made exclusively of soft varieties of stones such as steatite, phylite, schist, etc. Almost all have been turned on lathe. Their obverse sides generally consist of concave surface with raised borders whereas bottom sides are usually convex (Fig. 24). 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 motifs in relief. The main motif, sculptured in high relief, occupies either the whole circular 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 with incised geometric-cum-floral 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, in majority, however, it is left blank. The main motif on the obverse consists of either two, three or more human figures grouped in thematic arrangements of human and animal or animal and composite figures alone. Out of 151 toilet trays listed here (see Catalogue at pp. 163-171 and Charts A & B at pp. 140-146), the find spots of 104 trays are known exactly or approximately. Among the toilet trays from Pakistan, a total number of 77 comes just from six city sites (S. Nos. 1-31 & 33-69) from Taxila[1] or Sirkap, S. Nos. 72-74 from Udegram, S. No. 82 from Bala Hisar, S. Nos. 95-6 from Akra, S. No. 97 from Sar Dheri, S. No. 98 from Jhukar, and S. No. 151 from Pir Manak). Three are specifically from some H Rai (Buddhist) sites (S. Nos. 32, 75 & 94), six from specifically known sites of undetermined character (S. Nos. 70, 71, 77, 80, 81, 88) and twelve from places which should be taken as names of areas and not of sites (S. Nos. 76, 78, 79, 83-87, 90-93). Find spots and even specific areas of discovery in respect of only 46 trays are not known. Only six trays have so

far been known from outside Pakistan (S. Nos. 99-103, 149).[2] Among all the find spots of these trays, only the site of Taxila has been subjected to proper excavations. But the trays even from this site have been somewhat summarily described.[3] Only seven more trays are known from proper excavated sites namely: three from Udegram, Swat (S: Nos. 72-74), one each from Butkara (S. No. 75), Bala Hisar (S. No. 82), from Pir Manak Rai (S. No. 151), and Hatra (S. No. 103). Except for two studies,[4] these trays have never been made a subject of serious research with the result that their origin and purpose as well as meaning of the motifs appearing thereon have never been ascertained properly. Above all, the question of placement of these trays in Gandhara art, chronologically and thematically, has never been confirmed.

Distribution

So far I have been able to trace out 151 trays distributed in various museums and collections 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 unrecorded. In one single group the greatest number of 69 comes from Taxila[5] alone. The approximate location of only 29 other trays are known : 10 trays from Swat,[6] 8 from Charsada area,[7] 2 from Akra,[8] 1 each from Narai,[9] Sar Dheri,[10] Tor Dher near Pir Saddhu,[11] Jhukar,[12] Oxus,[13] Helmund area in Afghanistan,[14] Hatra (Iraq),[15] Garav Kala and Avzaj — both in Tadjikistan.[16] 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 a part of the collection found from that site.

Herald of Hellenism

Limited though still is our knowledge about these trays, but there is no denying the fact that these mark the beginning of Hellenism in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and in this capacity have heralded the Hellenistic art of Gandhara. This is because these trays are the earliest evidence of 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-Greeks, Scythians and Parthians. These were introduced by the Bactrian Greeks but practically disappeared in the 1st century A.D. without leaving any

apparent successor. Their influence on Gandhara art is as much as they transmitted to the Gandhara artists the tradition of stone carving, making stone sculptures in the 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 them gives his own hypothetical dates coloured with his own vision of 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 coming from Taxila alone.[17] At Taxila two, trays come from the Greek, 8 from early and late Scythian, 18 from Parthian and 5 from Kushan strata.[18] This makes it clear that at Taxila these trays made their first appearance sometimes in the 2nd. century B.C. and continued uninterruptedly uptill first century A.D. Iconographically too, the material from these different strata of Sirkap city confirms the changing patterns of culture of that city from Greek to the Kushan periods. Analytical studies show that these trays made their first appearance during the Greek period with pure Hellenistic themes (nos. 4 and 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 known.[19] These trays enjoyed greatest popularity during the Parthian period in the 1st century A. D. when, 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 Dionysiac scenes. This re-emergence of these motifs during Parthian supermacy and later is quite in keeping with other material excavated at Taxila.[20] In the present state of our knowledge no toilet tray from Taxila can be dated later than the 1st/2nd century A. D. A small number of five trays discovered in the largest excavated area of Taxila, i.e., stratum I of early Kushan period testifies that these trays lost their popularity, at least at Taxila, after the decline of Parthians. This is natural to expect because under the impact of Buddhism, moderation and morality gradually crept into the politics and arts of Kushans in contrast to Bacchanalian character of the Parthian culture. However, the trays discovered from sites like Charsada[21] and Udegram Bazar[22] show that these continued to exist elsewhere upto the

4th century A. D. But, then the subject matter had changed completely.[23] To conclude, we can say that the Gandharan toilet trays started in the 2nd cent. B.C. and continued uptil 4th century A. D.

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, 16-21, 26, 33, 37-39) for which Scythian art is well known.[24] In the Parthian period we observe a notable but short lived 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 known.[25]

Origin

Origin of these trays has always been a big problem. Since majority of the trays is made of schist stone, there is no doubt that these were carved locally within ancient Gandhara. But where did the designs of these trays come from? Nothing is certain. General characteristics of these trays are:[26]

→ Small size,

→ Round shape,

→ Upper surface is concave and bottom is covex,

→ On upper side all decorations are in relief and consist of figural motifs of mythological origin,

→ Bottom side decorations are in incised lines,

→ Top-side circular surface is divided into two unequal halves or multiple divisions with main relief occupying the most significant part of the division.

Artifacts 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 Sasanian periods.[27] Depiction of scenes within a circular space is not unknown in ancient India. We know stone medallions from Bharhut (185-72 B.C),[28] Sanchi (72-25 B.C.)[29], Amaravati (25 B.C.-

320 A.D.).[30] But these cannot be compared with our trays either in size, themes or iconography. These have not been carved independently. Instead, Indian medallions are part of a larger architectural composition and are fixed and inseparable from their larger units. Two silver plaques or medallions, originally part of the Oxus Treasure,[31] now in the British Museum are typically Indian and have been regarded as smaller metal counterparts of similar designs found at Sanchi and Bharhut.[32] As a matter of fact these circular plaques of Oxus Treasure are actually Indian counterparts of the classical circular metallic plates from Bactria now in the Hermitage, Leningrad. Of this we shall speak more below.

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 mainland 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 Harpocrates[33] and a large silver dish in Istambul Museum depicting the Personification of India,[34] both from Asia Minor and datable from 2nd to 6th centuries A. D. Besides, an ivory tray of exact Gandhara type has recently been discovered from Parthenon Temple at Hatra in Iraq.[35] It depicts an Assembly of Gods (No. 103). This too is datable in between 1st century to 240 A.D. Obviously none of these trays could have acted as a proto-type for Gandharan trays which made their first appearance in the 2nd century B.C. and remained popular uptill 1st century A.D.

As early as 1908 attention was invited to the fact that these trays are similar to those black steatite dishes which have been found in Egypt in great number. 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 centuries[37] of the Christian Era whereas Sir Evans puts them in the 4th century.[38] 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 Evan's idea. But there is no such thing on Ganharan trays to show as to how these were used. However, there is one thing common in the two: the Egyptian trays, like the Gandharan ones, come to light fully developed and disappear without leaving any successor. Some writers[39] 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 questioned.[40] 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 abhorent to accept Egyptian gods. We find statues of Harpocrates and Heracles-Serapis among the antiquities from Taxila[41] and Begram.[42]

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 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 those the Rhodian plates of 7th-6th centuries B.C. 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 exergue either left plain or decorated with floral petals or sun rays[43] — 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 West[44] belong to that East Agean groups 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 design.[45]

In both the above mentioned types (Rhodian plates and Kylix medallions) the decorations within a circular space were carried on in paintings. This tendency gradually decreased. During the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. the relief decoration in circular space started appearing on ceramics of the type of Megarian bowls in Greece[46] and Calenian Phiale in Italy.[47] 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 rings.[48] The scenes depicted include almost whole range of imagery of Greek mythology, specially the Dionysiac and Aphrodisiac figures as also in the Megarian bowls and the toilet trays from Gandhara.

Side by side, we find in Greece proper two groups of terracotta discs dating in the 4th centuries B.C. One type, called Calykes of Koroplastic (*Kalykestis Koroplastikis*) shows one or more Eros lying on a full blown rose[49] The other type usually shows Pan and the dancing Nymphs in flat relief.[50] On one such terracotta discs in the Berlin Museum,[51] 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 century A.D. because we find a disc of this period from the Athenian Agora.[52] From Calenian dishes the tradition of relief decoration seems to have found its way to the moulded circular discs and moulded terracotta lamps (*Lychoni*).[53] These reproduce almost all the repertoire of the Calenian dishes. The terracotta discs are datable from 4th to 2nd centuries B.C. 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 ones in the series are numerous oscilla or marble discs of 2nd century A.D. of Graeco-Roman origin.[54] The figures on oscilla are carved in relief on both sides and there is a hole on the top for suspending them in the gates of shrines of Dionysiac cult.[55] 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 for 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 trays.[56] These mirrors date from the 5th century B.C. down to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Circular discs of the mirror covers were decorated with figures in *repousse* 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, 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 as mentioned above from Greece. Thus, in exact mode of decorating interior of a tray, 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 Gandharan artists never produced one single article of the type of Rhodian plates, Calenian dishes, oscilla, bronze mirrors or any other type mentioned above. Reasons are not far to seek. The only technique which 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 Khanum.[57] 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 Bactria.[58] One plate shows the inner circular space divided in two unequal halves: the main motif occupy upper larger half whereas the exergue is 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" (Bactira).[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 gold-covered silver circular plate showing goddess Cybele riding a chariot drawn by lions and driven by winged goddess of Victory or

Nike. The motifs have been executed in *repousse* in much the same fashion as Gandharan trays.[60] Similarly, we have a remarkable collection of plaster copies of Hellenistic circular plaques unearthed at Begram.[61] 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 century B.C. 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. The sole and solitary example in favour of this view is a relief from Butkara (Swat) now in Muzeo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome[62] (Pl. XI, a). It shows a lady holding a mirror in her left hand picking up cosmetic material with a finger of her right hand from a toilet-tray-like-object held by her maid standing nearby. Francfort regards this evidence as decisive.[63] However, the evidence contrary to this theme cannot be dismissed arbitrarily. On the negative side, we know that no such tray shows any sign of any cosmetic material. As in majority of specimens, the obverse surface is always carved or engraved and seldom smooth, the uneven surface must retain traces of cosmetic if ever placed thereon. On the positive side, there is strong evidence to suggest that these trays wee meant to perform some religious function. For example, the only tray discovered from outside Gandhara region (S. No. 103) comes from a temple at Hatra and depicts an Assembly of Olympian gods.[64] From Taxila, at least one tray (S. No. 32) depicting one serpent-legged giant also comes from a Buddhist temple. The scene on the tray in the Museum of Prague (Pl. XIV, b) (S. No. 109),[65] the Libation Scene on a tray in the V. & A. Museum (S. No. 116), the group of figures on two trays in the Peshawar Museum (S. Nos. 81 & 107) and two trays in Swat Museum are not very different from the scene on the Hatra tray and cannot be regarded as mere decorations. Similarly, four trays (S. Nos. 27, 28, 44 and 88) each depicting a Funeral banquet (Pl. 'N', b) essentially belong to the cult of "Ancestor Worship" (Pl. XIII, a).

Similarly, two trays, one each in Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin (S. No. 117) and Swat Museum (S. No. 72) each depicting Helios (Surya-Sun God) riding a Solar Chariot[66] is an eastern manifestation of an intellectual movement which had spread throughout Western Asia, Roman Empire, Persia and Ancient India from 2nd century B.C. onward.[67]

Another tray from Swat (S. No. 74) has been identified as belonging to Mithraic cult,[68] which is another form of sun-worship. Mithraic cult was definitely in practice in Gandhara. Zeus-Mithra appears on Indus-Greek coins and more frequently on the coins of Kushans.[69]

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 other.[70] Tray at S. No. 89, now in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, depicting Dioscori brothers — Castor and Pollux, should also be studied in this context. The cult of Dioscori brothers was quite popular in the Near East as far as Palmyra.[71] Though, its popularity in Gandhara was limited, it is not totally absent. The two brothers appear frequently, both on horseback and striding, on the coins of Greeks in Bactria and Gandhara.[72] They continued to hold some position in the religious belief even of the Scytho-Parthian kings of Gandhara.[73] 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 Kushans 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. The concept of twin-bothers is not alien to Indian mythology. According to vedic mythology, Nasatya or Ashvins are twin deities of light. They are variously described as sons of Dyaus (Greek Zeus) and also as sons of Surya (Greek Helios) out of his union with Sanjna.

If any doubt still lingers in one's mind regarding the cult value of these trays, it should be set aside when one looks at the two trays — one (Pl. XIV. a) in the collection of Museum fur Volkerkunde. Berlin (S. No. 118)[74] and the other probably from Sirkap (Taxila) and now in the private collection of Dr. and Mrs. G. Lehner, Tampa, Florida, (S. No. 62).[75] The former represents in an unambiguous way Buddha seated crossed-legged in Dhayana Mudra with a wreath-like halo and two deva-worshippers

(Brahama & Indra ?) — one each on either side, in adoration pose. The Tampa tray also represnts a similar scene poised in the upper half of the tray. Here Buddha is shown seated cross-legged in, what appears to be Earth-touching or *bhumisparsa mudra* pose is flanked by four figures, two on each side. One of the figures in its extreme right hand corner is with both hands clasped in adoration pose whereas another figure on the left is a bearded Brahman. All the figures, including that of Buddha, however, are unconventional and poorly executed. Obviously, both these trays belong to Kushan period of Gandhara art and may represent the last phase of diminishing popularity of these once-purely Hellenistic trays. The scene depicted on S. No. 150 is also of religious nature, though I doubt if the object is a tray.

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 Baccanalian rites play significant part. The presence of Greek Temple at Taxila[76] 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 almost complete disappearance during Kushans period from 2nd century A.D. onward shows that the cult which these trays were meant to represent declined rapidly making it totally unnecessary to carve fresh ones. The two purely Buddhistic trays just discussed above perhaps represent nothing more than half-hearted attempt of a Buddhist craftman. I know at least one singular example of such tray being made in Central Asia during the Muslim period.[77]

The two charts A and B at pp. 140-146 show the main motifs appearing on these trays and their distribution in time and space. Even a cursory glance at the these charts shows that the trays with Aphrodisiac and Dionysiac scenes (type A, B & C) predominate all others. On these trays Hellenistic influence is at its maximum. In our context, the few trays with Mithraic, Helios and Dioscoride themes — all ultimately connected with Dionysiac cults, are more Hellenistic than Asiatic. On trays under sub-heads E and F, however, Scythian, Iranian and Mesopotamian influences dominate. The types under sub-heads F, G and H cannot be ascribed to any

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

	TAXILA							OTHER SITES	
Dynasty	Early Kushans	Parthians	Late Scythians	Early Scythians	Greeks	Unstratified areas	Total Taxila	Unstratified sites in Gandhara	Grand Total
Date	Late 1st cent. A.D.	uptil 60 A.D.	Late 1st cent. B.C.	90 B.C. onward	190-90 B.C.				
Strata	I	II	III	IV	V				
Types									
A. Divine human, giants alone	23 25 28	6 7 22 24 36	31	---	27 35	41 42 44 50 51 52 56 59 61 62	(21)	70 71 74 76 78 79 81 82 83 87 88 90 91 93 94 96 97 103 104 106 107 108 110 113 116 118 119 121 125 126 129 138 141 142 143 145 146 147	(59)
B. Divine, human and animal motifs	1	13 15 29 34	---	---	---	4 14 32 43 60 69	(11)	72 73 84 86 89 92 95 99 101 111 112 115 117 122 123 127 132 140 144 148	(31)

C. Birds, 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 63 64 65 66 67 68		(28)	75 77 80 85 98 102 105 109 114 124 128 130 133		(41)	
D. Geometrical and floral motifs	---	8 9 18		---	---	---	40		4	120		5	
E. Non-descript or motifs not recorded	---	---		---	---	---	45 47 53 54 57		(5)	100 131 134 135 136 137 139 149 150 151		(15)	
Total:	4	19		2	5	2	30	=	69	+	82	=	151

B. CHART SHOWING CLASSIFICATION OF THEMES APPEARING ON TOILET TRAYS

Type	Categories	At Taxila[78]	At other places

(Numbers under 3rd and 4th columns refer to serial numbers. of the catalogue given in the Annex-ure of this Chapter at pp. 163-171).

A. Aphrodisiac Scenes

→	Man (Apollo) distobing a Woman (Daphne) (Pl. XI. c)	35
→	Apollo and Daphne or Aphrodite & Paris (Pl. XI b)	83
→	Adonis and Aphrodite or Meleager and Atalanta (Pl. XII.c)	69
→	Artemis and Actaeon (Pl. XII. b)	95
→	Hercules and Omphale (Pl. XI, d) (Aphrodite & Eros)	104, 147
→	Marriage of Ariadne (Pl. XII a)	24
→	Achelis and Thetis (An Erotic scene	106
→	Woman (Aphrodite with a child or Eros) (Pl. 'N', a)	34 94, 126
→	Aphrodite (Maenad, Nymph or Nereid) riding an animal or a sea-monster	43 96,144,148
→	Aphrodite with Eros riding an animal/monster (Pl. XIII, b)	34 69
→	Cupid with other figures	76
→	Cupid riding a lion	1
→	Nymph and Satyr	141
→	Aphrodite taking a bath	143
→	Erotic scenes--man and woman in an erotic pose	36 97,106,141,157
→	Naked Hercules riding a sea monster	111

→ Un-identified		70

B. Dionysiac Scenes

→ Couple holding wine cups, hand-in hand or in other poses	4,6,7,22,23, 31, 50, 51 (?), 52,56	61,78,87,90,93, 108,113,121, 125,129,138, 142,145,146
→ Male or/and female figures in group of three—drinking, dancing etc. (Pl. XIII)	25, 41	71, 119
→ Scenes with more than three figures	42, 59 (?)	73, 81, 107, 116
→ Libation to god/gods		116, 117
→ Assembly of gods		103, 119
→ Funeral Banquet (Banquet Scene) (Pl. 'N', b)	27, 28, 44	86, 88
→ Man or woman riding a real or mythical animal	1, 13, 14, 15, 29, 34, 43	60, 84, 99, 101 111, 112, 115, 122, 123, 127, 132
→ Girl playing a musical instrument		82
→ Non-descript figures	51, 59	70, 100, 110, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139

C. Sun Cult

→ Helios in solar Chariot or Surya & his Chariot	72, 92, 117
→ Dioscori Brothers on horses	89
→ Mithraic composition (busts of three figures with Phrygian caps)	74

D. Buddhistic Worship

→ Buddha attended by Brahma and Indra (Pl. XIV, a)	118

→ Buddha attended by lady workshippers (Pl. XIV. b)		119
→ Two worshippers in adoration pose	62	
→ A group of seated figures with attendants one group each in one of the four divisions of an inner circle. Two serpants encircle the outer circle (Probably a *chhatra* and not a tray).		150

E. Mythical Beings

→ Monster & human being together	2, 4, 13, 14, 15, 34	
→ Serpent-legged being	32	91, 132, 133
→ Sea-monsters and other mythical creatures—Makara, Hipcampus etc.	2, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 30, 32, 33, 37, 48, 55, 58, 65, 66	75, 77
→ Griffins--winged or wingless	12, 26	80
→ Winged lion	29, 63, 64	
→ Winged stag/deer/antelope	29	
→ Winged goat	29	
→ Winged horse	46	98

F. Animal World

→ Man fighting with a lion and a boar		140
→ Lion fighting/facing lion	5, 38, 39, 49	105, 124
→ Lion fighting/facing bull		102, 109
→ Lion	3, 21, 67	130, 140
→ Lion and rider	1	
→ Boar	69	114

→ Ram		73
→ Deer		85
→ Boar	69	140
→ Horse	46	72, 89, 117, 127, 149
→ Dogs		95
→ Birds	68	128

G. Geometrical and Floral Patterns

→ Swastika	8	
→ Curved Cross	9, 40	
→ Simple compartments	18	
→ Floral design (rosettes, leaves,lotus etc.)	1, 3, 6, 9, 16, 17 18, 19, 21, 22, 31, 32, 40, 69	72, 73, 74, 85, 106, 108, 119
→ Scallop shell		120

H. Miscellaneous

→ Altar		73, 76, 116
→ Chariot		72, 117
→ Sun-rays	12, 13, 27, 28 44	71, 76, 78, 88, 117
→ Seat/throne/bed etc.	27, 28, 44, 36	88, 94, 103, 119
→ Musical Instrument	24	82
→ Rocks	1, 35, 69	83, 95
→ Wine cup, bowls, dishes etc.	6, 7, 23, 28, 31 41, 52	86, 108, 113, 115, 116, 123, 125, 129
→ Wine-crushing equipment	24	
→ Floral wreath	27, 28	
→ Thyrsos		73

→	Mirror	43	
→	Apple		83
→	Herm-pillar		94
→	Club		104, 111
→	Bow		104
→	Scenes not known (mostly fragmentary or badly mutitated pieces	45, 47, 53, 54 57	70, 131, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139

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.

SCENES FROM GREEK MYTHOLOGY

1. Apollo disrobing Daphne

It is the most interesting among all the trays so far discovered and one out of two earliest trays from Taxila. It measures 10.6 cm. diameter and is made of fine grey schist. In the centre, occupying a plain 2/3 upper space, is a 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 advances of her companion who has already exposed her whole front. Coming from the early levels of the Greek city of Taxila[79] this tray, both in style, technique and subject matter is distinct from other trays.[80] The figures, almost in round stand out with effective simplicity against a plain background. Modelling is conscientious and is comparable with some early works in South Asia executed by the Greek-o-Persian artists of 3rd century B.C.

As a matter of fact the scene on this tray 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:

→ Apollo and Daphne[81]

→ Dionysus and Ariadne[82]

→ Nymph with Hermes[83]

→ Nymph with Selinus[84]

→ Nymph with Satyr[85]

→ Peleus and Thetis[86]

→ Eros and Psyche[87] etc.

A terrocotta mould recently discovered from Port Cheli — a city site of 5th and 4th century B.C. in Pelloponese (Greece), depicts an exactly similar scene and has been tentatively identified as Dioscori and one of the Lukippidai [88] There are, however, some indications to show that this tray depicts a scene which is nothing but that of Apollo and Daphne. The pebbles on the ground stand for Daphne's river-father Ladon whereas the rocky out-crop, she is catching hold of, may indicate Daphne as a mountain nymph.[89] If so, the moment here depicted is just before Daphne's transformation into a laurel tree.

2. Apollo and Daphne/Seduction of Bellorophon/Hippolytus/Satyr

This tray (Pl. XI. b,) (S. No.83) from Charsada, now in V. & A Museum, London, shows another scene of mythological rapes. Here a nude man is shown running away from a pursuing lady. The scene occupies the entire circular space of the tray. The figures are executed in high relief against a simple backdrop and stony ground. The muscular bodied male is completely nude. 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 to the male an apple-like round object in her right hand. Pose of the left hand of the male indicates that he is reluctant to accept the 'object'. Position of legs, bent-pose of their bodies and flowing female robe indicate a swift movement as both are running one away from another. This scene too can stand for any one of the followings:

→ Anteia's attempted seduction of Bellerophon[90]

→ Phaedra's seduction of her step-son Hippolytus[91]

→ Eos' seduction of Orion, Cephalus Clietus Ganymedes or Tithonus[92], etc.

→ Selene and Endymion.[93]

I am, however, tempted to identify the scene as 'Satyr and Nymph' because the crooked object near the left knee of the male figure can be the 'tail of a Satyr'. On the other hand the round fruit in the hand of the female figure suggests her identification as Aphrodite.[94] 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 once.[95] But if the crooked object near the left knee of the male figure be interpreted as Satyr's tail 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 to the frozen expression of figures on Taxila trays at S. No. 35. The later, on basis of style, iconography and its findspot, is datable in the middle of 2nd century B.C. The Charsada tray likewise must be dated in the same period, if not earlier.

3. Adonis and Aphrodite

In the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City is another round tray with dot and dentil border (Pl. XII, c) (S. No. 69). 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 century B.C. The entire circular space is occupied by a scene of four human figures and one croaching wild boar. The scene of tray at S. No.83 is reversed here. In the centre is lying a half clad male figure whose chlamys has slipped exposing his male nakedness. He wears a cross breast-chain or, what is more sure, a diaphanous jacket.[96] Another completely nude figure, identified by the presence of anklet in feet as female, is sitting near the male figure. The position of her right hand clearly shows that it is she who has exposed the masculine front of sleeping male by pushing down his chlamys. Behind a rocky barrier are two male busts — one typically an Indian figure — both looking with astonishment at what is happening there.

The most distinguishing feature of this tray is the crouching boar in the foreground. Now there are only two legends in Greek mythology in which 'boar' appears prominently. According to one, Adonis was brutally

killed by a boar which was set against him by Artemis.[97] According to other legend, Meleager, after killing the monstrous boar that was ravaging the region of Calydon, also killed two of his maternal uncles who protested against his giving away the head of hunted boar to Atalanta, his beloved. This brought curse from his mother Althaea[98] In either case the lying male figure can be dead Adonis or Meleager.

However, the scene can represent any other mythological rape as well, but in a legend in which female dominates man. 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 is usually over emphasised. Thus, the scene can be identified variantly as:

→ Selene descending on entranced Endymion

→ Eros and Psyche

→ Siren and a sleeping traveller.

Among numerous emblemata in plaster casts discovered from Begram, there is one emblema (16.5 cm.), formerly in the Kabul Museum, which represents a similar scene with female counterpart being winged.[99] A Roman period marble copy of the same subject exists in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[100] The Begram plaster cast undoubtedly belongs to a later period but it was made from an earlier Greek and Hellenistic metalware.[101] As the Kansas City tray reportedly comes from Taxila, it probably comes from an earlier level of middle of 2nd century B.C. or early 1st century 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 Donysiac rites.[102] 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 century 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. None of the figures on these trays may possess any characteristic to pin-point their precise

identification and hence that of the scene, but there can hardly be any doubt that the scenes presented 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.

4. Funeral Banquets

Antoher interesing schist tray, diameter 13.2 cm., from the Greek levels of Taxila (S. No. 27), (Pl. 'N', b)[103] 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 (S. Nos. 27, 28, 36, 44, 88). All figures wear Greek dresses. At least four other free reproductions of the same tray (S. No. 27) are known, one each now in the Taxila Museum (S. No. 28),[104] the British Museum (S. No. 44),[105] Peshawar Museum (S. No. 88)[106] and National Museum, Karachi (S. No. 36).[107] 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.

Sir John Marshall insisted that this tray depicts drinking scene. But certainly it is more than that Both in Greek (Attica, Pelloponese and Islands)[108] and Asia Minor[109] from 5th-4th centuries 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. One such stele dating 400 B.C. from Hellespontic (Phrygia),[110] is very close to our example. From there it found its way to Palmyra,[111] into Parthian sculptures, and went as far as Bactria.[112] It has been identified as Greek influence on the religious ideas of the population of Mesopotamia.[113] The theme was actually a part of the ancient cult of 'Ancestor Worship' which itself is believed to have been introduced in Greece as part of the Eastern luxury.[114] It is certain that the Greeks in Bactria were familiar with this theme as early as 3rd century B.C.

From Bactria the cult of Ancestor Worship appears to have penetrated into Gandhara where it flourished as late as 1st century 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 survivors [115] 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 century A D., especially the several Gandhara slabs depicting scene of Buddha's Life in Palace and his Great Departure.[116] 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 hands.[117] H-P. Francfort, however, has identified all these trays as showing a simple Banquet Scene.[118]

5. Artemis and Actaeon

From many other sites are numerous other trays which depict stories from Greek mythology. Most important of all is a steatite tray (diam. 12.3 cm.) from Akra near Bannu, now in the British Museum (Pl. XII b) (S. No. 94), which in a simple but effective way narrates the story of Artemis and Actaeon.[119] The scene, with figures in high relief, is arranged in two tiers and reminds, in technique, the famous relief of Archelaos from Priene now in the British Museum (No. 2191).[120]

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 goddess.[121] This is the only tray that I know, which depicts two scenes or two acts of a scene. This is unmistakably a scene taken from 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.

6. Hercules and Queen Omphale

The scene on another fragmentary tray from Peshawar Museum[122] (S. No. 104) can be identified as Hercules and the Lydian Queen Omphale. Only1/4 of the tray is preserved. In it a lady wearing a sari-like dress and crossed breast-chain or a tight sleeve-less dress of the type seen in a tray at S. No. 69[123] is seated on a high stool. On her left is the muscular bodied Hercules standing naked with bow in one hand and club in the other. What was on the right side of the seated lady can only be guessed. The scene has a haunting resemblance with a similar scene on an Etruscan Bell-krater in the British Museum,[124] on a Roman relief from Heraklea[125] and on a 4th-3rd cent. B.C. terracotta mould of a medallion from Chersonese (Black Sea).[126] The tray can be dated in the late 1st century B.C. or early 1st

century A.D. on account of haunting resemblance of the female figure with a small stone female statue from Sirkap[127] and a terracotta female figure from Priene.[128] Suffice here to point out that the scene of Hercules and Omphale has precise Dionysian implication[129] of which we shall speak more below. H-P. Francfort has identified it as an ordinary scene of Aphrodite and Eros.[130] Perhaps he has been led to this identification by the comparatively small size of the male figure, his nakedness and bow in his left hand. However, it is difficult to identify a large object to his right hand as 'arrow'.

The scene on another tray (S. No. 147), can without doubt be identified as Hercules and Queen Omphale.[131] Here the bearded Hercules, in a 'barbaric' dress, is supported by the narrow waisted Lydian Queen. Setting of the scene is more elaborate than to be met in any tray of this type. In the foreground is a rocky terrace out of which grows a foliated tree on the left hand. The 'club' is fallen on the ground and the basket-like object under the tree is probably quiver full of arrows.

7. Helios in Solar Chariot (S. Nos. 72, 92, 117)

Two trays bearing Helios in Solar Chariot and one tray showing Dioscori brothers (S. No. 89) have already been discussed (supra, pp. 137-138 and and pp. 138-139, f.n. 66-69)[132] and need not be repeated here. Suffice here to say that Francfort regards scenes in both the trays as representing a couple drinking in a chariot.[133]

APHRODISIAC AND DIONYSIAC SCENES

Most original and interesting features of Hellenistic art, in general, are its Dionysiac and Aphrodisiac aspects.[134] They became popular because these were closer to human passion. A drunken Dionysus leaning on a young Satyr, light footed Nymphs playing with Pan or Satyrs, naked or dressed, Aphrodite ostentatiously exposing her voluptuous beauty, Nerieds riding tritons and other sea-monsters etc., became the passion with the artists. The heroism, violence and rapes gave way to tender idyl, 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 possible that some sort of Dionysiac cult did exist in Gandhara. A silver *repousee* figure of

Dionysus[135] and a fine stucco head of a Satyr[136] from a temple of Sirkap are among the earliest sculptures in Gandhara. A bronze head of Silenus is also known from Begram.[137] Even during mature Gandhara phase, Dionysiac scenes occur with great persistence side by side the moralistic Buddhist themes and this shows the strength of this still unidentified, cult.[138]

8. Marriage of Ariadne and Dionysus (Pl. XII. a) (S. No. 24)

This is, by far, the most elaborate of all the Dionysiac trays. It was discovered from layer II of Sirkap (diam. 15.5 cm.).[139] The scene covers the whole circular surface and, like the Artemis and Actaon tray, is divided into three tiers by projecting floors. In the top register, under a wine 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 Dionysus with Ariadne. The style is typical of Hellenistic art of 1st century A.D. The figures are in high reliefs and on the whole there 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 (Pakistan) and another from Badakhshan in Afghanistan.[140]

9. Sacrificial Scenes

From Taxila comes another tray of clay-stone of rough workmahship (S. No. 25)[141] showing a man drunk and dancing with two women. In a similar tray from Barikot[142] (S. No. 71) now in V. & A. Museum, 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. In another unpublished tray from Taxila (S. No. 41), all the three figures stand still, each with a wine-cup in right hand held against their breasts. The Dionysiac scenes representing Dionysus, Maenads, Selene, Pan, Eros, Satyr etc., in a variety of grouping of three, four or more figures was quite a frequent subject on vase painting,[143] and on mirror-lids[144] of third cent B.C. and onward. In the Museum Naprstick, Prague[145] (S. No. 119), V. & A. Museum (S. No. 116),[146] Swat Museum (S. No. 71)[147] and Peshawar

Museum (S. No. 107)[148] are a few trays which depict Dionysiac sacrificial scenes in a more complicated manner and need not to be elaborated here.

10. Drinking Scenes

Among the 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, several 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 terractotta medallion from Myrina[149] have been tentatively identified as Dionysus and Ariadne and it is possible that the figures on Taxila trays can also be identified similarly, but it is better to call them simply 'Drinking couples'.

11. Aphrodisiac Trays

From Taxila proper Aphrodisiac trays are very few (S. Nos. 34 & 43). Outside Taxila, the best example is from Narai now in the British Museum (S No 94, P1. XIII, b) [150] 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 Gandhara 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 mirrors.[151] This was a very popular feature at Taxila during early 1st century A.D. and we have already seen it in the trays depicting Marriage of Dionysus with Ariadne (S. No. 24) as well as two other trays from Taxila (S. No. 34 & 43)[152] — the later now in the Indian Museum, Berlin and two trays in Peshawar Museum (S. No. 81 & 97).[153] One such tray (S. No. 97) shows a seated half draped woman approaching a man with a wine cup. 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 details.[154] In the British Museum a fragmentary Calenian phiale of c. 200 B.C. repeats within a medallion the same story with minor differences.[155] Men and women (S. No. 97),. Nymphs and Satyrs, Aphrodite and Eros, Dionysus and Maenads, Nerieds

and men, etc., — all in groups of two in playful moods or erotic expositions, can also be considered part of this group (S. Nos. 97, 106, 121, 143).

ANIMALS AND ANIMALS WITH RIDERS

12. Animals with Riders

(S. Nos. 1, 13, 14, 15, 29, 34, 43, 60, 84, 85, 99, 101, 111, 112, 115, 122, 123, 132, 140, 144, 148 & 149).

13. Animals and Birds (Mythical and Real) (Pl. 'N', a)

(S. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 30, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 49, 55, 58, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 75, 77, 80, 85, 98, 102, 105, 114, 124, 127, 128, & 130).

Among other trays bearing Hellenistic motifs is a group of trays from Taxila showing figures riding animals (real or mythical) or depicting animals or birds 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. Nos. 13, 14, 15, 34, 93) etc. There are two such trays in V. & A. Museum (S. Nos. 84 & 115) and three in the British Musem (S. Nos. 101, 111 & 112). 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 etc. These echo the popular Hellenistic and Roman period motifs of Nerieds riding all sorts of sea-monsters.[156] Aphrodite riding a sea-monster with Eros (Pl. 'N', a) as on a Taxila tray (S. No 34) is known to have been executed on mirror lids since 5th-4th centuries B.C. (National Musem, Athens Nos. 7417 and 7418).[157] The trays from Taxila showing Nerieds carrying something on a sea-monster[158] may represent Neried or Thetis transporting the arms of Achilles — a theme freqently occurring in Greek art, especially on Greek and Etruscan mirrors (National Musem, Athens Nos. 7678 and 7422).[159] The rider on the back of a lion can either be infant Dionysus or more probably an Eros. This motif also found its way into Buddhist art of Gandhara from the West. From Taxila itself[160] and from other sites[161] 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 lion.[162]

Among all the toilet trays only those bearing Dionysiac and Aphrodiasiac stamps found their way into the Buddhist art of Gandhara,

especially in its early period. There are scenes of dance, drinking bouts, love-making, Erod playing with lions, Maenads and Satyrs etc.[163] Continuity of such scenes on otherwise a religious 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 and were popular with the Scythians[164] as well as in the Hellenistic world.[165] Griffin was particularly sacred to Apollo. Since antiquity, it was also regarded as guardian of gold mines of Scythian Hyperborean mountains.[166] 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 (S. No. 105) depicting two lions standing face to face. In the British Museum are two trays (S. Nos. 102 & 109) which, instead, show a bull fighting with a lion. From Taxila we know a terractotta medallion on the base of a bowl showing a lion fighting an elephant.[167] Whereas the lion killing bull or some other animal is a well known theme in the Greek art, the theme of a lion fighting a lion is comparatively very rare of which I know only two instances. On one of the longer side of a sarcophagus from Athens,[168] two lions are shown facing each other in a beligerent mood. Similarly, in the pediment of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthaia, Sparta of the 6th century B.C., a pair of lions confront each other.[169] The significance of lion-fighting-lion is, however, difficult to guage.

As a tail-piece to this story of Hellenistic motifs on toilet trays, I append herewith a tray from a Buddhist temple of Taxila showing a winged sea-monster and a serpent-legged giant or triton with a small female figure on his leg (S. No. 32).[170] A tray made of black schist, acquired from Peshawar market and now in a private collection in Colman, France[171] also represents a large size winged serpent legged giant (S. No. 91), while on still another tray, now in the National Museum, Tokyo (Eastern Art and Archaeolgy Wing), the serpent legged giant is actually a female (S. No. 133). Whereas Hellenistic origin of this motif is beyond any doubt, the

CATALOGUE OF TOILET TRAYS

Sr. No.	Site	Present Location with Museum or Collection Nos.*	Brief Description
1/22**	Taxila**	TM.-69, SK' 26-2, 367 (No. 174/1932-33)	Cupid riding a lion moving in the rocks.
2/68	,,	TM. 70, Sk' 29-2292 (No. 173/1932-33)	Winged Makara like sea-monster.
3/85	,,	TM. 71, Sk' 28-2400 (No. 178/1932-33)	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.
5/86	,,	TM. 73, Sk' 27-13 (No. 177/1932-33)	Two lions facing each other.
6/82	,,	NM, Karachi. 8473, Sk' 28-2159	Busts of a couple with wine cups.
7/63	,,	TM. 8474, Sk' 19-695 (No. 170/1932-33)	Couple with wine bowls in hand.
8/92	Taxila	TM. 8475, Sk' 24-316 (No. 193/1932-33)	Swastika.
9/80	,,	TM. 8476, Sk' 15-841 (No. 185/1932-33)	No figure, Four divisions with curved cross.
10/67	,,	TM. 8477, Sk' 12-1336 (No. 171/1932-33)	Fish-tailed winged monster
11/74	,,	TM. 8478, Sk' 22-384 (No. 181/1932-33)	Conventionalized winged Makara.
12/38	,,	TM. 8479, Sk' 13(A-461)	Winged griffin

* LM stands for Lahore Museum; BM for British Museum, London; SM for Swat Museum; PM for Peshawar Museum, Peshawar; V&A for Victoria & Albert Museum, London; TM for Archaeological Museum, Taxila; and NM for National Museum, Karachi.

** With the exception of one (S. No. 32) all Toilet Trays from Taxila are reportedly from the city-site of Sirkap. Collection numbers in respect of trays found in proper excavations of Taxila have been copied from the Accession Register of Archaeological Museum, Taxila. Collection numbers whereever given in brackets in column No.4 are those given by Mons Henri-Paul Francfort in his: "Palettes du Gandhara", loc. cit. Similarly, under first column, some of the S. Nos. of this list are followed by S. Nos. and are separated by an oblique. The latter are the S. Nos. allocated by Francfort in his list at pp. 9-72.

		(No. 197/1932-33)	
13/37	..	TM. 8480, Sk' 15-277 (No. 183/1932-33)	Male rider on a fish-tailed hippocampus.
14/36	..	TM. 8481, Sk' 27-607 (No. 169/1932-33)	Rider (male) on a fish-tailed griffin.
15/43	..	TM. 8482, Sk' 29-306 (No. 166/1932-33)	Draped woman (Nereid) riding side-way on a hippocampus.
16/76	..	TM. 8483, Sk' 29-1183 (No. 165/1932-33)	Winged Makara.
17/52	..	TM. 8484, Sk' 29-394 (No. 184/1932-33)	Double horned winged Makara.
18/87	..	TM. 8485, Sk' 27-501 (No. 186/1932-33)	Nine compartments. No figure
19/90	..	TM 8486, Sk' 27/1649 (No 182/1932-33)	Winged hippocampus in a floral design.
20/45	..	TM 8487, Sk' 20-801 (No. 192/1932-33)	Winged Makara
21/84	"	TM. 8488, Sk' 20-230 (No. 179/1932-33)	Lion in the central one of the nine compartments.
22/78	..	TM. 8489, Sk' 29-2285 (No. 172/1932-33)	Fragment. Nine divisions by 8 radii. Four couples with wine-cups in four divisions.
23/58	Taxila	NM. 8490, Sk' 20-763 (No. 199/1932-33)	Busts of a couple holding wine-cups.
24/14	..	NM. New Delhi, 8491 Sk' 28-1776	Marriage of Ariadne scene (P1. XII. a).
25/13	..	TM. 8492, Sk' 12-814	Man dancing with two women (Dionysus and Maenads).
26/40	..	(TM 8493, Sk' 12 A-461) (Delhi Museum No 191/ 1932-33)	Four winged griffins.
27/27	..	TM. 8494, Sk' 29-2572 (No. 195/1932-33)	Funeral Banquet (P1. 'N', b)
28/29	..	TM. 8495, Sk' 28-2530 (No. 194/1932-33)	Funeral Banquet.
29/91	..	TM. 8496, Sk' 27-501 (Delhi Museum No. 198/1932-33)	Winged stag, winged lion and goat. Winged man rides the stag.
30/77	..	TM. 8497, Sk' 12-642 (No. 187/1932-33)	Winged fish-tailed sea-monster with hare-like head.
31/62	..	TM. 8498, Sk' 28-635 (No. 176/1932-33)	Couple with wine cups.
32/79	.. (Dharmarajika)	TM. 8499, DH' 15-613 (No. 180/1932-33)	Makara in one division and serpent-legged demon in

			another.
33/50	Taxila	TM. 9500. Sk' 29-2455 (No. 168/1932-33)	Winged hippocampus.
34/9	..	TM. 8501. Sk' 28-763. (No. 175/1932-33)	Semi-nude female with a child riding a hippocampus (P1. 'N', a).
35/1	..	MN. Karachi, 8502, Sk' 29-1894 NM No. 189/1932-33	A man (Apollo) disrobing a woman (Daphne) (P1. XI, c)
36/5	..	TM. 8503, Sk' 28-1486 NM No. 18 /1932-33	Funeral Banquet. A man reclining on bed kisses 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 a 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 is female.
43/-	..	Museum for Indische Kunst. West Berlin. No. I-117	A semi-nude lady holding a mirror and riding a hippocampus.
44/-	..	British Museum No. 1918. 7-6-2.174	Funeral Banquet.
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/-	..	TM-S. 5203. Sk' 26-2230	Frag. Two lions facing each other
50/-	..	TM-S 5205. Sk' 26 2367	Frag. A Couple in the 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 cups.
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 Serpent-tailed Makara.	Frag. Hind-quarter of a
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.
60/35	"	Cleveland Museum of Art. No. 28528	A man riding a sea-monster.
61/83	"	Private Collection	Drinking couple.
62/97	„(?)	Private Collection of Dr. & Mrs. G. Lehner, Tampa, Florida.	Buddhistic worship.
63/-	"	Museum of Art and Archacology, Univ. of Missouri, Columbia. No. 72-132.	Rampant Winged Lion
64/-	"	-do- No. 72-173	Half tray showing a rampant winged lion
65/75	"	Taxils Museum. No not known.	Frag showing part of a Makara.
66/51	"	-do- (No. 167/1932-33)	Sea-monster.
67/51	"	Sent to India on 12-4-1949 Probably in the NM, Delhi.	Frag. Lion.
68/51	"	-do-	Frag. Bird in the upper compartment.
69/17	"	William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri, No. 49-8.	A wild boar, two nude male and female figures etc. representing legend either of Adonis and Aphrodite or of Maleager and his beloved Atalanta. (Pl. XII. c).

SWAT

70/17	Thana	V & A Museum, London	Details of figures mutilated beyond recognition.
71/25	Barikot	V & A Neg. No. S 1220	One naked man supported by two women (Dionysiac Scene).
72/65	Udegram	SM-UD-372	Surya and Savitri driven in a two-horses chariot. Also identifiable as Helios in his solar chariot.
73/47	Udegram	SM-UD-251	Two male figures standing, one sitting, one ram and one altar. Dionysiac composition.
74/81	Udegram	Unknown	Busts of three figures.

			Mithraic composition or Ritual Banquet.
75/-	Butkara	SM. Butkara 5466	Makara-like winged sea-monster.
76/-	Swat	SM. fresh purchased	Figures of two female, one male and one cupid, all standing beside an altar
77/55	Tota Khan	BM No 1930, 12-9, 1	Winged hippocampus in the upper half
78/57	Swat	PM No. 1105, purchased in 1934.	A man offering a wine bowl to a woman. Both standing
79/31	Swat	private Collection, Saidu Sharif.	Banquet Scene

CHARSADA AREA

80/39	Malka Dheri	PM-1117 M	Four winged griffins
81/19	Utmanzai	PM-989 M	A scene of seven figures in a Dionysiac composition
82/7	Bala Hisr (Charsada)	Supposedly in the Antiquities Godown, Lahore Fort	A girl playing a vina
83/-	Charsada	V & A No. I.S. 695-1950 (I.S. 1218).	Apollo and Daphne or Paris and Aphrodite (P1. XI. b)
84/-	,,	V & A No. I.S. 490-1950	A male riding a sea-monster
85/-	,,	V & A No. I.S. 490-1950	A male riding a sea-monster
86/-	,,	V & A, London	A person riding a Makra
87/-	,,(?)	L.M. No. 816	Fragmentary. Couple with wine cups

OTHER AREAS OF N.W.F. PROVINCE

88/30	Tor Dher	P.M. No. 0984 (715 M)	Funeral Banquet
89/20	Not known	NM, Karachi, No. 988 M	Dioscuri brothers Pollux and Castor riding horses
90/64	Peshawar	private Collection, Paris.	Couple drinking wine
91/47	Peshawar market	Private Collection Colman, France.	Serpent legged giant
92/88	Khyber Pass	Musee Guimet, Paris. No. 18575.	Surya in his Chariot.
93/60	N.W.F. Province	Muzeo Nazionale d' Arte Orientale, Rome	Drinking Couple
94/8	Narai	Former L.W. Jardin Collection, now in BM No. 1973, 6-18.1[174]	Aphrodite beating a winged Eros (P1. XIII, b)
95/6	Akra (Bannu)	BM No. 1936, 12-23-1	Artemis and Actacon

			(Pl. XII. b)
96 92	Akra	BM No. 1967. 2-21-1	Neried
97/10	Sar Dheri	PM No 1188 M	Erotic couple. A female reaching a male companion

OTHER AREAS OF PAKISTAN

98/95	Jhukar (Sind)	National Museum, New Delhi.	Winged Horse

OUTSIDE GANDHARA (PAKISTAN)

99/93	Garav Kala Tadjikistan	Not known	A person riding a hippocampus
100 94	Avzaj. Tadjikistan	Now known	Fragmentary
101 34	Oxus	BM No. 1937. 3-19. 2	A male figure riding a lion-headed sea-monster
102/48	Helmand	BM No. 1913. 10-22. 2	Lion and bull standing face to face
103 -	Hatra (Iraq)	Hatra Museum, No. not known	Assembly of gods

UNSPECIFIED AREAS

104/15	"	PM No. 1103 M	Hercules and Queen Omphale (Aphrodite and Eros ?).
105 71	..	PM No. 1107 M	Two lions one attacking the other.
106 4	"	PM No. 113 M	Death of Achilles (Erotic scene?).
107 54	"	PM No. 1108 M	Two standing female figures attended by two dancers, one on either side.
108 -	..	Seen in Karachi market.	A couple with drinking bowls in hands.
109 72		BM No. 1939. 1-19. 12	A bull surendering before a triumphant lion.
110 59	..	BM No. 1939. 1-19. 12	Busts of two male & female figures each standing in a separate division of upper half in adoration mood
111 23	..	BM No 1898. 10-27-1	Naked Hercules, club in hand, riding a sea-monster.
112 33	..	BM No. 1937. 3-19. 3	Man riding a lion-headed hidpocampus.
113 89	..	BM No. 1939, 1-19. 14	Busts of a couple (holding wine cups) in one of the nine divisions.
114 -	..	BM No not known	A boar and another animal.
115 41	..	V & A No. I.S. 3-1958	Female (Neried) holding a dish in hand riding a sea-monster.
116 21	..	V & A No. I.S. 63-1948,	Sacrificial scene. Five standing

			Mithraic composition or Ritual Banquet.
75/-	Butkara	SM. Butkara 5466	Makara-like winged sea-monster.
76/-	Swat	SM. fresh purchased	Figures of two female, one male and one cupid, all standing beside an altar
77/55	Tota Khan	BM No 1930, 12-9, 1	Winged hippocampus in the upper half
78/57	Swat	PM No. 1105, purchased in 1934.	A man offering a wine bowl to a woman. Both standing
79/31	Swat	private Collection, Saidu Sharif.	Banquet Scene

CHARSADA AREA

80/39	Malka Dheri	PM-1117 M	Four winged griffins
81/19	Utmanzai	PM-989 M	A scene of seven figures in a Dionysiac composition
82/7	Bala Hisr (Charsada)	Supposedly in the Antiquities Godown, Lahore Fort	A girl playing a vina
83/-	Charsada	V & A No. I.S. 695-1950 (I.S. 1218).	Apollo and Daphne or Paris and Aphrodite (Pl. XI. b)
84/-	„	V & A No. I.S. 490-1950	A male riding a sea-monster
85/-	„	V & A No. I.S. 490-1950	A male riding a sea-monster
86/-	„	V & A, London	A person riding a Makra
87/-	„(?)	L.M. No. 816	Fragmentary. Couple with wine cups

OTHER AREAS OF N.W.F. PROVINCE

88/30	Tor Dher	P.M. No. 0984 (715 M)	Funeral Banquet
89/20	Not known	NM, Karachi, No. 988 M	Dioscuri brothers Pollux and Castor riding horses
90/64	Peshawar	private Collection, Paris.	Couple drinking wine
91/47	Peshawar market	Private Collection Colman, France.	Serpent legged giant
92/88	Khyber Pass	Musee Guimet, Paris. No. 18575.	Surya in his Chariot.
93/60	N.W.F. Province	Muzeo Nazionale d' Arte Orientale, Rome	Drinking Couple
94/8	Narai	Former L.W. Jardin Collection, now in BM No. 1973, 6-18.1[174]	Aphrodite beating a winged Eros (Pl. XIII, b)
95/6	Akra (Bannu)	BM No. 1936, 12-23-1	Artemis and Actaeon

			(P1. XII. b)
96 92	Akra	BM No. 1967. 2-21-1	Neried
97/10	Sar Dheri	PM No 1188 M	Erotic couple. A female reaching a male companion

OTHER AREAS OF PAKISTAN

98/95	Jhukar (Sind)	National Museum. New Delhi.	Winged Horse

OUTSIDE GANDHARA (PAKISTAN)

99/93	Garav Kala Tadjikistan	Not known	A person riding a hippocampus
100 94	Avzaj. Tadjikistan	Now known	Fragmentary
101 34	Oxus	BM No. 1937. 3-19. 2	A male figure riding a lion-headed sea-monster
102/48	Helmand	BM No. 1913. 10-22, 2	Lion and bull standing face to face
103 -	Hatra (Iraq)	Hatra Museum, No. not known	Assembly of gods

UNSPECIFIED AREAS

104/15	"	PM No. 1103 M	Hercules and Queen Omphale (Aphrodite and Eros ?).
105 71	"	PM No. 1107 M	Two lions one attacking the other.
106/4	"	PM No. 113 M	Death of Achilles (Erotic scene?).
107 54	"	PM No. 1108 M	Two standing female figures attended by two dancers. one on either side.
108 -	"	Seen in Karachi market.	A couple with drinking bowls in hands.
109 72		BM No. 1939. 1-19. 12	A bull surendering before a triumphant lion.
110 59	"	BM No. 1939. 1-19. 12	Busts of two male & female figures each standing in a separate division of upper halt in adoration mood
111 23	"	BM No 1898. 10-27-1	Naked Hercules, club in hand, riding a sea-monster.
112 33	"	BM No. 1937. 3-19. 3	Man riding a lion-headed hidpocampus.
113 89	"	BM No. 1939, 1-19. 14	Busts of a couple (holding wine cups) in one of the nine divisions.
114 -	"	BM No not known	A boar and another animal.
115 41	"	V & A No. I.S. 3-1958	Female (Neried) holding a dish in hand riding a sea-monster.
116 21	"	V & A No. I.S. 63-1948,	Sacrificial scene. Five standing

		V 259	male and female figures, one offering libation
117/66	,,	Museum fur Volkekunde, Berlin No. I-106.	A pair of figures making libation from a Solar Chariot.
118/-	"	Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin No. IC-34550	Buddha & Worshippers (P1. XIV. a).
119/46	,,	Museum Naprstek, Prague, No. 12808	Bearded figure seated cross-legged and two other figures one each on his right and left (P1. XIV. b).
120/-	,,	V & A, London. No. Nil	Scallop shell like those on Roman terracotta lamps.
121/-	,,	Haughton Collection, London	Busts of a couple putting arms round the neck of each other.
122/-	,,	-do-	A fully clad woman seated astride on a Makara-like sea-monster.
123/-	,,	(Late) Khawaja M. Salim's Collection, Lahore	Female riding a hippocampus whom she is offering a bowl of milk or wine ?
124/-	,,	-do-	Two lions standing face to face in one of the nine compartments.
125/-	,,	-do-	Busts of a couple holding cups of wine in their hands.
126/-	,,	Lahore Museum No. G. 339	Fragmentary. Half nude Aphrodite with bare buttocks beating a cupid.
127/-	,,	LM No. G. 814	Winged horse
128/-	"	LM No. 815	Damaged. Two birds facing each other and holding a necklace
129/-	"	Bahawalpur Museum No not known.	Couple with cups in hands
130/-	,,	Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia 69 : 132.	Lion in upper surface
131 -	,,	-do- 69 : 133	Fragment. Scene not known
132 -	,,	Saint Louis Museum of Arts. St. Louis.	Serpent-tailed man with animal's hoofs & forepart with a lady riding on it
133/-	,,	National Museum (Eastern Art & Archaeology Wing), Tokyo.	A lady with her legs in form of two intertwined serpents
134 -	,,	BM No. 1880-91	Fragment of a toilet dish of steatite
135 -	,,	BM No. 1939. 1-19. 11	Toilet dish of steatite Diam. 3-13/16 inches Donated by H.H.R. Deane

136/-	,,	Bm No. 1945, 4-18, 10	Fragment of a toilet dish of steatite. Donated by A.D. Chisholm Length 1-3/4 inch
137/-	"	BM No. 1963, 7-11, 2	Toilet dish of schist Diam 4-1/8 inches
138/10	"	Bm No. 1967, 2-21, 2	A couple-with two attendents (P1. XIII, a)
139/-	,,	BM No. 1967, 2-21, 3	Fragment of a toilet dish of schist. Length 2 inches.
140/73	,,	BM No. 1971, 5-17, 1	Man fighting with a lion and a boar. Diam 5-1/2 inches.
141/3	,,	V & A No. IS-326-196 U	Nymph and Satyr.
142/56	,,	V & A No. Not known.	Drinking couple.
143/26	,,	V & A No. IS-232-1960	Aphrodite taking bath.
144/44	,,	V & A No. IS-60-1946	Neried riding a sea-monster.
145/61	,,	V & A No. Not known	Couple drinking wine.
146/32	,,	Muzeo Nazionale d' Arte Orientale, Rome No. 8713/10339.	Couple drinking wine
147/16	,,	Collection R.C. Bull, Philadelphia.	Bearded Hercules and the Lydian Queen Omphale. An intimate pose in a rocky and foliage setting. Hercules in a typical oriental fashion. (P1. XI. d)
148/24	,,	Musee Guimet, Paris, No. 21-202	Neried riding a sea-monster
149/-	Transcaucasia	Asia Institute Archives.	Islamic period tray showing Eden on a galloping horse copying Sassanian motif
150/24	"	Private collection (Seen in Lahore market)	A round dish showing two concentric cireles with inner circle divided into four divisions. Meditating figure of Buddha (?) with two attendents in each of the four divisions. Two snakes encircle the entire area from tail to tail and mouth-to-mouth positions. Busts of male figures one under each bend of the encircling snake.
151/-	Pir Manak Rai	National Heritage Foundation, Peshawar	Dionysiac Composition: Drunken Dionysus supported by two female companions.

figure in toilet tray at S. No. 91 has been exceuted in a true Pergamon style, where such giants are well-known in the famous Gigantomachia freize on Pergamon Temple. Such representations of psuedo-gigantomachia are quite familiar in the arts of Gandhara[172] and Mathura.[173]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Among 69 trays, reportedly from Sirkap city of Taxila, attribution of only 40 trays (Nos. 1-31 & Nos. 33-41) is definite. Rest is probable.
2. Another fine study of Gandharan toilet trays is now available in the form of "Les Palettes du Gandhara" by Henri-Paul Francfort, published as Vol. XIII of *MDAFA*, (Paris: 1979). This book presents an exhanstive study of 97 Toilet Trays. Before its publication, I have already presented a study of 115 such toilet trays in the form of a paper in the Lahore Museum Study Circle, in Nov., 1978. (See Henri-Paul Francfort, op. cit., p. 2). This paper, with a list of 123 trays, was published in Vol. II, No. 2, Dec., 1979, pp. 141-184, of the *Journal of Central Asia*, Islamabad almost simultaneously with the book referred to above. The list has now been updated incorporating all the 97 Trays published by Francfort. How-ever, I have left the approach of my article unchanged. For more detailed study of technique, iconography and chronological classification of these trays, one must refer to chapter IV of Francfort's book.
3. *Taxila II*, pp. 493-498.
4. See fn. 2 above.
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), pp. 25-26, Figs. 19-20.
6. Barger & Wright, "Excavations in Swat", *Mem. Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 64, 1941, p. 63, No. 339; Martha L. Carter, 'Dionysiac Aspect of Kushana Art', *Arts Orientalis*, VII. (1958), pp. 121-146; M. Taddei, *E.W.*, 16, Nos. 1-2, (1906), *Art Treasures in Pakistan*, (Karachi: 1968), p. 130. Butkara Register No 5466; British Museum No. 1830-12-9, I. H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art of Pakistsan*, (New York: 1957), p. 177, No. 486; one tray recently purchased by the Swat Museum and one in private collection in Saidu Sharif (cf. H-P. Francfort, op.cit., p. 35, No. 31).
7. Peshawar Museum Nos. 1117 M and 489 M; Wheeler, *Charsada*, (Oxford: 1962), p. 123, Pl. XLC; M. Hallade, op. cit., p. 18, Fig. 2: V&A Museum, London, Nos. I.S. 498-1950 and I.M. 71-1938 & Francfort, op. cit., p. 49, No. 53.
8. M O. Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, (London: 1962), p. 51; B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, (Harmondaworth: 1970), p. 147, Fig. 93; and Francfort, op. cit., p. 13, No. 6 (wrongly metioned as from Aksa, Punjab); and p. 42, No. 42.
9. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, (Cambridge: 1960), p. 19, Pl. 16, Fig. 18.
10. Peshawar Museum No 1188 M.
11. Ibid., No, 715 M.
12. N.C. Majumdar, "Explorations in Sind" *MASI*, No. 48 (Delhi: 1934), p. 18, No. 31, Pl. XIII, 2.

12.a. F.A. Durrani, "For the Sake of Tourism", *The News*, Lahore: 19 & 26 Oct., 1997.

13. Dalton, op. cit., p. 51, (197), Pl., XXVI; S. Reinach, *Repertoire du reliefs grec at romaine*. II, (Paris: 1912), p. 472 (3).

14. British Museum No. 1913, 10-22, 2.

15. *Illustrated London News*, Dec.: 18-25, 1954, 1161, Fig. 7.

16. H-P. Francfort, op. cit., pp. 69-70, Nos. 93 94.

17. Besides those from Taxila (see supra, fn. 5), other trays coming from proper excavations are those from Udegram (S. Nos. 72-74), Butkara (S. No. 75), Bala Hisar, Charsada (S. No. 82), Pir Manak Rai (S. No. 151), and Hatra (S. No. 103).

18 Marshall, *Taxila II*, pp. 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*, 1947/48, Marshall ascribed this tray to stratum V but in his two last books (*Taxila II*, p. 494, No. 62 and Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, p. 17). He assigns it, without any reason, to the stratum IV. But still he prefers to place it in the second cent. B.C. 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.

19. Gregory Borouka, *Scythian Art*. (New York: 1928) and T.T. Rice, *The Scythian Art*, (London: 1957), pp. 72-73, Fig. 12-13.

20. *Taxila I* 65.

21 Wheeler, *Charsada*, loc. cit.

22. M. Taddei, loc cit.

23. For example S. Nos. 72 and 74 of the list belong to Sun-worship and Mithraic cults respectively.

24. G. Borouka, loc. cit.

25. G. Becatti, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome*, (London: 1968), p. 250.

26. *Taxila II*, p, 504, Nos. 129-132, Pl. 147, b-d.

27. A. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, (London: 1964), I, p. 369 & II, p. 718.

28. B. Rowland, op. cit., p. 83, Fig. 31.

29. Ibid., p. 85, Fig. 32.

30. Ibid., p. 211, Fig. 147.

31. O.M. Dalton, op. cit., Pl., xxvii, 199-200.

32. B. Rowland, op. cit., p. 107, Figs. 51-52.

33. Piere Amandry, *Collection Hellenc Stathatos*, III, (Stras-bourg: 1963), pp. 276-277, Pl. XL, Fig. 176.

34. M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of Roman Empire*, (Oxford: 1957), p. 132. Pl. xviii, i. Also, D.T. Rice. *The Beginning of Christian Art*, (London: 1957), p. 52, Fig. 7.

35. *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 18 and 25, (1954), p. 1161, Fig. 7. Also D. Schlumberger. *Syria*, 37 (1968), pp. 295-296, Figs. 4-5.

36. Sir John Evans, *Proc. of Society of Antiquaries*, Feb. 13, 1908, pp. 89-102, Figs. 1-12; and F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* .(London: 1927), pp. 37-39, Pl. xxxiv, Nos. 23-35.

37. F. Petric, op. cit., p. 38.

38. J. Evans, op. cit., p. 101.

39. For example Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, p. 19.

40. G.A.M. Richter. *Three Critical Periods of Greek Sculpture*, (Oxford: 1951), p. 32.

41. *Taxila II*, p. 605, No. 417.

42. R.E.M. *Wheeler, Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, (Harmandsworth 1954), p. 194, Pl. 30 (B).

43. G. Perrot et Ch. Chipiez, Historie de l'art dans l'antiquite, IX: *Grec Archaique-Le Ceramique*, (Paris: 1911), pp. 413-440, and pp. 460-463.

44. Arthur Fairbank, op. cit., p. 89.

45. G. Becatti, op. cit., pp. 103-104, figs 87-88. Also H.B. Walter, *A Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, (Cambridge: 1897), p. XX (46), Pl. xxviii (73 a).

46. *Archaeologika Analekta ton Athenon*, III (1970), pp. 137-151.

47. H.B. Walter, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, (London: 1896), pp. 224-225. 256-261.

48. G. Touratsoglou, in: *BCH*, xcii (1968), pp. 61-77, Figs. 9-13, Pl., xiii.
49. Ibid.
50. S. Benton, *BSA* (1931-32), p. 230; Ibid., xxxix (1938-39), p. 45, No. 66, Pl. 20 and G. Dontas, *Archaeologike Ephemeris*, (Athens: (1964), pp. 28-30, Pl. 6a.
51. S. Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, II, (Paris: 1912). 11, p. 2.
52. The Athenian Agora, VI. *Terracotta and Plaster Lamps of the Roman Period,* (New Jersey: 1961), p. 32, No. 1113.
53. P.V.C. Baur, *The Excavation at Dura Europos, Final Report*, IV, Pl. III-The Lamps, (New Haven: 1947), pp. 50-56, Pl. viii; Athenian Agora, Vol. VI, loc cit. Ibid., Vol. VII: "Lamps of the Roman Period"; Philippe Bruneau, *Exploration Archaelogique de Delos-Los* Lamps, (Paris: 1915), Corinth, IV, 2-*Terracotta Lamps*, (Cambridge: 1934) and Gerard Siebast in *BCH, XC*, (1966), pp. 472-513, Figs. 1-27.
54. Ludwing Budde and R. Nicholis, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture*, (Cambridge: 1964), pp. 79-80, Nos. 127-28, Pl. 42.
55. *JHS*, XXIII (1903), 318-319, Figs. 15-16.
56. G.A.M. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* (New York: 1915), p. 251 ff.
57. Paul Bernard, "Ai Khanum on the Oxus", *Proc. BA*, LXII, 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. Also see Paul Bernard, "An Ancient Greek City in Central Asia", *Scientific American*, Vol. 246, No. 1, Jan., 1982. p. 158.
61. S. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan,* (London: 1971). pp. 11-21, Pl. 95-104.
62. D. Faccena, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan),* (Rome: 1962), II, Pl. cixviii.
63. H-P. Francfort, op. cit., p. 5, Pl. XLVIII (A).
64. *Illustrated London News*, (Dec. 18-25, 1954), p. 1161, Fig. 7.
65. M. Taddei, *Inde,* (Geneve: 1970), pp. 97, 255; and H. Plaeschke "Gandhara Sculpturen in Naprstek Museum, Prague," *Annals of the Naprstek Museum*, 2, (Praha: 1963), pp. 33-49, Fig. I.
66. M. Taddei, *E.W.* XVI, 1-2, (1966), 91; *E.W.*, XIII, (1962), pp. 280-310, Figs. 22-33.L.
67. M.I. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., pp. 407, 617 n. 36. For full discussion on the cults of Apollo, Helios, Mithra and Surya see J.M. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of Kushnas,* (Los Angeles: 1967). pp. 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 B.C. (A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford: 1957, p. 71). The Solar Chariot was also painted in another temple out-side the city of Taxila which is believed to be the present day Jandial Temple (Philostratus, 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*, p. 702, No. 7, Pl. 212, No. 7). Indeed this Hellenistic theme is most popular one incorporated in Gandhara art in 2nd cent. A.D. and onward and in the long run became the prototype from which iconograpy of Helios-Surya of the Hindu mythology took its root. For example see B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, p. 175, Fig. 119; Ibid., *Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, p. 107, *LAGBG* I, pp. 207-208, Fig. 83; M. Taddei, *Inde*, p. 255, No. 92, Pl. 92; Barger and Wright, op. cit., Pl vii-4; B. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan*, p. 49, Fig. 165.

68. M. Taddei, *E.W.* XVI, No. 1-2, (1966), pp. 89-93, Figs. 1-3. Also for date of stratification in which this tray was found, see D. Faccena, *A Guide to the Excavations in Swat (Pakistan) 1956-1962*, (Rome: 1964), pp. 17-20.
69. James Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, I, (Varanasi: 1971), pp. 360-365; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, op. cit., p. 63, and 122; R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum*, Vol. I, (Rep. Chicago: 1969), pp. 202-205.
70. Martha L. Carter, loc. cit.
71. D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrene du nordouest*, (Paris: 1951), p. 56, No. 17, Pl. xxi, 4; H. Ingholt, op. cit., p. 176, pl. 480.
72. G. Gnoli, in: *E.W.* XIV, No. 1-2 (1963), p. 32, Fig. S.
73. Ibid. Dioscori brothers appear fraquently on the coins of Scytho-Parthian kings, especially those of Azilises. Whitehead, op. cit., p. 133.

73a. For further details for Asvins see N.M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. III, London: 1925, pp. 257-58.

74. Museum fur Volkerkund, Berlin. No. IC-34550. Also H-P. Francfort, *Les Palettes du Gandhara*, op. cit., p. 70, No. 96, Pl. xivii.
75. *Catalogue of Art of the Indian Sub-continent*, (Los Angeles: 1968), p. 26, No. 28. Also Francfort, op. cit., p. .71, No. 97, Pl. xivii.
76. Supra, pp. 69-79.
77. Richard N. Frye. The Golden Age of Persia, (London: 1977), p. 180, Pl. 3.
78. The break-up of 33 trays from Taxila as discussed by Marshall (*Taxila II*, p. 493) is as follows:

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

79. See Supra, fn. 18.
80. Marshall, in: *ASI, A/R* (1920 30), p. 90, No. 93, Pl xvi; *Taxila II*, p. 448, No. 62, Pl. 144; Ibid., *JRAS* (1946), pp. 177-118; Ibid., (1947), p. 4; Ibid., *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pp. 17-18, Pl. ii, Fig. 13; Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, (New York: 1957), p. 176, No. 479; Buchthal, *Proc. B.A.* (1945); pp. 130-131 and Walliullah Khan, *E.W.*, XV, (1964), pp. 54-55.
81. S. Reinach, *Repretoire de Peintures*, pp. 26(1-2), 5-7. Apollo was the son of Zeus (from his Asiatic mother Leto) & brother of Artemis. As an eternally youthful god, he distinguished himself, among other things, by his countless amorous adventures. Daphne, on the other hand was one of the countless nyphms who were loved by Apollo. Her father was river Ladon.
82. M.E. Babelon, *Catalogue des Camros Antiques et Modernes de la Biliotheque Nationale-Albums de Planches* (Paris: 1897), p. 47, For further detais for Asvins see N.M. Panzir, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. III, (London: 1925), pp. 257-58, No. 81, Pl.. 80, No. 149.
83. Reinach, *Rep. Reliefs*, p. 478, No 2.
84. M.E. Babelon, *Bronzes Antiques*, p. 545, Fig. 1337.
85. Ibid., p. 545, Fig. 1337; H.B. Walter, *Cat of Bronzes in British Museum*, p.

41, No. 2881, Pl. ix; A.H. Smith, *Cat. of Greek Sculpture*, III, p. 264, No. 2202.

86. Roscher, *Lexicon*, p. 219, Fig. 3.
87. *Taxila II*, p. 632(98), Pl. 191 (v).
88. *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, (1969), p. 330, Pl. 82.
89. R. Graves, *Greek Myths*, (London: 1958), p. 78, k, 1 and G. Downey, *Ancient Antioch*, (New Jersey: 1963), p. 41.
90. R. Graves, op. cit., p. 75, a-f, I.
91. Ibid., p. 101, a-e.
92. Ibid., p. 40, 1-b.
93. D.E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold Silver Plates*, (London; 1966), p. 104, Pl. 29A. Also on a mirror lid from Demetrias now in the National Museum, Athens.
94. S. Reinach, *Rep. Statuaire*, II, I (1897), pp. 331, 332, 2, 335, 3, 361, 4 & 9, 362, 1, 363 (8), 370 (1), 348(2).
95. J.E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, (Cambridge: 1903), pp. 292-301.
96. 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 (1st cent B.C.) and regarded by him among the few which mark the beginning of Gandhara Art (Marshall, *Buddhist Art*), p. 20, Figs. 19-20. Same dress is worn by a lady in a tray from Peshawar (S. No. 86). Also see fn. 123.
97. Adonis, son of Myrrha, was born as a result of later's illicit relations with her own father. At the time of his birth he was picked up by Aphrodite and given in the care of Persephone. Aphrodite was infatuted by him as he grew into a youth, an act which infuriated Artemis who brought a brutal end of this idyll by setting a boar against Adonis. Aphrodite was inconsolable after her lover's death. See Fernand Hazen (Editor), *A Dictionary of Ancient Greek Civilization*, (London: 1970), v.s. Adonis, p. 13. This legend is ultimately derived from Syrian origin.
98. Meleager, was the son of a king from his mother Alithaea. On growing to his manhood he gathered the greatest heroes in Greece around him to destroy the monstrous boar that was ravaging the region of Calydon. After killing the boar, Melaeger gave the head of it to Atalanta, his beloved, on a slight pretext. This enraged his companions which resulted into the killing of two of his maternal uncles. Alithaea, his mother, cursed the killer of her brothers who was no one else than her own son. As Fates had foreseen, Melesager's death occured at the hands of his own mother who also hung herself. See F. Hazen, op. cit., v. s. Meleager, p. 291.
99. *MDFA*, XI, Fig. 291.
100. *MDFA*, XI, Fig. 416; *AJA*, 68, 1964, p. 334.
101. G.A.M. Richter, "Ancient. Plaster Casts of Greek Metalware", *AJA*, 62, 1958, pp. 369-378.
102. B. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan*, op. cit., p. 18.
103. J. Marshall, in: *ASI* (1929-1930), p. 90, No. 94, Pl. xv, 2 ; Ibid., *Taxila II*, pp. 494-95, No. 63, Pl. 144, No. 63; and Ibid., *Buddhist Art*, op. cit., pp.. 17-18, Pl. 12, Fig. 14; L. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61 (1941); 225, p. No. 9; H. Buchthal, op. cit., p. 5, Fig. 3; H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, p. 178, No. 488, Pl. 488.
104. *Taxila II*, p. 500, *III.*, Pl. 146, No. 106 where it is mentioned as a lid of a casket.
105. M. Hallade, op. cit., p. 26, Pl. 20.
106. H. Ingholt, op. cit, No. 487.
107. *Taxila II*, p. 495, No. 64, III., Pl. 144.
108. Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, (London: 1896), pp. 87, 94.
109. *Monuments Asiae Minoris Antiqua, II*, (Manchester: 1931), p. 85, Pl. 37 (114), Vol. VI, p. 8, Pl. 5(97), etc.
110. H. Metzger, *Anatolia II*, (London: 1969), p. 145, Pl. 67.
111. Comte due Mensil du Buisson, *Les Tesscees et les Monnaies de Palmyra*,

(Paris: 1962), p. 416, Fig. 217, Pl. 439, Fig. 230-231.

112. *AJA*, 46(1942), pp. 295-301.
113. M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Carvan Cities*, (Oxford: 1932), p. 136, Pl xx (2), xxiii (1).
114. P. Gardner, loc. cit.
115. Ibid.
116. H. Ingholt, op. cit.. pp. 58-60, Pl. 38, 39, 44.
117. Ibid., Pl. 38.
118. H-P, Francfort, op. cit., p. 12 (No. 5), & pp. 32-35 (Nos. 27-30), Pl. ix, xiv, xv.
119. B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, op. cit., p. 147, Pl. 93.
120. D. Doris Pinkwart, in: *Antik Plastik*, IV (1935), pp. 55-56, Figs. 1-3, Pl. 28-35.
121. This virgin goddess of Greek mythology was a fierce-being who dealt death with her arrows and showed special severity towards mortals who had been guilty of impiety. Thus Actaeon met his tragic death because he contemplated Artemis naked when she was bathing. But according to some other authorities he met his end because he had been guilty of daring to compete with her in archery. See F. Hazen, *A Dictionary of Ancient Greek Civilization*, op. cit., v. s. Artemis, pp. 63-4.
122. H. Buchthal, "The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculptures", *Proc. BA*, XXI 1945, Fig 15.
123. For similar dress and date see fn. 96 above.
124. H.B. Walter, *Cat. of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, op. cit., pp. 215, 494, Fig. xiv.
125. S. Reinach, *Rep. Relief*, III, 74, No. 2.
126. G.A.M. Richter, *AJA*, 62, (1958), p. 373.
127. J. Marshall, *Buddhist Art* of Gandhara, op. cit., pp. 20-21, Fig. 20.
128. T. Weigand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, (Berlin: 1904), pp. 351-352, Fig. 418.
129. M. Taddei, *E.W.*, XIV, 1-2 (1963), p. 50, fn. 59.
130. H-P. Francfort, op. cit., p. 22, No. 15, Pl. VIII.
131. In a private collection of R.C. Bull, Philadelphia, see H-P. Francfort, op. cit., p. 23, No. 16, Pl. VIII.
132. For Dioscori see G. Gnoli, in: *E.W.* XIV, 1-2, (1963), pp. 32-33, where the tray can be dated earlier than the Kushan period.
133. Francfort, op. cit., pp. 56-7, Nos. 45 & 66 Pl. xxxii & xxxiii.
134. G. Becatti, op. cit., 250.
135. *Taxila II*, p. 694, Pl. 209.
136. Ibid., p. 517, No. I, p. 148, No. 1.
137. J. Hackins, *Begram*, (Paris: 1954), p. 280, No. 77, Fig, 329, No. 77 ; Grishman, *Begram*, (Paris: 1946), pp. 64-65, Pl. xvi, 2-3, xxxvii.
138. 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 padestal 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, 94.
139. *Taxila II*, p. 495, No 65, Pl. 144, Ibid., *Buddhist Art*, op. cit., pp. 18-19, Fig. 16; L. Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India", *JAOS*, 61. (4), 1941, p. 225, Pl. I, Fig. 2; *ASI, A/R*, 1928, p. 56, No. 55, Pl. xix; and Marshall, *Buddhist Art* of Gandhara, op. cit., p. 18, Fig. 16.
140. Dalton, op. cit., pp. 58-59, Pl. xxxiii, 204 and 49-50, Pl. xxvii, Fig. 75.
141. *Taxila II*, p. 495, No. 66, Pl. 144(66), H. Ingholt, op. cit., p. 176, No. 481; and *Artibus Asiae*, xvi, 1953. p, 130-31.
142. F. Barger and P. Wright, op. cit., p. 21, Pl. vii-4; H. Buchthal, op. cit., Fig. 9; and Martha L. Carter, in: *Arts Orientalis*, vii.1968, p. 126, Fig. 3.
143. S. Reianch, Rep. *des vases paints*, II, pp. 246-7, 289-303, 313, 344, 360; Ibid., Rep. *Statuaire II*, p. 189; *Ibid.*, Rep. *Reliefs. II*, p. 1912.
144. G.A.M. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, (New York: 1915) pp. 273-275, Figs., 797-798; H.B. Walter,

Cat. of Bronzes in British Museum, p. 16, No. 70, Pl. vii, 70 and *AJA*, XXII (1918), pp. 257-258, Figs. 3 and 4.

145. M. Taddei, *Inde*. (Geneve: 1970), p. 97, Pl. 100; and H. Plaeschke, "Gandhara Sculpturen in Naprstek Museum Prague" *Annals of the Naprstek Museum 2*, Prague: 1963, pp. 33-49, Fig. 1; and H-P. Francfort, op. cit., 1.
146. V. & A. Museum, London, No. 1. 8-64-1948. V. 259 & H-P. Francfort, op. cit., p. 27, No. 21, Pl. xi.
147. F. A. Khan, *Architecture and Art Treasure in Pakistan*, (Karachi: 1968) p. 130 Pl. 45, No. 47, Pl. xxvi.
148. H-P Franfort, op. cit., p. 50, No. 54, Pl. xxvii.
149. S. Mollard - Busque, *Cat. Raisonne de Figurines et reliefs en terrecuite Grecs et Romains, II-Myrina*. (Paris : 1963), p. 146, Pl. 178. h.
150. Marshall, *Buddhist Art*, op. cit., p. 19, Fig. 18.
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174. The list of toilet trays at S. Nos. 44, 77, 94-96, 101-102, 109-114; and 134-140 has been supplied to me by the kind courtesy of Wladimir Zwalf, former Deputy Keeper, Department of Oriential Antiquities, British Museum, London. He has also supplied some of the photographs at s. Nos. 44, 77, 94, 101, 102, 109 to 114.

8 ALEXANDER THE GREAT AFTER TAXILA

The usual account of Alexander's campaign in the areas now called Pakistan, as given by the Western historians, leads one to believe that he had a very smooth sailing on the political sea and that the local population either welcomed him or fled in front of his irresistible advances (Figs. 4 & 5). Any resistance if offered was overcome either by the superior strategy of the Macedonians or was routed due to inherent inferiority of local system of warfare. Successful he was, no doubt, as a general and conqueror. But this is only one side of the medal. The other side has always been overlooked. A number of scholars have worked hard during the last century in tracing the exact route which Alexander followed in the country. But the mounting opposition offered to him at every step in this land and its consequences have scarcely been touched upon. Local resentment with which he was welcomed is simply ignored. His practical retreat is skilfully masked under plausible phrase: homesickness of his soldiers. The results of his conquests in Pakistan have been highly exaggerated and heve never been studied under true perspectives. An objective study of Alexanders invasion of this part of the world brings out a picture with different shades.

Motives of His Invasion

There is no general consensus of opinion regarding the motives of Alexander's invasion of this area. It is generally regarded that his love of adventure and pan-Hellenic ideals were the official justification for extending war upto Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.[1] Some scholars hold that it was Alexander's cherished desire to emulate and surpass the mythical exploits of Dionysus, Hercules and Semiramis by affecting the conquest of India and Pakistan.[2] It is also possible that before starting from Macedon he had some idea of world conquest in his mind. As such the invasion of Pakistan can be considered as only a part of his global policy. With an imperfect geographical knowledge about the world in general and Pakistan and India in particular, which Alexander had then at his command, such follies were possible.[3] In fact there were four cogent reasons which might have compelled Alexander to carry out this invasion:

(i) People of this land (Pakistan) have always been fighting with Greeks on behalf of the Persians. Punjabis and Pathans had fought in the camp of Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) in the Battle of Thermopyl.[4] They again fought against Alexander in the camp of Darius III.[5] Thus during his struggle with Darius III, Alexander had become aware of the fact that the people of the Indusland had sympathies with the Persians. He had also come to know by actual experience that they are fiery, brave, and chivalrous. As friends, these people are of great help, but they can prove to be of considerable trouble when forced to hostile attitude. It is, therefore, safe to conquer them and, later on, win them over by deeds of kindness.

(ii) Whole of the Indusland had once been the eastern limits of the Persian Empire.[6] To have Persia conquered but leave this territory unsubjugated would have appeared unwise. According to Tarn, Alexander's conquest was only the necessary and inevitable completion of his conquest of that (Persian) Empire".[7]

(iii) Since time immemorial ancient India was known in the West for its fabulous wealth and lucrative business in raw material. Even under the Achaemenians, the provinces of the Punjab and Sind (Indoi of Herodotus[8] and Hidu of Naksh-i-Rustam inscription of 515 B.C)[9] formed one of the richest of 20 satrapies of the Empire. And it was this fame of the riches and wealth which attracted Alexander the Great to the Indusland.

(iv) Alexander was a megalomaniac. He wanted to be the greatest in history. He did not want to leave anything unconquered. Seneca, a writer of the age of Nero, writes that Alexander was "incapable of conceiving any plan not grandios".[10] He was puffed up with more than human pride.[11] He calls Alexander a "madman"[12] who pushed his arms beyond the bounds of nature, who, driven by reckless greed, plunged headlong into an unexplored and boundless sea".[13] He turned to Pakistan in a romantic and an adventurous spirit[14] without any clear idea as what he will face there. The territory was totally unknown to his geographers, historians, philosophers and soldiers.[15]

Thus Alexander's ambition to reach the Eastern Ocean might have been partly due to his love for adventure and partly due to the curiosity to know

the unknown. But in the main, Alexander marched into the Indusland under pressure from political considerations and commercial objectives.[16]

Political Vacuum

In order to understand causes of failure of local rulers vis-a-vis success of Alexander, it is necessary to know about political conditions prevailing in this country during the latter half of the 4th century B.C.

The Achaemenian rule over the Indusland lasted from 518 B.C. till the death of Artaxerxes (about 338 B.C.) when the Persians lost effective, if not nominal and political, control over their Pakistani possessions.[17] This loosening of the Persian control, together with the final defeat of Darius III (Darius Condomannus) created a political vacuum in the Indusland. This further led to high ambitions and mutual rivalries among the local chiefs. In the absence of unifying force, the country was divided into a great number of free tribes and independent states all mutually hostile, politically disorganised and militarily at daggers drawn.[18] Some of them were monarchic (such as Takshasila) and other oligrachic or quasi democratic (such as Kathaioi and Malloi). Among the independent rajas, Astes (Ashtakraj) was supreme in the Peshawar Valley and Porus (Paurava) was dominant in the land of Chaj Doab and beyond. There were other independent tribes such as Madrakas, Kekaiyas, Ksudrakas and Siboi. Ksudrakas stood against Malloi and Kathoi were divided among themselves.[19] Omphis (Ambhi),[20] the ruler of Taxila was jealous of the ever-increasing power of Porus while Sanjaya of Pushkalavati had similar feelings about Astes. King of Abhisara (Hazara) was enemy both of Ambhi and Porus. The little Porus beyond Ravi (Gandaridae) was also an enemy of Porus of Paurava country. Therefore, when they saw a more powerful enemy encroaching from the West, some of them made a common cause in allying themselves with the new-comer against their ancient rivals and besought Akexandar's help in their selfish motive. Thus, when Alexander invaded these areas there was a complete political vacuum in the country. There was no person under whose banner all states could be united. There was no common cause beteween them. A spirit of one nation, one state and one people was not yet born. Alexander had stiff resistance and tough battles but each ruler, or a state, or a group of people fought and fell individually. Nay, even a few selfish *rajas* openly sided with the invaders and helped them against their neighbourers.

Resistance and Revenge

Alexander had the tidings of good will and help from Raja Ambhi almost a year before he crossed the Indus.[21] He planned his campaign sitting under the shadow of Hindu Kush in his newly founded Alexanderia Nikaia — modern Kapisi. He despatched a large force under his generals Hephaistion and Perdiccas to move to the tract of Peukelaotis or Pushkalavati (modern Charsadda) in order to subjugate the territory and to build a bridge on the Indus before his arrival there.[22] With the rest of his forces, Alexander took a flanking movement through a more difficult hilly country north of the Kabul River and entered Bajaur in the spring of 327 B.C.[23] His first few operations against the Aspasios — Bajaur tribe, took him over a considerable distance up the large and populous valley of the Kunar River between Dir and Kafristan.[24] Resistance mounted by these people was only the first of a series of tough encounters which Alexander the Great had to face from now onward. Bajaur tribes collected themselves in their strongholds and blocked his advance. At Arigaion (Nawagai) a pitched battle was fought.[25]

Thus, though Alexander had a very soft landing on the political shore of Pakistan, his further advance was chequered by a valiant defence which many a tribes and rulers — save a few, fought to thwart his march.[26] It is this gallant resistance and undaunted struggle of local people, that has been overlooked by modern writers. It was this resistance which exhausted all the energies of Alexander's troops and forced him to abandon his dream of reaching the Eastern Ocean.

After his successful encounter with Aspasios, Alexander crossed the River Guraios (modern Panjkora) east of Bajaur to change hands with the powerful nation of Assakenoi in the country of Swat.[27] Alexander marched to attack Massaga, the greatest city in these parts — probably present day Chakdara.[28] The occupants of Massaga, who were well organised, defended the town with great valour. Every attempt to capture Massaga by force proved futile. It was only after the death of their chief on the fourth day, that the people of Massaga asked for a truce. Alexander readily accepted the offer because, writes Arrian,[29] "he was glad to preserve the lives of the brave men". He offered them to serve as his soldiers and were allowed to station on an open top of a hill few miles from his own camp. But the same night he surrounded them unarmed. Though caught unaware, the Massagites put up a galant fight. "Recovering from their surprise", writes Smith, the mercenaries formed themselves into a hallow circle with

the women and children in the centre, and offered a desperate resistance, in which women took an active part. At last the defenders were over powered by superior numbers, and, in the words of an ancient historian, "met a glorious death which they would have disdained to exchange for a life with dishonour".[30]

It was indeed a disgraceful breach of faith on the part of Alexander.[31] Alexander was not sure about their fidelity. He had seen them fighting at the Battle of Arbela and now once again has tested their might at Massaga. He had seen their valour, and as such was not ready to leave them free. It was Alexander's disgraceful decision.[32] Thus, the first great victory of Macedonians on the soil of Indusland was achieved not by vlour or strategy but in a brutal deceit.

From Massaga, Alexander sent one despatch to conquer Bazira (modern Barikot), and Ora (modern Audigram) — both in Swat. Assistance of the people of Ora by Abhisares, the people from Punch and Hazara — forced Alexander to rush personally to that place. People of Bazira gave a sharp encounter to Alexander's General Coenus and stubbornly resisted the Greeks. But when they heard of the fall of Ora, they abandoned the town and took refuge in a hilly place.[33]

It seems that Alexander still had some doubt about the peacful intentions of the people. He turned Ora and Massaga into strong places for guarding the country. He also fortified Bazira. After making these arrangements, he marched southward to meet the other division of his army sent down the Kabul River to enter in the Peshawar Valley, which so far his army had failed to secure. Alexander received submission of Pushkalavati and placed a Macedonian garrison there, reduced some small towns on the Indus and proceeded, once again, northward to conquer the Rock of Aornos.[34] The siege of Aornos was the last of Alexander's major operations carried out before crossing the Indus. His siege of Aornos is one of the most remarkable of mountian warfare exploits. When conquered, he handed over Aornos to Sisikottas (Shashi Gupta) with a garrison. After making these arragements he marched down the Indus, crossed it near Und (Ohind, Hund, Udhabhandapura), and entered the Punjab proper.[35]

The first stage of Alexander's campaign of the Indusland came to an end. Ultimately, Alexander conquered Swat, Dir and Peshawar Valley. His troops had a foretaste of what lay ahead for them. In a country without a central government, they were expecting a stampede; but they met gallant fights. Although organized in smaller groups and factions, the people were

brave and conscious about their freedom. This character of people was quite different from what the Macedonians had experienced in Western Asia, Egypt, Iran and even in Afghanistan. The stature of Alexander, his hurricane-like conquests, size of his army and fall of their Persian over-lords (nominal though) could not suppress the free spirit of the Pathans. The Macedonian army was much disheartened by this unexpected resistance at every inch. This situation is amply testified by the account of Arrian which clearly shows that although the frontier people were defeated in all encounters due to their inferior methods of warfare and lack of unity, they did not surrender without a battle.[36] Their places of defence, such as forts of Bazira, Ora, Massaga, and Aornos were not easily vulnerable. To these places of defence they used to retire when resistance in the open fell abortive.

Batle of Reason and Reward

Across the Indus started the second stage of Alexander's campaign in Pakistan.[37] The beginning was cheerful, but the end was tragic. Alexander came here against the people's will. This was the battle of ideas and ideals, of manners and morales, of discipline and desperation, of necessities and expediencies and a battle of rewards and revenges. These were actually the under-currents which were getting momentum as Alexander moved eastward. Bursting open like a volcano, they ruffled the smooth-surfaced waves of military discipline in the form of a popular revolt. The Macedonian soldiers on the bank of the River Beas could not remain uninfluenced by this sanguin spirit of the people of the Indusland.

But how and why this crucial change occured? Why a well-disciplined and organized army like that of Alexander refused to obey its leader to march further into a land where they had spent only a little more than a year.[38] What happened during the course of one year that brought such a collapse in military descipline?

In Bactria and Sogdia the Greek soldiers had already experienced bitter local opposition. But the first real taste of local resistane and opposition dawned on them the moment they crossed Hindu Kush. Here the odds seem lie heavily against them.[39] They had a few feasts after Nysa. Higher they climbed, more stubborn and brave the people proved themselves to be. The fierce heat of summer, the bitter cold of winter and the martial spirit of the hillmen as well as of the people of the plains offered enormous difficulties.[40] Often the hillmen preferred to retire to their rock

shelters or fortifications as a measure of strategy or protection. Very often Alexander had to carry on top the demountable engines to coax the inhabitants out of their protectorates.[41]

The people of the Indusland offered much more resistance than any other which the Macedonians had so far come across. This demoralized Greek troops considerably. But, this was only a contributary factor to a change that was taking place in Alexander's relation with his army. His countrymen were inclined to think "that their leader had chosen to play the part of a despot", and they suspected him of himself to be a divine in his power to an extent only "an insane man can think".[42] Ptolemy suggested Alexander to go back in his own interest. Aristobolos became hostile to his incessant advance. Some of his most reliable generals, such as Nearchus, were confident that after these hard skirmishes with the sturdy people of the Frontier "Alexander would be content to abandon the march to the East and sail down the Indus".[43] But instead, Alexander ordered to move eastward along with the boats and bridges. The army did not take joy in carting the fleet eastward and moved slowly and thus "silently, in its own way, it (army) began to fight Alexander's progress. And in the end it mutinied — only the lashing of Alexander's will drove his Macedonians on".[44]

But this was not all that embittered the relations of Alexander with his army. The roots were deeper than that. After the fall of the Persian Empire, the relations between the king and his army were never cordial. Feelings of suspicions, doubts and jealously were cropping up in their hearts. Alexander had started a policy of 'Orientalization'. He had realized that his small Macedonian army alone would never be able to control his vast empire of hetrogenius people from diversified geographical regions. For this, some sort of local participation was essential. He adopted oriental dress and introduced certain oriental customs in his court,[45] arranged mass marriages between his men and local women. He himself married Roxana, the daughter of a Bactrian chief. He enrolled Asians in hiparchies and agema (Guard) of his army.[46] He had already sent back many of his veterans and several others he had forced to settle in cities founded by him.[47] This had already disillusioned his Macedonian comrades. The valiant resistance of the people of the Frontier Province and the Punjab had impressed upon Alexander the necessity of good will, co-operation and assistance of the local people. He realised that this land is not an easy gnat to swallow. He courted with local rulers, ignored their 'follies' and

rewarded their acquiescence.[48] Ambhi was the first to receive his unprecedented benevolence. He was raised to an equal status, and was given gifts. The Greek army was ordered not to destroy any thing in Ambhi's realm. Alexander extended his benevolence in the same way to other local chieftains who came to pay their homage to him.[49] But this irritated his Macedonian comrades who grumbled "at the munificence with which Alexander treated his Indian vassal kings",[50] and complained jealously that never before now has he raised an eastern to such honour.

These feelings of mutual antagonism were further heightened when after the hard won battle of Hydaspes Alexander bestowed the kingdom back on the fallen Raja Porus who had offered the toughest opposition ever confronted by the Macedonians. The impact of Porus' heroic defence was too great to be missed by locals or foreigners. Although the Greek historians had carefully concealed the Greek losses[51] but there is a conclusive evidence of the desperate nature of the Greek battle with Indian elephants. This battle had blunted the courage of the Greek army to a great extent. Alexander also realized that his force might not withstand another fight like this. He preferred a friendly and not a hostile Punjab. Thus, when Alexander reconciled with Porus, it was not simply his love for valour of Porus which forced him to embrace the conquered. It was also a straight matter of political expediency and a policy of appeasement. He even enlarged Porus' domain. This had two effects: on the one hand, this reconcilation was not favourable to Ambhi who sided with Alexander only to see his rival Porus down. It must have sent Ambhi to the rival camp. Ambhi must have assisted the Greek soldiers in their revolt against Phillips, son of Machatas, Alexander's general at Taxila.[52] On the other hand, this must have disillusioned his Greek generals and soldiers alike. He forced some of them to stay back in his newly founded cities at Nikaia and Bukephalia, whereas others were left to lick their wounds received at the hands of Porus who now shared his seat with Alexander. The small mercenary forces left in the newly founded colonies were no guarantee for the Greeks who were forced to settle there against their will. As the later events proved, their apprehensions were well founded. These colonies could have served neither as life-line nor as protection for them. It was this sense of insecurity among his soldiers that was looming large and overwhelmed them. Though from Jhelum to Beas, Greeks conquered 38 towns, subjugated Cathaioi and built two cities, "but the scars left upon the

Macedonian veterans at the Jhelum could not be eradicated by celebrations and building still more cities, or by bestowing gifts of new treasures".[53]

Poros Versus Alexander

An analytical study of conflicting Greek accounts and a study of Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Kalisthenes as well as the accounts of Joseph bin Gorian's *Hisotry of the Jews* and Firdausi's *Shah Nama* convincingly shows that the battle of the Jhelum ended in a treaty of peace between Poros and Alexander, the essence of which was the preservation of the royal dignity of Poros, the cession of the territory conquered by Alexander to him and the joint endevour of both in reducing the indpendent tribes of the Punjab and also to advance on Magadha, if possible. This piece was made when fighting was still continuing, inspite of the severe losses suffered by both the parties. This fact blinks out of the veil which the Greek writers tried to throw over it by putting up the incredible case that Alexander's chivalrous treatment of Poros was only due to his appreciation of valour. Arrian's account, discussed above, leaves no room for doubt that Alexander was the first to send the message of peace to Poros and persisted in his efforts to bring it home to him despite his stubborn reluctance and even provocative rejection of his offer. This he could only do under compelling circumstances, especially, the apprehension of more severe losses at the hands of Poros than he had sustained by that time and the distress and discomfiture prevailing in his troops. Though the *mahout* of Poros was taking him aside from the battle-field, he had obviously no intention of giving up the struggle and ending the hostilities, for, otherwise, why he should have shown so much obduracy in refusing to listen to the message of Alexander which was being carried to him by messanger. But, eventually, while fighting still raged, the friendly pleading of Meroes made him change his attitude and come to terms with Alexander on the field of battle. Thus both the belligerents considered discretion to be the better part of valour and ultimately patched up an honourable peace, since they had suffered heavy losses and could have suffered even more, had they persisted in fighting to the finish. Alexander was a victor in the sense that he could bring Poros round to his point of view and, instead of ignominously fleeing the battlefield, could triumphantly advance up to the Beas and then successfully descend through lower Punjab and Sind back to Babylonia. Poros was a victor also in the sense that he could maintain his royal dignity and status as a king and got an enlarged kingdom to rule and

used Alexander as a cat's paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for him by making him a tool of the conquest of the Punjab. Both of them had their own views about the engagement and the final arrangement, of which the Greek version has survived though in garbled and contradictory editions, and the Indian version has passed into the mists of indifference and oblivision".[54]

The battle of Sangla proved to be the last straw on camel's back. Here, only seriously wounded Greeks numbered 1200.[55] The Macedonian troops had crossed deserts and rivers, scaled icy mountains and rugged hills and fought many battles under Alexander. But the tiding of new terrors and fresh losses simply made them despair. Beyond the river Beas they could see strange monsters, more elephants and fierce battle fields of more powerful rulers of Magadh or Prasii (the Easterners) while the Eastern Ocean was nowhere in sight. The pen of Ktesias had filled horror in the hearts of his country men.[56] The army refused to go beyond the Beas. Alexander resented their demand, insisted on having his way, persuaded them by temptations and threatened about the dire consequences of their premature withdrawal from Pakistan. But all this was of no avail. The Greeks had lost all interest in this country. They were determined not to go any further. They had reached the eastern-most boundary of the Persian Empire. They believed that beyond this point neither Alexander had any justification to go, nor they were under any moral obligation to follow him. Neither Alexander nor his generals and scholars had any idea what lay beyond Beas.

Even the omen taken in this connection "showed that disaster would follow the crossing of the Beas."[57] It is generally believed that it was the homesickness of Greek soldiers which forced them to mutiny on the bank of Beas. This may be one of the many causes. A different picture, however, emerges if one reads the speech of Alexander's veteran General Coenus which is a good example of Greek rhetoric.[58] It brings out the following points:

→ The soldiers do not see any end to their labour.

→ If the conquest expands any further, it will be difficult to hold what has been won.

→ There are left only a few true Macedonians and Greeks in Alexander's army and even they are not in good condition.

→ The Greeks are being forced to settle in foreign lands.

→ The remaining Greek troops feel insecure. They wanted to return to Greece to see their families or even, just to be back in their homeland.

→ The Greek soldiers have changed. They cannot be forced to go beyond Beas against their will.

From this, it becomes clear that homesickness was not the cause of their mutiny. It was only the effect of a cause which was overshadowing the spirit of Greek soldiers. It was affecting their minds and bodies alike. It was mainly the fear, the fear of annihilation which was looming large on them. They had already been reduced in number, they had advanced in age and their weaknesses had been multiplied. The rains and heat of Punjab plains had played havoc with them and the fierce fighting by Porus and Cathaeans (Kathoi) at Sangla had blunted their vigour and the reports of still fierce fighting nations — Aratta and Gandharidae — across the Beas with innumerable elephants to fight had sent fear in their spines and broken down their morale.[59]

Thus, they were sure that if they advanced further, they may be completely annihilated-at least they had felt so. The Greek army was "tired both in mind and in body, but more in mind than in body",[60] with no signs of recovery and no will to recover.

Retreat

Alexander ordered twelve gigantic altars to be built as mark of the Eastern — most limits of his conquests,[61] and decided to sail down the Jhelum for safer retreat homeward.[62] But little did he know that the passage through the southern Punjab was no less tough and tedious. Except for one or two cases, such as in case of Sophytes of the Salt Range, he was offered a stubborn resistance. The Siboi or Sibis of the territory beyond the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers were the first to bar his way. This difficulty overcame, Alexander found himself amongst an even more hostile people, i.e., the people called Malloi and Oxydrakoi or Sudracae or Ksudrakas with 90,000 active foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots. Here we see, once again, the mutually hostile people forgetting their differences and ready to offer a joint defence to the

invaders in their national cause. So much overwhelming was this fear of resistance, informs Quintus Curtius Rufus, that "when the Macedonians, who beleived that they had by this time got past all their dangers, found that they had still on hand fresh war, in which the most war-like nations in all India would be a their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition".[63] The Greek soldiers were so much terror-struck that in one of the campaigns against Mallavi (Malloi), we find them reluctant to attach a well defended fort. It was only after Alexander had scaled the rampart all alone and fell down by a shot through the chest that his troops were stirred to action.[64] "More than once", writes Paul Mason-Oursel, "the situation was saved by the action of the leader himself with his tactical genius".[65] This points out a certain decline in Macedonian morale. Lower down in Sind, Alexander had to carve out his passage homeward through the fighting races of Sindh such as Sambos (or Sammas), Oxykanos or Ossadioi (Vasatti), Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Mousikanoi etc., wading through the blood of 80,000 natives and enjoying the profits of the sale of multitudes of slaves. This unexpected resistance, in town after town, embittered the war-weary Macedonians. Their anger at the new hardships and delay hardened them to any suffering but their own. They drove the Malloi, and Mousikanoi, hunted them through villages, cut into the desert, killed them quickly in order to be finished with the task.[66]

The first stage of this campaign came to an end when Alexander reached Patala,[67] variously identified with modern Brahamanabad or Hyderabad but most probably present day Bhanbhore where Indus Delta began at that time. At Patala was made the three divisions of his army for marching homeward by way of sea, Seistan and Gedrosia, i.e., coast of Makran.[68]. This last route Alexander took himself. Whether he undertook to cross the wild of Makran just to punish his soldiers who mutinied at the Beas or was it the desire to surpass the feats of legendary adventures of Semiramis and Cyrus in this region,[69] is not known. But most probably his purpose was to flank the movements of Nearchus, make the coast-line free from piracy and eastablish at regular interval provision centres for Nearchus and his fleet.

The passage through Gedrosia was not a happy one. It was wrought with difficulties hardships and hostile people such as Oreitoi west of the river Arabis (Habb). The army suffered agonies of thirst and blazing heat and depths of burning sand. A greater part of the army was destroyed

together with the beast of burden. Besides, the army was obliged "to burn the rich spoils taken from their enemies, for the sake of which they had marched utmost exremities of the East". At last the weary force had its way out of Gedrosia. Alexander was successful, but "the success of the general was the ruin of the private".[70]

In May 324 B.C. he entered Susa but in June 323 B.C. he died by a sudden attack of malaria.[71] At the time of his death he ws only thirty-three years of age.

With Alexander Passed Away His Memory

Thus came to an end the tidal wave which swept over whole of the Indusland for about three years. Ebb started the same moment when Alexander crossed the inhospitable wilds of Gedrosia. Nay, the ebb was moving in Alexander's shoes. The tide came and went the other way leaving behind only the wet sand of losely knit political organizations and a weak Greek hegomony which the local tribes dared to ignore on Alexander's turning back. Even before Alexander could cross Jhelum to give fight to Porus, news came to him about the revolt of the Arachosians under Barzaentes.[72] Samaxus, king of a small state also revolted and was brought before him in chains.[73]. Again, when he was preparing for sailing down the Jhelum river from Bukephalia, another shock came as he heard about the revolt of Ashvaks (Assakenoi) of the Swat Valley who murdered his satrap Nikanor and forced Sisikottos (Shashi Gupta) to report to Alexander.[74] Even if these revolts were suppressed, "it was an indication of disruptive forces below the surface".[75] Alexander was helpless. He was feeling the sceptre in his hand crumbling. Several times he summoned a small Raja Abhisares of Bhimbar and Rajauri to his presence for homage, but every time the Raja excused himself. This Raja had extended help to the people of Ora and then to Porus — both times against Alexander. Could Alexander overlook such a formidable enemy? In fact he did. Nay, even he bestowed Abhisares with honours by recognising him in his own status and by placing the country of Ursa (Hazara) subordinate to him.[76] Some may call it 'diplomacy' and 'political expediency'. But, does not this betray the wanning trend of his authority. Alexander had won on all the battle-fields, but it was on another front that he was being defeated. It was the battle of reasons and hearts that he lost. The local people had not accepted him whole heartedly. They were submissive as far as Alexander's hand fell on them with force. But, as soon as this force loosened they withdrew,

revolted and revenged. His mercenaries were becoming more and more hetrogenious with no common cause to serve — a source of trouble indeed. His own comrades had estranged themselves with his ideals and were not ready to risk any more. Even the philosophers, both in the camp and at home, as well as local ones, were propagating against him.[77]

From the speech which Alexander made before his mutinous troops on the bank of Beas, it appears that he was conscious about the weak character of his conquests and apprehended revolts of local chiefs.[78] His fears proved true. While he was still wandering through the deserts of Gedrosia and Karmania, Philips, his satrap at Taxila, was killed by his own mercenary troops. Alexander was not in a position even to appoint his successor and contended himself by leaving the affairs in the hands of Ambhi and Eudamus.[79] The end of Macedonian power was destined to come. It was simply hastened by the premature death of Alexander when, as yet, he had not consolidated his conquests.[80] Soon after his death, the conquered territories east of the Indus were abandoned to the local rajas.[81] The fate of Macedonian empire in Pakistan was no better than that of Mughals after the death of Aurangzeb.[82] As soon as the grip of the master hand was removed, the native elements began to recover strength and courage. The Persian dual system, (of placing satrap and local raja at equal footing) which Alexander adopted as a make-shift arrangement bore, from the very out set, "the seeds of intrigue and ultimate rupture".[83] With the departure of Eudamus and Peithon in 317 B.C. no vestige of Alexander's conquest remained in Pakistan. The residue, if any, of Greek troops was to be driven out by Chandra Gupta (Sondrokottos of the Greek writers).[84] Alexander was simply tolerated but never accepted in Pakistan. Whatever Greek influence is found in local culture during five centuries after Christ was the result of latter indirect contacts with the West. But, as far as Alexander was concerned, his memory was soon forgotton. His stay in Pakistan was "too transient to leave any deep and lasting impression on the country". "so much so that this, the culminating phase of Alexander's vast conquests, is not even mentioned by any local writer"[85] or preserved in local traditions.[86] The Indus-Greeks no doubt ruled Pakistan and North-Western India for more than hundred years in the 2nd-Ist century B.C., but the effect of these prolonged contacts with Greeks were never great and far reaching. The Greeks were handful in number and were soon absorbed by the surrounding population. Soon, they even adopted religions of local people and followed their customs.[87]

Notwithstanding the significance of Alexander's conquests, there is no denying the fact that the results of Alexander's invasion on Pakistan have been exaggerated and over-estimated by under-mining the Persian influence. Looked from merely a soldier's point of view, his achievements in such a brief span of time are surely marvellous and incomparable in the annals of warfare. As a general and conqueror Alexander deserves our fullest praises. Tarn is right when he says that Alexander "had made war as few have made it. No man since has possessed so unquestionably the strongest power upon earth".[88] But the character of his achievements — even military, was emphemeral and short lived. Due to his untimely death, Alexander left no direct influence on Pakistan (or India). It is only when we consider his invasion of Pakistan as a part of his whole Asian campaign that we find some direct or indirect Greek contribution to local culture on coinage, dress, sculpture etc., introduced by the Indus-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans.[89] But this is out of the purview of our discussion here.

Imperialism and arts under Mauryans

One of the immediate effects of Alexander's conquest of Pakistan is stated to be the Imperial Unity which he gave to the people of Pakistan and India. In the words of Buddha Parkash, Alexander "removed the barriers of isolation, 'broke the traditions of autonomy, bridged the gulf of tribal differences. ... He proved to be a harbinger of unity for North Western India, the successor of Pukkusati and Paurava and precursor of Chanakya and Chandra Gupta".[90]

It has also been stated that:

> "But for Alexander's example, it is most unlikely that Chandra Gupta would ever have built up the Maurya Empire or that Ashoka, his grandson, would have been in a position to make Buddhism into one of the greatest world religions".[91]

This, I think, is too big an assumption. This conclusion cannot be accepted as such. The imperial unity was already planted in the Indusland by the Achaemenians whose dual system of satrapal government Alexander retained here and elsewhere. This imperial unity was slackened by loosening the Achaemenian control over what is now Pakistan after

Artaxerxes III. But the lesson was never forgotton. Alexander could not implement the unity completely. He rather played the game of divide and rule.[92] He availed of all possible help from Ambhi of Taxila[93] but conferred Porus as lord of all of his conquests in Pakistan — in all seven nations containing altogether more than 2000 cities.[94] Local chiefs remained as powerful as before and tribal differences were still there. Only the power of small autonomous rajas was quelled. The kingdom of big rajas (Ambhi, Porus, Abhisares etc.) were swollen at the cost of smaller kingdoms. The true imperial unity was attained by the Mauryans who brought whole of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent under one political imperial sway and abandoned the dual system of satrapal government in favour of a highly centralised and organised system of government. Chandra Gupta Maurya might have met Alexander at Taxila and, even if we agree with Buddha Parkash in identifying the Greek Meroes with Chandra Gupta Maurya,[95] it is not necessary that we must attribute Maurayn imperialism to the legacy of Alexander's invasion. Alexander only added, as Buddha Parkash says, "great momentum to it".[96] Though the Mauryan emperors kept in close touch with their Greek neighbours, but the Hellenism which affected profoundly the whole of Western Asia stopped short of Hindu-Kush. Chandra Gupta and his successors, despite their friendly relations with the monarchs of Syria and Egypt, hardly exhibit a durable imprint of Greek culture. Indeed the Greek spirit influenced India by the least.[97] The civil and military institutions of the Mauryan Empire, as recommended by Arthashastra of Kautilya, or those as revealed by Megasthenes and described by Asoka in his edicts were essentially local, further modified in some particulars by limitation of Persian practices.[98] With one exception, the Muryan institutions exhibit no trace of Hellenic or Hellenistic influence.[99] The Persian influence on Mauryans, on the other hand, is too strong to be missed.[100] Thus:

→ We gather from Megasthenes that the Mauryan emperors used to live in purely Persian style. Like Persian monarchs they lived in seclusion, only appearing for solemn occasions, such as 'hair-washing festival'.

→ The Buddhist architecture of Asoka with its bell-capitals and winged lions, shows many traces of Persian or Assyrian influences received through Persia.

→ Asoka's plan of propagating *dharma* by means of inscriptions upon rocks is simply a remnant of similar practice in vogue among Persians, e.g., inscriptions at Behistun, Persepolis and Naqsh-e-Rustam.

→ The Royal Road running through the Mauryan Empire, along which Megasthenes travelled, finds its parallel in the Royal Road (*Jada-e-Shah*) of the Achemenians.

→ The idea of using stone by Mauryan artists for building purpose in place of wood, brick, and stucco seems to have been suggested by the Persians.

→ The palace and other buildings of Pataliputra are modelled on the palace of Darius at Persepolis (*Takht-i-Jamshid*) and seems to be the work of Persian masons. The caves of Barbar (the "Stone Chambers" of Heiun Tsang or Xuan Zang), are copied from the royal tombs of the Persian kings.[101]

→ The use of Kharoshthi script by Asoka and others in later centuries was developed out of Aramaic script introduced here by the Achaemenians.

→ The opening phrase "Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty" which occurs in so many documents of Asoka, recalls similar phraseology of the Achaemenian records.

→ The title satrap, or *kshatrapa* — so common in local annals uptil 4th century A.D. was also a Persian one and occurs twice in the inscription of Behistun. It was not used by the Murayans. But later on it was very popular.

There are occasional examples of obvious Greek workmanship. But these echoing motifs are nothing more than the exiled currents of Greek art. The general effect is Asian and in broad formal terms the Iranian influence is stronger than the Greek.

Pakistan Introduced to the West

It is generally claimed that Alexander introduced Pakistan to the West for the first time and opened trade routes and paved the way for direct contact between East and West.[102] These may be accepted in

general, but the point cannot be over-emphasised. In fact it is to the Persians that Greece owes her first knowledge of India and Pakistan. We have to remind ourselves that the link between East and West had already been established in the time of Achaemenians. Darius I had both Greeks and Pakistanis as his subjects.The Achaemenians had included under their rule Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece on the one hand, and Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan on the other.[103]

There was an efficient net-work of roads and highways in the Achaemenians Empire. Darius I constructed a Royal Road (*Jada-e-Shah*) betwen Sardis (in Turkey) and Susa (in Persia) — over a distance of about 1,500 miles.[104] There were also other roads running across Asia Minor from north to south, from Babylon, Ecbatana to Bactria and from Mesopotamia through Phoenicia.[105] These roads, though primarily meant for military purpose, were a real asset in promoting trade and commerce between different countries of East and West.[106] The world entered a period of great economic prosperity. Commercial relations were inaugurated and developed between countries that have previosuly traded with each other.[107] Thus under the Achaemenians, Southern Europe entered into close economic relations with Western Asia. And in pursuing a similar policy on a larger scale, the successors of Alexander were only following the examples set by the Persian monarchs. The information about India which the Greeks possessed at the time of Alexander's invasion was no better than what Herodotus had passed on to them.[108]

Discovery of Sea Route

It is quite often claimed that it was Alexander who for the first time in the history of Indo-Pakistan voyaged down the Pakistani rivers up to the mouth of the Indus and then sailed westward along the coast of Makran up to the mouth of Suez.[109] But the water route used by Alexander was not a new discovery. "Since time immemorial the Indus and its tributaries had been main thoroughfares, and seagoing trade from the mouth of the Indus westward along the coast of Makran was carried on centuries before Alexander's day".[110] Arabian voyages to South-east Pakistan, North-west India, Persian Gulf and Phoenicia were known before 650 B.C.[111] A little over 200 years before Alexander, Darius I have carved out a tradition only to be followed by Alexander. Darius reached the Indus river from the side of Bactria near a frontier city (Kaspapyrus) of Gandhara and then "sent an expedition under a Greek mercenary Skylax of Caryanda, to explore the

river down to its mouth and, after having reached the sea, to sail home, examining on the way the coastline and its chief feature[112] — a work later on assigned to Nearchus by Alexander. Alexander and his successors followed the trail blazed by the Achamenians. In this respect Alexander can be regarded as a promoter and not a dicoveror. The credit of all this goes to the Achaemenians and not to the Macedonians.

Conclusion

What is the net outcome of Alexander's invasion of Pakistan? Opinions widely differ on certain points. The picture of Alexander and his compatriots hitherto portrayed is that of brave and adventurous people who plunged themselves into the unknown world in front of whom, with the exception of very few, the 'savage', barbarians', timid and opportunnist local chiefs as well as people were fleeing headlong, requesting for Alexander's mercy, bowing before him in obedience and placing their services at his summons.[113]

In fact the picture of the local people is not as gloomy and dark as presented by most of the writers on the subject. Except Ambhi, Sanjaya, and Sophytes, no other chief or tribe of any worth surrendered without resistance. Alexander's march through Pakistan was definitely not a smooth sailing. At every step he had to face most valiant opposition. Though the spirit of nationalism, in modern sense, was not yet born, but there was a country-wide resentment and feeling of opposition from the sky-lines of Hindukush to the wilds of Makran. We read about the armies of Abhisares helping or attempting to help people as far as Bajaur and Swat and assisting Porus across the Jhelum river. We know that Porus invited Alexander to see him on the battle field and the king Abhisares defied all summons from Alexander to present himself in person. Also, we hear people, such as Malloi, Oxydrakoi and Cathaioi, forgetting all of their mutual differences and planning a joint front against Alexander. There were only a few chiefs, such as Ambhi, Sanjaya and Sophytes, who showed weakness. Had Ambhi and Sanjaya offered Alexander a Porusian war[114] at the Indus, the course of rest of the events would have been quite different. Alexander's troops were already exhausted during their operations against the frontier tribes. It was at Taxila that they had the few moments of respite. Here Alexander took an opportunity of reorganizing his army, to plan his campaign and then advance with fresh mercenaries. Had Ambhi stood steadfast in the way of tired Macedonians, the effect would have

been back-breaking. But Instead, it was the hand of this prince which opened the door for the invader.

Was Alexander's campaign a success? Seen in restrospect, perhaps not. The insubordinate character of the frontier tribes, the mutinous behaviour of his own troops, rebellion of his army at the Beas and the hesitant attitude of his army during the fight against Malloi, hardships, sufferings and losses of men, beasts of burden and of commodities during the retreat through Gedrosia, etc., are not very fair memories — not at least for the Greek soldiers. The speech of Coenus on behalf of Alexander's troops on the Beas well expresses the way his own people looked at his conquests. As far as his military achievements are concerned there can hardly be two opinions. But politically, he was only tolerated but never accepted. He received submission of kings and kingdoms but never of hearts of the people. Rebellions were swelling at his back and soon after his death his conquests of the Indusland had to be parcelled out and within a decade all Greek claims over Pakistan were lost. His officers were ousted and garrisons destroyed. The cities and colonies which he founded took no root.[115] To conclude, I quote Arrian, the main authority on Alexander:

> "In truth in this region, the Macedonian was a bird of passage, and himself no permanent impact on events on the eastern frontier of what had been the Persian Empire".[116]

In fact Alexander's campaigns can be regarded as a successful raid on a grand scale. The memory of Alexander departed with him but his campaigns left some horrid scars of bloody wars. Otherwise the vanquished areas remained unchanged and uninfluenced. These areas were not Rellenized — at least not as an immediate consequence of Alexander's campaign.[117] It retired to its 'splendid isolation' as soon as the turbulent were passed over its head:

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain,
> She let the legion thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The followings are some standard works in English on the life of Alexander the Great: T.A. Dodge, *Alexander*, (Boston: 1890), 2 Vols.; J.W.McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as Described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Justin*, (Westminister: 1896); D.G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, (London: 1897); Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*, (London & New York: 1900); E. R. Beven, "Alexander the Great", Chap. XV & XVI, in: *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (New York: 1922), pp. 345-384; M. A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, (London: 1924, Rep. Karachi: 1975); Ibid., "Alexanders Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontiers", *The Geographical Journal*, Nov.--Dec.: 1927; A Weigall, *Alexander the Great*, (n.p: 1933); C.A. Robinson, "Alexander the Great in India", *Geographical Review*, xxiii (1933), pp. 147 ff; F.A. Wright, *Alexander the Great*, (Routledge: 1934); V. Ehrinburge, *Alexander and the Greeks*, trans., by R. Fraenkel von Velsen, (Oxford: 1938); Harold Lamb, *Alexander of Macedon*, (n.p.:1946); A.R. Burr, *Alexander and the Hellenistic Empire*, (London: 1947); C.A Robinson, *Alexander the Great: The Meeting of East & West in World Government & Brotherhood*, (New York: 1947); W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 Vols., (Cambridge: 1941); J.F.C. Fuller, *Generalship of Alexander the Great*, (London: 1958); J.W. Synder, *Alexander the Great*, (NewYork: 1966); G.T. Griffith, *Alexander the Great and His Time*, (New York: 1966); A.B. Daskalakis, *Alexander the Great and Hellenism*, (Salonica: 1966); J.B. Mechin, *Alexander the Great: The Meeting of the East and West*, (New York:1967); G.C. Richard and W.W. Norton, *Alexander the Great*, (New York: 1967); Peter Green, *Alexander the Great*, (Lndon:1970); Ernst A. Wallis Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, (New York. London: 1896, Reissued: 1968); Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great*, (New York: 1974); Donald W. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, (Berkeley: 1978); L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, (New York: 1960); Norman Doris and Colin M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms*, (London: 1973); Marry Renault, *The Nature of Alexander*, (London: 1975); A.R. Burn, *Alelxander the Great and the Hellenistic World*, 2nd rev. ed., (New York: 1962); G.T. Griffith (ed.), *Alexander the Great: The Main Problems*, (Cambridge: 1966); J.R. Hamilton, *Plutarch's Alexander: A Commentary*, (Oxford: 1968); .A. Robinson, *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, (Providence: 1932); U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, trans. G.C . Richards, new ed. (New York: 1967).

2. V. Smith, *The Early Historyt of India*, (Oxford:1924), p. 52.

3. Alexander regarded the size of the world, and particularly that of India of his time, much smaller than it really is. It was generally believed at that time that beyond the limitless desert of Rajputana lay the Eastern Sea. His speech before his troops, when the latter mutinied on the right bank of river Beas, well testifies this belief: "We will reach the Ganges in a little distance, and Eastern Ocean lies only a little beyond". (Harold Lamb, *Alexander of Macedon*, 1946 p. 310).

4. Herodotus quoted by Sibt-e-Hassan, *Pakistan main Tehzeeb ka Irteqa*, (Karachi: 1975) p. 310.

5. In his final lost Battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. Darius III was assisted by the tribal forces from this land. On the basis of a story of Fur (identified with Porus) in the Shahnama of Firdausi, Buddha Parkash opines that Porus, Raja of Jhelum, assisted Darius III against Alexander. "Probably this assistance of Porus to Darius was one of the motives which led Alexander to invade India to pay off these scores". (Buddha Parkash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*. (Rep. Lahore: 1976, pp. 56-57).
6. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 147-48. On the other hand, he has maintained that the Punjab never became a part of the Persian Empire.
7. W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, (Cambridge: 1948), I. p. 86. Regarding Alexander's desire to conquer territory beyond Beas, Tarn unconvincingly defends that Alexander possibly believed Xenophon's mistaken statement (*Cyropaedia* VIII. 6-20 Sq.) that, Cyrus had ruled all 'India' to the Eastern Ocean. (Tarn, op. cit., p. 87).
8. Herodotus, *Histories*. BK. III. Chap. 128. Gandhara was sending Rs.10,62,000, Baluchistan and Makran Rs.25,00,000 and Hindus (i.e., Punjab and Sindh) Rs.2,92,00,000 annually as tribute to the Achamenian Emperor. The tribute from the Punjab form 1/3 of tribute of whole of the Empire. Out of the total revenue of 14,500 silver talents, nearly a third was contributed by Hindu (Punjab) alone. In terms of gold, the contribution of the Punjab was 360 talents which is an equivalent to over a million pound sterling (Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 149).
9. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 146.
10. Seneca, "Moral Essays", *LCL*. tran. by John. W. Basore, Vol. III), II, xvi. 1.
11. Ibid., I, xiii. I.
12. Ibid., II, xvi. 1.
13. Ibid., vii, ii. 5.
14. Charles Alexander Robinson Jr., *Alexander the Great*, (New York : 1927), pp. 169-70.
15. Tarn, op. cit., p. 85
16. An outlet on the Indian Ocean after conquest of the Eastern Province of the Achaemenid Empire was a political necessity and a commercial asset. By sea, he could have direct and unobstructed connection with his rear line at home. A sea route will also open new vista of maritime trade between East and West directly beside the overland route through Afghanistan, Persia and most of the Western Asian countries.
17. Employment of Pakistani troops by Darius III to fight against Alexander at the Battle of Arbela in itself is no proof that the Achaemenid rule over Indusland extended upto 330 B.C. There is the possibility that these Pakistani soldiers were simply mercenaries rather than official troops.
18. *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 369.
19. For a detailed discussion of these petty local tribes and their inter-relationship, see Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 150-164.
20. Actually Ambhi, who had been over a year in communication with Alexander had not yet been crowned as Raja of Taxila. He was still a crown prince under his father Taxiles when Alexander invaded this country. Taxiles "had shown more hesitation than his son of throwing in his lot with Alexander, and the latter had therefore made overtures on his own resposibility to the invader". (*Taxila I*, pp. 16-17). When Alexander crossed the River Indus, Ambhi had just become the King of Taxila. (Diodorus, XVII. 86, Plutarch, *Lives*, VII. Lix and Curtius, VIII. xii. 4-18
21. Diodorus, XVII, 86.
22. Fuller's assertion is not correct when he says that Hephaistion's route was through Khyber Pass (J.F.C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*,

(London: 1958, p.126); Smith, *The Early History of India*, op. cit., p. 53), on the authority of Holdich and Foucher, had long ago shown that Hephaistion marched along the valley of Kabul River and not that of Khyber Pass, since the latter was opened only during the periods of Muslim conquests.

23. It is not certain at what point Alexander turned eastward and crossed the mountains into Bajaur. But he might have used one of the regular passes by which Bajaur territory can be reached. (Smith, op. cit., p.54)
24. Sir M.A. Stein, "Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier", *The Geographical Journal*, Nov.-Dec., 1927, p. 423.
25. Fuller, op. cit., p. 126.
26. H.G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Betwen India and the Western World*, (Cambridge: 1916), p. 33.
27. From Panjkora in ancient times, as at present, the direct route of any importance must have been led from Panjokra through Talash and across the easy saddle of Katgala into the wide open valley which stretches down from Wuch to the Swat River and to its strategically important crossing now guarded by the fort of Chakdara. Beyond this point lay the Swat Valley proper which enfolded several strong places to the refugees of Assakenoi (M.A. Stein, "Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North Western Frontiers", op. cit., pp. 423-25).
28. Holdich locates Massaga near Malakand, Foucher at Katgala, Enriquez at Guri, Raverty at Manglawar etc., (Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 57). Arrian, on the other hand places it at the confluence of Kabul and Indus River. This is well nigh impossible (Arrian, *Anabasis*, IV. 26.1). Curtius gives a detailed account of this city which was strategically located, skillfully fortified and artistically decorated. (Curtius. VIII. X. 23-25).
29. Arrian, *Anabasis*, IX.26.11.
30. V.A. Smith, op. cit., p.59.
31. Some historians have tried to justify Alexander's brutal massacre of these unwarranted 7,000 soldiers of Massaga on the flimsy ground that Alexander had information that they would fight rather than help him against their own natives. Fuller, op. cit., p. 246. Tarn regards the official justification totatally unsatisfactory and calls it a "massacre", due to some horrible mistake caused by defective interpretation and to Alexander's growing impatience. (Tarn, op. cit., p. 89).
32. V.A. Smith, op. cit., p. 59
33. M.A. Stein, op. cit. pp. 427, 433.
34. Ibid., p. 437. The Rock of Aornos has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein and accepted by others as Pir Sar, high up in Amb area on the western bank of the Indus. The position and approach to Aornos has very lucidly and elaborately been explained by Sir Aurel Stein in his article published in *The Geographical Journal*, Nov.-Dec., 1927.
35. His journey back to the Indus is too brief to permit us to trace his route with certainty. Nevertheless, he quelled the revolt of the brother of Assakenos, ordered timber to be felled for building the ship a few miles above Amb (?) and sailed down the Indus, (Stein, op. cit., p. 539).
36. Arrian, *Anabasis*, XXII to XXX.
37. When Alexander crossed the Indus, Ambhi, the Raja of Taxila welcomed him and placed his entire army at the command of the former. At Taxila, the Greek army was entertained for three weeks. Gifts were exhcnaged. Ambhi was confirmed in his kingdom. At Taxila, missions from the neighbouring rajas came one after the other. Raja Porus did promise to see Alexander but only in a battle field. From Taxila Alexander marched southward to the Jhelum along a route which is controversial. Generally, two routes are indicated: (a) The first suggested by Burnes, Court, Abbot and V.A. Smith (Smith, op. cit., pp. 83-84) is along the

modern G.T. Road upto the city of Jhelum: (b) The other route, (suggested by Stein), leaves Taxila passes over the Salt Range by way of Chakwal, Ara and Nandana Pass to Haranpur on the bank of Jhelum. Cunningham suggested the same route but brings Alexander at Jalalpur some distance north of Haranpur. From such a base at Jhelum, Jalalpur or Haranpur, Alexander moved some distance upstream and crossed Jhelum at some point near Mangla or Bhuna (Smith), Dilawar (Cunningham) or Jalalpur (Stein) and had a severe battle with Porus at some points near Pubby Hills (Smith), Mong (Cunningham) or Nurpur (Stein). Details of the combats between Porus and Alexander are too well known to be elaborated here. Here Alexander founded two cities, Nikaia and Bucephalia, one each on either bank of the Jhelum, and moved eastward. Here Raja Abhisares sent a body of envoys from Kashmir with presents. Alexander also befriended with Raja Saubhuti (Sophytes) of the Salt Range. Alexander crossed the Chenab somewhere near Wazirabad or a little above and fortified a city on the bank of the river (place unidentified but probably Sodhra). Afterwards he reached the neighbourhood of Sialkot and pressed onward to the next river Hydraotes (Ravi) and conquered the territory of the fugitive Porus II. Another fierce battle was fought at the wagon fortress of Sangla (modern Sangla Hill), he city of Cathaioi (present day tribe of Kathia) in which heavy number of casualties were counted on both sides. The Kshatriyas gave Macedonians a tough resistance, the toughest after Porus. After this Alexander reached the river Hyphasis (Modern Beas) somewhere near modern Gurdaspur. Here some 3,000 miles away from its home, the Greek army became restless and finally mutinied and refused to march further east. (C.H.I., Vol. I pp. 369-72).

38. Alexander set upon his 'Conquest of the East Campaign' in the spring of 334 B.C. and stepped the soil of Pakistan in the spring of summer of 327 B.C. (J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, West-minister: 1896, pp. 19, 43-44). Throughout this period of seven years the army had stood with Alexander through thick and thin, had endured any trial, remained faithfull to him and obeyed him as a true soldier. But within one year (April 327 to September, 326 B.C.), the period spent on the land betwen Swat and Beas, this faith and fidelity was rudely shaken.
39. Harold Lamb, *Alexander of Macedon*, (1946), p. 287.
40. Smith, op.cit., p. 254.
41. Lamb, op. cit., p. 295.
42. Smith, op. cit., pp. 296-98.
43. Ibid., p. 302. On this assumption and good hope, the pilots hastened to build the transport fleet near Ohind.
44. Ibid., pp. 302-3
45. Plutarch, *Lives,* VII & Alexander, LI. 3-4 XLVII. 2-5; LV; LXXI. 1-2. For a long list of events which disillusioned the Macedonians, see Peter Green, *Alexander the Great,* (London: 1970), pp. 192, 194, 200, 202.
46. For the character of his army and the presence of Asiatics, (Barbarians, Persians, Bactrians Sogdians, Pashtuns etc.), see Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., *Alexander the Great,* (New York: 1927), p. 173.
47. W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, I, pp. 109-115 and Harold Lamb, op. cit., p. 277.
48. Curtius, VIII. xii. 4 to 18. Plutarch, *Lives*, VII; Alexander, LIX. 3. It is very difficult to share the feelings of a historian that Alexander's kind reaction was due to the fact that he "had come to feel himself, one gathers, a man raised above distinctions of race, and emperor of the world, beneath whom all mankind was to be levelled and made one", (CHI, I, p. 359). The idea of universal brotherhood was yet not born even in its

embryonic stage and the era of racial indiscrimination was yet to usher. The Greeks of Alexander's period and even afterward; used to call any & all the non-Greek nations as "barbarians".

49. C.H.I. p. 395
50. V.A. Smith, op. cit., p.66 & A. Lamb, op. cit., p. 303.
51. W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, op. cit., I, p. 96.
52. J.F.C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*, (London : 1956); p. 128.
53. H. Lamb, op. cit., pp. 309-310
54. Buddha Prakash, *Poros the Great*, (Lahore: 1994), pp. 73-77.
55. W.W. Tarn, op., cit. 90.
56. H.G. Rawlinson, *The Intercourse Betwen India and the Western World*, op. cit., p.34 & p. 85. Also Tarn, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 284.
57. Strabo, XV. 1.27
58. Arrian, IV, xxvii and Curtius IX. III. The case of the Macedonian soldiers was successfully put up by Coenus who, like a clever and intelligent psycho-analyst, elucidated the under-lying causes of Greek army's refusal to march onward. Coenus addressed Alexander Thus:"The army believes that some end must be put now to its labour and danger, in order to hold what it has won. For this army is being decimated. You can see yourself how few are left of the Macedonians and Greeks who started with us. The rest have died in battles or become invalid by a wound or fallen sick, or have been left unwilling, to settle in the cities you founded. Sickness has taken the greater part of us. Inspect the few of the long service men who are left. They are in bad condition. A worse thing than that, they have lost spirit, some of us ache to see our parents while they still live. Other yearn after their wives and youngsters, I think, perhaps some of us only yearn to see home again, as I can say". And finally he warned: "Alexander don't lead us now against our wills, because we are not the same as we were". (Quoted from H. Lamb, op. cit. pp. 31-33). For other speeches of Greek veterans at the bank of Beas, see W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, I, pp. 286-96 and McCrindle, op. cit., pp. 125-128. It is pity that Coenus, who yearned so much to see his home again, died after a few days on the bank of Chenab (According to Q. Curtius Rufus, IX, iii). On his death, Alexander circastically remarked: "for the sake of a few days he (Coenus) had opened a long winded speech as though he alone was destined to see Macedonia again". (Curtius, IX.iii).
59. For some of these points see Tarn, op. cit., pp.98, 288. Also see J.F.C. Fuller, op. cit., p. 130, Plutarch, *Lives*, VII: Alexander XLVII, XLIX LI, LV, LXI, LXXII & Arrian, *Anabasis*, V. 25.
60. Tarn, op.cit. p. 98.
61. No trace of these altars exist at present. Probably, as Pliny puts, these were built on the eastern bank of the Beas, somewhere near present day Gurdaspur in India. One account says that the Mauryan kings used to offer sacrifice in the Greek manners upon these altars, after crossing the river, i.e., the western bank (*C.H.I.* I, p. 373). This dispute is settled in favour of Pliny because we know that when Appollonius of Tyana crossed the river Beas in the Ist cent. A.D., he found these altars still standing at a distance of 30 stades on the east bank of the river (Jar. Charpentier, *The Indian Travels of Appollonius of Tyana*, 1934, p. 58).
62. This brings us to the third stage of Alexander's campaign in Pakistan. The story of retreat is best told by Arrian (*Anabasis*, VI. i-xxvi), Q. Curtius Rufus (*History of Alexander the Great*, IX. iv-x) and Diodoros Siculus (*Bibliotheca Historica*, VII, xcvi-cvi). They tell us frankly about the perilous journey home of the Greek troops, of the heroic resistance which most of the tribes of southern Punjab and Sind offered and the apathy of the Greek soldiers to

follow their Master. The retreating army retraced its steps back to the Chenab. Here Alexander received submission of kings of Rajauri, Bhimbar and Urasa (Hazara) and appointed the former as satrap of the whole area. Then Alexander reached back Jhelum and when all preparations were made by the end of Oct. 326 B.C., he sailed down the Jhelum with fleet of nearly 2000 vessels. Porus was appointed the king of all the conquered territories lying between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Hyphasis (Beas) and Ambhi that of the country between the Indus and Hydaspes. The voyage upto the first confluence was calm and peaceful. The king Sophytes of Salt Range submitted without any struggle. Further down-ward, Alexander broke down the defence of the tribes of Siboi (Jhelum District) and Agalassoi. His next engagement was with a more powerful confederacy of otherwise mutually hostile tribes of Malloi (Malavi) the present day tribe of Mallhis) and Oxydrakoi (Ksudraka). By a mere dint of fortune, Alexander fell upon Malloi (tribe) before the two parties could meet for a joint defence. Here we see once again Alexander doing a ruthless massacre of Mallavi people "without their even turning to offer resistance". Their cities were ravged one after the other. In one of the cities of Mallavi (probably Multan) Alexander received fatal injuries but he recovered from them (See also fn. 71 below). Finally, Mallavi and Oxydrakoi submitted under the full weight of Alexander's hands. Phillips was appointed as Starap of the conquered nation and Alexander himself sailed down the third confluence and then the fourth, where all the rivers of Pakistan meet to form the Mihran of Sind or the Indus River. A city was founded and certain independent tribes such as Assastanoi, Xathroi and Ossadioi (or Oxykanoi) submitted or were subjugated in the northern Sind (Smith, pp. 92-104).

63. Curtius, IX i.
64. Fuller, op. cit., p. 263
65. Paul Mason-Oursel, *Ancient India and Indian Civilisation*, (n.p.: 1951), p. 33.
66. H. Lamb. op. cit., p. 316. This barbaic attitude is a prominent hallmark of Alexander's compaigns through southern Punjab and Sindh. Diodorus does not exaggerate when he says that Alexander spread the terror of his name throughout the entire region, with fire, destruction and wholesale enslavement. This was in response to ultra-fierce resistance which Macedonians encountered due in large part ot the propaganda of holy war spread by the Brahman preists. (Peter Green, *Alexander the Great*, op. cit., p. 231).
67. Smith, op. cit., pp. 105-6, Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 34 & Paul Masson-Oursel. op. cit., p. 33.
68. While stationed at Patala, Alexander explored the mouth of the Indus thoroughly down to the sea, ordered construction of a citadel at Patala and established various marine basis at the mouth of the river and directed the first division (Fleet) of his army under Nearchus to sail westward in to the Persian Gulf as far as the mouth of Euphrates. To Crateros he made the head of the division of his army to climb the Iranian Plateau and took the Kandhar road for Seistan. Rest of the army he headed himself and, after appointing Appollophanes as satrap of Gedrosia, started across the Makran coast into Persia to reach Mesopotamia, (Masson-Oursel, op. cit., pp. 33-34 & Smith, op. cit., pp. 108-10).
69. Smith, op. cit., p. 110
70. Ibid., pp. 111-114.
71. Ibid., p. 115 & Masson-Oursel, p. 34. Latest research, however, has shown that Alexander died not because of malaria but on account of injuries received at Multan (Denis S. Ayrillonis, *Causes of*

Death of Alexander the Great (in Greek), (Athens: 1974), pp. 134-135.

72. Curtius, VIII. xiii.
73. Ibid.
74. Arrian, *Anabasis*, V. 20.
75. *C.H.I.* I, pp. 369-70.
76. After his battle with Porus on the Jhelum, Alexander had arrogantly sent a message to Abhisares saying that if Abhisares "grudged to come to Alexander, Alexander would go to him." (Curtius, IX. i). At the end Alexander had to be content with the gifts sent to him. In return, Alexander confirmed Abhisares in his dominion. (Arrian, V. 29).
77. Plutrach informs that when Alexander was being entertained at Taxila, "the philosophers gave him no less trouble than the mercenaries, because they reviled the princes who declared for him and encouraged the free states to revolt against his authority. On this account Alexander hanged many of them (Plutarch, *Lives: Alexander*, LIX). Similarly, the philosophers at home "attributed his continuing success to a whim of Fortune, to be ended by catastrophe, as soon as Fortune rejected him" (Lamb, op. cit., p. 298). This was a great demoralising factor.
78. Arrian, V. 26. Also see Lamb, op. cit. p.310.
79. Arian, VI. 27.
80. "Alexander was fortunate in his death. His fame could hardly have increased; but it might perhaps have been diminished. For he died with real task yet before him. He had made war as few have made: it remained to be seen if he could make peace. He had, like Columbus, opened up a new world, it remained to be seen what he could do with it. (Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge: 1948, p. 121).
81. *C.H.I.*, I, p. 428 & Smith. op. cit, pp. 14-15. Thus when in 321 B.C. second partition of the Macedonian Empire was affected at Pariparadesos, Antipater realised that any attempt to retain effective control over the countries east of the Indus would prove futile and thus was obliged to recognize the independence of the Indusland by giving it away to the local rajas, i.e., Ambhi and Porus. Peithon was called off from the lower Sind and was appointed satrap of Arachosia west of the Indus. Thus the conquests of Pakistan, "was abondoned by the Macedonian Government in reality, though not in name., with the sole exception of Eudamus who retained some authority east of the Indus until about 317 B.C.
82. This poses a question: How far we are justified in condemning Aurangzeb and praising Alexander at one and the same time for similar actions of both, e.g., for reckless expansion of their empires, staying away from their respective head quarters for a long period and leaving no successor of the calibre equal to themselves.
83. C.H.I., I, op cit., p. 429.
84. *Taxila I*, pp. 18-19.
85. *Taxila I*, pp. 18-19. A referance in Mahavamsa, (*The Chronical History of Ceylon)* about one Alasanda of the Yonas i.e. Alexanderia of the Greeks, as the capital of Yona country (Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 34) relates to the city of Alexander Bucephalia as it existed later on. There is no reference to Alexander himself.
86. M.A. Stein, op. cit., p. 519.
87. H.G. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 161.
88. W.W.Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, op. cit., p. 121.
89. It is under this perspect that we see Pakistan coming in cotact with the Greek world in 190 B.C. little more than a century after Alexander's death: that Greeks estabtished themeselves for over a century in the Punjab and North West: and that Pakistan was brought into the orbit of Hellenism for still longer poriod, i.e., upto the late 5th cent. A.D. (*Taxila I*, pp. 18-19; Also Olaf Caroe, *The Pathan*, London: 1958, pp. 44-45).
90. Buddha Parkash, op, cit., p. 178.

91. *Taxila I*, p. 19 & Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, I, p. 143
92. J.F.C Fuller, op. cit., p. 128.
93. Arrian,V. 8, Curtius,VIII. 12 and Diodorus, XVIII. 86.
94. Arrian, VI, 2 & Q. Curtius, IX.3.
95. Indian prince Meroes was able to persuade Porus to surrender to Alexander after a bloody battle of Hydaspes. (Buddha Parkash, op. cit., 171).
96. Buddha Parkash, op. cit., 178.
97. H.G. Rawlinson, op. cit, p. 161.
98. Kautilya's indebtedness to Persians and his own soil, as revealed in his Arthasastra, has been fully discussed by Buddha Parkash, op. cit., pp. 178-199.
99. The exception was the Department of Astynomoi i.e. the Police to look after foreigners and correspond exactly with the Greek Proxenoi or present day 'Alodappoi' i.e., Foreigners, (V. A. Smith, *The Indian Antiquary*, Sep. 1905, p. 200).
100. Ibid., pp. 201-203; Rawlinson, op.. cit., pp. 43, 63, 68, 161 and *JRAS*, 1915, p. 63. Also see George Woodcock, *Greeks in India*, (London: 1966), pp. 52-59.
101. George Woodcock, op. cit, p. 59.
102. *Taxila I*, p. 13.
103. Herodotus, *The Histories*, (Edinigdurg: 1960), pp. 214-215; R. Ghrishmann, *Iran*, Pelican Series, p. 127; Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 27, and *Taxila I*, p. 13.
104. "It ran through the heart of Phyrgia making a detour accross the Halys to Pteria, the ancient Hittite capital, and thence southward across the Taurus, reaching the Euphrates and Samosata. The Tigris was struck at Ninevah, and the road after following the course of the river for some distance, crossed country of the Kissians to Susa (Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, I. p. 164).
105. W.E. Deburg, *The Legacy of the Ancient World*, p. 42.
106. *Taxila I*, p. 13.
107. Under Achamenian, overland as well as maritime trade extended to far distant countries. Achamenians imported sesame into Egypt and rice into Mesopotamia. Cedar wood of Lebanon and Teak wood were imported for royal building projects. Asia Minor, Crete and Island of Cyprus, Lebanon and India were the main centres of the timber trade which was imported extensively for housing and building boats, war chariots, carts, weapons and machines of war etc. Ghrishman, *Iran*, op. cit., p. 185.
108. Herodotus (*The Histories*, op. cit., pp. 216-219) described India as the most easterly country in the world beyond which there was no habitation, the people killing their sicks and eating their flesh, copulating in the open like animals and emitting black semens like their own skin. It was a land where the big ants (bigger than foxes) quaried mines of gold dust and trees growing wool (cotton) for making clothes.
109. H. Lamb, op. cit., 318.
110. J.F.C. Fuler, op. cit, pp. 131-132.
111. Idid., p.132, fn. i.
112. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and Western World*, op. cit., p. 17. The city of Kaspapyros is usually identified with Udhabandhapura in Gandhara. Buddha Parkash has, however, argued in favour of Multan (Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 54.
113. Smith, *The Early History of India*, op. cit., p. 54.
114. "The battle with Porus depressed the spirit of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India" (Plutarch, *Lives: Alexander*, Lxiii).
115. Alexander founded six Alexanderias in Pakistan. For these see supra, Chap. 4, pp. 55-63 Among these only Alexan-deria Bucephalia appears to have survived as late as first century A. D. (Periplus of the Erythraian Sea,. C. 47)
116. Quoted from Olaf Caroe, op, cit, . p. 45.
117. No sign of Hellenic or Hellensistic influence can be traced in the local culture until the lst century B.C. when Western ideas reached and were implanted in the local soil by the Graeco-Bactrians, Scythians and Parthians. As far the influence of Alexander's campaign on local sculpture, coinage and dress is concerned, it was definitely nil The later period Greaco-Bactrian, hegemony, as a result of which the Hellenic influence reached Pakistan, was not Alexander's formation. (Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathan*, London: 1958, pp. 44-45).

9 A REAPPRAISAL OF ASOKA'S ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION FROM SIRKAP

The oldest specimen of written record found in the Taxila valley is an inscription in Aramaic language and script, now preserved in the Archaelogical Museum, Taxila (Plate XV, a)[1]. The piece of stone bearing this inscription was originally part of an octagonal monolithic memorial pillar fixed at some unknown place in the valley. The inscription is carved on a white marble now changed to a yellowish tinge. Published reports do not mention the size of the stone bearing this inscription, but it is somewhat 75 cm. high. The inscription occupies only one side of the stone and consists of 12 fragmentary lines.

Ever since its discovery in 1914, a group of scholars has proposed different (at time even diametrically opposed) readings of this inscription. However, all agree that it was scribed by the orders of the Mauryan emperor Asoka some time between 298 and 232 B.C.

We do not know where this inscription was originally installed. In its mutilated shape it was discovered from Block F in the Sirkap city where it was found built in the east-west partition wall between the two chambers (A1&A2)[2] just north of the stupa of the Double Headed Eagle. Its worn out condition and present unauspicious location warrants the conclusion that it had been brought to its findspot from somewhere else sometime during the first century A.D. and reused as an ordinary masonry block. If association of this inscription with the name of Asoka is correct,[3] then it is natural to presume that it was originally installed either somewhere in the city of Bhir Mound (Taxila II) near the Museum building or in the vicinity of the Dharamarajika stupa, alias Chir Tope. These are the only two places which can boast of some association with Asoka, i.e., *Priyadarsi* of our inscription. Before we discuss the contents of this inscription, a few words about the Aramaic language and script and its use will be quite appropriate. In pakistan Aramaic script is the oldest after the so-far undeciphered Harappan script. Like the latter, Aramaic script was also used to be written from right to left. It has 22 letters. All are consonants. It was derived from

the North Semetic script and mainly developed in the 10th and 9th centuries B.C. and came into general use in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. The oldest Aramaic inscription so far discovered dates from approximate 850 B.C. It had been the major writing system in the East in the late half of the 1st millennium B.C. Due to its wide-spread use, both in time and space, it has been regarded as ancestral to square Hebrew, the Nabatean, modern Arabic, Palmyrene, Syriac as well as hundreds of other writing systems used at some time in Asia, east of Syria, such as Georgean, Armenian and Glagolithic. Aramaic gradually replaced Hebrew to be the language of the Jews. Portions of the Old Testament are written in Aramaic. Jesus and his Apostles spoke this language. The period of its maximum influence was from 300 B.C. to 650 A.D.[4] Achaemenians adopted this script officially in their vast Empire. But its use as lingua franca was initated much earlier by the Babylonians by whom it was used as a trade language side by side with the impossible Cuneiform system. For a long time Aramaic language and script were used in Babylonia and Assyria side by side with Cuneiform writing.[5]

The use of Aramaic language and script in areas now covering Pakistan and Afghanistan has been amply tested from finds of Aramaic inscriptions from various places. They date from 8th down to the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C. In Afghanistan these have been reported from Qandahar, Laghman and Pol-e-Darunta in Ningarahar Province (v.q). In Pakistan, one Aramaic inscription has been reported from Taxila (under study) whereas two earlier inscriptions are reported from Bhai Khan, near Peshawar (v.q.).

The origin of the use of this script and language in Pakistan is still shrouded in mystery. So far it has been a common belief that in Pakistan the Aramaic language and script had been a gift of the Achaemenians.[6] It can no more be held true. No doubt, Aramaic was used throughout Western Asia during the age of Achaemenians but we have positive proof that in Pakistan its use began long before their rise. The Eastern extension of the Achaemenian rule was accomplished under Cyrus the Great (558-530 B.C.) and Darius 1 (521-485 B.C.). But from Bhai Khan, near Peshawar, we have two Aramaic inscriptions dating back to 7-8th centuries B.C. Both are registered in the Lahore Museum and bear accession numbers 1-110 and 1-152 (New numbers: H-794 & H-793 respectively). Only one of these inscriptions has so far been deciphered.[7] It contains a reference to a person named Thideal, his flagstaff and his conquest of

Khotan. It appears that Aramaic was introduced in Pakistan by Jews during their first captivity.[8] It is clear that the Aramaic inscription under reference, as well as those from Qandhar, Laghman and Pol-e-Darunta,[9] all belonging to the 3rd century B.C., are nothing but continuation of the Bhai Khan inscriptions. Use of Aramaic language used for so many inscriptions of Asoka's period and use of Aramaic script even for the local language as in case of inscription of Pol-e-Darunta and one of the two Qandahar bilingual inscriptions[10] is itself a proof that the Aramaic speaking community (Jews?) was strong enough to be reckoned with down to the time of Asoka.

The Taxila Aramaic inscription consists of only 12 lines. Each line is fragmentary and the entire inscription is incomplete. Even some 60 years after its discovery, the text still remains enigmatic inspite of the fact that it has been studied by Indologists (L.D. Barnet), Semitologists (A. Cowley), Iranologists (F.C. Andreas), archaeologists (E. Herzfeld and Marshall), classical historian (Franz Altheium) etc.

Soon after its discovery in 1914, it was thoroughly examined by L.D. Barnet[11] and A. Cowley.[12] But beyond certain words and sequences they could not agree with each other. However, Cowley offered a tentative reading of the inscription which translates as follows:[13]

a. Memorial
b. to DMIRIKI for
c. the carving on
d. cedar and ivory
e. ...and they belonged to his father.
f. Behold, this is my charge
g. .....this Vohuvards.
h. ....bequeathing, and when she was
i. ....our lord PIDIDU (?).
j. ..his kingdom
k. ...and also his sons
l. ...to our lord PVIDDS(?)

In 1928, E. Herzfeld[14] detected that the inscription twice mentions the title *Priyadarsi* and convincingly proved that this was a new Asokan inscription datable to the middle of 3rd century B.C.

F.C. Andreas worked on this inscription for more than 13 years (1917-30).[15] Besides identifying the title *Priyadarsi*, Andreas also identified two noun compounds of Iranian origin namely "hwptysty" (good obedience) and 'hwnstwn' (good command). He regarded it a memorial inscription.

In 1949, Franz Altheim tried, fruitlessly though, to study this inscription with reference to Avestan text.[16] He regarded it as a record of some kind of construction.

For over a period of 30 years text read by F.C. Andreas remained the standard reading of this inscription. Only some 26 years back, Helmet Humbach of the University of Mainz, West Germany, challenged this otherwise accepted reading and gave his own (v.q.). Since both these readings are diametrically different from each other and that of Humbach's reading has so far not been universally accepted, I will deal with both these readings separately. Following is the translation of the reading of F.C. Andreas as given by Sir John Marshall:[17]

a. .....memorial.....
b. (he appointed) Romedote.....
c. Over Naggaruda.....
d. the town friend of Naggaruda.....
e. and to his (Romedote's) father they were.....
f. also this obedient (Romedote).....
g. through his good help (this work was accomplished).....
h. (to) the good order of his lord (his virtues were devoted).....
i. our lord (i.e.,governor) Priyadarsi.....
j. the (gatekeepers) went.....
k. and also his (Romedote's) sons.....
l. (hail) for the lord Priyadarsi.

Thus according to Andreas, it records the erection of some "memorial" in the city of Naggaruda by a person named Romedote during the viceroyalty of *Priyadarsi*. The word 'Naggaruda', literally meaning 'carpentry', has been regarded as an Aramaic equivalent of the word Takshasila. The latter itself is a combination of two words *rakshan* (carpenter) and *sila* (habitat or city).[18] It appears that originally the name of Taxila was Takshansila i.e., the 'City of Carpenters'; and it was so named because the people of this

area had always been, and still are, well known for their skill in stone carving and stone masonary of which the entire old city of Taxila is a superb example.

One significance of this inscription lies in the fact that through the title *Priyadarsi* (found twice in the inscription), we get the name of at least another ruler of Taxila, i.e., Asoka.[19] However, we have not been able to confirm the name of the high official 'Romedote' from any other source.[20]

The prime identifying indication in this inscription is the title *prydr's* or *Priyadarsi.* It simply means a good friend' or 'a kind person'.[21] As a mere title it can be used by any one. But historically it has so far been used only by the Mauryan Emperor Asoka.[22] Thus there is no doubt that this inscription was issued during the times of Asoka. But when exactly? Our inscription refers to him as *mr'n* (our lord) and not as *ml'k* (emperor). The famous Semitologist A. Cowley was the first to point out that the title *mr'n* (our lord) is used in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (Egypt) as the title of the Persian governor.[23] From this, Andreas and others inferred that the Taxila inscription refers to Asoka as provincial governor and not as emperor.[24] According to Andreas' reading this inscription has nothing to do with the famous Edicts of Asoka which he issued from 259 B.C. onward.[25] But if the inscription was issued when Asoka was still the crown prince and viceroy of Taxila, then it must be dated prior to his accession to throne in 274 B.C. If so, we must also assume that Asoka adopted, or was given, the title of *Priyadarsi* long before he became emperor or even before he embraced Buddhism after the carnage of Kalinga. This is, no doubt, the earliest record of any type giving some information about the history of Taxila. But, on basis of Andreas' reading it becomes the earliest inscription referring to Asoka that was engraved at least 15 years before the idea of propagation of Buddhism through edicts entered Asoka's mind. The people of Taxila might have remembered him as a 'good friend' when he adopted a policy of reconciliation rather than repression for warding off a local revolt.[26]

However, there are two major difficulties in accepting the view that this Taxila inscription belongs to the period of Asoka, the Prince, and not the King. Firstly, the possibility of Asoka's assuming title of *Priyadarsi* long before his conversion to Buddhism is contrary to all known historical facts. There are quite many indications that prior to his conversion to Buddhism, Asoka was a harsh ruler and a man of ambition.[27] He killed 98 or 99 princes (his half brothers) in order to ascend the Maghadan throne.[28]

According to his own record, in the battle of Kalinga 'one hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundered thousand were there slain, and many times that number died'.[29] How a man with such a harsh charcter can be called *Priyadarsi* before he really deserved the title? Secondly, if this inscription belonged to the times of Asoka's princehood, why did he exclude this city (Taxila) from the honour of having received any of his Edicts issued after 259 B.C. Asoka had personal associations with Taxila. Besides, Taxila was an important religious and educational centre in the entire sub-continent both before and after the times of Asoka. Then, why Asoka should refuse honour to such a cosmopolitan city wheras much less important centre in the vicinity like Shahbazgarhi, got his Edicts.

More recently, this long accepted reading by F.C. Anbdreas has been challenged by Helmut Humbach of the Mainz University.[30] As a result of his series of studies covering a period of about ten years, he has finally confirmed that the Aramaic inscription of Taxila was no doubt issued by Asoka but he did so as emperor and not as prince as was previously held. Further he has convincingly shown that this inscription is simply an Aramaic version of part of Rock Edicts issued by the emperor Asoka after 259 B.C. For comparison purpose the readings given by A Cowley, F.C. Andreas and H. Humbach together with the translation of Shahbazgarhi Edict IV are given below side by side:[31]

Line	A. Cowley[32]	F.C. Andreas[33]	H. Humbach[34]	Shahbazgarhi Edict IV[35]
				Such as that has now been promoted by the friends of gods, Priyardarsi, the king through the Dharma Proclamation: Non-killing of living beings.
1.	Memorial	Memorial	Non-injuty	Non-injury
2.	to Dmirki for	(he appointed) Romedote	to creatures, Towards (relatives).	to creatures. Towards relatives
3.	the carving on	Over Naggaruda	attention Towards (priests)	attention. Towards Brahmans
4.	cedar and ivory	the town friend of Naggaruda	(and) pious men attention. (Towards his mother	and ascetics' attention. Towards mother
5.	and they belonged to his father	and to his (Romedote's) father they were	and towards his father (and) the elders	and father (and) the elders.
6.	Behold. this is my charge	also this obedient (Romedote)	good obedience. This (and also	Obedience. This
7.	this Vohurarda	through his good help (this work) was accomplished	that Bahuv(r)ida (conduct)	and many other kinds of Dharma.
8.	bequeathing and when she was	(to) the good order of his lord(his virtures were devoted)	of the good command (it is), which he has promoted.	Practice has been and it will be promoted for ever.

9.	our lord PIDIDU(?)	our lord(i.e.governor) Priyadarsi	our lord Piyardar(si the king)	by the friend of the gods, Priyadarsi, the king.
10.	his kingdom	the (gatekeepers) went	= This conduct of the (good command)	The Dharma practice.
11.	and also his sons	and also his Ro-(medote) sons	and his sons too (...)	The sons, too, and the grand sons and the great grandsons
12	to our lord PVIDDS (?)	(hail) for the lord Piyadarsi	of our lord, Priyadarsi, of the king.	of the friends of the gods, Priyadarsi, the king will promote this Dharma practice.

H. Humbach has viewed Taxila's Aramaic inscription as a word for word translation of Shahbazgarihi Rock Edict-IV of Asoka. He boldly suggests that in lines 9 and 12 the words *mr'n ptydrs* i.e., 'Our lord Priyadarsi'; must had been followed on the defaced portion of the slab by another word *ml'k* i.e., 'king' thus rendering the complete lines to mean 'Our Lord Priyadarsi, the King'. He appears to have been led to this conclusion by the reading of five other Aramic inscriptons (two from Qandhar, two from Laghman and one from Pol-e-Darunta) from Afghanistan (see below). These are positively Aramaic versions of Asoka's Rock Edicts and surely belong to a period when Asoka was emperor. All, except the Pol-e-Darunta inscription, are comparatively recent discoveries. All, previous writers on Taxila Aramaic inscription tried to decipher the inscription in complete Isolation. Humbach definitely had an edge over them because so much fresh relevant material was at his disposal. Among the five Aramaic inscriptions referred to above, the inscription from Pol-e-Darunta in the Ningarhar Province consists of actual quotations from Asoka's Edicts.[36]

Among these five inscriptions the Greek-Aramaic bilingual inscription from Qandhar is the most significant. It contains Asoka's message based on free rendering of passages from Rock Edict-IV.[37] The fragmentary Aramaeco-Iranian and Aramaeco-Indian bilingual inscription, also from Qandhar, renders part of Asoka's seventh Pillar Edict.[38] The two rock inscriptions from Laghman (Laghman 1 and Laghman II)[39] are dated in the year 10 and 16 of Asoka's reign respectively.

As all the Aramaic inscriptions from Afghanistan belong to a period of Asoka's reign as Emperor, it is reasonable to sugges that the Taxilan inscription should also belong to the same period. This, Humbach concluded by the bold assertion that the word *mr'n ptydrs* must originally have been followed by the word *ml'k* i.e., king, making the whole to mean: 'Our lord Priyadarsi, the king'.[40] This reading, if correct, sets aside all doubts at rest regarding regarding the use of the title *Priyhdarsi* by Asoka before his conversion to Buddhism or prior to his ascending the throne.

Thus, Taxila inscription, a real Aramaic version of Asoka's Edict-IV, adds one more station to the list of place names which previously had the honour of receiving Asoka's Rock Edicts and the third one to be located within Pakistan.[41] After all Asoka did not forget the most illustrious of all the Indian cities of his time i.e., Taxila as it had been in the 3rd century B.C. and long afterward. Taxila really possessed a pivotal position in the propagation of Buddhism. It was situated at the cross roads of different trade routes coming from Western Asia, Eastern India and Central Asia. It was also a veritable holy land of Buddhist pilgrimage and many important events of Buddha's life were, wrongly though, attributed to have occured here. So there is nothing strange if Asoka got fixed one of his Rock Edicts in the Valley of Txila.

However, it looks strange that Asoka ordered these Edicts to be inscribed in Aramaic rather than in the common language (Prakrit) and script (Kharoshthi) of the area as he did for his Edicts at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra. There are some plausible reason to believe that Taxila had remained under the Achaementian rule in the 5th and 4th centureies B.C.[42] At Taxila, Alexandar's historians observed certain practices which smell Zoroastrian influence.[43] It is plausible that till the times of Asoka there was a substantial number of Aramaic speaking community in the cosmopolitan city of Taxila. Whether or not there were Jews in Taxila is not certain.

The discovery of this Taxilan Aramaic inscription has a great import on the history of palaeography of this region. Kharoshthi script, a *lingua franca* of Gandhara and the Punjab, had been known, though by different names, to the scholars as early as 19th century, but its source had ever remained problematic. Taxila has always been regarded as the chief city of Kharoshthi district and G. Buhler had no doubt that the Kharoshthi alphabet originated at Taxila.[44] Discovery of Aramaic inscription from Taxila throws interesting light on the origin of Kharoshthi alphabet. Both Aramaic and Kharosshthi are written from right to left. Besids, certain letters of the two scripts, such as *na, ba, ra* and *ya* are identical. Both employ one base for the initial vowels.[45] These and other factors lead many scholars to conclude convincingly that Kharoshthi has originated out of Aramaic.[46] The only difficulty is that Kharoshthi is known to us in a fully developed form and in the middle of third century B.C. both are found used side by side by Asoka. Before the decipherment of the Lahore Museum inscription No. 1.110,[47] it was really a problem. Now it is known that Aramaic and Kharoshthi did not enter the boundaries of Pakistan

simultaneously. Instead, Aramaic antedated Kharoshthi by at least five hundred years in the same very area. It took a long time before Kharoshthi emerged out of the bosom of its mother script i.e., Aramaic. The only thing yet to be discovered is an inscription or inscriptions scribed in early or proto-Kharoshthi script. The simultaneous use of these two scripts in the middle of the third century B.C. is not, as scholars have thought,[48] a proof of simultaneous emergence of the other (Kharoshthi). No specimen of Aramaic writing after the Taxila inscription is known, whereas Kharoshthi continued to be employed right up to the middle of the 5th century A.D.[49]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *ASI, A/R*, 1914-15, pp. 25-26; and *Taxila I*, pp. 164-65, Pl. 34d.
2. The room belongs to the reign of Azes I. See *Taxila I*, p. 164.
3. For association of Asoka with these monuments at Taxila, we have only indirect evidence. The seat of the Taxila city during the Mauryan rule (305-232 B.C.) was probably Bhir Mound (*Taxila I*, p. 87). During this time, we have positive evidence that Asoka remained at Taxila as governor on behalf of his father Bindusara (Senarat Paranavitana, *The Greeks and the Mauryas*, Colombo: 1971, pp. 67-68). Asoka could have lived only at Bhir Mound. The ancient name of present day Chir Tope (Taxila), as recorded in the Azes inscription of the year 136 was "Dharmarajika" (see Infra, Chap. 10, p. 227). *The Divyadana,* (ed. by E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil, p. 379) calls Asoka the 'Dharmaraja". From this J.Ph. Vogel infers that 'Dharamarajaika' means "a stupa erected by Asoka, Dharmaraja of the Buddhists". (*ASI, A/R,* 1903-4 p. 223). Thus, it has been presumed that Dharmarajika Stupa at Taxila was constructed by Asoka (*Taxila I*, pp. 20-21, 23-24).
4. *Encylopaedia Britannica*, Vol. I, (Chicago: 1973), s.v. 'Aramaic'.
5. *Taxila I*, pp. 64-66. Also see Issac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, (London: 1883), and D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, (2nd ed.), p. 225.
6. *Taxila I*, p.15.
7. Eugen Ludwig Rapp. "The Semetic Stone Inscription I.110 of the Lahore Museum and its Problematic Equiva-lent I.152 in Unknown Script and Language", *E.W,* N.S., Vol. 22, No. I.2, 1972, pp. 25-31, Figs. 1-2. The text of the inscription reads: "Flagstaff and engraving of Thideal. Feast of the (seizure of) power of Khawatan (Khotan)".
8. For presence of Jews in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the controversy whether or not the Pathans or Pakhtuns belong to some of the lost tribes of Beni Israel, see Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul,* (Rep. Karachi: 1972), pp. 205-207; Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, (Rep. Karachi: 1975), pp. 1062-164; and Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, (Rep. Karchi: 1973), pp. 1-

24. This ssubject has never been studied seriously though it deserves our due atention.

9. Helmut Humbach, see fn. 30 below.

10. Ibid.

11. L.D. Barnet "An Aramaic Inscription from Taxila", *JRAS* 1915, pp. 340-342. Barnet dated it in the early parts of the 4th century B.C.

12. A. Cowley, "The First Aramaic Inscription from India", *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 342-347. He also dated it in the early parts of the 4th century B.C.

13. Ibid., p. 343. Due to typographical difficulties, the transliteration of the Aramaic Inscription cannot be given here.

14. E. Herzfeld, "A New Asokan Inscription from Taxila", *Epigraphia Indica*, 29, 1927-28, pp. 251-253.

15. F.C. Andreas' researches were published posthomously by H.A. Winkler, in: *Nacrichten von der Gasselscchaft der Wissenschaften zu Goetingen. Phil. Hist.*, (Kalsee: 1931), pp. 6-17.

16. Franz Alatheim, *Awestiche Textgeschichte, Halle*, (Saale: 1949). The text referring to the Taxilan Aramaic inscriptions has several times been reprinted separately.

17. *Taxila I.*, p. 165; and Marshall, *Guide*, p. 74.

18. See supra, Chap. 2, p. 17.

19. The earliest ruler of Taxila whose name has been recorded in history is Ambhi (also written as Omphi, Mophis and Taxiles). (See Arian, XXII, Dioderos, XVII. 86: Curtius, VIII, 14, etc. Name of another ruler of Taxila, namely Antial kidas, has been found engraved in Brahmi inscription at Besnagar in Gwalior. This inscription also records the name of his Ambassador Heliodorus, the son of Dion, (See J.F. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1087-1094; John Marshall, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1051-1056 and J.Ph. Vogel, *ASI, A/R*, 1908-1909, p. 126-129).

20. For a list of names of persons associated with the history of Taxila see supra, Chap. 2, pp. 9-10.

21. V.A. Smith translates the word Priyadarsi as "of gracious mien" or "His Gracious Majesty", (V.A. Smith, *Aaoka*, Oxford: 1920, p. 23; Bhandar-kar, *Asoka*, Caloutta: 1932, p.6) as "one of amiable look", Kern (quoted by Smith in his article published in *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 266-67) as "having a pleasant look" or "promising something pleasant" or "the humane". The epithet (or title as M. Sylvain Levi puts it) Piadasi has diffrent variants such as "Piyadassi", "Priyadarsi" and "Priyadasin", the latter actually is used in the Pakistan version of inscription. For full discussion see V.A.Smith, "The Meaning of Piyadasi", *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, June 1903, pp. 265-67.

22. According to a Ceylonese Chronicle, Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta styled himself as "Priyadarsan". But Asoka styled himself as 'Priyadarsin", see V.A. Smith, *Asoka*, op. cit., p. 22; and D.R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, op. cit., pp. 3-8. The fullest appelation of King Asoka was "*Devanampriya Priyadarsi Raja*". The formula is sometimes abbreviated by omitting one or two of the components see *JRAS*, 1908, p. 482-83.

23. A. Cowley, op. cit., p. 345.

24. .Cf. Marshal, *Guide*, p. 74.

25. *Taxila I*, p. 165. But D.R. Bhandarkar, (op. cit., p.85) thinks that Asoka issued first of his Edicts in 254 B.C. i.e., 20 years after his accession.

26. Senarat Paranavitans, *The Greeks and the Mauryas*, op. cit., p. 108.

27 Buddhist traditions call the emperor as Kaloasoka or Demon Asoka in comparison to his post-conversion title Dharmasoka or "Piojs Asaoka". See D.R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

28. Senarat Paranavitana, loc. cit; V.A. Smith, *Asoka*, op. cit., p. 19, but he calls it a silly fiction.

29. Rock Edict XIII: V.A. Smith, Asoka, op. cit., pp. 24-25. R.K. Mookerji regards these casualties in Kalinga at least 4 lacs (R.K. Mookerji, *Asoka*, Delhi: 1962, p. 16).
30. Helmut Humbach, "Die Armaische Inschrift von Taxila", *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Achandusugen der geistes und sozialwis senchaftliche Klasses*, (Jahrgang: 1969), Nr. I pp.1-13; Ibid., "Additional Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Taxila", in: *Munchener Studien zur Sprach-Wissenschaft*, 26 (1969), pp. 39-42; Ibid., "The Aramaic Asoka Inscrip-tion from Taxila", *JCA*, 1, 2, Dec. 1978, pp. 87-98; Ibid., and G.D. Davary, *Eine Weitere Aramaoira-nische Inschrift der Periode des Asoka aus Afghanistan, Akademie der Wissenschaftin und der Litiratur, Abhandlungen der geistesund sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, (Jahrgang: 1974, Nr. 1.
31. Due to typographical difficulties, diacritieal marks have been omitted.
32. A. Cowley, op. cit., p. 343.
33. Cf. *Taxila I.*, p. 165.
34. H. Humbach, *JCA*, op. cit., pp. 93-94.
35. "Rock Edict IV of Shahbazgarhi: A Cunninghm, Inscriptions of Asoka", *CII*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: 1877), p. 118-119; and E Hultzsch, "Inscriptions of Asoka", *CII*, New ed. Delhi: 1968), pp. 53-54. Also see H. Humbach, *JCA*, op. cit., pp. 93-94.
36. W.B. Henning. "The Aramaic Inscription of Asoka found in Lampaka", *BSOAS*, No. 13, 1949-50, pp. 8-88.
37. D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, et al. "Une Bilingue greco arameenne d' Asoka", *JA* 1958, pp. 1-48; G. Puglies Carratelli and G. Garbini, *A Bilingual Graeeo Aramaic Edict by Asoka*, (Rome: 1964); and J. Filliozat. "Graeco-Aramaic Inscrip-tion of Asoka near Kandahar", *EI*, 34, 1961-62, pp. 1-8.
38. E. Benvintiste et al. "Une Inscription Indo-Arameenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)", *JA*, 1966, pp. 437-470.
39. A. Dupont Sommer, "Une nonvelle inscription arameenne d'Asoka trouve dan la valle de Laghman (Afghanistan)", *Academiedes inscriptions et belles-letters*, 1970, pp. 158-173.
40. G.D. Davary and H. Humbach, "Eine weitere aramaoiranische Inschrift der Periode des Asoka aus Afghanistan", *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literater, Abhandlungen der geistesund sozial wissenschatlichen Klasse*, (Jahrgang: 1974), Nr. I.
41. The two other places where Asoka inscribed his Edicts on the rock are Mansehra, in Hazara Division, and Shahbazgarhi, District Mardan, both in the N.W.F. Province of Pakistan. The third one, now identified at Taxila, is the first one to be found in the Punjab.
42. *Taxila I*, pp. 12-16
43. Strabo, XV, C714.
44. Cf. *ASI, A/R*, 1914-15, pp. 25-26
45. A.H. Dani, *Indian Paleography* (Oxford: 1963), p. 254.
46. Ibid., also *ASI, A/R*, 1914-15, pp. 25-26.
47. Eugen Ludwig Rapp, loc. cit.
48. *Taxila I*, p. 166.
49. see Infra, Chap. 10, pp. 214.

10 KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTIONS

In its hey days the city of Taxila had been an educational and cultural centre. It had been a city of saints as well as scholars. Its university was famous throughout the subcontinent for its teaching in Buddhist learning and science subjects, particularly the scienc of medicine.[1] It is natural to expect a good deal of written material from the ruins of such a city. No doubt, some folios of books, a few inscribed stones and numerous other inscriptions and written materials have been discovered during 21 years' excavation of this city, but their number is quite small in proportion to the role this city had played in history and the extent of its remains. Nevertheless, whatever written material has been discovered sheds sufficient light on various aspects of religio-cultural and social life of the area.[2]

Writings from Taxila are found on gold, silver and copper plates. Some are inscribed also on rocks and stone and stucco sculptures. Short inscriptions are also found on pottery and metallic wares. Only in two cases some folios of books written on birch-bark have been found. Inscriptions on coins are quite numerous and are varied in character. These are mostly in Greek and Kharoshthi. Two other scripts used are Aramaic and Brahmi. Long inscriptions are few and far between. Most of these inscriptions are found from different levels of the Graeco-Scytho-Parthian city of Sirkap and its surroundings. Only one inscription is recorded from the Kushan city of Sir Sukh while none is from Bhir Mound. As regards Buddhist sites in Taxila Valley, a few inscriptions are from Chir Tope, Jaulian, and one each from Kalawan, Mohra Muradu, Badalpur and Giri Fort.

All these inscriptions are brief and mainly of religious import. Most of these were found from religious sites. Their subject matter in the main, is similar. From these inscriptions we get the name of a few kings and local governors, some bhikshus and numerous citizens etc. But despite the fact that thousands of sculptures have been discovered at Taxila — and a few with inscriptions too — none preserves the names of the artists who made them.[3] We also see from these inscriptions that at Taxila there were in vogue two eras at two different times. At least from one inscription we

infer that Macedonian months were also used in the calendar alongside local months. Greek weights and measures were also used while recording value of metalwares.

One thing is quite strange. The glory of Gandhara, including that of Taxila, was mainly due to the brilliant rule of Kushans. From this region, many inscriptions belonging to Kushan dynasty have been discovered.[4] But 21 years' excavations of this city have yielded just one single inscription belonging to the Kushan rule. Reason for this perhaps is the fact that the Kushan City at Taxila, namely Sir Sukh, has never been properly excavated. Taxila has a long history and witnessed the rule of many dynasties and families ranging from Achaemenians, Greeks, Mauryas, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, Sassanians to Huns. On account of their diverse origins, these dynasties, professed different religions and customs and even used different scripts for writing their languages. The earliest script discovered at Taxila is Aramaic.[5] Out of it grew Kharoshthi which remained the main script of the region for several centuries. Besides these two scripts, sufficient evidence exists to show that here, a few other scripts were also in use in a varying degree of popularity.

This is quite in keeping with the international character of the city of Taxila. There is still another script, known as Brahmi, which was used at Taxila simultaneously with Kharoshthi script. This script is the lineal ancestor of the present day Devanagri and Hindi scripts of India. Among all the scripts discovered from Pakistan and India, Brahmi script is the earliest one which was written from left to right. All other earlier scripts such as the Indus, Aramaic and Kharoshthi scripts were written from right to left. Brahmi script was also started some time in the 4th/3rd century B.C. and remained in vogue till it was replaced by Devanagri.

In all, Taxila has yielded one inscription in Aramaic script (supra, pp. 201-211), a few folios of two books and 7 inscriptions in Brahmi script (Infra, Chap. 11, pp. 243-269) and many inscription in Kharoshthi.

Origin and Use of Kharoshthi Script

Kharoshthi script was evolved from Aramaic and like Aramaic was written from right to left. It was used for almost seven hundred years from 300 B.C. to the middle of 5th century A.D. Gandhara was its place of birth but specimens of this script have been found over a vast territory extending from Gandhara in the West to Mathura and Patna in the East and Central Asia in the North to Mohenjodaro (Sindh) in the South.[6] It was a fully

developed phonetic script and was well adapted to the sounds of the Prakrits then spoken in the Indusland, now Pakistan.[7] Earlier, it was known by many names such as: Indo-Bactrian, Kabuli, Aryan, Gandharan, Bactrian, Pali, Ariano-Pali script etc. German scholar Buhler discovered the name 'Kharoshthi' in Lalit Vistara and in a few Chinese books and was the first to use and popularise it. Literal meaning of the work Kharoshthi is 'one who possesses lips of an ass'. But how this term came to be used for this script is not known.

The Aramaic script, which remained in use here for many centuries, was hardly able to accommodate many local sounds. It was in order to accommodate these local peculiarities that Aramaic script gave birth to a new script now called Kharoshthi. The latter was already a mature script in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. and was used simultaneously with its mother script. However, the new script was so well suited to the local Prakrits that it gradually and completely replaced Aramaic in this region.[8]

History of its early development is shrouded in mystery. In its developed form Kharoshthi appears to have been first used by Asoka for his Rock Edicts for the propagation of Buddhism. His Rock Edicts at Mansehra (Hazara Division) and Shahbazgarhi are in Kharoshthi script. The Greeks, Scythains and Parthians used this script to their best advantage. Its use reached its maximum during Kushan rule in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. Afterwards, it gradually declined and finally dwindled away in the middle of 5th century A.D. Specimens of this script are found scribed on rocks, stones, coins, pottery, seals etc. In Taxila no manuscript scribed in Kharoshthi has been discovered. But elsewhere, we do find books written in this script.[9]

In Taxila Kharoshthi script was first used on Greek coins in the 2nd century B.C. Demetrius (182-180 B.C) was the first to use it.[10] A few Kharoshthi inscriptions are found scribed on silverware. Elsewhere we find Kharoshthi inscriptions on statues.

MAJOR INSCRIPTIONS

Shahpur Inscriptions

1. Taxila Copper Plate of Meridarkh

Probably the earliest known Kharoshthi inscription from Taxila was presented in 1855 to Major Pearse. This copper plate inscription, in four parts, was discovered in a stupa near Shahpur (Dharmarajika) and hence is

popularly known as Shahpur Inscription.[11] It is generally said to belong to Scythian period and as such is dated in the first century B.C. It is brief and reads:

Text: *Samavatsara (dasa) miti 10 tena Sabhayakena thuba pra(Ti)stavito mata pitu puyae aghara cha puyae.*

Trans: 'In the year 10 by one named Subhayaka this stupa was erected in honour of his mother and father and in honour of.....(?)'

This inscription was first published by Rajendralal Mitra in 1885.[11a] At present it is in Calcutta Museum, India. This inscription is now-a-days popularly known as Taxila Copper Plate of Meridarkh. Sir Alexander Cunningham read the name on this inscription as that of Sabhayaka.[12] His reading of this inscription has been discarded since long by Haraprasad Sastri,[13] R.D. Banerjee,[14] F.W. Thomas[15] and finally by S. Konow.[16]

Konow gives the reading of this inscription as follows:

.....meri (da)khena Subhaykena thubo pra(ti)stavito matapitu pyae aghdaksho (i) naye.

2. Stone Vase Inscription

From the same village (Shahpur) and in the same year (1855) was discovered from another stupa a stone vase with a Kharoshthi inscription. I think it is the same vase which is now in Peshawar Museum. It reads:

Text: *Sihilena Siha-Rachhitena cha bhratarehi Takhasilae ayam thuva prathitavito sava budhana puye.*

Trans: 'This stupa was erected inTaxila by the brothers Sinhila and Sinha-Rakshita in honour of all the Buddhas'[17]

Discovery of this stone vase confirmed in 1855 that the ruins in the valley of Haro River represent no other than those of Takhasila or Taxila. This identification was first suggested by Sir Alexander Cunningham.[18]

3. Gold Plate Inscription from Babar Khana

In 1862 or so was discovered a gold plate inscription along with a crystal *hansa* or goose from one of the ruined stupas in Babar Khana north

of Sirkap city near Gangu village.[19] The gold plate was hardly 7 cm long and 2.75 cm. wide. The inscription was not clearly legible and Cunningham deciphered it as follows:[20]

Text: *Sirea Bhagavato dhato prethavetiya Mutuha-sisa pituha sasi Kura-sasi Atryo hatenajati.*

Translation of this inscription is extremely difficult.[21] Konow gives its translation as follows:

> 'Gift of Sira (Head), depositing a relic of the Lord in the hansa of her mother, the hansa of father. Might it become its place when a corporal birth comes.'[22]

Whatever could be made out of it indicates, as Cunningham and Konow opined, that it recods the burial of a fragment of bone from the Buddha's head. This inscription has come from the same region which is famous for the *'Sar-dan'* or 'Head giving of the Buddha' legened. According to this legend, Buddha gave here his head to a hungry man or to a hungry lion.[23] The name Babar Khana or House of Tiger also alludes to the same legend.

4. Tofkian Inscription of Great Moga (Maues)

From the village Tofkian inside Sir Sukh was discovered, prior to 1864, another copper plate bearing a Kharoshthi inscription.[24] It was presented to the Commissioner, Rawalpindi Division. It was in two pieces and measured from 15 cm to 26 cm. Konow's reading and translation given below[25] is different from the one given by A. Cunningham.[26]

Text: 1. *(Samva)tsaraye athasatatimae 20 20 20 10 4 4 maharayasa mahamtasa Mogasa Pa(ne)masa masasa divase pamchame 4 1 etaye purvaye kshaha(ra) ta(sa).*

2. *(Chukhsa)sa cha kshatrapasa Liako Kushuluko nama tasa (pu)tro Pati(ko) Takhasilaye nagare utarena prachu deso Kshema nama atra.*

3. *(De*)se Patiko apratithavita bhagavata Sakmunisa sariram (Pra*)tithaveti (samgha)ramam cha sarvabudhana puyae matapitarim puyayamt(0*).*

4 *(Kshatra)pasa saputradarasa ayubalavardhi(e) bhratara sarva cha (natigabamdha) vasa cha puyayamto mahadanapati Patikasa jaiivaneae.*

Trans: In the seventy eight, 78 year (during the reign) of the Great King Great Moga, on the fifth, 5 day of the month Panemos, on this first (*tithi*), of the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa Liaka Kusuluka by name — his son Patika — in the town of Takshasila, to the north, the easter region, Kshema by name — in this place Patika establishes a (formerly) not established relic of the Lord Sakyamuni and a sangharama through Rohinimitra Buddhas, worshipping his mother and father, for the increase of the life and power of the kshatrapa, together with his son and with worshipping all his brothers and his blood-relations and kinsmen.
At the jauva-order of the great gift-lord Patika.
To Patika the kshatrapa Liaka.

It is a very important inscription as it sheds tremendous light on the socio-politico-religious condition of the territory around Taxila during the Scythian rule at Taxila. It records the name of the City of Taxila, the name of the contemporary Scythian king Moga or Maues, the names of the local satrap Liaka Kusuluka and his son Patika and the names of three principalities i.e., Chukhsa, Chhahara (Kshaharata) and Chhema (Kshema).[27] The name of Greek month Panemos also shows that the Macedonians calendar was in use Taxila as was also the Persian satrapal system. It also shows that the area around Taxila was veritable holy land of Buddhism as it can boast of a share of Buddha's bones. It is the most important inscription so far discovered at Taxila because it helps to reconstruct the socio-politico-religous history of the City. Marshall,[28] following Rapson[29] and Tarn,[30] regards the era mentioned in this inscription as Saka Era beginning in 155 B.C. and not the Azes or Vikrama Era beginning in 58 B.C. Moreover, its contents indicate that this inscription was scribed soon after the Saka occupation of the city of Taxila — particularly before Moga or Maues assumed the more high sounding title 'Great King, King of Kings'. In this inscription he is still only a "Great King, Great Moga".

Discovery of an inscription of 77 B.C. from the heart of Kushan city (Sir Sukh) is strange, unless we presume that like the Aramaic inscription

from Sirkap, this too is a later intruder in its present place of discovery or, conversely, there are some unrecorded earlier remains in the city of Sir Sukh. In any case, the Moga inscription tells us that Buddhism was already a force at Taxila in the middle of first century B.C. This has a significant bearing on determining the date of beginning of Gandhara art in this region. Even if the era used is taken to be the Vikrama Era, the date of this inscription comes out to be 20 A.D. Even this date is significant for the early beginning of Ghandara art in this region.

Cunningham thought that Chukhsa of this inscription is the present day Sir Sukh, but he failed to locate Chhahara and Chhema.[31] Stein and Marshall, on the other hand, with good resasons identify Chuksa with modern Chhachh in the north of Attock District.[32] Indeed, satraps of Chukhsa were powerful chiefs and their main duty was to guard the ford of the Indus. Politically, Chukhsa territory was much larger than the modern Chhachh and must have extended a long way on either side of the Indus. Liaka Kusulaka (Cunningham's Liako Kusuluko) of this inscription is also known through his coin. His son Patika later on also became the Great Satrap. One of the descendents of Liaka Khusulaks, named Jihonika (Zeionises) lived under Gondophares. This Jihonika of Chukhsa is also mentioned in a silver '*askos*' inscription from Taxila[33] (See Infra, p. 223 Silver Vase Inscription). As regards the site name Chhahara, I venture here to identify it with modern Hazara which in ancient time was known as Urusa. Chhema of this inscription is to be identified with the country in which the stupa (yielding this inscription) was located. It cannot be anywhere else except in the Valley of Taxila — particularly the Valley of the Haro River.

5. Silver Scroll Inscription of Azes from Dharmarajika (Pl. XV, b)

From shrine G-5 of Dhramarajika in Chirtope was discovered another inscription. It is usually referred to as Silver Scroll Inscription.[34] It was discovered inside a silver vase which in turn was placed inside a stone vase buried in the chapel. Along with the scroll was a small gold casket containing a bone of the Buddha. The inscription is recorded on a 15.75 cm long and 3 cm wide but very thin silver sheet. It was scribed on the 15th day in the month of Ashdh of the 136th year of Azes Era. It records the name of the Kushan king of the period as "Great King, King of Kings, son of gods, Kushana." It is believed with good reason that this great King Kushana can be none other than Vima Kadphises, the founder of the

Kushan dynasty in Pakistan and India. The text of this inscription is given below:[35]

Text: 1. *Sa 100.20.10.4.1.1 Ayasa Ashadasa masasa divase 10.4.1., is a divase pradistavita Bhagavato dhatu(o) Ura(sa)--*

2. *Kena (Im)tavhria-putrana Bahaliena Naochae Nagare vastavena tena ime pradistavita bhagavato dhatuo dhamra*

3. *ie Tachasie tanuvae Bodhisatvagahami maharajasa rejtirajasa devaputrasa Khushanasa arogadachhinae*

4. *Sarva-buddhana puyae prachega-budhana puyae araha(ta)na puyae sarvase(tva)na puyae mata-pitu puyae mitra-macha-macha-nati-sa--*

5. *Iohi(ta)na puyae atmano arogadachhinae nianae hotu a (ya) de samaparichago.*

Trans: 'In the year 136 of Azes, on the 15th day of Asarrh, relics of the holy one (Buddha) were enshrined by Urasaka, scion of Imtavhria (Intaphernes?), a Bahalian (Bactrian), resident of the town of Maocha. These relics were enshrined in his own Bodhisattava chapel at the Dharmarajika stupa at Takshasila, for the bestowal of health upon the great King, King of Kings, the son of Heaven, the Kushan; in honour of all Buddhas; invdividual Buddhas, the Arhats, all sentient beings, his parents, friends, advisers kinsmen and blood relations, for the bestowal of health upon himself. May this thy right munificent gift lead to Nirvana.'

This inscription has been dealt with at great length by Marshall,[36] S. Konow[37] and Rapson.[38] The Azes Era, started by Azes I, was adopted from the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. Thus the inscription of the year 136 of Azes Era actually belongs to 78 A.D. The town of Noacha is still unidentified.

6. Chadasila or Kalawan Inscription

Another copper inscription discovered from Shrine A-I at Kalawan Stupa, Taxila is just two years later than the one described above. Twenty-two cm long and 5.75 cm broad, this copper inscription is dated in the year 134 of Azes' Era of 76 A.D. This inscription records the ancient name of

Kalanwan monostery as Chadasila, as also the name of one of the citizens of Taxila Bhadarpal and his wife Candrabhi. The inscription commemorates creation of a stupa at Chadasila as follows:[39]

Text: 1. *Samvatsaraye 100.20.10.4. ajasa sravanasa masasa divase trevise 20.1.1.1 imena Ksunena Candrabhi Uasia.*
2. *Dhrammasa ghrahavatisa dhita Bhadravalasa bhaya chadasilae sarira praistaveti ghahathu.*
3. *Bami sadha bhraduna Namdivadhanena grahavatina sadha putrehi Samena Saitena ca dhituna ca.*
4. *Dhramae sadha snusaehi Rajae Idrae ya sadha Jivanamdina Samaputrena ayariena ya sarvasti.*
5. *Vaana parigrahe rathanikamo payaita sarvasvatvana puyae nivanasa pratiae hotu.*

Trans: "In the year 134 of Azes, on the 23 day of the month of Sravana, Candrabhi female wroshipper, daughter of Dharma, the house-holder, wife of Bhadrapala establishes relics in Chadasila, in the stupa shrine, together with her brother Nandi Vardhana, the householder, together with her sons Sama and Sacitta and her daughter Dharma, together with her daughter-in-law Raja and Indra,Sarvastivadas, having venerated the country-town; for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the obtainment of Nirvana".

Along with this inscription were found from the same shrine a head of the Buddha and 18 other pieces of Gandhara sculpture. Naturally, these pieces cannot be very much behind the age of the inscription. This poses an interesting question as to the beginning of the Gandhara sculpture. Usually, we put the beginning of it in the time of Kanishka way ahead in the 2nd century A.D. But the date of this inscription is 76 A.D. It is definitely Buddhist, and hence the Monastery of Kalawan must be dated earlier than the times of Kanishka (the same is true for the Dharmarajika stupa). So if not these sculptures, some other sculptures not neccessarily statues of Buddha, were definitely made and fixed at both these stupas — all must ante-date the time of Kanishka. At least at Taxila, Gandhara art started much earlier than that. The entire concept of dating Gandhara sculpture has to be changed.

Besides these few larger inscriptions, there were also many smaller and fragmentary ones as well. It is very diffcicult to comprehend and discuss all of them here. However, below I have tried to give an exhaustive list of all that has been found at Taxila in the form of Kharoshthi writings on stones and wares of varied nature.

Inscriptions from Sirkap

From Sirkap, the Greek city of Taxila, we get the followings:

7. In home 2A, Block A, was discovered a rectangular piece of claystone with a Kharoshthi inscription of four letters 'migalasa'.[40] What does this four-letters word mean? Nothing is certain. Probably, it is a Kharoshthi version of the Greek wrod 'megalos', i.e., 'Great'.

8.-9. Form one part of the Mahal site in Sirkap was discovered a great treasure. In it were two copper ladles bearing an identical inscription which records:[41]

Text: *Isparakasa danamukho samghe chatudise Utararame Takshasila Kasriana Parigra(he).*

Trans: "Gift of Isvaraka to the congregation of the Four Quarters in the Uttararama (Northern Arama) of Takshasila in the acceptance of the Kasyapiyas."

The Mahal was definitely not the site of Northern Monastery of the inscription. Konow believes that Uttararama here means a *sanghrama* (monastry) north of Sirkap.[42] If so, this monastery can be anyone among the four sites of Jandial A, B, C and D or may be a little beyond like the one at Bhallar Stupa.

Marshall on the other hand opines that the Uttararama or Northern Monastery can be identified with the monastery of Kasyapiyas in the district of Urasa (Hazara).[43] This Urasa monastery is referred to in the Copper Ladle inscription from Bedadi some 60 miles north of Taxila.[44] Marshall's view is plausible and it appears that the two 'ladles' belong to some of the fleeing monks from the Monastery of Kasyapiya at Bedadi who fled to Taxila in front of Kushan inroad from north and buried their

treasure in the Mahal site never to recover it. The Kasyapiyas of these inscriptions were a branch of the Sthaviravada school and were also reckoned to be related to Sarvastivadins.[45]

10. From the second stratum of the Sirkap came a bracket of green colour stone with a winged human figure. On the back of it there was an inscription which reads:[46]

Text: *Savatratena niyatito vihare matapitu puyae Devadato.*
Trans: "Presented by Sarvatvata in the Vihara, in honour of his mother and father Devdatt".

Konow dates this sculpture (and hence the writing) in the 1st century A.D.[47] In this way, this inscription too belongs to the pre-Kushan phase of Gandhara art which began before the advent of Kushan rule.

11. The trumpet base duck-shaped silver jug, *askos* (Pl. XVIII, A.d) with handle of knotted wire bears an important inscription of A.D. 36 recording the name of Jihonika, son of the great King Manigula.[48] It was 17.75 cm in height. The inscription on it reads:

Text: *Ka 100 20 20 20 20 10 1*
Maharaja (bhra)ta M)(n)(i)(gulasa putrasa Jihonikasa
Ghukhsasa Kshatrapasa.
Trans: "Year 191 of Jihonika, satrap of Chukhsa, son of Manigula, the brother of Great King."

Since Sirkap, from where this inscription has come, was deserted during the last quarter of 1st century A.D., the year 191 of this inscription cannot belong to Azes/Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. Instead, it belongs to the Saka Era of circa 155 B.C and hence dates back to 36 A.D.[49] Jihonika here is no other than the satrap Zeionises whose Kharoshthi legend on coins runs as '*Manigulasa Kshatrapasa putrasa Jihoniasa*', i.e., satrap Zeionises, son of Satrap Manigula.[50] Zeionises has been usually regarded as ruler of Pushkalavati,[51] but this inscription shows that his province was Chukhsa, formerly held by Liaka Kusuluka and Patika. Chukhsa, as already observed, is no doubt modern Chhachh of which evidnently Taxila was the capital. The Great King in 36 A.D. as refered to in this inscription is no other than

Gondophares whose relationship with Manigula as brother is just honorific.[52] But Konow regards this Great King as Vima Kadphises.[53] This is due to the simple reason that Konow wrongly dates this inscription in 107/108 A.D.

12. A round silver dish (Greek: *phiale mesomphalos*), 22cm in diameter, bears an inscription which reads:[54]

Text: *Mimjukritasa sa 20 10 dha 2*
Trans: "(Property of Mimjukrita.30
staters (and) 2 drachms".

This type of mesomphalos are usually dated in the 3rd century B.C., but our specimen is definitely of a much later date. The staters and drachms, usually nomenclatures of Greek coins, are here taken to mean equivalent prices. A stater coin is equal to 8.48 grams of gold, a dreachm is equal to 4.24 grams of silver, obol is equal to 0.71 grams of silver.[55]

13. A rectangular silver plate with three legs bears a similar inscription, i.e.[56]

Text: *Mumjukritas(y)a sa 20 dra 1*
Trans: "Property of Mumjukrita, 20 staters,
1 drachma."

14. On another silver saucer from the same city (Sirkap) the inscription reads:[57]

Text: *Aspavarmasa stratgas sa 10 1 dra 2 02*
Trans: Of Aspavarma, the Strategos, 11 staters,
2 drachms and 2 obols.

Aspavarma of this inscription had issud coins in his own name. The Kharoshthi legened on his coins reads:

Jayatasa tratarasa Indraverma putrasa stratigas Aspavarmasa.[58]

He was a son of Indraverma and was a strategos (Greek word for General or an Army Commander-in-Chief) during the reign of Azes and Gondopher of Parthian period. This can be safely dated to the second quarter of the 1st century B.C.

15. On a silver strainer of basket type, *Kalathos* (Pl. XVIII, A), belonging to one Jhamdanama son of Gomanada, the inscription reads:[59]

Text: *Gomanada-putrasa(y)a Jhamdanamad(y)a*
Trans: "(Property) of Jhamdanama, son of Gomanada".

16. From stratum II (Parthian period) of Sirkap come two pieces of limestone mould of a pair of ear pendants. There are two inscriptions, one each at the back of each piece. Only one is legible and reads:

Ga+Gayalesa or "of Gayala".[60]

17-19. From various places of Sirkap city have been discovered a great number of finger rings. Quite a few of them have short Kharoshthi inscriptions on their bezels. One of such copper rings bears *Yavala(le?)trasa*, i.e., of Yavalatra or Yavaletra,[61] whereas another copper ring reads an inscription on it as:[62]

Text: *Mahajhanaputrasa Jhanapriyasa*
Trans: "Of Dhayanapriya, son of Mahadhyana."

Another oval copper seal bears the inscription:[63]

Text: *Mahajha(na)putrasa....jhanasa*
Trans: "Of Dhyana, the son of Mahadhyana".

Probably this (....dhyana.....) is another son of Mahadhayana.

20-27. From Sirkap city have also been excavated a number of flat, square, oval and round signets of metal, glass, stone, shell and terracotta. At least eight of them bear Kharoshthi inscriptions of one type or the other. On one oval seal is the name of *Jadilasa* or *Sadilasa*, i.e, belonging to Jadila

or Sadila.[64] Konow reads it as *Denipasa*.[65] Another circular copper seal reads:

> *Yolamonalatra(putra)sa Buddhalatrasa*, i.e., "of Buddhalatra, the son of Yola Monalatra".[66]

Kharoshthi inscription on another square copper seal reads:[67]

> *Bramadatasc*, i.e. "Of Brahmadatta".

Similarly, inscription on an oval seal of silver of Ist century A.D. reads:[68]

> *Damrachitasa*, i.e., "Of Dharmarakshita".

28-32. A square seal of copper, two oval seals of copper, an oval bronze seal and a rare terracotta circular seal and one gold ring bear the following inscriptions respectively:

> *Arjhamdasa*. "Of Arajhanda".[69]
> *Sivarachitesa*. "Of Sivarakshita".[70]
> *Sihasa (madri)na putasa virabahusa*. "Of Virabahu, the son of Simha, the Minister".[71]
> *Badusa vispamitrasa*. "Of the young Brahman Visvamitra".[72]
> *Ativihare Mudrasatasa*. "Of Mudrasata in his own vihara".[73]

33-34. On two gold finger rings from Sirkap, the ownership is claimed as follows:

> *Sadralasa* or *Sadhalasa*, meaning "Of Sadarala"[74] or "Of Sadhalasa".[75]

Marshall dates it in the 1st or 2nd century B.C.[76]

> *Mahayasaputrasa Manavasa*, meaning "Of Manava, the son of Mahayasa".[77]

35. Near the South Western entrance(?) of Sirkap, Cunningham discovered a monolithic pillar of sandstone, some 17 feet 10 inches (5.39

meters) high (broken into five pieces) plus its base and abacus.[78] One of the broken pieces bore traces of an inscription which S. Konow reads as *Takhasilae* or *Takasila*.[79] If the position of the pillar and the reading of the inscription are correct, the pillar may mark a zero-mile stone of Taxila on a high road.

36-37. In 1926-27 were discovered from Sirkap two silver cups, 13.5 cm in diameter, both bearing an identical inscription:

Text: *Theutras(y)a thavaraputras(y)a*
Trans: "(Gift) of Theodorus, the son of Thavara".[80]

INSCRIPTIONS FROM DHARAMARAJIKA STUPA

The famous Silver Scroll inscription from Dharmarajika Stupa (Pl. XV. b) has already been discussed above (Inscription No. 5).

In 1913 and 1914 many sculptures and a few other things were discovered from Chapel 'L' of Dharmarajika. Out of these, four sculptures and one stone lamp bear inscriptions of lay workshippers. Konow, the greates authority on Kharoshthi, opines that these writings on sculptures are later than that on the silver scroll but still earlier than emperor Kanishka.[81] The building which yielded these writings was dated by Marshall in the close of the 1st century A.D.[82] This, once again, proves unmistakably that the sculptural art of Gandhara developed much earlier than the time of Kanishka. Texts of these inscriptions are given below:

A. On Stone Lamps[83]

38. Text: *Taksha(s)ilaami dhamarai(e) Dhamadasabhikshun)0 (esha)saputrasa danamukhe(o)*
Trans: In the Dharmarajika compound of Takshasila. This is the gift of the friar Dharmadasa."

B. On Sculptures[84]

39. On two fragments of a 64.77 cm long frieze:
Text: *e puyae at(va)nasa natimitrasalhidana aro gadakshinae Hodreana. O*

Trans: In honour.....for th bestowal of health on his kinsmen, friends and bloodrelations of the Hodreas.

40. On a corner fragment of a frieze with a lion mask and honey-suckle, 11 inches or 27.94 cms long:

Text: *Samvatsa------trena.*

Probably part of No.2 above.

41. On a small fragmentary stone, 16.51 cm long:

Text: *Mitrae Imdra(sena)sa bhar(yae)*

Trans: "Of Mitra, the wife of Indrasena".

42. On a fragmentary frieze, 12.7 cm long:

Text: *(Imdra)senasa (ku)tib(i)(nia).*

Trans: "Of the wife of Indrasena".

43-44. Besides, on two stones there are two inscribed letters: *ba* and *tha.* Marshall takes them to be masons's marks.[85]

JAULIAN MONASTERY[86]

Besides Dharmarajika, we get a few inscriptions and written material from Jaulian as well. There are two fragmentary manuscripts and a few other inscriptions in Brahmi which will be dealt with elsewhere. These Kharoshthi inscriptions have been discovered inscribed on three or four sides of plinths of Stupa Nos.15-A & D-5. These are dedicatory inscriptions for sculptures whose bottom they decorate. These writings are:

1. Stupa A-15

This is one of the earliest among the small stupas built at Jaulian. But inscriptions on it were just fresh when the monastery was destroyed in the middle of 5th century A.D. On all the four sides of it there are inscriptions:

45. East Face:[87]

Text: *Saghamitrasa Budhadevasa bhiksh(u)sa danamukhe(o).*

Trans: "gift of bhikshu Budhadeva Snaghmitra (Friend of the

Order)"

46. West Face:[88]

Text: *Shamanamitrasa.*
Trans: "(Gift of) Sramanamitra".

47-48. North Face:

A. Text: *Dharma(bhutisa)(bhi kshusa(damamu)kho.*[89]
Trans: "Gift of the friar Dharmabhuti"."
B. Text: *Ra(hu)lasa v(e)nae(i)asa bhikshusa danamukho.*[90]
Trans: "Gift of the Friar Rahula versed in the Vinaya".

49-50. South Face:

A. Text: *Budharakshi(dasa)bhi(kshusa) da(namu)kho.*[91]
Trans: "Gift of the Friar Budharakshita".
B. Text: *Dharmamitrasa bhiksh(usa na)garaka(sa) danamukho.*[92]
Trans: "Gift of Dharmamitra the Friar of nagara".

It is not sure whether this Friar is the same Buddha Rakshita companion of Buddhamitra whose name appears in an inscription on the pedestal of an enthroned Buddha from Loriyan Tangi now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 487).[93]

2. Stupa D-5

Images as well as inscriptions on stupa D-5 are in a bad state of preservation. However, these inscriptions are of additional importance as they contain the designations of the images beneath which they are inscribed. Inscriptions are just on the three sides — the one on north is no more preserved.

51. East Face:

Text: *.....danamu(kho).*
Trans: "The gift....."

Konow gives the reading as *Dharma(m)i(t)ra(sa bhi)(kshusa) dana(mu)kho*, i.e., "Gift of The Friar Dharmaitra".[94]

52-53. West Face:

A. Text: *Kasavo Tathagato s.*[95]
Trans: "Kasyapa, Tathagata".
B. Text: *Sakamu(ni) Tathagato jinaesa danamukho.*[96]
Trans: "Sakyamuni, The Tathagata, Lord of Jinas, a gift"

54-55. South Face:

A. Text: *(kasav)o Tathagato sa....hasaas.*[97]
Trans: "Kasyapa the Tathagata....."
B. Text: *(Kasavasa da)namu(kho).*[98]
Trans: "The Gift (of Kasyapa)"

On ground of masonry types, palaeography and other considerations, Marshall dates these inscriptions to the beginnig of 5th century A.D. From this, Marshall infers that the Kharoshthi script remained ordinary script of the town of Taxila till the middle of the 5th century A.D. when the Monastery of Jaulian was destroyed finally.[99] S. Konow, on the other hand, does not agree with Marshall and opines that by the beginning of the 5th century A.D., Kharoshthi was already a dead script replaced by Brahmi and Prakrits replaced by Sanskrit.[100] In all probability, these inscriptions from Stupa D-5 are specimens of the last Kharoshthi writing to be found in Gandhara and Punjab. Outside Gandhara, Kharoshthi remained popular in Chinese Turkistan for a considerably longer time than in Gandhara.

56. Against the base of the Main Stupa at Jaulian and just on left hand side of the staircase there is a medium size seated Buddha with a hole in his navel. There is an ex-voto incomplete inscription, some 21.59 cm long beneath the Buddha. It reads:

Text: *Dhammaradisa Budhamitra.*
Trans: "(The gift) of Budhamitra who delighted in the law".[101]

S. Konow and Majumdar, however, gave slightly different readings. The latter read it as: *Dhamaratisa Budhamita(sa).* S. Konow reads *Dhamaratisa* as *Dharmanandisa* (rejoicing in Dharma) and taking this as proper name gives the complete reading as.*Dhammanandisa Budhamitra(sa bhikshusa*

danamukho), i.e., "Gift of the Friar Budhamitra Dharmanandin".[102] For another Friar Dharmamitra of Loriyan Tangai see Supra, p. 229, Nos. 49-50, fn. 93.

SERI-KA PIND INSCRIPTIONS

57. Cunningham discovered a pillar in the mound at Seri-ka-Pind, north of the Jandial Temple. It bore some scribbling which John Marshall regarded as mason's mark and S. Konow read it as Kharoshthi letter *da*.[103] Cunningham takes it to be the numercial figure '93'.

58. Cunningham also mentions about a lost silver scroll bearing a Kharoshthi inscription. This was found by Delmerick in a stupa *(thupi)* near Seri-ka-Pind. This one inch wide piece was very fragile. It was lost before any body could read it.[104]

SIRKAP

59. To the left of the figure of Hercules on a gold finger ring is a Kharoshthi inscription reading is uncertain. The ring is from Sirkap and is datable to the Ist century A.D.[105]

BHIR MOUND

60. On a small buff vessel from Bhir Mound with hole at the bottom, two inscriptions are stamped on either side in Kharoshthi and Brahmi.[106] Kharoshthi reading is very uncertain and tentatively read as *Thathajaja*. For Brahmi inscription see Infr, Chap. 11, pp. 248.

KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTIONS ON COINS

There are many coins discovered from various sites of Taxila which bear their legends in Kharoshthi. The first such coins were bilingual ones — the second language usually being Greek. Demetrius, the first king of Bactria and Pakistan is credited to have issued the first bilingual square copper coin bearing legends in Kharoshthi and Greek.[107] This example was followed by all the Greek rulers who always accommodated the local language and script alongwith their mother tongue Greek. This liberal policy was

successfully followed by the Scythian and Parthian rulers. Kushans, who otherwise made use of the Kharoshthi script and local Prakrits to the maximum, gradually abandoned the local script as far as its use on their coins was concerned.

In majority of cases Kharoshthi legends on coins consist of literal translations epithets of the rulers who issued these series. Mostly these titles appear in genetive cases. Demetrius issued just one legened in Kharoshthi i.e., *maharajasa aparajitasa Dimetriasa.* This means: Great King, Invicible Demetrius. Other kings adopted the following Kharoshthi legends for their coins:[108]

Agathocles	(a)	*hitajasame*
	(b)	*akathukreyasa*
Eukratides	(a)	*Maharajasa Evukratitasa*
	(b)	*Eakratitasa*
	(c)	*Kavisivenaga Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreasa.* (Sometimes Heliocles is written as *heliyakreyasa)*
Lysias	(a)	*Maharajasa apadihatasa Lisiasa.*
	(b)	*Lisikasa.*
Antialcidas		*Maharajasa Jayadharasa Amtialikitasa*
Diomedes		*Maharajasa Tratarasa Diyametasa.*
Arkhebios		*Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhe biyasa*
Apollodotus		*Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratrasa tradarasa*
Stratos	(a)	*Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*
	(b)	*Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa Stratasa*
	(c)	*Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*
(Polyxenos)	(a)	*(Maharajasa Palasinasa)*
	(b)	*(Maharajasa prachachhasa tratasa Palisinasa)*
Menander	(a)	*(Maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa)*

	(b)	*Maharajasa dhramikasa Menadrasa*
Epander		*Maharajasa jayadharasa Epadrasa*
Dionysus		*(Maharajasa tratarasa Diyanisiasa)*
Zoils	(a)	*(Maharajasa tratararsa Jhoilasa)*
	(b)	*Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*
(Apollophanes)		*(Maharajasa tratarasa Apalivinasa)*
(Artemidorus)		*(Marajasa apadihatasa Atrimitorasa).*
(Arteimachus Nikephorus)		*Maharajasa Jayadhasa Amtimakhasa*
Philoxenus		*Maharajasa apadihatasa* Also: *apalihatasa philasinasa.*
(Nikias)		*Maharajasa tratarasa Nikiasa*
Hippostratus	(a)	*Maharajasa tratarasa Hipostratasa.*
	(b)	*Maharajasa tratarasa Jayatasa Hipostratasa.*
Theophilus		*Maharajasa dhramikasa Theophilasa*
(Amyantas)		*(Maharajasa Jayadarasa Amitasa)*
Telephus		*Maharajasa kalanakramasa Teliphasa.*
Peukolaos		*Maharajasa dhramikasa tradarasa peukolasa.*
Strstor-II		*Maharajasa....casa priyapita Stratasa.*
Hermaios	(a)	*Maharajasa tratarasa Hiramayasa.*
	(b)	*Maharajasa mahatasa Hiramayasa.*
	(c)	*(Maharajasa) rajarajasa..... (mahatasa) Hiramayasa.*
Hermaios & Calliope		*Maharajasa tratarasa Hiramayasa Kaliyapasa.*

NOTE: Legends in brackets are not found on coins fron Taxila.

This tradition of bilingual coins was continued by the Scythian rulers. All the rulers and some of their governors adopted some of the Prakrit titles with their names such as *Maharaja, Rajaraja, Rajatraja, Mahat, Mahatak* etc.

Maues	(a)	*Raja tirajasa mahatasa Moasa.*
	(b)	*Maharajasa moasa.*
Azes	(a)	*Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*

(b) *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa ayasa.*
(c) *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*
(d) *Maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa.*
(e) *Indra-vermaputrasa Aspaverma stratigasa Jayatasa.*

Azilises
(a) *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilisasa.*
(b) *Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilisasa.*
(c) *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa ayilisasa.*

Vonones with Spalahores — *Maharajabhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa.*

Vonones with Spalagadames — *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa spalagadamasa.*

Spalirises
(a) *Maharajabhrata dhramiasa Spalirisasa.*
(b) *Maharajasa mahatakasa Spalirisasa.Athama Athamasa.*

The Parthian kings and their governors also upheld this tradition. They adopted and used titles like *Maharaja, Tratar, Mahat, Jayat, Rajadhiraja, Devavradia (Devavrat), Chhatrapa* (Satrap) etc., and used them on their coins in Kharoshthi script.

Gondophares
(a) *(maharaja rajatiraja tratara devavrada gudupharasa).*
(b) *(Maharajasa Mahatasa tratarasa devavradasa gudupharasa Sasasa).*
(c) *(Maharajasa rajatirajasa tratarasa devavradasa gudupharasa Sasasa).*
(d) *Jayatasa Tratarasa Indravermaputrasa strategasa Aspavermasa.*
(e) *(Maharaja rajadhiraj tratara devavrata Gudupharasa).*

	(f)	*(Maharaja rajaraj mahata dhramia devavrata gudupharasa).*
	(g)	*Maharajasa (Gondo) pharanasa (tratarasa).*
	(h)	*(Maharajasa devavratasa Gudupharasa).*
	(i)	*(Maharajasa rajatirajasa devavratasa Gudupharasa Casasa.*
Sasan		*(Maharajasa) Aspabhrataputrasa trata(rasa Sasasa).*
Abdagases	(a)	*Gudhupharabhrataputrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa.*
	(b)	*Maharajasa rajatirajasa gudhupharabhrataputrasa Avadagasa.*
Orthagnes	(a)	*Gudhapharasa gudana maharajasa.*
	(b)	*Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudhupharasagudana.*
Pakores		*Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa*
Zeionises		*Manigulasasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa jihuniasa.*
Kharahostes		Chatrapasa pra kharaostasa Artasa *putrasa.*
Soter Megas		*Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa.*
Rajuvula, Satrap of Mathura		*Apratihatacakrasa chatrapasa Rajavulasa.*
Rudravarma		*Rajna vamakisa Rudravarmasa vijayata.*

In the middle of the 1st century A.D. the Kushans became rulers of this country. Some of the earlier rulers did use the Greek as well as Kharoshthi scripts on their coins. But after the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D., Emperor Kanishka stopped using Kharoshthi script for purpose of legends on coins. Instead, he encouraged Greek script for this purpose. For other inscriptions and writings Kharoshthi did continue to be used freely. Details of the titles in Kharoshthi used on coins by the first two Kushan rulers are given below:

Kujula Kadphises

(a) *Kujula Kasasa Kushan yavugasa dhramathidasa.*
(b) *Maharajasa.....Sasan.*
(c) *.....rasa kara Kapasa.....*
(d) *Maharaja rajadirajasa.....*
(e) *.....Kaphsasa sacadhramathitasa, Khusanasa yauasa.*
(f) *Kuyula Kaphsasa. Vima Kadphises*
(a) *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa vima Kathphisasa tradara.*
Trans: (Coin of) the Great King, the King of kings, Lord of the world, the Mahisvara Vima Kaphises, the defender.
(a) *Maharajarajaadiraja vima Kapisasa.*

To conclude, Kharoshthi inscriptions from various sites of Taxila are mainly religious endowments in favour of stupas and monastries. It provides a rich collection of personal names of donors, who are either residents of the locality around or are friar (monks) of the monasteries and aramas. There are references to different eras used and at least two kings and son of one and two satraps have been mentioned. These names are in adition to many kings appearing on their respective coins. Prices have been quoted in terms of Greek currency — staters, drachms and obolos. Names of only three months or seasons have been given and one of them is a Greek name of a month. References are also to two schools of Buddisht dogma — Sarvastivadin and Kashyapiyas — a branch of Sthaviravadin School, related to Sarvastivadin. The city of Taxila has been mentioned five times by name and only once by the generic title *nagara* — the city. Dharmarajika monastery has been referred to twice whereas at least one other monastery (identified with Kalawan) has been mentioned by name, i.e., Chadasila. There is also a native of one *Uttara Arama* — Northern Monastery and another monastery by the name *Kashyapiyas*, but their exact identification is a matter of conjecture. Besides, there is a mention of a Bactrian town Naocha and three localities around Taxila namely Chukhsa, Kshema and Kshaharata.

PROPER NAMES OF PERSONS PLACES ETC., APPEARING IN INSCRIPTIONS FROM TAXILA

Personal Names	Inscriptions nos. as quoted in this text
Arajhanda	28-32
Aspavarma, Strategos	14
Azes, Era	3-5
Bhadrapala, citizen of Taxila, husband of Chandrabhi	6
Brahmadatta	20-7
Buddha	2,3
	3-5
Buddhalatra, son of Yola Monalatra	20-7
Buddhamitra Dharmanandin, Friar	56
Buddharakshita, Friar	49
Buddhadeva and Sanghamitra, Bhikshu	45
Chandrabhi (Camdrabhi), wife of Bhadrapala	6
Danipasa (see Jadila or Sadila)	20-7
Devadatta, father Servavata	10
Dharma, daughter of Chandrabhi	6
Dharma, father of Chandrabhi (wife of Bhadrapala	6
Dharmabhuti, Friar	47
Dharmadesa, Friar	31
Dharmamitra, Friar of the city *(nagara)*	50
	51
Dharma Rakshita	20-7
Dharma, son of Mahadhayana or Matadhayana	17-19
Gayala	16
Gomanada, father of Jhamdanama	15
Hodreas	39
Indra--daughter-in-law of Chandrabhi	6
Indrasena, husband of Mitra (.....wife of)Indrasena	41-42
	8-9
Jadila or Sadila (se Danipasa)	20-7
Jhamdanama, son of Gomanada	15
Jihonika (Zeionises), son of Manigula	11
Jivanandi, son of Sama, grandson of Chandrabhi	6
Kasyapa	54

Kasyapa, Tathagata, Lord of Jinas	54
Kushan King, King of Kings, Son of Heaven (Vima Kadphises)	30-5
Liaka Kusulaka or Liako Kasulako, Satrap of Chukhsa or Chhachch, father of Patika	4
Maha Dhayana or Matadhayana, father of Dhayana	17-19
Mahayesa, father of Manava	33-4
Manava, son of Mahayasa	33-4
Manigula, father of Jihonika and brother of the Great King	11
Mimjokrita or Mumjokrita	12-13
Mitra, wife of Indrasena	41
Moga, Great King.	4
Nandi Vardhana, brother of Chandrabhi	6
Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka	4
Raja, daughter-in-law of Chadrabhi	6
Rahula, Friar versed in Vinaya	48
Rohinamitra, the Overseer	4
Sabhayaka	1
Sacitta, son of Chandrabhi, (wife of Bhadrapala	6
Sadhala	33-34
Sadila (Jadila or Danipasa)	20-27
Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, Lord of Jinas	52
	4
Sama, son of Chandrabi, (wife of Bhadrapala)	6
Sinha, the Minister and father of Virabahu	28-32
Sinha or Siharakshita	2
Sinhila, brother	2
Siva, female name	3
Sivarakshita	28-32
Sramanamitra	45
Thavara, father of Theodorus	36-37
Theotrasa/Theodorus	36-37
Urasaka, resident of Noacha, (a Bahalian town)	3-5
Visvamitra, a young Brahman	28-32
Vima Kadphises, Kushan King, King of kings, Son of Heaven	3-5
Virabahu, son of Sinha the Minister	28-32

Place Names:

Bahalian (Bactrian) town: Naocha Chadasila, stupa shrine (Kalawan Monastery at Taxila) 6
Chukhsa (Chchachch), Kshatrapa of Dharmarajika (stupa at Taxila) 3-5
37
Kashyapiyas, Monastery of (at Bedadi in Hazara) 8-9
Kshaharata (Chhahara or Hazara) 4
Kshema (Chhema or Sir Sukh), Eastern region of 4
Naocha, Bahalian (Bactrian) Town 3-5
Nagara (Taxila), Friar Dharmamitra of Takhasila 50
2, 4
Takshasila 37
Uttara Arama (Norther Monastery) 8-9

Miscellaneous:

SEASONS:
Ashadasa, month of Asarrh 5
Panemasa, name of Greek month Panemos 4
Sravanasa (Sawan), month of 6

PRICES:
Drachms (Dh/Dra) 12-13
Obols (O) 4
Staters (Sa) 12-12

DOCTRINES:
Kashyapiyas, a branch of Sthaviravadin School, related to Sarvastivadin School 8-9
Sarvastivadin 6.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For detailed discussion on this subject see Supra, Chap. 2, pp. 9-20
2. Read Chaps. 9, 10, & 11 of this book jointly.
3. This fact should not surprise us. Almost all of these sculptures were made by devout Buddhist monks. Their lives were indeed a mission of self-negation. They were so much engrossed in the performance of their religious duties that they never cared and desired to bring themselves in lime-light of worldly fame.
4. Twelve Kharoshthi inscriptions, mostly belonging to Kushan period of Gandhara are at present in the Lahore Museum. See Saifur Rahman Dar and Shahbaz Khan, *Kharoshthi: A Forgotten Script of Gandhara*, (Lahore: 1979), and A.H. Dani, *Kharoshthi Primer*, (Lahore: 1979), pp. 35-42.
5. For Aramaic script see Chap. 9, pp. 201-211.
6. Some of the well-known inscriptions scribed in this script are preserved in the Lahore Museum. See fn. 4 above.
7. A.H. Dani during a short course on Kharoshthi, held in the Lahore Museum in the month of May, 1979, showed that this script is still best suited for writing local languages. See his *Kharoshthi Primer*, loc. cit.
8. For origin, development and characteristics of this script see A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, (Oxford: 1963), pp. 251-272.
9. A.M. Boyer, E.J. Rapson & Senart, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, (Oxford: 1920).
10. *PMC, I*, p. 5.
11. *CSR*, II, pp. 124-125, Pl. LIX, Fig. 3, (from Stupa in Jhaoli) and S. Konow, *CII, Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, Vol. II (London: 1929), pp. 4-5.

11a. *JASB*, XXIV, 1885, pp. 328, ff.

12. *CSR*, II, pp. 124-125.
13. Haraprasa Sastri, in: *Proc. ASB*, IV, 1908, p. 362ff.
14. R.D. Banerjee, in Proc. ASB, VI, 1910, p.486
15. F.W. Thomas, in JRAS, 1916, pp.279ff.
16. S. Konow, Loc. cit.
17. *CSR*, II, Pl. LIX, Fig. 2. Also E. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1866, p. 45. Dowson, *JRAS*, XX, 1863, p. 241, and Cunningham, *JASB*, XXXII, 1863 pp. 151 & 172. S. Konow, (*CII*, op. cit., p. 87) reads the names as Sihila and Sikarakshita.
18. *CSR*, II, p. 113, ff, and Cunningham, *Guide*, pp. 104-120.
19. This inscription was first discussed by G.D. Westropp (*Proc. ASB*, 1861, p. 413, and Ibid,. *JASB*, 1862, p. 172) followed by Rajendralal MitRa, (*JASB*, XXXI, 1862, p. 175, ff), Pearse, (*Proc. ASB*, 1865, p. 111, ff) and Cunningham, (*CSR*,II, p.129).
20. *CSR*, II, p. 130
21. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., pp. 83-86.
22. Ibid.
23. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645*, (London: 1904), Vol. I, pp. 244-245; Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila* (Punjabi), (Lahore: 1978), p. 13 & Cunningham *Guide*, p. 117.
24. This inscription of Moga and Patika was first examined by Edwin Norris who identified on it the words *Taxila Nagara* and *Sakyamuni* (*CII*, p. 23). In 1862 E. Thomas published the results of reading by Norris and Dowson (*JRAS*, XX, 1863, p. 108, & *JASB*, XXXI, 1862, p. 53, ff). In 1863 Dowson also published his results (*JRAS*, XX, 1863, p. 221ff and JASB, XXXII, 1863, pp. 421 ff). Also in 1863 (JASB, XXXII, 1863, pp. 139 ff), and in 1871 (*CSR*, II, p. 132, ff), Cunningham published his own reading of the same inscription. In 1894, E.J.

Rapson edited a new and improvd rendering by Bhagvanlal Indraji (*JRAS*, 1894, p. 55, ff). Buhler republished his earlier version in 1896 (*Ep. Ind.* IV, p. 54, ff) whereas final version was published by S. Konow in 1929 (*CII*, pp. 23-29). Also see *Taxila I*, pp., 45 & 47.

25. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 23, No. XIII.
26. *CSR*, II, p. 134, Pl. LIX, Fig. 1.
27. The geographical name Chukhsa used in this inscription was first identified by Sir Aural Stein (*Ind. Ant.* XXV, 1896, p. 174, ff) with modern Chhachh. Chhahara still remains unidentified. Kshema or Chhema is obviously Sir Sukh. S. Konow, however, doubts as to this inscription having been discovered from Totkian inside Sir Sukh (S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., 26). Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka as mentioned here without a title may have been a subordinate at that time. We know from the Mathura Lion Capital Inscription (*CII*, op. cit., p. 48, ff), that Patika later on became *mahakshatrapa*, probably in Taxila (S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 76).
28. *Taxila I*, p. 45.
29. *CHI*, I, p. 570.
30. Tarn, pp. 496-502. Therein, various issues of Era of the Moga Copper Plate have been discussed at great length with complete bibliography.
31. *CSR*, II, p. 134 f.n.
32. Sir Aural Stein, *Ind. Antiq.*, XXV, 1896, p. 174, & *Taxila I*, pp. 47-48.
33. *Taxila I*, pp.55, 61 & 156.
34. This was first edited and published by Sir John Marshall (*JRAS*, 1914, pp. 973, ff, Ibid., *ASI, A/R* 1912-13, p. 18, ff), followed by Boyer (*JA*, XI, v, 1915, p. 281, ff), S. Konow (*EI*, XIV, p. 284, ff), E. Thomas (*JRAS*, 1914, p. 292, ff; 1915, pp. 155 & 155, ff), Fleet (*JRAS*, 1914, p. 292, ff; 1915, p. 314, ff), Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.*, XLV, 1916, p. 570, ff), Ramaprasad Chanda (*JRAS*, 1920, p. 319, ff) H.K. Deb (*JRAS*. 1920, p. 37, ff), Rapson (*CHI*, I, p. 581, ff) and Luders (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1924, p. 1865) and finally S. Konow, in: *CII*, II, pt. I, op. cit., pp. 70-76.
35. *Taxila I*, pp. 256-257, Pl. 53, C.
36. John Marshall, *JRAS*, Oct. 1914, pp. 973-86; Ibid., 1915, pp. 155 h, 314 h.
37. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., pp. 70-77.
38. *CHI* I,.p. 582.
39. S. Konow, *JRAS*, Oct. 1932, p. 949 & *Taxila I*, p.327, Pl. 80a.
40. *ASI, A/R*, 1929-30, p. 69, No. 92 & *Taxila I*, p. 146.
41. *Taxila I*, p. 215 (3) & *CII*, pp. 87-88.
42. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 88.
43. *Taxila I*, p. 215.
44. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., pp. 88-89.
45. Ibid.
46. *Taxila II*, p. 702, Pl. 213 (II); *ASI, A/R* 1926 , p. 116 (8), Pl. XXVIII.
47. S. Konow, *EI*, II, pp. 99-100, Pl. XIX; *CII*, pp. 99-100.
48. *Taxila I*, p. 156, No. 17, Pl. 188(2); Ibid., II, p. 611. Also *ASI, A/R*, 1926, p. 114, Pl. XXXII, & S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 82, Pl. XVI, a-b.
49. S. Konow, however, dates this inscription to 107-108 A.D. See S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 82.
50. *PMC, I*, p. 157.
51. *CHI*, I, p. 582.
52. *Taxila I*, p. 156.
53. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 82
54. *Taxila II*, p. 612, Pl. 187, No. 10; *ASI, A/R*, 1926, p. 115 (12), Pl. XXVI (10), S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 99 (4), Pl. XIX (4).
55. Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol. I. The Early Indo-Greeks and their Antecedents (London:1975): p. 5 & 53.
56. *Taxila II*, p. 613, Pl. 187 (II), p. 98.
57. Ibid., p. 613, Pl. 187 (II).
58. *PMC, I*, p. 150.
59. *Taxila I*, p. 151. Ibid., II, p. 614, Pl. 187 (19). S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 99 & *ASI, A/R*, 1919-20, P. 20 Pl. XXIV (5).
60. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 102 (13); *Taxila I*, p. 190, Ibid. II, p. 507, Pl. 142 bb & cc & *ASI, A/R*, 1919-20, p. 20, Pl. XXIV (50).

61. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 100, Pl. XX(4) & *Taxila II*, p 648 (53).
62. *Taxila II*, p. 648 (54), Pl. 198 (54), 207 (36) & *CII*, p. 100 (3).
63. *Taxila II*, p. 648 (55), Pl. 198 (55) & 208 (46). Also see *ASI, A/R*, 1924, Pl. XI (3). S. Konow however, reads it *Matajha (n) putrwa...jhanasa*. Trans: " of dhyana, the son of Matadhyana". S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 101 (6).
64. *Taxila II*, p. 680(22), Pl. 208 (48).
65. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 101 (7), Pl. XX.
66. Ibid., No. 5, Pl. XX (5) & *Taxila II*, p. 680 (23), Pl. 208 (49).
67. S. Konow, *CII*, op, cit., No. 8, Pl, XX. *Taxila II*, p. 680 (24), p. 208 (50) & *ASI, A/R*, 1926, p. 118 (6) Pl. XXVIII(7).
68. *Taxila II*, p. 680 (15), Pl, 207 (12).
69. *Taxila II*, p. 681 (25), Pl. 208 (54); *ASI, A/R*, 1926, p. 117, (5) & *CII*., p. 101 (9).
70. Taxila II, p. 681 (26), Pl. 208 (56); *ASI, A/R*, 1514, Pl. XXIV (51) & *CII*, No. II.
71. *Taxila II*, p. 681 (27), Pl. 208 (57); *ASI, A/R*, 1928-29, p. 57 (59), Pl. XX (92).
72. *Taxila II*, p. 681(28), Pl. 207 (28); *ASI, A/R*, 1914, Pl. XXIV, (150) & *CII*, p. 102(12), Pl. XX. (12).
73. *Taxila II*, p. 682(36), *CII*, p. 101 (10), (10, 11), Pl. XX (70).
74. *ASI, A/R*, 1912-13, p. 27, Pl. XXI, b(8).
75. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 100(1). Marshall also agrees to S. Konow's reading as Sadhela, *Taxila II*, p. 643 (14).
76 *Taxila II*, p. 643.
77. Ibid., p. 100(2), *Taxila II*, p. 645 (15).
78. *CSR*, II, p. 126, Pl. LIX (5).
79. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 97-98 (1-2).
80. *Taxila II*, p. 612(7).
81. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., pp. 89-91, Pl. XXXV & XVII, No.5.
82. *Taxila I*, p. 251.
83. *Taxila II*, p. 500 (111), *CII*, p. 90 (1) & *ASI, A/R*, 1912-13, p. 17, Pl. XIVC.
84. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 90-91 (2-4). *Taxila I*. p. 252 (2-5) & *ASI, A/R*, 1912, p. 7.
85. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 91 (5&6).
86. John Marshall, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No.7*, (Calcutta: 1921), p. 6 ff, Pl. XI; Natesa Aiyar, *ASI, Frontier Circle Report, 1916-17*, pp. 2, ff. & *CII*, pp. 92-97.
87. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 94 (2).
88. Ibid., p. 94 (3).
89. Ibid., p. 95 (6).
90. Ibid., p. 95 (7).
91. Ibid., p. 94 (4).
92. Ibid., p. 94 (5).
93. N.G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, Part II: The Graeco Buddhist School of Gandhars*, (Delhi: 937), pp. 80-81, No. 335.
94. Konow, *CII*, p. 96 (8).
95. Ibid., p. 97 (11).
96. Ibid., p. 97 (12).
97. Ibid., p. 96 (9).
98. Ibid., p. 96 (10.)
99. *Taxila I*, p. 375.
100. *CII*, p. 92-93.
101. Sir John Marshall, "The Stupas and Monasteries at Jaulian", *MASI*, No.7, (Calcutta: 1921), p. 6.
102. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit., p. 93-94. Marshall, "The Stupas and Monasteries", op. cit., p. 6.
103. S. Konow, *CII*, op. cit. p. 102, *CSR*, I, p. 135, Pl. LIX, Fig. 6.
104. Ibid., p. 103 & *JASB*, XXIII, 1854, p 698.
105. *Taxila II*, pp. 645-6 (17), Pl. 197 (17).
106. Ibid., p. 426 (173).
107. *PMCI*, p. 5.
108. All the Kharoshthi legends given here have been taken from *PMC, I.*

11 BRAHMI, GREEK, TOKHARIAN, AND PAHLAVI EPIGRAPHY

A. Brahmi Inscriptions

After Kharoshthi and Aramaic scripts, the most popular style of writing was Brahmi. Brahmi is the mother of the present day Devanagri script of Hindi language. Amongst all scripts of the subcontinent written from left to right, Brahmi is the oldest one. The controversy regarding the Indian or non-Indian origin of this script should not detain us here.[1] Suffice here to say that opinion of majority regards this script as an adoption of some West Asian alphabet which reached the subcontinent with trade and commerce. We have no concrete evidence of alphabetic writing in the subcontinent before the time of Asoka. A comparative study of Brahmi and North Semetic (Aramaic) and earlier Phoenician alphabets hardly leaves any doubt that Brahmi was created on the basis of the North Semetic letters.[2] The local genius is no doubt evident from definite direction given to the letters for writing from left to right. There is also no doubt that Brahmi is the creation of Indian *Pandits* who evolved it and adapted it to local grammar. The earlier theory of Buhler[3] and Diringer[4] as to the boustrophon character of Brahmi script no more holds good. Brahmi is not derived but is only based on Aramaic alphabet.

We are not sure as to when exactly Aramaic reached the subcontinent and affected local writing. It surely was present in the 8th-7th century B.C. in the North Western region of Pakistan and remained confined to this area till the middle of 3rd century B.C.[5] It is, therefore, certain that like Kharoshthi, Brahmi too originated in Gandhara and the Punjab. The earliest known Brahmi inscritpions are those of Asoka datable in the middle of 3rd century B.C. Then it occurs simultaneously with another local script called Kharoshthi, also derived from Aramaic. These two local scripts (Kharoshthi and Brahmi), together with two other foreign scripts, namely Aramaic and Greek, were used simultaneously by Asoka for his Rock Edicts for the propagation of Buddhism.[6] Aramaic and Kharoshthi scripts were confined to the Indusland (Pakistan) and

Afghanistan whereas Brahmi spread over rest of his vast empire i.e., the entire India of today north of Kaveri Valley plus parts of Nepalese Terai.

The Brahmi script used by Asoka has been called Asokan Brahmi. But as soon as royal patronage waned, the script was reduced to provincial varieties. Till the Ist century A.D. it had developed several provincial styles such as Eastern Indian, North-Western Indian, North west Deccan, South Indian[7] etc. During the Ist-4th centuries A.D., Brahmi split up into different pen-styles such as the Indus Zone, Mathura Style, Sanchi Style, Eastern Style, Kusambhi Style, Eastern Malva, North Eastern Rajasthan. Gujrat and Western Deccan, Eastern Deccan, South-West Deccan styles etc.[8]

Styles of Brahmi scripts, which flourished after 350 A.D., were earlier divided into the Northern and Southern alphabets. Now they are divided into 4 main divisions a: North India, b: South India, c: Deccan. Gujrat and Rajasthan, and d: Central India — each with its sub-styles. Dani has regarded them as proto-regional scripts.[9]

Although Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts were started simultaneously and Asoka's inscriptions in both these scripts are known, no Brahmi inscriptions of Asoka have so far been discovered from any part of Pakistan. Only a few specimens of Brahmi script are known from other sites in Pakistan. Some inscribed fragmentary potsherds were discovered in the Kushan stupa at Mohenjodaro.[10] Of still later date (2nd century A.D.) are the inscribed pottery fragments from Tor Dheri in Loralai District of North Baluchistan.[11]

We are not sure as to when this script was actually started at Taxila. The earliest known specimen from this city hardly goes beyond 4th century B.C.[12] On basis of Brahmi inscriptions on the coins of two Indus-Greek rulers,[13] Pantaleon and Agathocles, we are sure that the Brahmi script was already a force to reckon with in the 2nd century B.C. Similarly, the discovery of Brahmi manuscripts from Dharmarajika and Jaulian monasteries prove beyond doubt that uptil the 5th century A.D. Buddhist scholars and monks at Taxila had already started writing and reading their books in Sanskrit Brahmi.[14] As to when Brahmi supplanted Kharoshthi, at least at Taxila, see discussion in supra, pp. 214-215.[15]

Taxlla has yielded only a very few Brahmi inscriptions, all of fragmentary nature. These appear on pottery, finger rings, coins etc. The best Brahmi material is in the form of two incinerated manuscripts, one each from Jaulian and Dharmarajika.

I. Material from Jaulian

(a) Sanskrit Manuscript

Most interesting of all the antiquities from Jaulian Monastery are some fragments of a Sanskrit manuscript written with a reed-pen on brich-bark in Brahmi script. This manuscript was discovered in an earthen-ware vessel in Cell 19. It was half incinerated when the monastery was burnt in the middle of 5th century A.D. Only about 52 fragments (2-7/8" x 2-3/16" to 7/8" x 1/2" in size) are preserved to an extent as to render any reading possible. Some of these fragments can be seen in the Taxila Museum.[15]

Ramaprashad Chanda has studied these fragments. According to him,[16] the manuscript is written neatly and carefully in Gupta Brahmi and is datable in the 3rd quarter of the 5th century A.D. though some of the characters point to an earlier date. Text of the manuscript is a narrative and not a didactic composition. With a few exceptions, writing appears on both sides of the folio. Writing is neat and executed in uniform character. Finally, the text is obviously of Buddhist character as is indicated by characteristic Buddhist terms such as *guṇabhakhti gandhita* = fragrant with virtue loving faith (Frag. 1), *iryapatha* = the observances of the religious mendicant (Frag. 2), *gataspriha* = one who is without desire (Frag. 2), the name *Subhuti* one of the main disciples of Buddha (Frag. 2), *hatah* = killed, *Buddha* = Buddha (Frag. 2), *bhikshu* = monk (Frag. 35), *arhatprati, (ma')* = the image of the Arhat or Buddha (Frag. 40) and *abhiyoga* — exertion (Frag. 237).[17]

The date of the manuscript is based on three factors: Firstly, burning of the monastery during the Hun invasion in 456 A.D. and secondly, characters of the script which are comparable with characters of the Kasia Copper Plate — the latter datable to the 3rd quarter of the 5th century A.D. and finally its comparison with upright Gupta Characters of Eastern Turkistan manuscripts. The text also contains verses which in the most part have been composed in Vamsastha meter.

The Jaulian manuscript is in a very fragmentary shape. There is hardly any line or a quarter-verse *(pada)* which is complete. Therefore, it is very difficult to get good translation of verses and lines so far read. Ramaprashad Chanda has suggested reading of only 52 fragments.[18] But, in view of incompleteness of the reading, it will be of no use to reproduce here these lengthy ambiguous texts. For purpose of just giving examples of writing of the period, I give here below readings of only two fragments:

(1) Fragment No.21, size 2-3/4"x2.3/16"[19]

1. (ja)tamatra sar. km.
2. (pa)drutam sugandhi kale vy. v. k. m. tha.
3. (kva)chit-tad = etarhi mukham vilokyate vilupta.
4. ta = stad = rig = a(k)...(pra)...(pa)te.su.

No translation can be suggested except that line 3 above means "at this time that face is seen in some places".

(2) Fragment No.34, size 2-3/16"x1-3/8"[20]

1. - - - - d. marge ..... m.
2. - t mahaujaso Viprativha-balat krita na.
3. batan=niyukta - - riva sa (dh)avah pri(yam).
4. yate n. n. tima.

Here too complete translation is difficult to suggest. However, line or *pada* 2 has been suggested to mean "men of great powers are deprived of their intelligence by force."

There are certain words in different *padas* which make some meaning, though not necessarily connected with Buddhism, such as *kampajat* = trembling[21], *kunapa* = dead body,[22] *adhirgharatrena* = in a short time,[23] *ity...avadharya* = having settled this[24]; *vanashanda* = forest,[25] *hayakhura-bhinna* = split by horses hoof,[26] *alingya* = having embraced,[27] *hatah* = killed.[28] All these words clearly show that the text of the composition is narrative and not didactic.

(b) Other Inscribed Material

(3) From Jaulian, Cell 3, was discovered a seal of burnt cornelian or chert, length 3/4", engraved with the legend" Sri Kulesvaradase" in Gupta Brahmi characters of 5th century A.D.[29]

(4) Gold coin (type: king nimbate with trident in hand defaced legend read 'tasu' (?) in Brahmi character.[30]

(5) Gold coins (type: as above), Brahmi legend reads 'sti' and 'preka'[31].

II. Material from Dharmarajika Stupa

(a) Sanskrit Manuscript.

The only other manuscript from Taxila has been discovered from Room No.12 in Court 'J' of Dharmarajika Monastery. It consists of

fragments of a charred birch-bark manuscript written in Brahmi character of circa 5th century A.D. Only a few fragments which are legible, have been read by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti.[32] On palaeographic grounds Chakravarti regards both the Jaulian and Dharmarajika manuscripts as resembling each other and contemporary. Along with and in association to this manuscript were also discovered a group of six skeletons-all murdered and burnt along with the building in which they were discovered. The discovery of this manuscript was hailed as "the first manuscript of the kind to be discovered in any excavation in India".[33] Some fragments can be read as follow.[34]

(6) Two pieces (A&B)

obv: A = Line 3 .....la (sattitma ?) sadyam ta ye tasthu.
Line 4.....(kshatri)ya-brahmana vitcchudra
B = Line 3 .....cha kusa/lam karma samadana(tam tens) ....
Line 4 ..... 1(n m)ulasuttra - kena vadi karma ko ...
Rev. A = Line 2 ..... (he) mabhave
B = Line 2 ..... mahagu (na) .....
Line 3 ..... tra ..... cha mahayanasy = ovatara.

No complete reading and translation has so far been made. However, there are some familiar and interesting words such as *Kshatriya*, *Brahmana*, *Chudra*, *Karma*, *Mahayana*, *Avatara*, *Dharma Samadhyah*, *Hetuvadin* etc. Among them, terms like 'Mahayana', 'kusalamula' and 'hetuvadin' etc. unmistakably show that the manuscript was Buddhistic.

(b) Clay Sealings

(7) Buried under a mud platform of chapel S^3, was discovered a large number of clay sealings impressed with Buddhist creed: *ye dharma hetu prabhava* in Brahmi character of early Gupta period.[35] Practice of burying such sealings is not uncommon in Buddhist and Burmese history.

III. Bhir Mound Material

(8) There is only one specimen of Brahmi writing from Bhir Mound. Here a small vessel — 3.56" x 1.93" with a small hole at the bottom and having buff wash on buff clay, is stamped on either side by a short inscription one each in Brahmi and Kharoshthi.[36] The former inscription in earlier Brahmi characters appears to read:

"Rakubh = anta" or Rokubhatta"

The Kharoshthi inscription is still more uncertain and has been approximately read as "Thathajaja" (see supra, p. 231).

IV. Sirkap Material

The maximum number of specimens of Brahmi writing has come from Sirkap. The earliest Brahmi inscription of this series, datting back to the 2nd or Ist century B.C. also comes from this site.

(9) Solid gold finger ring in the same hoard as mentioned below at 10. In the lapislazuli bezel, there is a figure of a Greek warrior with an inscription in early Brahmi character reading:

"Samanavasa" = of Samanava.[37]

The engraving of the warrior is purely in Hellenistic style and is datable to the Ist and 2nd centuries B.C. If so, this is perhaps the earliest specimen of Brahmi writing on material other than coins discovered from Taxila. The earliest Brahmi writing on Taxila coins comes from Bhir Mound, and is datable to the 4th century B.C (see infra, p. 250).

(10) Gold finger ring with disc bezel, engraved with a legend in Kharoshthi and Brahmi datable to the Ist century A.D. and reading:

"Mahayasa putrasa Manavasa" = of Manava, son of Mahayasa.[38]

For Kharoshthi version of the same inscription see supra, No. 8. This ring has been discovered from the house which also yielded the statue of Harpocrates,head of Dionysus or Silenus etc. — all part of a larger hoard. The entire collection has been dated to about A.D. 60 i.e., a little before Kushan conquest of Taxila.[39]

(11) A copper seal with figure of Siva in the centre with Kharoshthi legend in the right hand field and Brahmi in the left field reading:

"sivarachhitasa" = "of Sivarakshita".[40]

It has been assigned to the earlier Kushan period.[41]

(12) From Stratum 1 of Block F in Sirkap city was discovered a seal having a star at the centre and two small stars, one each on either side. The

seal contains two lines of lettering one each in Kharoshthi and Brahmi. The latter reads:

"Sihasa madrina putrasa Virabahusa"=Of Virabahu, the son of Sinha, the Minister.[42]

(13) Circular seal of fine slate with swastika on one and an undeciphered inscription in Brahmi on the other side. It is from stratum III, Block B.[43]

(14) Rectangular seal of shell, size 0.43" x 0.4". Alongwith swastika symbol is a 4-lettered legend in earlier Brahmi: "Sabhavana". It was discovered from spoil earth.[44]

V. Bhamala Stupa

(15-16) From the Stupa Court of Bhamala near Khanpur in the extreme eastern end of the Taxila Valley was discovered a copper ring bearing an inscription in Gupta Brahmi. The reading is not certain but is suggested as follows:

"Babhachu(ta)rna" = (?) Bacharana.[45]

It is datable in the 5th century A.D. If this reading is correct, then this Bacharana must be the same as known among the rulers of later Kushans coming after Vasudeva.[46] At Taxila Bacharana is represented by a unique solitary gold coin — this too from Bhamala.[47] This gold coin also bears the Brahmi legend reading "Salada Bacharana".

VI. Giri Fort

(17) Oval seal of copper with a ring on back, length 0.87". On the face of it there is a Gupta Brahmi inscription reading "(kha)ru(pa)dasya". It is datable in the 5th century A.D.[48]

VII. Mohra Muradu Monastery

(18) From this site came a singular square tablet of indurated clay, size 2.75" x 2.73". It is engraved on both sides. On one side is the figure of Wind god(?) and on either side are figures of Garuda, two snakes and a rampant lion. On this side, Gupta Brahmi inscription of 5th century A.D. reads:

"Harischandarisya" = of Harishchandara.[49]

VIII. Brahmi Inscriptions on Coins.

Besides the above mentioned inscriptions, Brahmi writing also occurs on numerous coins found from various sites excavated in the Taxila Valley. There is a good crop of such coins — majority of course belonging to the post-5th century A.D. era. The earliest coins bearing Brahmi legends are a few local Taxila coins — some 30 from Bhir Mound and 24 from Sirkap.[50] The earliest of them, 3 in number, have been discovered from Stratum III of Bhir Mound, and are thus datable to Circa 4th century B.C., whereas latest of the same type was discovered in Strata II & III of Sirkap and datable in the Saka-Parthian period. All of these coins bear on their obverse a 2-letters legend i.e. 'Go'. Copper coin of another local ruler Rajanya by name, had been extracted from Stratum II of Sirkap.[51] It showed a humped bull and a standing deity with legend "(Rajana) janapa (dasa)".[52] Another copper coin of the local Indian ruler named Amoghabuti with a clear female and umbrella figures on obverse also bears a legend in Brahmi. But unfortunately from Taxila specimen it is completely defaced.[53]

Indus-Greek Rulers

The Indus-Greek rulers also used the Brahmi script but only half-heartedly and sparingly. There being only two kings to do so. Pantaleon and Agathocles were the first to adopt local weights and the square-shaped indigenous coins.[54] They were also the first to use Brahmi script together with Greek and Kharoshthi writings on their coins.[55] No coins of the above mentioned two Greek rulers bearing legend in Brahmi are known from Taxila, but such specimens are definitely known in the Lahore Museum collections and elsewhere.[56] Brahmi legend on the obverse of copper coins of Pantaleon reads:

"Rajane Patalevasha" = of King Pantaleon.

The Brahmi legend on the obverse of copper of Agathocles reads:

"Rajane Agathuklayasha" = of King Agathocles.

No other Indus-Greek ruler ever used Brahmi legend on his coins.

Later Kushan Rulers

After Pantaleon and Agathocles, Brahmi disappears from the coins of Pakistan for some centuries. Scythians, Parthians and Kushans do not seem to have ever used this script at least on their coins[57]. However, Brahmi

legends reappear on coins of later Kushan and Kidara Kushan rulers. Among the former, reference has already been made to a finger-ring inscription and a gold coin of Bacharana — both from Bhamala.[58] Similarly, on the obverse side of two gold coins of Bhadra from Dharmarajika, vertically arranged Brahmi legend reads "Shalada Bhadra".[59] Kidara Kushans postively used Brahmi legends on their coins. Four gold coins and 23 electron or defaced gold coints all from Dharmarajika, showing King standing at altar on the obverse and throned Ardoksho on reverse, partially preserves the Brahmi legend: "Kidara".[60] Another silver coin from Mohra Muradu preserves comparatively a longer portion of the original Brahmi legend. It reads:[61] "Kidara Kushanasha".

There are many other coins discovered from various localities of Taxila and belonging to a variety of rulers which bear Brahmi inscriptions. These have been briefly dealt with below.

Vijyamitra and Other Rulers of Ku-lu(ta)

Six copper coins of Kulu State discovered from Stratum III of Sirkap City bear Brahmi legends on the reverse and Kharoshthi inscriptions on the obverse sides. These coins, as per legends preserved on them, belong to Vijyamitra, Virayasa, Sakamitra and Arya of Kulu State in Kashmir.[62] The obverse side of Vijyamitra coin shows a shaft surmounted by triratana in railing and the legend in Kharoshthi:

"(Ku)lutasa Vijyamitasa" = Of Vijyamitra of Kuluta.

The reverse side shows six-arched chaitya and standard swastika with Brahmi legend:

("Rajna Kulu)tasya Vijyamitrasa" = Of Vijyamitra, King of Kuluta.[63]

These copper coins are exceptionally heavy like their silver counter-parts,[64] and are datable in the beginningof Christian era. As such these are the earliest coins after those of Pantaleon and Agathokles which bear Brahmi legends.

Gupta Rulers

Only two coins belonging to Gupta kings have been found at Taxila-both are in gold[65] and both were discovered from Dharmarajika some 15

feet below the surface. These show standing king on obverse, goddess Lakshmi on lotus and Brahmi legend:

"Sri Vikkramah"

White Huns

White Huns or Epthalites (Hayatila of Arabs and Ye-tha of Chinese writers),[66] are usually discredited for having destroyed the civilisation of Taxila in the third quarter of the 5th century A.D. This is why Hun coins from Taxila are comparatively rare. All the 32 silver coins discovered from various sites of Taxila belong to Hun rulers prior to 500 A.D. and none to Toraman.[67] These include 21 from Bhamala.[68] 7 from Lalchak[69] and 3 from Dharmarajika.[70] Only one of a superior quality and probably struck in Bactria[71] shows legend in Tokharian or Cursive Greek. All others have their legends in Gupta Brahmi, The proper names appearing on these coins have been read as Jabula, Jatukha or Jaruba.[72] Similar names in Gupta-Brahmi-Jara (va) and Jasha(ra)ja — also occur inscribed on three copper bowls — all from Dharmarajika.[73] These appear to be proper names of rulers, but Marshall is of the opinion that they are merely Brahmi variants for the name of the Zabuli tribe of White Huns[74] which takes the form of Javla or Jabuvlah in Brahmi and Zabol in Tokhari Greek script. Zabulistan — a territory south of Kabulistan, has derived its name from this tribe. Brahmi legends on Taxila coins read:[75]

Shahi	Jarusha
Shahi	Jabukha(?)
———	Jabula
———	Jaruba

Turkshahi Rulers

Among the most interesting coins of later period from Taxila is a unique trilingual silver coin (1.6" in diam.) from Dharmarajika. It belongs to Barhatgin or Vahitigin.[76] As Marshall never gave any importance to anything from Taxila which post-dated Hun invasion in 456 A.D., he failed to give due attention to this coin as well and passsed over it by making some cursory remarks such as "the piece was struck in the borderlands of India and Iran" and that "Vahitigin was a ruler of Khurasan" i.e., an Indo-Sasanian ruler.[77] The latter researches, however, show Vahitigin to be the

founder of the Turkshahi dynasty (666-843 A.D.) in Afghanistan and a precursor of the more famous Hindu Shahi dynasty (843-1021 A.D.) in NWFP and Punjab in Pakistan.[78] His date had been proposed to be 666 A.D.[79]

Vahitigin is known by different names such as Vrahitigin and Shahitigin (Ghrishman), Barhatigin (Al-Beruni), Shah-shahin (Chach Nama), etc. Particulary, Vahitigin or Vahitigina of our coin is now recognised as Barhatgin of Al-Beruni's list[80] and Shahi-shhin of Chach Nama.

The coins of Barhatgin have been found sparsely but widely distributed. General Ventura was the first to find two of his coins from the stupa of Manikyala.[81] Alexander Burnes discovered three from Afghanistan.[82] Other coins of this king have been discovered from as far afield as north of Caucasus or Hindukush — (40 specimens), Kabul (30 coins) and Sindh and Kacch.

This unique trilingual silver coin from Taxila shows on its obverse bust of king and two legends-one in the so-called Kushan-Greek, Bactrian-Greek or Tokharian script and other in Brahmi. On the reverse side is the bust of a deity wearing a crown and a legend in Pahlavi. All the three legends are given below:[83]

Obverse:

(i)	*Brahmi: Sri hitivira kharalava paramesvara sri Vatihigina deva kritam*	=	Caused to be made by Sri Hitivira Kharavalava, the Supreme Lord Sri Vahitigina, the god.
(ii)	Torkharian or Bactrian Greek	=	Sri Shahi
		=	*Sri shoyo*

Revers:

(iii)	Pahalvi: *Tkyn' hwl's'h Malk hept'hept't*	=	Tigin, King of Khurasan.

Only very few coins of the Turkshahis are known to have been discovered from Pakistani territory. One from Taxila, two from Manikyala and a few others from Sindh and Kacch are the only evidence of the extrension of Turkshahi rule in this region. But for the tough resistance offered by

Turkshahis, Islam would have been established in Pakistan in the 7th and 8th century A.D.

Rulers of Kashmir

Huien Tsang (Xuan Zan), who visited Taxila in the middle of 7th century A.D. informs us that at that time Taxila was a dependency of Kashmir State.[84] However, corroborating evidence from Taxila itself is practically nil. Prolonged excavations of more than two dozen sites in the Taxila Valley have yielded only ten coins belonging to Kashmir State.[85] These include two coins of Toramana (903-921 A.D.),[86] one of Vinayaditya or Jayapida (750-780 A.D.),[87] one of queen Didda (960-1003 A.D.),[88] the grand daughter of the Shahi King Bhimadeva and wife of Kshem Gupta (950-958 A.D.), two of Sangarama (1003-28 A.D.),[89] and one of Harsha. All these coins were actually chance discoveries from just two sites namely Dharmarajika and Sirkap and in any case are too few to be used as evidence of Taxila's subservience to Kashmir for more than three hundred years i.e., 7th to 9th century A.D. The two coins of Toramana mentioned here must not be confused with those of another Toramana, the father of Mihirgula of Hun dynasty which are after Sassanian types and are earlier than the coins of Toramana of Kashmir referred to here.[90] Unfortunately, Brahmi legends on the coins of Toramana of Kashmir are not legible. That on the reverse of copper coins of Jayapida or Vinayaditya reads: *Sri Vinayaditya.*[91]

The legend on the obverse side of the copper coin of queen Didda from Sirkap reads *Sri Ditta,* whereas the reverse side is defaced and reads only *divya.*[92] Similarly, the legend on the obverse side of a copper coin from Sirkap belonging to Sangarama reads *Sangarama,* whereas legend on the reverse side is completely defaced.[93]

Hindushahis

The latest coins with Brahmi legnds from Taxila are those of Hindushashi rulers of Ohind — a feudatory and later on successors of Turkshahis of Kabu. Their domain had extended over the Punjab as well as Gandhara.[94] Taxila by that time had lost all importance because the Shahis had established their new capital at Ohind, just some 64 kilometers to the west of Taxila in 870 A.D. after the loss of Kabul to Yakub Lais. Nevertheless, at Taxila, they are represented by their coins[95] — two of Spalapatideva (circa 820 A.D.),[96] 14 of a Samantadeva (C. 85-870

A.D.),[97] and five of Vakkadeva (903-921 A.D.).[98] Each coin shows brief legend in Brahmi reading, for example: *Sri Samantadeva* or *Sri Vakkadeva*.[99] All those coins belong to a well known series of bull and horseman and elephant and Lion types. On the reverse side of a copper coin of some unidentifiable ruler from Dharmarajika, the Brahmi legend reads *Spati*.[100] The meaning and significance of this letter is unknown.

B. GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (Pl. XXIX)

The Greeks started settling in parts of Pakistan as soon as Alexander passsed by these territories founding cities and military colonies and forcing some of his men to live there. The discoveries at Ai Khanum[101] and existence of Graeco-Aramaic inscriptions at Qandahar, Laghman and Pol-e-Darunta in Afghanistan amply demonstrates the existence of Greek speaking community in these regions in the 4th to Ist centuries B.C.[102] The Greeks are also known to have ruled almost the entire territory of Pakistan and more during the 2nd and Ist centuries B.C.[103] But despite this, it is strange that the entire country including Taxila, has not yet yielded one single Greek inscription — complete or fragmentary. But this should not despair us. After all the age-old 'Bacrtian Mirage' has only recently started being diluted by discoveries at Ai Khanum, Qandahar etc. This only emphasizes the need of extensive systematic explorations and excavations particularly in the region of the Punjab which, so far, has been neglected by the concerned authorities in this country. Particulary, we have to look for the lost Alexandrias founded by Alexander the Great at strategic points on the banks of rivers in the Punjab.

Pending this, we know that Greek language and script was used on coins. If the statement of Philostratus in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* is to be believed, Greek language was spoken in Taxila as late as 42 A.D.[104] We also know that Greek culture was practised in every walk of life such as town-planning, jewellery, household objects etc. Then why after all the Greeks should or could not leave behind some inscriptional evidence as did the Kushans. The only plausible explanation for lack of such evidence is that the prospective areas has never been properly and thoroughly explored. We know some record of Greek ruler Meridarchs in Bajaur and Heliodorus in Besnagar near Gwalior — but these are not in Greek language or script.[105] But be that as it may, at present we have only scanty evidence of Greek language and script having been used in this country.

Beside coins, I know only two other cases where Greek language has been used. On a pottery vessel from Odigram (Swat) there occurs one word *Noy* in Greek characters. It has been translated as "belonging to Nous".[106] The other evidence is a terracotta ball (diam. 105") from Sirkap with a few graffiti which sem to be a crude attempt at writing the Greek work *philhellenes* i.e., "Friend of Greeks". Marshall opines that this might have been copeid from a Parthian coin[107] as the latter proudly claimed themselves to be philhellenes on their coins.

Greek Legends on Coins

Greek legends are numerous on a variety of coins discovered from various sites at Taxila. These are not confined to Greek rulers, though the latters did initiate the tradition. Others to follow them were Scythians, Parthians, Kushans and some later rulers.

In all, 519 Greek coins are known from Taxila — 5 from Bhir Mound, 471 from Sirkap and 43 from othe sites. These coins in all represent 25 kings — all previously known.[108] All these kings used universally Greek legends on their coins. Some used bilingual legends, the second one usually being Kharoshthi and only casually Brahmi. The kings represented are:

> Alexander the Great, Philip Aridaeus, Diodotus and Demetrius (known through coins only from Bhir Mound), Euthydemus I, Agathocles, Apollodotus I, Menander, Strato I, Eucratides, Heliocles, Lysias, Antialcidas, Archebius, Epander, Philoxenus, Diomedes, Theophilus, Strato II, Apollodotus II, Zoilus II, Dionysus Hippostratus, Telephus, Hermaeus.[109]

All correct Greek legends, like those in Kharoshthi and Brahmi, are always in genitive cases saying "belonging to such and such king" among the Greeks no coin from Taxila belonging to Agathocles bears Greek legend.[110] However, his coins bearing a number of Greek legends are known from elsewhere.[111] Similarly, the three copper coins reportedly belonging to Apollodotus,[112] Lysias,[113] and Dionysus[114] do not bear Greek legend though elsewhere all these kings are known to have issued coins with Greek legends.[115]

Greek Kings

Greek legends on coins (Pl. XXIII) of the Greek rulers are as follows:[116]

	LEGEND		TRANSLATION
1.	Basileor Alexandroy[117]	=	Of King Alexander[118]
2.	Basileos Phillipoy	=	Of King Phillips[119]
3.	Basileos Antiochoy	=	Of King Antiochus[120]
4.	Basileos Euthydemoy	=	Of King Euthydemus
5.	Basileos Demetrioy	=	Of King Demetrius
6.	Basileos Soteros Menanadroy	=	Of King, Saviour Menandar[121]
7.	i) Basileor Epiphanous Stratonos	=	Of King, God-Manifest, Saviour, Strato[122]
	ii) Basileos Soteros Stratonos	=	Of King, Saviour Strato
8.	Basileos Megaloy Eukratidoy	=	Of Greek King Eukratidus
9.	Basileos Dikaioy Heliokleons	=	Of Righteous King Heliocles
10.	Basileos Nikephoroy Antialkidoy	=	Of Victory-bearer King Antialcidas.
11.	Basileos Dikaioy Nikephoroy Archebioy	=	Of King, Righteous, Victory-bearer Archebius.
12.	Basileos Nikephoroy Epandroy	=	Of King, Victory-bearer Epander.[123]
13.	Basileos Aniketoy Philoxenoy	=	Of King, Unconquered Philoxenus.
14.	Basileos Dikaioy Theophiloy	=	Of King, Righteous Theophilus.
15.	Basileos Soteros Apollodotoy	=	Of King, Saviour Apollodotus.
16.	Basileos Soteros Ippostratoy[124]	=	Of King, Savour Hippostratus.
17.	Basileos Evergetoy Telephoy	=	Of King, Benefactor Telephus.
18.	i) Besileos Soteros Ermaioy	=	Of King, Saviour Hermeus
	ii) Basileos Sterossy	=	Of King, Saviour (Hermeus)[125]
19.	Basileos Soteros Zoiloy	=	Of King, Saviour Zoilus.

Scythian and Parthian Kings

In all, 3983 coins — all except 211[126] are in copper, belonging to different Scytho-Parthian kings' have been discovered from various strata of Sirkap alone.[127] Exact number of Scytho-Parthian coins from other sites of Taxila is not known. Most of the rulers of these two dynasties used Greek as well as Kharoshthi legends on their coins. Beyond proper names there are very few titles on their coins. The titles used are:[128] *Basileos* (King), *Basileos Basileon* (King of Kings), *Adelphos* (Brother), *Megalos* (Great) and *Dikaios* (Righteous).

All titles as well as proper names appear in their genitive cases and usually have their counterparts on the reverse side of the coin in Kharoshthi such as: *Basileos* = *Maharaja* (King), *Basileos Basileon* = *Mahrajasa Rajarajasa* (King of Kings), *Megalos* = *Mahata* (Great), *Basileos Adelphos*

= *Maharaja Bhrata* (Brother of the King) and *Dikaios = Dharmi/Dhramika* (Righteous).

The legends as reported by Sir John Marshall are given below:[129]

1.	Basileos Basileon Megaloy Mauoy	=	Of King of Kings, the Great Maues
2.	Basileos Mauoy	=	Of king Maues
3.	Basileos Basileon Megaloy Ononoy	=	Of King of Kings the Great Vonones.[130]
4.	Epalyrios Dikaioy Adelphoy toy Basileos	=	Of Epalyris the Righteous Brother of King
5.	Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoy	=	Of King of Kings, the Great Azs.[131]
6.	Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azilisoy	=	Of King of Kings, the Great Azilises
7.	Basileos Basileon Megaloy Azoy	=	Of King of Kings, the Great Azes
8.	Tyannonos Eaoy Koiianoy----- Saka (Sanab).	=	Of Saka King Haraus.[132]
9.	----------	=	The Greek Legends on the obverse side of the coin of Rajuvula, the Satarap of Mathura, are indistinct.[133] Whitehead reports the Greek legend to be corrupt but makes available no text.[134]
10.	Basileos Soteros	=	Of King Saviour (Bhadrayasa).[135]
11.	----------	=	Greek Legend on the obverse side of Indravasa (Indravarma), (Typs: King on horse back and Pallas standing) is corrupt and no text is available. However, it is identifiable on account of Kharoshthi legend on the reverse.
12.	Kharaosti Satrapei Artaoy	=	Of Satrap kharahostes, son of Arta.[136]
13.	(Basileos Basileon Megaloy)... yandopheroy	=	Of (King of Kings, the Great) Gondophares.
14.	(Basileos Basileon Megaloy) yndopheroy Isasas.	=	(Of King of Kings, the Great Gondophares Sasan.
15.	(Basileos Basileon Megaloy Gondopheroy)	=	(Of King of Kings, the Great Gondophares).
16.	(Basileos Soteros Yndopheoy)	=	(Of King Saviour Gondophares).
17.	(Basileontos Basileon) Abdagasoy	=	During the reign of King Abdagases

18	----------	=	Corrupt and incomplete legend on obverse side of Sasan (type: Bust of bearded king and Nike standing).[137]
19:	----------caon Basile(on)	=	Attributable to Sapedanes or Sandanes of Periplus of the Erytheran Sea by its Kharoshthi legend on the reverse which reads = "*Rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa (Sa)pedasasa*"[138]
20.	Basil--------Ossayoa---------	=	Attributable to one Satavastra by Kharoshthi legend on the reverse: "*rasa Satavastrasa maharajasa*". Both Satavastra and Sapedanes, according to John Marshall, belong to the transitional period between Parthians and Kushans.[139]

Kushan Kings

In all 4889 coins of early Kushan kings have been discovered from various sites of Taxila. All these coins are, with the exception of very few, in copper. These belong to:

King	From Sirkap	From other sites	Total
Kujula	2518	72	2590[140]
Vima	37	27	64
Soter Megas	12	89	101
Kamishka I	39	191	230
Vasudeva	27	1877	1904
Total	2633	2256	4889[141]

Sites other than Sirkap mainly include Dharmarajika but also Sirsukh, Jaulian, Bhamala, Giri, Pippalan, Badalpur, Mohra Muradu etc. For us the importance of these coins lies in the fact that though both Kadphises I and II used Greek as well as Kharoshthi on their coins, the Kushan kings who followed them (Kanishka, Huvishka etc.) discarded Kharoshthi from their coins and retained only Greek.[142] They also coined extensively in gold and copper. As far as oins with Greek legends are concerned, Taxila collection

is very poor, or at least is very poorly reported. However, a meticulous comparative study of coins (particularly those of Kanishka and Huvishka etc.) in the Lahore Museum with those referred to by Sir John Marshall helps us in reconstructing the following Greek legends:[143]

1.	Basileos Sterossy Ermaiou	=	Of King, Saviour Hermaios[144]
2.	Kozoulou Kadphizou	=	Of Kujula Kadphises
3.	Kozoulou Korsolou	=	Of Kujula.....
4.	.....eopsil Phiseno	=	.....
5.	Choransu Zaoou Kozola Kadohes	=	Kujula Kadphises[145]
6.	Basileos Ooemo Kadphises	=	Of King Vima Kadphises[146]
7.	Basileos Basileon Soter Megas Oemo Kadphises	=	King of Kings, Savior, Great Vima Kadphises.[147]
8.	Shao Kaneshki/Miyro	=	King Kanishka/Mithra[148]
9.	Shao Kaneshki/Mao	=	King Kanishka/Moon[149]
10.	Basileos Basileon Kaneshkou Nannai	=	King of Kings Kanishka/Nannaia[150]
11.	Shao Kaneshki/Aphro	=	King Kanishka/Metal-god[151]
12.	Shao Kaneshki/Oado	=	King Kanishka/Wind-god[152]
13.	Shao Kaneshki/Oesho	=	King Kanishka/Shiva[153]
14.	Shao Nano Shao Oeshko Koshano Mao	=	King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushan/Moon[154]
15.	Shaonano shao Oaeshko Koshano/Oesho.	=	King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushan/Shiva[155]
16.	Shaonano Shao Ooeshko Koshano/Miro.	=	King of Kings, Huvishka, the Kushan/Mithra[156]
17.	(Shaonano Bazodeo)/Oesho	=	King of Kings Vasudeva/Shiva[157]
18.	Basileos Basileon Soter Megas	=	King of Kings, Saviour and Great[158]

C. BACTRIAN OR TOKHARIAN CURSIVE SCRIPT

A cursive style of writing based on Greek alphabet, was developed in Bactria during the 5th century A.D. and afterwards. Its original name is not known. However, it is variantly named as Ephthalite Writing, Central Asian Script, Bactriam Greek Script, Cursive Greek Script, Graeco-Bactrian Cursive Writing and Kushano-Greek Writing.[159] But there is no doubt that the writing of Tu-ho-lo (Tukharistan) as mentioned by Huien Tsang definitely refers to this cursive writing. When first noticed by Prinsep, it was recognised as a corrupt form of Greek Script[160] in which all verbs are represented by "O".[161] Till the beginning of this century, this script was

very imperfectly understood. E. Herzfeld (1930),[162] R. Ghrishman (1948)[163] and later on H.Humbach,[164] R. Gobl etc.[165] have studied this script in depth and detail.

This Bactrian cursive script had passed through two stages of development before Turkshahis adopted it. In Stage I (prior to Kushan rule), it remained closed to Greek prototypes. In Stage II, most of the cursive forms as known today were reached. Though these final cursive forms were already in use by the time of Kanishka, but a clear transition in cursive forms is found on Kushano-Sasanian coins of about 400 A.D. From this to the middle of 5th century A.D. the script seems to have undergone further changes particularly in the forms of letter I, K, M, N, S, and X as evidenced on the Ephthalite coins.[166] Now, the letters are far removed from the original Greek forms. Turkshahis and Hindushahis brought it to Gandhara and the Punjab, but by the loss of its original home in Bactria, its development had been slowed down. With the end of Hindushahis in 1021 A.D. at the hands of Ghaznavids, this Bactrian cursive script came to its end. Ghaznavids brought with them the Arabic Naskh script.

In Gandhara (NWFP) and the Punjab, specimens of Bactrian cursive script are very few and far between. The best examples are two bilingual inscriptions now preserved in the Peshwar Museum and fully discussed by A.H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Gobl.[167] At Taxila, this Bactrian Cursive Greek has been witnessed only on a few coins of Sasanians and White Huns where it has been described as a debased form of Cursive Greek imitated from Kushano-Sasanian coins.[168]

In all, about 32 specimens of Sasanian coins are reported from Taxila.[169] Bulk of these belong to the reign of Shahpur II (309-379 A.D.) and Shahpur III (383-388 A.D.)[170] but none to a Sasanian ruler in the 5th century A.D. Both, Bactrian Cursive or Kushano-Greek and Pahlavi legends are known on coins of the Sasanians from Taxila. The Bactrian legend on the obverse of coins of Shahpur II (Type: Bust of Shahpur II and Fire Altar) reads:

Shoboro = "Shahpur"[171]

The coins of the White Huns are distinguished in two categories:

(I) Hun coins issued in Bactira (Tukharistan) are superior in quality and used Cursive Greek for their legends.

(II) Coins issued in Parapamisadae and Gandhara are debased in quality and bear their legends in Gupta Brahmi.

In all, 32 coins — all in silver — have so far been reported from Taxila.[172] These inlcude 21 from Bhamala, 7 from Lalchak, 3 from Dharmarajika and one from some other site. Both the above mentioned types occur at Taxila though type II is predominant. Type I (Beardless head of King to r. and Fire Altar amid flames) bears the Greek legend as:

(B)achla = Balkh=Bactria=Tukharistan.

In Gandhara, Huns issued coins only in Gupta Brahmi legends. The one bearing the legend of *Balkh* in cursive Greek was presumably issued in Bactria before the White Huns crossed into Parapamisadae and Gandhara in the 5th century A.D.

The last ones to use Kushan-Greek or Greek writing are the Turkshahi rulers. Only one such coin has been reported from Taxila. It is the coin of Vahitigin of Khurasan whom A. Rehman has identified with Barhatgin, the founder of Turkshahis of Kabul.[173] The silver coin bears bust of King on the obverse. The Kushano-Greek legend *Sri Shoyo* on the reverse.[174] The exact period of Vahitigin's reign is a matter of controversy and is presumed to have ruled any time between 565 to 700 A.D.[175] With one Vahitigin's coin at Taxila, the evidence of Cursive Greek writing at Taxila comes to an end. No Greek writing is known in the Punjab after this coin.

D. PAHLAVI SCRIPT

Pahlavi script is represented at Taxila very sparingly and even that on coins only. Earlier, it appeared on the coins of Sasanian rulers such as Shahpur III, Varahran IV, Khusru II etc. Some Sasanian coins have been found at Taxila, but unfortunately, Marshall does not give specific details of Pahlavi legends on them.[176] After Sasanian, two of the Shahi rulers also used Pahlavi on their coins. They were Vahitigin and Sri Tigin Shahi.[177]

The latest coin bearing any Pahlavi legend is the unique trilingual silver coin of Vahitigin, with Pahlavi legend on the reverse.[178] It has been read as:

Text: *Tkyn' hwl' s'n Malk, hept' hept't*

Trans: Tigin King of Khurasan 77.[179]

For fuller discussion on Vahitigin and his coins, see supra, p. 353.

E. ROMAN SCRIPT

Prior to the arrival of Europeans in India during the Mughal period, Roman script is known only through legends on Roman coins found in great profusion at many placed in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan.[180] But at Taxila, Roman script is evidenced from a singular silver coin (denarius) of Augustus: Head of Emperor and seated deity type.[181] (Pl. 'O', b) Marshall does not give any reading of the coin.

To conclude: epigraphical evidence from Taxila, in the form of inscriptions in Roman, Pahlavi, Bactrian or Tokharian and Greek scripts, is confined to legends on coins only. Bulk of the inscriptional materila is in Brahmi script. Fragments of two Sanskrit mamuscripts in Gupta Brahmi characters have been discussed as far their legibility and intelligibility permits. Majority of the other inscriptional matter is found scribed on household and personal objects. Only a few have religious association. Brahmi inscriptions have been found from a number of sites in the Taxila Valley and they cover a long range of time-space from the Greek to the Hindu Shahi periods. References have also been made to Brahmi inscriptions from other sites in Pakistan. The information gathered from Brahmi inscriptions from Taxila Valley gives us some new data regarding personal names of individulas living at Taxila and a lot of Buddhistic and Brahmanic terms used in Sanskrit literature.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For full discussion see A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography,* (Oxford: 1963), Chap. 3: "Origin of Brahmi", pp. 23-30 & G. Buhler, *Indische Palaeographic,* (Strassburg: 1896), III: "Die Alto Brahmi and Dravidi", pp. 30-45.
2. Dani, op. cit., pp. 18-29, Fig. 3.
3. G. Buhler, *On the Origin of the IndianBrahma Alphabet,* (Strassbarg: 1898).
4. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet,* (London: 1949), pp. 195-211 & 339.
5. See supra, p. 202-203.
6. For Asoka's Rock Edicts or Silaphalaka dhamma-lipi (*libi* or *dipi*) in Aramaic

language and script at Qandahar, Pol-e-Darunta, Laghaman and Taxila see supra, p. 202-203. For his Rock Edicts in Kharoshthi at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra see: A. Cunningham, "Inscriptions of Asoka"; *CII,* I, (Calcutta: 1877); E. Hultzsch, "Inscriptions of Asoka", *CII,* I (New ed. Delhi: 1968). Similarly, for his inscriptions in Brahmi at Girnar, Kalasi, Dhauli, Jaugad, Erragudi etc. see Cunningham, loc. cit. and Hultzsch, loc. cit. Asoka also issued his Rock Edicts in Greek for which see J. Filliozat, "Graeco-Aramaic Inscription of Asoka near Qandahar", *EI,* 34, 1961/62, pp. 1-8.

7. Dani, op. cit., pp. 50-77.
8. Ibid., pp. 76-107.
9. Ibid., pp. 108-204
10. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization,* (London: 1931), Vol. III, Pl. XC).
11. M.A. Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan", *MASI,* No. 37, p. 93 & A.H. Dani, op. cit, p. 84
12. See Infra, p. 248.
13. *PMC I,* pp. 16-17.
14. *CII I,* pp. 92-93.
15. *Taxila I,* p. 387.
16. Ramaprasad Chandra, in: Sir John Marshall,' *The Stupa and Monasteries at Jaulian,* op. cit., pp. 66-75.
17. Ibid., p. 66.
18. Ibid., pp. 67-75.
19. Ibid., p. 70.
20. Ibid., p. 72.
21. Ibid., p. 70, Frag. 19.
22. Ibid.p. 72, Frag. 33.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 72, Frag. 35.
26. Ibid., p. 74, Frag. 46. Note the words *khura,* i.e., hoof and *bhinna,* i.e., split up or broken. Both these words are used in Punjabi language in the forms of *khur* and *bhan* with the same meaning.
27. Ibid., p. 75, Frag. 53.
28. Ibid., p. 71, Frag. 27
29. *Taxila I,* pp. 385; *Taxila II,* p.650 (75), Pl. 207 (15).
30. Marshall, *MASI,* No.7, op. cit., p. 57.
31. Ibid.
32. *Taxila I,* pp. 287-88.
33. *ASI, A/R,* 1916-17, Pt. I, p.12.
34. *Taxila I,* p. 288.
35. *ASI, A/R,* 1914-15, p. 5; *Taxila I,* p. 226.
36. *Taxila II,* p. 426 (173); *ASI, A/R,* 1912, p. 41, No. 13 & Ibid., 1919, Pl. XI, II.
37. *Taxila I,* p. 160 (18), Pl. 197 (16); *Taxila II,* p. 445 (15) & *ASI, A/R,* 1912-13, p. 27 (11), Pl. XXI.
38. *Taxila. II,* p. 645 (15), Pl. 197 (15); *CII,* 100 (2), Pl. XX, 2 & *ASI, A/R,* 1912-13, p. 27 (10).
39. *Taxila I,* p. 160 (17).
40. *ASI, A/R,* 1914-15, p. 35, Pl. XIV (51) & *CII,* No. 11.
41. For Kharoshthi inscription see Supra, P. 226.
42. *Taxila I,* p. 182, Pl. 208 (57); *Taxila II,* p. 681 (27) & *ASI, A/R,* 1928-20, p. 57 (59), Pl. XX, 2.
43. *Taxila II,* p. 681 (29), Pl. 207 (33) & *ASI, A/R,* 1929-30, No. 180.
44. *Taxila II,* p. 682 (34), Pl. 207 (27).
45. *Taxila I,* p. 396; *Taxila II,* pp. 648-49 (56), Pl. 208 (58).
46. *Taxila II,* p. 788.
47. Ibid., p. 821 (270).
48. *Taxila I,* p. 347 & *Taxila II,* p. 681 (26a).
49. *Taxila II,* p. 682 (38), Pl. 208 (59).
50. Ibid., p. 759.
51. Ibid., p. 805 (109).
52. Ibid., II, p. 85, 109
53. Ibid., p. 805 (110).
54. *PMC I,* p. 5. Dates of these rulers have been taken from M. Mitchiner, see Infra, fn. 56.
55. *PMC I,* pp.16-18
56. Michael Mitchiner, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage, vol.I: The Early *Indo-Greeks and Their Antecedents,* (London; 1975), pp. 80 & 84; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins,* (Calcutta; 1965), p. 42 & *PMC I,* p. 16, Nos. 35-40 & p. 17, Nos. 45-40.

57. Discontinuation of Brahmi on coins of these dynasties cannot be offered as a proof for the discontinuation of the same for all other purposes as well. First of all we know the instances of Kushan king Kanishka and his successors who dropped Kharoshthi from their coins (*PMC I*, p. 174) but otherwise their reigns have yielded a rich crop of lithic inscriptions, dated and undated. The only exception being the unique bilingual copper coin of Huvishka (A. Cunningham, *NC*, 1892, p.82). From other places, Shorkot for example, we have epigraphical evidence in Brahmi belonging to Scytho-Parthian and Kushan periods (A.D. 50-150) on material other than coins (See *CSR V*, pp. 102-110).
58. See Supra, p. 249. Also see *Taxila II*, pp. 648 (56), 788 & 821 (270).
59. *Taxila I*, pp. 283 & *Taxila II*, pp. 788-89 & 822 (271-72). Also *IMC I*, XIV.4.
60. *Taxila II*, p. 832 (273-75); *ASI, A/R* 1914-15, Pl. 36 (36).
61. *Taxila II*, p. 822 (275); A. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Seythians*, Pl. VI, I; *ASI, A/R*, 1915, p. 36 (45) & *M.F.C.* Martin, *JASB*, III, 1937, No. 2.
62. *Taxila II*, pp. 820 & 841.
63. For date & period of Kulu coins see John Allan, *British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Indian Coins*, pp. C & 158. Also E.J. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 530, ff.
64. *Taxila II*, p. 84.
65. *Taxila I*, pp. 76, 283, 293 & *Taxila II*, pp. 789, 822 (276).
66. For more details on the White Huns see A. Cunningham, "Later Indo-Scythians, Ephthalites or White Huns", *NC*, 1894, Pt. III, pp. 243-93; A. Stein, "White Huns and Kindred Tribes in the History of the North-west Frontier", *Indian Antiquary*, 1905; J.J. Modi, "The Early History of Huns", *JASB*, 1 1915-17, pp. 567, ff; K. Enoki, "The Origin of White Huns or Ephthalites", *EW*, No. 1, 1955, pp. 231-237; U. Thakur, *The Huns in India*, (Varanasi: 1967) & R. Ghrishman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, (Les Caire: 1948).
67. The two copper coins of Toraman, one each from Mohra Muradu and Dharmarajika, have been assigned to Toraman of Kashmir and not Toraman, the Hun. *Taxila II*, p. 825 (315-16).
68. *Taxila I*, p. 396.
69. Ibid., p. 388.
70. Ibid., pp. 287-89.
71. *Taxila II*, p. 824 (300).
72. *Taxila I*, pp. 396-97 & *Taxila II*, p. 791.
73. *Taxila II*, p. 591, Nos. 277 (a & b) & No. 284.
74. Ibid., p. 791.
75. Ibid., pp. 824-25 (311-13).
76. *Taxila I*, p. 293; Ibid II, p. 822 (278) & 842.
77. Ibid., II, p.842
78. Abdul Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Shahis: An Analysis of Their History, Archaeology, Coinage and Palaeography*, (Islamabad: 1979), pp. 177-181. The history of Turkshahis is intricately related to and confused with the expansion of Arab rule in Seistan, Khurasan and Kabul Valley during the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries A.D. For origin of Shahis, their account in early Muslim and Chinese literature and their early combats with Arabs see A.Rehman, op.cit., pp. 37-47, 53-60 & 61-68.
79. A. Rehman, op. cit., pp. 45-47.
80. E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, (London: 1888, India repr. New Delhi: 1964) & A.H. Dani, *AL-Beruni's India*, (Islamabad: 1973).
81. *JASB*, 1834, Pl. XXI, Fig. 10 & 11, p. 438.
82. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, (London: 1871), pp. 383, 400.
83. Sir John Marshall has failed to give full legend on this coin. I have taken this reading from Abdul Rehman, op. cit., pp. 177-78. For discussion on *hitvira = elatbir* (Turkish) and *Rutbil* (Arabic), see Ibid., p. 180.

84. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* (London: 1906), Bk. III, p. 136.
85. *Taxila II,* p. 794.
86. *Taxila II,* p. 825 (315-316). For discussion on Toraman (son of Lalliya), Ramaluka and Vakkadeva as being or not being one and the same ruler see below fn. 98 & A. Rehman, op. cit., pp. 114-120.
87. *Taxila II,* p. 826 (317).
88. Ibid., p. 826 (318); A. Rehman, op.cit. pp. 121, 157.
89. Ibid., p. 826 (319).
90. Ibid., p. 826 (317).
91. Ibid.
92. *Taxila I,* p. 213; *Taxila II,* pp. 794, 826 (318).
93. Ibid., pp. 213, 794, 826 (318).
94. For discussion on Hindushahis and related problems see Y. Mishra, *The Hindu Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab,* (Patna: 1972); D.B. Pandey, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab,* (Delhi: 1973), A.P. Sen, "A Neglected Chapter of Indian History: The Shahis Udhabandapura", *Modern Review,* Vol. CX, No.6, Dec. 1961, pp, 476-84; G. Singh, "Origin of Hindu Shahis", *Punjab History Conference, Proc. of the First Session,* 1965, pp. 68-72 G. Glaesser, "A Contribution to the History of the Shahis of Kabul", *EW,* N.S. Vol.23, Nos. 1-2, 1973, pp, 13-20; D.W. Macdowell, "The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara", *NC,* 7th Series, Vol. VIII, 1968, pp. 223-24; A.H, Dani, "Archaeology of the Hindu Shahis", *APk,* Vol. IV 1971; S.D. Charak Singh, "The Ethnic Prolem of the Hindu Shahi of Kabul", *Punjab University Research Bulletin (Arts),* No. I, 1970, pp.1-8, etc., etc.
95. Taxila II, pp, 794, 826 (320-24).
96. A. Rehman (op. cit., pp. 87, 185-190) regards Spalapatideva as one of the two last rulers of Turkshahis (Ibid., p. 87) and not as a Hindushahi ruler as Marshall puts him to be.
97. Ibid, pp. 95-105.
98. There are scholars who regard the names Spalapati, Samantadeva and Vakkadeva as merely three different attributes of the Shahi King Kallar (843-850) A.D.), the founder of the dynasty, who being fearful of assuming royal powers in his own name, preferred to rule in his capacity of *Spalapati* or War Lord, *Vakka* or Lord and *Samanta* or Feudatory (Y. Mishra, *The Hindu Shahi of Kabul and the Punjab,* op. cit., pp. 19, ff & A. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India,* London: 1894, Indian repr. 1967, p. 58). But Abdul Rahman has convincingly shown that all these names represent individual rulers -Spalapati being a Turk Shahi (A. Rehman, op.cit., 185-90) and Samantadeva and Vakkadeva being Hindu Shahis (Ibid., pp. 196-200, 203-204). He further indentifies Sri Vakkadeva with Kamalu or Toraman (circa 903-921 A.D.), the 5th ruler of the Hindu Shahi dynasty (A. Rehman, op. cit., pp. 114-120 & 203-204).
99. *Taxila II,* p. 826 (330-324).
100. Ibid., p. 827 (336).
101. Paul Bernard, "Ai Khanum on the Oxus: A Hellenistic City in Central Asia, *Proc. B.A,* LIII, 1967.
102. See Supra, p.207.
103 W.W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India,* (Cambridge: 1950).
104. J.S. Philimore, *Philostratus in Honour of Apollonius of Tyana,* (Oxford: 1912), Vol. I, pp. CV-CXXVI & C.P. Jones, *Philostratus Life of Apollonius,* (Harmondsworth: 1970), Bk, II, p. 63.
105. The inscriptions of the two Meridarchs and Heliodorus are in Kharoshthi and Brahmi Prakrits respectively (cf. *Taxila I,* p. 41).
106. G. Tucci, "On Swat: The Dards and Connected Problems," *EW.* N.S., 27. Nos.1-4, Dec. 1977, p. 59, fn. 73. Also Pugliese Carratelli, "Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East," *EW,* N.S, Vol-XVII, No. 2, 1966. p.35.
107. *Taxila I,* p. 41, fn. 5.
108. *Taxila II,* pp. 763-764.

109. Ibid., pp. 765-767.
110 Ibid., p. 748 (43-48).
111. *PMC, I,* pp. 16-18 (41-50).
112. *Taxila II,* p. 799 (49-50). However, Marshall regards one of the two coins as belonging to Apallodotus II and other to Zoilus Soter, see *Taxila II,* p. 835 (Nos. 49-50).
113. *Taxila II,* p. 801 (71).
114. Ibid., p. 804 (104).
115. *PMC I,* p. 40 (233-354). For Apollodotus, Ibid., p. 30-32 (150-166) and for Lysias and Dionysus Ibid., p. 64 (520).
116. All readings have been taken from *Taxila II,* pp. 796-805.
117. In modern Greek letter 'B' or 'Beta' is pronounced as "v". Thus Basileos must be pronounced as Vasileos.
118. Two tetradrachms, one issued from the mint of Myriandros Alexandria Katisson in Northern Syria and the other probably from some Babylonian mint. E.T. Newell, *Amer. Jour. of Num.* LIII & *Taxila II,* pp. 834-35.
119. Tetradrachm of a well-known Babylonian type of Phillip of Aridaeus (320-319 B C). See *Taxila II,* p. 835 and R.B. Whitehead, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No.19, New York: 1923, p. 64, No. 4609.
120. The gold coin (stater) belongs to Diodotus with legend of the Syrian King Antiochus II issued from some Bactrian mint, See E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints,* (New York: 1938), Pl. LIII, 15.
121. Small coins known as hemi-lapton, *Taxila II,* p. 835 (51-57).
122. *Taxila II,* p. 800 (58-64).
123. Actually the Greek legend on the coin of Epander reported from Taxila is too much defaced. However, with the help of three well preserved examples in the Lahore Museum, it is not difficult to retrace the Greek legend as given here. *PMC I,* p. 64, Nos. 517-519. Also *Taxila II,* p. 802 (81).
124. Ippostratoy is the same as Hippostratus.
125. On none of the nine copper coins of Hermeus from Taxila, the Greek legend is legible. But since only one type of Greek legend is known to have occurred on obverse of the coin of this king, the legend is transcribed here from *PMC I,* pp. 83-84. The word Soteros has wrongly been spelt on some coins as Sterossy, Ibid., p. 84, fn. 1.
126. These include 44 of silver, 9 of billon and 158 coated (plated) or of lead. *Taxila II,* pp. 782-84.
127. *Taxila II,* pp. 782-84.
128. Exact Greek titles in genitive cases, as on coins, are: Basileos Adelphou, Megalou Dikaiou.
129. *Taxila II,* pp.805-816
130. The Kharoshthi legened on the reverse, however, reads: *Maharajasabhrata Dhramikasa Spalahasa* = "of the Brother of the King Righteous Spalathores". This is an equivalent of the Greek legend on the coins of Spalyris, (*PMC I,* 14, 2, No, 382 & *Taxila II,* p. 807, Nos. 132-43). Similarly, a joint issue of Vonones and Spalagadames (type: King on Horseback and Zeus) the Kharoshthi legend on the obverse reads: *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa* = "Of son Spalahores, the righteous Spalagadames" *(PMC, I,* p. 142, No. 382). But no such joint issue appears to have been excavated at Taxila.
131. Whitehead does not differentiate between Azes I and Azes II (*PMC I,* p. 130, No 310) and treats this coin as a joint issue of Azes and Aspavarma. Kharoshthi leged on reverse (type: King on Horseback and Pallas armed) reads: *Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa jayatasa* = "Of General Aspavarma, the Conqueror, son of Indravarma", (*Taxila II,* p. 811, No. 168 & *PMC I,* p. 130, No. 310).
132. Correct form is "Tyannonos" and not Tyrannontos as given by Marshal (*Taxilla II,* p. 812, No. 174 & *PMC I,* p. 163, No. 115, Pl. XVI). This is an exceptional coin (type: Diademed bust of King and the King on horseback as

followed by Nike at times attributed to Scythians and at later times to Parthian king namely Heraus or Miaos. The legend appears only in Greek and on the reverse side. The word in exergue has been variously interpreted as Saka or Sanab. Smith regards Heraus as a Kushan King. For disucssion on this type of coins see *PMC I*, p. 163, fn. 2, E.J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9 and J. Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 124-27.

133. *Taxila II*, p. 812, Nos. 176-183. The Kharoshthi legend on the reverse, however, has been read as: *Apratiha-tacakrasa Chtrapasa Raju-vulasa*, (*PMC I*, p. 166, No. 130).
134. *PMC I*, p. 166, Nos. 130-33.
135. Belongs to Bhadrayasa as identifiable from the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse: *ma(ha)tasa Bhadrayasasa* = "Of Great Bhadrayasa", (*Taxila, II*, p. 813, No. 184).
136. Kharaostes, son of Arta and father-in-law of Rajuvula, was the Satarap of Chukhsa i.e., modern Chhachh, part of Attock District (*Taxila II*, p. 774).
137. *Taxila II*, p. 815, Nos. 201-208.
138. Ibid., p. 816.
139. Attributable to one Satavastra (*Taxila II*, p. 776) by the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse: *rasa Satavastrasa maharajasa*. Both Satavastra and Sapedanes, according to Marshall, belong to the transitional period between Parthians and Kushans.
140. These 2590 coins include only four pieces in silver and remaining in copper. E.J. Rapson, quoted by Marshall, regards all the silver coins as belonging to Vima Kadphises, the conqueror of Taxila. However, Marshall himself regards these coins as belonging to Kujula Kadphises, father of Vima. (Taxila II, p.785).
141. Data collected from Taxila II, pp. 785-793.
142. The only exception appears to be a unique bilingual copper coin of Huvishka. NC, 1892, p. 82. Also PMC, I, p. 174.
143. *Taxila II*, pp. 792-93 & 817-822.
144. The Kharoshthi legend on the reverse (*Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramithidasa*) reveals it to be a joint issue of the last Greek king Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises. (*ASI, A/R*, 1914, p. 33, No. 36). On some other coins of Kujula, Greek legend is very corrupt and defaced (*Taxila II*, pp. 817-18, Nos. 223-49).
145. The legends given at S. Nos. 2 to 5 do not occur on coins of Kujula Kadphises from Taxila but are know from other places (*PMC I*, pp. 178-82).
146. The legend at S. No. 6 is taken from a coin of Vima Kadphises from some place other than Taxila (*PMC I*, pp. 183-85).
147. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 184, No. 36, Pl. XVII, 360.
148. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 189 (73), Pl. XVIII (73).
149. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 189 (76), Pl. XVIII (76).
150. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 186 (57), Pl. XVII (57).
151. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 190 (92), Pl. XVIII (92).
152. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 189 (83), Pl. XVIII (83).
153. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 192 (106), Pl. XVII (106).
154. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 198 (140), Pl. XVIII (140).
155. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 203 (182), Pl. XIX (182).
156. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 205 (203).
157. *Taxila II*, p. 792; *PMC I*, p. 209 (216), Pl. XIX (216).
158. In all 101 coins of the nameless king Soter Megas have been excavated from various sites at Taxila (*Taxila I*, p. 292; *Taxila II*, pp. 786, 792 & 819; *PMC I*, pp. 160-163, Nos. 94-114, Pl. XVI, Nos. 101-113).
159. *Taxila I*, p. 396; Ibid., II, p. 823; A. Rehman, op. cit., p. 232.
160. S. Beals, *Travels of Hiouen-Thsang: Buddhist Records of the Western*

World, (Indian Repr. Calcutta: 1957), I, p. 104. Also A. Rehman, op. cit., p. 234.

161. Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities,* (ed. E. Thomas), I. p. 129.
162. E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*, (Calcutta: 1930), Tab. III.
163. R. Ghrishman, *Le Chionites-Hephthalites,* (Le Caire:1948), p. 63.
164. H.Humbach, "Two Inscriptions in Graeco-Bactrian Cursive Script from Afghanistan", *EW*, XX, 4, 1979.
165. A.H. Dani, H. Humbach & R. Gobl, "Toochi Valley Inscriptions in Peshawar Museum", *APk I*, pp. 125-35.
166. A. Rahman, op. cit., p. 235.
167. Dani, Humbach & Gobi, loc. cit.
168. *Taxila I*, p. 396.
169. For Sasanian coins from Taxila see *Taxila II,* pp. 79-91 & 823. Also F.D.J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins,* (Bombay: 1924).
170. Village Shahpur, near Dharmarajika Monastery in Taxila Valley is a reminiscent of the rule of these two rulers
171. *Taxila II*, p. 823 (Nos. 279, 282).
172. For an account of White Hun coins from Taxila see *Taxila I,* pp. 76-77, 396-97; Ibid II, pp. 791, 824-25 (300-313). For general discussion on Hun coins see Supra, fn. 66.
173. A. Rahman, op. cit., pp. 177, ff. Also *Taxila II*, p. 822, No. 278.
174. For similar coins see *IMC*, p. 234, No.1.
175. A. Rahman, op. cit., p. 179.
176. *Taxila II*, p. 823 (279-99).
177. A. Rahman, op. cit., p. 218. For Sri Tigin Shah, see Ibid.
178. *Taxila II*, p. 822, No. 278: *IMC*, p. 234, (1) & R.B. Whitehead, *NC*, 1937, p. 60.
179. For Pahlavi legend see *IMC*, p. 234 & A, Rahman, op.cit, p. 178.
180. See Supra, pp. 99-106.
181. *Taxila I*, p. 293.

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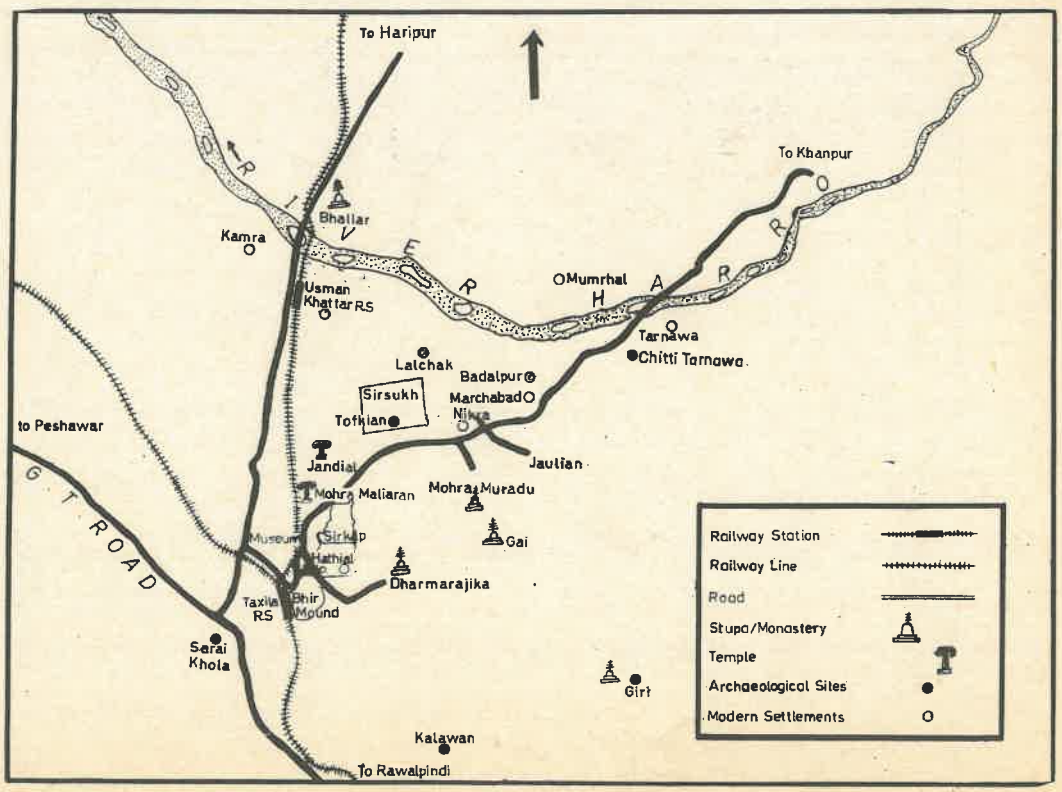


Fig. 1 Map of Taxila showing ancient settlement pattern.

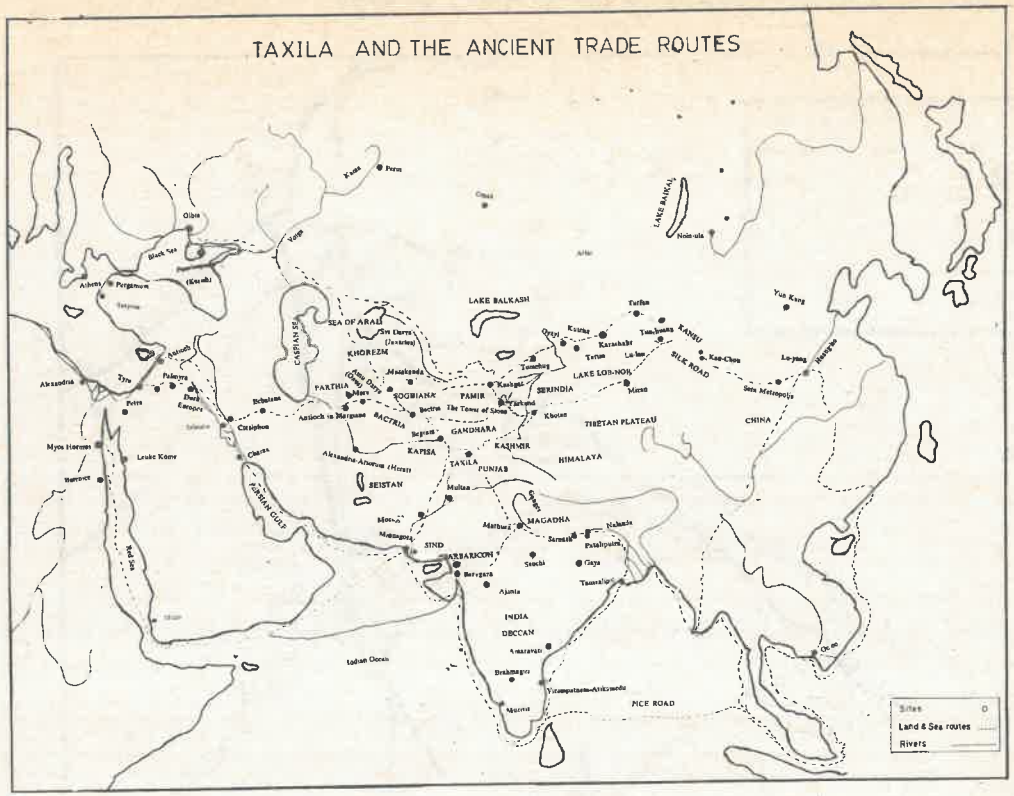


Fig. 2 Map showing Taxila and the ancient trade routes.

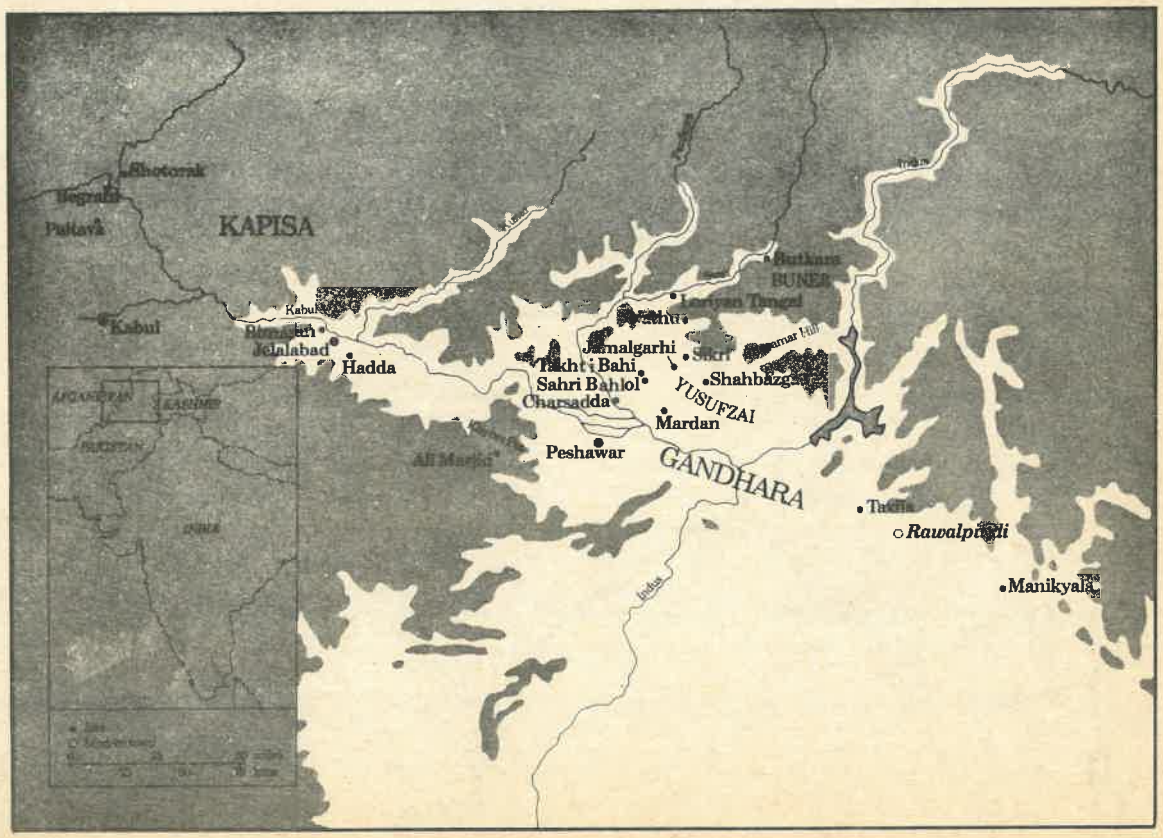


Fig. 3 Map of Gandhara and Taxila

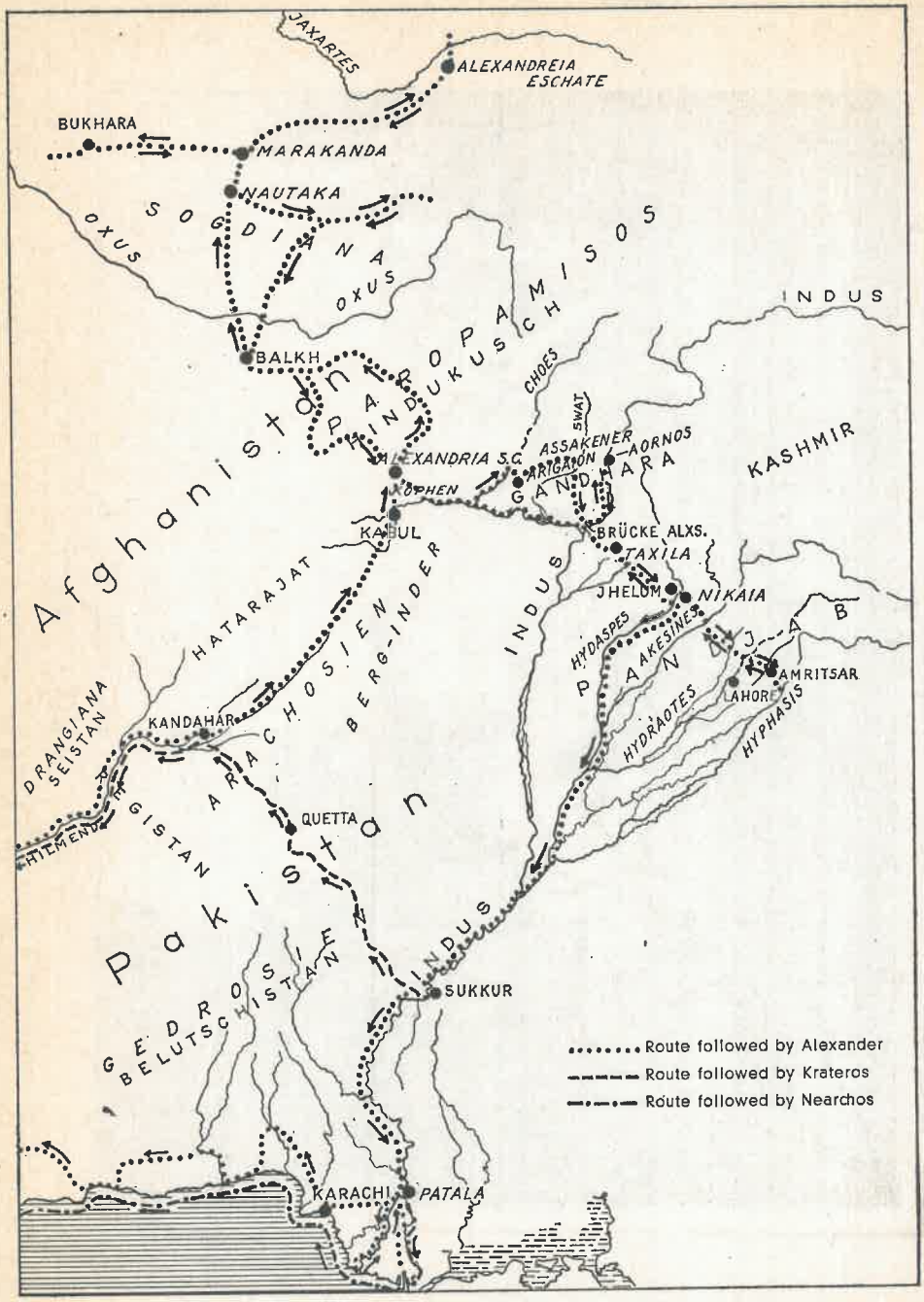


Fig. 4 Map showing Alexander's route in Pakistan.

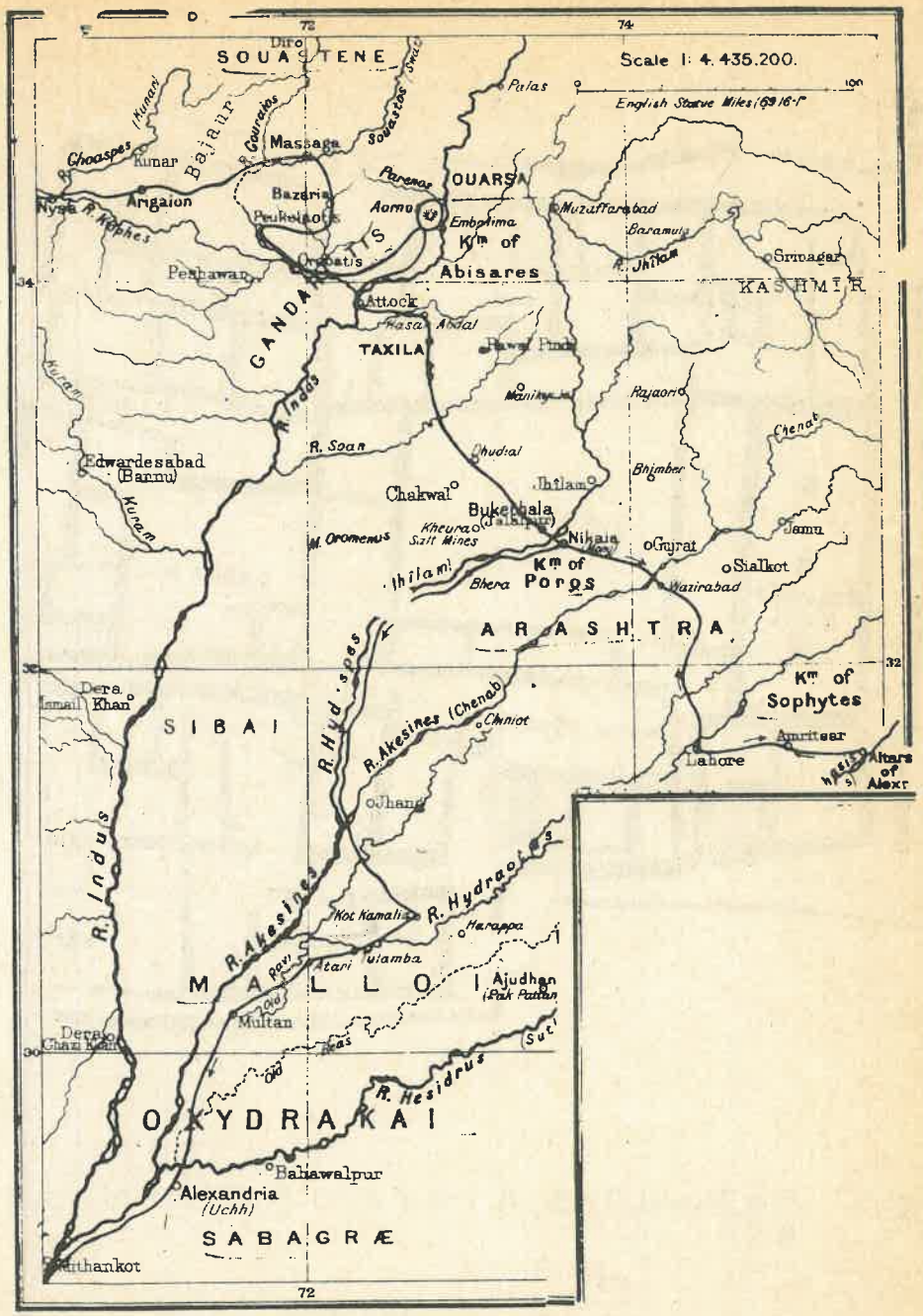


Fig. 5 Map showing kingdoms of the Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasion.

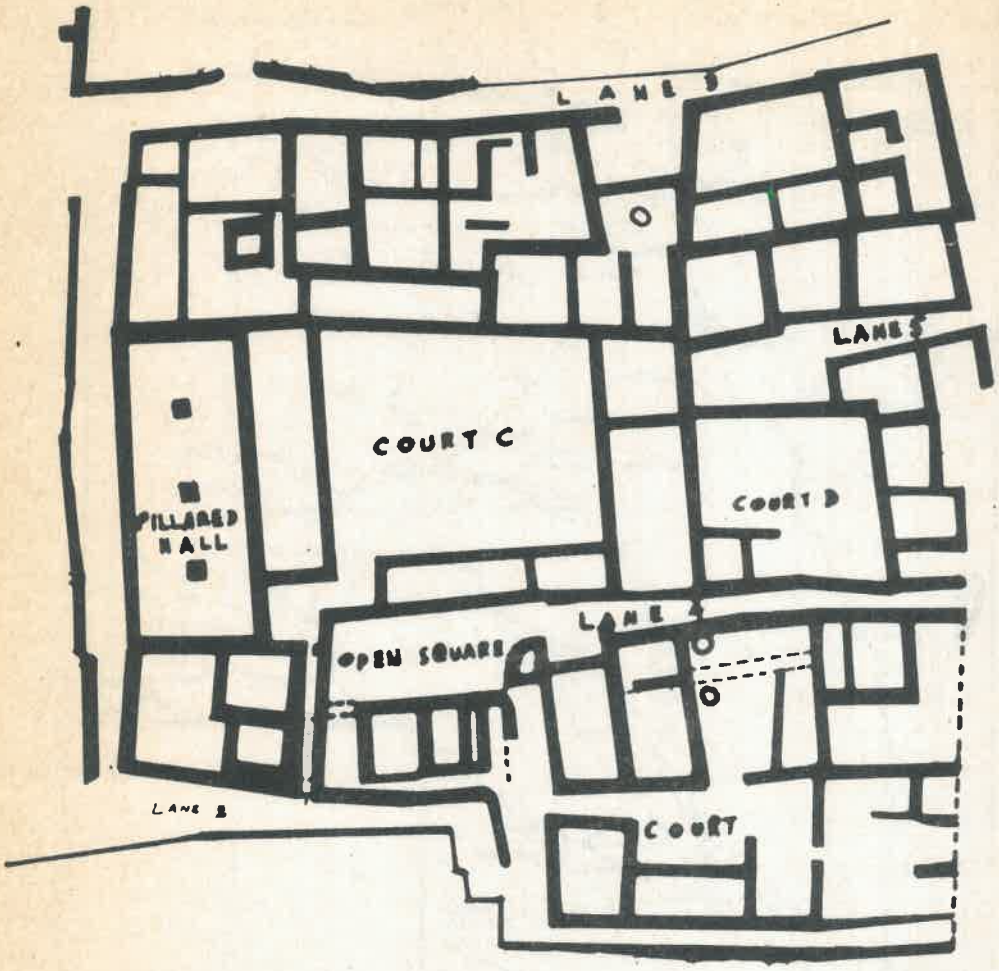


Fig. 6 Bhir Mound (Taxila II). Palace with Pillared-hall, 3rd century B.C.

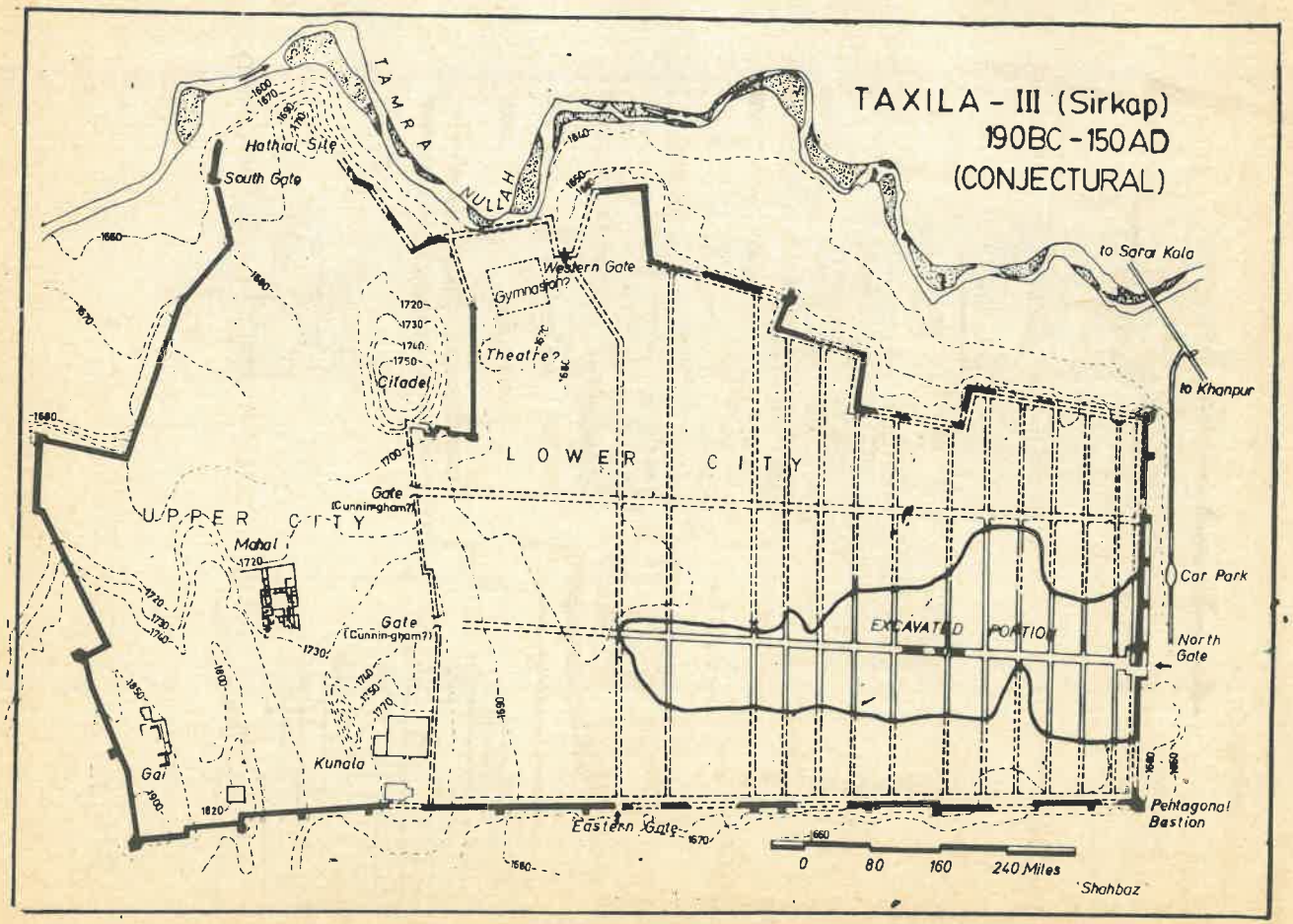
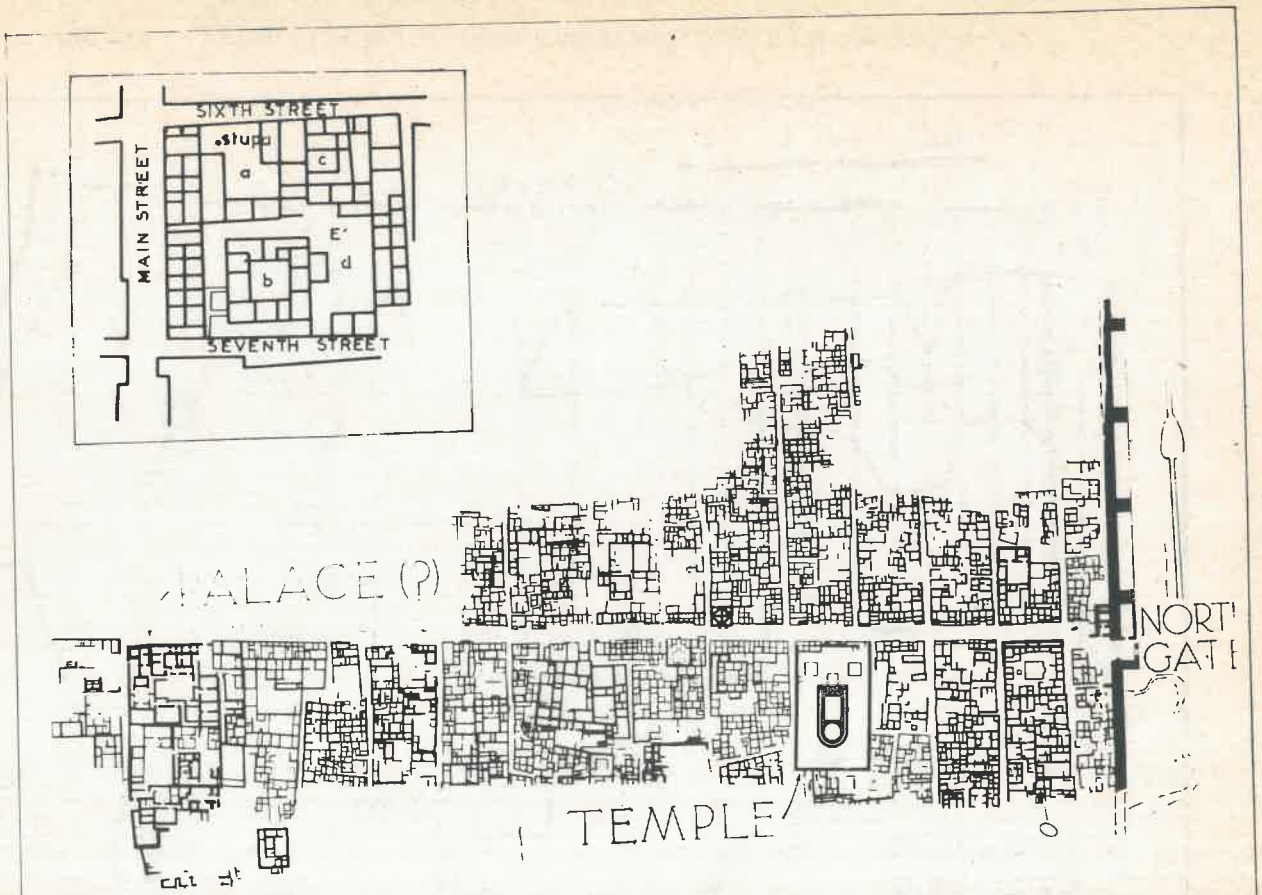


Fig. 7 Sirkap (Taxila III). Fortification and conjectural restoration of the lay-out of the city.



8 Plan of Sirkap city (*Taxila* III) as revealed by excavations. with an inset of a Greek House. Meeting point of Eastern and Western architectural forms

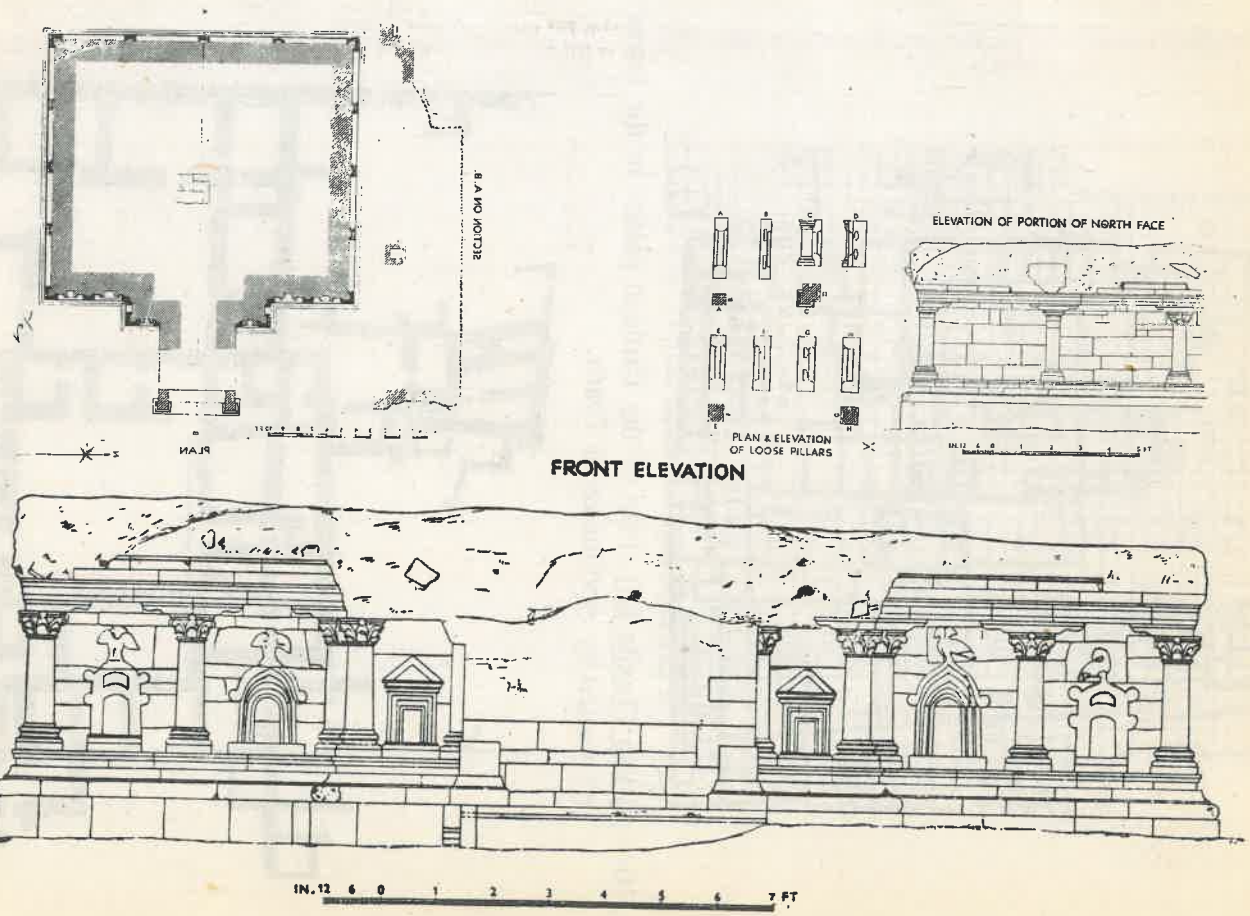


Fig. 9 Sirkap (Taxila III). Plan and elevation of Double-headed Eagle's Shrine or Stupa.

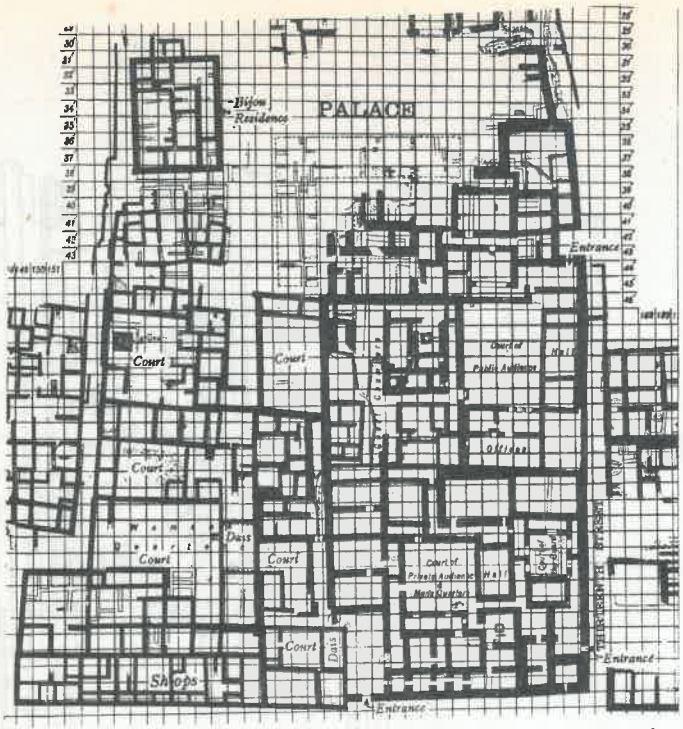


Fig. 10 Sirkap (Taxila III). Plan of the Parthian palace in the lower city visited by Apollonius of Tyana.

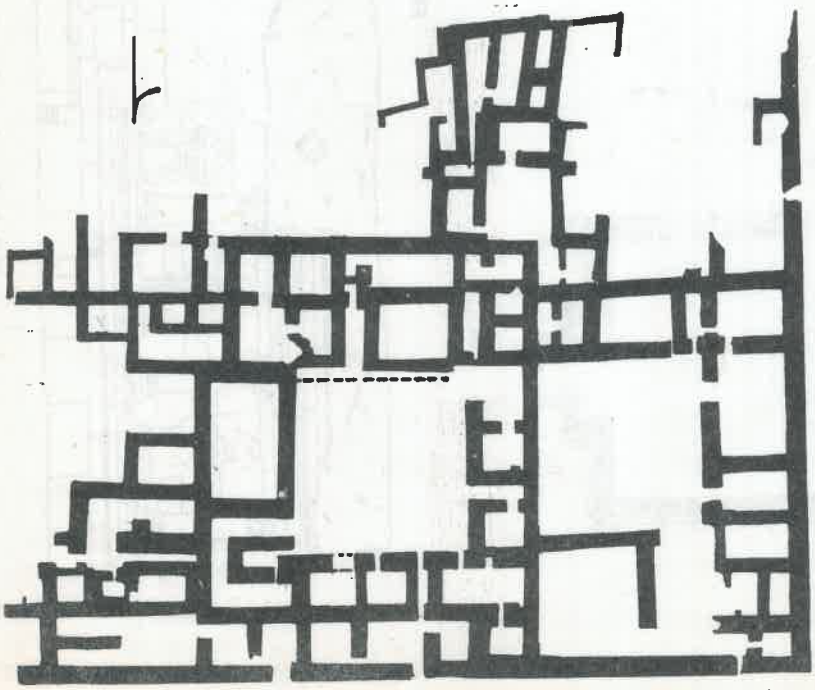


Fig. 11 Sirkap (Taxila III). Plan of 'Mahal' of a Parthian king in the acropolis.

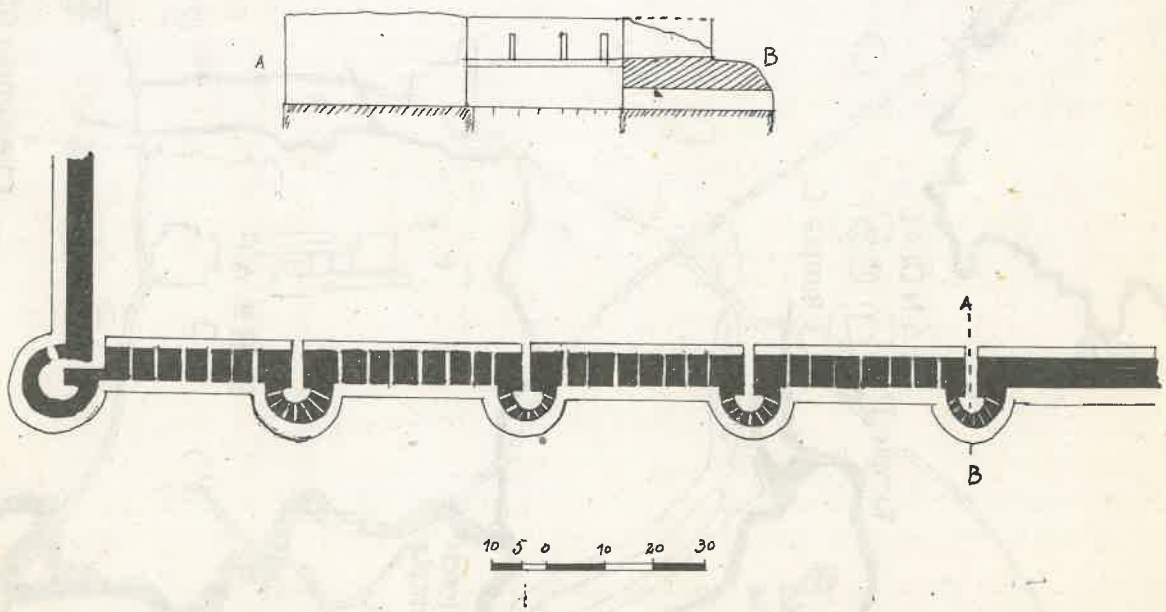


Fig. 12 Sirsukh (Taxila IV). Part of the eastern fortification wall.

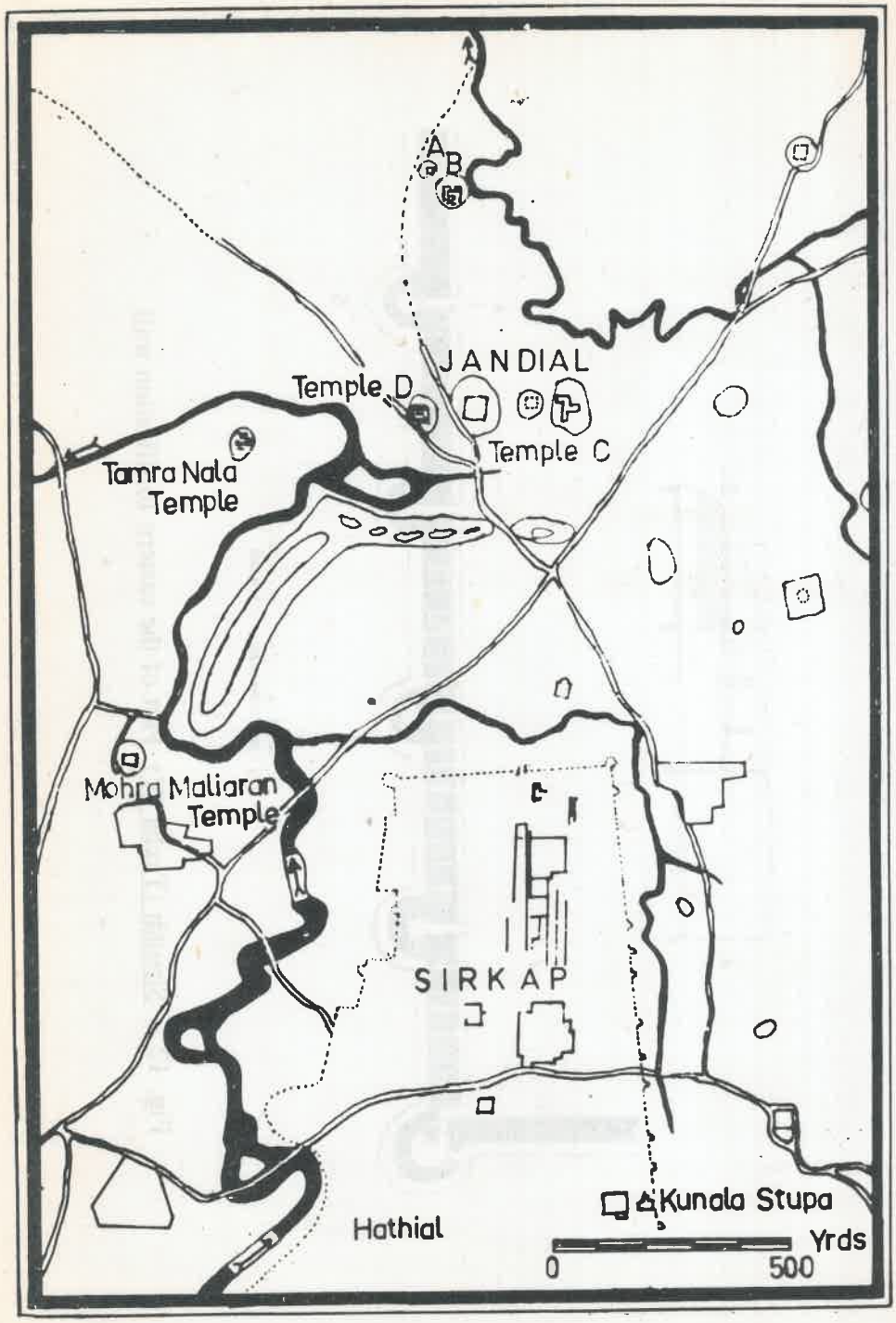


Fig. 13 Map showing location of four temples in the Taxila Valley.

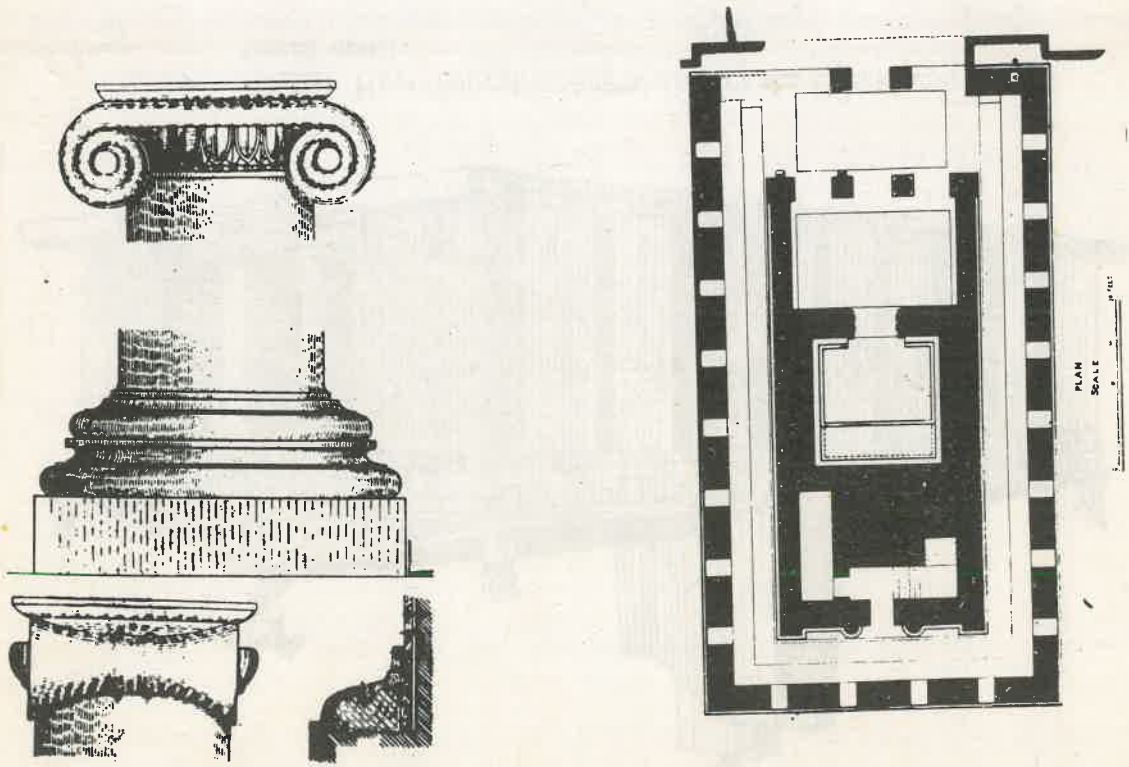


Fig. 14 Jandial. Plan of the Greek temple with drawings of Ionic capital and Attico-Asiatic base.

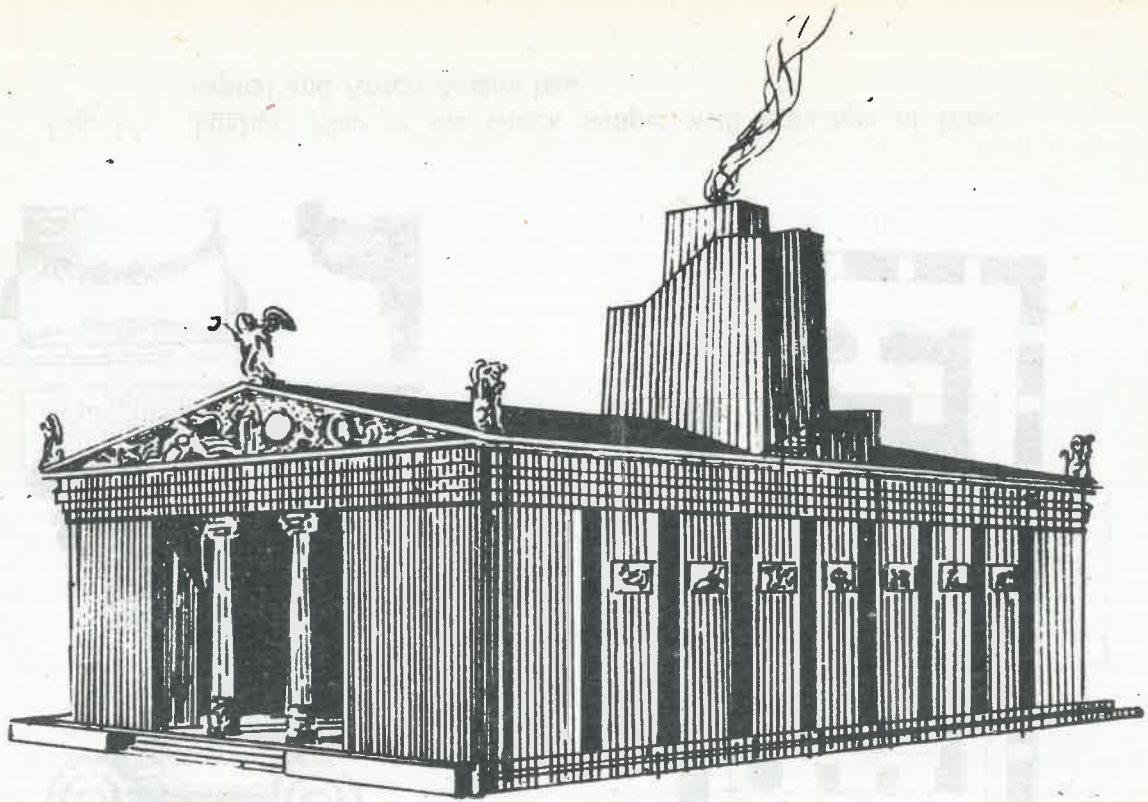
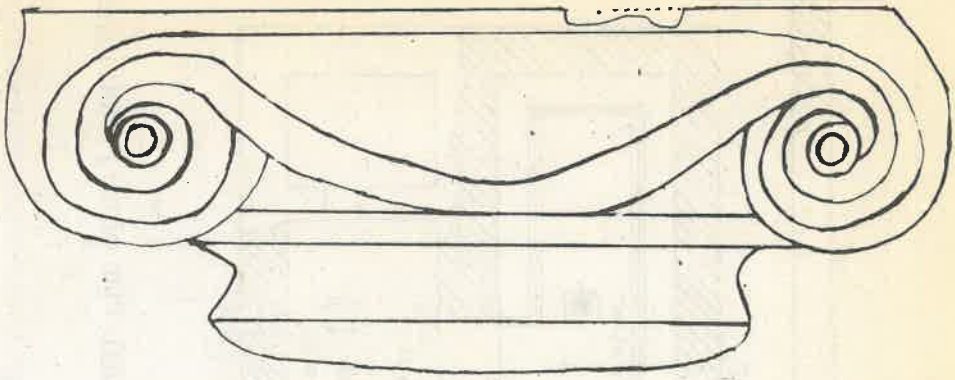


Fig. 15 Jandial. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Greek temple by a Greek artist.



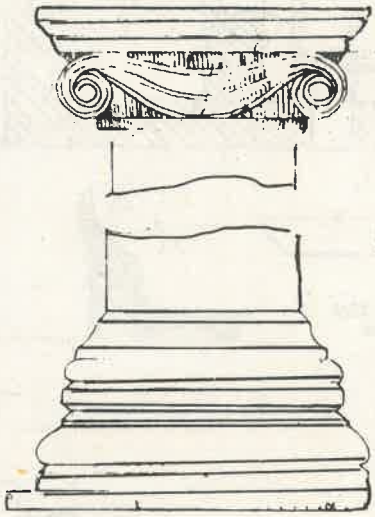


Fig. 16 a. Aï-Khanum (Afghanistan). A wooden Ionic capital from the Greek city on the Oxus River.

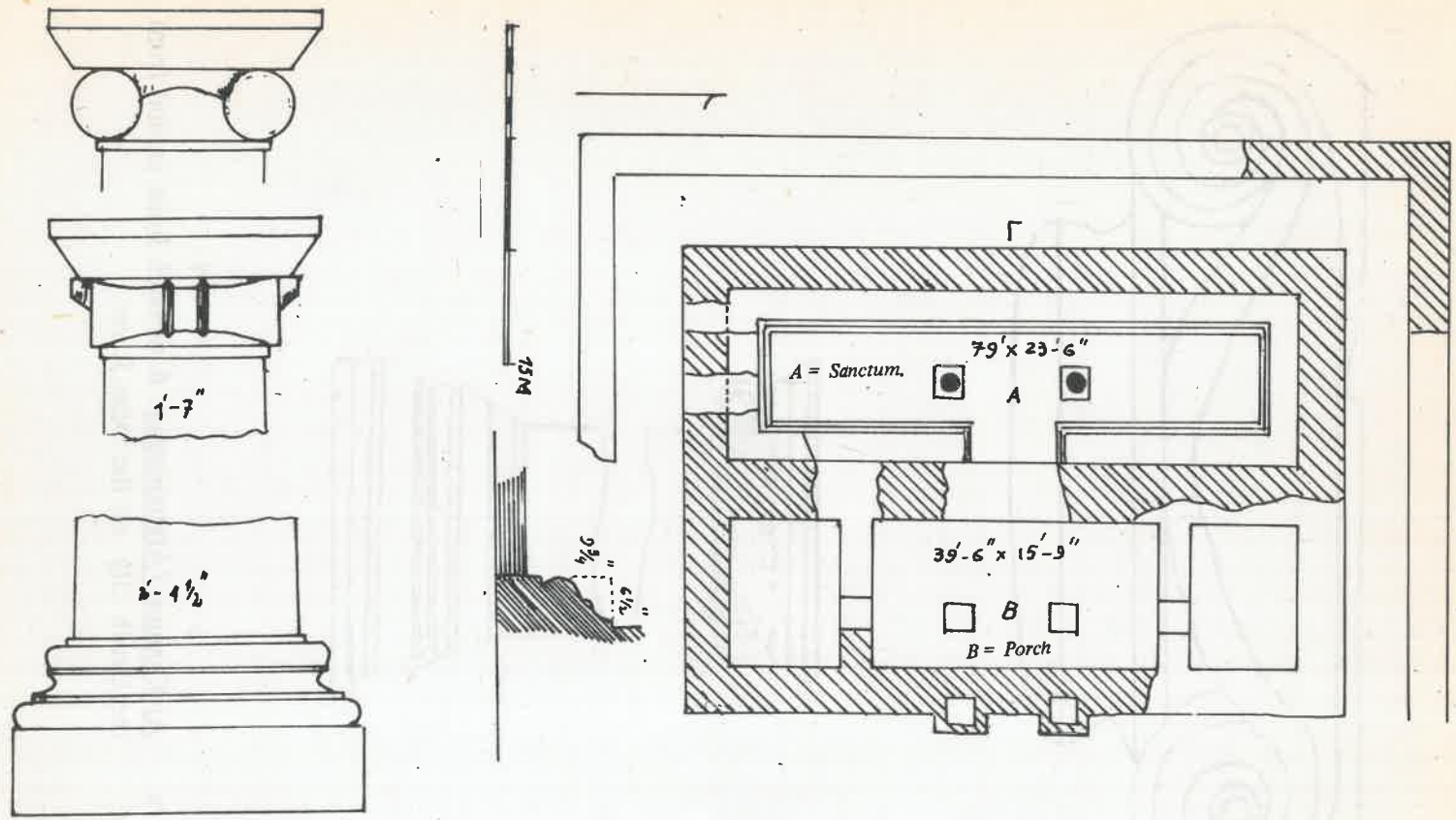


Fig. 17 Mohra Maliaran (Taxila). Plan of the Parthian temple.

b. Mohra Maliaran (Taxila). Capital and base of Ionic Order from a Parthian temple. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

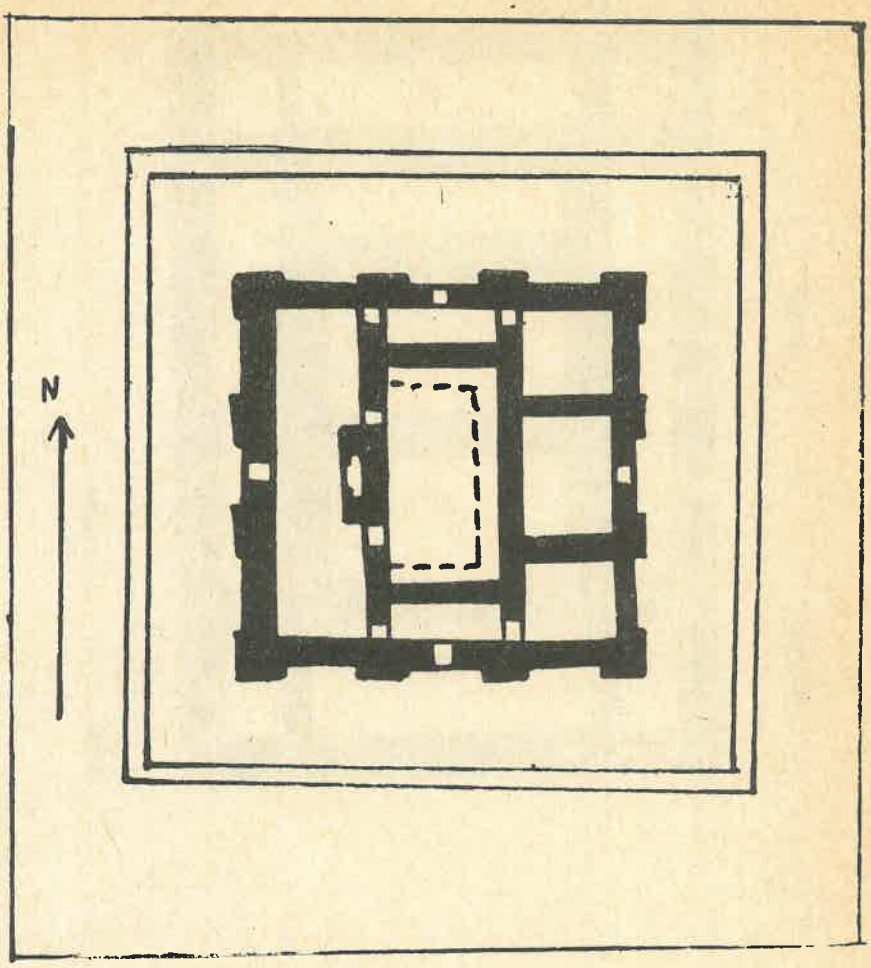


Fig. 18 Mohra Maliaran. Plan of a temple at Tamra Nullah.

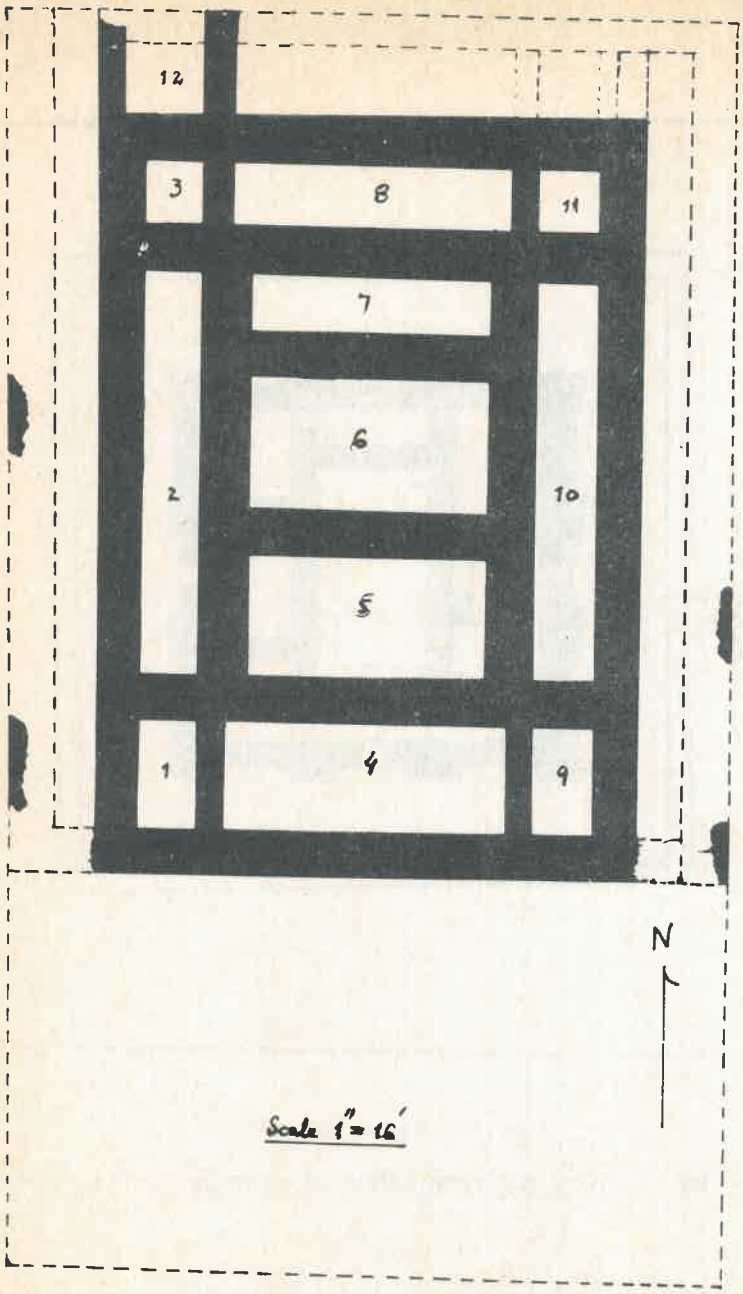


Fig. 19 Jandial. Plan of temple 'D'.

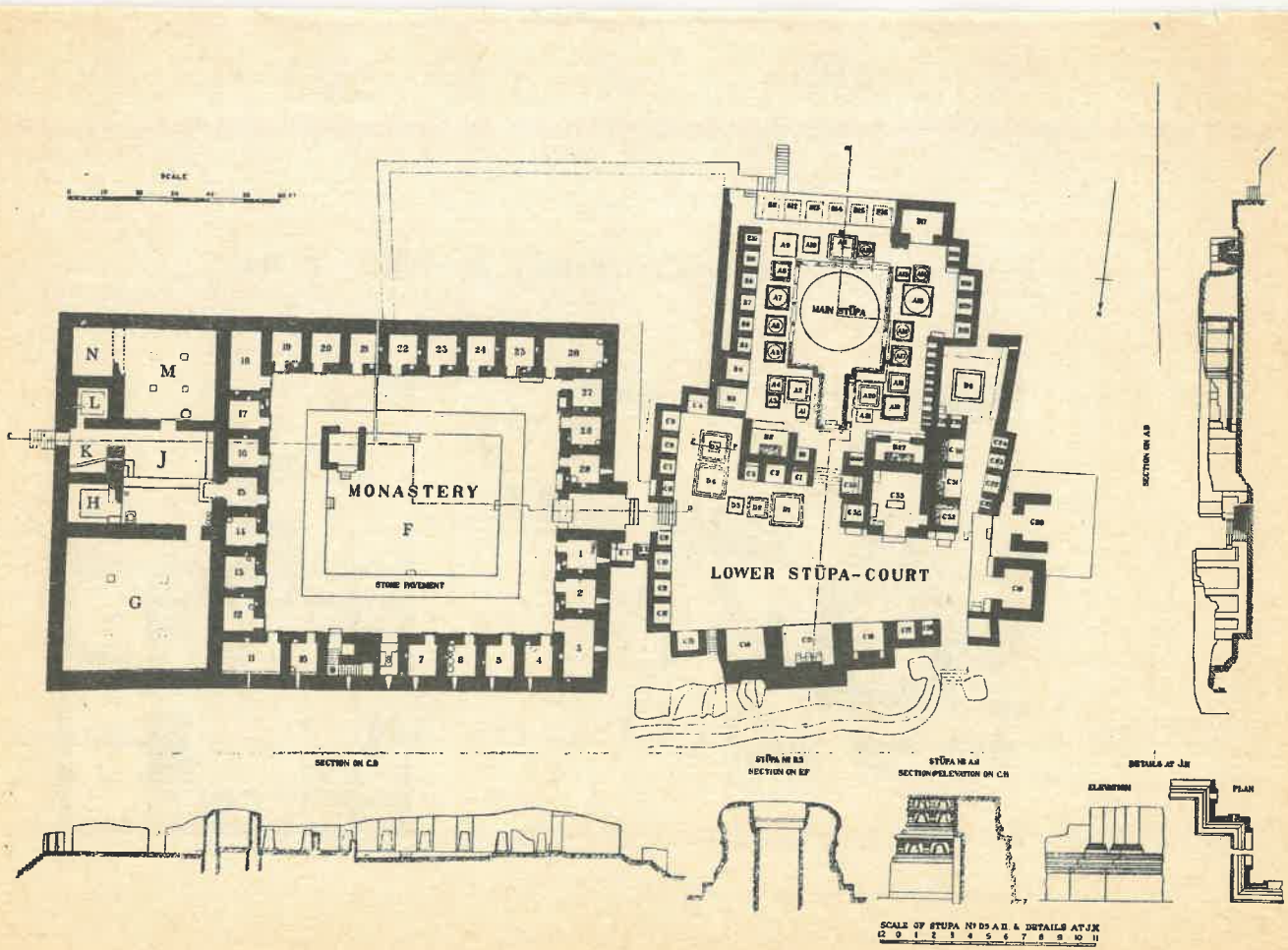


Fig. 20 Jaulian. Plan and sectional details of stupa and monastery.

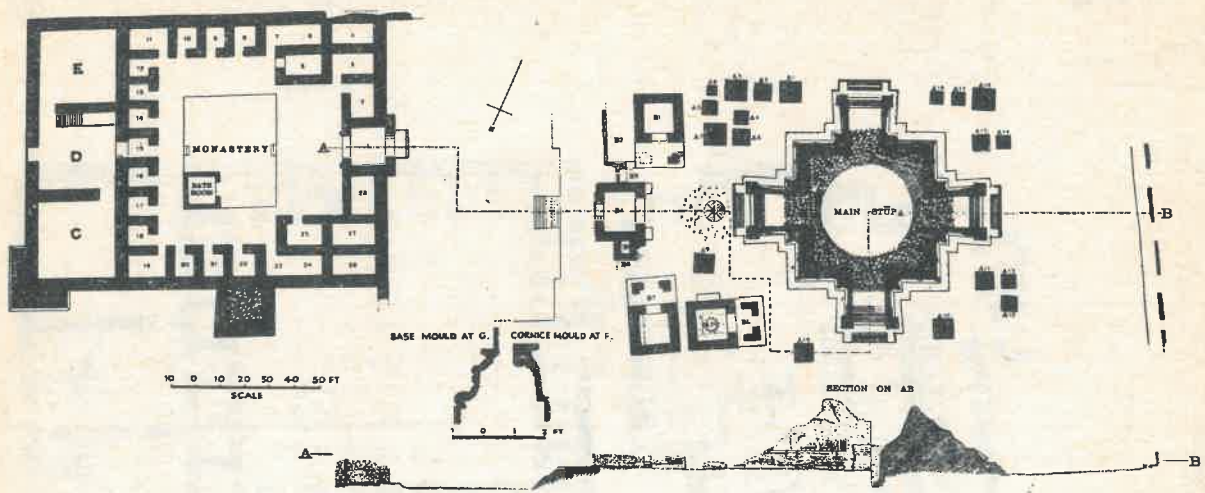


Fig. 21 Bhamala. Plan of a cruciform stupa and monastery.

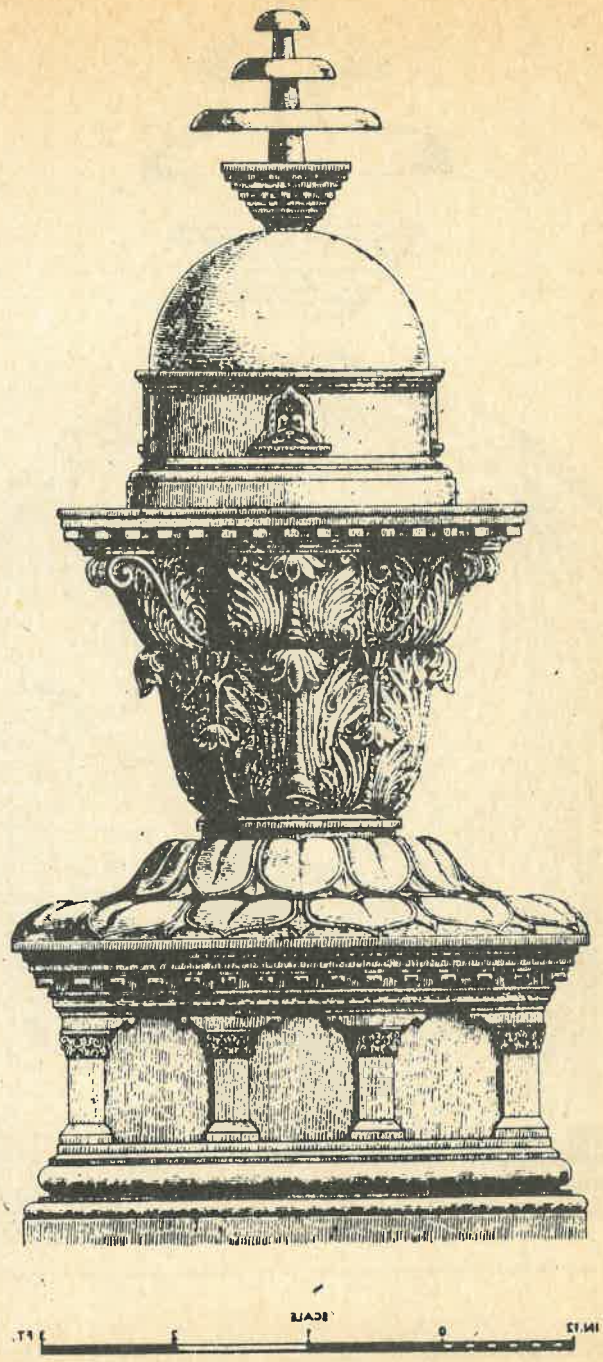


Fig. 22 Kalawan. Conjectural restoration of a stupa in cell F-12 in the monastery.

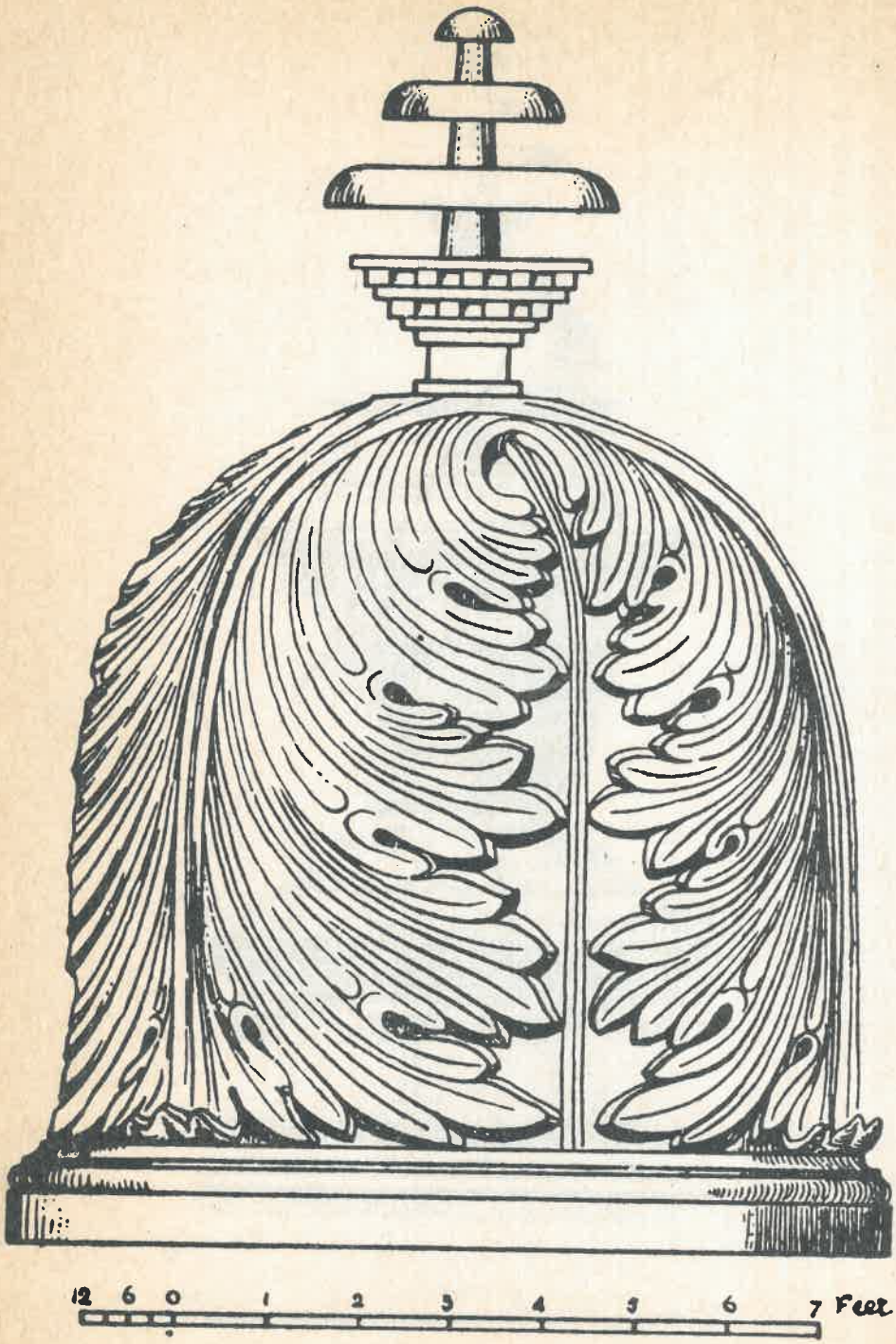


Fig. 23 Sirkap (Taxila III). Acanthus foliage in stucco applied on to the outer surface of a stupa in the Parthian level of the city.

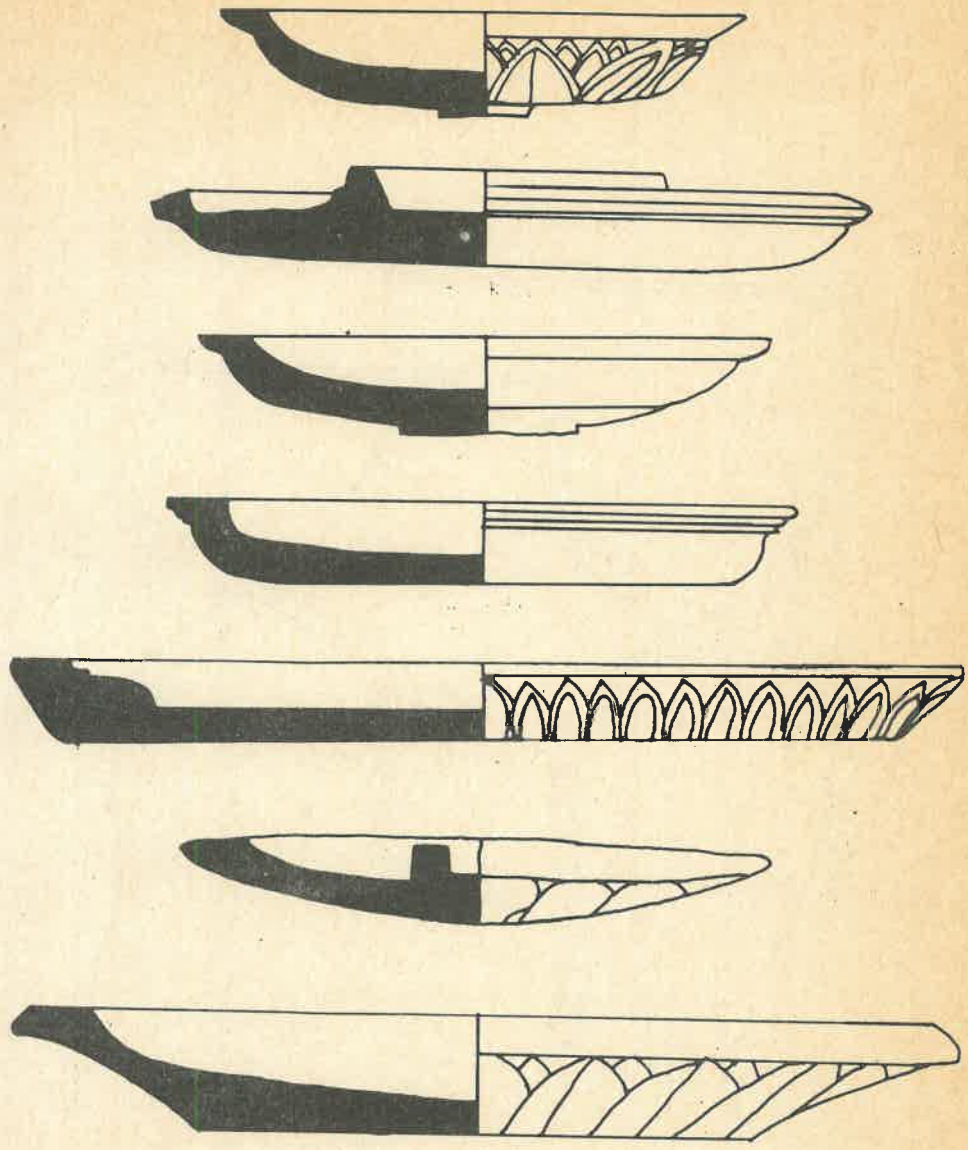


Fig. 24 Drawings of some toilet trays (courtesy Mons. H.-P. Frankfort).

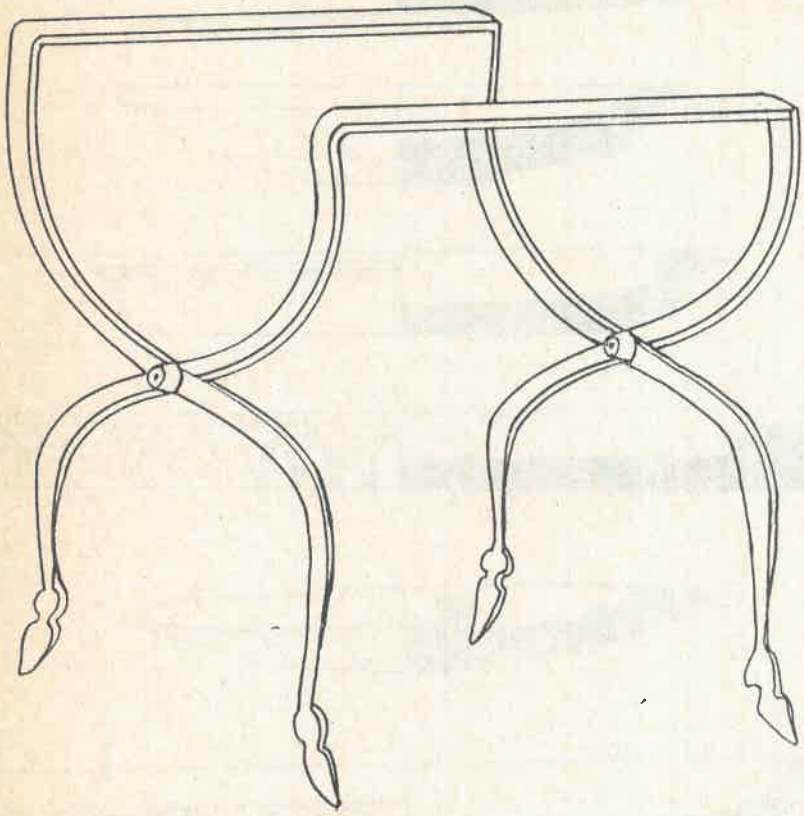


Fig. 25 Sirkap (Taxila III). Drawing of a curule chair of classical type.

Fig. 26 Cat and Dog relief showing a curule chair circa 510 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece (Photograph).

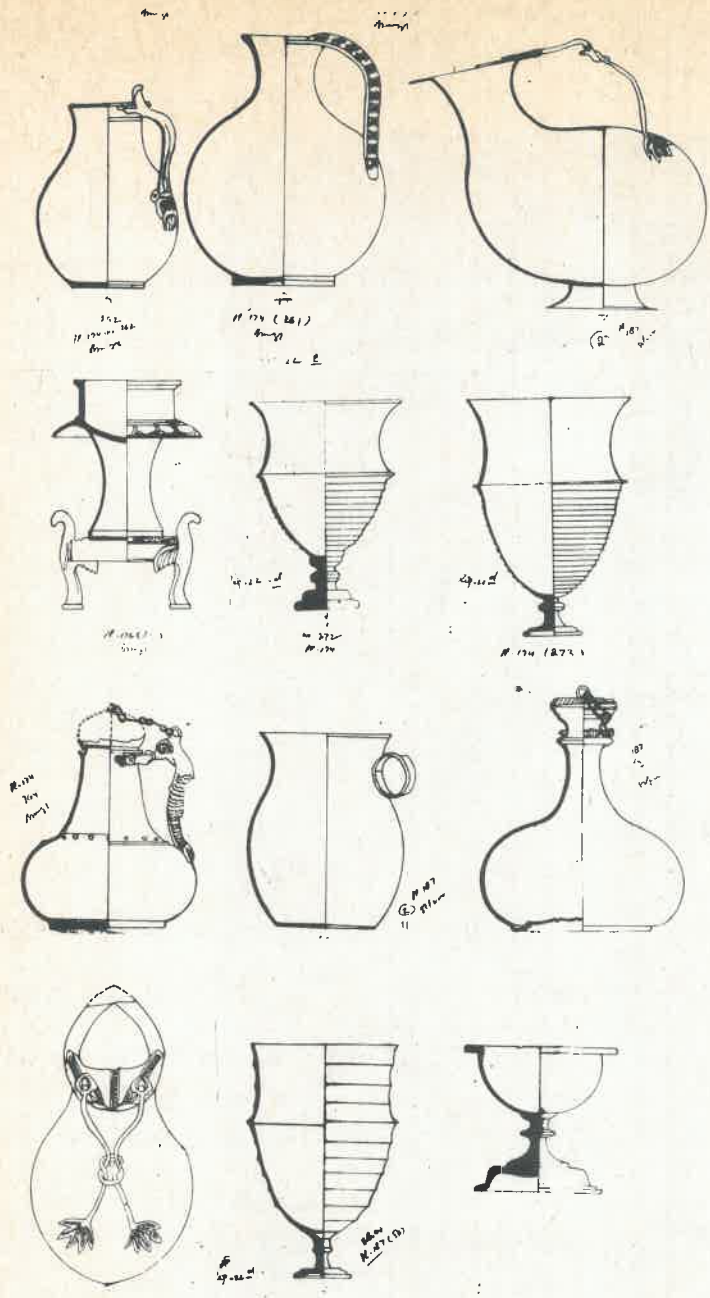
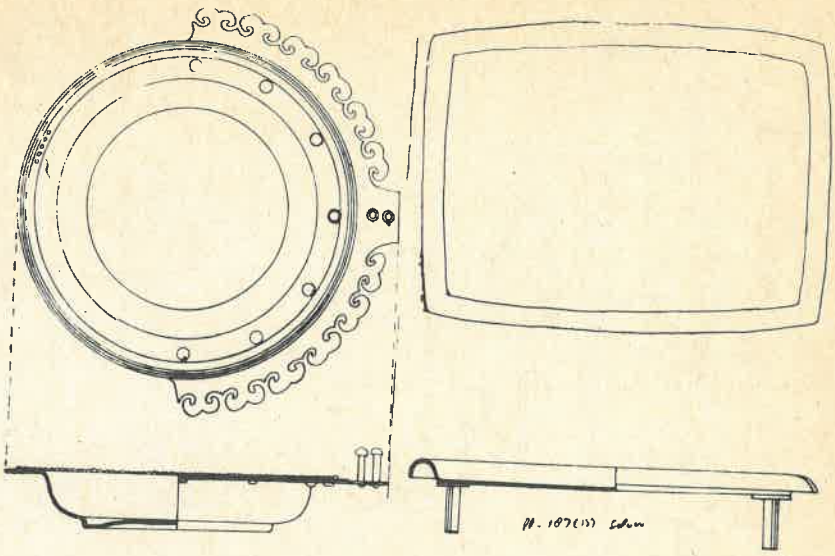


Fig. 27 Sirkap (Taxila III). Drawings of some of the household objects from Parthian level.



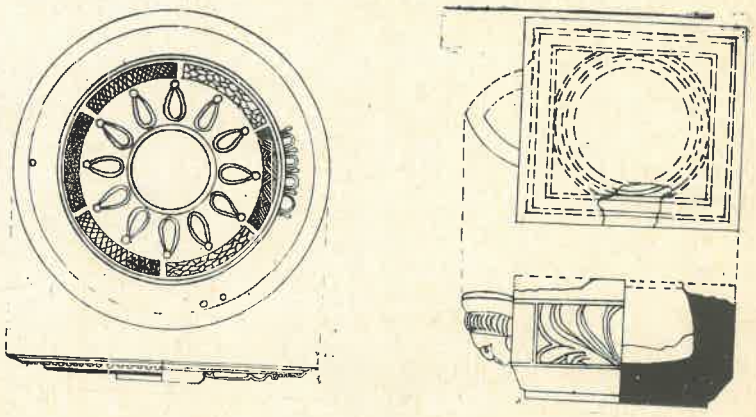


Fig. 28 Sirkap (Taxila III). Drawings of some of the household objects from Parthian level.

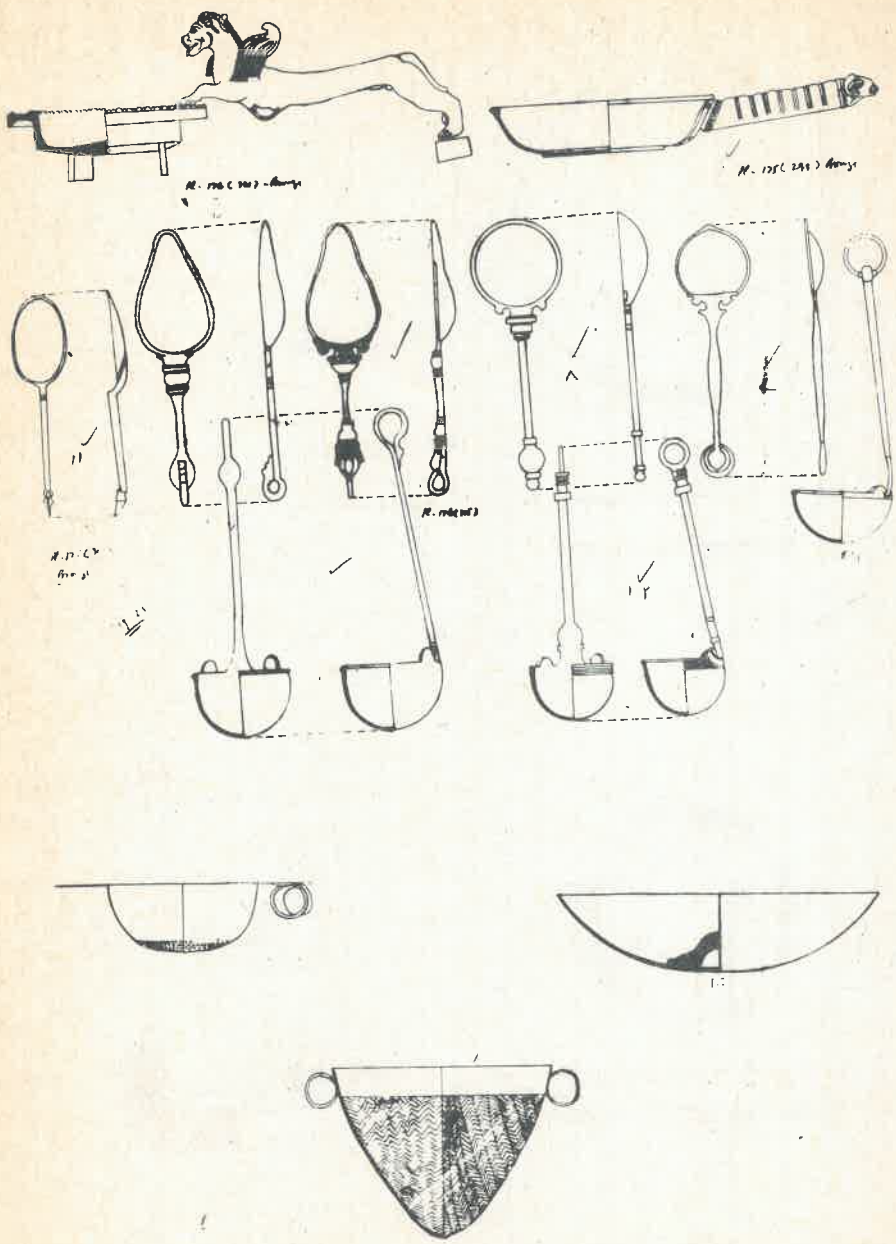


Fig. 29 Sirkap (Taxila III). Drawings of some of the household objects from Parthian level.

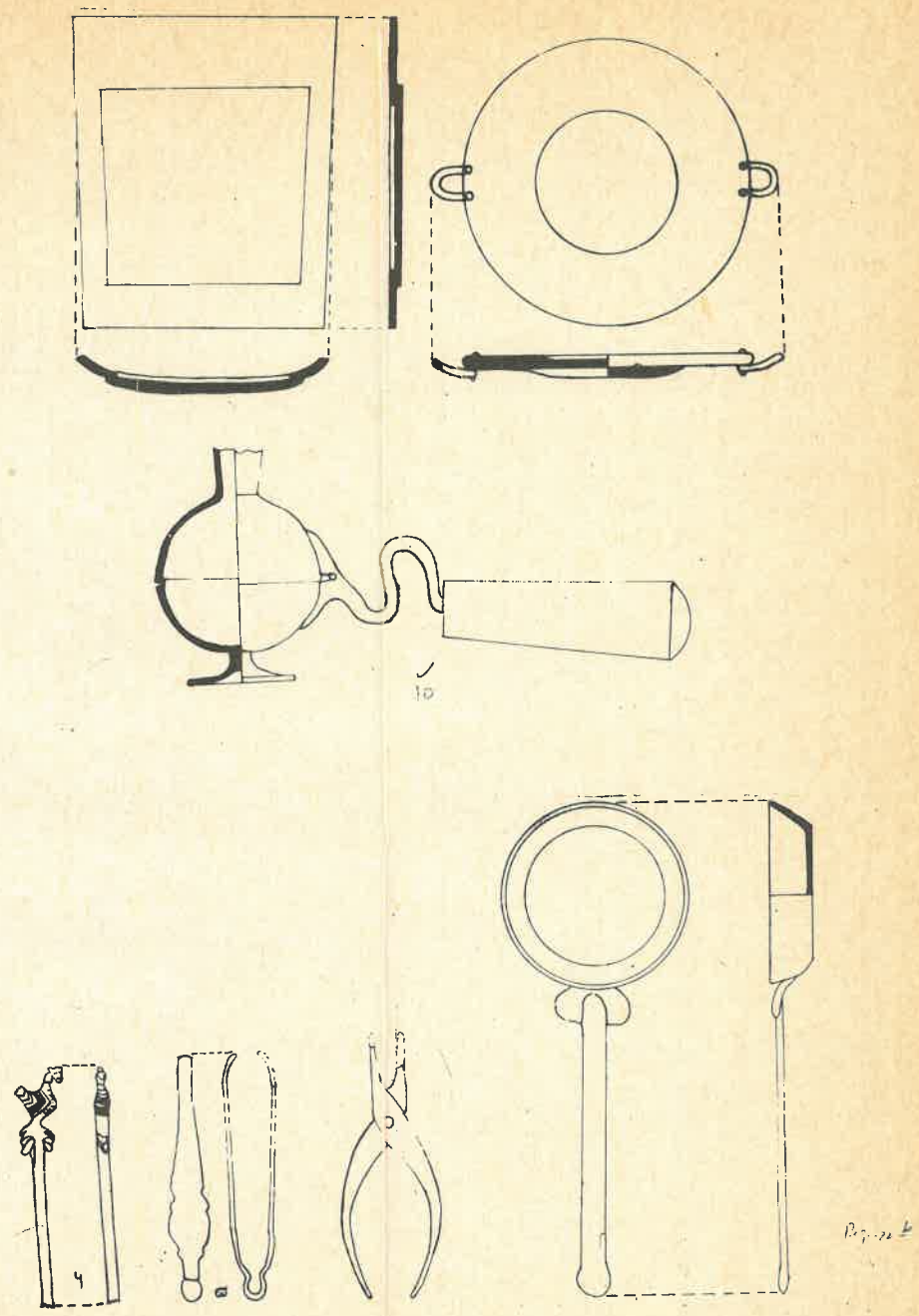
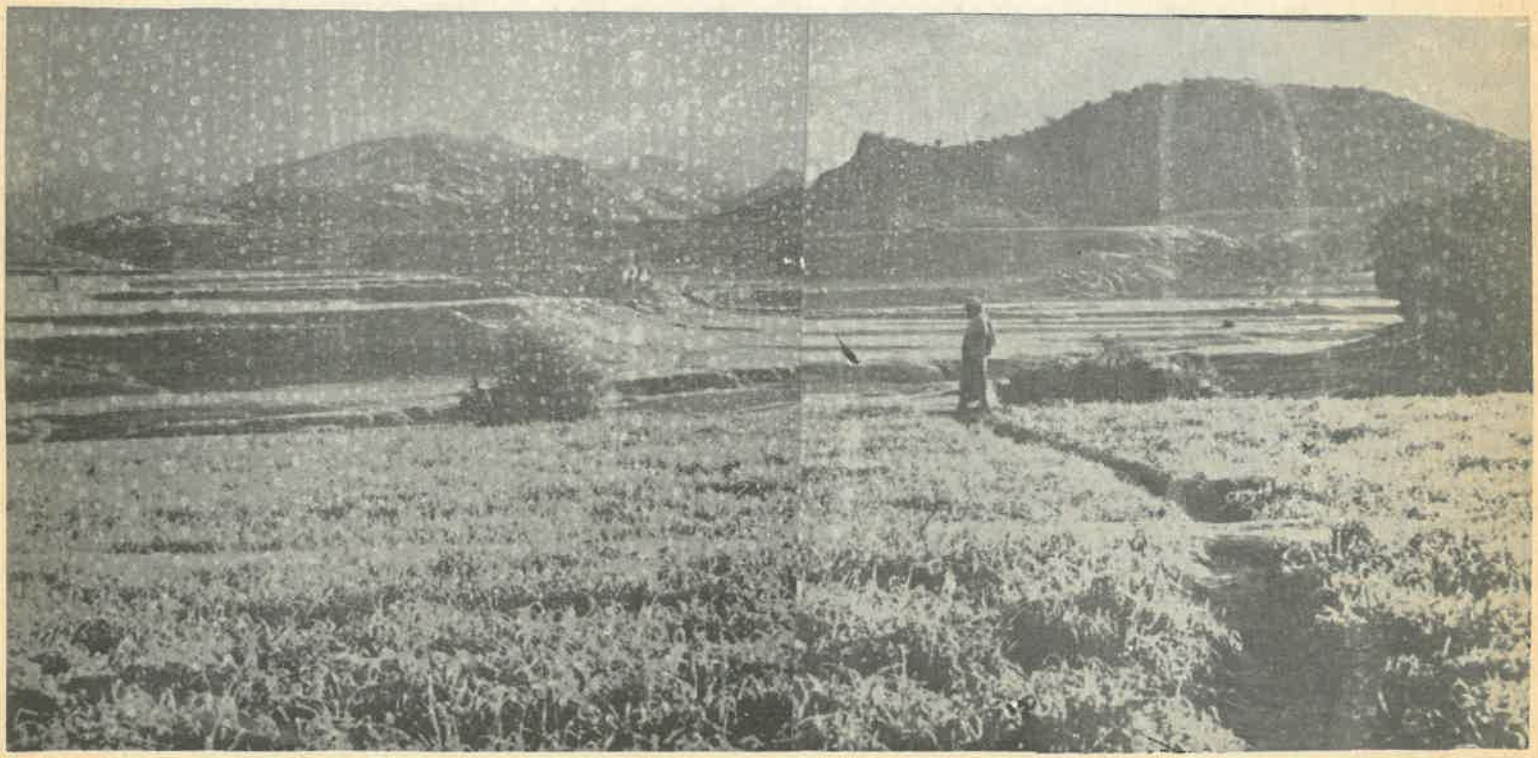
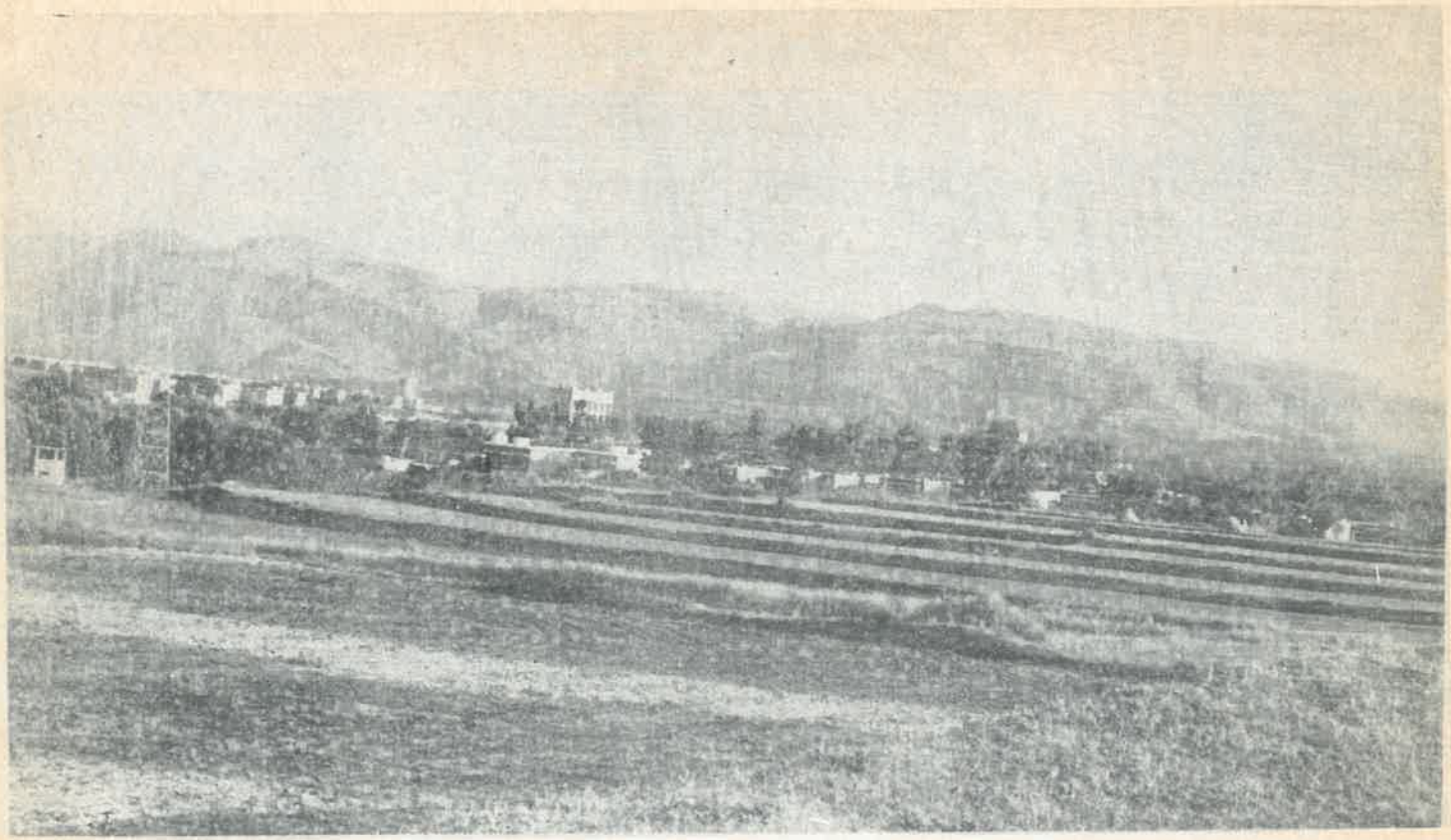


Fig. 30 Sirkap (Taxila III). Drawings of some of the household objects from Parthian level.



Pl. I Taxila Valley

General view near the Museum.

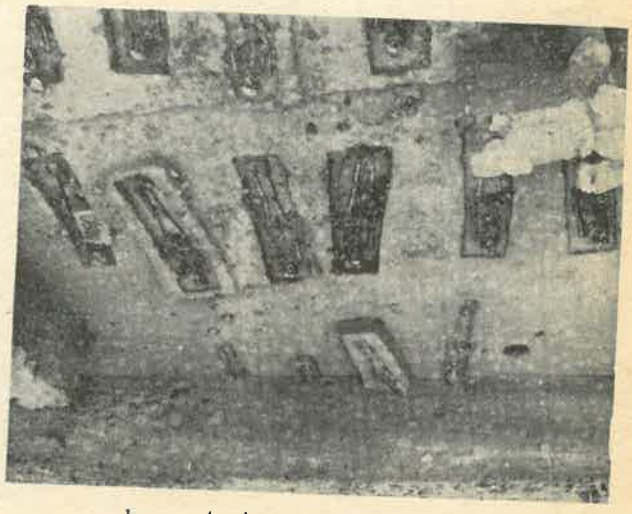


Pl. II Taxila Valley

General view looking north from top of the acropolis of Sirkap with growing Taxila Engineering University in the background.

Pl. III Sarai Khola (Taxila I)

a. General view of the Site.



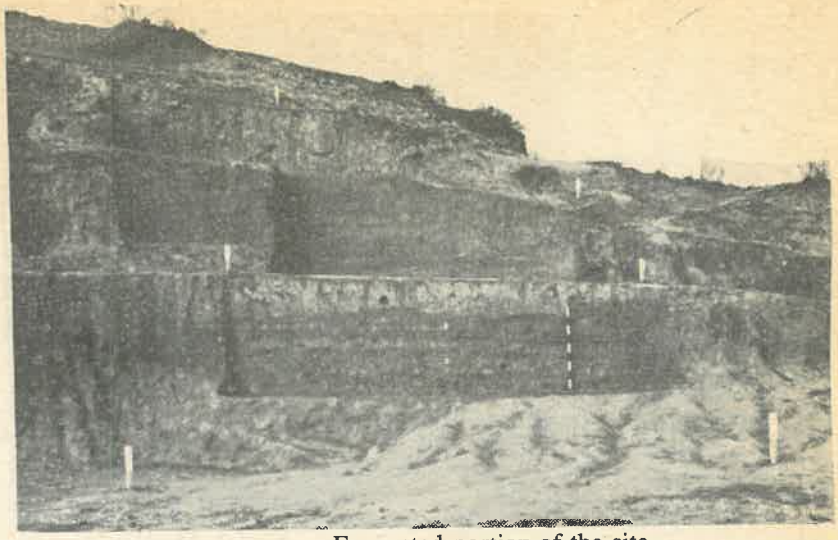
b. A view of the cemetery.

c. Early Harappan/Kot Dijian pottery

d. Stone celts

Late Neolithic pottery.

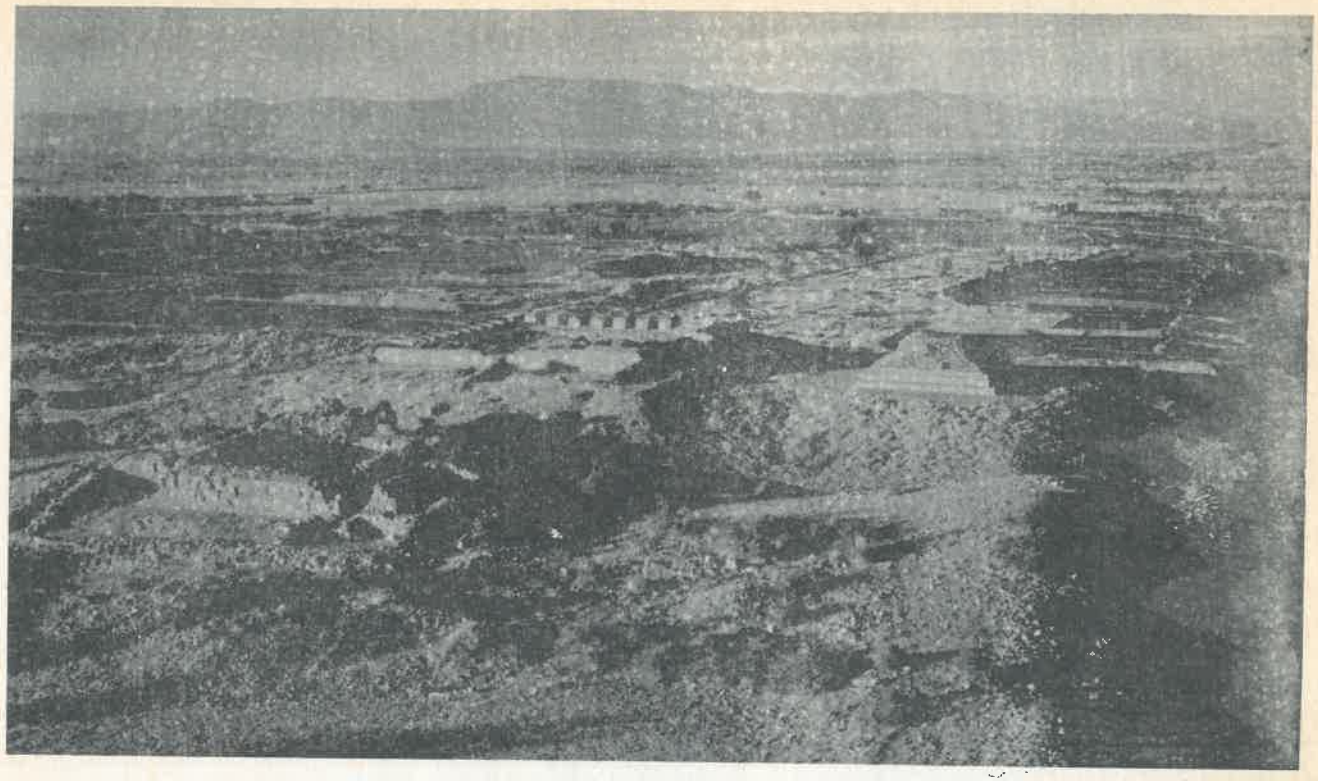
Pl. IV Hathial Site (Sirkap)



a. Excavated portion of the site.

b. Three vases from Gandhara Grave Period

Pl. V Sirkap



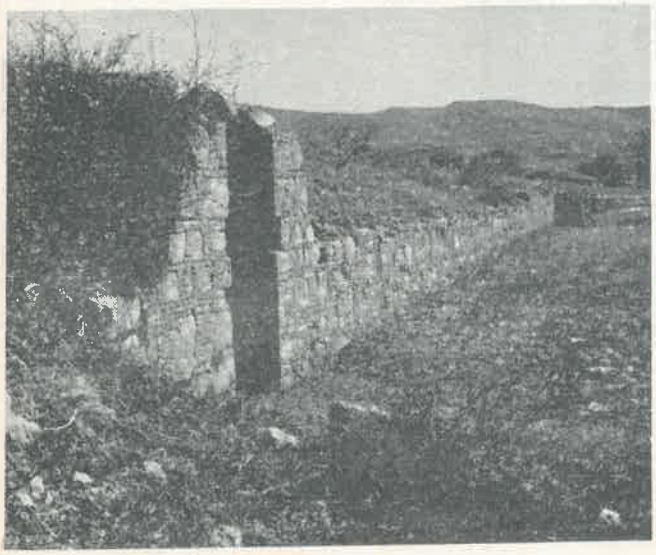
General view of the city looking north from the top of the acropolis at Gai monastery.

Pl. VI

a. Sirkap. Eastern fortification wall resting on a thin layer of earlier occupation (photo, 1979).

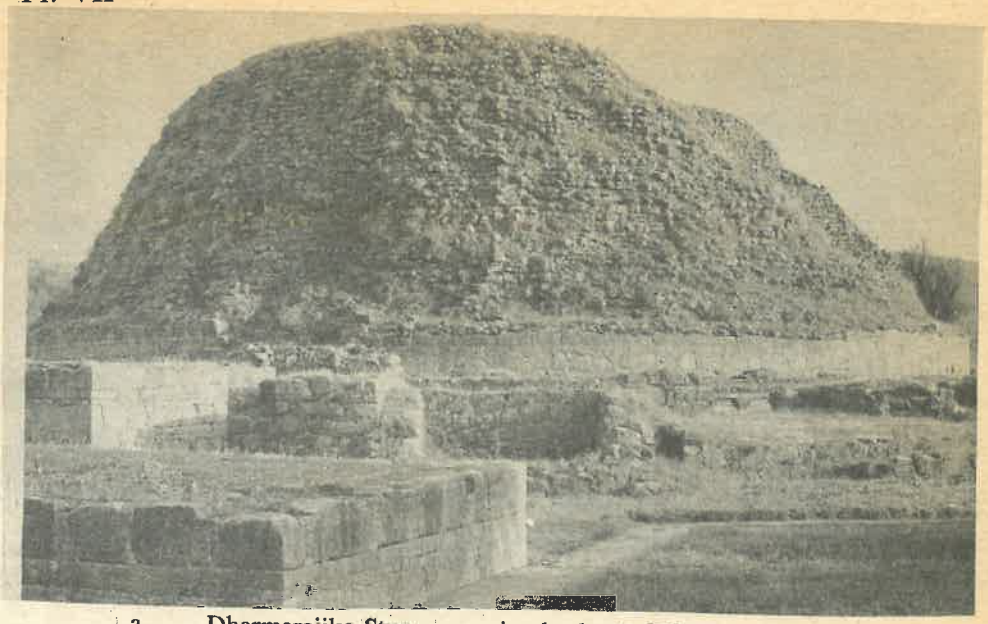
b. Sirsukh. Eastern fortification wall with round bastions.

c. Sirkap. Northern fortification wall with main gate showing plain berms between rectangular bastions.



d. Sirsukh. Western face of the Eastern fortification wall with beautiful diaper masonry.

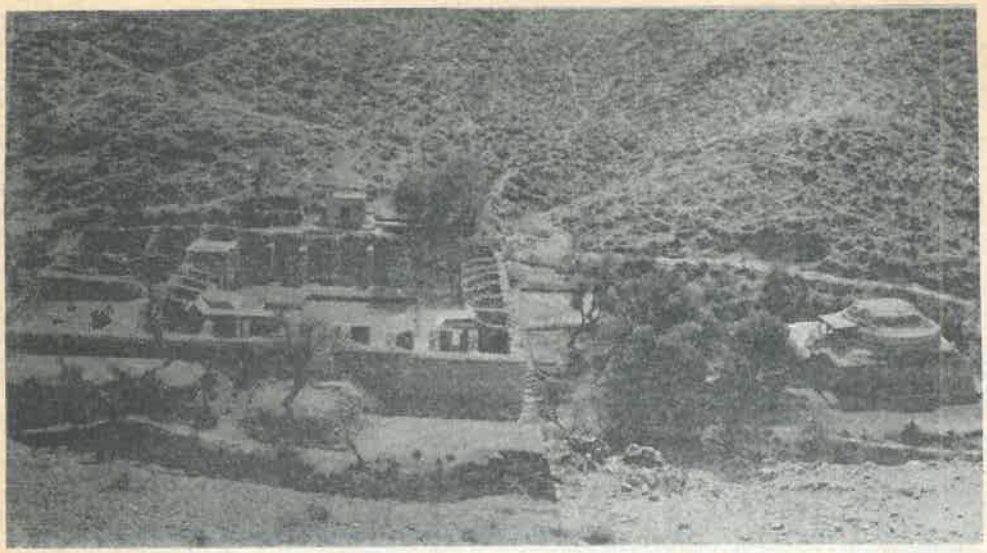
Pl. VII



a. Dharmarajika Stupa on a circular base. 3rd cent. B.C.

b. A votive stupa inside a cell in the monastery of Mohra Muradu.

Pl. VIII



a. Mohra Muradu. General view of stupa (on square base) and monastery in a glen.

b. Jaulian. General view of stupa and monastery on top of a hill at Jaulian.

Pl. XII Toilet Trays

a. Marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne.

b. Actaeon looking at Artemis taking her bath. From Akra

c. Adonis and Aphrodite. From Taxila

Pl. XI Toilet Trays

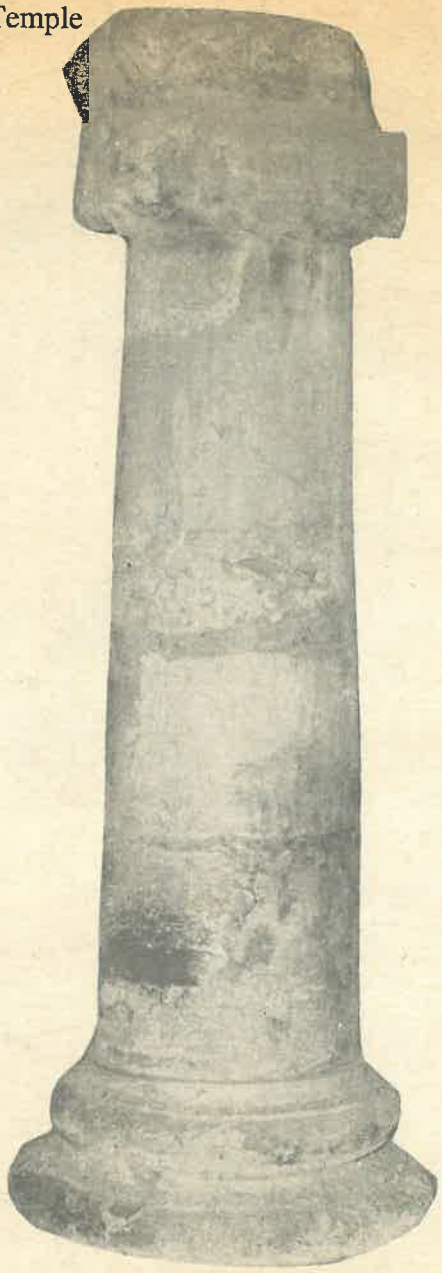
a. Gandhara relief from Butkara, Swat.

b. Apollo & Daphne. From Charsada

c. Apollo disrobing Daphne. From Sirkap, Taxila.

d. Hercules and Lydian Queen Omphale

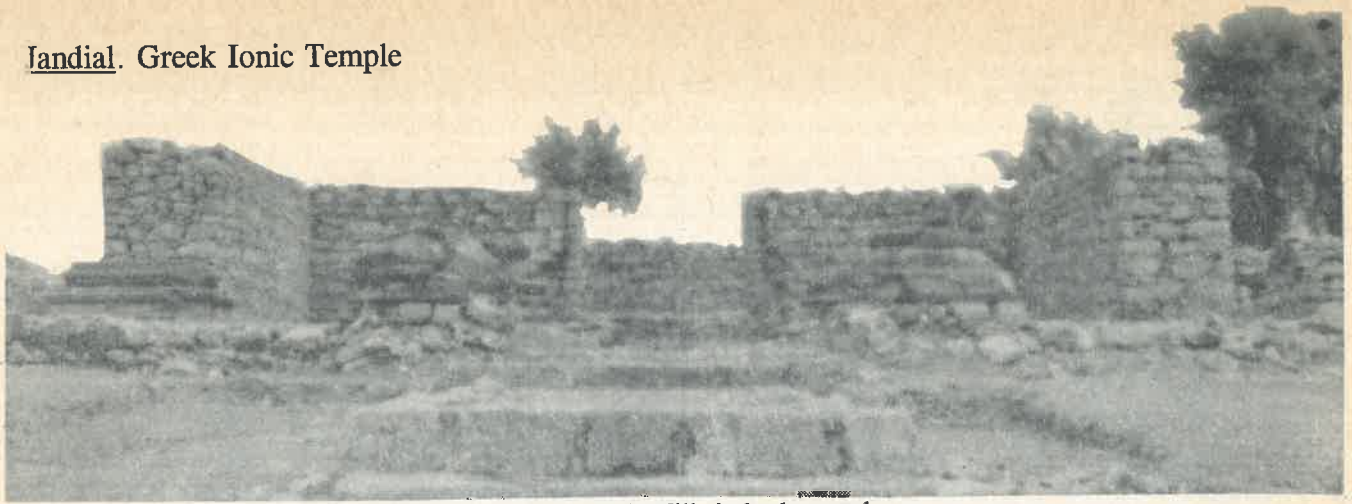
Pl. X Mohra Maliaran. Parthian Temple



a. Ionic column (reconstructed)

b. Attico-Asiatic Base

Pl. IX Jandial. Greek Ionic Temple



a. Front view with Sarda Hills in background.

b. Western corridor or peristyle of the temple.

c. Back view with half-engaged columns

Pl. XIII Toilet Trays

a. A male and a semi-nude female with two attendants

b. Aphrodite beating a winged Eros. From Narai.

Pl. XIV Toilet Trays

a. Buddha and two worshippers

b. Buddha seated cross-legged with bowl in hand and two worshippers

a. Aramaic Inscription from Sirkap. Third century B.C.

b. Hand copy of the Silver Scroll Inscription from Dharmarajika.

a. Small Jar stamped with Greek motifs of beads-and-reel moulding, concentric circles, and eight-pointed stars in circles. From Bhir Mound.

b. Bell-shaped double-handled amphora with carinated shoulders and base. From Greek stratum, Sirkap.

Pl. XVII Stucco & Terracotta Sculptures

a. Bearded head of a Satyre in stucco. From Apsidal Temple, Sirkap.

b. Bearded face in stucco From Sirkap.

c. Bearded head in terracotta. From Dharmarajika.

d. Head of a Mongolian worshipper in stucco. From Bhamala.

Pl. XVIII Clay & Terracotta Sculptures

a. Head of a monk with shaven crown, in clay. From Kalawan.

b. Head of a beardless youth From Dharmarajika stupa.

c. Female head in terracotta. From Sirkap.

d. Bust of a *gorilla*, in terracotta. From Sirkap.

Pl. XIX Stucco Sculptures

a. Head of a youth. From Bhallar Stupa.

b. Head of Buddha. From Dharmarajika Stupa.

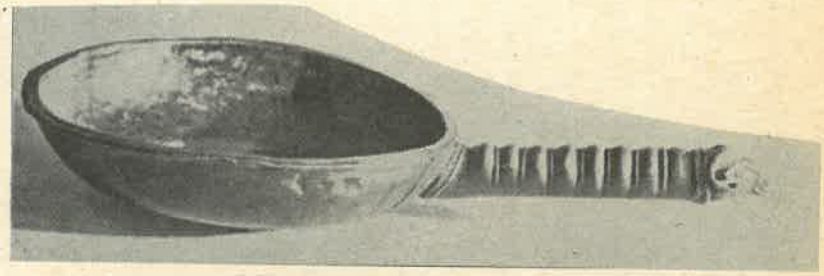
c. Bust of a young man from Jaulian — a reminiscent of *Moschoporous* statue in Athens.

d. Female head wearing a cap. From Sirkap.

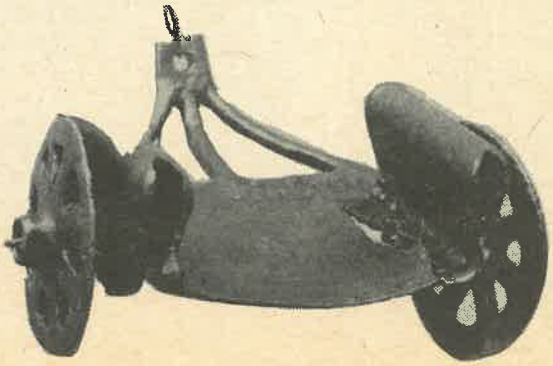
Pl. XX Metalware

a. Incense-burner with winged-lion as handle, copper. From Sirkap.

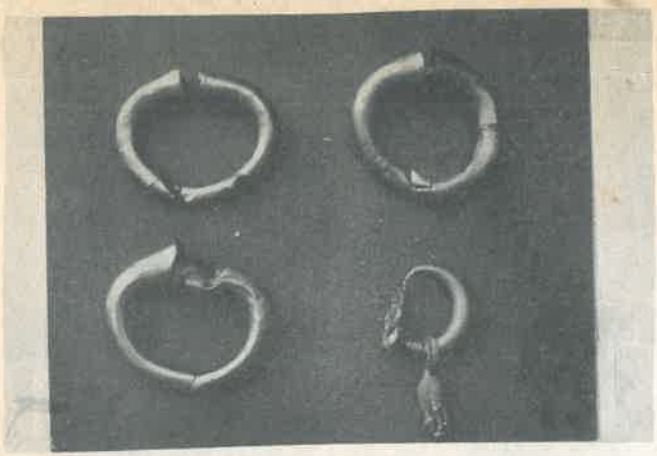
b. Handle of an incense-burner in form of a rampant lion, bronze. From Sirkap.



c. Frying-pan with handle of bead-&-reel pattern with ram's head as terminal, bronze. From Sirkap.

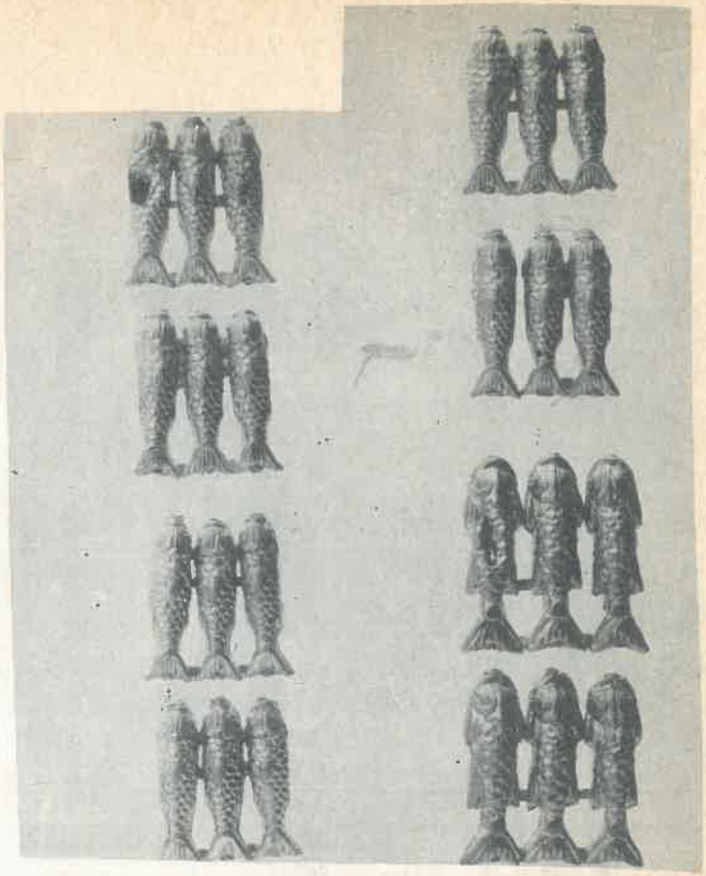


d. Two-wheeled toy chariot, copper. From Sirkap.



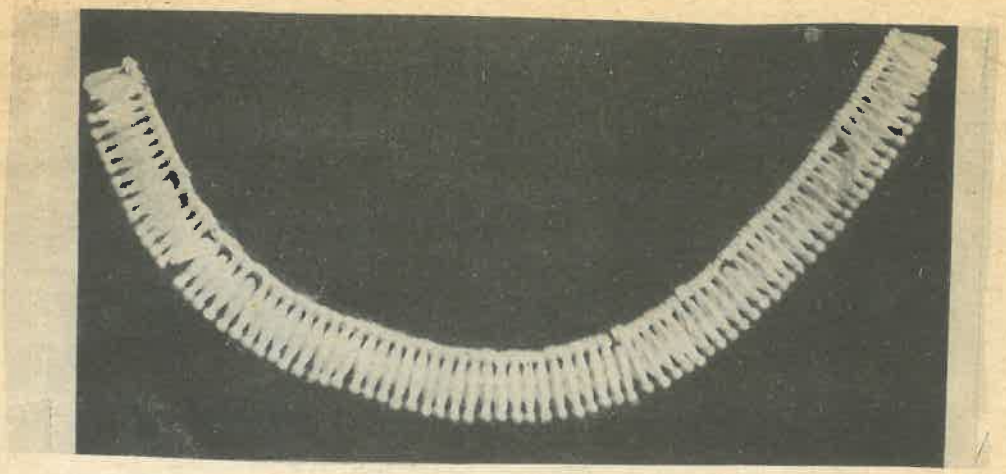
b. Three bangles each in two parts and one ear-pendant, gold. From Sirkap.

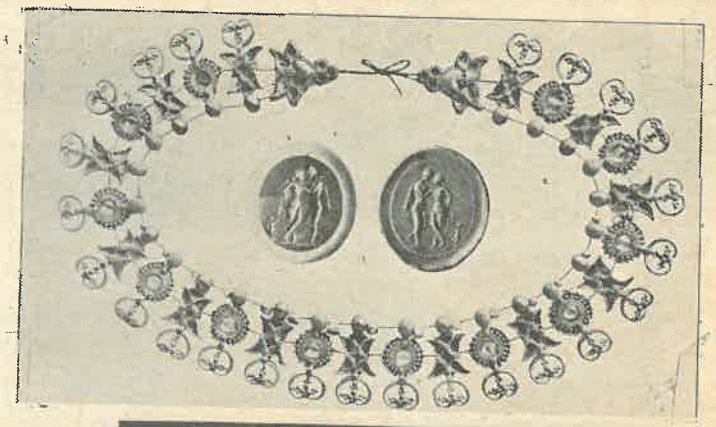
c. Two ear-pendants. Gold. From Sirkap.

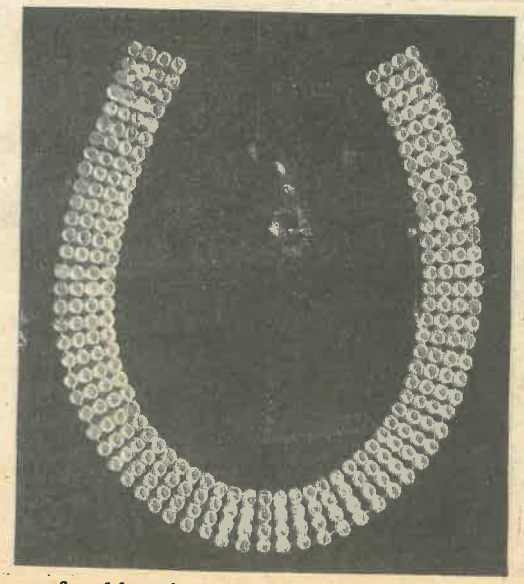


a. Set of gold fish, part of a hoard of jewellery. From Sirkap.

Pl. XXII







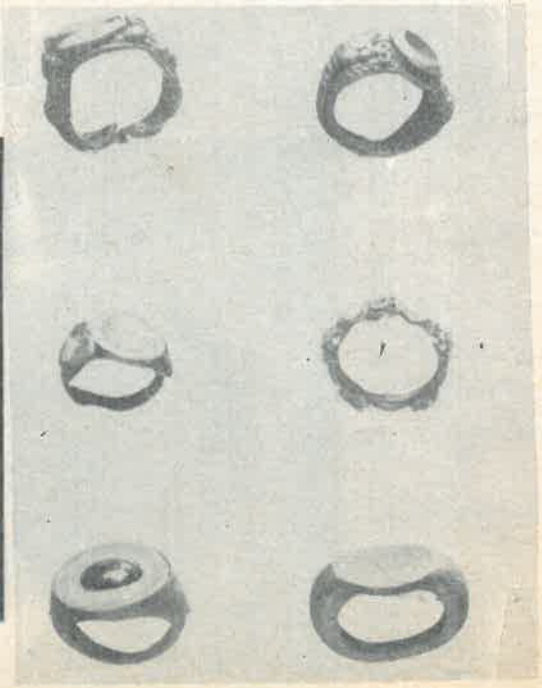
Three necklaces of gold and an oval seal of carnelian showing Eros, Psyche and Cupid. From Sirkap.

Pl. XXIII Jewellery

a. Panning for gold from Hunza River in Northern Areas of Pakistan

d. Three intaglio gems From Sirkap.

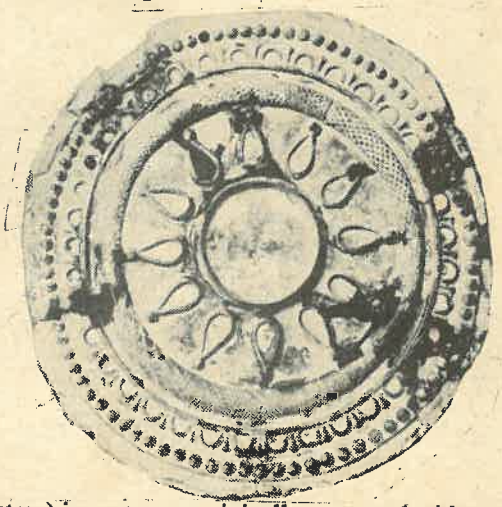
c. Gold armlet From Bhir Mound.



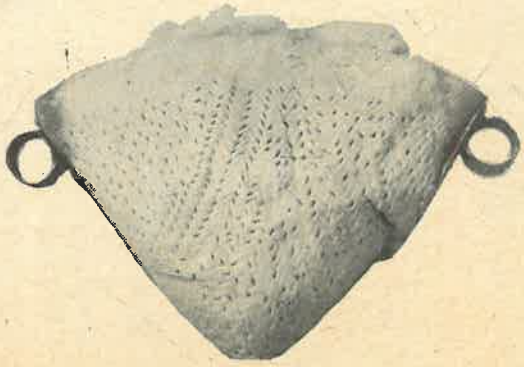
b. Six finger-rings. Gold. From Sirkap.

Pl. XXIV Silverware

a. Two tiny scent-flasks (*aryballoi*) with lids. Part of a hoard of jewellery. From Sirkap.



b. Dish (*patera*) in repousse, originally encrusted with gems or paste. From Sirkap.



c. Basket-like sieve. Part of a hoard of jewellery from Sirkap. Below the rim is a Kharoshthi inscription meaning: "Property of Jhamdanama, son of Gomanda".

Pl. XXV Miscellaneous Objects

a. Statue of the Egyptian Child-god, Harpocrate (Horus), bronze. From Sirkap.

b. Flask of sea-green glass. From Sirkap.

c. Fragment of an ivory comb From Sirkap.

d. A medallion in repousse. From Sirkap.

e. Head of Dionysus or Silenus in repousse, silver. From Sirkap.

Pl. XXVI Stone Sculptures

a. Front and back sides of a standing female holding flowers, schist. From Sirkap.

b. Front and backside of a miniature caryatid. schist. From Sirkap.

Pl. XXVII Stone Sculptures

a. Volute bracket in the form of a winged female, quartz schist. From Dharmarajika Stupa.

b. Standing Bodhisattava Maitreya, schist. From Mohra Muradu.

d. Statuette of seated Demeter with horn of plenty (Cornucopia), potstone. From Sirkap.

c. Ring-stone. A survival from the Mauryan period, slate. From Sirkap.

Pl. XXVIII Sculptures (from sites other than Taxila)

a. Bacchanalian Scene on a pedestal, schist. From Gandhara. Lahore Museum.

b. Drinking bout on a stair-riser relief, schist. From Buner (Swat). Peshawar Museum.

c. Wine crushing and drinking scene, schist. From Gandhara. Lahore Museum.

d. Standing Athena/Minerva, schist. From Naogram(?) near Rani Ghat. Lahore Museum.

Pl. XXIX

Greek coins from Taxila. After Marshall's Guide to Taxila.

TAXILA

Archaeological complex lies on the outer skirts of Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. Here used to meet in the past three ancient trade routes emanating from Western Asia, Central Asia and the mainland India. Through another caravan route, Taxila was also connected with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf through the sea ports of Barygaza and Barbaricon. These trade routes not only lured invaders and adventurers but also merchants, scholars and settlers as well as commodities and ideas. These activities gave to the city of Taxila a cosmopolitan character for almost one thousand years. This interactive role of this great city in dissemination of cultures and art forms of East and West has been admirably narrated here by ***DR. SAIFUR RAHMAN DAR,*** a leading archaeologist, museologist and folk-lorist of his country. The author is an ex-curator of Taxila Museum, a former director general of archaeology, Punjab and the director, Lahore Museum for last almost 24 years. He is the author of several books including:

- **HELLENISTIC ELEMENTS IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF TAXILA;**
- **MUSEOLOGY AND MUSEUM PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN;**
- **HISTORICAL GARDENS OF LAHORE;**
- **TREASURES OF LAHORE MUSEUM;**
- **HIDDEN TREASURES OF FAQIR KHANA;**
- **FOLK SONGS OF PUNJAB; ETC**

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