

STUDIES IN  
ANCIENT INDIA  
AND  
CENTRAL ASIA

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INDIAN  
STUDIES  
PAST & PRESENT

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# CONTENTS

Author's Preface i

## I. Problems of Protohistory

The Origin of the Muṇḍās 3

Symbols of Granary on the seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā 21

Harappān Civilization and the 'Aryan Problem' 25

Indians, Scythians and the Arctic 52

## II. Problems of Ancient Indian History and Culture

Some Basic Problems of the Mauryan Empire 69

Agrammes-Ugrasena-Nanda and the coronation of Candragupta 79

Megasthenes' *Indica* and the Inscriptions of Aśoka 109

The Historicity of the Ancient Indian Avadāna-s 123

An Epigraphic Document of the Mauryas from Bengal 140

On some features of the *varṇa*-system in the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s of  
Ancient India 151

The Kuṇāla Legend 161

## III. Problems of History and Culture of Central Asia

Central Asia in the Kushan Period 173

India and Central Asia 203

New Buddhist Texts from Central Asia 229

Fragment of an unknown manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 238

A Fragment of the Sanskrit *Sumukhadhāraṇī* 247

Fragment of the Śaka version of the *Dharmaśarīra-sūtra* from the  
Petrovsky Collection 257

## Supplement

From the History of Russian Buddhology





## P r e f a c e

I am greatly pleased that a collection of my articles on the History, Archaeology and Culture of India and Central Asia is being published in India.

And I am specially pleased because this collection is being edited by an eminent Indian scholar, Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, for the Soviet Indological Series.

For every Indologist, dedicated to the study of the History and Culture of the great Indian People, the publication of his works in India is a great honour.

I ascribe this honour to the great prestige of Soviet Indology which has earned new and remarkable achievements in Indian Studies.

Russian Indology has glorious tradition of research in the history and culture of Indian people.

Soviet scholars have tried to preserve and develop these traditions—traditions of the School of I. P. Minayev, F. I. Sherbatsky (Th. Stcherbatsky) and S. F. Oldenburg.

Soviet scholars pay special attention to the study of the cultural heritage of the people of India, basing themselves on numerous materials—written sources, archaeology and epigraphy.

The discoveries by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia, which paved the way for a better understanding of many major problems of ancient Indian civilization, have received general recognition.

But unfortunately all these discoveries are not well-known to all our Indian colleagues.

The collection includes several articles based on the new archaeological materials from Soviet Central Asia which, I hope to introduce to Indian scholars.

The collection comprises only a part of my articles published between 1957 and 1971 on the history and culture of India and Central Asia.

The selection of the articles for this volume is partly influenced by the availability of their English translation.

Most of the articles in the collection were earlier published in various journals, mainly in India, like the *Indian Studies : Past and Present* edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya ; some are papers presented at International Congress of Orientalists and different International Conferences.

The articles in this volume can be divided into three groups :

- (1) Problems of archaeology and ethnic history
- (2) Problems of the ancient history and culture of India
- (3) Problems of the history and culture of Central Asia.

In the *Supplement* is given a brief description of the main stages in the development of Buddhist Studies in Russia.

During a number of years the study of Mauryan India was the main subject of my research.

The results of these studies are summarised in the monograph *India in the Mauryan Epoch*, which will soon come off the press.

A part of the present collection consists of studies of some Buddhist manuscripts from Central Asia, which are deposited in the manuscript fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences (in Leningrad).

The Central Asian Fund has one of the richest collection of manuscripts and its study will undoubtedly reveal new and valuable Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, in Śaka and Tokharian languages.

Some articles included in this book were written by me in collaboration with my colleagues O. F. Volkova, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, E. A. Grantovsky, D. V. Decpik, B. Y. Stavisky, E. N. Tyomkin. I owe deep gratitude to them and extend my thanks for their permission to allow me to include these in the present volume. I am very thankful to Mr. H. Pande for translating into English some of the articles

included in the collection. I am equally grateful to Mr. B. M. Pandey who edited the translations of two articles and to Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty who read and corrected the translation. Last but not the least I am thankful to the chief-editor of the *Soviet Indological Series*, Professor Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya for his help in the preparation and publication of this book.

The articles appear in the collection in the same form as they appeared in Russian, but many years have passed since some of them were first published.

With the appearance of new works, some of my conclusions call for a new interpretation. There is no doubt that many theories and conclusions advanced by me may invite criticism and raise scholarly discussions.

It will be a great reward for me if this book, at least to some degree, can stimulate further studies of the history and culture of the Indian people, for whom the Soviet people have a strong feeling of friendship and deepest respect.

**G. M. Bongard-Levin**



I  
PROBLEMS OF PROTOHISTORY



## THE ORIGIN OF THE MUNDAS

The problem of the ancient inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent and the adjoining Indus and Gangetic Valley is of great importance for ancient Indian history.

A number of important questions concerning the ethnic history of India up to the middle of the second millennium B. C. can now be discussed anew in the light of the linguistic, archaeological, ethnographical and anthropological materials amassed in recent years.

While examining the history of India up to the invasion of the Aryans, we can mark out the principal archacological cultures, possibly corresponding to definite ethnic groups :

(1) South Indian Stone-Axe Culture (in the later period accompanied by bronze implements), which is ascribed to the Dravidian-speaking tribes of South India by a number of scholars.

(2) Harappan culture in the valley of the Indus and its eastern tributaries and in the region of Saurashtra Peninsula, and also the later cultures of the Indus Valley, viz. the Jhukar and Jhangar cultures. The linguistic affinity of the authors of Harappan culture has not yet been established, but M. Emeneau and other scholars have recently adduced a number of evidences which prove that their language was close to the Dravidian languages.<sup>1</sup> The question of the anthropological aspects of the authors of Harappan culture also awaits a conclusive answer.<sup>2</sup>

1. M. B. Emeneau, *Linguistic Prehistory of India*, *Tamil Culture*, vol. v, 1956, N 1, pp. 30-56. See also, *Proto-Indica : 1968*, Moscow, 1969 ; G. M. Bongard-Levin and G. F. Ilyin *Ancient India*, Moscow, 1969 (in Russian).

2. See for example G. F. Debets, *Peopling of Southern and Western Asia on the Basis of Anthropological Data*, in : *Origin of Man and the Ancient Settlement of Mankind* (in Russian) ; Transactions of the Institute of Ethnography, USSR Academy of Sciences, New Series,

(3) The so-called "Geometric Microliths" culture (in the basin of the river Narmada), consisting mainly of copper and bronze implements. At present it is difficult to say anything definite about the ethnic affinity of this culture.<sup>3</sup>

(4) The "Eastern Stone-Axe Culture" in North-East India and Burma and the so-called "Copper-Hoard and Ochre-Coloured Ware" Culture which developed from it in the Gangetic Valley and Orissa.

The discovery of the "Copper Hoard" culture throws a new light on the problem of the origin and spread of the peoples of the Munda Group, a problem which has already been discussed for more than a century.

The Munda problem was first raised during the research on the languages of the peoples of India and South-East Asia. Max Müller classified the Munda languages under a special group, but many scholars of his time associated the Munda languages with the Dravidian languages.

The Munda problem widely attracted attention when Wilhelm Schmidt, at the beginning of the 20th century, grouped the languages of the Munda and Mon-Khmer groups under a single family of Australonesian languages and connected them with the western complex of the Himalayan branch of the Tibeto-Burmese languages.<sup>4</sup> W. Schmidt's idea has often been subjected to severe criticism, for example, by S. Konow, J. Przyluski<sup>5</sup> and others, and now it can be regarded as rejected.

vol. xvi, Moscow, 1951, p. 360; V. P. Alexeyev, *Anthropological Types of the Early Population of India*, *Ancient India*, Moscow, 1964 (in Russian); B. Guha and P. Basu, *Report on the human remains excavated at Mohenjo-daro in 1928-1929* (J. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, vol. i, New Delhi, 1938).

3. H. D. Sankalia, *Excavations at Langhnaj: 1944-1963*, pts. i-iii, Roma, 1965.

4. See W. Schmidt, *Die mon-khmer Volk, ein Bindeglied zwischen Voelkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens*, *Arch. für Anthropologie*, N. F., vol. v. 1906.

5. Sten Konow, *Munda and Dravidian*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 33; J. Przyluski, "Les populations de l'Indochine Française", in S. Lévi, *Indochine*, vol. i, Paris, 1931.



At the same time, the theory of W. Schmidt about the community of the languages of the Munda and Mon-Khmer groups has been substantiated by the linguistic works of later years.<sup>6</sup>

A number of works of eminent anthropologists and archaeologists have been devoted to the question of the racial affinity of the Mundas. Thus, the German scholar R. Heine-Geldern defended the presence of a Mongoloid strain in this group, as opposed to the theory which calls Munda-Mon-Khmers Australoids. This view was refuted by Gordon Bowles, who proved the absence of a Mongoloid strain in the Mundas.<sup>7</sup>

Attempts to derive the Australasian peoples from one ancient root have often been criticised in the works of Soviet anthropologists and ethnologists. G. F. Debets, M. G. Levin and N. N. Cheboksarov<sup>8</sup> have upheld the view that the formation of the Australonesian peoples took place in a milieu which included both South-Mongoloid and Vedoid elements, and that in the western group, to which the Mundas belong, the Vedoid elements predominated.

Unfortunately, until recently archaeological materials were not used in solving the Munda problem, with the exception of raising the question, in a general form, about the affinity of the Neolithic "shouldered celts" culture with the Australonesian people.

6. It is true that doubts are often expressed as to the existence of a single Austronesian family of languages, but as a rule, these are not based on the study of concrete materials. Some of these objections are raised in the article of A. Blinov (*Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye* 1956, N 23). But we do not find in this an analysis of concrete linguistic material. Apparently the author was unacquainted with a number of recent researches concerning this question (E. B. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit*, Amsterdam, 1948; A. G. Haudricourt, *La place du vietnamien dans les langues austroasiatiques*, "Bull. de le Societe de linguistique de Paris", vol. 49, Paris, 1953).
7. G. Bowles, *Linguistic and racial aspects of the Munda Problems*, Peabody museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. xx, 1943.
8. See articles by these authors in the collection of articles, *Origin of Man and the Ancient Settlement of Mankind*, Moscow, 1951.

However, the exact attribution of archaeological materials to a definite ethnic group is only possible for a later period—the Copper Age—with regard to the Mundas, which is represented in North-East India and Burma by the so-called “Copper Hoard and Ochre-Coloured Ware” culture.

The first publications of the relics of this culture appeared at the end of the last century. Gradually, archaeological materials were accumulated during the following decades. Although the Archaeological Department of India did not carry out any important excavations connected with this culture, it nevertheless succeeded in determining the main region of the spread of the relics of this culture (North-East India, Gangetic Valley). The main types of implements and weapons belonging to this culture were also determined: shouldered copper celts, bar celts, harpoons, antenna-hilted sword, anthropomorphic figures, copper rings, hooked spear-heads, etc.

On the basis of these materials, R. Heine-Geldern, in the middle of the thirties, ascribed the “Copper-Hoard” culture to the Vedic Aryans.<sup>9</sup> Guided by superficial similarities, he compared the material from the Indus Valley with the Bronze Age implements from Iran and Transcaucasia. The British scholar S. Piggott<sup>10</sup> supported the views of Heine-Geldern, but later on, as new materials came to light, he discarded it. He connected the representatives of the “Copper Hoard” culture with the population which, supposedly, fled from Harappa to the East after its destruction by the Aryans.<sup>11</sup> In this he was guided by a few similarities between the copper implements of the Harappan culture and allied Aeneolithic cultures of Western India, Baluchistan and Iran. The truniope celt from Shalozan,

9. R. Heine-Geldern, New light on the Asian migration to India, *Bull. American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, vol. v, 1937, p. 716.

10. S. Piggott, Prehistoric Copper Hoards in the Ganges Basin, *Antiquity*, vol. xviii, 1944, pp. 173-182.

11. S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, Pelican Series 1950, p. 238.

the sword from Fort Munro, the shaft-hole axe from Shahi-Tump and the axe-adze from Mohenjo-daro form in his opinion, part of the "Copper Hoard" culture.<sup>12</sup> Piggott's rejection of the possible connection between the creators of the "Copper Hoard" culture and the Aryans has been supported by prominent archaeologists like Gordon Childe, M. Wheeler and others, while his attempt to correlate them with the mythical fugitives from Harappa cannot be maintained in the light of the latest researches of Indian archaeologists

Thus, the existence of Aeneolithic culture in the Gangetic Valley in the pre-Harappan period can be regarded as an established fact. Some scholars trace this culture to the Indo-Europeans, others to the Harappan culture and a third group of scholars considers it to be independent (B. B. Lal, V. D. Krishnaswami and others).

During the recent years, important excavations have been carried out in North-East India, which call for a fresh study of this problem.

After a study of the results of these excavations and of the earlier known material from this region, it is possible to pose (and partially to answer) some questions concerning the ancient history of North-East India. It is, above all, a question of the origin, spread and time of existence of the "Copper Hoard" culture, as also of the ethnic affinity of its authors. It is equally important to determine the character of the relations of the "Copper Hoard" culture with the contemporaneous Aeneolithic cultures of India and also with the "Painted Gray Ware" culture, attributed to Aryans, which

12\* A special table of these objects is printed in the journal, *Ancient India*, N 9, 1953, pp. 89-90, (Fig. 2, 3, 4). The inaccuracy of the traditional name of this culture—the "Copper Hoard"—should be noted. Until recently most of the excavations revealed isolated objects which were collected, as it has been ascertained by Indian archaeologists, from the territories of important settlements. Now Indian archaeology has at its disposal not separate copper objects, but a series of archaeological relics.

replaced it. Lastly, it is also possible to bring to light, on the basis of our present knowledge, some features of the socio-economic system of the authors of this culture.

What, then, is the "Copper Hoard" culture ?

Flat shouldered celts (from 15 to 25 cm. long) with hard rounded blades can be considered one of the most typical implements of this culture. The principal sites are Uttar Pradesh (ancient Bithur, Dhaka, Mainpuri, Pariar), Orissa (Dunria), Bihar (Kaushaya), West Bengal (Tamajuri). It is characteristic that not a single specimen was discovered south of the Gangetic basin. The shouldered celt, was probably also used as an adze when it was hafted on a handle. In its form, the shouldered copper celt found in North-East India, Burma and Indo-China, resembles the shouldered stone celt, and it is, perhaps, a development of the latter in metal. A comparison of the regions of the distribution of the shouldered stone celt, which is characteristic of the Neolithic of North-East India, Burma and Indo-China, with the regions of distribution of the above-mentioned shouldered copper celt, warrants the conclusion that the shouldered copper celt developed from its stone prototype in North-East India and later on spread to the North-West along the Gangetic Valley (the flat shouldered copper celt is also found in Burma).<sup>13</sup> This would provide evidence of the movement of the authors of this culture up the Gangetic Valley and of their relationship with the Neolithic tribes—the creators of the shouldered celt culture. In one of his latest works, the eminent Indian archaeologist, V. D. Krishnaswami has arrived at the conclusion concerning the affinity of the stone and subsequently the copper celts with the culture of the people who spoke Australonesian languages.<sup>14</sup>

The genetic relationship of stone and copper shouldered celts is indicated by the absence in the latter of "bushes" or

13. See Morris, Copper and Bronze Antiquities from Burma, *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. xxviii, part, ii, 1938, table i.

14. V. D. Krishnaswami, Progress in Prehistory, *Ancient India*, N 9, 1953, pp. 78-79.

shaft-holes, which are not possible in stone implements, but are quite natural for metal implements. We can divide India and South-East Asia, according to the technique of manufacturing implements and weapons in the Aeneolithic and Bronze Ages, into clearly defined cultural regions :

1) Western and Central India, whose characteristics are the shaft-hole implements along with a negligible quantity of flat implements (for example, excavations at Jorwe) and the absence of "bushes".

2) North-East India and Northern Burma—the area of the distribution of flat implements, with a total absence of shaft-hole implements and "bushes."

3) Eastern Indo-China, Indonesia and to a considerable extent South China—the region of the absolute predominance of "bushing" implements with a total absence of flat and shaft-hole implements, with the exception of an insignificant quantity of shaft-hole axes in South China. The characteristics of the second group are clearly traceable in the analogies of the implements of "Copper Hoard" culture.

Flat celts in the form of a longish trapezium are widely represented in the "Copper Hoard" culture. About 100 pieces of this type have been discovered in some places in large groups (more than 20).<sup>15</sup> Their measurement varies from 8 cm. to 25 cm. in length. Implements of this type have been found in Bisauli, Bithur, Deoti, Hardi, etc. in Uttar Pradesh, Baragunda, Bartol Bichna, etc. in Bihar, Gungeria in Madhya Pradesh, Kallur in Hyderabad and in other places. This type of flat trapeze-form copper celt has been discovered also in Burma (middle course of the river Salween).<sup>16</sup> In spite of their relative multiplicity, bar celts cannot be considered typical only of the "Copper Hoard" culture because they have

15. See, *Ancient India*, N 7, 1951, p. 38a, table. In the following pages quantitative data are given according to this table.

16. Morris, *op.cit.* table 1, fig. xiv.

also been discovered in the settlements of the Harappan and allied cultures. It is more likely that these celts were used as axes, adzes and chisels.

The Bar celt (20 to 25 cm. long) is a peculiar implement of the "Copper Hoard" culture. More than 20 specimens of such celts are known, out of which 17 have been found in Hami (Bihar), in Rajpur Parsu (Uttar Pradesh), and several in Gungeria (Madhya Pradesh). One type of this chisel seems to resemble a shouldered celt with a rounded blade and a more stretched shaft; another is the exact copy of the stone axe wide spread in Southern Bihar, West Bengal and Northern Orissa.<sup>17</sup>

A comparison of the area of distribution of stone celts and copper celts, which developed from the former, and their similarity with the shouldered stone celts, leads to the same conclusion as does the examination of shouldered celts. Such a coincidence can hardly be regarded as accidental. On the contrary, it rather supports the hypothesis that the area of distribution of shouldered stone celts and stone bar celts (the doab of the Mahanadi and the Ganga) was the original home of shouldered copper celts and copper axes as well as of the entire related "Copper Hoard" culture.

The commonest weapon was the harpoon, which was probably used for hunting both big fish and wild animals. One should stress the peculiarities of the spread of harpoons in the "Copper Hoard" culture. They are mainly confined to the area north of the confluence of the Jamuna and the Ganga, and are totally absent in Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar and Northern Hyderabad. This, once again, corroborates the thesis of the movement of the bearers of the "Copper Hoard" culture along the Gangetic Valley and the consequent development of their material culture in this territory.

We can distinguish between two types of harpoons, differing from each other in their functions.

Among the first type of harpoons, the specimen from

17. See *Ancient India*, N 9, 1953, table xxxvi (a and b).

Bisauli<sup>18</sup> is most distinctive. It was undoubtedly used for fishing. Its notable feature is a bulge with an aperture at the haft. The latter, perhaps, served for fastening the harpoon to the string. More complicated is the question of the practical use of harpoons of the second type, which differ slightly from the former in shape (they have wide short blades and small projections in place of an aperture). Judging from the absence of an aperture, harpoons of the second type were tightly attached directly to the shaft and used as an implement for hunting, and not for fishing. This is also proved by the cave drawings discovered in the region where the "Copper Hoard" culture spread initially.<sup>19</sup> These drawings show the hunting of a rhinoceros. All the hunters are armed with barbed spearheads, which are very close in shape to the harpoons of the second type.

There are several theories concerning the origin of the harpoons of the "Copper Hoard" culture. Among these the theory of the Indian archaeologist B. B. Lal is the most plausible one. He considers that there is no basis for tracing these harpoons to Transcaucasia and Luristan (as was done by R. Heine-Geldern) and he upholds their indigenous origin.<sup>20</sup>

Hooved-spear-heads, approximately 25 to 50 cm. long, were the most important weapons of war and hunting. Like harpoons, these, too, have been discovered only north of the confluence of the rivers Jamuna and Ganga (settlements in Uttar Pradesh—Fatehgarh, Mainpuri, Sarthauli). A spearhead of this type has been found in central Burma.<sup>21</sup>

Some scholars (e.g. Elliot Smith) thought it possible to

18. See *Ancient India*, N 7, table v, type "B".

19. As early as the end of the last century, cave drawings from Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh drew the attention of the British scholar J. Cockborn. See J. Cockborn, Cave drawing in the Baimur Range, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898.

20. B. B. Lal, Further Copper Hoards from Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem, *Ancient India*, N 7.

21. See, H. Balfour, A spearhead and socketed celt of Bronze from the Shah States, Burma, *Man*, vol. 1, 1901, table "G".

consider these spear-heads as swords. The shape of the objects in itself speaks of the untenability of this view: the majority of these have a bent barb at the haft, making their use as a sword impossible, but indispensable for attaching them to the shaft of spear-head. That is why a number of scholars, for example V. Smith,<sup>22</sup> B. Lal and others, rightly treat them as spear-heads.

The weapon used only for war purposes was the long, heavy, doubled-edged sword, used for cutting and thrusting, with a hilt of the so-called "antenna" type. Fifteen such swords have been found in Uttar Pradesh, in the same region where harpoons and spear-heads have been found, and three specimens in Kallur (Hyderabad).

Copper rings with a diameter ranging from 8 to 10-cm. have been found in settlements of the "Copper Hoard" culture. Made by means of bending a copper stick, which was originally straight and round, into a ring, they were found only in the Gangetic Valley (there are rings of another type in the Indus Valley—made of a copper stick which is twisted one and a half times).<sup>23</sup> They were probably used as substitutes for money. This can also be proved by the fact that these are always found in groups (from 6 to 47); during the recent excavations by Y. D. Sharma in Bahadarabad, they were found

22. V. Smith, *The Copper Age and Prehistoric bronze implements of India*, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxiv 1905.
23. For a comparison of the types of rings see H. D. Sankalia and others, *Report on the excavations at Nasik and Jorwe, 1950-51 (Deccan Monograph Series, N 13, Poona, 1955)*, table xxxiii and also *Ancient India*, N 9, table xxxi (finds at Bahadarabad). Rings from the settlements of the "Copper Hoard" culture are akin, in form and setting, to the stone, copper and bronze rings from the Khmer settlements of the first millennium B.C. and other places of South-East Asia. C. O. Yanse, *Preliminary Report of Excavation at Dongson*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, vol. ix, 1936, xvii, (F); L. Malleret, *The buried town of Oc-co and the Funanes sites of Transbassac in Cochinchine*, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, vol. xv, 1950, table vii (C); M. Sullivan, *Archaeology in the Philippines*. *Antiquity*, N 118, 1956, fig. 3 (4).



joined to each other haphazardly, obviously not as in an ornament; on the other hand, this was very convenient for carrying them about as money.<sup>24</sup>

The most striking feature of the "Copper Hoard" culture is flat copper anthropomorphic figures, 20 to 50 cm. long. The region of the distribution is the same as that of the swords, spear-heads and harpoons. (Uttar Pradesh, ancient sites of Bisauli, Fatehgarh, Sheorajpur). Such a figure depicts a man with legs wide apart and arms bent at the elbows. In spite of their peculiarity, these figures can be compared with the anthropomorphic figures from South-East Asia, which represented the ancestors—the custodians of the clan.<sup>25</sup>

These are the main categories of copper objects (as a rule, from occasional finds), which characterize the development level of the material culture of the population of the Gangetic and Mahanadi valleys in the third and second millennium B. C.

By themselves these objects do not give sufficient material to resolve the questions of the time of the existence of the "Copper Hoard" culture, its correlation with other cultures, and, lastly, of the authors of this culture. It became possible to decide these questions only after the appearance of a mass of materials and after the excavations of the settlements where copper objects had been previously found, and attributed to the "Copper Hoard" culture (excavations of the settlements at Bisauli, Rajpur Parsu, and Hastinapur).

In all these settlements a layer of ochre-coloured ware was found, which is totally different from the pottery of earlier known cultures. Indian archaeologists rightly associate this

24. See *Ancient India*, N 9, table xxxi, and also the above-mentioned article of V. D. Krishnaswami in the same number.

25. V. Goloubew, *L'âge du bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord Annam*, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, vol. xxix, 1929, xix (north Vietnam); M. Coleni: *Champs de jarres monolithiques et de pierres funéraires du Tranninh*, vol xxxi, part 1, table xiv (North Laos), the same author, *Megalithes du Haut-Laos*, vol. ii, Paris, 1935, table lxxxiv, 3 (Central Vietnam); L. Bezacier, *L'art Vietnamien*, Paris, 1954, p. 29.

ware with the "Copper Hoard" culture. The excavations undertaken by Y. Sharma in Bahadarabad finally confirmed this identification. A large number of copper implements of this culture was found at the site, along with fragments of ochre-coloured ware. The pottery is represented by big bowls and vessels of the type of jars with turned rims. The vessels are handmade and half-baked; the yellow clay is poorly levigated.<sup>26</sup> The bad state of preservation of the pottery from all the excavated settlements makes it difficult to give an accurate description of the characteristics of this pottery, but the facts already known testify that it is the ordinary pottery of agricultural tribes.

During the excavations at Hastinapur thick ochre-coloured ware was found in the lower stratum of the settlement with many strata, which made it possible to trace the chronological correlation of the "Copper Hoard" culture and the Painted Grey Ware culture, which is usually attributed to the Aryans. The Painted Grey Ware culture deposit, dated back to the 11th-9th centuries B. C., is found immediately above the layer bearing the ochre-coloured ware, but no transition between them has been traced. It gives us grounds for fixing the earlier date of the "Copper Hoard and Ochre-Coloured Ware" cultures to the time preceding 11th century B. C.<sup>27</sup>

The excavations at Bisauli, Rajpur Parsu, and Bahadarabad yield a similar picture, which, once again, corroborates the

26. B. B. Lal, Excavation at Hastinapura and other explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlaj basins, 1950-52; New light on the Dark Age between the end of the Harappa culture and the Early Historic Period, *Ancient India*, N 10-11, p. 31, fig. 5. D. Gordon attributes the ochre-coloured ware to a later period of the Copper Age in the Gangetic Valley, as it was found only in the upper reaches of the river and consequently belongs to the closing period of the migration of representatives of this culture. But this still means nothing, because systematic excavations of the settlements in other places have not yet been undertaken, and the material includes only megalithic and stone objects. See D. H. Gordon, The Pottery Industries of the Indo-Iranian Border, *Ancient India*, N 10-11, 1954-55, p. 179.
- \* 27. See B. B. Lal, *op. cit.* pp. 12 and 12a.

correctness of the above date. We can, thus, take the "Copper Hoard and Ochre-Coloured Ware" culture to be the direct predecessor of Aryan culture. In this way, a study of the Aeneolithic material culture of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of these regions, gives us an opportunity to trace its emergence in North-East India and its subsequent advance towards north-west. It is now possible, in the light of new materials, to establish the ethnic affinity of the bearers of this culture and to attempt to trace its relations with the contemporaneous cultures of ancient India.

Having developed from the "Eastern Stone Axe" culture of the Neolithic, the "Copper Hoard and Ochre-coloured Ware" culture was the only culture of the Metal Age in the Gangetic Valley before the appearance of the Aryans. Since we know that the immediate predecessors of the Indo-European tribes in this region were the ancestors of the modern tribes of the Munda group, the culture immediately preceding the Painted Grey Ware culture can be associated only with the ancestors of the Mundas.

In determining the place of the culture of the ancestors of the Mundas among other pre-Aryan cultures of India, one should note the indubitable fact of their links with the Dravidians. This can be proved, for example, by the finds of copper objects of this culture in Kallur (Hyderabad)—within the limits of the "Southern Stone Axe" culture and the Megalithic culture of South India attributed to the Dravidians.<sup>28</sup> But these links were sporadic rather than firm and they did not lead to any clear changes in Dravidian culture, which has led scholars, e.g. V. D. Krishnaswami, to define the material from Kallur as an Aeneolithic culture of the Brahmagiri, Nasik and Jorwe type.<sup>29</sup>

28. Some influence of Dravidian languages on the languages of the Munda group and the preservation, right up to the present time, of the partly assimilated Dravidian Oraon tribes among Munda tribes, must be noted.

29. V. D. Krishnaswami, *op. cit.*, N 9, p. 71.

The spread of Megalithic burials among the modern Mundas<sup>30</sup> (although these burials have become increasingly ritualistic during the past 100 years)—a custom widespread among the Dravidians in the Early Iron Age—may also prove the Mundas' relationship with the Dravidians.

Besides this, it is possible to trace mutual connections between the "Copper-Hoard and Ochre-coloured ware" culture and the roughly contemporaneous "Geometric Microliths" culture (similar shapes of pottery and technique of its making). The question of the bearers of the "Geometric Microliths" culture is not yet clear, but this culture is probably genetically related to relics of the type found in Jorwe and Nasik.

On the other hand, no traces of reciprocity between the cultures of Harappa, Jhukar and Jhangar on the one hand, and the culture of the "Copper Hoard and Ochre-coloured Ware" on the other, have yet been revealed. Not a single category of objects displays the least resemblance.

Thus, having examined the distribution and inter-relationships of the material culture of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of North-East India, we can infer the following concerning their origin. In the Neolithic period this region as well as Burma, Indo-China and part of Southern China comprised a single region of the distribution of allied cultures, which is proved, for instance, by the similarity of stone implements, pottery, etc. The shouldered stone celt, the most characteristic

30. See V. D. Krishnaswami, Megalithic types of South India, *Ancient India*, N 5, 1949, p. 41. The existence of similar megalithic burials among the Mundas and the Dravidians possibly stipulated their common East-Asian origin. Excavations at Brahmagiri in 1947 speak of this (See, *Ancient India*, N 4, 1947-1948). At the same time megalithic relics—resembling Munda relics more than Dravidian—are known from the territory of the distribution of the Khmers, but these relics are not sufficiently studied. The view of the Austro-Asiatic origin of the Megaliths of the Mundas was expressed by C. F. Haimendorf (in 1943) and later on supported by V. D. Krishnaswami. They have criticised the theory of Walter Ruben about the western origin of both the Dravidian and Munda megaliths and have rightly noted their affinity with two different civilizations.

implement of these cultures, often occurs in the Neolithic settlements of this entire region. With the development of the material culture of the tribes inhabiting this region, particularly after they had mastered metal, this primary community broke into a number of local groups. Gradually they formed specific cultures of the Aeneolithic Age.

Thus, the development of the forefathers of the Mundas, linguistically affiliated to the forefathers of the Mon-Khmers and related in material culture to the Neolithic tribes of Indo-China and Burma, led to the rise of their independent, peculiar Aeneolithic culture—the “Copper Hoard and Ochre-coloured Ware” culture—on the Indian soil.

At the same time, the eastern Australonesian tribes (forefathers of the Khmers and Mons) independently passed on to the use of metal, having created an Aeneolithic Culture known as the “Somrong-sen” culture.<sup>31</sup>

Burma, unfortunately, has not yet been properly studied archaeologically, but on the basis of existing materials it can be related to the western group of Australonesian tribes of the Copper and Bronze Age rather than to the eastern.<sup>32</sup>

Results of the excavations at Bastari in 1952 indicate relations between North-East India and Burma in the Aeneolithic period.<sup>33</sup>

On the basis of the location of relics of the cultures of the ancestors of the Mundas, it is possible to trace the movement

31. This culture derived its name from the first discovered settlement in Cambodia. See N. Moura, *L'age du pierre polie et du bronze du Cambodge*, Toulouse, 1879.

32. The flat massive copper celt of very complex form, which was found there, can bear evidence to the fact that the development of flat celts of this type continued in Burma in the Aeneolithic period and after the destruction of Munda settlements in the upper reaches of the Ganga. See O. Yanse, *Un groupe de bronzes anciens propres a l'Extreme Asie meridionale. Bull. of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. iii, 1931, table ix (3).

33. See *Ancient India*, N 9, p. 79.

of the tribes from the Lower Ganga and Orissa, where we find relics of the Aeneolithic "Eastern Stone Axe" culture and the more primitive implements of the earlier stage of Aeneolithic Culture, which had sprung from the stone age.

Further movement towards the north-west went along the the Ganga-Jamuna doab, where relics of a later, more developed stage of the "Copper Hoard and Ochre-coloured Ware" culture is found.

It can be assumed that the movement which is characteristic of the Aeneolithic was a continuation of the process of the spread of Australonesian tribes from the Indo-China homeland to the north-west. This movement (within Indian territory) makes it clear why even today tribes of the Munda group are living in that region, which is situated to the west of the region of the distribution of shouldered stone celts, but comes entirely within the region of the distribution of shouldered copper celts and the entire "Copper Hoard and Ochre-coloured Ware" culture. Thus, as a result of recent excavations, one of the discrepancies about the areas of distribution of the shouldered celt and the Austronesian languages, about which R. Heine-Geldern wrote in 1928, was removed.<sup>34</sup>

Still the question of the causes which checked the further spread of the ancestors of the Mundas in India cannot be considered as finally settled. It is difficult to say at present whether it was a clash with the bearers of the Harappan, Jhukar and Jhangar cultures, or with the Aryan invasion that caused it. However, the latter is more probable. It is interesting that the settlements of the Jhangar culture perished, in the opinion of a number of scholars like D. H. Gordon,<sup>35</sup> in the 12th-11th centuries B. C., that is at the time which, according to B. B. Lal, marked the end of the "Copper Hoard and Ochre-coloured Ware" culture.

34. R. Heine-Geldern, *Ein Beitrag Zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Sudostasien*, *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, Wien, 1928, pp. 812-814.

35. D. H. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 179, table iv.

The settlements of the ancestors of the Mundas ceased to exist in the Ganga-Jamuna Doab in the 11th-9th centuries B. C. and changed into the settlements of the Aryans (the "Painted Grey Ware" culture), not related to them.

We have no trace as yet of the sojourn of the Aryans in Orissa, West Bengal and Bihar—the area which, with good reason, can be considered the initial point of the movement of the ancestors of the Mundas to the north-west. Only at a considerably later time (6th-3rd centuries B. C.), did the "Northern Black Polished Ware" culture spread in this territory, but it, too, mainly occupied the Gangetic Valley and regions by the riverside, leaving out those regions which are inhabited by the Mundas today.

This can once again prove the fact that the bearers of the "Copper Hoard and Ochre-coloured Ware" culture were the ancestors of the Mundas. Their folklore contains reminiscences of the fact that they were the ancient inhabitants of this region (Chhota Nagpur, Bihar, etc.).

Relics of the Aeneolithic culture of the ancestors of the Mundas make it possible to characterize them as hoe agriculturists, in whose life hunting and fishing continued to play a big role. The main implement of agriculture was the shouldered celt used as the hoe—just as it was used among the peoples of South-East Asia.

The development of agriculture is also witnessed by the presence of big bowls and the sizable thickness of the cultural deposit of the excavated settlements, which proves their prolonged existence. The concentration of settlements of the ancestors of the Mundas on more fertile lands along the river valleys also bears out this fact.

Trade developed significantly among the forefathers of the Mundas—above all, copper metallurgy. Unlike many other cultures, they used forging in the processing of metal. It was applied even where it could be replaced by moulding (manufacture of rings and projection of the harpoons). A characteristic feature of metal-processing was that all the copper implements were made from flakes, and finished by forging.

As compared with the high development of metallurgy, ceramic production had not yet developed into an independent trade ; all the vessels were hand-made. The abundance of implements for processing wood proves the development of wood-work. The hypothesis of the use of rings for barter has been stated above.

War, judging from the abundance and variety of weapons, was an important factor in the life of the society, which was still mainly in the primitive-communal stage. It is somewhat difficult to speak about the religious attitudes of that time, but the huge quantity of anthropomorphic figures may indicate the spread of ancestral worship.

To sum up : comparing the material culture of the forefathers of the Mundas in the Gangetic Valley with that of the Aryans of this region, which is well-known from the excavations of the level II in Hastinapura<sup>36</sup> and other sites, we are again convinced of the fallacy of the theory which maintains that the Aryan culture was supposedly far better than the culture of their predecessors.

36. See monuments of the II layer in Hastinapura, *Ancient India*, N 10-11, table 12a, p. 11.



# SYMBOLS OF GRANARY ON THE SEALS OF MOHENJO-DARO AND HARAPPA

A study of ancient Harappa influences on later Indian culture helps us to understand the history of the culture inherited from Harappa, and also to explore unread pages of the Indus civilization. Let us give one example. W. Theobald, studying ancient Indian coins, picked out the main symbols which are found on the punch-marked coins.<sup>1</sup>

Sign No 55 among many other symbols attracts our attention (Fig. 1).

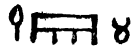


Fig. 1

Theobald supposed that this sign meant "granary": '...A grain store constructed of mats coated with clay and raised on posts out of the reach of vermins' (p. 225). Four years after the publication of Theobald's work, W. Hoey discovered a copper-plate near Patna with Sohgaura inscription of Maurya times in Brāhmī.<sup>2</sup>

On the plate some signs were inscribed over the inscription (Fig. 2).



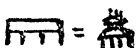
Fig. 2

1. W. Theobald, Notes on some of the symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan and on the relationship to the archaic symbolism of other races and distant lands, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1890), vol. lix, pp. 181-268.
2. W. Hoey, Notes on the Sohgaura copper plate, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (Calcutta 1894, pp. 84-85.

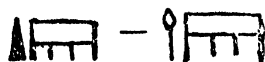
The Sohgaura inscription was first published in 1894 by V. Smith, who gave a short description of the symbols on them. The second sign on the plate was considered by him as a pavilion with curved convex roof on four pillars surmounted by another similarly curved roof, resting on three supports and topped by three short poles.<sup>3</sup> Only Rudolf Hoernle succeeded in reading some of the words of this inscription. He established that in that plate there were two granaries (Kothāgālāni, Skt. *koṣṭhāgārāṇi*) which were possibly, in his opinion, depicted above the writing.<sup>4</sup> Thus the Sohgaura find confirms the correctness of Theobald's supposition.

If we pick out three of the Sohgaura symbols (second, third and fifth), and put the third before the second, we will get a symbol almost identical with the sign No. 55 (Theobald's).



It is interesting that not only the sign for granary is repeated  but two others also :  $\text{P}=\text{P}$  ;  $\text{S}=\text{S}$

Symbols, close to those on Theobald's coins we find in the catalogue of ancient Indian coins compiled by J. Allan.<sup>5</sup>



Their likeness to symbols in Fig. 2 and especially those in Fig. 1 is obvious. Allan, following Theobald, considered these signs as symbols for granary in front of which there was the pillar. Let us point out the symbols discovered on

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

4. *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1894, pp. 87-8.

5. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, p. 301.

punch-marked silver coins of later period, which correspond to the Maurya epoch.<sup>6</sup>

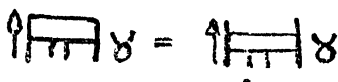




In the opinion of D. Prasad they represent a structure in the form of a shelter with thatched roof.<sup>7</sup> These symbols have many things in common with those that were discovered in the coins of Allan.

Prasad points out that the circle represents a wayside well. The Edicts of Aśoka, for example, mention the construction of such wells.

A comparison of the above symbols with the seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa is of great interest. The resemblance between the symbols of seals of Mohenjo-daro and the symbols on the punch-marked coins was established by works of Prasad,<sup>8</sup> K. Fabri,<sup>9</sup> Jayaswal and others.

Thus, on the seals of Mohenjo-daro there are signs which are similar to those of the coin No. 55 of Theobald :<sup>10</sup>



Among the seals published by J. Marshall<sup>11</sup>, we can find those on which the signs of the type  and 

6. Durga Prasad, Classification and significance of the symbols on the silver punch-marked coins of Ancient India, *Journal and Proceedings of A. S. B.* New Series, Calcutta, 1934, vol. xxx, Num. Supl. pl. 27 N 3.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 52, N 116 and 116a.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-59.

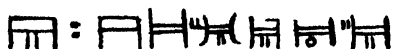
9. C. L. Fabri, The punch-marked coins: A survival of the Indus civilization. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1935, part ii, pp. 807-817.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

11. J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization*, London, 1931, vol. iii, plates cxxx, cxx, cxxi, cxxiii, cxxiv.

are met with. They resemble very much the signs of Sohgaura document and the symbols on coins (of Allan and Prasad).

Besides that, we find on the seals, symbols similar to the sign



and two other signs which were discovered on the coins and the copper-plate.

Thus we find on the seal No. 259 :



Thus, the conclusion which suggests itself is that the sign



meant "granary" on the seals of Mohenjo-daro also.

Our hypothesis is confirmed by archaeological materials. Wheeler found remains of public granary during excavations of Harappa. Here is the description of this granary :

"The granary appears to have taken the form of a range of long halls supported on a massive plinth of burnt bricks the upper part of which was pierced by numerous air-passages for the ventilation of timber floors and the protection against mildew of the grain and other produce stored within".<sup>12</sup>

On the basis of this description, the excavated granary resembles the symbols on seals and coins. It tells us that the seals bore symbols of farm-structures which in fact existed in the epoch of Harappa civilization.

The examples which we have given here also show that the traditions of the great Indian civilization do not die with the ruin of urban life. They continue for many centuries, influencing the later Indian culture.

12. J. Marshall, *The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, Bombay, 1950, vol. ix, N 34, p. 88.

## HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION AND THE “ARYAN PROBLEM”

The achievements of modern archaeology, history and linguistics have made it possible to make important amendments in many traditional notions about the growth of the Indus civilization and culture and to renounce a number of conclusions which were considered final.

Since the excavations by the Indian archaeologists, R. Banerjee in Mohenjo-daro and Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni in Harappa, a wealth of materials has been accumulated which helps to reconstruct many features of one of the greatest civilizations of the ancient world.

Archaeological researches have shown that in the third millennium B.C. there existed a common (but not uniform) culture (conventionally known as Harappan) in the Indus Valley and the adjoining regions. There flourished large towns built according to a planned scheme, with a developed system of public services and amenities, plying a busy trade over land and sea (including foreign trade), with a script and highly developed handicrafts, etc.

However, many questions about the origin of the Harappan Culture—its evolution, chronology, the anthropological aspect of its authors and lastly, the time of the decline of the Indus Valley towns—cannot still be regarded as finally settled.

There are many opinions, for example, on the question of the origin of the Harappan Culture. Archaeological discoveries of the previous years raise the question of the growth of the Harappan Culture on a local footing resulting from the evolution of local pre-Aryan cultures, while a study of the ancient cultures of Sind and Baluchistan shows that the regions mentioned in pre-Harappan and early Harappan periods

formed a province of settled farming cultures of painted ware which were very close to each other and were notable for local peculiarities.<sup>1</sup>

Fragments of pottery of the Baluchistan type were discovered by E. Mackay in the lower strata of Mohenjo-daro.<sup>2</sup> M. Wheeler, during excavations of building complexes in Harappa, found fragments of pottery of the Zhob type (Rana-Ghundai II-III) in the stratum preceding the town fortifications.<sup>3</sup> On a number of settlements of Amri-Nal Culture (for instance in Ghazi Shah, Lohri, Pandi Wahi and other places) the Harappan Culture succeeded the Amri Culture.<sup>4</sup> An especially significant similarity is traceable between the painted ware culture of Sind and Baluchistan and the culture of rural settlements of the Harappan civilization.

The question of the growth of the Harappan Culture from the culture of the Amri type and cultures close to it still requires further elaboration and its direct genetic affinity can still be hardly recognized as established, but the close relations of the Harappan civilization with the ancient agrarian painted ware cultures of Sind, Baluchistan and adjoining regions and

1. This region territorially includes some regions of what are now Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia, whose relations with the Indus area are quite evident and are well-traced in the archaeological materials. See V. M. Masson, *Ancient Agriculturist Tribes of southern Turkmenistan and their connection with Iran and India* (in Russian), "Vestnik Drevnei Istorii", 1957, No. 1; D. H. Gordon, 'Sialk, Giyan, Hissar and the Indo-Iranian connection', *Man in India*, Vol. 27, (1947) N 3; by the same author, *The Prehistoric Cultures of the Zhob and the Indo-Iranian connection*, *Man*, Vol. 48, 1948, N 54-74; by the same author, *The Pottery Industries of the Indo-Iranian border: a restatement and Tentative Chronology*, *Ancient India*, Vol. 10-11, 1954-55, J. M. Casal, *Mundigak as a link between Pakistan and Iran in prehistory*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, 1957, Vol. 2.
2. E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Delhi, 1937, vol. 2.
3. M. Wheeler, *Harappa*, 1946; *The Defences and Cemetery R 37*, *Ancient India*, N 3, 1947, pp. 91 ff.
4. S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, London, 1950, pp. 93-94.

the definite succession of traditions is beyond any doubt, although the Harappan civilization was on a new and a higher stage in the development of local culture.

Recent excavations at Kot-Diji (near Khairpur, West Pakistan) corroborate the conclusions about the local development of the Harappan Civilization and at the same time prove that the cultures preceding the urban civilization had at times reached a fairly high standard.<sup>5</sup>

Works by Indian and Pakistani archaeologists have paved the way for settling the problem of the emergence of urban civilization and the evolution of the Harappan Culture. Discoveries of recent years have convincingly refuted the widespread view about the uniformity and stagnant character of the Harappan Culture.<sup>6</sup> Now it is possible to say something not only about the general features of the Harappan Culture as a whole, but also about the peculiarities and specialities of the separate regions and periods in the history of Harappan settlements.<sup>7</sup> Excavations of the Harappan settlements in Rangpur,<sup>8</sup> Lothal,<sup>9</sup> Prabhas Patan,<sup>10</sup> and other places have revealed some features of late Harappan Culture hitherto unknown. M. Wheeler's investigations in Harappa (discovery of a citadel, several periods in the building complex,

5. See F. A. Khan, Before Mohenjo-daro : Kot-Diji, *Illustrated London News*, 28th May, 1958 ; H. Mode, *Das Fruhe Indien*, Weimar, 1960, p. 133.
6. Followers of this view are M. Wheeler (*op. cit.*, p. 81), and S. Piggott (*op. cit.*, p. 138).
7. See A. Ghosh, A Survey of the Recent Progress in Early Indian Archaeology, *Indologen-Tagung*, 1959, Verhandlung in Essen-Bredeneu, Gothingen, 1960, pp. 40-51.
8. See *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1953-4, (Hereafter IAR or by the year only).
9. IAR, 1954-55, p. 12 ; 1955-56, p. 6 ; 1956-57, p. 15 ; 1957-58, pp. 7-12 ; 1958-59, pp. 13-15 ; K. N. Puri, Lothal and Indus Valley site in Saurashtra, *Indologen-Tagung*, 1959, Verhandlung in Essen-Bredeneu, pp. 54-57 ; S. R. Rao, New Light on Indus-Valley Civilization, *March of India*, 1959, XI, N 9, p. 38.
10. IAR, 1955-56, p. 7 ; 1956-57, p. 16-17.

peculiarities of the fortification system etc) introduced many new factors in deciding the question of the emergence of the city civilization.<sup>11</sup> On the basis of the researches of Pakistani archaeologists in Mohenjo-daro<sup>12</sup> we can trace a progressive development of the Harappan Culture here. Certain other problems of the history of Harappan Civilization can also be elucidated afresh in the light of the new archaeological discoveries.

One of the most complex and debatable questions requiring a detailed analysis is connected with the reasons for the so-called downfall of the Harappan Civilization, its date and those responsible for it.

The traditional view shared by many scholars attributes the downfall of the Harappan Civilization to the invasion of Aryan tribes, who, according to them, destroyed the once flourishing towns. Some archaeologists believe it to have been a raid of Aryan intruders. M. Wheeler, for example, draws a terrifying picture of pillage and slaughter which the Aryans committed in the Indus towns.<sup>13</sup> According to Wheeler, the splendid culture of the Indians which existed for several centuries went to ruins and perished under the onslaughts of the Aryans. "There appears to be sufficient archaeological and other evidences", writes S. Dikshit, "to prove that the civilization of the Indus Valley was swamped wholesale by a ruthless and very powerful enemy, whom many of our predecessors are perhaps correctly inclined to identify as the so-called Aryans. The depredations caused by these foreign invaders...must have accentuated the decline of all culture, not only in the Indus Valley, but also in Baluchistan etc".<sup>14</sup> Many more statements of this nature could be cited.

11. M. Wheeler, *op. cit.*

12. F. A. Khan, Archaeological Activities in Pakistan, 1948-1955, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Leiden, 1958.

13. M. Wheeler, Mohenjo-daro, *Tamil Culture*, vol. 11, 1953, No. 1. pp. 24-27; by the same author, *Pakistan four thousand years ago*, London, 1955, pp. 23-24.

14. S. K. Dikshit, *An Introduction to Archaeology*, Bombay-Calcutta, 1957.



As a rule, scholars overlook the questions of the internal life of Harappan towns in the last period of their existence and ignore the internal causes of the crisis of ancient towns of the Indus Valley.

As opposed to the traditional terminology, we deliberately do not speak about the downfall and destruction of the Harappan Culture, but about the internal crisis of the Indus Valley towns, so as to emphasize that the decay of the city-centres—Harappa and Mohenjo-daro—did not at all spell the complete disappearance of the culture, its synchronous and general downfall.

New researches on the Harappan Culture make necessary a re-examination of the existing views on the history of the Harappan civilization and of the principal stages of its development.

A study of the later periods in the history of Harappan towns deserves special attention. Researches have shown that serious changes connected with the beginning of an internal crisis were taking place at this time in the towns.

Normal city life was disturbed in the main centres—Harappa and Mohenjo-daro—and the municipal administration weakened. This is clearly manifested in town-planning and the condition of town-building. Tiny houses which sprang up on the ruins of decayed public buildings (for example, the public store house), encroached upon the streets,<sup>15</sup> which had not been allowed in the prime period. Potters' ovens were erected even on the main streets, and along the roads came up rows of hurriedly built shops.<sup>16</sup> In the so-called later period, the walls of many buildings, in spite of the usual practice of building with a thickness of two bricks, were erected in single bricks, many structures were simply abandoned and large structures were partitioned into small rooms.<sup>17</sup> Signs of internal decline are also clearly traceable in the building of towns in Harappa.

15. F. A. Khan, *Archaeological Activities in Pakīstan*.

16. E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations*, London, 1948.

17. Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

M. Wheeler's excavations showed that in the later period of the history of the settlements, buildings went to decay and soon lay in ruins.<sup>18</sup>

Internal and foreign trade was disrupted in the towns, the number of imported goods sharply declined<sup>19</sup> and handicraft production went down.<sup>20</sup>

The decay of the main towns of the Harappan Culture has been attributed by the majority of scholars to the invasion of foreign tribes, who, as a rule, are identified as the Aryans. However, traces of the decline, caused by deep internal contradictions of the Harappan society of the Bronze Age, were apparent before the penetration of any sizeable groups of alien tribes into the Indus towns.

Conclusions about the decline of Harappan town prior to and independent of the direct invasion of foreign hordes are corroborated by the new discoveries of the late Harappan and post-Harappan settlements and towns in Saurashtra and the Kathiawar Peninsula. No sign of any alien culture has been traced in these settlements, but changes connected with the emerging internal crisis of the Harappan Culture are noticeable.

In Rangpur,<sup>21</sup> for example, immediately above the stratum of typical Harappan Culture, is deposited a stratum the pottery of which consists of small vessels of polished red ware, showing clear signs of decay: the technique and quality of vessel manufacture had deteriorated. The workmanship is inferior, although the technique of manufacture

18. Wheeler, (1947) *op. cit.* p. 65.

19. Excavations in Saurashtra (for instance, in Lothal), have shown that in the so-called later period, intimate relations which existed earlier with the main centres of the Harappan civilization were broken and foreign trade also ceased. See, Rao, (1959), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-8.

20. F. Khan, *op. cit.*

21. IAR. 1953-54, p. 7. For the results of excavations of 1954-55 see G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Noviye arkheologicheskiye issledovaniya V Indiiskoi respublike*, [New Archaeological Researches in the Republic of India (1954-55), (in Russian)], *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1957, N 3, p. 303.

is still directly connected with Harappa. The "transitional" period, corresponding to this stratum, as shown by the excavations, was very long. It is quite obvious that in this region the decay of the Harappan Culture was caused not by the Aryan invasion but by internal factors.

The post-Harappan Culture (later chalcolithic, according to the terminology of some Indian archaeologists) dates approximately from 1500-1200 B.C., according to radiocarbon analysis of the materials from Navdatoli. Thus, the downfall of the Harappan settlements in Saurashtra coincides on the whole with the date of the fall of the main Indus Valley centres. The region of distribution of the "transitional" post-Harappan Culture, according to the latest data, extends from Rangpur in the west to Tripura in the east, reaching up to Brahmagiri in the south <sup>22</sup>

Excavations at Prabhas Patan have also given us an opportunity to trace the development of local cultures in the post-Harappan era, without revealing any alien culture.<sup>23</sup> The first period in the history of the town clearly breaks up into two phases : the earlier is characterized by crude pottery with threaded decorative designs close to the late Harappan pottery at Rangpur, and microlithic flakes which are typical of the aeneolithic ; the next phase is marked by the appearance of a great quantity of painted pottery. The forms of the vessels and the character of their painting are evidence of the combination of traditions of late Harappan wares with the wares whose painting is close to the motifs on the vessels of the aeneolithic cultures of central India. However, the late Harappan tradition predominates. In the next period, along with the preservation of some of the late-Harappan traditions (for example, painting), the fine red polished ware also appears. The techniques of manufacture of painted pottery gradually deteriorated. Vessels were sharply reduced in size, and the decorative designs became simplified (vessels were painted only with horizontal bands).

22. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

23. IAR 1955-56, pp. 7 ; 1956-57 ; p. 16-17.

The sequence of transition from the mature Harappan Culture to the late and post-Harappan cultures is also traced in many other settlements in Saurashtra and the Kathiawar Peninsula.<sup>24</sup>

New discoveries by the Indian archaeologists at Lothal are of special interest. The town was a big trading port (excavations have revealed special docks for ships)—carrying trade with foreign countries—and it had a developed system of town planning.<sup>25</sup> There was an excellent drainage system to guard against floods, for which purpose platforms were built of brick and clay. The excavations of 1958-1959 revealed five periods in the history of the town,<sup>26</sup> inclusive of the settlements of the post-Harappan times. The flourishing of Lothal dates to the fourth period, after which a gradual decline set in: ditches for draining out were poorly built and the condition of the roads sharply deteriorated. The water supply and canal system were disturbed.<sup>27</sup> Around 1500 B.C., Lothal was subjected to a severe flood, but soon life in the town was restored and it went on for about another 500 years. In this period, that is, after 1500 B.C., connection with the main centres of the Indus Valley have not been traced.<sup>28</sup> The latter began to decay in this period. Thus the time of the internal decline of Lothal dates to the period immediately preceding 1500 B.C., which agrees well with the date of the later stages of the life of the Indus towns. No foreign culture in the vicinity of Lothal and its environs has been traced.

The results of the archaeological discoveries in Saurashtra and in the Kathiawar Peninsula serve particularly as a convincing denial of the traditional view of the downfall of the Harappan civilization under the powerful pressure of Aryan tribes.

24. For example, excavations at Rojdi (Saurashtra), see IAR 1958-1959, pp. 19-21.

25. Rao (1959), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-8.

26. IAR 1957-58, p. 12; 1958-59, pp. 13-15.

27. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

28. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

In a number of settlements of the north-eastern periphery of the Harappan civilization, as also in Saurashtra, a modified form of the Harappan Culture which developed here independently of the appearance of any alien tribes has been witnessed (cf. the works of A. Ghosh). The Harappan Culture continued to exist here in this form for a longer period, than in the western regions of the Harappan civilization, even after the decline of its main centres on the Indus.

All the above-cited materials give definite evidence of the fact that the manifest signs of the internal decline of the Harappan Culture in the towns of the Indus Valley had appeared before the advent of alien tribes, and in many regions (Saurashtra, Kathiawar) without any—even temporary—connection with this event.

The conclusion about the internal crisis of the Harappan Culture, however, does not contradict or rule out the invasion of foreign tribes in the Indus Valley. In a number of centres of the Indus Valley of the so-called later period, the period of internal decline was accompanied by a struggle of the Harappans with foreign tribes. This is manifest, for instance, in the strengthening of the defence system, in the creation of special buildings for repelling the enemy attacks<sup>29</sup> etc. After studying the fortification system of Harappa, M. Wheeler concluded that in the later period of the history of the town the population was on the defensive.<sup>30</sup> S. Piggott drew attention to the hiding places for treasure in the later strata of Mohenjo-daro, which, in his opinion, are indicative of the troubled times.<sup>31</sup> It is natural that the internal crisis facilitated the penetration of foreign tribes into the Indus Valley.

The settling of the question of the ethnic origin of the first

29. Wheeler, p. 47 ; Dikshit, *op. cit.*

30. Wheeler, (1947) *op. cit.*, p. 74.

31. Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

strangers in the Indian towns is connected with an analysis of non-Harappan material in each of the city-centres. We possess especially ample data on Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Chanhu-daro.

The later period in Mohenjo-daro is connected with a strengthening of contacts with the cultures of Southern Baluchistan, mainly with Kulli,—contacts which appear rather strange. These contacts are revealed by the discovery of pottery and stone vessels of the Baluchistan type.<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to conceive that in these hard times for the Indus population, trade once again flourished with the settlements of Baluchistan. Apparently, the expansion of the influence of Baluchistan is connected with the penetration of some tribes from southern Baluchistan into the Indus Valley (particularly into Mohenjo-daro). At the moment the reasons for such movement are not clear; it may be supposed that it was due to pressure on them exerted by tribes moving from the west, including also the Aryans. It is also possible that it was only an attack of one of the tribes of neighbouring Baluchistan. Several groups of skeletons, discovered in the streets of Mohenjo-daro, bear witness to this; their owners obviously met a violent death.<sup>33</sup> Many scholars (M. Wheeler, S. Dikshit, etc) consider that they were the victims of an onrushing wave of the Aryan conquerors.<sup>34</sup> However, it is more likely that this

32. Piggott, *ibid.* p. 221, K. Deva, D. McCown, Further Exploration in Sind, 1938, *Ancient India*, N 5, (1949), p. 70, table VI; D. H. Gordon, The Pottery Industries of Indo-Iranian border, *Ancient India*, No. 108, p. 162.

33. Mackay, (1951), *op. cit.*, p. 37.

34. There are no sufficient grounds for such conclusions, since the availability of only a few groups of skeletons in such a big town as Mohenjo-daro is not evidence of a general massacre, which the Aryan newcomers would have committed in Indian towns. According to approximate calculations, the population of Mohenjo-daro was no less than 100,000. See B. K. Chatterjee, The Date and Character of the Indus Civilization. *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLII, No III-IV, 1956, pp. 390-391.

event in the history of Mohenjo-daro is connected with the invaders from Baluchistan.<sup>35</sup>

The peculiar culture (the so-called cemetery 'H' culture)<sup>36</sup> which is different from the one unearthed at Mohenjo-daro, was discovered in the post-Harappan cemetery strata of Harappa proper. A comparison of the materials of the Harappan cemetery "R 37" and of the cemetery "H" makes it possible to consider the culture of cemetery "H" as post-Harappan in time and non-Harappan in origin. There are great differences, for example, between the burials of the two cultures. Even the pottery from cemetery "H" differs sharply from the Harappan pottery; it is well-baked, deep red, and has zoomorphic ornaments.<sup>37</sup> On the whole, information about the cemetery "H" culture is still very scanty; besides Harappa there are only two settlements in the central part of the Indus Valley (Lurevat and Ratha Theri), during the excavations of which this culture was discovered. In Harappa itself, it was traced in a very limited area. The authors of the cemetery "H" culture raised their crude structures built in single bricks on the ruins of the Harappan ones.<sup>38</sup> Direct interaction of the authors of cemetery "H" culture with the Harappans has not been revealed. Besides the excavations of the year 1946 have proved that there was a definite temporary break between the last stage in the history of Harappa and the period related to the arrival in Harappa, of the bearers of cemetery "H" culture.<sup>39</sup> It can be assumed that their appearance in Harappa dates back to the time when the

35. S. Piggott, *The Chronology of Prehistoric North-west India*, *Ancient India*, No 1, (1946), p. 11; M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, pp. 49-51.

36. Wheeler, (1947), *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 74.

37. See M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vols. 1-2, (Delhi, 1940); Wheeler, (1947), *ibid.*

38. Wheeler, *ibid.* pp. 65, 74.

39. Wheeler, *ibid.* p. 74; also, Wheeler, (1968), *op. cit.* p. 50; A. Ghosh, *On the Prehistoric Harappa Civilization*, *Indo-Asian Culture*, 1959, N 8, p. 166.

Harappans had already left the city. This conclusion can serve as another argument against the traditional view about the direct co-relation of the fall of the Harappan culture with the alien tribes who are considered as the Aryans. This viewpoint was also expressed in connection with the cemetery "H" culture: also, according to Wheeler, the tribes of the Vedic Aryans who had destroyed the towns of the Indus Valley were the authors of this culture.<sup>40</sup> However, Wheeler's identification encounters serious objections:<sup>41</sup> it is difficult to coordinate the already mentioned extreme narrowness of the territorial boundaries of the spread of cemetery "H" culture with the idea of the invasion of the Aryan tribes. Besides, this culture does not at all exist in those regions where it is customary to prove the existence of the tribes of the Vedic Aryans.<sup>42</sup>

Naturally, it may be supposed that the appearance of the cemetery "H" culture in Harappa and at two other places is related to the penetration into the Indus Valley of a small group of tribes whose ethnic affinity is very difficult to judge at present.<sup>43</sup>

40. Wheeler, (1947), *op. cit.* p. 82.

41. G. M. Bongard-Levin and D. V. Deopik, *Novie materialy po drevnei istorii Indii* (New materials on the Ancient history of India), (in Russian), *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1957, N 2, p. 192.

42. A. Ghosh, The Rajputana Desert, its Archaeological Aspect, *Bulletin of the National Institute of Sciences*, 1952, N 1, pp. 37-42; by the same author, *Explorations in Bikaner, East and West*, 1953, Vol. IV, N 1, pp. 31-34; N. R. Banerjee, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Leiden, 1958, p. XXI; B. B. Lal, Protohistoric Investigation, *Ancient India*, N 9, 1953, p. 88.

43. The anthropological materials from the Cemetery "H" in Harappa has not yet been sufficiently studied and published. B. Lal refers to the presence of Armenoid and Proto-Australoid features in the creators of the cemetery "H" culture (see B. B. Lal, *ibid* p. 88). However, this determination is too general and cannot settle the problem of the ethnic affinity of the authors of the culture of the Cemetery "H". The presence of some resemblance between the Cemetery "H" and Kulli Cultures is of great interest. (See S. Piggott, *Dating the Hissar Sequence—the Indian evidence*, *Antiquity*, vol. XVII, No 162,



A totally different post-Harappan culture—the Jhukar culture—is witnessed in a number of settlements of Sind. Its relations with the Harappan Culture are most distinctly traceable at Chanhudaro, a small settlement to the south-east of Mohenjodaro. The first three periods (Chanhudaro IA, IB, IC) belong to the Harappan Culture itself; then after a long interval, there appears the Jhukar type of culture (Chanhudaro II), which has been brought to light by the finds of a settlement of the same name in Sind. Excavations of E. Mackay have shown that the authors of Jhukar culture appeared in Chanhudaro 600 years after the town had been abandoned by the Harappans,<sup>44</sup> apparently due to inundation. In this way the end of the Harappan Culture at Chanhudaro, too, was not caused by or connected with the advent of foreign tribes—the authors of the Jhukar culture.

The Jhukar culture is marked by a number of peculiarities which distinguish it from the Harappan Culture and take it close to the cultures of Baluchistan and Iran. The Jhukar pottery is more crude and porous than the Harappan, and a noticeably ill-fired, ornamentation (mainly geometric) has been applied with black or red colours. But the Harappan pottery, as is well-known, is monochromatic.<sup>45</sup>

N. Majumdar has pointed out the similarity between the

p. 179). It is possible that in the present case, as also in Mohenjodaro, we are concerned with the culture whose bearers penetrated into the Indus Valley from the region of Baluchistan.

44. According to Mackay, this gap is approximately 600 years. See E. Mackay, *Chanhudaro Excavations, 1935-36*, (American Oriental Series, vol. 20), New Haven, 1943. M. Wheeler takes a different stand. He considers that here existed a rather small temporary interval [Wheeler, 1968, *op. cit.* p. 44]. E. Ross and D. McCown consider that the Jhukar Culture was the direct heir of Harappan Culture. (See E. J. Ross, D. E. McCown, A Chalcolithic site in Northern Baluchistan, *Journal of the Near Eastern Studies*, 1944, Vol. V, N 4, p. 287).
45. For more details on the difference between the wares of the two cultures, see Mackay, (1943), *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 103-104. The sharp differences between the wares of the two cultures obviously are also due to certain borrowings by the Jhukarians of a number of forms and

pottery of Jhukar and Amri.<sup>46</sup> Still closer analogies can be found in the pottery of Baluchistan.<sup>47</sup> Significant similarity has been traced between the Jhukar pottery and the pottery from Mughal Ghundai, Shahi Tump and other sites.<sup>48</sup> We can assume that in the later period of the life of the Harappan towns a numerically small group of tribes, closely affiliated to the regions of Baluchistan,<sup>49</sup> penetrated into Sind and settled in a number of sites of the Indus Valley, already abandoned by the Harappans (for example, Chanhu-daro), or where the Harappan Culture was nearing its eclipse.<sup>50</sup>

Such a picture agrees well with the facts known to us from some other towns and settlements of the Indus Valley (Harappa and Mohenjodaro)

According to many scholars (e.g. Heine-Geldern<sup>51</sup> and

types from the Harappans. However, this still does not justify the view that Jhukar was the direct heir of the Harappan Culture.

46. N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, N 48, 1934, pp. 26-81.
47. Piggott, (1950), *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223 According to S. Piggott, the ware of Jhukar includes different elements, in which the motifs of the Kulli ware are definite. In Lohumjo-daro in the stratum of Jhukar Culture, Majumdar (*op. cit.*, p. 57) discovered fragments of wares of the type of "Nal".
48. Pottery and faience designs, metal wares of Jhukar have close analogies in Shahi-Tump. In the opinion of a number of scholars, the two cultures are roughly synchronous : See Piggott, *op. cit.* (1946), p. 18 ; Piggott (1950), *op. cit.* p. 223, Lal, (1953), *op. cit.* p. 89.
49. The question of the origin of Jhukar Culture and the ethnical affinity of its authors still awaits a final solution.
50. It is possible that the propinquity of the Jhukar, Shahi-Tump and Rana Ghundai cultures is due to one and the same process—the penetration of tribes from the west into Baluchistan and Sind. Button-designs and shaft-hole axes which are typical of Jhukar Culture, in the opinion of G. Childe, were introduced into India by the newcomers from the north-west. G. Childe finds close analogies in northern Iran, expressing the opinion that "among the 'barbarians' who destroyed the Harappan Civilization, were apparently, invaders from north-western Iran". G. Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London 1954).
51. R. Heine-Geldern, The coming of the Aryans and the End of the Harappa Civilization, *Man*, vol. LVI (1956).

Fairservis)<sup>52</sup> the creators of the Jhukar Culture were Aryans who had also destroyed the Harappan towns of the Indus Valley. One cannot agree with this view. The identification of the people of Jhukar, whose culture is traced only in three settlements of Sind, with the culture of Vedic Aryans contradicts the evidence and hardly agrees in terms of time and space with the so-called Aryan invasion.<sup>53</sup> Obviously, we have before us only one of the waves of the tribes moving from the west (possibly from Iran)<sup>54</sup> on whom the Indo-Aryan (or the Indo-Iranian tribes) were able to exert pressure.

Repeated movements of the tribes are also proved by materials from Baluchistan, where in this period, frequent changes of cultures are noticed in the different regions (for example, Periano-Ghundai, Rana-Ghundai, Shahi Tump, Dabar Kot, etc.).<sup>55</sup> By comparing these similar cultures with the cultures of Iran and the Near East, the appearance of the former in

52. W. Fairservis, *The Chronology of the Harappan Civilization and the Aryan Invasions*, *Man*, Vol. LVI (1956).
53. Jhukar Culture does not fulfil the two criteria which are found in the culture of Indo-Aryan tribes in India, and which are justly indicated by A. Ghosh: 1) the date between the second half of the second millennium to the first half of the first millennium B.C.; 2) the region of diffusion which was colonized by the Indo-Aryans (Brahmavarta and Brahmarshideśa): see A. Ghosh, (1960), *op. cit.* p. 46.
54. W. Fairservis, identifying the Jhukarians with the Aryans, tries to trace the path of the movement of the representatives of Jhukar in India: from eastern and southern Afghanistan via the Gomal pass into the valley of Zhob and from there into Sind (W. Fairservis, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56).
55. See A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No 37, (Calcutta, 1929); by the same author, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No 43, (Calcutta, 1931); E. J. Ross, D. E. McCown, *A chalcolithic site in Northern Baluchistan*, *op. cit.*, B. de Cardi, *A New Prehistoric Ware from Baluchistan*, *Iraq*, vol. III, part 2, 1951; by the same author, *New wares and fresh problems from Baluchistan*, *Antiquity*, 1959, vol. 33, N 159; W. Fairservis, *Archaeological Surveys in Zhob and Loralai districts*, New York, 1959.

Baluchistan and Sind, may approximately be dated, in the first half of the second millennium B. C. (the most likely date is 1800-1600 B.C.),<sup>56</sup> which agrees with the date of the internal decline of Harappan towns. Exactly in this period of the weakening of the centres of the Indus civilization, small groups of alien "barbarian" tribes, belonging to different ethnic groups, were also able to penetrate into some of the towns of the Indus Valley.<sup>57</sup>

Thus, the materials adduced bear witness to the fact that in most of the settlements and towns of the Harappan civilization, the decline of Harappan Culture was not caused by the invasion of Indo-Aryans or other foreign tribes. However in some of the towns of the Indus Valley, the first small groups of newcomers had accelerated the internal decline of the Harappan Culture which had already begun. The internal crisis of the Harappan Culture, was obviously a general process, gripping the whole of Harappan civilization. At the moment it is difficult to specify its causes.

It may be assumed that the change in the political map of the Near East and the movement of Indo-European tribes in the East exerted a definite influence on the internal condition of the Harappan settlements, mainly the trading centres. This led to the disturbance of the normal trade of the Indus towns with the West (including the Mesopotamian states). In the provinces, according to the available materials, the changes were felt to a lesser degree. Even after the fall of the main

56. S. Piggott, Dating the Hissar Sequence: the Indian evidence, *Antiquity*, 1943, vol. xvii, p. 179-81; Lal (1953), *op. cit.*, pp. 88-91; see also D. H. Gordon, (1947), *op. cit.* Displacements and invasions of different ethnic groups have been witnessed in Baluchistan even at a later period.

57. A considerable increase in the number of objects of foreign origin in the later strata of a number of Harappan centres also bears witness to this. These materials find direct analogies in the cultures of Iran and Baluchistan of the first half of the second millennium B.C. See S. Piggott, Notes on certain metal pins and a mace-head in the Harappan Culture. *Ancient India*, 1947-48, N 4.

centres—Mohenjo-daro and Harappa—many provincial settlements and even towns continued to exist and adjusted themselves to new conditions, modifying their culture. The weakness of the Harappan towns, which were going through internal crises, easily brought about their complete decay on the appearance of the foreign tribes. Powerful avalanches of newcomers were not needed for this. Archaeological materials show a highly mixed picture of the final stages in the history of the Harappan towns, witnessing the appearance of different and comparatively small groups of the alien population in some towns of the Indus Valley. The first strangers who penetrated into the Indus Valley at different times did not belong to a common ethnic group. In different towns, post-Harappan in time and basically non-Harappan in nature, cultures have been noticed which are different from each other : in some places this culture is very close to the cultures of South Baluchistan ; in other places it is a “typically barbarian”<sup>58</sup> Jhukar-type culture, while in some other places it is the cemetery “H” culture, also apparently related to Baluchistan.

Thus, in the light of new materials, we should not only abandon the traditional view of the downfall of the Harappan culture as a whole, but we should also reject the view that there was a direct relationship between the decay of the supposedly flourishing towns of the Harappan civilization and the arrival of a powerful wave of Aryan tribes.

Is, then, the present conclusion a denial of the very fact of the arrival of Indo-Aryan tribes in India ?

How is it possible to co-ordinate the material on the internal crisis of the Harappan towns and their downfall before the appearance of the alien tribes with the theory of the “Aryan invasion” in India ?

To answer these questions, the dating of the “end” of

58. Childe, (1954) *op. cit.*, Moscow, 1956, p. 284.

Harappa<sup>59</sup> and of the emergence of a culture in India which can be correlated to the Indo-Aryan tribes, is of paramount importance. The sixteenth century B. C. appears now to be the more correct date of the "end" of the Indus Valley towns,<sup>60</sup> bearing in mind that the decay of the Harappan settlements took place in different regions in a dissimilar manner and, apparently, at different periods. This date, the most correct for the Indus centres of Harappan culture—Harappa and Mohenjo-daro,—has been determined on the basis of two factors. First, the Indus articles found in Mesopotamia, and the Mesopotamian articles found in the Indus Valley. Secondly, the spectral analysis of segmented faience beads from Knossos (Crete) discovered in the upper strata of Harappa.<sup>61</sup> By dating the "end" of Harappa in the middle of the second millennium B.C.<sup>62</sup> and by definitely connecting

59. In this case we have in mind the date of the closing stages of the Harappa culture itself, when the Indian towns were passing through the period of internal decline.
60. Many scholars date this event in the middle of the second millennium B.C. See, Wheeler, (1947), *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83; by the same author, (1968), *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93; Mackay, (1948) *op. cit.*, p. 136; V. V. Struve, Introduction to the Russian translation of Mackay's book; D. H. Gordon, The Early use of metals in India and Pakistan, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. LXXX, 1950, p. 56; by the same author, (1948-1955), *op. cit.*, pp. 170-71,
61. J. E. S. Stone, A second fixed point in the chronology of the Harappan Culture, *Antiquity*, 1949, vol. xxiii, N 92, pp. 201-204. In this connection the materials from Lothal are also interesting, for they prove the cessation of relations of the town with the Indus Valley after the middle of the second millennium B.C. This was obviously related to the decline of the Harappan centres in the Indus Valley in this period, by which it is also possible to date the closing stages of the life of the Indian towns. See Rao, (1959), *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.
62. Some scholars, for example A. Pusalkar and E. McCown, uphold the old date, i.e., the end of the third millennium B.C. See *The History and Culture of Indian People*, vol. i, Calcutta, 1950, p. 192; E. McCown, Relative Stratigraphy and Chronology of Iran, in R. Ehrich (Ed.), *Relative Chronology in Old World Archaeology*, Chicago, (1954), p. 61. The date given by McCown was subjected to just criticism by

its general downfall with the "Aryan invasion", research workers encountered serious difficulties, because it is very difficult to produce substantial evidence of the arrival of the Indo-Aryan tribes in India in this period. Along with this, the linguistic data (mainly obtained in the Near East)<sup>63</sup> and archaeological materials indicate the possible appearance of the Indo-Aryan tribes in India some centuries later (according to archaeological materials, this event dates approximately to the thirteenth-eleventh centuries B.C.).<sup>64</sup> In this way, a considerable time-gap between the decline of a number of

V. M. Masson, N. Y. Merpert, Questions connected with the chronology of Old World, (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1958, N. 1, p. 258.

63. Linguistic materials prove the presence of considerable Indo-Aryan (or, which is less probable, even Indo-Iranian) ethnic elements in the Near East. See N. D. Mironov, Aryan vestiges in the Near East of Second Millenary B.C., *Acta Orientalia*, 1933, vol. xi, pp. 140-217; S. Konw, *The Aryan gods of the Mitanni people*, Royal Frederik University Publications of the Indian Institute Rustiania, 1921; by the same author, Mitanni, Iran and Indian, *Dr. J. Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 81-94; W. Brandenstein, Die alten Inder in Vorderasien and die chronologie des *Rgveda*, *Frühgeschichte Und Sprachwissenschaft*, (Wien, 1948), SS. 134-145; M. Mayerhofer, Die Induskulturen und ihre westlichen Beziehung, *Saculum*, 1951, Bd. ii, N 2; by the same author, Zu den arischen, *Sprachresten in Vorderasien Die Sprache*, 1959, vol. v, SS. 74-95; K. Jarits, Die Kassitischen Sprachreste, *Anthropos*, 1957, Bd. 52, Nos. 5-6, SS. 850-898, H. Kronasser, Indisches in den Nuzi-Texten, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1957, Bd. 53, N 3-4, SS. 181-82 and others. Several authors decide the question of the presence of Indo-Aryan or Indian ethnic element fairly definitely. See, for example, P. Thieme, The "Aryan" gods of the Mittani Treaties, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1960, vol. 80, N 4, pp. 301-16. The above-mentioned materials still cannot be linked directly with the "Aryan invasion" in India and the routes of this invasion; however, they rather argue against the appearance of the Indo-Aryan tribes in India at end of the second millennium B.C.
64. See G. Contenau, *La Civilization iranienne*, Paris, 1952, pp. 43-45; G. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphic comparé et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, London, 1948. On the basis of archaeological materials, R. Heine-Geldern dates the appearance of the Aryans in India to the

Harappan towns of the Indus Valley and the appearance of the Vedic Aryans in India is quite obvious. However, scholars adhering to the traditional view of the definite correlation of the "end" of Harappa and the "Aryan invasion", have tried to get over the difficulties arising from this either by dating the appearance of Aryan tribes in India to an earlier time, or by dating the "end" of Harappa to the thirteenth-twelfth centuries B.C. (e.g. R. Heine-Geldern and W. Fairervis).<sup>65</sup> Both approaches are extremely artificial and are borne out by neither archaeological nor linguistic materials.<sup>66</sup> There is only one way out of this merely superficial difficulty; it is by giving up the traditional view of the "downfall" of the Harappan civilization and Harappan centres in the Indus Valley under the blows of the Vedic Aryans and recognizing the presence of a notable break in time between the two events, which is clearly traceable in the archaeological materials. Such a conclusion does not at all deny or contradict the penetration of the Indo-Aryan tribes into India, the reality of which does not give rise to any doubt now. The "Aryan invasion" in India was a wave-like penetration at different periods of various Indo-Aryan tribes, the general features of whose culture are witnessed only in the twelfth-eleventh centuries B.C., i.e., several centuries after the decline of the main centres of the Indus civilization. In the eleventh-tenth centuries B.C. separate groups of Indo-Aryan tribes, who had penetrated into India, formed a united community, with a common archaeological culture. The collection of separate

12-10th centuries B.C. See R. Heine-Geldern, (1953), *op. cit.* According to some researches, the most ancient monument of Aryan tribes in India—the *Rgveda*—belongs approximately to the 10th century B.C. See History and Culture of Indian People, vol. i, p. 203.

65. R. Heine-Geldern, (1956), *op. cit.*, W. Fairervis, (1956), *op. cit.*

66. V. Milojoic, *Chronologie der Tungeren Steinzeit Mittel-und Sudosteuropas*, Berlin, 1949. A detailed criticism of the article of R. Heine-Geldern was given by D. V. Džopik and N. Y. Merert. See *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1957, N 4, pp. 198-211.



hymns of the Vedic Aryans in a single book—the *R̥gveda*—is also dated in this period. As early as the 1920's and 1930's on the basis of an analysis of the facts of the *R̥gveda*, linguists had outlined the approximate region of the spread of the Vedic tribes at the time of the composition of the *R̥gveda*—the Eastern Punjab (mainly its north-eastern region).<sup>67</sup> These conclusions are convincingly confirmed today by the archaeological materials: approximately in this very region a post-Harappan culture has been discovered with a common complex of material, the lower boundary of which dates to the thirteenth-tenth centuries B.C.—the so-called Painted Grey Ware culture.<sup>68</sup> This completely conforms to the two conditions put before the culture, which is being compared with the Indo-Aryan tribes,<sup>69</sup> it is spread over the territory where the Aryans subsequently settled, and it is dated in the end of the second half of the second millennium and the beginning of the first millennium B.C.<sup>70</sup>

67. A. Woolner, *The R̥gveda and the Punjab*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. vi, pp. 540-54; H. Chaklader, *Aryans in Eastern India in R̥gvedic Age*, *Modern Review*, 1930, January, pp. 40-44; by the same author, *Eastern India and Aryavarta*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. iv, pp. 84-101. Keis puts them in the region of Ambala, See *The Cambridge History of India*, 1922, vol. i, p. 78.
68. B. B. Lal, *Excavation at Hastinapur and other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins, 1950-52*, *Ancient India*, 1954-55, vol. 1' -11; by the same author, *The Painted Grey Ware of the Upper Gangatic basin: an approach to the problems of the Dark Age*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1950, vol. xvi, New Series. In the opinion of Lal, the Painted Grey Ware finds analogy in the ceramic objects of Iran and Seistan; Lal (1954-55), p. 147.
69. A. Ghosh, (1960), *op. cit.*, p. 46.
70. The Post-Harappan Culture of Jhangar, which was, however, discovered only in some of the settlements of a small region of Sind, fulfils only the later criterion. In Chanhudaro, this culture is represented by the stratum which lies above the Jhukar culture. As the excavations showed, a small group of people—creators of Jhangar culture—occupied the town after it was abandoned by the Jhukarians. Soon the signs of the stay of Jhangarians in Chanhudaro vanished. See Mackay, *Chanhudaro*, pp. 23-24. Information about the Jhangar

Thus, the Indo-Aryan tribes of the time when the *Rgveda* was being composed can be correlated with the Painted Grey Ware culture.<sup>71</sup> This conclusion agrees well with the materials cited above concerning the existence of a considerable gap in time between the internal decline of the Harappan culture and the appearance of Vedic Aryans in India. In a number of settlements of the Eastern Punjab and the upper reaches of the Ganga and Yamuna, where the Harappan as well as the

Culture is highly fragmentary and manifestly inadequate for deciding the question of the identification of the creators of this culture with Aryan tribes. See N. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, pp. 68-70, 151-55 etc.; S. K. Dikshit, *Introduction to Archaeology* (Russian translation), p. 344; D. H. Gordon, *The Pottery Industries of Indo-Iranian Border*, p. 171. The question of the ethnic affinity of the creators of Jhangar Culture requires special study. Materials about the relation of Jhangar with the ceramic tradition of Iran and Baluchistan deserve special attention in this connection. See N. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 70. Obviously, we are concerned with the penetration of a small group of "barbarian" tribes into the Indus Valley from the west, who continued to invade India for several centuries after the fall of the main centres of the Harappan civilization. In the opinion of E. Mackay, Jhangarians were local tribes with a primitive culture. E. Mackay, (1943) *op. cit.*, p. 133. A comparison of Jhangar Culture with the cultures of Central Asia reflects, for India, the subsequent fortunes of that culture of "barbarian" occupation, manifest signs of which have now been traced in a large number of monuments along the northern outskirts of the Iranian plateau. See S. P. Tolstov and M. A. Itina, *The Problem of the Swyarganskaya Culture*, (In Russian, *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1960, N 1, p. 35).

71. B. Lal was the first to point out the possibility of such a comparison, and he was backed by A. Ghosh and other Indian archaeologists. N. Banerjee, noting a number of facts about the connection of the Aryans with Painted Grey Ware Culture, considers this problem an unsettled mystery, since there exists a manifest gap between the Harappan Culture and the Painted Grey Ware Culture. See N. R. Banerjee, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, p. xxiv. Banerjee, like many other scholars, sticks to the traditional view about the compulsory correlation of the "end" of Harappa with the advent of the Aryans. That is why this important problem of ancient Indian history has remained a mystery for them.

Painted Grey Ware Cultures have been discovered, a considerable gap is traced between the two cultures. Similar are the the results of excavations in Rugar,<sup>72</sup> Kotla Nihang,<sup>73</sup> Alamgirpore,<sup>74</sup> and Bikaner region.<sup>75</sup> Until now, not a single settlement has been discovered with the Painted Grey Ware Culture lying immediately above the stratum of Harappan Culture. This is hardly surprising, since there existed a considerable gap between the decline of the Harappan settlement and the emergence of the Vedic Aryans. For example, B. Lal has fixed the date of the fall of Kotla Nihang at 500-400 B.C.,<sup>76</sup> which is in agreement with the date of the decline of a number of principal Harappan settlements (approximately the sixteenth-fifteenth centuries B. C.) and the Aryan Culture (the twelfth-eleventh centuries settlements may be discovered in the future, where the Painted Grey Ware Culture would be lying immediately above a culture related to the Harappan Culture). New excavations by Indian archaeologists have shown that after the fall of the main centres of the Indus Valley; the Harappan settlements of the Saurashtra and the Kathiawar Peninsula continued to exist in a somewhat altered form and developed their culture. It can be assumed that even in the region where the Painted Grey Ware Culture had spread, some Harappan settlements continued to exist right up to the twelfth century B.C., adjusting their culture to new conditions after the fall of Indian centres. Subsequent researches must solve this problem.

At present it is not possible to tell anything about the relation of the Harappan settlements with Aryan tribes: only in some of the settlements of the Eastern Punjab and the upper reaches of the Ganga and Yamuna, which in the past were connected with the Harappan Culture, approximately 400-500 years after the fall of the Harappan settlements here, there

72. IAR, (1953-54), p. 6; A. Ghosh, (1960), *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

73. Lal, (1954-1955), p. 24.

74. IAR, (1958-59), pp. 53-55.

75. Ghosh, (1952), *op. cit.*, p. 34.

76. Lal, (1954-1955) *op. cit.*, p. 24.

appeared a culture of Indo-Aryan tribes—the Painted Grey Ware Culture.

The presence of a considerable time-gap between the internal crisis of the Harappan Culture and the arrival of the Indo-Aryan tribes in India is an answer of a kind to one of the enigmas of ancient Indian history and culture—the absence of a significant influence of the Harappan Culture on the succeeding cultures of the Indo-Aryan (Indian) peoples of India. The correlation of the Vedic Aryans with the Painted Grey Ware Culture gives rise to the question about the routes of the penetration of the Indo-Aryan tribes into India. The region of the spread of this culture, the toponymics and hydronymics of the R̥gveda and also the absence of any element of the Painted Grey Ware culture or cultures which could be traced to its creators (the Vedic Aryans) in the regions of the lower and middle currents of the Indus—all these facts give evidence in favour of the northern route of the movement of the Indo-Aryan tribes into India, most probably through North Baluchistan and Afghanistan. On the basis of this we can say that the Vedic Aryans were not even territorially related to the principal regions of the Harappan Civilization. Having penetrated India from north-western regions, the Indo-Aryan tribes occupied the Eastern Punjab and the upper reaches of the Ganga, that is, the regions which were previously the eastern periphery of the Harappan Civilization. Only after a considerably longer period when the Aryan tribes had left the region of their original habitation along the Indus, did the Indo-Aryan (Indian) culture spread also in the Indus Valley and in other regions, where at one time the Harappan Civilization had existed. Unfortunately, we know very little about the Indus Valley cultures which were synchronous with the Painted Grey Ware culture. Only in Chanhu-daro was discovered the Jhangar Culture which dates approximately to that very period. Features of resemblance between the two cultures have not been detected. Obviously we have before us two cultures which are even ethnically different, whose authors penetrated into India approximately at the same time

along different routes.' The gradual penetration of "barbarian" tribes from the regions of Baluchistan and Afghanistan into the Indus Valley is traced over a very long period of time.

However, something can now be said about the immediate predecessors of the Aryans in several regions of the Yamuna-Ganga Doab on the basis of new excavations by Indian archaeologists.<sup>77</sup> In this territory, right up to the arrival of the Aryans, some tribes lived who were the creators of the "Copper Hoard" and the "Ochre-Coloured Ware Culture", which can be attributed, in our opinion, to the forefathers of the modern Mundas.<sup>78</sup>

In the eleventh-ninth centuries B.C. the settlements of the forefathers of the Mundas (the Copper Hoard Culture) in the Jamuna-Ganga Doab ceased to exist and gave way to the Aryan tribes (the Painted Grey Ware Culture),<sup>79</sup> and only considerably later did the Indo-Aryan tribes reach Orissa, Western Bengal, and Bihar, i.e., the region which was the centre of the ancient Munda settlements.

The researches of Indian archaeologists have shown that the Aryan tribes of the Painted Grey Ware Culture occupied a considerably larger territory than the eastern regions of the Harappan civilization.<sup>80</sup> Settlements of this culture have been discovered in the regions of Bikaner, in Ghaggar Valley, in the places connected with the events of the *Mahābhārata* and so on. They reach up to Sravasti in the east,<sup>81</sup> and up to Delhi in the north.<sup>82</sup> In many settlements of this region, the Painted Grey Ware Culture was found in the lowest stratum,

77. Lal, *ibid.* ; by the same author, *Protohistoric Investigation*.

78. G. M. Bongard-Levin, D. V. Deopik, 'Problem of the origin of Mundas, (in Russian),' *Sovetskay Ethnographiya*, 1957, N. 1.

79. The above-mentioned materials corroborate the afore-stated position of the Aryan tribes in India in the 12th-11th centuries B.C.

80. See Lal, (1948-1955), *op. cit.*, map on p. 4.

81. A Ghosh, (1960) *op. cit.*, p. 46 ; IAR 1958-59, pp. 47-50.

82. *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-55.

thereby proving that the authors of this culture were often the first settlers, who developed new and previously unsettled territories.<sup>83</sup>

After studying the Painted Grey Ware Culture (mainly, its earlier stages, dating to the twelfth-eleventh centuries B.C.) we can reconstruct the material culture of the Indo-Aryan tribes of the time of the composition of the *R̥gveda* and the principal stages of its development on Indian soil. The creators of the Painted Grey Ware Culture appear to have been settled agriculturists and cattle-breeders, who knew the potter's wheel and copper,<sup>84</sup> which agrees with the facts of the *R̥gveda*. Later, on Indian soil, they started using iron.<sup>85</sup> On the whole, we can speak of the Painted Grey Ware Culture (particularly of the ninth-seventh centuries B.C.) as a local culture of Indian tribes, and not as a culture just brought from outside by the invaders.<sup>86</sup> It is obvious that many features of the Painted Grey Ware Culture formed the basis of the succeeding Northern Black Polished Ware Culture which spread over a considerable part of northern India (sixth-fifth centuries B.C.—third-second centuries B.C.). In this period, in the Gangetic Valley, new centres of Indian culture sprang

83. A. Ghosh, (1952), *op. cit.*, p. 23 ; Lal, (1954-1955), *op. cit.*, p. 7.

84. IAR, 1958-59, p 2 ; Lal, (1954-1955), *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15. Finds of animal bones prove the domestication of the horse, bull, pig, sheep, etc ; among the cereals, rice was known.

85. In Hastinapur iron was not discovered in the layers of the Painted Grey Ware Cultures, though in Alamgirpur and Sravasti iron was found in the layers which belong to the later phase of this culture. Recent excavations have shown that the representatives of the Painted Grey Ware Culture passed on to the use of iron only in the later period of their existence. This stage of culture did not come in Hastinapur, because the inhabitants had left the town due to floods long before this period. See IAR, 1958-1959, pp. 47-55 ; Lal, (1954-1955), *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15.

86. Excavations in Hastinapur—capital of Kauravas—have shown that the spread of the Painted Grey Ware Culture corresponds, in time, to the creation of the main part of *Mahābhārata*, Lal, (1953), *op. cit.*, pp. 97.

up, large states were set up, and the economic, trade and cultural relations between different parts of the country were strengthened. The centre of Indian culture and state organization shifted from the banks of the Indus to the Gangetic Valley.

The reconstructed picture is still far from complete. Further elaboration of a number of aspects of the problems under investigation is necessary, as well as additions and clarifications; significant changes are also possible. However, one thing is certain even now; the traditional viewpoint of the decay of the flourishing towns of the Harappan civilization under the pressure of a powerful wave of Aryan tribes needs to be radically reviewed.

*[Since the publication of the article in 1962, many new works have appeared, and important discoveries have been made (above all, the excavations at Kalibangan) in the researches in Pakistan and India to study the causes of the decline of Mohenjo-daro and several other settlements; the chronology of Harappa has been studied through radio-carbon analysis].*

## INDIANS, SCYTHIANS AND THE ARCTIC

Anyone who makes a careful study of the ancient poetry of India, and its fascinating legends, will be struck by an amazing and, at the first glance, inexplicable fact. One comes across descriptions of phenomena characteristic solely of the Arctic regions : of the fixed Polar Star, of a frosty night lasting six months and a day as long as half a year. The Indian bards—the ancient Rishis—sang of the place where “the sun rises but once a year”, where “the day lasts six months and the night another six”. Over and over again they sing of the sacred bird Garuda who, before carrying on his wings the sage Galava in search of the 800 moon-white steeds, spoke to him of the four parts of the world, and of how in the north the Saptarshi, (the Seven Rishis of the Big Dipper), their wife Arundhati (the constellation of Cassiopeia, the Lady in the Chair) and Swati (the constellation of Perseus, the Rescuer) “make constant circles around the Polar Star which is fixed firmly in the sky”. This phenomenon, as is well known, can be observed only in the far northern and Arctic regions. Beyond the Arctic Circle and in areas directly adjoining it, one can observe in winter, in the course of a single night, the above-mentioned constellations, moving, without once dipping below the horizon, in a constant circle, whose centre is roughly the Polar Star. Those who created the lovely Indian legends knew about “captivated waters turned into motionless beautiful statues” (evidently, frozen waters) and directly linked them with the land where the sun rises but once a year.

References such as these have persuaded some scholars to believe that the Indians originally came from beyond the Arctic Circle. Some of them have indicated the exact geographical position of the “native land” of the Indians—the shores of the White Sea or Siberia, or some such region. A few have even pointed directly to the North Pole itself as the original



home of the Indians. One of the principal originators of this "Polar theory" was Bal Gangadhar Tilak.<sup>1</sup>

According to Tilak, the climate in the Arctic region during the pre-glacial and inter-glacial periods was much milder and much more suitable for man, for the development of civilisation. The ancestors of the Indians, Tilak said, inhabited the Arctic region in these periods and then some eight to ten thousand years ago, driven by the cold, moved southward. These views were set forth by him over half a century back. Do we consider them valid today?

Strange as it may seem, the exact sciences even today give the most contradictory answers to this question. However, the judgments of history, archaeology and comparative linguistics are much more definite.

What should we think of the "Polar" information contained in ancient Indian literature? Can it be regarded as an evidence of the practical knowledge of the Indians of conditions in the Arctic? We come across descriptions of the Polar night and the Polar day not only in comparatively recent scientific treatises written in India, but in such an ancient book as the Laws of Manu (*Manusmṛiti*) which was codified in the II cen. B.C.—II cen. A.D. It tells us of the land of the gods, where night and day together make up a year and correspond to the movement of the sun in winter and summer. In a still more ancient epic—the *Mahābhārata*—we find the description of a land where "every half a year rises the golden-coloured sun", of a sacred mountain far to the North where "it is day for six months and night for six", and where "one night and one day together make up a year". The most ancient of India's texts—the Vedas—mention the sacred mountain with a long, long day, where 24 hours equal a year, etc.

Thus we have not just incidental and scrappy information but a steadfast and lingering tradition with a definite series of images. However, all this information has also another

1. B. G. Tilak, *The Arctic Home of the Vedas*, Poona, Bombay. 1903.

characteristic feature : it has a form of fantasy even for those who created India's sacred legends—the ancient bards. Their reports on the Arctic reach us in the form of mythes and are always interspersed with other mythical images and notions. The "Arctic" details usually appear in stories about the gods, about legendary heroes and other immortals. And one can hardly help wondering whether all this information is not as much the product of imagination as are the purely mythical personages themselves. Thus, we once more face the extremely interesting and complicated problem that has many times baffled the students of ancient history—the problem of the correlation of myth and reality, of fairy-tales and actual fact.

Before going into the contents of the myth, let us turn to the facts of history. Modern science has definitely established that in the second millennium B.C. a group of tribes calling themselves Aryans invaded India. Spreading all over the territory of North India, they conquered the local inhabitants and gradually intermarried with them. The Vedic hymns and many other poems were composed in their languages and dialects, from which were born the Indo-Aryan languages of modern India. These, together with the Iranian languages, are included in the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. This is one of the most important linguistic families on the globe, and it includes the Balto-Slavic, Germanic, Italic, Hellenic, Latin and several other languages, living and dead.

The ancient Indians were both linguistically and culturally very near to the Iranians. At the earlier period, they worshipped the same gods, sang the same sacred hymns and treasured very similar myths. At rituals and ceremonies, both Iranian and Indian priests used to brew from the same grasses the intoxicating Soma (Indo-Iranian Sauma, Iranian Houma), the sacred drink of gods immortal. Light chariots were used by their best warriors to defeat enemies in battle and to excel in tournaments. The collections of sacred hymns that have been preserved to our day—the Vedas of the Indians,

and the Avesta of the Iranians—are very similar in language and often sing of the same gods and heroes.

Both Indian and Iranian tribes called themselves Aryans and their countries the Aryan land.

The word "Aryan" figures only in Indo-Iranian languages. Of the other Indo-European languages, it might have been in usages in the Celtic dialects which were once widespread in Western Europe (at present ancient Gaelic and Irish are included in that sub-family).

But neither Iran nor India, was the native land of the Aryans. Even in the second millennium B.C. the territory of modern Iran was inhabited by people belonging to an entirely different ethnic group. Only later did tribes appear here that spoke the Iranian languages and dialects and called themselves Aryans. It is, however, still insufficiently clear where they came from and how.

At present, the Persians, Tajiks, Kurds, Afghans, Ossetians and several others are included in the Iranian group of peoples. But in ancient times the area over which the Iranian tribes had spread was much larger, covering all the territories lying between the north coast of the Black Sea and East Turkistan.

In many parts of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, in the steppes between the Volga and the Urals, and in the Altai Mountains one can still see ancient burial mounds that had once belonged to the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Alans, and other peoples speaking the Iranian languages.

As far back as the VII or VI century B.C. there began to appear, on the north coast of the Black Sea, men from the Hellenic world who started settling next to the Scythian tribes. At first they came here to trade and then built for themselves numerous settlements. These Greek towns had close ties with the local population. That is why one can find so many reports about Scythia in the works of ancient Greek authors.

Among the motley scraps and fragments of the Scythian epos that have reached us through Greek sources, we find counterparts of India's Arctic legends.

Herodotus, (IV, 25) for example, writes that, according to the Scythians, faraway to the north there are people "who sleep six months at a time". One can assume that the Scythians mean the northern regions where the night lasts half a year. Other authors of the ancient times speak in greater detail of a land, lying to the north of Scythia, beyond areas blanketed in dense darkness, which is exposed to freezing cold and to the icy breath of the north wind.

The Roman geographer Pomponius Mella, (*De Chorographia*, III. 36) and the well known ancient naturalist, Pliny, (*Naturalis Historia*, IV, 89)<sup>2</sup> write about the Scythian myths that echo ancient Indian legends about a country where the sun rises once a year and shines for full six months, while during the second half of the year the earth is wrapped in the darkness of night.

Is there any connection between these traditions or has each of them appeared independently? In any case, how can we explain their similarity? If there is any connection between the two how can that be explained? And, finally, have these traditions a basis in reality, in actual experience, or do they just belong to the realm of fantasy like so many other myths of the ancient world?

The land of the Scythians was far away from the Arctic and yet it was much nearer to it than India was. Therefore, we might perhaps speak of at least some concrete geographical reality.

Basing themselves on the tales told by the Scythians and their neighbours, Herodotus and other authors write that to the north of these well-known peoples, beyond high mountains, which they called the Ripy or Ripean Mountains, (in Greek, Ripaia ore), and which, judging by their descriptions, must have been the Urals, lie inaccessible lands.<sup>3</sup> Beyond the

2. About the "arctic" details mentioned by Pomponius Mella and Pliny, see also: Pomponius Mella, *De Chorographia*. i. 115-117; ii. 1; iii. 36-37, etc.; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, iv. 78, iv. 88-89; v. 98; vi. 15, vi. 33-35 ff.

3. On the ideas of the ancient authors (including the predecessors of

Ripean mountains, they write, is the coast of the great North Ocean or "Scythian" Ocean that washes the northern shores of Europe and Asia. Beyond the Ripean Mountains also lies the land where "the sun rises but once a year, and both day and night last six months each".

These descriptions have a hard realistic core: the Arctic Ocean does lie to the north of Europe and Asia. In these parts the Polar night does alternate with the Polar day. In general, the entire system of these notions of the Scythians can quite definitely be related to a real map of the areas along the Ural Range that stretch onto the Arctic Circle and the Arctic Ocean.

Together with a fairly objective indication of the geographical position of these northern areas, we find considerable information on their climate: the foothills of the Ripys are devoid of all the bounties of Nature—they are barren and deserted and eternal winter and unbearable cold reign there. That is why no man from Scythia ever tries to penetrate into these parts.

However, we once again come up against sudden surprises. One would think that the further north one goes the colder it gets. But yet it turns out that the land that contains the secret of all the Polar images, the region which the Scythians placed still further north, beyond the Ripean mountains, has a warm and congenial climate; it is never swept by cold winds, and yields abundant fruit. In the woods and glades of this very country, where the sun rises and sets but once a year, lives a happy people. So we find here again the same mythical features that are characteristic of the entire range of motions about the Ripean mountains, and that are a queer blend of the realistic and the fantastic.

Herodotus) traceable to the Scythian tradition and concerning the Ripean mountains, see F. Grantovsky, *Indo-iranische Kastengliederung bei den Skythen*, Moskau, 1960, S. 10, 11, 25.

Summing up all the "Polar" information that we get from the Scythian tradition, we can compile the following short scheme :

(1) From south to north, one after another, lie regions inhabited by actually existing peoples, well known to the Scythians including the Issedones ; (2) then come mythical tribes and fantastic personages living near the Ripean mountains ; (3) the slopes of these mountains and the regions lying still further north are covered with snow, this is the realm of eternal snows that man cannot penetrate ; (4) the summits of the Ripean mountains stretch to the North Pole ; (5) on the other side of the Ripean mountains, at their very foothills, are the sweeping expanses of the Great Ocean ; (6) on the Ripean mountains and beyond them are regions of the "Polar days and nights", the land of a happy, blissful people.

It is obvious that the notions of the Scythians about Polar lands were not rooted in their own experience, for the Scythians inhabited regions lying much further south. But, surely, whatever the source of these notions, they could not be the products of purely speculative, "scientific" abstraction. The same is true of the Indian legends about the Polar phenomena which, as we have already seen, can be traced to the most ancient traditions.

But if, in the case of the Scythians, we can speak of a blend of the mythical and fantastic with the realistic and concrete, all the reports of the Polar phenomena in the ancient Indian tradition belong entirely to the sphere of myths. This tradition is preserved in the form of legends which were both composed and sung in India itself. And we know that India had never been the native land of the Aryans. Did their ancestors then, perhaps, really live beyond the Arctic Circle, as Tilak suggested ? Or, did they, like the Scythians, dwell near regions the inhabitants of which could have had some realistic knowledge of the Arctic conditions ?

What if the very similar tales told by the Scythians and the Indians have the same origin, what if they appeared in one and the same place ? Do we not know that both the Scythians

and the Indians belonged to the Aryan group of peoples? In this case, the "Polar" episodes, re-told both on the northern coast of the Black Sea and in far away tropical India, must be part of a single ancient tradition.

To find an answer to these questions, let us turn to India's epic poems, to its astronomical treatises, to the most ancient religious codes of India.

We have before us in the eighteen books of the *Mahābhārata*—its hundreds of chapters and thousands of pages—the tragic tale of the origin and life-and-death struggle of two families (the Pandavas and their cousins—the Kauravas). The unhurried narrative pauses to include discourses by scholars and, pundits on gods and their worship, on man's duty and on the essence of life. The wise Rishis illustrate their words with striking examples, quoting episodes in the lives of gods and heroes, legends of nearby and far-away lands.

And here again we come across descriptions of "Polar" phenomena. The regions where they take place lie somewhere far to the north, although information on the actual location of these regions is confusing and inconsistent. However, there is one "precise" clue—Mount Meru or Sumeru. It is here that "the day lasts six months and the night another six" so that "one night and one day together make up a year".

For the ancient Indians Mount Meru was the sacred abode of the gods, the sages and heroes. Its sparkling summit was of pure gold studded with precious stones. Many a river had its source there. So high up in the sky did it soar that around it moved the sun, the moon and the stars.

The ancient bards of India had placed Meru far in the north; they said it stretched over the entire northern part of the earth, from east to west.

It may be noted that in the Scythian legends that was precisely the geographical position of the Ripean mountains. Striking as the coincidence is, it is not the only one. The sun and the other heavenly bodies moved around the Ripys, just as they did around Meru.

Such Indo-Scythian parallels do not stand alone in the

“Aryan world”. We can find one more connecting link if we take the sacred traditions of yet another group of Aryans—the Iranian people who created the Avesta. They speak of the Hara Berezaiti range of the High Hara. Hara soars in the sky, over it rises the sun, the moon and stars travel round its summit, which like Meru is the abode of gods.

The crests of the Iranian Hara Berezaiti, like the glittering peaks of the Indian Meru, are covered with gold. Like the Ripean mountains of the Scythian legends, the Iranian mountain stands on the shore of a great ocean and from its summit flow down the rivers.

Ancient Iranian cosmology declared that when the earth was being created the first thing to be formed was the Hara Berezaiti, that all the other mountains in the world grew from it and were in some way linked with this protoplast—the High Hara. We find the same concept in the legends of India: when the world was being created, Mount Meru was already there, its roots go far down to the centre of the earth and connect it to the other great mountain ranges.

And so, detail after detail, motif after motif coincide in the traditions of the various Aryan peoples. All these coincidences, sometimes even literal ones, cannot, of course, be purely incidental.

There can be only one possible explanation: the entire series of notions about the great north mountain and about the Polar day and Polar night was common to all the Aryan peoples in the ancient world. It is quite clear that the “northern” legends in the epos of both Indians and Scythians have one and the same origin and should be traced back to the period when they lived either together or close to each other.

Consequently, the notions that the ancient Indians had about the great mountains in the north, about “Polar” phenomena, about the Great North Ocean (“the Milky Sea”) must also be reflections of actual geographical features, of the practical knowledge of their ancestors of the northern, Polar regions.



But where did all this practical knowledge come from ?

The Scythians had a clear realisation of the fact that the "Polar" regions lay far to the north of their own country. We would hardly make a mistake if we include all the Aryans in the statement we had previously made about the Scythians : to have some knowledge of the Polar regions and of the Arctic phenomena in general, the ancestors of the Aryans did not necessarily have to live in those regions.

The Scythian legends say that not a single man from Scythia could penetrate into the lands lying on the summits of the northern mountains, the land of the "Arctic" phenomena. The same is true of the Indian legends, according to which "none but the birds have ever gone to the North Ocean", men from the Aryan world, even the most famous heroes, cannot cross the boundaries of the land of the blissful northern people, who know not what war or battle is : here "nothing can be seen with the human eye", says the *Mahābhārata*.

And it is precisely here, in this Polar land, where the Big Dipper, the constellations of Cassiopeia and Perseus "make constant circles round the Polar Star which is fixed firmly to the sky", the "thousands of delightful pleasures call to you, Galava, but no sooner does a man make his way a bit further be he even the best of the twice-borns, than he perishes, Galava !" So said the sacred bird Garuda to Galava, the hermit, in his tale of the far north.

We see thus that the very content of the "Polar" legends in the epos of the Aryans tends to disprove the theory of the Arctic origin of the Indians, which they are supposed to substantiate.

So we see how the data provided by comparative linguistics help us to come to important conclusions regarding the way of life of the ancestors of various Indo-European peoples before their separation. At that time they already had a more or less highly developed society. For example, they had implements and weapons made of metal. In view of these facts, it is hardly possible to accept the suggestions made by the authors of the "Arctic" theory, who are obliged to identify

the so-called "Arctic" period in Aryan history with the Paleolithic age and to say that even in those conditions, it was possible for the Aryans to develop their civilisation.

Comparative linguistics enables us to reconstruct several details of the flora and fauna, the climate and landscape of the territories where the ancestors of the Indo-European peoples lived before their separation. The data we obtain in this manner oblige us to exclude not only the Polar regions, but also the southern parts of Europe (the Mediterranean zone) and Asia (the Near East, Iran, India).

However, comparative linguistics and archaeology do not afford us a possibility of reaching a definite conclusion as to where the original, native land of the Indo-Europeans really was. The materials they offer permit us to search for it in many regions—in Central Europe, in the northern parts of the Balkans, on the north coast of the Black Sea, in the steppes of South Russia lying to the north of the Caucasus, and far away to the east—in Kazakhstan and South-West Siberia. Each of these regions has its ardent champions, who seek to prove it to be the original home of the Indo-European peoples.

Just as varied are the possibilities of determining the territory inhabited by the ancestors of the Aryans, after they had separated from the mass of the Indo-European peoples. Scientists look for the Aryans' native land in various places—from the lower reaches of the Danube to Central Asia and the Altai.<sup>4</sup> Especially popular is the theory of the Central Asian origin of the Aryans. Its numerous adherents believe that Central Asia was the region where the Aryan tribes came into being, where their civilisation, their spiritual culture, their epos were born.

Which of the hypotheses is really correct? To answer this question, we shall again turn to the "northern" legends in the

4. The various views pertaining to the origin and ways of settlement of the Indo-Iranian, Iranian and Indo-Aryan tribes are considered in detail in E. A. Grantovsky's new work (E. A. Grantovsky, *Ranannya istoria iranskikh plemyon Perednei Azii*, Moscow, 1969).

epos of the Aryan peoples. First, history helped us to understand the nature and content of myths. Now, myths will come to the assistance of history.

While linguistics and history point to a very extensive territory over which to look for the native land of the Aryans, the "northern" myths enable us to limit the field considerably.

A constant and ever-present theme in these legends is the story of the mountains stretching to the north of the Aryans' lands. This story is, in its turn, a reflection of the actual observations of people, who lived in areas where the relief of land sloped upwards from south to north and where rivers flowed down from north to south.

The Scythians even maintained that all the rivers of their country flowed down from the Ripean mountains, lying far to the north. They also said this with reference to the Don—which, does not flow down from the mountains; moreover, its source is in no way connected with the Urals.

The territory of Central Asia in no way conforms to these geographical conditions. Its great rivers carry their waters from south-east to north-west, while beyond the ranges of the Tien Shan, the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush, there are certainly neither the North Ocean, nor regions where Polar phenomena could be observed. For the same reasons, we are obliged to exclude Kazakhstan and South-West Siberia, regarded by some scholars as the original home of the Aryans. The Ob, Irtysh and their tributaries flow in the exactly opposite direction, i.e., from south to north, and the upper reaches of these rivers as well as the high mountains there all lie not to the north but to the south and south-east. Naturally, we must reject also the territories of Europe that lie on the Danube and the rivers flowing into the Baltic Sea.

After eliminating all these regions, we have only South-East Europe—from the Dnieper to the Urals—left, where we could possibly find the land originally inhabited by the Aryans. In the whole of this region, the relief of land actually does slope upwards from south to north. The rivers here—the Ural, the Volga, Don and Dnieper—do flow from north

to south and their upper reaches are far to the north, in places that were unknown to the ancient inhabitants of the steppes and forest-steppes. The eastern boundary of the Aryan world could, therefore, have been the Ural steppes. To the north of these regions are the Ural Mountains which actually do stretch to the Arctic Circle and the Arctic Ocean.

The Aryans could not have observed any Arctic phenomenon on their own lands. Naturally, they spoke of these phenomena as occurring in a region far beyond the boundaries of their own.

We have already seen how the Aryan tribes could have received information on phenomena characteristic of Polar regions from their northern neighbours. Do we have any evidence that such contacts actually existed ?

In those parts of Eastern Europe and the Urals which were covered with the forests and the taiga, there lived tribes who for many centuries were closely connected with the Aryans, their southern neighbours.

According to Herodotus and other ancient authors, the tribes of the Scythian world had very active trade and cultural ties with their northern neighbours, thanks to which they had the possibility of getting information about regions lying far to the north.

Herodotus mentions the people of a forest country, reached by several Scythians, who, according to the Greek historian, were told that far away to the north of their country—beyond high, inaccessible mountains—lived another people having nights lasting six months.

For the epoch of antiquity, we have thus direct references to a source of information about Polar regions that was available to the steppe peoples.

For so distant a time as the general-Aryan period, we have no written sources. But we have other, no less convincing proofs, offered by comparative linguistics, of the contacts existing between the Aryans and their northern neighbours.

The ancient population of the forest and the taiga zones of Eastern Europe and the Urals belonged to the Finno-Ugric

group of peoples. At present, representative of this group—the Mordovians, Mari, Udmurts, Komi, Khanty, Mansi, etc.—continue to live here. Groups of words—fairly large in number—have been found in their languages that directly correspond to similar words in the Indo-Iranian languages.<sup>5</sup> Among them are the names of metals and of implements made of these metals, of cultivated plants, domestic animals and important social and religious terms. This is a direct indication of the strong and lasting ties that existed at one time between the Aryan and the Finno-Ugric peoples. These ties, as comparative linguistics proves, existed as far back, as the “General-Aryan period”, when the ancestors of the Indian Aryans had not yet left their native land that stretched to the north, to huge tracts of forest.

A curious example of these ancient pre-historic ties is the story about the *śarabha*, an animal that one comes across in Indian—literature in works of the most different genres and religious beliefs. Even one of the Jātakas is devoted to it. Although there are many detailed references to the *śarabha*, they do not exactly explain what sort of an animal it was. It lived in forests, was said to resemble a reindeer, but was extraordinarily strong; it was called *aṣṭapada* (eight-legged) too.

One would think that the *śarabha* was perhaps a purely fantastic animal, a product of the Aryans’ rich and fertile imagination. That is exactly what many Indian commentators of the past and even some modern scholars thought. However, the *śarabha*—dweller of the forests—is not an imaginary animal. It is really the elk that inhabits many northern forests and that was once known to the ancestors of the Indians far back in their original native land.

5. These problems have been investigated by several researchers in a number of works, including the Hungarian scholar B. Munkacsy and also H. Jacobsohn, (*Arier und Ugrofinnen*, Goettingen, 1922).

The point here is that the ancient Indian word *śarabha*, as linguists have established, corresponds to the word used for "elk" (*shorp, sarb*) by the Finno-Ugric people living beyond the Urals, the Khanty and Mansi. And what is more, their legends about the elk are very similar to those of the Indians about the *śarabha*. It is especially interesting to note that even these peoples, who lived in the taiga and knew the elk so well, thought that at one time it had many legs but was later stripped by the gods of all but the four legs it now has.

The fact that the dweller of the northern forests—the *śarabha*—figures in the folk legends of tropical India and the stories about the Polar regions are found scattered in the sacred literature and epos of the Indian people is not only interesting in itself; it helps the scholars of today to reconstruct another page of the distant past.

## II

# PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE





## SOME BASIC PROBLEMS OF MAURYAN INDIA

The Mauryan epoch is a crucial one for the history of ancient India. The study of this period enables us to understand certain general processes of the historical, social and cultural developments in ancient India, for it was during this period that many of the most important social, state and cultural institutions of ancient India emerged and took shape.

For the first time in India's history a united Indian state was formed, one of the largest powers in the ancient world, which included vast territories of Northern India and regions of the Deccan and Afghanistan. Its ties with neighbouring states were close, some states came into contact not only with Graeco-Macedonian troops but with Hellenic culture as well, and diplomatic relations were established between the Mauryan Empire and some Hellenistic states

The latter half of the first millennium B.C. saw further development in ancient Indian society, class-structure and caste-organisation. New philosophic ideas and religions such as Buddhism and Jainism, emerged, and many canonical texts were compiled and the main Buddhist schools formed during the period under review.

The Mauryan epoch was marked by an upsurge of culture, the development and spread of scripts and dialects.

Thus, it is natural that this important period in Indian history draws a close attention of many scholars.

The scientific study of the Mauryan epoch is believed to have begun in the thirties of the last century, when J. Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the edicts of the Mauryan king Aśoka written in Brāhmī.

However, despite such a long period devoted to the study of the Mauryan epoch by both European and Indian scholars and considerable successes scored in this branch of Indology,

a large number of problems of history, culture and the social and state development of ancient Indian society, in the latter half of the first millennium B.C. are still unsolved, and many of the solutions offered are insufficiently substantiated and require further investigation.

The principal difficulty is the lack of reliable and dated sources. The number of sources is not the decisive factor; much depends on the character of the preserved sources. A student of the Mauryan epoch in ancient India, though in possession of a large number of various sources, often has to deal with rather peculiar texts. We have no proper ancient Indian historical texts; nor have we ancient royal archives or economic, administrative or military charters. The majority of the texts which we possess are of a religious and philosophical character, many of them having been written by Brāhmaṇas in conformity with their interests and views.

The most important source dealing with the Mauryan epoch is the collection of Aśoka's edicts. Unfortunately, some scholars maintain the traditional view of the edicts as documents of a purely religious character. Such an approach hampers an objective analysis of these texts and reduces research to a biased interpretation.

Despite the great value of Megasthenes' *Indica* it has not been fully utilised in studying the early Mauryan epoch or properly analysed with due regard to a number of its specific features. The *Indica* should be examined primarily in comparison with contemporary Indian sources (Aśokan inscriptions). Ceylonese chronicles, *avadānas* and early Buddhist texts are also very important for understanding Mauryan society.

In view of the great diversity of sources and the difficulty in dating them, the principal task is to single out sources and prove their reliability for the study of the state and society of ancient India in the Mauryan epoch. A profound analysis of sources is a basic requisite for this research and one of the first tasks that should be undertaken.

The problem of Mauryan chronology is a most complicated one, and scholars still debate the subject. Discussion centres

around the beginning of the Mauryan dynasty and the dating of the principal events of the epoch. The establishment of the date of Candragupta's accession to the throne is of great importance, since it has bearing on the dating of the most important events not only of the Mauryan epoch, but of other periods of ancient Indian history as well.

An analysis of ancient Indian and Ceylonese sources enables us to conclude that Candragupta's accession dates back to somewhere after 317 B.C.. Though it is disputed by many scholars, it is confirmed by an analysis of the political situation in North-West India during the period after Alexander the Great's campaign, and it also agrees with the date of the Greek and Latin writers. The identification of king Agrammes with the first Nanda king, Ugrasena-Nanda, speaks in favour of this surmise. The study of numerous sources dealing with Aśoka also corroborates the suggested dates of Candragupta's reign. This makes it possible to date the reign of other Mauryan kings (Aśoka, for example, 268/265 B.C.—232/229 B.C.).

One of the most interesting episodes in Mauryan history mentioned in Buddhist and Jain sources, is the removal of king Aśoka from actual power in the last years of his reign.

An analysis of this data is of considerable historical interest, inasmuch as this period of Mauryan history is described in a fragmentary and controversial manner in the epigraphic sources that have reached us.

The last years of Aśoka's reign passed in an extremely complicated political situation. The internal contradictions became especially sharp; provinces striving for independence came out against the central government and acute financial difficulties arose. An analysis of the existing data points to an intensification of opposition to Buddhism at the time, especially against Aśoka's support by way of financial aid to the Buddhist *saṅghas*.

The study of the last years of Aśoka's rule, based mainly on epigraphic sources, confirms the Buddhist tradition regarding the difficult situation in that period, the Emperor's

clashes with his high officials and his actual removal from power. This indicates that the real historical facts are reflected in the Cycle of Aśoka of the Buddhist *avadānas*.

The information of the *avadānas* about the last years of Aśoka's rule acquires special importance in connection with the so-called Queen's Edict. It seems possible now to link together the data of the Buddhist tradition and that of the epigraphic sources. This sheds a new light on the hitherto unexplained events of the last years of Aśoka's rule.

One of the basic questions which inevitably arises in the study of socio-economic relations is that of the character of the ownership and distribution of land. Unfortunately, the question of land-ownership in ancient India has not been properly elaborated in scholastic literature.

The available materials definitely show that in the latter half of the first millennium B.C. private ownership of land greatly developed. The rights of private landowners were elaborated.

The owner of the land could sell, mortgage or lease it, he had the right to dispose of it as he wished.

At the same time the right of the owner to sell or grant his land was not always indisputable, but was often limited by the state and village-community, since the majority of owners of small plots were members of the village-community.

The king possessed the supreme power over the state, and this had a certain influence on the position of the private owners of land.

The king did not have a full-fledged ownership of land beyond the boundaries of his own lands, although he carried out certain state functions as the sovereign of the state-territory.

The influence of the village-community striving to limit the development of private land-ownership was very strong.

Landowners had to pay the king taxes in the form of a definite share of their crops. This, however, did not contradict the fact that the king was not the owner of all cultivated land in the country. Landowners paid a certain share of their

produce to the king as protector of their property-rights and the supreme authority of the state.

Apart from private and communal lands there were state lands and the king's personal lands. The state was believed to be the owner of uncultivated lands, forests, waste lands, mines and large irrigation systems.

The available data suggest a multilateral character of land-ownership in ancient India. In addition to the state's and the king's lands, there were lands of private owners and lands of the village-communities. This aspect of land-ownership also presupposes a situation in which one and the same plot of land could be in the possession, though temporarily, of several owners, since private persons, the state and the community could be co-owners of property, the rights of each party being somewhat limited.

Multilateral land-ownership is clearly explained by the comparatively undeveloped social relations prevailing at the time. With the village-community playing a very great role, with many archaic tribal institutions and traditions along with a strong state power, with the multistructural social relations typical of ancient India in the latter half of the first millennium B.C., a multiple character of land-ownership is quite natural.

When studying the social structure a most important question is that of the role of slave-labour in the mode of production and the share of slave and free labour in the basic spheres of economy.

Various sources tell us of the use of slave-labour in agriculture and of the lands of private owners, the king's estates and communal lands.

But in the main spheres of production, in agriculture above all, labour of free villagers (peasants), tenants and various categories of hired and dependent workers prevailed over slave-labour. This reflected certain specific features of the structure of society and the role of various categories of workers in production. This, evidently, was also connected

with the rather immature state of slavery in ancient India.

The wide use of slave-labour in housekeeping was a distinguishing feature of slavery in ancient India.

Undeveloped economic forms were typical of slavery in ancient India of the Mauryan epoch; transitional stages between freedom and slavery were quite widespread.

The specific features of slavery in ancient India (its immaturity and patriarchal character, its close connection with hired labour, etc.) exerted a profound influence on the general structure of social relations, but they did not minimise the considerable role of slavery. This indicates the important status of a slave-holding system (especially in the Mauryan epoch) in the complicated multistructural composition of ancient Indian society.

Slavery did not form the basis of the economy, but it was a progressive phenomenon (as compared to the elements of the tribal society) and influenced all spheres of social life.

The problem of the social structure of ancient India is rather complicated and requires further investigations and analysis of additional sources and materials. Each aspect of this general problem should be viewed in its direct relation with another. Only by studying society as a whole can one trace the principal trends and processes in its development.

A cardinal problem connected with the study of the basic processes of socio-economic and political development of ancient India is the origin and growth of its class and caste-organisations.

There are almost no works describing the class and caste organisations in any specific period of ancient Indian history. Apart from this, scholars base themselves mainly on sources describing those social institutions and phenomena which were related to monarchical states.

However, materials about the caste-structure in the ancient Indian states do not deal only with monarchy, which is known to have been the most widespread, but far from being the only form of political power in ancient India; there were also

republican states and units that played a considerable role in political and social life.

Therefore, the comparison of the specific features of the *varṇas* in the monarchies and republics of the Magadha-Mauryan epoch is of great interest.

This study shows that a change in the form of state power was not followed by radical changes in the caste-structure of society, although it laid an imprint on the relations between the *varṇas* and their role in social and political life. In the monarchies the main borderline was between the emancipated and the slaves, on the one hand, and between the "twice-born" and "once-born", on the other. In the republics, where society was also divided into the free and the slaves and where the positions of the Śūdras sharply differed from that of other *varṇas*—the contrast was determined, first and foremost by the individual's affiliation or non-affiliation to the ruling Kṣatriyan Varna

The reasons for the dominating position of the Kṣatriyas in the republics are important, too. An analysis of the available sources reveals that the right to own land played a predominant role. Although land was considered the property of the entire *gaṇa*, it belonged mainly to the Kṣatriyas, who according to some sources, owned private estates. In the monarchies, however, in addition to the king's lands there were large private estates belonging to the Brāhmaṇas.

In the republics (especially the oligarchies) the power of the Kṣatriyas was based both on political and military influence and the economic position of big landowners.

The question of the origin of the ancient Indian republics is an involved one. A direct connection between the Vedic *gaṇas* (a tribal formation) and the republican *gaṇas* seems rather hypothetical. Vedic formations obviously preceded not only republican *gaṇas* but also monarchies. The clan and tribal organizations of the Vedic epoch developed into class-societies and then into states, and, depending upon the character of this development (the correlation of forces in society, the role of aristocratic elements, concrete situation,

etc.), they could have taken the shape of either monarchies or republican states.

Sources indicate two processes of formation of republican states. There was, first of all, the possible evolution of the epoch of military democracy, typical of the last period of the history of the tribal system, into states with a republican form of power. The development of the republican *gaṇas* from societies of the military democracy period was, evidently, the most common way of their formation.

Apart from that, one can also speak of the transition from monarchic to republican rule. Sources mention changes in the forms of state power and the emergence of certain *gaṇas* as a result of the downfall of monarchy.

The question of actual power in republican formations and the composition of the highest body of power in the country is most crucial. Naturally, the level of democratism in these republics and their structure depended, to a great extent, on whether the highest organ or power represented the people or a handful of aristocrats. The available sources suggest various types of republican power in ancient India. In some states the *gaṇa*'s popular assembly exercised more power, in others actual power belonged to the council of aristocracy. From the data we possess it seems that the *gaṇa* assembly had greater importance among the Licchavis who regarded it as their supreme legislative organ. Here, too, Kṣatriyas (*rājās*) began to establish their domination by forming their own council. Such a form of republic can, with certain reservations, be characterised as a transition from a democratic to aristocratic republic. Along with the Licchavis there existed republic in which the *gaṇa*'s popular assembly had actually lost its significance and the real power was concentrated in the hands of a privileged group of the Kṣatriyas. Since the democratism of these *gaṇas* was, first and foremost, democratism for a small section of the population, these states should be defined as aristocratic republics.

The study of republican power in ancient India shows that it is incorrect to postulate an opposition between the ancient



Indian political system and the political organisation of the ancient Greek states, which can often be observed in scholarly literature.

The Mauryan period was marked by a growing popularity of Buddhism.

Aśoka was the first ruler in ancient India who realised the importance of Buddhism for consolidating the empire and pursuing the policy of strict centralisation.

A distinguishing feature of Aśoka's religious policy was his seeking support not only from the Buddhist *saṅgha* and monks, but, above all, from the broad sections of laymen who took to the new religion.

The first Magadha kings were mainly connected with the *saṅgha*, and the relations between the state and Buddhism mainly consisted in the assistance rendered to the monks, whereas Aśoka paid special attention to the lay Buddhists, having correctly appraised their role in social and cultural life and the significance of their support to his policy.

Before Aśoka's rule, Buddhism had mainly been confined to certain regions of North-East India and was especially popular with the monks, but during his reign the sphere of Buddhist influence expanded considerably and the relation between the *saṅgha* and society changed.

This change of attitude to laymen and the growth of their role transformed Buddhism from a narrow movement of monks into a religion of great importance.

However, despite his personal adherence to the Buddha's teachings and his special sponsorship of the Buddhist community, Aśoka did not make Buddhism a state religion. An analysis of Aśoka's edicts shows that the principal feature of his religious policy was tolerance throughout almost the entire tenure of his rule. Such a policy was determined, to a great extent, by the general political line of the Mauryas and complied with its basic tasks.

Aśoka wished to unite all sects and develop the basic principles of their teachings, reconciling the main tenets of the sects. While pursuing a policy of religious tolerance with

a view to consolidating his empire, Aśoka was, above all, a statesman who had realised the importance of state-control over the activity of various sects. This policy enabled Aśoka to avoid clashes with representatives of various religions and sects and at the same time, without breaking with the Brāhmaṇas, Jainas and Ājīvikas, to strengthen Buddhism considerably.

These are some of the problems facing a scholar studying the ancient India of the Mauryan epoch. The study of society, state and culture in that epoch provides an answer to many problems of the historical, cultural and socio-economic developments in ancient India, which is also of value for the study of other societies in the ancient Orient.

A number of important problems remains still unsolved and some features of ancient Indian society and state have not yet been properly understood. Further researches are necessary to unravel the mysteries of ancient Indian civilisation.

# AGRAMMES—UGRASENA—NANDA AND THE CORONATION OF CANDRAGUPTA

The rule of the Nandas covers one of the most interesting periods in the history of Ancient India, but this is nevertheless also one of those that are least studied.<sup>1</sup> The lack of scholarly attention paid to this period may be due to the fact that Indian tradition treats the Nandas with antipathy,<sup>2</sup> regarding them as an illegal clan, even of unknown birth, and their rulers as immoral and "low". The Brāhmaṇa texts in particular speak of the Nandas with hostility,<sup>3</sup> who according to the

1. For example, we can quote the opinion of one of the authors of the *Cambridge History of India*, according to whom the Nanda rule is one of the vaguest periods even among the many quite dark periods in the history of ancient India. (J. Charpentier, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i. Ancient India, p. 164). There is not a single research paper pointedly devoted to the history of Nandas if we leave aside the short essay of H. Raychaudhuri on the political history of this period (see H. Raychaudhuri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, Banaras, 1952) which almost completely repeats the chapter from his own book *Political History of Ancient India* (further PHAI). In the general works on the history of ancient India this period is examined sketchily, without any analysis of the sources. The articles and short notes on the history of Nandas generally touch only scattered political events of this period.
2. For example, the author of the *Arthaśāstra* treats the Nandas with obvious hostility (xv. 1).
3. Obviously the religious belief of the Nandas also influenced the attitude of the orthodox Brāhmaṇa schools towards them. According to some Jaina texts, the Nandas and their ministers were Jainas (see *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, pp. 435-436, 493-495). The data in the Jaina *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* may also support the statement that the Nandas belonged to the Jain faith. The Jaina sources do not show the same unfriendly attitude to the Nandas as the Brāhmaṇa texts do. According to *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Vararuci the minister under Nanda was a Buddhist (see K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, Lahore, 1934, p. 14). Prof. A. L. Basham is inclined to regard Mahāpadma, the first Nanda

Purāṇas not only rose against the “twice-born” but destroyed all the Kṣatriyas. Even the Buddhist tradition (for example, *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*) traces the genealogy of the Nandas to the chief of a gang of robbers. The local tradition about the low origin of the Nandas from the Śūdra family and their illegal accession to the throne was very strongly and widely prevalent not only in India but also beyond her frontiers (Ceylon and Tibet). These facts about the history of the Nandas were well known event to ancient Greek and Roman authors.

This traditional attitude of the ancient Indian chroniclers<sup>4</sup> and historians towards the dynasty of the Nandas may have influenced the approach of modern research scholars to the study of the history of the Nandas. However, the absence of a comprehensive study of this problem cannot be entirely explained by this factor. First of all, this is due to the character of the sources that have come down to us: no Indian documents belonging to the age of Nandas have been found to the present day.<sup>5</sup>

ruler, as an adherent of the sect of Ājīvikas (see A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* L. 1951, pp. 144-145). If the above conclusion is correct, then it well explains the unfriendly attitude of the orthodox Brāhmanas towards the Nanda rulers. But a number of arguments of A. L. Basham are not sufficiently satisfying. For example, he maintains that the information of *Vamsathappakāsini* (I, p. 183) to the effect that Cāṇakya hid with the Ājīvikas after his conflict with the Nandas, reinforces his conclusion about the relations of the Ājīvikas and Mahāpadma. However, this evidence of a later text goes against Basham's basic conclusion. It is difficult to believe that Cāṇakya, the chief enemy of the Nandas, would take refuge from their persecution with the Ājīvikas if the Ājīvikas had really some close relations with the Nandas and receive their support.

4. The Brahmanical tradition of hostility to Nandas is especially evident in the fact that they often omit the Nandas' rule from the chronological lists of Indian dynasties. The form of Ananda which we come across in one of the works of XII A.D., in the opinion of Grierson, is a sort of negation of the rule of the Nandas (A-nanda—“without Nandas”), see V. Smith, *Early History of India*, Of. 1924, p. 44.
5. We may refer to one inscription, found by G. Ojha, near Ajmer, which according to K. P. Jayaswal on paleographical evidence belongs to

The earliest dated sources of ancient Indian history are the inscriptions of the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka. Most of the Indian texts containing information about the Nanda dynasty and Nanda empire belong to a much later period. In this connection the foreign sources<sup>6</sup> and in particular the evidence supplied by the classical authors, acquire special interest.

However, the most interesting statements of ancient Greek and Roman authors are not always confirmed by the local texts. The greatest difficulty is experienced in synchronising the evidence of sources (including the Greek authors) with definite periods in Nanda history and consequently in the formation of a well-defined periodisation and chronology of Nanda history. Nevertheless, this is the primary task in the research of Nanda history.

Classical authors paid great attention to Alexander's campaign in India and accordingly have preserved highly valuable information about Indian kingdoms of that period.

Alexander prepared for a long march into the interior of India and therefore tried to obtain detailed information about the peoples and governments lying to the east of Hyphasis (Bias).<sup>7</sup>

pre-Mauryan period. (See K. P. Jayaswal, An Important Brahmi Inscription, *JBORS*, 1930, vol. XVI, pp. 67-68). Jayaswal maintained that the year 84 mentioned in the inscription was related to the era of the Nandas. R. R. Halder dated the inscription to a still earlier period (A Note on an Inscription of the IV or V century B.C., *Ind. Ant.* 1929, vol. 58, p. 229.) However, the question of the date of this inscription cannot be regarded as finally settled.

6. Highly valuable information about the Nandas is preserved in the Ceylonese chronicles, the later Pali commentaries and Tibetan and Chinese translations. We may refer to the text of the Extended Mahāvamsa where relatively detailed description of the last years of the Nandas is preserved.
7. Curtius (IX. 2) and Diodorus (XVII.93) mention that Alexander, having come to Hyphasis, decided to learn in detail about the peoples

According to ancient materials, at the time of Alexander's campaign the most powerful among the Indians were the Prasii and Gangaridae, whose states were in the Valley of the Ganges. Magasthenes, who came to Indja at the time of the emperor Candragupta, ascribed Pataliputra which was in his opinion the biggest city in India—to the rule of Prasii (Arrian, *Indica*, X. 5).

At the moment the identification of the Prasii and Gangaridae of the time of Alexander's campaign with the Nanda empire goes uncontested.<sup>8</sup>

However, this conclusion still does not permit us to correlate the evidence of Greek and Roman authors about the Prasii and Gangaridae and their ruler Agrammes with a definite period of Nanda History.

For this, it is necessary to identify one of the Nanda rulers with Agrammes.

The significance of the correct identification of Agrammes with one of the rulers of the Nanda dynasty even goes beyond the history of the Nandas, for it is also significant for Mauryan history (particularly for solving the problem of the coronation and chronology of the rule of Candragupta). At the present

and countries lying beyond the river. For this purpose the Macedonian ruler summoned the local Indian king, named Phegelas (Bhagala) and questioned him closely. This native chieftain who knew well the political situation in North India, gave Alexander detailed information about King Agrammes, the strength of his state, the number of the Indian army etc. Alexander did not fully believe the evidence of this Indian ruler and decided to check his veracity. Therefore, Alexander questioned another Indian king Poros, no less well-versed in Indian affairs. Poros not only confirmed to Alexander the trustworthiness of the information he had received, but gave him additional information about the Indian ruler Agrammes. Thus the information of the Macedonians about the Indian states, and especially about the Gangaridae and Prasii and their rulers Agrammes, was based on the reports of local Indian chieftains.

8. The classical authors do not refer to the name "Nanda" (except Justin, whose evidence will be analysed later on) but their descriptions of the Indian state and its ruler, governing at the time of Alexander's invasion, allow us to regard the ruler of Prasii and Gangaridae as the

moment<sup>9</sup> the generally accepted point of view identifies Agrammes (Agrammes of Curtios, IX, 2 and Xandrames of Diodorus, XVII. 93)<sup>10</sup> with the last king of the Nanda dynasty<sup>11</sup> (Dhanananda according to the *Mahāvamṣa*, *Mahāvamṣa-ṭikā* and *Mahābodhivamṣa*).<sup>12</sup> However the supporters of the above identification do not advance sufficient evidence in favour of their conclusions. They confine themselves to certain coincidences in the description of Agrammes and the last Nanda king.<sup>13</sup>

representative of the Nanda dynasty. In addition Plutarch (Alex. LXII) speaks of the meeting of Alexander with young Candragupta, who informed the Macedonian about the Indian ruler. In the words of Plutarch (Alex. LXII) soon after the rule of the king of Prasii and Gangaridae, Androkottos became the ruler. The identification of Androkottos with Candragupta does not give rise to any doubt.

9. For example we shall refer to the once accepted but obviously mistaken identification of Agrammes with Candragupta: Xandrames of Diodorus=Skt. Candramas (name of lunar month)=Candragupta (see McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, Westminster, 1893, p. 221; Venkateswara Aiyar, *The Ancient History of Magadha*, *Ind. Ant.* 1915, vol. xlv, pp. 41-52).
10. Sacra ? (mes ?) in Epitome Mettensis (107, 7-15), quoted from A. Stein, *The Coronation of Candragupta Maurya*, *Archiv Orientalni*, 1929, i, N 1, pp. 355-57 and M. Bussagli, *Indian Events in Trogus Pompeius*, *East and West*, 1956, vol. vii, N 3, p. 237.
11. For example we may refer to some of the general and special works: L. Renou, J. Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, I, Paris, 1947, p. 211; H. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 236; *History and Culture of Indian People*, vol. ii, p. 31; R. C. Majumdar, H. R. Raychaudhuri, Kalikinkar Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, 1953, p. 63; Nilakantha Sastri, *History of India*, vol. i, Ancient India, Madras, 1953, p. 52; *ibid.* *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 14; Bussagli, *Indian Events* . . . p. 237; E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain, 1958, p. 107.
12. *Mahāvamṣa*, v. 17; *Mahāvamṣa-ṭikā*, i, pp. 181-183 (*Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, ed. G. P. Malalasekhra i (1935), ii (1936); *Mahābodhivamṣa*, p. 98 (ed. S. A. Strong, 1891).
13. In this connection the supporters of the abovementioned identification refer to the definite resemblance of the name Agrammes to the distorted form of the Sanskrit Augrasainya—son (heir) of Ugrasena (according to the *Mahābodhivamṣa* Ugrasena was the first of Nanda rulers). See, for example, H. Raychudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 236. However, there is

A detailed comparison of the classical and other foreign sources with local Indian texts proves the untenability of the generally accepted identification and necessitates the re-examination of the traditional scheme.

In the Purāṇas—the ancient genealogical list of Indian dynasties—Mahāpadma is regarded as the founder of Śūdra dynasty and the first Nanda ruler, although he is also described as the son of king Mahānandin from a Śūdra woman.<sup>14</sup> According to the Purāṇas Mahāpadma laid the foundation of the might of the Nanda empire, “annihilated all the kshatriyas” and became “sole sovereign of the earth”.<sup>15</sup> Besides the name of Mahāpadma, the Purāṇas also mention Mahāpadmapatī, Mahāpadmo Nanda, Mahānanda, and Mahādeva<sup>16</sup> as the first king of the Nanda dynasty.

We may suppose that Nanda was the actual name and that the rest of them were magnificent titles and epithets.<sup>17</sup> This is supported by other Indian sources: the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*<sup>18</sup> and *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*<sup>19</sup> name simply Nanda as the founder and the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty.<sup>20</sup>

little likelihood of the transformation of the Sanskrit Augrasainya into Agrammes. It is significant that the name Augrasainya does not occur in the ancient Indian texts. It is not mentioned even once in the Purāṇas (see V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Purāṇa Index*, i, Madras, 1951).

14. Mahānandi-sutaś cāpi śūdrāyāṃ kalikāṃśa-jaḥ; mahānandisuto rājan śūdrāgarbhodbhavo (F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxf., 1913. p. 25 (further DKA).
15. DKA p. 25.
16. DKA, p. 24-25; 69, note 15; *Purāṇa Index*; P. H. L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Aśoka Moiya*, Leiden, 1956, Ch. VII. One of the earliest and most authoritative Purāṇas,—the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, used ‘Nanda’.
17. Mahāpadmapati, for example, means “owner of great wealth”. This is the opinion of the commentator on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, ed. H. Wilson, 1840, ix, p. 184; H. Raychaudhury, *PHAI*, p. 231).
18. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, vi. 231.
19. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 15. Similarly in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 369.
20. In the Jain texts the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty is called Nanda



The whole dynasty was probably named after the name of the first ruler. The evidence of the *Mahābodhivamsa*, in which Uggasena (Ugrasena)<sup>21</sup> heads the list of nine rulers who ruled after the tenth son of Kālāśoka, deserves special attention.

According to the Burmese tradition, the first Nanda ruler was Ugrasena-Nanda.<sup>22</sup>

So we should regard Nanda (also known as Mahāpadma and Ugrasena) as the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty.<sup>23</sup> The

Purāṇic evidence on the low and *śūdra* origin of the first Nanda ruler is confirmed by data of the local and foreign sources. The local Indian and foreign (Greek and Roman) sources mark the unaristocratic and unknown origin of the Nanda ruler.

According to Diodorus (XVII. 93), Xandrames the king of Gangaridae, is spoken of as a man of low (*eutele pantelos*) and unknown origin (*adokson*). Curtius (IX. 2) quoting the words of Poros, points out that the ruling king (Agrammes) was not only of unknown, but also of the most humble origin (*ceterum qui regnaret, not modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimae sortis*). According to Plutarch (Alex. LXII), the young Candragupta informed Alexander of the absence of any genealogy (*dusgeneia*) of the Indian ruler.

(or Namdarāya).—see Vijayarājendra Bhaṭṭāraka, *Abhidhāna Rajendra*, i-vii, Ratlam, 1913-1925; here iv, p. 1750. I am grateful to Prof. A. L. Basham who kindly sent me photostat copies of the necessary excerpts from the above-mentioned Jain Encyclopaedia.

21. Uggasenananda. (*Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 98).

22. See R. R. P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gandama*, ii, L., 1914; K. P. Jayaswal, *The Śaiśunāga and Maurya Chronology and the Date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa*, *JBORS*, vol. i, 1915, p. 67-116.

23. Literally Ugrasena means—"he who has a terrible army". This was probably one of the wide-spread names of the Nanda ruler, which well reflected the true power of this Nanda king. According to a number of Indian sources, the first Nanda ruler had a big army (for example, in *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* king Nanda is called Mahāsainya —"having a big army").

Indian tradition has preserved strikingly similar information. Different Indian and Ceylonese sources mention the low origin of the first Nanda ruler. For example, according to *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (VI. 231) the first Nanda was the son of a courtesan (*gaṇikākuṣijanma*) and barber (*nāpitakumāra*). Similar information is contained in a number of other Jaina texts.<sup>24</sup>

The Purāṇas, as we have already remarked, consider the founder of Nanda dynasty to have been the son of a *śūdra* woman.<sup>25</sup>

The *Mahāvamśa-īkā* regards the first of the Nanda rulers as the representative of an unknown family (*aññatakula*),<sup>26</sup> which exactly tallies with *dusgeneia* (Plutarch), *adoksos* (Diodorus), *ignobiles* (Curtius).

Similarly in Indian sources we have parallels to the evidence of classical authors about the "lowness", "wicked qualities" and "depravity" of the Nanda ruler (*mohtheria*, Plut; *euteles*, Diod). Similarly according to the Purāṇas, the Nanda rulers were "not virtuous" (*adhārmikah*).<sup>27</sup> The *Ārya-mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa* calls the first Nanda ruler a "low man" (*nīca*).<sup>28</sup>

The facts of both the sources concord about the genealogy of the Nanda ruler. Diodorus and Curtius remark that the father of the reigning king (Agrammes) was a barber.<sup>29</sup> This is also evident from Indian texts. The Jain *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*

24. *Abhidhāna Rajendra*, iv, p. 1750. In the text *taṇikāsuto nandaḥ* wrongly stands instead of *gaṇikāsuto nandaḥ*.

25. *DKA*, p. 25.

26. *Vamsatthappakāsini*, i, p. 179-180.

27. *DKA*, p. 21.

28. K. P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 14.

29. Diod (xvii. 93): Curtius 'patrem eius tonsorem'. This tradition was preserved in much later classical sources not in regard to Agrammes but in regard to king Poros. (see for example, J. Bekker, *Photii Bibliotheca*, Berlin, 1924, p. 530). Not only was Poros the most famous Indian ruler in the antique world but his name probably signified Indian rulers collectively. This can be pointed out by the evidence of Strabo (xv, 1.4) about the embassy from the Indian ruler Poros to Augustus.

state that the first of the Nanda kings was the son of a barber (*nāpitakumāra* and *nāpitasū*).<sup>30</sup> The Jain text (*Āvaśyaka-sūtra*) similarly connects the first of the Nandas with a barber.<sup>31</sup> The evidence of classical authors regarding the mighty army of Agrammes is supported by Indian texts.<sup>32</sup>

The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* describes the first Nanda ruler by the name of Nanda as having a great power (*mahābalaḥ*) and having a large army (*mahāsainyaḥ*).<sup>33</sup> In this connection the name Ugrasena itself, meaning—“having a big and powerful army”, is significant.

Similarly it is easy to coordinate the antique evidence about the Gangaridae and Prasii, where Agrammes was the ruler, with the evidence of Indian sources about the wide empire of the first Nanda ruler (for example, with the evidence of Hemacandra<sup>34</sup> and the Purāṇas).<sup>35</sup>

In this way, the facts testify to a nearly complete concurrence of the ancient Greek and Roman sources regarding king Agrammes with that of the evidence from the Indian tradition regarding Nanda (=Ugrasena)—the first king of the Nanda dynasty. This allows us to identify king Agrammes (Agrammes of Curtius and Handrames of Diodorus) with Nanda (Ugrasena-Mahāpadma), the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty.<sup>36</sup>

30. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, vi. 231, 244. Although this text belongs to a later period it may preserve a very old Indian tradition about the origin of the Nandas.

31. He is regarded as the slave of a barber—*nāpitadāsa*.

32. According to Curtius (ix.2) and Diodorus (xvii.93) Agrammes's army consisted of 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 vehicles and 3,000 warring elephants (Diodorus—4,000). The numbers mentioned by Plutarch are probably an exaggeration—80,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 8,000 vehicles and 6,000 warring elephants.

33. K. P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 14.

34. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, vii, 81.

35. *DKA*, pp. 24-25.

36. It is a pleasure to note that this evidence found support from A. Basham who in his letter to me, dated 21.ix. 1961, remarked : “I am inclined to agree with you that Agrammes was Mahāpadma-Ugrasena.

Obviously this Indian ruler was distinguished by the strength of his big army, and was famous under the name of Ugrasena ("having a great army").<sup>37</sup>

The local native rulers, Bhagala<sup>38</sup> and Poros, thus must have called this Nanda king the king of Gangaridae and Prasii, in their conversations with Alexander.

In the ancient Greek and Roman traditions this evidence, based on oral information from local Indian rulers, was preserved in a slightly changed form—Aggrammes and Handrames. Our identification of Agrammes with the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty<sup>39</sup> differs from the generally accepted identification of Agrammes with Dhanananda the last Nanda ruler (according to tradition, one of the eight sons of the Nanda ruler).

The supporters of the above identification base themselves only on fragmentary evidence of ancient Greek and Roman sources without making a thorough comparative study of the classical and Indian materials about the Nandas.

So, for example, on the basis of Diodorus' information that a barber, the father of Handrames, killed the ruling monarch and usurped the throne, some scholars have concluded that he

To identify him with one of the obscure sons, whose names are only given in very late sources, seems quite unnecessary".

37. It is significant that the name Ugrasena is widely used in ancient Indian sources (see, for example, *Purāna Index*, i, pp. 210-211; F. Lacote, *Essai sur Guṇādhyā et le Bṛhatkathā*, Paris, 1908, p. 158).
38. Phegelas of Curtius. S. Levi (JA. 1880, v. xv, p. 239) suggested its identifications with the Sanskrit Bhagala. It is met in Pāṇini under the heading "Bāhu" along with the names of Taxila, Āmbhi and others. However, the authors of the *Cambridge History of India* (i, p. 468) have doubts regarding the above identification.
39. Justin (xv. 4) speaks of king Nandrum who should be seen as the first Nanda ruler—Nanda. It may be suggested that the name Handrames (Diodorus) is a somewhat distorted form of Nandrames, connected with the name of first Nanda ruler Nanda (Nandrum of Justin). This interpretation also supports the identification given by us. See Stein, *The Coronation . . . .* p. 357.

was the founder and the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty and that Handrames was his heir.<sup>40</sup>

They have tried to find parallels to this sketch in Indian texts : Agrammes came to be regarded as Dhanananda, one of the sons of the first Nanda ruler and according to tradition the last king of Nanda dynasty.

However, if we accept this interpretation, the classical evidence would not in reality have parallels in Indian texts.

The evidence of classical authors about the usurpation of the throne by the father of Agrammes may appear to be a contradiction of our conclusion regarding the identification of Agrammes with the first Nanda ruler—Nanda=Ugrasena.

However, an analysis of the Indian sources about the origin of the Nandas resolves this apparent contradiction.

According to *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*, the eldest of the ten sons of Kālāśoka was the leader of a band of robbers who forcibly captured Patalipuṭra and proclaimed himself king.<sup>41</sup>

After his death, his nine brothers bearing the family name Nanda (Nava Nandāḥ=nine Nandas)<sup>42</sup> ruled consecutively. However, *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* does not include in the list of Nanda rulers, the usurper of the throne who finally asserted the rule of the Nanda dynasty.

40. See Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, pp. 14, 23-24 ; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 231-236.

41. *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, i, pp. 179-181.

42. The information of the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* about the direct family ties of the 9 Nandas with Kālāśoka needs definite correction. It seems that the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* simply connects the ten sons of Kālāśoka and the nine rulers of the Nanda dynasty. According to the *Mahāvamsa* itself, the ten brothers, sons of Kālāśoka, ruled for 22 years, and thereafter nine Nandas were rulers consecutively for 22 years (Kālāśoka putta tu abesum dasa bhātukā dvāvisati te vassāni rajjam samanūsāsīsum nava nandā tato āsum kameneva narādhipā, te pi dvāvīsa vassāni rajjam samanūsāsīsum : *Mahāvamsa*, v. 14, 15). The *Dīpavamsa* (v. 98-99) also informs of the rule of ten brothers for 22 years after the death of Śāisunāga (Śīsunāga). There is no mention

The Purāṇas begin the Nanda dynasty with Nanda (= *Mahā-padma*) although they consider him the son of king Mahānandin. The *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* regards Nanda as the first Nanda ruler, and also mentions his father.

Evidently, the father of Agrammes, the barber, usurper of the throne and murderer of the king was not regarded as a king of the Nanda dynasty and was not included in the list of Nanda rulers.

In most of the Purāṇic lists the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty is regarded as the son of the monarch Mahānandin who is included among the rulers of the previous dynasty—Śaiśunāga. It may be suggested that the compilers of the Purāṇas, who rigidly fixed all the ruling dynasties, specially connected the Śūdra dynasty of the Nandas with the Kṣatriya rulers of the dynasty of Śaiśunāga. Once more, we should remember that the other Indian and antique sources, based on Indian tradition, have called the father of the first Nanda ruler simply a barber and the usurper of throne, and some of the sources do not refer to him at all. In the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* the nine Nandas are mentioned immediately after the ten sons of Kālāśoka.

After carefully studying the dynastic lists of Purāṇas, P. H. L. Eggermont reached the conclusion that in the Purāṇas there exist two chronological schemes—a short (more ancient) and an enlarged one which emerged consequent upon the addition of a definite number of years to different Indian dynasties.<sup>43</sup> In his opinion the name Mahānandin was only afterwards added to the Śaiśunāgas, but in reality Mahānandin was the first and the only ruler of the Nanda dynasty.<sup>44</sup>

of the Nandas and the next *śloka* refers to Candragupta. The text wrongly gives "Sasunāgass' accayena honti te dasa bhātaro", because not Sasunāga but Kālāśoka is meant. Oldenberg in his translation gives Sasunāga ( Kālāśoka ! ), see *Dipavaṃsa : An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record*, tr. by H. Oldenberg, London. 1879.

43. P. H. L. Eggermont, *Chronology* . . . pp. 144-163.

44. P. Eggermont connects Mahānandin with Mahānanda of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* as the name of the first Nanda ruler (see *DKA*,

Thus, the evidence of Purāṇas about the relation of the first Nanda ruler with the previous dynasty is a reflection of later interpolation in the ancient original text of the Purāṇas.

This conclusion well concurs with our suggestion that the Purāṇas (originally) like other sources did not include the father of the first Nanda king—Agrammes(=Nanda=Ugrasena) in the list of Nanda rulers.

p. 74, note 9) In the *Vāyupurāṇa*, which is probably the oldest of the Purāṇas, just after Kākavarṇa—the Śaiśunāga king—stands only the name of Mahānandin, and then follow the Mauryan rulers—Candragupta, Bindusāra, Aśoka and others. (see, Eggermont, *Chronology* . . . p. 218). If the view of Eggermont about the identity of Mahānandin with Mahūpadma as the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty is worthy of attention, his conclusion that Mahānandin was the only Nanda ruler needs serious correction. Eggermont does not take into account the evidence of many Indian sources about the rule of the nine Nandas. The tradition about the rule of 9 Nandas was widespread and has been preserved in Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical sources. The majority of the Purāṇas even refer to the names of the successors of the first Nanda king (see *DKA*, pp. 24-25). In some Indian texts the joint rule of the nine Nandas is referred to, and in others—the successive rule of successors of the first Nanda king. We may suppose that the successors of the first Nanda king ruled with him, in his life-time, but the oldest Puranic lists have preserved the name of only the first (and then in this sense—the only) Nanda king. In this connection we may refer to the commentary on the *Mudrārākṣasa* by Dhunḍhirāja, according to whom in the last period of his life the first Nanda ruler handed over practically all the power to his sons, who carried on the government. Is not the evidence of Plutarch about the *kings* of Prasioi connected with this ?

One of the main heroes of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the wise and crafty Cāṇakya, proudly exclaims : I have rooted out nine Nandas from the earth. Like the lotus in the lake-water, I have asserted the Mauryan power (I. 6). The text speaks of the murder of the Nanda king Sarvārthasiddhi, who had retired from all worldly affairs to his forest-abode long before the end of the fight of Candragupta and Cāṇakya for the power and the throne. The commentaries regarded Sarvārthasiddhi, having eight sons, as the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty.

It also supports our basic conclusion regarding the identification of Agrammes of the Greek and Roman authors with—the first ruler of the Nandas—Nanda=Ugrasena.

Although the question of identification of the father of Agrammes with a definite Indian king still remains open and its solution is beset with severe difficulties (as the usurper of the throne, the murder of the king and a barber he was probably not included in the dynastic lists of Indian rulers), nevertheless the comparison of the classical and Indian sources allows us to establish a definite tie between the king, killed by the father of Agrammes, and the Indian king Kālāśoka. We should remember that according to classical authors after the secret murder of the ruling king the father of Agrammes also took the life of his sons.

Indian tradition (for example, Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita*) has preserved the account of the tragic death of the Śaiśunāga king Kākavarṇa,<sup>45</sup> who, according to a number of sources,<sup>46</sup> had ten sons.

According to the evidence of some Purāṇas (*DKA*, p. 24)<sup>47</sup> Mahānandin ruled after Nandivardhana, who in the

45. The view of Jacobi about the identity of Kākavarṇa and Kālāśoka is now accepted by the majority of Scholars and accords well with the material of many ancient Indian and Ceylonese sources (Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 221-222).

46. See *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, i, pp. 179-180 : The names of all the sons of Kālāśoka have been preserved in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (p. 98) : Bhadrāsena, Koraṇḍavarṇa, Maṅgura, Sarvañjaha, Jālika, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, Nāndivardhana, Pañchamukha. The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 369) gives a different list of the successors of Kākavarṇa (=Kālāśoka)—Sahālin, Tulakuchi, Mahānaḍāla, Prasenjit. After the successors of Kākavarṇa comes the first king of the Nanda dynasty.

47. In the Purāṇas (*DKA*, pp. 21-22) he is referred to as the king of the Śaiśunāga dynasty. However, in the opinion of Eggermont, the name of Nāndivardhana was absent among the Śaiśunāga kings in ancient Purāṇic lists and was included in the lists of Śaiśunāga kings considerably later (see Eggermont, *Chronology*, Ch. vii). On the basis of the definite similarity of the names Nāndivardhana and Mahānandin (which have been included among Śaiśunāga kings in some Puranic lists) and the names of Nanda kings and the name of the dynasty



*Mahābodhivaṃsa*<sup>48</sup> is included among the sons of Kālāśoka.<sup>49</sup>

It is interesting that in the Ceylonese chronicles (*Mahāvamsa*, V. 14) there is only one figure for the rule of all the sons of Kālāśoka. It is tempting to connect these facts from Indian texts with the statements of classical sources that the father of Agrammes killed the ruling king, seized the throne under the pretext of defending the sons<sup>50</sup> of the king and afterwards murdered the sons.<sup>51</sup>

Not only does the generally accepted view of the identity of as a whole, some scholars have suggested the division of Nanda rulers in two groups—the new Nandas, taking *nava* not as “nine” but as “new”,—and old, relating to the last Nādivardhana and Mahānandin. This view adopted by K. P. Jayswal (*JBORS*, 1918, iv, pp. 91-95) was accepted by the authors of the *Cambridge History of India* (i, p. 314). The supporters of the division of Nandas in two groups refer to Kṣemendra and Somadeva who speak of Pūrvananda (old or former Nanda, in their opinion). However, Pūrvananda in the above-mentioned sources has been used in relation to one ruler but not in relation to the former or earlier Nandas and it contrasts not with Navanandāḥ, but Yogananda (False-Nanda, the animate body of king Nanda). The materials of the following sources definitely contradict the above-mentioned interpretation—the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* (viii. 3), many Purāṇas (*DKA*, pp. 25-26), the Jaina texts (*Abhidhāna Rājendra*, iv, p. 1750) and Ceylonese *Mahāvamsa*, (v. 15), the *Mudrārākṣasa* (1.6) and others. In these texts *nava* means “nine” (*navanandāḥ*, nine Nandas).

48. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 98.

49. In this connection the conclusion of Filliozat that Nādivardhana is Kālāśoka is not sufficiently convincing (J. Filliozat, *Les dux Aśoka et les conciles bouddhiques*, *JA*, 1948, t. 236, p. 194). However, the view of Filliozat does not go against our conclusion regarding the connection of the king murdered by the father of Agrammes, with the Kālāśoka of Indian sources.

50. Curtius (ix. 2) : *sub specie tutelae liberum eius invasisse regnum*.

51. The joint rule of the sons of Kālāśoka of which the Ceylonese chronicles speak may have been connected with the appointment of the father of Agrammes as regent of the princes (“under the pretence of defending the sons of the monarch”). It is significant that many Indian sources do not connect the Nandas with the former dynasty. In the *Mahāvamsa* (v. 15) and the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (p. 98) the dynasty of the Nandas is mentioned immediately after the rule of the 10 sons of Kālāśoka. This agrees well with the abovementioned facts (the father

Agrammes with Dhanananda go against the materials, but the facts of different sources clearly indicate that the last king of the Nanda dynasty was Dhanananda.

According to the *Māhāvamsa*,<sup>52</sup> *Mahāvamsa-ṭikā*<sup>53</sup> and the *Mahābodhivamsa*,<sup>54</sup> Dhanananda was the last Nanda ruler, after whom the sources refer to the dynasty of the Mauryas.

The Pali sources connect the death of Dhanananda with Cāṇakya (Cāṇakka), who thereafter seated Candragupta (Candagutta) on the throne.<sup>55</sup> The *Mahāvamsa-ṭikā* particularly mentions the great wealth of this Nanda ruler and his greediness.<sup>56</sup> This evidence has many parallels in some other texts.<sup>57</sup> The *Mudrārākṣasa* also mentions the wealth and selfishness of the Nanda king.<sup>58</sup>

of Agrammes) having usurped the throne was not included in the dynastic list of Indian rulers.

52. *Mahāvamsa*, v. 17.

53. *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, i. 181.

54. *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 98.

55. See G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* v. i, p. 1131.

56. *Mahāvamsa-ṭikā* remarks that the youngest of the Nanda rulers was called Dhanananda because of his passion for the accumulation of wealth (*dhananidahanavittikatāya*, *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, i, p. 181).

According to this text, Dhanananda collected great wealth (80 *koṭi*) and hid it in the rocks at the bottom of the Ganges. The evidence of this text that Dhanananda gripped by a passion for accumulation of wealth imposed taxes on many articles deserves special mention in connection with the evidence of Patañjali about the imposition of special measures by the Nandas—Nandopakramāṇi mānāni (see N. Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 26).

57. Not only in the *Mudrārākṣasa* (iii. 27) and *Kathāsaritsūgara* (iv, 95), but also by Yuan Chwang (Tr. Watters, in *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, ii, 1905, p. 296) and ancient Tamil writers (see K. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*. Oxford, 1958, p. 80) is the huge wealth of the Nandas mentioned. In several cases even details as to how the Nanda kings tried to hide their treasures are alike (a majority of them relate this to last Nanda ruler—Dhanananda). Thus, for instance, the Tamil sources mention that the Nanda kings had amassed wealth in the source of the Gaṅgā (compare with the facts of *Mahāvamsa-ṭikā*); see S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginning of South Indian History*, Madras, 1918, p. 89.

58. Speaking in the words of Cāṇakya, "The selfish Nanda used to be

The classical authors do not, however, mention these facts of Nanda history and these qualities of the king Agrammes, nor does Indian tradition emphasize these facts about the low origin of the last Nanda king. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* he is called *patih uccaivabhijanaḥ*—"king of noble origin".<sup>59</sup> While the classical authors particularly emphasized the hatred of the people for the king, in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Cāṇakya, the minister of Candragupta, is worried that the simple deeds of the Maurya king might remind his subjects about the virtues of the previous king (i.e. the last of the Nandas).<sup>60</sup> Rākṣasa with pride declares the devotion of the townsfolk to the king Nanda. In the drama the Nanda king is mentioned as virtuous,<sup>61</sup> which contradicts the ancient Indian sources about the first Nanda ruler (Agrammes, Nanda-Ugrasena).

Although the materials of this drama, which belongs to a later period, cannot be taken as a decisive factor in favour of one or the other proposition, there are many implications in this work, based on more ancient traditions, which deserve our attention.

In the light of the above-mentioned materials and their

pleased with monetary gratitude" (*nandasyai vārtharucerarthasambandhaḥ prītinutpādayati*—Viśākhadatta, *Mudrārākṣasa* with the commentary of Dhunḍhirāja, ed. by K. T. Telang, Bombay, 1884, p. 57) Russian translation *Mudrārākṣasa*, translated by V. G. Erman, Moscow. Leningrad, 1959, p. 25.

59. In this connection the mutual relations of Cāṇakya and Candragupta mentioned in the *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* (ix, 311-326) acquire some interest. According to Kṣemendra Candragupta and his adviser Cāṇakya allowed the last of the Nandas to leave Pataliputra together with his family. The daughter of the Nanda king fell in love with Candragupta, and her father allowed her to woo the new ruler, because "a Kṣatriya girl is permitted to marry as she wishes": *prāyaḥ kṣatriyakanyānām śasyate hi svayaṃvaraḥ* (ix, 320). This excerpt shows that the last of the Nandas had begun considering himself a *kṣatriya* (or solicited the status of *kṣatriya*).

60. *na khalu Candragupta* ( . . . p. 57).

61. *devaṃ nandaṃ*—"divine"—II. 6 (Telang's ed. p. 76) Erman (p. 32) has translated as "the kind king Nanda".

comparative study we can also explain the facts given by Justin about the relationship between Candragupta and the Nanda kings. According to Justin (XV, 4) Candragupta insulted Nanda<sup>62</sup> but was saved, thanks to the swiftness of his feet. At that time, according to him, Candragupta had not even thought of royal power. Only later did he have to struggle with the Nandas for the throne of Magadha. This struggle, of course, ended in total victory for the founder of the Maurya Empire. Justin's story of Candragupta's clash with the king Nandrus (Nanda) may be related with the episode given by Plutarch (Alex. LXII) about the meeting of young Candragupta with Alexander, when the future Maurya ruler spoke in a quite uncomplimentary manner of the qualities and origin of Agrammes. Many sources name the first of the Nandas, whom we have compared with Agrammes, simply as Nanda. Thus Nanda of Justin<sup>63</sup> is none other than the first of the Nanda rulers—Nanda (=Ugrasena=Agrammes), with whom Candragupta had clashed.<sup>64</sup> Candragupta carried on his

62. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat (xv, 4, 26)—“when he (Candragupta) with his impudence insulted Nanda, the king ordered him to be killed, but he saved himself, thanks to the speed of his legs”.
63. The majority of contemporary publishers and scholars correctly read Nandrum which is witnessed in most of the manuscripts. See A. Von Gutschmidt, *Koenig Nanda, von Magadha in XV. Buche der Historien des Pompejus Trogus, Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 568-576. This reading is also supported by the general context of Plutarch's information regarding the meeting of the young Candragupta with Alexander and the evidence of Indian sources about Candragupta's struggle with the Nandas. But a number of scholars are against this reading and suggest that Nandrum be corrected to Alexandrum. See e.g. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 256, note 1; by the same author, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, pp. 12-13, 144. This view was also expressed by Lassen (Christian Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 1873, ii, pp. 205-225). The reading Alexandrum is found only in two distorted manuscripts (procacitate sua alexandrum regem; sua alexandrum, see Gutschmidt, p. 572).
64. Many scholars have identified Nandrum of Justin with the last king of the Nanda dynasty Dhanananda. See E. Hultzsh, *Corpus*

struggle for the establishment of the Maurya empire with the last Nanda ruler, Dhanananda (Justin has not mentioned the name, but we know it from other sources).

Acceptance of this identification of Agrammes with the first king of the Nanda dynasty Nanda, (=Ugrasena) leads not only to the review of the existing interpretations of different facts and events of this age but also to important amendments in the traditional scheme of the Nanda history as a whole.

Until now all the facts given by the classical authors about king Agrammes and his state were related to Dhanananda, the last ruler of the Nanda dynasty and the question of Candragupta's struggle for power was based on this. The new identification fills up our knowledge of the beginning stages of Nanda rule. Significant amendments will have to be made in the chronology of the Nanda as well as the Mauryan age. The identification of Agrammes with the first Nanda king means that during Alexander's campaign in India till his return to the West, Magadha was ruled by the first Nanda ruler, named Nanda-Ugrasena (Agrammes). In view of the fact that Candragupta Maurya waged his struggle with Dhanananda, the last Nanda ruler, it is quite obvious that this period was marked by the change of ruler of a number of Nanda kings (we know from tradition that after the first Nanda king his eight sons ruled). It can be assumed that after the death of the first Nanda ruler there began a struggle for throne between the successors ending in the victory of Dhanananda. The information given by a number of Purāṇas about the rule of the eight Nandas—the successors of the first Nanda king—during a period of just 12 years<sup>65</sup> also indicates this, especially when the founder of the dynasty himself ruled much longer.

Inscriptionum Indicarum, I, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1925, p. xxxiv (further cii); L. de la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas (Histoire du Monde, VI)*, Paris, 1930, p. 57.

65. *Śukalpādi-sutā hy aṣṭau samā dvādaśa te nṛpāḥ Mahāpadmasya parāyāye bhaviṣyanti nṛpāḥ*, see *DKA*, 1930, p. 25.

It is well known that Agrammes (according to our interpretation, the first of the real Nanda rulers) was the ruler of Magadha in the years 326-325 B.C. when Alexander was preparing for a campaign deep into India and when, according to the accounts of Plutarch, he had a meeting with the young Candragupta. According to the Purāṇas, after the reign of the first Nanda king his successors ruled for 12 years; the last one, Dhanananda, was overthrown by Candragupta Maurya. On the basis of this we can put the year of accession of the first Maurya king roughly at 314-313 B.C.

The exact date of Candragupta's accession and thus of the beginning of the Maurya dynasty is very important because on this depends the dating of a number of important events of not only the Maurya Age, but also of other periods of ancient Indian history. Different scholars have given different dates, e.g., 325,<sup>66</sup> 324,<sup>67</sup> 321,<sup>68</sup> 320,<sup>69</sup> 318,<sup>70</sup> 317,<sup>71</sup> 313,<sup>72</sup> B.C. The identification of Agrammes with Nanda (Ugrasena) proves the last date. That Candragupta acceded in 314/313 B.C. is also proved by the Jaina sources<sup>73</sup> and several other ancient Indian

66. See J. Sen, *INQ*, v, 1929, pp. 6-14; K. P. Jayaswal, *JASB*, ix, p. 317, by the same author, *JBORS*, i, 1915, p. 67; H. Seth, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Delhi, 1939, pp. 371-376; by the same author, *Journal of Indian History*, 1940, xix, pp. 17-21.
67. See N. Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 137; S. N. Ray, *IHQ*, xi, 1935, N 2, pp. 211-22.
68. See *Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 471; K. G. Sankara Aiyar, *Indian Antiquary*, xlix, 1920, p. 49; R. Thapar is also inclined to accepted this date (R. Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford 1961, p. 167).
69. See J. Fleet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 984; B. A. Saletore, *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, Bombay, 1930, p. 130.
70. See Stein, *Ar. Or.* pp. 354-376.
71. Eggermont, *Chronology* . . . p. 180.
72. J. Charpentier, *Cambridge History of India*, i, pp. 156, 164; P. Lal Bhargava, *Candragupta Maurya*. Lucknow, 1935, p. 8; N. Bhattasali, *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 279; *L'Inde Classifue*, p. 213.
73. *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, vii, 339, Bhāu Dhājī, Merutunga's Therāvāli or Genealogical and Succession Tables, *Journal of Bombay Branch o*,

chronological lists.<sup>74</sup> One of the arguments in favour of the late date of Candragupta's accession is the following evidence of Justin. "Thus Sandrokottes having seized the royal power ruled over India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future empire".<sup>75</sup> Obviously, Trogus Pompeius and after him Justin too, while speaking of Seleucus, had in mind the period immediately preceding the establishment of the Seleucid era i.e. 312 B.C. when the foundation of the power of the Seleucids was being laid. By this time Candragupta had spread his rule to north-eastern India. On

*the Royal Asiatic Society*, ix, 1867, pp. 147-157; Bhastasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-88. Ray has also analysed the Jain Chronological Table (Ray, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, ix, 1935, N 2).

74. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, Aśoka's accession took place 218 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa. (See *Mahāvamsa*, v, pp. 21-22), the date of which most scholars put at 483 B.C. (See, J. Fleet, *The Origin of Buddhavarsha: the Ceylonese Reckoning from the Death of the Buddha*, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 323-356; A. Bareau, 'La Date du Nirvāṇa', *J.A.*, ccxli, 1953, pp. 27-62; M. Govind Pai, 'Date of Buddha's Parinirvāṇa', *Journal of the Oriental Research Institute*, University of Baroda, i, n 4, 1954; P. C. Sengupta, 'Dates of Principal Events in Buddha's life', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, xxxix, pp. 359-362).

On the basis of these facts the date of Aśoka's accession is fixed as 265 B.C. (it is true that some of the materials indicate a still earlier date). For details see, Eggermont *Chronology* . . . Following the statements of the Purāṇas about the 25 years rule of Bindusāra and the 24 years of Candragupta (Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 26) we arrive at the year 314 as the beginning of the Maurya dynasty, and accordingly of the accession of Candragupta.

In the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon, we find a four-year gap between the seizure of the throne of Magadha by Aśoka and his coronation. Scholars are not unanimous about this fact. Thus, for example, in the recently published work of R. Thapar the traditional point of view about the correctness of the Ceylonese tradition is again defended (R. Thapar, *Aśoka* . . .). Eggermont is strongly against the acceptance of this. In his opinion Aśoka was crowned immediately after the capture of the throne of Magadha.

75. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitupinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indian possidebat (xv, 4, 20).

the basis of Justin's extract just quoted, Candragupta's accession should be dated to the time immediately preceding the year 312 B.C. An analysis of the political situation in India after Alexander's departure also leads to the same conclusion. We have already referred to the evidence of Plutarch about the meeting of the young Candragupta with Alexander, which could have taken place in the year 326 B.C. The future founder of the Maurya Empire did not yet possess enough strength to struggle against the Nandās and he won the favour of Alexander by persuading him to move his troops to the East against the king hated by all and assuring him of an early victory.<sup>76</sup> At this time Candragupta was apparently in the Punjab preparing for the struggle for the throne of Magadha. The Indian sources also describe how Candragupta raised an army in the Punjab and the neighbouring regions jointly with Kauṭilya (according to tradition his teacher and a future minister).<sup>77</sup>

76. This event apparently took place after Candragupta had started collecting forces, soon after completing his education at Taxila

77. According to the sources, soldiers came (*balam saṅgayitvā*) and soon an army was set up under the leadership of Candragupta (*mahābala-kāyaṃ saṅgahetvā tam tassa paṭipādesi*), see *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, i, pp. 181-187; see also, R. Mookerjee *Candragupta Maurya and his Times*, Delhi, 1953, p. 22. Hemacandra also mentions the organization of army by Cāṅkya for the destruction of the Nandas (*Nanda-muchhchetumudyataḥ*), see *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, viii, 253-54. Indian tradition corroborates not only Plutarch's information regarding Candragupta's sojourn in Punjab, (where he met Alexander) but also his description of the early years of the future Maurya ruler. Plutarch speaks of Candragupta as a boy, juvenile and a young man which agrees with the facts of the Indian sources. Buddhist tradition says that Cāṅkya (Kauṭilya) first met Candragupta when he was 8 or 9 years old and brought the boy to his native city of Taxila to train him in the sciences and the art of war. Candragupta studied at Taxila for 6 or 7 years, preparing for the fulfilment of his task—the struggle with the Nandas. After completing his education at Taxila, Candragupta, along with Cāṅkya, started to form an army for the struggle against the Nandas (see Mookerjee *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17). At this time he must have been 14-16 years old. Very soon, obviously,



The main task before Candragupta and Kauṭilya was the preparation for the campaign against the Nandas. Alexander's strength in India was quite formidable and struggle against the Greeks seemed to be impossible. However, conditions in the Punjab changed sharply. Alexander returned back to the West with his main army, having entrusted the government of the Indian territories to his satraps and the local Indian kings who had co-operated with him. The events of the following years were very stormy: an anti-Macedonian uprising (in Kandahar and a number of other places),<sup>78</sup> the assassination of Philip in 324 B.C., the provisional appointment of Eudemos<sup>79</sup> and lastly the death of Alexander. The situation in India after the death of Alexander, apparently changed the original plans of Candragupta<sup>80</sup> and created the necessary prerequisites for struggle against the Greek garrisons.

the meeting of the young Candragupta with Alexander also took place.

78. Curtius (viii, 13, 47) and Arrian, (Anab, v, p. 207).
79. After the assassination of Philippos, Alexander requested Eudemos and the Indian king Ambhi to take charge of the satrapy temporarily until a new satrap was appointed (Arrian, Anab, vi, 27, 2). However, the Greeks were not able to reestablish their position in the Punjab, and a satrap was never appointed.
80. This was also, perhaps, due to the first unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Nanda dynasty which, according to the *Mahāvamsaṣṭikā* and the *Paṇḍitaśāstapāvan*, was made by Candragupta and Cāṇakya. The sources mention that the reason for the defeat was that Candragupta had not secured his rear. It may be presumed that this incident occurred after his clash with king Nanda (Nandrum of Justin) but before the capture of the regions in the Punjab (i.e. before Candragupta had secured his rear), see Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 279. According to the *Mahāvamsaṣṭikā*, Candragupta overcome by the desire to seize power (*rajjamichchhanto*) invaded the centre of the country disregarding the frontier provinces and the gradual seizure of cities. and his army was routed (see Mookerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 369). That this incident can be attributed to the period preceding Candragupta's total victory of the Punjab, is proved by the Indian sources which mention the alliance of Candragupta with the king Parvataka after his unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of Magadha. The facts of this

Unlike the council of the fellow-fighters of Alexander in Babylon (323 B.C.), which had left the division of Indian satrapies as it was during the life-time of Alexander, the assembly of diadochos brought in major changes into the previous system (321 B.C.). Peithon left Sindh—the state of Poros who widely extended it—and the territory and powers of the king of Taxila were preserved. Diodorus says (XVII, 39, 6) that local Indian kings remained in their domains because it was impossible to drive them away from the royal troops and strong power. The alignment of forces in the Punjab, therefore, sharply changed and no Macedonian ruler except Eudemos had any Power in the regions to the East of the Indus, although Poros and the ruler of Taxila were still taken to be allies or even a sort of vassals to the Greeks.

Changes in the political map of western India were also connected with the struggle of the Indians under the leadership of Candragupta against the remaining Greek garrisons. However it is difficult to assume that in this period Candragupta was able to spread his rule in the whole of the Punjab and finally to destroy the power of the Greek garrisons, because the Greek positions were still quite strong, there was no unity among the local Indian people (this was almost the deciding factor in the victory of Alexander), and some of

alliance are preserved in the Jain sources (*Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* etc.), Buddhist works (*Mahāvamsaṭīkā*, Extended version of *Mahāvamsa*), the *Mudrārākṣasa* and others. Some writers are inclined to see in Parvataka king Poros, who, as it is known, was killed in the year 317 B.C., i.e. before Candragupta became the absolute ruler of the Punjab. According to Indian documents, Cāṇakya and Candragupta gave Parvataka poison because they wanted to secure themselves against their dangerous rival and firmly to consolidate their power. The identification of Poros with Parvataka is supported, particularly, by the authors of the Cambridge History of India (*CHI*, 1, p. 471); Seth, 'Identification of Parvataka and Poros', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, xvii, 1941, pp. 172-79; Buddha Prakash, Poros, *ABORI*, xxxii, published in 1952 pp. 198-233; Jacobi has suggested the identification of Parvataka with one of the rulers of Nepal (see his preface to the edition of *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 58, note 1).

the local rulers continued to cooperate with the Greeks and tried to consolidate their own positions in alliance with the foreign satraps.

It was only in the years 317-316 B.C. that the last of the Greek satraps Peithon and Eudemos, drawn into the struggle of Diadochos, left their Indian territories. Having killed Poros secretly after capturing his fighting elephants, Eudemos left India for the West to help Eumenes in his struggle against Antigonos.<sup>81</sup>

Soon Peithon also left India.<sup>82</sup> Eudemos's departure and the death of Poros<sup>83</sup> made Candragupta the sole ruler of the

81. See Diodorus, xix, 14.8. Following the ancient authors, modern scholars explain that Eudemus left India simply because he had to fight with Antigonos. But at the same time we cannot ignore the rise of the anti-Greek movement in this period. Obviously Eudemus did not have any more strength to hold his position and he was forced to leave India. It is also possible that in this period local Indian kings as well, particularly Poros, came out against him. Many Indian sources (*Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, *Mudrārākṣasa*, etc), mention Candragupta's alliance with king Parvatata.
82. See Diodorus, xix, 56, 4.
83. This point, to which scholars do not pay the necessary attention, must not be missed while examining the main stages of Candragupta's struggle for supremacy in the Punjab. In addition to the military garrisons of Eudemus the highly powerful rule of the local Indian kings was also a serious obstacle in Candragupta's way to the possession of the regions of the Punjab. Particularly strong was the state of Poros, who became the most powerful ruler of the whole of western and north-western India after the departure of the main troops of Alexander. It is significant that Megasthenes who arrived in India after Seleucus' peace with Candragupta, has compared the Maurya king with Poros, mentioning that he was more powerful than even Poros himself (Arrian, *Indica*, v, 3). It will not be out of place to recall here the evidence of the Indian sources about the killing of their former ally, (the king Parvatata, whom many scholars have identified with Poros) by Cāṅakya and Candragupta for securing an absolute rule. One of the characters of *Mudrārākṣasa* speaks of Parvatata (Parvateśvara) as a king even more powerful than Candragupta (*Candraguptādapi baliyastayā . . . devaḥ parvateśvaraḥ*, v, 7). Highly significant is the statement of the Jain sūtra (*Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, p. 435) that with the death

Punjab.<sup>84</sup> After consolidating his rule in this part of India, Candragupta again started making preparations for his eastern campaign against the Nandas. Therefore, Candragupta's date of accession can only be after the year 316 B.C. The presence of a definite time gap between the capture of the Punjab regions by Candragupta (approximately 316 B.C.) and his victory over the Nandas (314/313 B.C.) can be explained by the difficulties of the struggle with the successors of Agrammes (Ugrasena-Nanda) particularly with Dhanananda. The *Milindapañha* has preserved the account of the bloody battle of Candragupta with the forces of the Nandas which were commanded by the military leader Bhaddasala.<sup>85</sup> In the end Candragupta won and captured the throne of Magadha.

By putting the date of accession of Candragupta at a later time, we can also solve the problem of the sequence of two stages of his struggle for power—the struggle with the Greeks and the Nandas.<sup>86</sup> It is definitely proved by the materials adduced by us that Candragupta's war with the Greeks preceded his capture of the throne of Magadha. In this

of Parvataka, Candragupta took possession of two states—the kingdom of Parvataka and the Nanda empire—(*dve api rājye tasya jāte* : cited in J. Chimanlal Shah, *Jainism in North India 800 B.C.-526 A.D.*, London 1932, p. 131).

84. After Antigonos's victory over Eudemus in the year 316 B.C., the regions of the Punjab do not figure in the new division of satrapies, the territories of the former satrapy of Eudemus and of the states of Taxila may also support this. According to some of the ancient evidences Indus was the boundary between India and the empire of Seleucus.

85. The *Milindapañho* ed. Trenckner, London, p. 292.

86. Amongst those who support the thesis that Candragupta first captured the throne of Magadha and then fought with the Greeks are V. Smith, *Early History of India*, (p. 46), H. Raychaudhuri, Some problems of Early Maurya History and Chronology, *Indian Culture* ii, N 3, 1936, pp. 557-64, *PHAI*, Chapter iv and Age of the Nandas etc. pp. 127-150 Ray, *IHQ*, xi, 1935, p. 211. Supporters of the opposite view are Valle Poussin *L'Inde . . .*, Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-284; authors of *A Comprehensive History of India*, ii, (Calcutta, 1937), pp. 4-5 and others.

connection the evidence of Justin needs special attention, although it was also put forward by the supporters of the opposite view in favour of their arguments.

According to Justin, India's struggle against the Greeks took place after the death of Alexander: "...after the death of Alexander, (India), as it were, threw off the yoke of slavery from her neck and killed his deputies."<sup>87</sup> Although this information does not directly relate the beginning of India's struggle to the death of Alexander, it indicates that the movement arose only after the year 323 B.C. Justin has connected the Indian events after the death of Alexander with the activities of Candragupta, who was the "initiator of the struggle for independence".<sup>88</sup> However, "after his victory he (Candragupta) turned the slogan (name) of freedom into slavery, for, after the seizure of power, he himself started oppressing the people whom he had emancipated from foreign rule".<sup>89</sup> In this extract Justin has clearly differentiated the original struggle of Candragupta with the Greek (the liberation of Indians from foreign supremacy) and the subsequent seizure of royal power marked by the oppression of the people.

After a small digression, in which he mentions the origin of Candragupta, Justin again returns to Candragupta's struggle with the Greeks. He says that after his clash with king Nanda, Candragupta had to hide himself. At the time, which coincides with the arrival of young Candragupta in the Punjab, he had not even thought of royal power, and only a

87. Quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus ingo servitutis excusso, praefectors eius occiderat (xv, 4, 12).

88. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat (xv, 4, 13).

89. Sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutum verterat: siquidem occupato regno populum, quam ab externa dominatione vindicaverat ipse servitio premebat (xv, 4. 13-14).

miracle, suggested to him the idea of seizing power.<sup>90</sup> Justin adds: "and after collecting together robbers (*latrones*) Sandrakottos incited the Indians for the change of rule".<sup>91</sup> In *latrones* we are inclined to see the non-monarchical states of north-western and western India which had given great help to Candragupta in his struggle against the Greek garrisons and later on also against the Nandas.<sup>92</sup> Such an interpretation of the term *latrones* also helps to explain the meaning of the next statement "and incited the Indians for the change of rule" (*ad novitatem regni sollicitavit*).<sup>93</sup>

These non-monarchical formations had put up a strong resistance against Alexander, and it was quite natural that Candragupta's call for a struggle against the aliens found support in the peoples of the Punjab who had been accustomed to independence and freedom.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, it

90. Justin relates that a big lion approached the sleeping Candragupta and after licking off the sweat quietly went away.
91. *Contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit* (xv. 4. 18).
92. Trogus and after him Justin, have also reproduced in this case the Brahman tradition regarding the evaluation of non-monarchical formations.
93. Many scholars are inclined to consider this statement by Justin as an indication of Candragupta's seizure of the throne of Magadha. Raychaudhuri, referring to the correspondence between the *latrones* of Justin and the facts of Hemacandra about the mercenaries used in the struggle with the Nandas, has also interpreted this information as a proof of the overthrow of the power of the Nandas (Raychaudhuri, *Age of the Nandas*, etc. p. 145). In this Raychaudhuri took for his basis the translation of Watson 'solicited the Indians to sovereignty'. The suggested interpretation of the term *latrones*, however, goes in favour of those scholars who understood by 'the existing rule' the rule of the Greeks in the Punjab. See e.g. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, Westminster, 1893, pp. 322-28, which was accepted by Hultzsch (*CII*, i, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv and Bhattasali, *op. cit.*
94. Those non-monarchical formations which Alexander gave to the Indian king Poros after his victories in the Punjab may also have gone over to the side of Candragupta. In the words of Plutarch (Alex. LXII) Alexander "not only allowed him (Poros) to rule those (peoples) over

is difficult to correlate Justin's statement with Candragupta's struggle for the throne of Magadha, because the non-monarchical formations of the Punjab were included in the Nanda empire and Candragupta could hardly have succeeded in persuading them to take part in the struggle against the distant ruler of Magadha, who was no threat to their freedom.

It is significant that Justin particularly mentions the Indian ("incited the Indians") as though hereby contrasting the foreign rulers with the local Indian population.

This interpretation of Justin's phrase can easily be connected with the following text: "Then (*deinde*) when Sandrakottos waged war against the deputies (viceroys) of Alexander . . . ."95

If we accept the interpretation that the change means the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty, the question arises as to why Candragupta incited the Indians to destroy the Nanda power at a time when, according to the account of Justin, he had started his struggle against the deputies of Alexander. It is more natural to assume that Candragupta incited the Indians to destroy the Greek power, organised an army (consisting also of the inhabitants of the non-monarchical formations of the Punjab) and then (*deinde*) started his war against the deputies of Alexander.

After liberating the Punjab with the help of the non-monarchical formations and making his home-front secure, he moved towards Pāṭaliputra. His main task was to seize the throne of Magadha and consolidate the Maurya dynasty.<sup>96</sup> Candra-

whom he (himself) ruled earlier, having given him the title of satrap, but also having subjugated the independent (peoples), added to him (their) territory.

95. Shantilal Shah, *The traditional Chronology of the Jainas*, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 14.
96. Is not Justin's description of the elephant who, as if tame, carried, Candragupta on its back, also an indication of the seizure of the throne of Magadha after his war with the Greek garrisons? Ancient Indian tradition included an elephant in the peculiar custom of selecting a king for, on the death of a childless ruler, that person

gupta achieved this after his victory over the Greeks and the liberation of the Punjab from the aliens.<sup>97</sup>

In connection with the proposed scheme we only touched upon Candragupta's struggle for power and the date of his accession. Re-examination of the traditional scheme of the Nanda period makes it possible to give a different interpretation not only to these but also to many other events and facts of the Nanda-Maurya history. However their re-examination and the detailed study of the Nanda and Mauryan chronology require special analysis, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

was chosen king whom the elephant placed on its back. (for details see F. Edgerton, *Pañcadivyaḍdhivāsa* or choosing a king by Divine Will, *JAOS*, xxxiii, 1913, pp. 158-66. Of course, Justin's description is not specifically about Candragupta but it is only an echo of traditional ideas. But even this point should not be missed by researchers.

97. A very strange fact that calls for our attention is that not a single Indian source (excluding the vague reference to mlecchas—"barbarians"—in *Mudrārākṣasa*) mentions Candragupta's war with the Greeks; the struggle with the Nandas is, however, mentioned in the Purāṇas, as well as in Buddhist and Jain sources, and in later Buddhist works of Ceylon and Tibet. Can this not be explained to a certain extent by the fact that the war with the Greeks was considered as only one of the stages of Candragupta's long struggle with the Nanda dynasty? The facts of the Purāṇas about Candragupta's 12 year struggle for power are also in favour of this thesis. (Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 25) If Candragupta's date of accession is placed at 314/313 B.C., then the beginning of the struggle falls in 325/324, B.C. i.e. the war with the Greeks was included in the general period of Candragupta's struggle for the throne of Magadha.



## MEGASTHENES' "INDICA" AND THE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

The inscriptions of Aśoka are the only ancient Indian source of the Mauryan period the date of which has been exactly determined. Despite the tendentiousness and one-sided nature of their contents these valuable documents throw light on many features of the administrative and social systems of the Mauryan empire during Aśoka's reign. But the history of the early Mauryas, owing to the absence of dated sources, has been investigated most inadequately. The majority of documents refer to a much later period. Suffice it to say that the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* extensively used as sources for the reign of Candragupta, are dated, respectively, not earlier than the Vth and XIth centuries A.D.

The only contemporary document is the remaining fragments of the *Indica* of Megasthenes, who visited India as Seleucus Nicator's ambassador during the reign of Candragupta. The great value of the *Indica* consists in the fact that its author, during his stay in Pāṭaliputra, was able to acquaint himself with the administrative system of the Mauryan empire at first hand. Nevertheless, the *Indica* has not been used sufficiently for the investigation of the early Mauryan period, nor, because of certain peculiarities of the work of Megasthenes, has this document been subjected to a proper critical analysis.

In Megasthenes' description of India many features of social life are refracted through the prism of institutions familiar to the author, whose attention was mainly caught by those aspects of Indian life that were either most intelligible to him or seemed to him remarkable. Megasthenes also drew on Indian oral traditions, but here too his interpretation is often coloured by his Hellenic outlook. Greek concepts are therefore often intermingled with Indian ones, the fantastic with

the real. This accounts for the sceptical attitude of some modern Indologists towards Megasthenes' data,<sup>1</sup> about which there were conflicting views even in antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

If the authenticity of the *Indica* be proved, and the genuine information it contains clearly separated from the fanciful and untrue, we gain a valuable source contemporaneous with the early Mauryan period. This may be done by comparing the text of Megasthenes with nearly contemporary ancient Indian documents. The object, however, is not merely to collect similar information, but to establish a definite correspondence between the information provided by the Greek and Indian sources.

When comparing data from ancient Greek and Indian documents, investigators have mainly relied on the material contained in the *Arthaśāstra*. In many cases their work is characterised either by mechanical comparison of Megasthenes' material with that of the *Arthaśāstra*,<sup>3</sup> or by one-sided explanations of many Indian phenomena, prejudiced by the conceptions of an educated Greek,<sup>4</sup> or by laying excessive stress on the tendency of Megasthenes to idealise social life in ancient India,<sup>5</sup> etc. The choice of the *Arthaśāstra* as a synchronous document can hardly be regarded as either fortunate or justified, since the problem of its dating has not yet been definitively solved. A study of the Mauryan period based entirely on material provided by this political treatise may lead to the reconstruction, not of the authentic, but of an idealised picture of Mauryan society.

1. See, e.g., R. Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, Madras, 1932; 2 ed. 1953, p. 28.
2. *Strabo* ii. 1. 9; *Arrian*, *Anab.* v. 5; *Solinus*, *Polyhistor.*, c. 60.
3. Otto Stein, *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*, (Wien, 1921).
4. B. Breloer, *Megasthenes über die indische Gesellschaft*, *ZDMG*, 1934, vol. xiii, p. 130-164; *Megasthenes über die indische Staatsverwaltung*, *ZDMG*, 1935, vol. xiv, p. 40-67; *Kauṭilya Studien II* (Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes und Kauṭilya, Bonn, 1928).
5. *Kauṭilyam Arthaśāstram*. A new edition by J. Jolly and R. Schmidt, vol. 1 Lahore, 1923, Introduction.

The soundest approach would appear to be a comparison of Megasthenes' data with the nearly contemporary epigraphic documents—the inscriptions of Aśoka. Both sources are the only dated materials of the Mauryan period. The edicts of Aśoka, like the fragments of Megasthenes, contain abundant material on the state-administration of the Mauryan empire.

We shall dwell here on the analysis of only a few of the administrative institutions which have found reflection in both the sources. The fragments of the *Indica* have preserved for instance, a description of central governmental bodies of the Mauryan empire that are mentioned also in Aśoka's inscriptions. Strabo writes<sup>6</sup> that, according to Megasthenes, "the population of India is divided into seven parts...The seventh are the *sumbouloi* and *sunedroi tou basilews* ("the councillors and advisers of the king").<sup>7</sup> This translation, commonly accepted in the literature, merely gives the literal meaning of the Greek terms, without reflecting the specific features of the administrative system of the Mauryan empire. It is essential not only to translate the text of the ancient writer correctly and to explain his choice of terms, but also to correlate the terms with specific institutions of the period described.

What then were the ancient Indian governmental institutions which Megasthenes had in view when he used the terms *sumbouloi* and *sunedroi*? Evidently in using different, though semantically related, Greek terms

6. *Strabo*, xv. 1. 39 ; 49 (frag. xxiii, *Indica*, see E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenes' Indica*, Bonn, 1846. When using Megasthenes' *Indica*, Strabo apparently devoted most of his attention to geographical and ethnographical data. The information on the administrative and social systems of ancient India contained in the original *Indica*, was undoubtedly more detailed.

7. "Advisers and councillors of the king" (*The Geography of Strabo*, with English translation by H. L. Jones, vol. vii, London, 1954, p. 83 ; "councillors and assessors of the king" (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta 1926, p. 85, and others.

Megasthenes was trying to draw a distinction between the institutions described. The basic difference between these institutions, according to Megasthenes, was that the *sunedroi* were associated with the king (councillors of the king). Comparison with ancient Indian materials makes it possible to identify Megasthenes' *sunedroi* with the members of the *pariṣad* (the *parisā* of Aśoka's inscriptions), and the *sumbouloi* with the members of the *rāja-sabhā*. In the Mauryan epoch the *pariṣad* was the council of the king's ministers; of a much wider composition was the *rāja-sabhā*—an assembly of high-ranking government officials.

The peculiarities in the structure and functions of these two institutions, as they are known from ancient Indian sources, are in conformity with Megasthenes' evidence. The word *sunedroi* means—"those who sit together", "those in joint session", "council members", etc. Under the Seleucids the king's special advisory body was called the *sunedron*,<sup>8</sup> which may have been already known to Megasthenes. Megasthenes' correct description of one body of high officials—the members of the *pariṣad*—as "those who sit with the king" is found not only in Greek sources (Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus),<sup>9</sup> but also in the writings of Pliny and Solinus. Moreover, Pliny (VI. 19/22) in Latin words expressed the sense of the Greek terms, making use, as did Megasthenes, of the verb "to sit" (*sedeo*) with the prefix *ad* ("beside, at, by")—*regibus adsident*.

The testimony of Greek and Roman authors is fully supported by ancient Indian records. For example, commentators explaining the form *pariṣadvala* ("surrounded by the *pariṣad*") given by Pāṇini (V. 2. 112) associated it with the

8. See E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris, 1938, p. 189.

9. On the data given by Arrian and Diodorus, see G. Bongard-Levin, *Rājasabhā and pariṣad in Megasthenes' Indica* (in Russian), *Problemi Vostokovedeniya* (Problems of Orientology), Moscow 1959, N 2, pp. 158-161. Strabo was the most accurate in transmitting Megasthenes' information especially in respect to terminology—see B. Timmer, *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij*, Amsterdam, 1930.

word *rājā* (king) : *pariṣadvalo rājā*—"the king in council". Of the *pariṣad* as a council of the king's dignitaries we learn also from the inscriptions of Aśoka, according to which the *pariṣad* (*parisā*) could discuss the emperor's orders and worked out the chief duties of the officials. The 6th large rock-edict testifies to the close relations between the *pariṣad* and the king. Aśoka demanded that all the proceedings of the *pariṣad* be reported to him "promptly at all hours and at all places". The functions of the *pariṣad* (*mantri-pariṣad*), as a council of the king's ministers, are described in detail also by Kauṭilya (I. 15). The identification of the *sunedroi* with the members of the *pariṣad* is confirmed also by the similarity in the meaning of the two words : Greek word—"to sit together", "in a body" ; *pari+sad*—"to sit around", "together".

The *sumbouloi*, who may be compared to the members of the *rāja-sabhā*, denoted those "taking counsel", "conferring", "sitting in joint conference in the boule", etc. Data from ancient Indian sources on the advisory functions of the *rāja-sabhā* and on the broader composition of this body compared with the *pariṣad*, the king's council,<sup>10</sup> agrees with the testimony of Megasthenes. Pāṇini considered the *rāja-sabhā* to be an independent governmental institution, distinct from the *pariṣad* and privy council (*aśadakṣiṇa*).<sup>11</sup> Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya*, I. 177) referred to the existence of a *rāja-sabhā* under Candragupta (*candragupta-sabhā*). According to the *Divyāvadāna*, during Bindusāra's reign there was an assembly of high-ranking officials consisting of 500 persons.<sup>12</sup>

10. E. W. Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereafter *JAOS*), vol. xiii, (1889), pp. 148-151 ; N. N. Law, *Aspects of ancient Indian Polity*. (Oxford, 1921), K. Jayaswal. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed. (Bangalore, 1955), chapters xxx, xxxi and others.
11. *Sabhā rājamanuṣya-pūrvā* (ii. 4. 23) ; see V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Lucknow, 1953), pp. 21, 403-404.
12. *Pañcāmātyaśatāni* (*Divyāvadāna*, ed. by E. Cowell and R. Neil, Cambridge, 1886), p. 372.

The identification of the officers of Megasthenes with the members of the *pariṣad* and the *rāja-sabhā* is suggested also by the general characteristics ascribed by Megasthenes (Strabo, XV, 1, 49) to the "seventh class": "...who are appointed to the state offices and to the administration of public affairs". Aśoka's inscriptions confirm this information testifying to the inclusion of the *mahāmātras* in the *pariṣad* (6th large rock-edict), to the administration by the *mahāmātras* of various "departments" (*bahukā mukhā*, 7th large pillar-edict) and to the power they exercised in the provinces of the empire.

The sources cited above show that Megasthenes accurately described such actually existing governmental institutions of the Mauryan empire as the *pariṣad* and the *rāja-sabhā* and grasped the specific features of their structure. The evidence of the *Indica* with regard to the *pariṣad* and *rāja-sabhā* during Candragupta's reign is of particular interest as being so far the only testimony of a contemporary document.

The sources under comparison (the *Indica* and Aśoka's inscriptions) have preserved also data on the principal categories of state officials. According to Megasthenes,<sup>13</sup> these officials are divided into those administering the rural areas, *agronomoi*,<sup>14</sup> and those in charge of the cities and the military. Megasthenes' scheme corresponds to the classifications given by Kauṭilya: *durga-rāṣṭra-daṇḍamukhyas* (XIII, 3). What, then, are the ancient Indian officials to whom the *agronomoi* of Megasthenes correspond?

13. Strabo, xv, 1, 50. This statement, though containing no reference to Megasthenes, is evidently taken from the *Indica* (see Schwanbeck, fragm. xxxiv), although R. Majumdar (*JAOS*, 1958, vol. 78, No. 4, pp. 273-276) doubts its unconditional assignment to Megasthenes.
14. Strabo, *loc. cit.* The manuscript reads *agoranomoi*, but this should be emended to *agronomoi* (see Stein, *Megasthenes und Kauṭilyā*, Wien, 1921, pp. 233-235). Retention of the Manuscript reading, and the consequent translation of the term as: "officials responsible for the market" (see McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 86), is at variance with the meaning of the passage as a whole.

Megasthenes' definition of the *agronomoi* as rural officials and his description of their function fits in with the evidence of ancient Indian records, in particular with Aśoka's inscriptions, regarding the *rājūkas*.<sup>15</sup> The Indian documents regularly stress the connection of the *rājūkas* with the *jānapada*—the rural locality. According to the 2nd minor rock-edict from Eṛṛagudī, the *rājūkas* must proclaim the emperor's orders to the population of the *jānapada* (*jānapada āṇapayisati*) and lead its people (*janam jānapadam* : 4th large pillar edict) to welfare and happiness.

Megasthenes speaks of the *agronomoi* as officials with a very wide area of responsibility. One of their functions was the measurement of land, which is in keeping with the evidence of ancient Indian records on the *rājūkas*. The word *rājūka* (*rajuko*) comes from the word "rajju"—"rope", and corresponds to *rajjugāhaka* and *rajjuka* of the Jātakas.<sup>16</sup> Early Buddhist and Jain literary sources testify that the original function of the *rājūkas* was the measurement of land in the rural locality by means of a rope.<sup>17</sup>

15. H. Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta 1953, pp. 284-285. The majority of investigators associate the *agronomoi* with the *Samāhartṛ* of the *Arthaśāstra* (e.g., F. J. Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, Oxford, 1920).
16. See G. Bühler, *Aśoka's rājūkas order Lājukas*, ZDMG, (1893), vol. 47, pp. 466-471 : K. Jayaswal (*JBORS*, iv, 1918, pp. 36-43) compared Skr. *rājan*. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (see U. N. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 455-456) showed this interpretation to be impossible.
17. See *Kurudhammajātaka* ; Jātaka, ed., by Fausboell, vol. 11, p. 376 ; J. C. Jain, *Life in ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, Bombay, 1947, p. 62. In the *Arthaśāstra* (11, 20) *rajju* is used to denote a unit of land measurement. Describing the functions of the *agronomoi*, Strabo writes that they measure land, in the same way as this is done in Egypt. It may be assumed that this statement also comes from Megasthenes. Land-measurement in ancient India reminded the Seleucid envoy of the land-measurement familiar to him in Ancient Egypt. A number of ancient Egyptian monuments testify that land was measured there by means of a rope. The representation of a rope is one of the components of the ancient Egyptian title

Ancient Indian records confirm Megasthenes' statement that the *agronomoi* collect taxes. Thus, among the kinds of revenue received from the rural locality (*rāṣṭra*), Kauṭilya (II:6) mentions *rajju* and *cararajju*.

Aśoka's inscriptions also contain parallels to Megasthenes' assertion that the *agronomoi* "attend to the rivers", "inspect the canals", "build roads" and "at every ten stadia set up a pillar showing the by-roads and distances". For example, the 4th large pillar-edict of Aśoka tells us that the *rājūkas* "know (the source of) happiness (*sukhīyana*)"... "I have appointed the *rājūkas*", says Aśoka, "for the welfare and happiness of (the population of) the *jānapada* (*jānapadassa hitasukhāye*)".

In the 7th large pillar-edict we read : "On the roads I have planted banyan trees, I have ordered wells to be dug at every half-*kośa*, and seat-places to be arranged and many watering sheds to be built for men and beasts. But this is not the chief advantage. For various measures for making (people) happy (*sukhāyanāyā* ; Inst.) were taken also by former kings". Comparison of the two edicts suggests that *sukhīyana* was understood as the organization of public works—the digging of wells and reservoirs, the construction of roads, etc.<sup>18</sup> Evidently the *rājūkas*, who "know (the source of) happiness" and "lead the population of the *jānapada* to welfare and happiness" were supposed to participate directly in carrying out such measures. One instance may be cited of the correspondence between Greek and Indian sources, in detail. According to Megasthenes, when constructing roads the *agronomoi* set up a pillar at every 10 stadia showing the by-road (*ektropé* : this word denotes also a place for rest near the road). The 7th large pillar-edict, describing the maintenance of roads, mentions also that places for rest (*niṃsidhiyā*)<sup>19</sup> were to be arranged at every half *kośa*.

"inspector", "administrator", "ruler of a province". It is noteworthy that during Aśoka's reign, the *rājūkas* headed the provincial administration.

18. D. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 3rd ed. Calcutta, 1955, p. 53.

19. See J. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 404-405 ; H. Lüders, *SPAW*, 1914,



The authenticity of Megasthenes' statement that the *agronomoi* superintended the rivers and inspected the canals is also confirmed by a comparison of Aśoka's edicts with the inscription of Rudradāman from Junāgaḍh. According to this inscription, during Candragupta's reign a *rāṣṭriya* Puṣyagupta by name, built a reservoir, which in the reign of Aśoka (reading with Kielhorn) was supplied with canals (*praṇālibh-iralaṅkṛtam*). The 2nd minor rock-edict from Eṛraguḍi gives Aśoka's order that the *rājūkas* are to communicate the royal decrees not only to the population of the *jānapada* (*jānapada āṅapayisati*), but also to the officials called *rathikas*.<sup>20</sup>

If the parallel between *rāṣṭrika* (*rathika*) and *rāṣṭriya* proves to be a true one, it may be assumed, that the *rājūkas* (whose subordinates were the *rathikas*) also attended to irrigation works.

The authenticity of Megasthenes' account is most clearly confirmed by comparison of his data on the judicial functions of the *agronomoi* with the materials of Aśoka's inscriptions about *rājūkas*. According to Megasthenes, the *agronomoi* have the authority to reward and punish "those who deserve it". An amazingly similar statement is contained in Aśoka's inscriptions. "I have appointed the *rājūkas* that they may perform their duties without fear or self-interest and without perplexity, for the welfare and happiness of the country. Therefore, I have entrusted the *rājūkas* with the right to reward (encourage) (*abhihāle*) and to punish (*daṇḍa*)", i.e., the *rājūkas* were independent (plenipotentiary) *atapatiye*, (the Sanskrit *ātmapatyam*) in rewarding and punishing.<sup>21</sup> Other edicts of Aśoka

pp. 851-852; *WAT* (A. Woolner, *Aśoka text and Glossary*, Oxford, 1924, vol. ii, p. 102); Janert Klaus Ludwig, *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wiss. in Goettingen*, 1953/54, pp. 47-80.

20. D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphia India*, 1959, vol. xxxii, p. 7. See also the version from Rājula Maṇḍagiri, *ibid.*, vol. xxxi, part v, 1957, p. 217.
21. *etena me lajukānām abhihāle va daṇḍe vā atapatiye kaṭe*; . . . 4th large pillar-edict; see *WAT*, vol. i, p. 45. The translation of *abhihāle* has caused much controversy. For instance, Bühler—"in (awarding) honours";

also deal with the judicial functions of the *rājūkas*.<sup>22</sup> However, the *rājūkas* were not judicial officials, but carried out judicial functions along with their other duties. We find the same in Megasthenes, who makes a distinction between the *agronomoi* and special judicial officials.

The number and diversity of the *agronomoi*'s functions led some investigators (e.g., Nilakantha Sastri) to the supposition that Megasthenes' information represents, in fact, an enumeration of duties belonging to several categories of officials, but the data on the *rājūkas* contained in ancient Indian records confirm the authenticity of Megasthenes' testimony. Megasthenes was able to comprehend the basic functions of the officials he called *agronomoi* and described them precisely. There can hardly be any doubt that we are dealing with an authentic eye-witness description.

Besides the great similarity of Megasthenes' data on the *agronomoi* and Aśoka's inscriptions dealing with the *rājūkas*, their descriptions also have differences, determined in particular, by the nature of the two documents. Megasthenes described only those functions of the *agronomoi* which were most conspicuous, or reminded him of institutions familiar to him. The inscriptions of Aśoka, on the other hand, deal mainly with the *dharma* and the necessity of its consolidation and dissemination. Under Aśoka, in connection with the policy of *dharmavijaya*, the *rājūkas* were entrusted with new duties. And it is the *rājūkas*' functions as disseminators of the *dharma* that were most vividly reflected in the inscriptions—*Edicts on the Dharma*, as they were called by Aśoka himself. (A detailed analysis of the status of the *rājūkas* according

Lüders—"reward"; Jayaswal—"military operations"; Senart—"persecution", "pursuit"; Basak—"attack", and in law, "accusation, a plaint, an indictment". It should be noted that (*timé*), in addition to the meaning "reverence", "reward", means also "penalty", "punishment".

22. The 4th large pillar-edict and the 1st special edict from Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

to Aśoka's inscriptions is outside the scope of the present paper).

Data from the *Indica* on the existence of autonomous regions in ancient India deserve special consideration. We may cite the most important of these data. Speaking of the overseers of the 6th group ("class"), Arrian (*Indica*, XII. 5) says that they report everything to the king wherever the Indians live under a monarch, or to the authorities where they (the Indians) have self-government. Diodorus (II. 41) gives a somewhat different version of the same testimony of Megasthenes: "Whatever takes place in India, they . . . report it to the kings or in case their city (*polis*) has no king, to those holding office". In speaking of autonomous *polis*-es in ancient India, Greek authors evidently had in mind the city-states as definite geographic, political and social entity. This finds confirmation, in particular, in the descriptions of these *polis*-es given by the writers of Alexander's time and of a later period (for instance, by Diodorus). The testimony of the Greek authors as to the existence in India of independent autonomous regions with a non-monarchical form of rule agrees with the evidence found in ancient Indian records (the Great Epos, Pāṇini, early Buddhist literature, the *Arthaśāstra*, etc.). The testimony of Megasthenes, as cited above, being based on real political facts, adds to our knowledge of the administrative structure of the Mauryan empire. The autonomous units included in Candragupta's empire continued in existence under Aśoka. In Aśoka's inscriptions we find mention of regions known from other sources to be states with a republican type of government. Kaṃboja, Bhoja, Pitinika and others. According to K. Jayaswal,<sup>23</sup> the 13th large rock-edict enumerates the regions of Aśoka's empire (*hida*) with a non-monarchical system (*arājaviṣaya*) which exactly corresponds to Diodorus' (II. 41)—*abasileutes polis*. The 5th large rock-edict, mentioning the same territories, calls them *aparātā*,

23. K. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 117.

i.e., situated in Aparānta—in Western India.<sup>24</sup> Megasthenes, who was acquainted with the political organisation of western and north-western India, very likely had in mind republican (autonomous) units in that part of Candragupta's empire, though ancient Indian records testify to the existence of such units in other parts of the country as well. Evidently, Megasthenes had in view not the limited independence of provincial self-rule, but the existence within the empire of small autonomous republics. The existence of republican communities and units is attested also by the numismatic evidence.<sup>25</sup>

What were the reasons for the inclusion in the empire of republican units and the retention by them of a certain degree of autonomy?

The Mauryas were faced with the task of uniting into an integral whole various tribes and peoples differing in language, state-system and level of social development. The Mauryas tried to solve this problem not by breaking up and obliterating traditional local forms of government, the vitality of which had withstood the trial of many centuries. The preservation of old forms and their adaptation to the new conditions, the combination of the old forms with the newly created ones—this was the policy adopted by the Mauryas in building up a united state. It is possible that the Mauryas were unable to subjugate completely the power of the republican unions, which according to the *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1), “by virtue of their solidarity are invincible”.

The actual state of affairs during the rise of the Mauryan empire should also be taken into account. Candragupta, who

24. *yona-kambojagaṃdhārānaṃ riṣṭika-paitenikānaṃ ye vā pi aṃṭe aparātā*. Girnar's version; *WAT*, vol. i, p. 8.

5. One coin bearing the Mauryan symbol has an inscription in Brāhmī characters: *V(ā)ṭāśvake*, where *vaṭa* perhaps corresponds to *vārtā-vārtāśastropajivin* of Kauṭalya; *Aṃta-Roh(a)-takas*, on another Mauryan coin, may be compared with Rohita by Kāśikā (iv, 3. 91), which are classified as *āyudhajivin saṅgha*; See *JBORS*, xx, 290; *ibid*, xx, p. 191); see D. D. Kosambi, *Ancient Kosala and Magadha*, *Journal of the Bom. Br. R.A.S.*, vol. xxvii, pt. ii, p. 202.

had to fight both the Greek garrisons and the Nanda dynasty, apparently received considerable assistance from the republics of north-western and western India. According to Justin (XV. 4. 18), Candragupta recruited "robbers" (*latrones*) and persuaded the Indians to change their government. It is curious that the ancient Indian tradition, in describing the regions with non-monarchical forms of government in the Punjab and north-western India, calls them robbers and barbarians (*dasyu*). Thus, the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 44) speaks of the *āraṭṭa-vāhikas*, whom it places in the Punjab (*pañcādyah*), as a people "deserving censure" (*varjanīya*) and "having broken away from the *dharma*" (*naṣṭadharmā*). Pāṇini (V. 3. 114) placed republics (*saṅghas*) in the country Vāhika, characterising them as *āyudhajīvi saṅghas*. i.e., "republics living by means of arms". Among the peoples deserving censure Karṇa-parva names also Madras, Vasātis, Khaśas and others. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 173), for instance, mentions the Madrakāras among the *āyudhajīvi saṅghas*. The Madras are mentioned among the republican units also by Kauṭalya (XI. 1). In the *Gaṇapāṭha* (IV. 2. 53) Vasāti is mentioned among the republics (*śaṅghas*) in the group *rājanyādi*. According to Arrian (*Anab.*, VI. 151), the Ossadioi who may be identified with the people of the country Vasāti, retained their autonomy during the period of Alexander's campaign in India. The rather stable ancient Indian tradition characterising the above-mentioned peoples of north-western India as "deserving censure" was apparently connected with the fact that they represented republican units in which power was not concentrated in the hands of a monarch. Justin, in this case merely reflected, in all probability, the traditional Brāhmaṇa attitude to the republican units. Later Indian records<sup>26</sup> also

26. In the opinion of K. Jayaswal (*Ind. Ant.* 1914, p. 124) the data of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* testify to the aid given by Āraṭṭas to Candragupta in the latter's struggle against the Nandas. *Mudrārākṣasa* (ii. 14) and

refer to the ties between Candragupta and the republican communities. The important part played by the republics in Candragupta's victory evidently also influenced their status within his empire.

We may cite a number of other examples showing correspondence between Megasthenes' account and the inscriptions of Aśoka, which not only confirm the authenticity of the material contained in the *Indica*, but also add to our knowledge of the Mauryan empire. Thus Megasthenes' *eforoi* may be compared with the *pulisa*, and his *Brahmanai Sarmanai* with *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇas* of Aśoka's inscriptions. The latter examples are of special interest, as the religious life in the early Mauryan period, owing to the lack of contemporary documents, has not been much investigated.

We are not in a position to give here a detailed analysis of all the information provided by Megasthenes, but what has already been discussed is a sufficiently convincing proof for the authenticity of many of the fragments of the *Indica*. Megasthenes correctly described certain actually existing ancient Indian governmental and social institutions and succeeded in grasping the specific administrative features of the Mauryan empire. This allows us to have greater confidence in other statements by Megasthenes that so far have no parallels in ancient Indian records. Further investigations will provide "defence" for more than one assertion by Megasthenes. Yet the significance of a comparative study of the *Indica* and Aśoka's inscriptions is not confined to this. Such a comparison is important not only from the point of view of source-analysis; it also enables us to throw new light on quite a number of problems in the history of India during the Mauryan epoch.

*Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (viii, 291-301) relate of the alliance between Candragupta and the ruler of the Parvata country. Pāṇini (iv. 3.93) placed the land Parvata in the Takṣaśilādi group. According to Pāṇini, this region is characterised by the existence of *āyudhajivī saṅghas*.

# THE HISTORICITY OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN AVADĀNAS

## *A Legend about Aśoka's deposition and the Queen's Edict*

While analyzing the ancient Indian legends and stories called the *avadāna*-s, scholars have hitherto been interested only in their literary and religio-philosophical aspects. The main objects of serious indological study are, however, the composition and development of the themes, their transformation in time and space.

The problem of the historicity of the ancient Indian *avadāna*-s and the analysis of their content from the point of view of real and imaginary events has escaped the attention of scholars. Consequently, much interesting information which needed special attention was mechanically declared to be mere legend and the contents of the *avadāna*-s were, therefore, not carefully analyzed for their record of historical events and facts.

This over-simplified but traditional approach to the study of the *avadāna*-s was applied in the analysis of the Buddhist legends about Aśoka, with whom a special cycle of the *avadāna*-s is connected.<sup>1</sup>

With the addition of epigraphic documents of the Mauryan period and their analysis, it has become necessary to approach the problem of the Aśoka cycle from an altogether new angle.

A comparison of the Buddhist legends about Aśoka with

See, *Divyāvadāna* : A collection of early Buddhist legends, first edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit by Cowell and Neil. (Cambridge, 1886) ; J. Przyluski, *La Légende de L'empereur Aśoka (Aśokāvadāna) dans les textes Indiens et Chinois* (Paris, 1931), *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. 31 ; *Ratnamālāvadāna* : *A Garland of Precious Gems or a collection of Edifying tales, told in a metrical form, belonging to the Mahāyāna*, ed. by Takahata (Tokyo, 1954).

the inscriptional evidence<sup>2</sup> shows that the *avadāna*-s, in spite of their apparent tendentiousness, are valuable historical documents containing information based on facts.

The Buddhist legends contain varied types of information about the reign of Aśoka and it is, therefore, necessary to verify the historicity of these statements by analyzing them and comparing them with the available documentary evidence, which is mainly epigraphic. It is also necessary to examine the historical facts of the epoch wherein these events took place. In our view the problem of the character of the Buddhist legends can be correctly solved by adopting this approach, though differentiating the real from the imaginary and the original material from later interpolations.

Among the numerous Buddhist legends about the virtuous deeds of king Aśoka, the most interesting and unusual is the one about his deposition in the last years of his rule.

An analysis of this evidence is of great historical significance not only because the documentary evidence of this period is highly fragmentary and contradictory but also because the problem of the political system of the Mauryan empire is connected with it. The material about Aśoka's deposition has been preserved in the following Indian and foreign sources: the Nepalese manuscript of *Āśokāvadāna*, which is a part of the collection of the *Divyāvadāna*;<sup>3</sup> the Chinese

2. R. Mookerjee, The authenticity of Aśokan Legends, *Buddhist Studies*, ed. by, B.C. Law, 1931, pp. 547-558; P.H.L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Aśoka Moriya*, Leiden, 1956; E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain, 1958, pp. 277-279 (Comparison entre les édits et les sources bouddhiques); G. M. Bongard-Levin, Taksil'skaya Nadpis Ashoki, *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, 1956, N 1. A comparison of the evidence from different Buddhist sources is of great interest. Such comparison leads us to the basic material which usually tended to acquire a different colouring and new additions and changes with the passage of time. For details see, J. Przyluski, *op. cit.*
3. For details, see E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Paris, 1876. The *Āśokāvadāna* was, in fact, an independent work and it was included only much later in the general collection of the Buddhist *avadāna*-s. See, S. Levi, *Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna*,



version of this "cycle about Aśoka";<sup>4</sup> the *Sūtrālamkāra*,<sup>5</sup> attributed to Aśvaghōṣa ; Sanskrit fragments of the *Kalpānamāṇḍitikā* identified by H. Lüders ;<sup>6</sup> the Chinese version of the *Samyukta Āgama* ;<sup>7</sup> the descriptions of the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang, who visited India almost one thousand years after the rule of Aśoka ;<sup>8</sup> the *Avadāna Kalpalatā* by the famous Indian writer of the eleventh century, Kṣemendra<sup>9</sup> and finally, the work of the sixteenth century Tibetan historian, Tāranātha, who claims to have utilized the work of Kṣemendra and the Sanskrit texts and translations of the *avadāna*-s.<sup>10</sup> Even a simple enumeration of these sources speaks of the popularity of these legends which were known not only in India but beyond her boundaries for a long period of time.<sup>11</sup>

*T'ong Pao*, xlii, 1905, pp. 105-122. The *Divyāvadāna* comprises several *avadāna*-s which were written by different authors ; subsequent editorial changes were made in the *avadāna*-s when they were included in a common collection. This is clearly proved by the legends and the analysis of their linguistic material. See, M. Bloomfield, Notes on the *Divyāvadāna*, JAOS, xl, 1920, pp. 345-346.

4. See J. Przyluski, *op. cit.*
5. Aśvaghōṣa, *Sūtrālamkāra, traduit en français sur la version chinoise de kumārajīva*, par E. Huber, Paris, 1908 ; E. Huber, BEFEO, t. iv, 1904, pp. 709-726.
6. See H. Lüders. *Bruchstücke der Kalpānamāṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig, 1926.
7. *Sm̐yukta Āgama*, Chapter 25 ; Tokyo edition of Tripiṭaka, cited by U. N. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 424n-426n.
8. S. Bell, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. ii, London.
9. See *Avadāna Kalpalatā with its Tibetan version*, ed. by Sarat Chandra Das and Paṇḍit Harimohan Vidyābhushana, reprinted, Calcutta, 1940, (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 595.
10. See, V. P. Vasiliev, *Buddizm, ego dogmaty, istoriye i literature*, Part 3, *Istoriya buddizma v Indii, Sochinenie Daranat'y trans. from Tibetan*, St. Pt., 1869 ; A. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, St. Pt., 1869.
11. Unfortunately, in the Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon, the *Dipavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, which have preserved many facts of Aśoka's life and activities, there is no evidence of the king's deposition from power, although these texts contain material about the last years of Aśoka's

Out of the materials that have come down to us, the most detailed information about the last years of Aśoka's rule is preserved in the Sanskrit text of *Aśokāvadāna*. Its fourth chapter is entirely devoted to the events of this period. Let us consider these data in detail.

rule. This material very much agrees with the north Indian tradition ; for example, the information about the destruction of the Bodhi Tree by queen Tiṣyarakṣitā etc. (See *Mahāvamsa*, xx, 3-6). However, when comparing the northern and southern Indian legends of Aśoka, the former should be preferred, as they are earlier in time and territorially more closely connected with the Mauryan empire. The Ceylonese chronicles, as is generally known, were compiled in the fourth-fifth centuries A.D. (See S. Levi, *op. cit.*). A number of stories about Aśoka, preserved in the Nepalese MS of *Aśokāvadāna*, are also found in the Chinese version of the *Sūtrālamkāra* (which was translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 405). The *Sūtrālamkāra* is generally attributed to Aśvaghosha, who according to tradition lived during the period of Kanishka's rule (S. Levi, Aśvaghosha, *Le Sūtrālamkāra et ses sources*, *Journ. Asiatique*, t. xii, 1908, pp. 57-184). Following this tradition, the Sanskrit text of the *Sūtrālamkāra* may be dated to the first century A.D., and the original text of the *Aśokāvadāna*—whence the author of the *Sūtrālamkāra* has apparently borrowed many themes—may be dated to a still earlier period. Unfortunately, we do not possess the original text of the *Aśokāvadāna* which, in the opinion of Przyłuski, was compiled about a hundred years before the rule of Kanishka (*op. cit.*, p. vii). Eggermont, who does not agree with such an early date, thinks that it should not be dated earlier than the first century A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 180). It is likely that the text of the *Aśokāvadāna* and the part of *Divyāvadāna* which has come down to us, fully coincides with the original text. But it should not be forgotten that this text has undergone changes more than once, most probably, after the final editing of the *Sūtrālamkāra*. We may presume that the version nearest to the original is preserved in the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* because the Sanskrit fragments of *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* are almost identical with the MSS of the *Aśokāvadāna* which has come down to us.

In the *Sūtrālamkāra* : "But the high officials did not want to give him any more (jewels)". (Aśvaghosha, *Sūtrālamkāra op. cit.*, p. 138) ; in the Chinese version of *Aśokāvadāna* : "After this. Sampadi (Eul-mo-t'i) with the consent of the ministers seized the opportunity, provided by the king's illness, to return all that was sent by the king (to the saṅgha)". (See, J. Przyłuski, *op. cit.*, p. 298) ; in *Samyuktanikāya* : "Then the prince (San-po-ti) immediately ordered that no

According to this source, king Aśoka, towards the end of his rule, ruined the state treasury by giving generous donations to the Buddhist *saṅgha* and for spreading the teachings of the Buddha (*bhagavacchāsana*) and also continued sending more and more gifts to the *bhikṣu-s*. During this period, Aśoka's grandson Sampadi (Samprati) became the heir to the throne (*yuvarājye pravartate*) and the king's ministers (*amātya-s*) told him about the excessive gifts which the emperor was making and impressed upon him the need for having them stopped. [In the text : *nivārayitavyaḥ*, i.e., He (the king) must be stopped, restrained ; it should be forbidden to him]. Following the advice of the king's ministers, Samprati forbade the treasurer to give away any valuables, despite Aśoka's orders. However, according to the tradition, Aśoka did not stop making gifts to the Buddhist *saṅgha*. As we learn from the sources, his passion for donations did not cease : he used to send to the priests golden dishes which were used for serving all kinds of viands to the king. When, by an order, this practice was stopped and the king was served in silver dishes, Aśoka sent even those to the Buddhist monastery of Kukkuṭa (*Kukkuṭārāma*). The same happened with the iron and wooden dishes. As a result, Aśoka was left with only an *ardhāmala-laka*. He then called together the ministers (*amātya-s*) and the city-dwellers (*paura-s*) and enquired of them ; who is the actual ruler of the land ?<sup>12</sup> The ministers tried to convince the emperor Aśoka that he alone was the king.

Of great interest are the *gāihā-s*, which are the oldest parts of the *Aśokāvadāna*, in which the emperor describes his position thus : "I deprived myself of my power and now I possess

jewel should be given away for the needs of the great king". (U. N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 425). Hsüan Tsang writes ; "The Ministers (minister), who exercised control 'did not want to fulfill his desire'." (S. Beal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 95). Kṣemendra (74.8) writes, "His grandson named Sampadi, blinded by greed, revoked through the cashier the order of Aśoka who was making religions charities". (*tatpautrāḥ Sampadi nāma lobhāndhastasya śāsanam dānapuṇya-pravṛttasya kośādhyakṣairavārayat*).

12. *kaḥ sāmpratam prithivyām īśvaraḥ ; Divyāvadāna*, p. 43.

only half a piece of *āmalaka*". Addressing his chief minister, Rādhagupta, Aśoka announced the loss of wealth (*dravyavināśa*), loss of kingdom (*rājyanāśana*) and loss of power (*āśrayaviyoga*).<sup>13</sup> "Formerly, nobody dared object to my orders and now they are hardly ever carried out...My edicts have become dead letters". There is a similar passage in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*.<sup>14</sup> Aśoka gathered together his officials and said, "My power is dead. When I had power nobody dared oppose me, nobody ever showed any treachery, and uprisings were suppressed; no one in the land could stand against me". Aśoka requested that his last order be carried out—to send half a piece of *āmalaka* to the Kukkuṭa monastery as a gift to the community of monks.

When Aśoka's last gift was brought to the community of monks and the news of the Emperor's plight communicated the monks were very much depressed over the inglorious end of their patron. We learn this from the sources containing materials about the last years of Aśoka's rule. The monks believed that Aśoka—the best among the Mauryas and the ruler of the whole of Jambudvīpa—had been relieved of his power by the ministers.<sup>15</sup> In the Chinese version of the *Aśokāvadāna*, there is a *gāthā* which states that the *sthavira* addressed the Buddhist monks informing them about the grave condition of Aśoka. "Now", he said, "The king is being governed by a group of subjects".<sup>16</sup> Hsüan Tsang wrote that the ministers had usurped the power and were enjoying the riches of others.<sup>17</sup> Hsüan Tsang ascribes these words to Aśoka: "I am in the hands of crafty and powerful minister".<sup>18</sup> Tāranātha gives a story about the monks' visit to Aśoka. The

13. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 430.

14. See, T. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-299; *Sūtrālaṃkāra* pp. 139-140

15. *tyāgāśwo narendro'sau Aśoka mauryakuñjaraḥ, jambudvīpeśvaro bhūtvā - jāto' rāhāmalakeśvaraḥ, bhṛtyaiḥ sa bhūmipatiradya hṛtādihikāraḥ* : *Divyāvadāna*, p. 432.

16. J. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

17. S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

18. *Ibid.*

Emperor could give only half a piece of *āmalaka* to the monks and even this gift was received by them with great joy. "Virtue from this offering is much more than that from the 960 million gold pieces you gave when you were the absolute ruler".<sup>19</sup>

Thus, the sources containing materials about the last period of Aśoka's rule describe the usurpation of power by the high officials and the crown-prince and the emperor being rendered powerless to rule the country.

Is the information given in the Buddhist sources purely imaginary, as some scholars think, merely fabricated to illustrate the Buddhist doctrine of suffering<sup>20</sup> by giving the example of such a virtuous king, as Aśoka, and to emphasize the necessity of total renunciation of wordly bliss and power<sup>21</sup> for the sake of the *saṅgha* ? Or do the materials about Aśoka's deposition reflect the real events of Mauryan history ?

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the last years of Aśoka's rule is very scanty. The epigraphical evidence is particularly fragmentary. However, even this scanty information helps us in revealing certain peculiarities of this period and in indicating the causes leading to the events which we know from the later Buddhist legends.

The last years of Aśoka's rule are known to have been very complicated politically. In this period, which marks the

19. V. P. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

20. R. Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford, 1961, p. 54.

21. Barua takes the evidence from the *Divyāvadāna* thus. See B. M. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1955. The Buddhist chronicles have especially tried to emphasize the significance of presents and gifts in favour of the Buddhist community by giving the example of the mighty emperor Aśoka, who sacrificed everything for the sake of the *Samgha*—his empire extending over the whole earth, wives, high officials, son, and finally, himself: *koṣaṃ sthāpayitvā mahāpṛthiviṃ antaḥpurā-mātyagaṇam ātmānam kuṇālamācāryasaṅghe kīryātayitvā* (*Divyāvadāno*. p. 429).

beginning of the downfall of the Mauryan empire, conditions deteriorated : the provinces, struggling for independence, rose against the central authority,<sup>22</sup> and serious financial difficulties arose which is proved by the *avadāna* literature. An analysis of the documents reveals that anti-Buddhist feelings also became intensified, largely because Aśoka had started patronising Buddhism and giving generous financial help to the Buddhist *saṅgha*.<sup>23</sup>

During a major part of his rule, Aśoka followed a policy of religious tolerance which helped to establish the basic political system of the Mauryas and maintain the unity of the empire. "Other sects should be duly honoured in every way on all occasions. If a person acts in this way, he not only promotes his own sect but also benefits other sects. But, if a person acts otherwise, he not only injures his own sect, but also harms other sects". (Rock Edict No. XII).

By following this policy of religious tolerance Aśoka was able to avoid conflicts without breaking away from the Brāhmaṇas, Jainas and Ājīvikas.

It is clear from Aśoka's inscriptions that he followed this policy not only at the time when the Rock Edicts were composed, but also during the time when the Pillar Edicts were composed (i.e., after the 25th-26th year of coronation).<sup>24</sup>

22. In the *Divyāvadāna*. (p. 407) there is a description of an uprising in Taxila not long before the death of Aśoka : *rājño'śokasyottarūpathe Takṣaśilānagaraṃ viruddham*.
23. According to the Buddhist tradition, queen Tiṣyarakṣitā was a staunch opponent of Buddhism who tried to destroy the holy Bodhi Tree. (*Divyāvadāna*, pp. 394-398 ; *Mahāvamśa*, xx, 4-6). Eggermont dates this event in the thirty-first year of Aśoka's rule. He thinks that the reference to the destruction of the Bodhi Tree might symbolise the difficulties of the Buddhist (*op. cit* , p. 187). In our opinion, however, this evidence shows the existence of anti-Buddhist opposition in the period.
24. In Bloch's opinion (with which R. Thapar also agrees) this edict was compiled in the twenty-eighth year of Aśoka's rule. T. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Aśoka*. Paris, 1950, p. 168 ; R. Thapar, *op. cit*. p. 177.

Pillar Edict VII—the last of the Major Pillar Edicts—proves that the central authority tried to control all aspects of religious life in ancient Indian society, and maintain surveillance over the diverse religious sects with their peculiarities and practices. During this period Aśoka also propagated his policy of religious tolerance.

During the last years of Aśoka's rule, however, the policy underwent important changes. A comparative study of Aśoka's inscriptions reveals that there was a definite evolution in the views of the Emperor and in his attitude towards the Buddhist doctrines and the *saṅgha*. In the last years of his rule, Aśoka became a staunch supporter of Buddhism, patronising the Buddhist *saṅgha* and financially supporting, it, and he departed from the policy of religious tolerance. In this connection, the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna* about Aśoka's clash with the Ājīvikas and the Jainas, deserves special attention.<sup>25</sup>

The 'Schism Edict', which was composed later than the Pillar Edicts, also serves as a proof of the change in Aśoka's policy of religious tolerance.<sup>26</sup>

25. According to the Buddhist tradition, when the emperor came to know about the profanation of the Buddha's statue by a Nirgrantha from Puṇḍravardhana, he ordered all the Ājīvikas of this region to be killed. For a similar crime of profanation by a Nirgrantha of Pāṭaliputra, Aśoka demanded compensation from the heads of all the unions of Nirgranthas (Nirgranthas were usually considered to be Jains; in Aśoka's inscriptions Ājīvikas and Jains are clearly differentiated, though in the first passage of the *Divyāvadāna* they are, perhaps, used as synonyms). Basham is inclined to consider this as evidence that the Buddhist sources are unreliable. However, they refer to the last years of Aśoka's rule, when the emperor had begun to depart from his policy of religions to tolerance. (A Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, 1951, p. 148).
26. The later date of the Edict is supported by scholars like H. C. Seth, *The Chronology of Aśoka's Inscriptions*, *Journal of Indian History*, 1938, vol. xiii, N 3, pp. 279-292. T. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 152; Nilakantha Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, Banaras, 1952, p. 216. P. H. Eggermont, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188. The Edict calls for the expulsion

Aśoka's obviously pro-Buddhist policy could not but give rise to opposition from the followers of the various other religious schools. Apparently, in this period, Aśoka not only lost the support of the followers of the diverse religious sects but, as a consequence, he also created formidable opposition among the Brāhmaṇas and the Jainas, who were still very powerful politically and exerted considerable influence on the spiritual life of the Indian society. It is well-known that Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, pursued a pro-Brāhmaṇa and, apparently, anti-Buddhist policy. We have already referred to the evidence from the Buddhist tradition which shows that, in the last years of Aśoka's rule, Sampadi became the heir to the throne and concentrated considerable power during this period. The Jaina tradition portrays Sampadi as an ardent follower of Mahāvīra's teachings and an opponent of Buddhism.<sup>27</sup> From the actions of the king's ministers who were closely connected with Sampadi, it may also be presumed that they had begun to oppose Aśoka's pro-Buddhist policies.

A study of the history of the last years of Aśoka's rule, based mainly on epigraphic material, thus corroborates the evidence from the Buddhist tradition about the tense situation of this period, the emperor's conflict with his ministers, and his ultimate deposition from power. This also means that the Cycle of Aśoka is based on historical facts.

It is no doubt true that all these questions require further documentary evidence and analysis.

For instance, one of our basic problems—the reasons for the emperor's deposition from power—has not been completely solved. It is, however, clear that the last years of Aśoka's rule were marked not by his peaceful renunciation of the

from the Buddhist community of monks and nuns who had disrupted the internal unity of the *saṅgha*. The Allahabad-Kausambi version of the Edict shows that the king's order regarding the expulsion of dissenter-monks and the consolidation of the community was addressed to the officials of the state.

27. See, for example, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, ix, 54.



world as a monk, as suggested by certain scholars,<sup>28</sup> but by, a tense political situation in the country, which resulted in the beginning of the downfall of the Mauryan empire, growing anti-Buddhist feelings and the struggle of the heir-apparent and the king's ministers against his policy, particularly against his pro-Buddhist attitude.

According to the available evidence, during the last years of Aśoka's rule, Tiṣyarakṣitā, whom he married after Asaṃdhimittā's death and made his *agramahiṣī*, started playing an important role in the court. Tradition portrays Tiṣyarakṣitā as anti-Buddhist or opposed to the pro-Buddhist policy of Aśoka. The Buddhist tradition also mentions the feelings of hatred of this young wife of Aśoka towards the crown-prince Kuṇāla, the son of another of Aśoka's wives, Padmāvati. The legends say that after curing the ailing emperor, Tiṣyarakṣitā demanded unlimited authority for seven days. She issued a decree in Aśoka's name to pluck off the eyes of Kuṇāla and assassinate him, who was at that time in Taxila to suppress the rebellion there.

Moreover the above-mentioned facts from the *avadāna*-s about the last years of Aśoka's rule acquire an entirely special meaning in connection with the so-called Queen's Edict—a small inscription on the Allahabad pillar. In our view it is possible to connect the Buddhist tradition with the evidence of the edict. This throws new light on the obscure question of the last years of Aśoka's rule and proves, once again, the historicity of the *avadāna*-s.

The Edict proclaims :<sup>29</sup> "In the name of Devānāmpriya

28. This view was first expressed by Fleet in whose opinion the southern versions of the Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka are connected with the arrival of the emperor at Suvarṇagiri (which Fleet mistakenly located in Magadha) after his renunciation of the throne (see, JRAS, 1909, p. 304) Dikshitar has supported this view, maintaining that Aśoka not only renounced the throne but also spent his remaining days in prayer and penance. See R. Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, (2nd edition) Madras, 1953, p. 90.

29. *Devānāmpriyasa vacanenā savata mahāmātavataviyā e heta dutiyāye*

everywhere the *mahāmātra*-s should be instructed (as follows) : those gifts (which are being made)<sup>30</sup> here by the second queen viz., the mango-grove, or a garden, or alms-house, or anything else, are to be registered (in the name) of that queen. This

*deviye dāne ambāvadikā vā dāna/ga/he vā/e vā pi a|ṃṇe kichhi gamayati taye deviye se nānī (he/vam/vi/na/lyana/dutiyāye deviye ti Tivalamātu Kāluvākiye.* This edict was first translated and published by J. Princep in 1837. Subsequently, it was published many times and specially analyzed in several works among which the following may be mentioned : T. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 159 ; G. Srinivasa Murti, A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, *Edicts of Aśoka*, Adyar, 1952, p. 133 ; A. Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 136-139 ; R. Basak, *Aśokan Inscriptions* Calcutta, 1959, pp. 151-152 ; C. D. Chatterjee, *Studies in the Inscriptions of Aśoka : Queen's Edict Reconsidered*, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. xxxii (1953), pp. 57-82 (IA), vol. xxxiv (1954), pp. 30-50 (IB), vol. xxxvii (1957), pp. 208-233 (IC).

30. The verb is missing here and a word for word translation would be "which what here the second queen gifts". Different scholars have filled in the missing portion thus : "What (ever) gift (has been given) here by the second queen" (S. N. Mitra, *The Queen's donation edict*, *IHQ*, vol. vii, 1931, p. 460) ; "whatever gift has been given here (in my empire) by the Second Queen" (R. Basak, *op. cit.*, p. 152) ; "whatever has been given away as a gift by my second queen" (G. Srinivasa Murti and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 133) ; "whatever gift has been made here by my second queen", (D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Delhi, 1960, p. 65). It is clear from these examples that the verbal constructions, with the help of which the text has been interpreted, are used in the past tense. Perhaps these scholars think that the gifts mentioned in the edict had already been made by the queen sometime in the past. Chatterjee thinks that the gifts which were made earlier by Kāruvākī were registered as the gifts of the second queen (*dutiyāye deviye dāne*) without mentioning her name. In his opinion, the new order of the king only made this issue clear. However, we cannot draw many conclusions from the text of the edict. Moreover in the fourth line of the inscription the verb is used in the present tense—*gaṇiyati* which contradicts the above-mentioned interpretations. The edict might even be referring to the future rather than the past, because its author demands clear-cut registration of the gifts.

(is) [the instruction]<sup>31</sup> of the second queen, the mother of Tīvala, the Kāluvākī”.<sup>32</sup>

Most scholars have considered this edict to be a personal order of the Emperor. Mitra has even objected to its being called by its traditional name, the “Queen’s Edict”, as suggested by A. Cunningham.<sup>33</sup> He considers the inscription to be the King’s order to the *mahāmātra*-s and suggests that it should be called the ‘Edict on the Queen’s donation’ in order to avoid its being taken as an edict issued by the Queen.<sup>34</sup> A. Sen is also of the same opinion.<sup>35</sup> Chatterjee considers it

31. This reading and interpretation is possible: *vinayana*-(nt) with the meaning ‘order, instructions’. Such a restoration may be very well connected with the other materials, and it agrees with *hevaṃ*. The only objection, if any, may be the trisyllabic word, as has been pointed out by some scholars. But let us not forget that many, great epigraphists considered it a four-syllable word and Sircar reconstructed it as a five-syllable word, *gaṇataṃ* (*Select Inscriptions*, 1, Calcutta, 1942, p. 72). Hultsch was not the only person to have initially read ‘v’ with a vowel; Prinsep, the first publisher of the inscription had also read *Va* (CII, ed. by A. Cunningham, Calcutta, 1877, p. 186). Some scholars have reconstructed the third syllable as *ya* which is also corroborated by our reading and interpretation. On the whole, we think that this part of the edict should have a noun. This is also shown by Bloch in his translation: (cela est . . . de la seconde reine); this noun is related to *hevaṃ* rather than to a verb-form. The reading *hevaṃ* and not *sevaṃ*, as suggested by Senart and Barua is correct, as shown by Chatterjee. Dismissing Hultsch’s interpretation, Chatterjee has indicated the various phonetic difficulties, besides the impossibility of relating the king’s order to the *mahāmātras* to the request for the registration of his wife Kāruvākī’s gifts (*op. cit.*, p. 41). But if our interpretation (*vinayana*) is accepted, the difficulty will be removed.
32. In the text the form ‘Kāluvākīye’ may be in genitive as well as accusative case, but the contents of the inscription clearly show that it is used in the genitive case. A. Woolner, *Aśoka’s Inscription, Text and Glossary*, Oxford, 1924, vol. ii, p. 80, has translated it as “for Kāluvākī”, but this does not correspond with the idea of the edict as a whole.
33. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
34. S. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
35. S. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

to be Aśoka's order and suggests the title 'Edict of Aśoka on the Public Benefactions of Kāluvākī'.<sup>36</sup> It has not been possible for scholars to reconcile themselves to the idea that in the time of an autocrat and a monarch like Aśoka some one could have dared issue an edict.

There are no clear indications in the Edict about the date of its compilation. However, there are no difficulties in placing it in the last years of Aśoka's rule. The Edict was found engraved on the Allahabad Pillar along with the Minor Pillar Edict about the unity of the Buddhist community (or the Schism Edict) and the first six Pillar Edicts. Because of its peculiar disposition, the inscription could not be dated later than the major Pillar Edicts of Aśoka.<sup>37</sup> According to Smith the 'Queen's Edict' was the latest among the edicts issued by Aśoka.<sup>38</sup>

It is necessary to note an interesting detail which has been given due attention neither by the scholars working on Mauryan history nor by those who have published the Aśokan inscriptions. Instead of the usual formula: *devānāmpiyena piyadasi rājā āha* this Edict begins thus: *devānaṃ piyasā vacanānā*, i.e., in the name of *devānaṃ piyasi*. This itself points to the fact that this Edict was not issued by the Emperor himself but by someone else. In order to give greater force to the order, the author of the Edict refers to *devānaṃ piyasi*. Since this Edict begins in accordance with the formula, scholars have taken for granted that this was issued by the Emperor himself.<sup>39</sup> The deviations from this formula in the text were, however, not given any significance. A similar construction in the first and second special edicts at Dhauri

36. See CII, 1925, p. viii; CII, 1879, p. 38 and table xxii; R. Thapar, *op. cit.*, p. 30; P. H. L. Eggermont, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188; H. C. Seth, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-292.

37. See CII, 1925, p. viii; CII, 1879, p. 38 and table xxii; R. Thapar, *op. cit.*, p. 30; P. H. L. Eggermont, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188; H. C. Seth, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-292.

38. V. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

39. See, for example, D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 334.

(*devānaṃpiyasa vacanena*) was also, until recently, treated as the Emperor's orders. It was believed that the Edict was personally issued by Aśoka and addressed directly to the local *mahāmātras*. However, as M. A. Mahendale has convincingly shown, these Edicts to the *mahāmātras* of Tosali were addressed not by Aśoka from his capital, as is usually supposed,<sup>40</sup> but by the king's officials during his tour around the country.<sup>41</sup> According to Mahendale, the peculiar composition of the Kalinga Edicts is due to their not having been issued by the Emperor himself, but by his officials. This conclusion confirms our views about the authorship of the Queen's Edict.

We suggest that the last lines of the inscription which say, "Such is the order of the second queen Kāruvākī, the mother of Tivara", may also prove that the Edict was issued by the queen. This interpretation also agrees with the evidence about the last years of Aśoka's rule in the Buddhist works, discussed above, according to which the chief queen Tiṣṣarakṣitā had started playing an important role at the court. She received unlimited powers from the king for seven days and, in the name of the king, issued the Edict about Kuṇāla becoming blind and assassinated.

The Queen's Edict is a good illustration of the *Aśokāvadāna* passage in which the king addresses his chief minister Rādhagupta with the following words: "My orders are not carried out...My Edicts have become dead letters".<sup>42</sup> It is to be noted that the Queen's order refers to various kinds of gifts,

40, E. Hultzsch, *op cit.*, p. 177.

41. See N. A. Mahendale, North-Western (and western) Influence on the Mysore Edicts of Aśoka, *Sārdha Śatābdī Commemoration Volume*, pp. 155-175; by the same author, North-Western (and Western) Influence on the Versions of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. xvii (1955-56), pp. 81-97

42: See, J. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-299.

i.e. the moot question of the events of the last years of Aśoka's rule.

Scholars have turned their attention to the fact of the absence of inscriptions during the last years of Aśoka's rule.<sup>43</sup> This fact can be explained in the light of the evidences we have adduced. It is obvious that during the period of Aśoka's deposition from power, an entire series of edicts—including major pillar inscriptions and separate personal orders of the emperor—could have been issued by someone other than Aśoka,

If we admit the connection between the Queen's Edict and the last years of Aśoka's rule, we can juxtapose Kāruvākī—the second queen of Aśoka who issued a personal order in the name of the emperor—and Tiṣyarakṣitā of the Buddhist works.<sup>44</sup>

43. In Thapar's view the absence of edicts in the very last years of Aśoka's rule is a strange and inexplicable fact. See Thapar *op. cit.*, p. 51.

44. On the basis of the Ceylonese chronicle (*Mahāvamsa*, xx, 3) the date of Asandhimitrā's death is fixed in the twenty-sixth year of Aśoka's coronation (according to Eggermont 244 B. C. i.e., the year before the composition of the Major Pillar Edicts which were, of course, issued before the "Queen's Edict". In this connection we may dismiss Barua's comparison of Kāruvākī with Asandhimitrā (*Indian Culture*, vol. i, p. 123). Barua, later on, revised his viewpoint. Erroneously considering Asandhimitrā as one of the name of the queen Devī—the mother of Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā—A. Sen has suggested identifying Devī with Kāluvākī (*op. cit.*, p. 13). However, even this identification goes against many well-established facts. It is known that Devī had become Aśoka's wife before his accession during his sojourn to Ujjain as the ruling prince. After Aśoka's seizure of the throne of Magadha she did not shift to Pāṭaliputra but continued to stay in her native city of Vidiśā. Referring to the identity of Tivara and Kuṅāla, Barua (*Aśoka and his ...*) has suggested  
ing to the *Aśokā-*

e Kuṅāla. The name of Tivara is mentioned only in the Queen's Edict, whereas Kuṅāla is mentioned in many ancient Indian works. How can we, therefore, explain the fact that the queen, while talking of her son, the successor to

The identification of Kāruvākī of the inscription with Tiṣyarakṣitā of the Buddhist sources helps to explain the reason why Kāruvākī mentioned the name of her son Tivara in the inscription. Kāruvākī-Tiṣyarakṣitā, having become the chief wife (second, in succession, after Asandhimitrā) at the time when Aśoka's son and heir, Kuṇāla, was already an adult, naturally wanted to consolidate her son Tivara's position, especially because Kuṇāla was the king's son but not of the chief wife. It is significant that this conclusion is supported by the evidence from the Jaina tradition.<sup>45</sup>

These are some of the events of the last years of Aśoka's rule which have been reconstructed by means of the comparative analysis of the epigraphic material and the evidence of the *avadāna*-s.

A comparison of the evidence from the *avadāna*-s and the epigraphic material is of help in establishing not complete identity, but only separate coincidences between the facts from both the sources. This is quite obvious because the *avadāna*

the throne, does not mention him by the name by which he was known.

The proposed identification of Kāruvākī with Tiṣyarakṣitā solves the problems arising from the comparison of Kuṇāla with Tivara and Kāruvākī with Padmāvatī.

45. In the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, Hemachandra tells of the rival queen (Kāruvākī of the Edict and Tiṣyarakṣitā of the *avadāna*-s) who strived to make the successor to the throne not Kuṇāla as desired by Aśoka, but her son (unfortunately, the source does not give his name). To achieve her aim, the queen secretly changed the letter which was sent by Aśoka to Ujjain where the heir-apparent to the throne, Kuṇāla, was living. From the text of the changed letter, Kuṇāla was to be blinded. The chief city-officials had not yet made up their mind about carrying out the severe orders of the emperor, when Kuṇāla, on reading the letter, blinded himself. Aśoka was very sad on hearing of the misfortune of his beloved son and he had to give up his previous plan of appointing Kuṇāla the successor to the throne. Aśoka presented to Kuṇāla a rich village and sent to Ujjain the other prince, the son of the rival queen (*kuṇālāyetyaśokaśrīradadau grāmaṃ mahārddhikam/tatsāpatnakumārāya dadāvujjayinim punaḥ*, ix, 34).

legends were not a systematic description of real facts, although some historical events and certain characteristics of that period are reflected in them.

Rejecting the authenticity of the evidence from the *avadāna*-s about Aśoka's deposition from actual power, scholars have cited the fact that the Emperor's deposition from power by his ministers is against the structure of Mauryan society and state. In their view, in Aśokan times, when the state was the absolute monarchy, in the judicial and political sense of the word,<sup>46</sup> and the state authority was absolute and supreme,<sup>47</sup> no one—not even the council of ministers—could go against the king's orders, let alone deposing the king. However, a study of the state-system of Mauryan India, and, in particular, of the relations between the king's authority and the *pariṣad*—the council of chief advisors to the king—has necessitated changes in the traditional view.<sup>48</sup>

An analysis of the epigraphic material shows that even in the flourishing period of the empire and the consolidation of the king's powers, the *pariṣad* maintained its independence and sometimes even spoke out against the king's orders. It seems even more true that in the last days of Aśoka's rule, which were marked by tense internal strifes, the confrontations between the king and his ministers became particularly sharp. Apparently, the king's ministers in this period possessed such power that they spoke out against the king's orders and, using the heir-apparent, deprived Aśoka of actual power. It is significant that the sources do not dispute Aśoka's deposition from power, as doing so would have meant admitting that such a deposition from power was possible.

Thus, the arguments of those who doubt the reality of the events connected with the last years of Aśoka's rule as

46. R. Mookerjee, *Aśoka*, London, 1928, p. 47.

47. V. Smith, *Aśoka*, London, 1920, p. 92.

48. For details see, G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Parishad v sisteme gosudarstvennogo upravleniya imperii Mauriev*, *Drevnii mir*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 399-409.



described in the *avadāna*-s cannot be taken as decisive in solving this problem.

We have mainly relied upon the evidence from the *avadāna*-s about Aśoka's deposition from power ; an analysis of other events, however, supports the basic position about the historicity of the ancient Indian *avadāna*-s and their depiction of actual events connected with Indian history.

# AN EPIGRAPHIC DOCUMENT OF THE MAURYAS FROM BENGAL

On November the 30th, 1931, a piece of limestone with seven lines of Brāhmī letters on it was discovered during archaeological excavations at Mahāsthān. The inscription drew the attention of several well-known linguists.<sup>1</sup>

D. R. Bhandarkar noted the importance of the finding and supposed that it was a real document of the Maurya epoch.<sup>2</sup> In 1934 B. M. Barua came forward with his interpretation of the document. Since then a quarter of a century has passed. In course of this time there has been gathered a certain amount of materials which allow a new approach to the reading and interpretation of the inscription. Let us examine the text :

1. (a)/*nena*<sup>3</sup> *savagiyānaṃ*<sup>4</sup> (*tala da*)/*na(sa?)*<sup>5</sup> *dumaṃ dina*<sup>6</sup>  
(Mahā=)

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān, *Epigraphia Indica*, (1933), vol. xxi part ii, pp. 83-91 ; by the same author, Important fragmentary inscription found at Mahāsthān, *Indian Antiquary*, (September, 1933), vol. lxii, pp. 177-178 ; by the same author, Note on a Mauryan inscription from Mahāsthān (the ancient Pauṇḍravardhana), *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New series, Calcutta 1932, vol. xxviii, N 1, pp. 123-126 ; B. M. Barua. The old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1943, vol. x, No. i, pp. 57-66 ; C. C. Dasgupta. Palaeographical notes on the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān, *Indian Culture*, July, 1936, vol. iii, N 1, pp. 206-207 ; D. C. Sircar. Mahāsthān fragmentary stone plaque inscription, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. i, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 82-83.
2. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, January 1933, vol. xxvii.
3. Bhandarkar and Sircar give *nena*. Bhandarkar considers that this is a part of word *vacanena* or *śāsanena*. Here and onward the references made to Bhandarkar are according to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxi.
4. Bhandarkar suggests the following reading : *sa(m)va(m)giy(a)naṃ* (Skt. *saṃvargīyānām*).

2. *māte*<sup>7</sup>/*sulakhite*<sup>8</sup> *paḍanagalate etaṃ*<sup>9</sup>
3. *(ni)vahipayisati savagiyānaṃ (ca di)ne*<sup>10</sup>
4. *dhāniyaṃ nivahisati dagatiyāy(i)ke*<sup>11</sup> *pi d(ēvā)=*
5. *(tiyā)/(yi)kasi*<sup>12</sup> *suatiyāyika (si)/pi gaṃda(kehi)*
6. *(dhāni)/(yi)kehi*<sup>13</sup> *eśa kothāgāle kosam*<sup>14</sup> *(bhara) (?)*
7. *(?) (ṇīye)*

Interpretation of separate terms and words is of first rate importance for understanding the contents of the inscription.

Thus Dr. Bhandarkar reads in the first line : *sa(ṇi)vagiy (ā)naṃ* . which corresponds in his opinion to Sanskrit *saṃ + varḡiyānām*—of the classfellows, or the clansmen. Bhandarkar proposes to put another *anusvāra* after *va* and to read this word as *saṃvamḡiyānām*—of the *saṃvamḡiya* (tribe). He considers the last word to be the name of a union of different clans ; Vaṅga, similarly as the union of Vajjī clans was sometimes called *Samvajjī*.

Correct interpretation of the above-mentioned word has a great significance, as the understanding of the inscription as a whole depends on an elucidation of the status of *savagiyas*. On the basis of Pāli *sūtra*-s and the data of *Vinaya Piṭaka*

5. Bhandarkar reads *galadanaso* (Skt. *galārdanasya*), considering this word as name of the chief of the union of the Vaṅgas to whom, in his opinion, the order (*śāsana*) was addressed. Barua gives *tela-dinasa* where *tela*=oil, oily liquid. Sircar proposes the reading *tela dana sasapa dina* deriving from the latter Skt. *sarṣapaṃ ca dattaṃ*. Unfortunately this part of the inscription is preserved badly, and it is difficult to decide whether it was *du* or *sa danasa* (dativ) for distribution.
6. Bhandarkar reads both words as one *dumadina*, connecting it with the subsequent *mahāmāte*.
7. Barua reads *sumāte* (front *suma*).
8. Bhandarkar understands this word as an attribute of Puṇḍranagara, Barua as a geographical denomination (Skt. *sulakṣmi*).
9. Bhandarkar is of opinion that *etaṃ* is related to *śāsana*.
10. After this word, Bhandarkar adds *tathā*.
11. Bhandarkar : *da(m)g(ā)tiyāy(i)ke*.
12. Barua suggests the reading : *(gitiyā)yikasi*.
13. The inscription in this part is very fragmentary. Barua suggests the following reading : *(kākani)yikehi*.
14. Further on Bhandarkar gives *bharaṇīye*, Sircar *ca paripūraṇīyam*,

about *Chabbaggiyas*, Barua came to the conclusion that the Savagiyas mentioned in the inscription were members of a Buddhist sect *ṣaḍvargya* or *ṣaḍvargika* (Pāli *chabbaggiya* and *chavaggiya*). Many ancient Indian sources note that one of duties of kings was the care of “men of religion”. Several Pāli sources testify to the existence of Chabbaggiyas. This, however, does not give grounds for identifying Savagiyas of Mahāsthān inscription with Chabbaggiyas of the Pāli *sūtra*-s. The word *varga* is used to mean not only a religious group but has also a wider meaning—a part, group in general, class, society, and so on. Let us note that in the Aśokan inscriptions (Special Edict No I of Dhauli and Jaugada, which are not far from the place where this inscription was discovered) *varga* is used in the form *vage* in the meaning of class, section of the population. *Vaggiyo* means—“one belonging to a definite group”. *Chabbaggiyo* (*ṣaḍvargikas*), therefore, means “consisting of six parts, groups, individuals”.

Acknowledging the possibility that Pkt. *savagiyas* may correspond to Pāli *chabbaggiyas*, I am not inclined, however, to think that in this inscription they have in view just the same *bhikkhus*, of whom the Pāli source *Vinaya Piṭaka* informs us. Barua leaves it unexplained why the compiler of this epigraphic document was interested in “the position of Chabbaggiyas”—members of a sect of *bhikkhu*-s (members of holy order). Why had the Mahāmātra to look after only this sect and to help it in case of calamities? We do not know any special occasion when Candragupta and Bindusāra patronised Buddhism and looked after the members of its sects. Only under Aśoka, Buddhism became an object of state-care. However Aśoka was not opposed to other religions and sects.

Ancient epigraphic sources, discovered in East Bengal, and several other monuments give grounds to suppose that this region was also a field where Jainism had spread.

The question whether some interpretation or other of this text is sound or not should be examined not only in the light of philological regularity but also on the basis of historical material. Moreover, the main difference in the points of view

of Barua and Bhandarkar is not in the reading of the text but in the interpretation of the term. The inscription which is under consideration speaks of Mahāmātras of Puṇḍranagara—town of the Puṇḍras—capital of the Puṇḍra country (Puṇḍravardhana).

If we agree with Bhandarkar that the Savagiyas (he read Saṃvaṃgiyas) were inhabitants of Vaṅga, Puṇḍranagara should have been then the capital of the country of Vaṅga or capital of a confederation of some Vaṅga tribes. Bhandarkar supposed, proceeding from his own explanation of the inscription, that the Puṇḍras belonged to the confederation of Vaṅga tribes—*saṃvaṃgiyas*. Meanwhile, the ancient sources speak of Vaṅga and Puṇḍra as two different countries.<sup>15</sup> By the word Vaṅga we usually understand eastern parts of modern Bengal, and by Puṇḍra—the northern. We find similar distinction in the Purāṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Dharmasūtra*, the *Arthaśāstra* and in several other sources. Thus, the information of the ancient Indian sources about Vaṅga and Puṇḍra as independent divisions of Bengal do not tally with the interpretation of Bhandarkar.

It seems correct to me to take the word *savagiyas* not as meaning confederation of Vaṅga tribes (Bhandarkar) or members of the holy order (sect of *bhikkhu-s*) or as *chābbaggiyas* (Barua) but as *participium futuri passivi* of the Sanskrit verb *vṛj* with the prefix *saṃ*. The verb *vṛj* (7th class) with prefix *saṃ* means appropriate, plunder, devour, to be subjected to action (of fire, time), suffer, destroy, sweep, seize, snatch, etc. We know also such formation as *saṃvarga*, meaning devouring, consumption, absorption, etc.

Hence the translation : “They who are destined to suffer” or “They who are destined to be subjected to action . . .”

15. See B. C. Law, The Puṇḍras of ancient Bengal, *Journal of Indian History*, (1933), vol. xii, part iii, pp. 349-353 ; of the same author, The Vaṅgas, *Indian Culture*, (1934-1935), vol. i, pp. 57-63.

accords well with the contents of the inscription, which tells about the action of water (flood), fire, (as Barua reads) and famine. In consonance with this translation is the theme of the edicts of Aśoka, which are synchronous with our inscription and are written in Prākṛt. In the edicts of Nandangarh, Rampurva and Araradj, discovered near Mahāsthān, we find the future passive participle form *dakhiye* (dat.) and *dekhie*. Consequently, the appearance of *iya* instead of the usual suffix of the future passive participle *ya* is fully possible.

At the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second, Bhandarkar reads *e(ta)ṃ (ni)vahipayisati* and connects this word with the verb *nir+vah(vahati)* (in the causative the meaning is to fulfil, to execute). Therefore he translates: "The Mahāmātra from the town of Puṇḍranagara which promises happiness, compels to fulfil it". Barua who reads in the first line not *mahāmāte* but *sumāte* (a geographical name) considers that this order was given to some person who was to look after the delivery of oil and tree to Saḍvargikas (Chabbaggiyas). The verb *nivahipayisati* mentioned in the inscription is translated by Barua as to convey [Skt. *ni+vah(vahati)*].

Bhandarkar takes *sulakhite* as definition of the next word; however, in form *sulakhite* may also be a noun or a singular nominative participle and may refer to *mahāmāte*. *Sulakhite* (*su+lakhite*) may correspond also to Skt. *rakṣitṛ* and mean protector, patron, manager, inspector. Hence the translation: "the officer—the goods-quality inspector (manager) from Puṇḍranagara will execute it".

It is important to elucidate also the meaning of the word *atiyāyika* which is met in the 4th, 5th and 6th lines of the inscription. *Atiyāyika* is used in the inscription as the second part of the compound (*tātpuruṣa* type). *Atiyāyika* (Skt. *ātyayika*) is again found in the *Arthaśāstra* (in the meaning of calamity—*ātyayike kārye*) as well as in the Prākṛt inscription of Sohgauda and in two versions of the Rock Edict VI of Aśoka. Barua rightly considers *daga-atiyāyikā* as (*udakātyāyika*—calamity connected with flood, it tallies with the

contents of the inscription and of the *Arthaśāstra*. Let us note that Puṇḍranagara was situated on a river. We cannot agree with Bhandarkar that *daga* should be read as *damga*, a town, inhabited by *savagiya*-s (he reads *saṃvaṃgiya*-s, perhaps Puṇḍranagara itself), as in the inscription different cases of *atiyāyika* are enumerated, against which storehouses should be built and filled.

Reading *devātiyāyika* (Skt. *daiva-ātyayika*), Bhandarkar rightly supposes that as in the inscription they talk about storing grains in case of calamity, therefore the calamity, coming from gods (sent by gods), is nothing but famine.

The interpretation of the third compound (*su-atiyāyika*) presents the greatest difficulty. Bhandarkar considers it (distinguishing it from the first two) as *su+atiyāyika*. In his opinion in case of improvement of the condition the inhabitants of Puṇḍranagara and of its neighbouring places were to bring corn and money back to the storehouses. However, such an explanation carries little conviction. *Su-atiyāyika* can hardly mean "excess of plenty" as Bhandarkar supposes. As sources testify too, *atiyāyika* was usually used to characterise an unprecedented extreme emergency, an occasion connected with calamity. It also signified requirement of immediate help, urgency, extreme necessity. It is difficult to suppose that the inhabitants of Puṇḍranagara and its neighbouring places, moreover the members of the holy order, sect of *bhikkhu*-s (if we follow Barua's interpretation), could give back the food products which they had taken. Bhandarkar's explanation does not conform to the character of the document, as in the inscription the word *atiyāyika* has been repeated thrice, after which stands the conjunction *pi* (*api=also*). We have no reasons to oppose the first two *atiyāyika*-s to the third. Barua concludes from *suatiyāyika-suva=atiyāyika* (Skt. *śukātiyāyika*)—calamity arising from the action of parrots (?). Theoretically the transition from *sua* into *śuka* is permissible, but it hardly occurs in the given inscription. It can be confirmed by the use of the word parrot in the 5th Pillar Inscription of Aśoka, not in the form *su-sua-suva*, but in the form *suke* (Pali

*suko*). The language of the Mahāsthān inscription is closer to the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka, and along with it the form *suke*, testified in the inscriptions discovered near Mahāsthān. All these are not in favour of what Barua supposes. I cannot accept the suggestion of Barua taking *su-atiyāyika* as *ṣaḍātya-yika* or *ṣaḍ-ītayah* (i.e. six traditional causes of scarcity of food).

If we accept Bhandarkar's point of view as correct and take *suatīyāyika* as "excess of plenty", we have to connect this word not with the previous *atīyāyika* but with the following text of the inscription. Let it be noted that the word *su-atīyāyika* is closely connected with the previous text (all the three *atīyāyika*-s are in the locative), and at the same time it is separated from it by a *daṇḍa*. It is apparent that *su-atīyāyika*, besides the general meaning of the word *atīyāyika* [after it stands the conjunction (*pi*), which connects the word with the previous *atīyāyika*-s], has its own special meaning which allowed the author of the document to distinguish it. It is doubtless that its first part *su* gives the word its distinctive character.

I consider that in the inscription Pkt. *su* corresponds not to *suā-suva-śuka* or *ṣaḍ* (as Barua says) but to Skt. *svīd* (*svit*). The correctness of the conclusion can be ascertained from the philological material of Aśokan Edicts. In the first Special Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa *su* is found in combination with *munisānaṃ* (gen. pl.). Already in 1914 H. Lüders showed the possibility of correspondence of *su* to Skt. *svit* and translated the above-mentioned sentence as "all the people".<sup>16</sup> This interpretation is supported by E. Hultzsch, J. Bloch and by other scholars. In general the regular interpretation of *su* as "good" is not appropriate for the present document.

Thus, we can affirm that the inscription tells that grain (paddy) and money must be reserved for the occasion of flood, famine and other calamities. It is possible also that *su*

16. H. Lüders, *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1914, p. 856.



corresponds to Skt. *sva* (one's own). Therefore *su-atiyāyika* (Skt. *svātyāyika*), used in the inscription along with other *atiyāyika*-s, could mean an extreme occasion, caused by men themselves requiring immediate help in case of personal calamities and failure. This interpretation as *su=svit* is in harmony with the contents of the inscription and explains the peculiarity of that term.<sup>17</sup>

After the word *dhāniyaṃ* there is a *daṇḍa* in the inscription from the previous text. However, both Bhandarkar and Barua connect *nivahisati* with *savagiyānaṃ ca dine dhāniyaṃ*, translating all this as one clause. Bhandarkar translates thus : “(and in the same way) rice was granted to *saṃvamaḡīya*-s”, and Barua as “(he) shall convey also the paddy given to *ṣaḍvargikas*”. The presence of *daṇḍa* in the text before and after the word *nivahisati* allows us to consider it is an independent part of the inscription. The verb *vah* with the prefix *ni* may mean : to save from, be successful, to overcome the obstacles. Hence the translation— “(it) will save (them)” or “(it) will help (them) to overcome difficulties”. Taking out *savagiyānaṃ ca dine dhāniyaṃ* as a separate clause is justified, as a passage close to its meaning is found in the first line of the inscription. The conjunction can emphasize the relation of the given sentence with the previous text : “And grain (paddy) should be given to those who are destined to suffer. (And it) saves (them)”.

On the basis of these considerations and remarks made above I allow myself to give my own variant of the translation of the inscription as a whole :

“Thereby (by this decree), the sesame and firewood (or timber) shall be available for distribution among the victims. The official-manager from Puṇḍranagara shall see to that. And (this) will save (them). This granary and treasury shall be filled up with grain and coins *gaṇḍaka* to provide against flood, famine and all other calamities.”<sup>18</sup>

17. In Aśoka's inscriptions we meet with for instance : *suage* (Skt. *svarga*) *suvamikena* side by side with *svamikena*.

18. After the publication of this article in 1958, the well-known Indian

The significance of the above inscription increases in connection with A. Cunningham's identification of Puṇḍranagara (mentioned in the inscription), with Mahāsthān (place of discovery).<sup>19</sup> It is significant that Cunningham expressed this idea fifty years before the discovery of the above inscription on the basis of a diary of Hiuen Tsang and the material of archaeological excavations. K. Dikshit who carried out the excavations of Mahāsthān came to the same conclusion. The discovery of the Prākṛt inscription from Mahāsthān confirms that the suppositions of Cunningham<sup>20</sup> and Dikshit<sup>21</sup> were correct and it added to our knowledge of the ancient history of the province, now called Bengal. We can consider that the fact that Bengal was a part of the Maurya Empire has been finally established.

The Mahāsthān inscription adds to our knowledge also of the system of government during the Mauryas. However, this should be an object of special study.

researcher D. D. Kosambi drew my attention to the possible interpretation of *gaṇḍakā* as tree trunks, logs, etc. The term *gaṇḍikā* is used in this sense in the *Arthaśāstra* (IV.3), in a context describing the ways of preventing floods. Such an interpretation agrees well with the meaning of the inscription.

In Buddhist writings, *gaṇḍikā* is used to denote "stalk, piece or block of wood" (see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanscrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. ii, New Haven, 1953, p. 208).

If the word *gaṇḍakā* in the inscription is to be identified with *gaṇḍikā*, certain corrections could be introduced in the translation of the text. *Kosa* may then be taken to mean "store-house"; *esa kothāgāle* may be considered either together with *kosa* (i.e., "this granary-storehouse"), or apart from it ("this granary and storehouse"). In this case the concluding part of the inscription will run as follows :

"This granary-storehouse (or : this granary and storehouse) shall be filled up with grain (rice) and blocks of wood (logs) against flood, famine and all other calamities".

19. See, Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, vol. xv.

20. Bhandarkar (p. 88) brings forward several convincing facts, mainly from the works of x-xii centuries, which prove the correctness of such identification.

21. K. N. Dikshit, Excavations in Bengal, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-1929, Delhi 1933, p. 97.

# ON SOME FEATURES OF THE VARNA-SYSTEM IN THE GANAS AND SAṄGHAS OF ANCIENT INDIA

The origin, formation and development of caste organization is one of the cardinal problems in the study of the basic processes of the social, economic and political development of India, both in ancient times and in the subsequent periods of the history of the country. To obtain a correct understanding of this problem—which unfortunately is yet far from being solved—it is necessary to take into account the source materials of the different historical periods to examine each question<sup>1</sup> as it arises.

A question which is extremely important for an investigation of the general problems of caste structure is that dealing with the specific nature of caste organization in non-monarchical states (republics) of ancient India (the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s of Indian sources), for the answer to this question could determine whether the changes in the form of state power exerted a direct influence on the caste organization, how its character varied and what changes took place in the relations between the *varṇa*-s in societies with forms of state-government other than monarchy.

The importance of this question, though it has not been given due attention,<sup>2</sup> is also evident from the fact that, as a rule, conclusions concerning caste organization in ancient India are based on materials that reflect social phenomena

1. See, for examples, R. S. Sharma, *Historiography of the Ancient Indian Social order, Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London 1961, pp. 102-114.
2. Only a few scholars have dealt with this subject. See, R. S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1958, pp. 141, 197; G. Mishra, *An Early History of Vaiśālī*, Delhi, 1962, pp. 250-251.

and institutions which can be correlated with monarchical states. But it would be a mistake to assume that the data on caste organization in ancient Indian states are always associated with monarchy and confined to this form of political power. We can at present confidently assert that monarchy was in ancient India the most common but not the only form of the state and that, in addition to it, there also existed non-monarchical (republican) states (*gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s), which played an important role in the Indian political and social life.<sup>3</sup>

An analysis of the facts concerning the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s during the period of the formation of states in the Gangetic valley shows that the political organisation denoted by these terms were at different levels of social development. Many of them were formations of the epoch of military democracy (for instance, *āyudhajīvi saṅgha*-s, "the *saṅgha*-s living by arms"); others, retained the features of various stages of tribal structure<sup>4</sup>. But besides those *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s in which the formation of classes was still far from completion, there were a number of areas, ruled by the *gaṇa* (first of all, the Licchavas, Mallas, and the Śākya), which, during the period of the first formation of large monarchies in the Gangetic valley, were undoubtedly states with a non-monarchical form of government (the so-called oligarchic republics), although they continued to have obvious remnants of tribal organization.

At the same time, one must take into account the process of formation of the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s as indicated by their internal development, the transformation of some institutions and even the succession of forms of government.

3. See, U. Bhattacharya, *Glimpses of the Republic of Vaiśālī*, *IHQ*, 1947, vol. 23; K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, ed. 3. Bangalore, 1955, ch. iv-xxi; R. Majumdar, *The Constitution of the Licchavas and the Śākya*, *IHQ*, 1951, vol. 27; U. N. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1957, ch. xi.
4. See V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 434-440.

When studying the caste organization in the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s, one must bear in mind that the attitude towards these differed in ancient India and that the source materials appraise them differently.<sup>5</sup> In Brahmanical works, which maintain the stability of the division into twice- and once-born and the inviolability of the autocratic rule of a king as the principal protector of the "purity of the *varṇa*-s", the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s are frequently censured. Orthodox Brahmins were indignant to the social structure of these formations, which differed from their own ideals. At the same time, the Brahmin politicians devoted considerable attention to these, for they realised the great strength of the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s. Kauṭalya, for example, devoted an entire section of his treatise to the methods of fighting the *saṅgha*-s.

The *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s are quite differently viewed in the Buddhist writings. A study of the political map of Northern India of VI-IV century B.C. enables us to establish a connection between the system of their internal organization and the status of the Buddhist community—the *saṅgha*. It is probable that definite democratic principles characteristic of the political structure of the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s were reflected in the democracy of the early Buddhist community.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the biased writings of the Brahmanical and Buddhist sources, we have the works of Pāṇini and his commentators, which are particularly valuable, since their authors utilized extremely diversified materials (including data about the social structure of the *saṅgha*-s) to illustrate grammatical rules. Most of the information about the caste organization in the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s are related to the biggest and politically and socially most highly organized state formations—those of the Licchavas, the śākya, the Mallas, and the Kṣaudrakas. For this reason, the conclusions drawn on the basis of these materials may reliably be extended only to those *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s that

5. For instance U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Oxford, 1959.

6. G. De, *Democracy in early Buddhist Saṅgha*, Calcutta, 1955.

were states, although almost all of them (despite different degrees of class organization) had certain general features of the earlier social structure.

The above-mentioned formations have a clear-cut four-*varṇa* division (Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras), though, on the whole, our materials concerning the caste organization in non-monarchical (republican) states are scanty. Ordinarily, the information about the *varṇa*-s in the *gaṇa*-s are here related to the Kṣatriyas, who actually concentrated all power in their own hands. They played a leading role both in the *āyudhajīvi saṅgha*-s and in the oligarchic republics. It indicates that the inhabitants of these organizations considered their union a Kṣatriya one and associated its origin with the Kṣatriya clans. The influence of the Kṣatriyas was so great and the fact of belonging to the given *varṇa* so evident that in many sources (both Brahmanical and Buddhist) the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s are designated as Kṣatriyas. Even the Brahmanic *Laws of Manu* (X. 22) consider the Licchavis and Mallas to be Kṣatriyas (*rājanya*), although these laws also consider them to belong to the division of *vrātya*-s.<sup>7</sup> In the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s, the Kṣatriyas formed a higher, privileged group of inhabitants with full rights that played a direct part in the political life and remained separate from the rest of the population. Particularly interesting in this respect is the commentary of Patañjali (II. 262) on Pāṇini (IV. 1. 168), which states that in the *saṅgha*-s of the Mālavas and Kṣaudrakas the terms Mālavya and Kṣaudrakya are applied only to representatives of the Kṣatriya class and not to other divisions of the population (such as slaves and *karmakāra*-s).<sup>8</sup> Actually, the position a person occupied in all spheres of political and social life was determined by whether or not he belonged to the ruling Kṣatriya clans of these *saṅgha*-s. According to Pāṇini and

7. On Vrātya see J. C. Heesterman, Vrātya and Sacrifice, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1962, vol. vi, N 1, pp. 137.

8. *idaṃ tarhi kṣaudrakāṅgāmapatyam mālavānāmapatyam iti. atrāpi kṣaudrakyaḥ mālavya iti naitatteṣāṃ dāse vā bhavati karmakare vā, kiṃ tārhi. teṣāmeva kasmimścit.*

his commentators, the title of *rājanya* was held only by the descendants of certain Kṣatriya clans.

The sources report that in the *saṅgha*-s those Kṣatriyas who had special power bore the title *rājā*, which, according to the evidence, they received after going through a special ceremony.<sup>9</sup> For example, the Licchavis had a pond where the *rājā*-s carried out the initiation ceremony (*vesālinagare gaṇa-rājakulānām abhiseka-maṅgala-pokkharāṇī*).<sup>10</sup>

Free inhabitants with full rights who were not members of the Kṣatriya *varṇa* had the right to be present at meetings of the *gaṇa*; apparently, however, they could not be elected to leading posts. In the *Mahābhārata* we read that the chiefs (*mukhyas*) of the *gaṇa* had the greatest power and decided specially important issues.<sup>11</sup> As Bhīṣma stated, it is permissible to secure the *mantra* (polity) only among the "chiefs of the *saṅgha*-s (*pradhāneṣu*)."<sup>12</sup> The commentary of Buddhaghoṣa on the *Dīghanikāya* shows that the "chiefs in the *gaṇa*" were representatives of the Kṣatriyas, the *rājā*-s.<sup>13</sup> It was they who met in the *santhāgāra*, a special hall where all the most important questions were discussed. The Jātakas report that the Kṣatriya *rājā*-s of Vesālī governed the country (*rajjam karetvā*). The leading role of the Kṣatriyas in the *gaṇa*-s is also evident from the materials of *Arthaśāstra*. According to Kauṭalya, a member of the *saṅgha* could be condemned or rejected (possibly exiled) only by those who bore the title of *rājā-rājaśabdabhiravaruddham avakṣiptam vā*. Evidence of the leading role of the military aristocracy comes not only from Indian, but also (and this is remarkable) from Greek authors

9. See *Kāśikā*, ii, p. 217: *rājanyagrahaṇam ihābhiṣiktavaṃśyānām kṣatriyānām grahaṇārtham*.

10. *Jātaka*, iv, 148.

11. *Mahābhārata*, xii, 107, 23.

12. *mantraguptipradhāneṣu . . . na gaṇāḥ kṛtsnāso mantram śrotumarhanti* (xii, 107, 24).

13. Buddhaghoṣa explained *santhāgāra* as *rājakulānām atthāhusāsana-santhāgārasālayan* (*Papañcasūdanī*, ii, 1928, p. 271) and as *rajjam anusāsanasālā* (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, i, p. 256).

well acquainted with the political situation and structure of the states of North-West India, "many of which have obtained democratic rule" (Diodorus, II. 39).

Inasmuch as a considerable amount of information of the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s is based on Buddhist sources which speak of the dominance, in these countries, of Kṣatriyas, the false impression may be gained that the influence of Buddhist doctrine explains the emphasis on the leading role of the Kṣatriyas in these political units. The spread of Buddhism, which rejected the exceptional nature of Brāhmaṇas, in a number of *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s of North-East India, obviously exerted a certain influence on the relations between the *varṇa*-s, and particularly on the position of the Brāhmaṇas. However, this could not be the decisive factor in determining the structure of the caste organization here. We know that facts concerning the special position of the Kṣatriyas in the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s are found in non-Buddhist writings as well—in sources devoid of any religious colouring whatsoever and even manifestly of a Brahmanical nature in content and tendency. It also indicates that the Kṣatriyas dominated most of the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s not only where Buddhism was widespread (North-East India). One may for instance cite the evidence of ancient Greek authors and of Pāṇini on Kṣatriya formations of North-West and Western India, where Buddhism penetrated later; and in some area it appeared even when the *gaṇa*'s power had already ceased to exist. While speaking of the dominance of the Kṣatriyas in the *saṅgha*-s, Patañjali points to the Kṣudrakas and Mālavayas—countries in North-West India. Thus, the scheme of *varṇa* division (Kṣatriyas-Brāhmaṇas-Vaiśyas-Śūdras) which we have in Buddhist sources and which differs from the traditional Brahmanic scheme should not be explained solely by the direct influence of the Buddhist doctrine, but must be linked up with the actual position of Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas during this period, mainly in the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s.

In one of his *sūtra*-s (V. 3. 114), Pāṇini mentions Brāhmaṇas who lived together with the Kṣatriyas in the Vāhika country,



in the *saṅgha* "living by arms".<sup>14</sup> Of great interest is the commentary of *Kāśikā* on this *sūtra* of Pāṇini. According to it, in the *saṅgha*-s only the Kṣatriyas (*rājanya*) had special status and were designated differently from others; whereas only in special cases (which, unfortunately, are unknown) could Brāhmaṇas obtain the same title,<sup>15</sup> that is, probably attain a position of equality with them.

In connection with the question of the status of Brāhmaṇas in the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s, while describing the life and internal government of the oligarchic republics, the texts frequently mention Brāhmaṇas along with the house-holders—*vaiśya*-s (*brāhmaṇa*=*grhapatayaḥ*).<sup>16</sup> In reports on *varṇa*-s in monarchies, the Brāhmaṇas are usually said to act independently (in Brahmanic *śāstra*-s—as the highest *varṇa*; in Buddhist sources, following the Kṣatriyas); and if they are mentioned with representatives of other *varṇa*-s, it is usually together with the Kṣatriyas. We are inclined to treat these indications of relations between the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas not as accidental connections but as a reflection of their actual position in the oligarchic republics. Here, the Kṣatriyas were put in opposition to the entire remaining population, and here the Brāhmaṇas frequently found themselves in a group with other free people, first of all, of course, with the Vaiśyas. The *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (III. 1. 9-16) contains a story of the Brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha who visited the *gaṇa* of the Śākya. He complains to the Buddha that the Śākya do not exhibit proper respect for Brāhmaṇas although in his opinion the Brāhmaṇas constitute the highest *varṇa*, while all the rest—the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras—are their servants (*paricāraka*).

When he was in Kapilavastu—the main town of the Śākya— and was present at the *santhāgāra*, the Śākya did not show any respect for him. The commentary of Buddhaghōṣa

14. *āyudhajivisaṅghañ ñyaḍvāhikeṣyabrāhmaṇarājanyāt*.

15. *brāhmaṇe tadviśeṣagrahaṇaṃ rājanye tu sva-ūpagrahaṇameva : Kāśika*, ii, p. 66.

16. See, for example, *Vinayavastu*, Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. iii, pt. ii, pp. 224, 225, 228, 233, ; vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 13, 14.

indicates that the Śākyaas in the *saṅghāgāra* were Kṣatriyas who had gone through the special ceremony and borne the title *rājā*.<sup>17</sup> The position of the Buddha in this argument is also of interest. He did not deny that this attitude towards the Brāhmaṇas was peculiar to the Śākyaas (above all to the Kṣatriyas), but he took a definite stand against attacks on the Śākyaas.

It is tempting to explain the derogatory statements contained in the Epic about the peoples ruled by the *saṅgha*-s and the *gaṇa*-s in the light of this status of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas fiercely condemned the customs of these peoples, their social organization, and the departure from the Brahmanical ideal of life. It may be thought that this indignation is to some extent, to be explained also by the fact that in the *saṅgha*-s, and above all in the *āyudhajivī saṅgha*-s, the Brāhmaṇas did not occupy any special position and did not have any exceptional rights.

The sources indicate the important role of the Vaiśyas in the republican states as compared with monarchies, and they report that the Vaiśyas participated together with the Brāhmaṇas in meetings of the *gaṇa* and in the discussions of a number of questions.

In the oligarchic republics, where the Brahmins did not occupy the position of the first or leading class, where the peculiarities of political organization had a definite effect on the inter-relations of the *varṇa*-s, where handicrafts and trade attained a high level of development, the influence of the numerous class of Vaiśyas should have greatly increased.

Unfortunately, the data on the position of the Śūdras here are very scanty. The commentary of Patañjali (II. 269) permits us to say that the status of certain groups of Śūdras the text mentions the *karmakāra*-s was close to that of the slaves and that it differed sharply from that of the higher *varṇa*-s, the Kṣatriyas.

But neither the peculiarities of class structure nor a certain democracy in the organization of the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s led

17. *sakya ti abhisitta-rājāno . . . (Sumaṅgalavilāsini i, p. 2).*

to the removal of the dividing line between the *varṇa*-s. What is more, the sources speak of serious internal differences, for example between the representatives of the different *varṇa*-s, and they often stress the fact that it is precisely the lack of unity which causes the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s to perish. The *Arthaśāstra* (section XI) refers to the clash of the chiefs (*mukhya*-s), who, as we know, were only Kṣatriyas (*rājā*-s), with the ordinary members of the *saṅgha*-s—representatives of the other *varṇa*-s, and of conflicts between the high-placed members (*viśiṣṭa*) of the *saṅgha*-s with the lower ones (*hīna*).

In the oligarchic republics there existed somewhat different inter-relationships between the *varṇa*-s, which altered the emphasis of the internal contradictions but did not make them less pronounced. In the developed *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s, where the Kṣatriyas placed themselves in opposition to the rest of the population, where the Brāhmaṇas could attain an equal status with them only in special circumstances where the Vaiśyas strove to participate in the political life, and where there were different parties,<sup>18</sup> internal contradictions and collisions between *varṇa*-s (and primarily between the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the others) apparently became extremely sharp. It is probably for this reason that the sources so often speak of differences among groups of population in the *saṅgha*-s and the *gaṇa*-s. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* (IV. 181-182) even mentions an uprising of slaves in the state of the Śākya (*sākiya-dāsakā avaruddhā honti...*).

A comparison of the materials on the *varṇa* organization in monarchic and non-monarchical states shows that whereas in the former the basic dividing line was drawn between free people and slaves, and also between the "twice-born" (mainly the first three *varṇa*-s) and, the "once born" in non-monarchical states (oligarchic republics) where there was an underlying class division into free people and slaves and where the position of the Śūdras differed radically from that of the

18. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 431; K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 35-36.

members of other *varṇa*-s, the distinction was defined mainly by whether one belonged or did not belong to the Kṣatriyas, to the ruling Kṣatriya clans. During the period from the VI to the II centuries B.C., the *gaṇa*-s and *saṅgha*-s exhibited particularly clearcut new features in the development of ancient Indian society—particularly the increasing role of the military class, which actually held all power in its hand. These processes were reflected in Buddhist writings. Here, the traditional Brahmin scheme of division of the *varṇa*-s into Brāhmaṇas-Kṣatriyas-Vaiśyas-Śūdras took on a new form: Kṣatriyas-Brāhmaṇas-Vaiśyas-Śūdras.<sup>19</sup> Buddhism, it is recalled, was widespread in India during the period when the old clan-tribal relations were crumbling, when statehood began to take shape, i.e. during the formation of large states and empires; it contributed to strengthening the changes in the social structure associated with further progressive development of ancient Indian society.

A study of the *varṇa* organization in the *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s which were already fully established states, enables one to say that the form of political power did not determine the *varṇa*-caste structure of the society, though it influenced it, leaving its imprint on the inter-relations of the *varṇa*-s and on their role in the social and political life.

The factors that brought about the division of society into *varṇa*-s and their subsequent establishment were the same for both monarchic and non-monarchical state formations. They lay outside the sphere of political organization and were associated with a definite stage in the historical development of the society, with its socio-economic bases. The existence of a *varṇa* division in those *saṅgha*-s and *gaṇa*-s where the state had not yet fully established itself (for example, Pāṇini on the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas in *āyudhājīvi saṅgha*-s) once again convinces us that the roots of this social phenomenon are to be sought in tribal society.

19. See, P. L. Barua, The Doctrine of Caste in Early Buddhism, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, 1959, vol. iv, pp. 134-156.

## THE KUNĀLA LEGEND

The legend about the love of the young wife of the Mauryan king Aśoka for her stepson Kuṇāla has a wide currency in India and far beyond its frontiers.\* Kuṇāla rejected her love and was blinded on the orders of his enraged stepmother. This plot is common to many literary works of northern Buddhism in Sanskrit and translated into other languages. Of the Sanskrit works mention should be made first of all of *Divyāvadāna* (Chapter XXVII, *Kuṇālāvadāna*),<sup>1</sup> Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*<sup>2</sup> (*Pallava* LIX, *Kuṇālāvadāna*) and Hemacandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*.<sup>3</sup> The legend about Kuṇāla has also come down to us in translations<sup>4</sup> from Sanskrit originals the title of which may tentatively be reconstructed as *Aśokarāja-vadāna* and *Asokarājasūtra*,<sup>5</sup> and in some sources which

\* The present paper is based on the work prepared for the 26th International Congress of Orientalists in Delhi: *Legenda o Kunale, Legend of Kuṇāla*, (*Kuṇālāvadāna* and the unpublished manuscript of *Aśokāvadānamālā* Moscow, 1963. In this work the text of *Kuṇālāvadāna* from the *Aśokāvadānamālā* manuscript is published for the first time). See also by the same authors, *The Kuṇāla Legend and unpublished Aśokāvadānamālā Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1965.

1. *Divyāvadāna*, a collection of early Buddhist legends, in Nepalese Sanskrit first edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886.
2. *Avadānakalpalatā* with its Tibetan version, ed. by Sarat Chandra Das and Paṇḍit Hari Mohan Vidyābhūṣaṇa, reprint edition, Calcutta, 1940, *Bibliotheca Indica*.
3. Hemacandra, *Sthavirāvalīcarita* or *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, ed. H. Jacobi, 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1932, *Bibliotheca Indica*.
4. See Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883, N 1459, 1343. *A-yu-wang-king* (further AWK) and *A-yu-wang-tchouan* (further AWTch).
5. J. Przyluski, *La Legende de l'empereur Aśoka (Aśokāvadāna) dans les textes Indiens et Chinois*, Paris, 1931.

are not directly connected with the Aśoka-Upagupta cycle.<sup>6</sup>

Among the Tibetan sources mention should be made of the *History of Buddhism* by Tāranātha who, as he himself writes, used a Tibetan translation of *Kuṇālāvadāna* of Kṣemendra.<sup>7</sup>

A comparison of the variants of the legend in all the above-mentioned sources makes it possible to single out the main line of the plot: the queen's love for her stepson, the latter's rejection of that love and the queen's revenge (Hemacandra's version of the legend is somewhat different. See below).

The legend having spread with the passage of time in different places and countries resulted in the appearance of several versions differing in minor episodes. The most ancient version seems to be recorded in the above-mentioned translations based on Sanskrit chronicles about Aśoka which began to be compiled in the lifetime of this Mauryan emperor. We can trace the closest resemblance in the *Divyāvadāna*, differing only in the concluding episodes. Kṣemendra's poem is based on a later version which reflects the so-called Kashmir stage in the development of the Aśoka Legends Cycle.

While comparing the two versions of the legend (*Divyāvadāna* and Kṣemendra's poem) one can easily trace the similarity not only in the basic conflict but in many episodes important for the development of the plot, such as Yaśas's prediction of the coming destruction of Kuṇāla's eyes, the rebellion in Takṣaśilā (Taxila), Aśoka's illness, the transfer of power to Tiṣyarakṣitā for seven days and the restoration of Kuṇāla's eye-sight. At the same time some episodes in the *Divyāvadāna* are absent in Kṣemendra's poem, and *vice versa*. The most significant of such episodes in the *Divyāvadāna* are Aśoka's prophetic dream and the scene, connected with it,

6. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. ii, London, 1884, pp. 139-140; Th. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. i, London, 1905, p. 246.

7. A. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, St. Petersburg, 1869.

when Tiṣyarakṣitā secretly steals the king's personal seal intending to put it on the forged king's order prescribing the plucking of the eyes of Kuṇāla. Kṣemendra only hints at Aśoka's bad dream (stanza 220). The scene describing the plucking off of the eyes of Kuṇāla is also absent in Kṣemendra's poem. He only states the fact, while in the *Divyāvadāna* this episode is described in great detail. On the other hand, he preserves a tradition not recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* or in any other sources of the Aśoka-Upagupta Cycle, concerning the existence of a local ruler of Takṣaśilā,—Kuṇjaraakarṇa. In similar situations in the *Divyāvadāna*, the people of Takṣaśilā in general act in the place of Kuṇjaraakarṇa. Kṣemendra also provides a comparatively detailed description of Kuṇāla's campaign, of which the *Divyāvadāna* informs in one sentence only: "He reached Takṣaśilā". Kṣemendra's poem dwells at length on the illness of king Aśoka, his mood and detachment from life. Of minor details present in his poem and absent in the *Divyāvadāna*, one can name the episode of the king's elephant recognising Kuṇāla in the guise of a blind wanderer.

Particularly interesting is the comparison of the concluding episodes of the legend in Kṣemendra's poem and in the *Divyāvadāna*. As has been pointed out, both versions have it that Kuṇāla regained eyesight as a reward for his pure "truthfulness" (so called *satyādhiṣṭhāna*), but the subsequent events are told differently. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Aśoka severely punished queen Tiṣyarakṣitā and the people of Takṣaśilā, despite Kuṇāla's entreaties. In Kṣemendra's poem the king, full of kindness, forgives the guilty. The denouément in this poem appears quite logical and consistent: the miraculous return of eyesight to his son astonishes Aśoka, and his wrath, caused by Tiṣyarakṣitā's cruelty, is extinguished. The denouément in the above-mentioned translations of the Sanskrit works of Aśoka-Upagupta Cycle is no less logical: the eyesight is not restored to the prince and king Aśoka does not forgive Tiṣyarakṣitā. In this respect the *Divyāvadāna* seems to stand in between these polar versions of the legend, which gives grounds for supposing that one of these elements

of the plot (the return of eyesight or the punishing of the queen) in the *Divyāvadāna* is a later interpolation. The above-mentioned translations of the ancient Indian originals undoubtedly preserved the older version of the concluding episodes of the legend (after all they are several centuries older than Kṣemendra's poem). According to one of the versions, Aśoka executed Tiṣyarakṣitā, and although, according to the same version, eyesight was restored to Kuṇāla, the cause of the restoration was quite different. Kuṇāla was cured by the *arhat* Ghoṣa of Takṣaśilā.<sup>8</sup> The interpretation of Kṣemendra seems to be of a later origin and can be explained, evidently, by his desire to portray Aśoka as an ideal Buddhist king noted for his kindness and patience and capable of controlling his terrible wrath. In this respect the textual similarity of one and a half stanza in the *upajāti* metre in the *Divyāvadāna* and Kṣemendra's poem is worthy of attention :

Divyā : *rājan na me duḥkhamalo'sti kaścit tivrāpakāre'pi na manyutāpaḥ | manaḥ prasannaṃ yadi me jananyāṃ yenoddhṛte me nayane svayaṃ hi || tat tena satyena mamāstu tāvan netradvayaṃ prāktanameva sadyaḥ |*

*Ityuktamātre pūrvādhikapraśobhite netrayugme prādurbabhūvatuḥ.*

Kṣ : *rājan na me duḥkalavo'sti kaścit tivrāpakāre'pi na manyutāpaḥ | manaḥ prasannaṃ yadi me jananyāṃ yenoddhṛte ca svakareṇa netre || tat tena satyena mamāstu tāvan netradvayaṃ prāktanameva sadyaḥ | Ityuktamātre nṛpanandanasya prādurbabhūvākṣisarajayugmam' ||*

Aśm : complete coincidence with Kṣemendra.

The reason for the later origin of the version of the returning of eyesight and forgiving the guilty, given above, the dating of the existing *Divyāvadāna* manuscripts not earlier than the 17th century A.D. give grounds to assume that in this case the copyists or later editors of the *Divyāvadāna* manuscripts had incorporated into them some stanzas from Kṣemendra's poem.

8. See, Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-141.



The versions of the Kuṇāla legend given by Tāranātha and Hemacandra, authors of different historical epochs, writing in different languages and following not only different documents but, possibly, different traditions, too merit special consideration.

Tāranātha, a Tibetan writer of the XVII century, according to his own words, knew the Kuṇāla legend from the Tibetan translation of Kṣemendra's book.

Indeed, Tāranātha setting forth the legend follows Kṣemendra in many details. For example, he mentions Kuñjarakarna, the ruler of Takṣasilā (Tibetan : *gLañ-po'i-rna-ba*), relates the episode of Kuṇāla being recognised by the king's elephant and describes how eyesight was restored to him and how his son was appointed heir to the throne (Tāranātha mentions him as Vigatāśoka).

Besides this, Tāranātha also mentions many details absent in Kṣemendra's poem : for example, the story of how Kuṇāla, after his eye-ball had been placed into his hand, revealed the noble truths. Perhaps this episode, absent in the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, was narrated by Kṣemendra in his historical work mentioned by Tāranātha, but which has not reached us. At the same time one may suppose that Tāranātha was acquainted with some other sources containing the legend. This hypothesis is corroborated by the analysis of Tāranātha's evidence on Aśoka in general, which also shows that Tāranātha in a number of instances repeated a very old tradition going back, possibly, even to the chronicles of Aśoka's life—the *Aśoka-sūtra*. The date cited by Tāranātha is close not only to the northern Buddhist tradition but, significantly enough, to the southern tradition reflected in Ceylonese chronicles.<sup>9</sup>

A very similar version of the legend, although differing in a number of details, is stated by Beal and Watters. This legend mentions a *stūpa* supposedly erected by king Aśoka on the spot where Kuṇāla's eyes had been taken out. It repeats

9. See, Przulski, *op. cit.* ; Eggermont, *The Chronology of the reign of Aśoka Moriya*, Leiden, 1956.

an oral tale connected with this *stūpa*. The main plot of this legend coincides with the other versions : the rejected love and Tiṣyarakṣitā's revenge. It is interesting that in this case there is no mention either of the rebellion in Takṣaśilā and its suppression by Kuṇāla or of the transfer of royal power to the queen for seven days. According to this legend, it was the queen and not the ministers, who persuades Aśoka to send Kuṇāla to Takṣaśilā to keep him far away from the king and thus to make it easier to carry out the plan of revenge. Thereupon the queen stole the king's seal and sent a forged letter to Takṣaśilā. The subsequent events develop in the same manner as in the other versions. In the end Aśoka executed Tiṣyarakṣitā for her crime.

The legend of Kuṇāla is presented in quite a different light in the Jain tradition reflected in Hemacandra's work *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*. First, there is no mention of Tiṣyarakṣitā, one of the main characters of the legend, who is present in all the versions of the legend cycle known to us. Instead of the passionate and insidious Tiṣyarakṣitā, who took revenge on Kuṇāla for her rejected love, Hemacandra mentions only one of Aśoka's wives, who blinded Kuṇāla with the help of forgery in order to assert the right of her son to the throne. It shows that the basic conflict—the clash between Tiṣyarakṣitā and Kuṇāla rejecting her love—which can be traced throughout all the versions of the legend, acquires quite a different aspect with Hemacandra : Kuṇāla is presented as an eight-year old child and the conflict is caused not by amorous passion but by the desire of one of the king's wives to make her son the heir to the throne instead of Kuṇāla.

Hemacandra's narration of the legend seems to fall into two parts : 1) the plucking off of the eyes of Kuṇāla and the sending of his rival—the queen's son—to Ujjain ; 2) the birth of Kuṇāla's son, Kuṇāla's wanderings, his coming to Pāṭaliputra and the appointment of Kuṇāla's son—Samprati—the heir to the throne. In the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Takṣaśilā, the principal "scene of action" in the legend, is not even mentioned. Nothing is said about the rebellion. Ujjain, capital

of Western India and not Takṣaśilā, occupies the central place in the story. According to Hemacandra, Kuṇāla was brought up there. The king's forged order to blind Kuṇāla was sent to Ujjain. From Ujjain the blind Kuṇāla set out for the capital of the empire. It is interesting that in the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon not Takṣaśilā but Ujjain plays prominent role in Aśoka's ascent to the throne. According to *Dīpaṃśa* and *Mahāvamsa*, Aśoka was vice-regent of Ujjain, the ruler of the province. From there he went to Pāṭaliputra to seize the throne, having learnt of Binduśāra's death. The northern Buddhist sources (the *Divyāvadāna*, for example) connect Aśoka's ascent to the throne with Takṣaśilā. All this makes it possible to suppose that in his version of the legend Hemacandra relied not on the northern versions of the legend, which served as the basis for the *Divyāvadāna*, Kṣemendra and Tāranātha, but on some other—probably southern—version, which, unfortunately has not reached us. Hemacandra does not mention the episode of the restoration of Kuṇāla's eyesight as the reward for his virtuous behaviour. Another thing was more important for the Jain chronicler: to show how Samprati (who, according to the Jain tradition, was a zealous follower of Jainism) made his way to the throne. Although on the whole the main plot of the legend coincides (both in the Jain and Buddhist traditions) in both the versions, the legend was treated differently: in the sources of the northern Buddhist tradition Kuṇāla is described as an object of the action of *karma*, as an embodiment of Buddhist virtue and as a true follower of Buddhist *dharma*; in the Jain *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* the plot develops more vigorously: there are no homilies on Buddhist morals and more room is allotted to the story of how the blinded Kuṇāla was unable to become the heir to the throne and how Samprati became heir in his stead. That is why Hemacandra does not describe how eyesight was restored to Kuṇāla.

The unpublished collection of legends, known as the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, a manuscript from the Leningrad Manuscripts collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies USSR

Academy of Sciences,<sup>10</sup> is of considerable interest for the study of Kuṇāla legend. This manuscript<sup>11</sup> is evidently a later copy of the Nepalese manuscript similar to the one described by Rajendralal Mitra.<sup>12</sup>

The *Aśokāvadānamālā* manuscript has never been published although at the close of the 19th century, the Russian Academician S.F. Ol'denburg, took an interest in that collection and intended to publish and translate this unique manuscript as the second part of his work *Buddhist Legends*.<sup>13</sup>

The analysis of the *Aśokāvadānamālā* shows that it is a later compilation (not earlier than the 11th century A.D.),<sup>14</sup> comprising works of different character. The editor (or editors of that collection) who undoubtedly had an excellent knowledge of the preceding literary tradition, included into the *Aśokāvadānamālā* both folk tales (*avadāna*-s) and poetical works of certain authors (like Kṣemendra) as well as religious-philosophical works (like the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śāntideva). The *Aśokāvadānamālā* is very close to the Purāṇas in form and style : at the end of each *avadāna* the good resulting from the listening to the recital of it is described.<sup>15</sup>

As regards its contents, the *Aśokāvadānamālā* may be divided into two rather distinct parts : 1) the legends about Aśoka and Upagupta, which are very close to *avadāna*-s XXVI-XXIX of the *Divyāvadāna* and to the above-mentioned translations, 2) homilies in the form of *avadāna*-s which Upagupta sets forth to Emperor Aśoka. Thus, the first part

10. The manuscript is mentioned by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky.
11. On later Nepalese paper of yellow colour, 332 leaves, 7-8 lines on each.
12. See Rajendralal Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 6-7.
13. S. F. Ol'denburg, *Buddiyiskie Legendi* (Buddhist Legends), St. Petersburg, 1894, p. 1.
14. The manuscript includes, for example, parts of the *Saptakūmarikāvadāna* by Gopadatta, dating back, evidently, to the 11th century A.D.
15. See E. Burnouf, *Introduction a l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Paris, 1876, p. 358 ; *Ratnamālāvadāna : A Garland of precious gems*, ed. by Kanga Takahata, Tokyo, 1954, p. xviii.

is a kind of a version of the Aśoka Cycle, while the second on the whole is similar to the collection of *avadāna*-s for which a conversation between Aśoka and Upagupta usually serves as the framework.

The IB-128B leaves of the manuscript contain six *avadāna*-s of the Aśoka-Upagupta Cycle, the fifth of which is devoted to Kuṇāla and the related events (*Kuṇālāvadāna*, fol. 90-105). This *avadāna*, and the remaining chapters of the Cycle, are told by Jayaśrī to the assembly of the *bhikṣu*-s.

The analysis of the text of the *Kuṇālāvadāna* from the *Aśokāvadānamālā* manuscript shows that the editor combined the verses from *Pallava* LIX of *Avadānakalpalatā* by Kṣemendra and the *Gāthā*-s from chapter 27 of the *Divyāvadāna*.

Out of the total number of 329 stanzas, 160 exactly coincide with Kṣemendra's verses, 33 are taken from chapter 27 of the *Divyāvadāna* and 136 have no direct similarities.

The stanzas not found in the *Divyāvadāna* or Kṣemendra's poem and which we tentatively call "new verses", evidently belong to the editor of *Aśm.* or were borrowed by him from one or several literary works which have not reached us.

The analysis of the "new verses" of the *Kuṇālāvadāna* from the *Aśokāvadānamālā* manuscript suggests the following conclusions :

1. According to the function in the narration of the plot they may be divided into two groups : a) Poetical paraphrasing of the prose parts of the *Divyāvadāna*, setting forth episodes which are absent in Kṣemendra's poem but which the editor of the *Aśokāvadānamālā* wanted to include into his *avadāna* as, for example, Aśoka's prophetic dream and the scene of Kuṇāla's eyes being taken out. The exact textual coincidence of the *Divyāvadāna* prose with the *Aśokāvadānamālā* verses is of great interest. Is it not possible to suppose that the *Divyāvadāna* is a later (concise) exposition of the poetical version of the Aśoka-Upagupta cycle, which has not

reached us and with which the editor of the *Aśokāvadānamālā* might have been familiar ?

b) Stanzas with the help of which the editor of the *Aśokāvadānamālā* combines the texts borrowed from the *Divyāvadāna* and Kṣemendra. The same desire to connect the heterogeneous parts of the text sometime explains the considerable textual difference between stanzas from Kṣemendra and the *Aśokāvadānamālā*.

2. As regards their form, the "new verses" are either *śloka*-s similar in style to the versified collections of *avadāna*-s (cf. the *Ṛatnamālāvadāna*), or the editor of the *Aśokāvadānamālā* under the influence of the adjacent stanzas from Kṣemendra or the *Divyāvadāna* uses the *upajāti* metre. But in most of the cases the *upajāti* stanzas are composed rather unskillfully and the metre is often imperfect. Verbosity and the use of clichés typical of the *avadāna* style are always present in the "new verses" of the *Aśokāvadānamālā*.

The editor of the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, striving to combine in his narrative two versions of the Kuṇāla legend, on the whole rather skillfully, stitches together separate pieces of the text, using the "new verses" for this purpose or making the necessary change in corresponding stanzas taken from both the sources. But in some cases, the desire not to lose a single element of both the versions leads to a mechanical combination of heterogeneous parts which harms the harmony and consistency of narration and often results in unnecessary repetitions. The most vivid examples are provided by the stories of the former births of Kuṇāla : Kṣemendra has two of them (of the hunter and the statue), the *Divyāvadāna* also has two (of the hunter and the *stūpa* of Buddha Krakucchanda) and the *Aśokāvadānamālā* has three (of the hunter, the statue and the *stūpa* of Buddha Krakucchanda).

Owing to textual discrepancies the *Aśokāvadānamālā* manuscript text comprising stanzas from the *Divyāvadāna* and Kṣemendra makes it possible to clarify a number of "obscure passages" in the published texts of the *Divyāvadāna* and Kṣemendra's poem and to give a new interpretation to them.

**PROBLEMS OF HISTORY AND CULTURE  
OF CENTRAL ASIA**





# CENTRAL ASIA IN THE KUSHAN PERIOD

*Archaeological Studies by Soviet Scholars*

Recently an increasing emphasis has been placed on the history and culture of the peoples of Central Asia. These peoples have made a major contribution to the treasure of world civilisation. Central Asia was the cradle of one of the most ancient civilisations—a cross-road for the cultures of many Oriental peoples. It is here that the answers to many unsolved mysteries of the history and culture of the East should be sought. It is thoroughly gratifying that from now on the cardinal problems underlying the historical and cultural development of this region will be subjected to a more extensive study, and in this respect the new UNESCO project for intensive research into the Central Asian civilisations is expected to be highly fruitful. A panel of experts which met in Paris in April, 1967, discussed the key scientific problems involved in the project and adopted a wide range of important organisational decisions concerning it. The experts justly pointed to the tremendous significance of the studies in the history and archaeology of Central Asia in the Kushan period, and the Kushan problem was selected as one of the chief topics of the project.

Of late, the interest in the Kushan epoch has gained particular interest. There have appeared quite a number monographs on it both in the West and in Asia. Archaeological expeditions have carried out successful excavations of Kushan monuments in India, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

The Soviet scholars are also devoting much effort and energy to the problems of the Kushan period. It is worthwhile to delineate the main stages of Soviet archaeological studies into the Kushan period and to bring to light some of the achievements in this field. The latest important discoveries in Central Asia made by Soviet scholars render this task all the more imperative.

Large-scale archaeological research in various areas of Central Asia, which resulted in the discovery of many Kushan monuments, actually started only after the October Revolution. It was initiated 40 years ago by the expedition of the Moscow Museum of Oriental Cultures (now called the State Oriental Art Museum). This expedition, which worked in 1926-1928, was the first important Soviet expedition to Central Asia, and it paved the way for archaeological research in Uzbekistan, particularly in Termez, which was an important centre of Northern Bactria.<sup>1</sup> Of the concrete findings made

1. This is exactly the way in which the modern scholars appraise the work of the 1926-28 expedition. See S. P. Tolstov, V. A. Shishkin, *Archaeology (R), Twenty-five Years of Soviet Science in Uzbekistan*, (in Russian), Tashkent, 1942, p. 261. Only the English translations of the contributions in the Russian language are given in the notes—these being henceforth indicated as (R).

*Abbreviations :*

AN	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences)
FAN SSSR	Filial AN SSSR (Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences)
HE	Khorezmskaya ekspeditsiya (Khorezmian Expedition)
II	Institute istorii (Institute of History)
IIA	Institute istorii i arkheologii (Institute of History and Archaeology)
IMKUz	Istoria Materialnoi kultury Uzbekistana (The History of Material Culture of Uzbekistan)
KSIA	Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii (Proceedings of the Institute of Archaeology)
KSIMK	Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury (Proceedings of the Institute of the History of Material Culture)
MIA SSSR	Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR (Materials and Investigations on the Archaeology of the USSR)
SA	Sovetskaya arkheologiya (Soviet Archaeology)
SAUG	Sredneaziatsky (Tashkentsky) Gosudarstvenny universitet (Central Asian [Tashkent] State University)
Tadzh.	Tajik
TAKE	Trudy Uzbekskogo filiala AN SSSR (Transactions of the Uzbek Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences)
TOVE	Trudy otdela Vostoka Ermitazha (Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Hermitage Museum)
Uz.	Uzbek

by the 1926-1928 expedition mention should be made of the Buddhist nonuments of Old Termez related, as it has now been established, to the Kushan period—the Zurmala Stūpa<sup>2</sup> and the Kara-tepe caves.<sup>3</sup>

The expedition of the Museum of Oriental Cultures was followed by quite a number of others, many of which made valuable contributions to the studies of Central Asia in the Kushan period, i.e. Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm. Chronologically, all these studies clearly fall into two well-defined periods, with World War II serving as the demarcating line.

Among the highlights of the first i.e. the pre-war period, are the excavations carried out by M. Y. Masson at the ancient town site of Airtam (east of Termez), following a chance discovery there in 1932 of a remarkable stone relief depicting musicians.<sup>4</sup> The 1933 excavations uncovered the remains of a crude mud-brick structure with another seven stone reliefs, sherds of two ganch statues, red-engebe Kushan pottery and a copper coin of King Kanishka.<sup>5</sup> These finds gave an impetus to Kushan studies by Soviet scholars.

2. See A. S. Strelkov, Zurmala or Katta-Tyupe near Termez (R), *The Culture of the East* (R), I, Moscow, 1927, pp. 27-30. There were certain doubts as to the identification of this monument as a Kushan-time Buddhist stūpa, yet the recent investigations of G. A. Pugachenkova have corroborated this identification. See G. A. Pugachenkova, L. I. Rempel, *A History of Uzbekistan's Arts* (R), Moscow, 1965, pp. 53-54.
3. See A. S. Strelkov, Pre-Islamic Monuments in Termez (R),—in *The Culture of the East* (R), II, Moscow, 1928, p. 46. Also see A. S. Strelkov, *Les monuments pre-islamiques de Termes*, *Artibus Asia*, 1928, N 4, (1931), p. 223; T. V. Grek, V. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-tepe: A Buddhist Cave Monastery in Old Termez* (R), Moscow, 1964, pp. 5,83.
4. M. Y. Masson, *Fragment of a Sculptured Friese of the First Centuries A.D.* (R), Tashkent, 1933.
5. M. Y. Masson, The Sculpture of Airtam (R), *Art* (R), 1935, N 2, pp. 129-134; K. V. Trever, *Monuments of Graeco-Bactrian Art* (R), Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, pp. 149-158.

The 1933 excavations were followed, as a logical sequel, by broad archaeological excavations in the vicinity of Termez conducted by the Termez Joint Archaeological Expedition. Under the guidance of M. Y. Masson, the expedition in 1936-1938 carried on the Airtam excavations, studied the history and historical topography of old Termez and excavated a crude Kushan structure on Chinghiz-Tepe, as well as a surface structure and two cave complexes on Kara-Tepe. The expedition also studied the stone details of Kushan architecture.<sup>6</sup>

Simultaneously in 1937 a broad programme was launched to survey and excavate the ancient monuments of Soghd (including those referred to the Kushan period): the reconnaissance survey of the Bukhara oasis monuments<sup>7</sup> and the excavations on Tali-Barzu in the vicinity of Samarkand.<sup>8</sup> The former led to the discovery in the sands west of Bukhara of a number of settlements of the Kushan period; the latter resulted in the development of the first archaeological classification of the periods of the culture of ancient Soghd.<sup>9</sup>

In 1937-1939 the Khorezm Expedition, which is one of the best-known Central Asian expeditions, embarked upon

6. See Transactions of the Uzbek Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, series I, fasc. 2 (R), Tashkent, 1941: vol. ii. (series I), Tashkent, 1945. On the excavations of Kara-tepe, see also Y. G. Pchelina, The Beginning of Investigations of the Buddhist Monastery of Kara-tepe in Termez (R), in T. V. Grek, Y. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *op. cit.* pp. 82-99.
7. V. A. Shishkin, *Archaeological Investigations of 1937 in the Western Part of the Bukhara Oasis* (R), Tashkent, 1940; V. A. Shishkin, *Archaeological Survey at Bash-tepe* (R), *Transactions of the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences* (R), fasc. viii, Tashkent, 1956, pp. 163-172.
8. G. V. Grigofyev, The Town Site of Tali-Barzu (R), *TOVE*, vol. ii, Leningrad, 1940, pp. 87-104; G. V. Grigoryev, The Settlements of Ancient Soghd (R), *KSIIMK*, vi, 1940, pp. 24-34; G. V. Grigoryev, Tali-Barzu: A Monument of Pre-Islamic Soghd (R), *KSIIMK*, xiii, 1946, pp. 150-153.
9. See B. Y. Stavisky, The Dating of the Early Strata of Tali-Barzu (R), *SA*, 1967, N 2, pp. 22-28.

field investigations. Before the war, this expedition—headed by S. P. Tolstov—after carrying out a large-scale archaeological survey of the “lands of ancient irrigation”, developed an archaeological classification of the ancient Khorezmian culture and uncovered a number of settlements related to the Kushan period.<sup>10</sup>

Another pre-war development was an archaeological survey carried out in 1940 on the construction site of the Katta-Kurgan reservoir (in Zeravshan valley, halfway between Samarkand and Bukhara), which resulted in the discovery of the first Soghdian burial mounds of the Kushan period.<sup>11</sup> Also found were some high-quality pieces of pottery related to the Kushan and late Kushan period.<sup>12</sup>

On the whole the pre-war researches conducted by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia were characterised not only by the discoveries of settlements, burial mounds and separate artifacts of the Kushan period in Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm, but also by excavations of some of the sites and—which is no less important—by the first attempts to determine the place of the Kushan monuments as well as the Kushan period in general in the history of the culture and arts of the ancient peoples of Central Asia.<sup>13</sup>

Yet, however much great may be the successes of the 1933-1940 expeditions in studying the ancient monuments of Central

10. S. P. Tolstov, *Ancient Khorezm* (R), Moscow, 1948; also see *Transactions of the Khorezmian Expedition* (R), vol. i, Moscow, 1952, pp. 611 ff.
11. V. A. Shishkin, *Archaeological Observations on the Building Site of the Katta-Kurgan Reservoir* (R), *Bulletin of the Uzbek Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences* (R), 1940, N 10, pp. 19-24.
12. See T. N. Knipovich, *Certain Problems of the Dating of Central Asian Ceramics of the Pre-Muslim Period* (R), *KSIIMK*, xxviii, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, p. 76. The dating of the Tali-Barzu and Katta-Kurgan materials suggested by this author has been revised.
13. See, for instance, S. P. Tolstov, *The Basic Problems of the Ancient History of Central Asia* (R), *VDI*, 1938, N 1, pp. 186-187.

Asia, they pale before the importance of the discoveries and findings made after the war, when every year of work in the field has yielded new valuable materials on the history, culture and art of the ancient Central Asian territories, including Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm.

In 1945 S. P. Tolstov's expedition started systematic excavations in Khorezm on Toprak-Kala. These excavations lasted until 1950 and uncovered a magnificent three-tower palace dated to the 3rd—early-4th centuries, with palatial chambers and living quarters, adorned with clay sculpture and murals. In addition, numerous household articles and weapons were found and, which is most important, the first archive in the hitherto almost unknown Khorezmian language<sup>14</sup> Along with the Roprak-Kala palace excavations which lasted several years, the Khorezmian Expedition carried on extensive prospecting. It also studied the Khorezmian irrigation system of different periods, including the Kushan structures,<sup>15</sup> and excavated a number of monuments among which one should single out Kaj-Krylgan-Kala, whose upper stratum has provided materials related to the Kushan period,<sup>16</sup> and Gyaur-Kala with structures of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. and interesting clay sculpture.<sup>17</sup>

In Soghd, from the autumn of 1945 till 1949 A. I. Terenozhkin conducted systematic research into the stratigraphy of the immense ancient town site of Samarkand—Afrasiab. This work resulted in the discovery of numerous relics of the daily life of the ancient Soghdians. The finds served to correct and largely complement G. V. Grigoryev's

14. S. P. Tolstov, *Tracing the Ancient Khorezmian Civilisation* (R), pp. 164-190; *Trudy XE*, vol. i, pp. 7-86, 119-134; *Trudy XE*, vol. ii, pp. 195-216; S. P. Tolstov, *The Old Deltas of the Oxus and the Yaxartes* (R), Moscow, 1962, pp. 204-226.

15. *Trudy XE*, vol. ii, pp. 100-116, 311-328; S. P. Tolstov, *The Old Deltas of the Oxus and the Yaxartes* (R), pp. 89-96.

16. *Koy=Krylgan=kala: A Monument of the Culture of Ancient Khorezm (4th Century B.C.—4th Century A.D.)* (R), Moscow, 1967.

17. *Trudy XE*, vol. ii, pp. 192-195, 347-366.

conclusions and proved instrumental in working out a chronological classification of the culture of Soghd and Chach (which is now Tashkent),<sup>18</sup> the system which to this day has retained its basic significance. A. I. Terenozhkin's research on Afrasiab was followed by a major expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR. In the course of this expedition, which started operations in 1958, were studied the strata and structures related to different periods, including the Kushan period.<sup>19</sup>

In 1947 archaeological activities were resumed in the Bukhara area as well. Here on the Varakhsha site, along with systematic excavations of a palace of the early medieval Bukhara rulers, studies were made of the stratigraphy of the town site, which the excavations showed to have sprung up in Kushan times. Apart from Varakhsha, the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences expedition, headed by V. A. Shishkin later by Y. G. Gulyamov, studied the history of irrigation and excavated a few small monuments of the Kushan period.<sup>20</sup>

18. A. I. Terenozhkin, Soghd and Chach (R), *KSIIMK*, fasc. 33, 1950, pp. 152-169; A. I. Terenozhkin, Excavations on the Site of Afrasiab (R), *KSIIMK*, fasc. 36, 1951, pp. 136-140.
19. See V. A. Shishkin, The Uzbek Archaeological Expedition of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences. Field Work in 1956-1959 (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 2, Tashkent, 1961, pp. 36-43; V. A. Shishkin, Field Work of the Uzbek Archaeological Expedition in 1960 (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 3, Tashkent, 1962, pp. 9-12; V. A. Shishkin, The Uzbek Archaeological Expedition of 1961 (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 4, Tashkent, 1963, pp. 11-18; V. A. Shishkin, Some Results of the Archaeological Investigations in Uzbekistan, 1962-1963 (R), *Social Sciences in Uzbekistan* (R), 1964, N 12, pp. 20-25; V. A. Shishkin, Afrasiab: Treasury of Ancient Culture (R), Tashkent, 1966, pp. 8-10; S. K. Kabanov, The Area and Evolution of Two Ancient Ceramic Forms (R), *SA*, 1964, N 3, pp. 79-87.
20. See *Transactions of the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences* (R), fasc. viii, Tashkent, 1956; V. A. Shishkin, Varakhsha, Moscow, 1963; V. A. Nilzen, Kyzyl-Kyr, *IMKUz*, fasc. i, Tashkent, 1959, pp. 60-78; O. V. Obelchenko, The Date of the wall of the Bukhara Oasis of Kampyr-duval (R), *Transactions of SAGU* (R), fasc. 172, Tashkent, 1960, pp. 11-31.

In 1946 the Upper-Zeravshan group of a large Soghdian-Tajik (later Tajik) archaeological expedition of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR and the State Hermitage Museum started operations in the upper reaches of the Zeravshan River, east of Samarkand. The head of the expedition, A. Y. Yakubovsky, in 1946 took up the Upper-Zeravshan group, whose work laid the groundwork of the systematic archaeological survey of the Upper-Zeravshan valley.<sup>21</sup> Later on these activities were continued with the result that in the upper reaches of the Zeravshan numerous archaeological monuments were discovered including settlements and burial mounds of the Kushan period.<sup>22-</sup>

The investigations on Afrasiab, on sites in the upper reaches of the Zeravshan and in the Bukhara area, were supplemented by archaeological prospecting and excavations in the south of Soghd—in the Kashka Darya valley, where along with medieval monuments, Kushan monuments were likewise studied.<sup>23</sup> Interesting objects (including Kushan

21. See A. Y. Yakubovsky, Results of the Work of the Soghdian-Tajik Archaeological Expedition in 1946-1947 (R), *MIA SSSR*, N 15, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, pp. 13-28.
22. See A. M. Mandelshtam, The Burial Site in Zosun Village, Upper Zeravshan (R), *Bulletin of the Section of Social Sciences of the Tajik Academy of Sciences* (R), fasc. 2 (40), 1965, pp. 29-44; B. Y. Stavisky, The Main Stages in the Settlement of the Highland Districts of the Upper Zeravshan (Kukhistan) by the Farming Population (R), *Materials on Ethnography (The Geographical Society of the USSR)* (R), fasc. i, Leningrad, 1961, pp. 38-49; B. Y. Stavisky, The Work of the Magian Group in 1961 (R), *Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. xii, 1964, pp. 127-130.
23. A. I. Terenozhkin, Archaeological Survey in the Western Part of Uzbekistan (R), *VDI*, 1947, N 2, pp. 185-190; S. K. Kabanov, Archaeological Work in 1948 in Karshi Oasis (R), *Trudy IIA AN Uz. SSR*, vol. ii, Tashkent, 1950, pp. 82-134; S. K. Kabanov, Archaeological Survey in the Upper Kashka Darya Valley (R), *Trudy IIA AN Uz. SSR*, fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1955, pp. 77-114; S. K. Kabanov, Archaeological Data on the History of Nakhshab in the 3rd-5th Centuries (R), *VDI*, 1956, N 2, pp. 163-171; S. K. Kabanov, The Pottery from the Ancient Town Site of Kitab (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 3,



coins) were found during the survey excavations in Chardzhou, at the juncture of roads running from Bactria to Khorezm and from Soghd to Merv, Parthia and Iran close to one of the most important Amu Darya river crossings.<sup>24</sup>

Large-scale excavations of burial mounds in the middle and lower parts of the Zeravshan valley, started in 1952, made a very significant contribution to the studies of Soghd and the whole of Central Asia in the Kushan period.<sup>25</sup>

In post-war years, the archaeological studies of Kushan monuments were particularly extensive in Northern Bactria. As far back as 1946 in its eastern part, on the territory of

Tashkent, 1962, pp. 42-53; S. K. Kabanov, Archaeological Data on the Ethnic History of Southern Soghd in the 3rd-4th Centuries (R), *SA*, 1963, No. 1, pp. 219-230; S. K. Kabanov, Excavations at Shortepe Near Karshi in 1952-1953 (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 5, Tashkent, 1964, pp. 70-89; S. K. Kabanov, The Ruins of the Settlement of the 3rd-5th Centuries in the Kashka-Darya Valley (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 6, Tashkent, 1965, pp. 71-86; V. D. Zhukov, The Archaeological Survey of Kindaklitepa (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1956, pp. 91-103; S. K. Kabanov, K. A. Shakhurin, Archaeological Survey on the Upper Kashka Darya (R), *ibid.*, pp. 112-121.

24. G. E. Trapeznikov, The Town Site of Ancient Chardzhou (Amul) (R), *SA*, 1957, No. 4, pp. 161-163; G. E. Trapeznikov, Material from the Town Site of Ancient Chardzhou (Amul) (R), *SA*, 1954, N 1, pp. 268-273. Cf. M. E. Masson, The Trade Routes from Merv to Khorezm and Mavera al-Nahr in the Middle Ages (R), Ashkhabad, 1966, pp. 144-149.
25. O. V. Obelchenko, The Necropolis of Kuyu-Mazar (R), *Trudy IIA AN Uz. SSR*, fasc. viii, Tashkent, 1956, pp. 205-227; O. V. Obelchenko, The Kurgan Burials of the First Centuries A.D. and the Cenotaphs of the Kuyu-Mazar Necropolis (R), *Trudy SAGU*, fasc. cxi, Tashkent, 1957, pp. 109-132; O. V. Obelchenko, The Lyavandak Burial Site (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 2, Tashkent, 1961, pp. 97-176; O. V. Obelchenko, The Akdzhhar-tepe Necropolis (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 3, Tashkent, 1962, pp. 57-70; O. V. Obelchenko, The Kurgans near the Village of Khazara (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 4, Tashkent, 1963, pp. 57-65; O. V. Obelchenko, The Kurgans of Sazagan (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1966, pp. 66-81. Also see V. A. Shishkin, The Uzbekistan Archaeological Expedition of 1961 (R), *IMKUz*, fasc. 4, Tashkent, 1963, p. 21; V. Y. Zzenkova, Craniological Finds from the Burials in Bukhara Region (R), *ibid.*, p. 66-72.

what is now Southern Tajikistan, broad reconnaissance surveys were carried out in the Vakhsh and Kafirnigan river valleys<sup>26</sup>; in the same year excavations were started of the Tup-khona burial-ground, in the vicinity of Hissar (south-west of Dushanbe). The excavations of this burial-ground, which belonged to the agricultural population of Northern Bactria of the early Kushan period, along with the 1950-1951 excavations of the multistratum settlements of Kalai-Mir and Key-Kobad-shah (in the Kafirnigan valley) were used by M. M. Dyakonov to develop an archaeological timescale of the culture of Northern Bactria and also to characterise the culture of this region in the Kushan period.<sup>27</sup> The excavations on Key-Kobad-shah, Munchak-Tepe and two small settlements in the Kafirnigan valley were a sequel to the above works. The latter excavations were conducted under the guidance of A. M. Mandolshtam who corrected and specified M. M. Dyakonov's classification.<sup>28</sup> It was this same scholar who, beginning in 1955, carried out very important systematic excavations of the burial mounds in the Bishkent valley (on the left bank of the Kafirnigan), later supplemented by his own excavations in Northern Bactria (Uzbekistan and Turkmenia).<sup>29</sup>

26. See *MIA SSSR*, N 15, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, pp. 128-139, 147-186.

27. M. M. Dyakonov, *Archaeological Investigations in the Lower Reaches of the Kafirnigan (Kobadian), 1950-1951 (R)*, *MIA SSSR*, No 37, Moscow-Leningrad, 1953, pp. 279-292.

28. A. M. Mandelshtam, *The Work of the Kafirnigan Group in 1952-1953 (R)*, *MIA SSSR*, N 66, Moscow-Leningrad, pp. 290-342.

29. See A. M. Mandelshtam, *Nomads on Their Way to India (R)*, *MIA SSSR*, No 16, Moscow-Leningrad, 1966; A. M. Mandelshtam, *Archaeological Investigations in the Bishkent Valley in 1957 (R)*, *Trudy AB Tadzh. SSR*, vol. ciii, 1959, pp. 131-151; A. M. Mandelshtam, *The Aruk-Tau Necropolis in the Bishkent Valley (R)*, *KSIIMK*, fasc. 76, 1959, pp. 73-82; A. M. Mandelshtam, *On the History of Bactria-Tukharistan (R)*, *KSIIMK*, fasc. 98, pp. 25-30; A. M. Mandelshtam, *The Problem of the Specific Location of the Relics of the Nomad Population in Northern Bactria (R)*, *Proceedings of the Museum of the Tajik Republic (R)*, fasc. 4, 1966, pp. 22-28.

A number of monuments and finds related to the Kushan period were discovered in the Hissar and Vakhsh valleys by B. A. Litvinsky, Y. A. Davidovich, E. Gulyamova, T. I. Zeymal, Y. V. Zeymal and A. M. Mukhtarov. These are large and small settlements, Kushan strata in multistrata sites related to different periods, remains of monumental structures with stone column bases, burial-grounds, coins and artifacts of the Kushan period and, finally, traces of ancient irrigation systems.<sup>30</sup>

Starting from 1948, an archaeological group headed by L. I. Albaum carried out large-scale prospecting and excavations of sites belonging to different periods in Southern Uzbekistan, in the Surkhan-Darya region. This team can be

30. B. A. Litvinsky, E. A. Davidovich, Preliminary Report on the Work of the Khuttal Group on the Territory of the Vakhsh Valley in 1953 (R), Papers of the Tajik Academy of Sciences (R), fasc. ii, 1954, pp. 53-60; B. A. Litvinsky, Preliminary Report on the Work of the Khuttal Group in 1954 (R), *Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. xxxvi, 1956, pp. 77-88; B. A. Litvinsky, On Archaeological Investigations in the Vakhsh Valley and the Isfara District (R), *KSIIMK*, fasc. 64, 1956, pp. 68-76; E. A. Davidovich, The Work of the Gissar Group in 1955 (R), *Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. xiii, 1956, pp. 75-86; B. A. Litvinsky, Z. Gulyamova, T. I. Zeymal, Collecting Material for an Archaeological Map (1956) (R), *Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. xci, 1959, pp. 129-152; E. Gulyamova, Excavations of the Dyushanbe Necropolis (R), *Journal of the Museum of History and Regional Studies of the Tajik SSR* (R), fasc. 3, 1953, pp. 30-34; B. A. Litvinsky, Objects Found in the Burial on the Stalinabad Hills, pp. 35-49; T. I. Zeymal, The Work of the Vakhsh Group of the Khuttal Expedition in 1957 (R), *Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. ciii, 1959, pp. 83-93; T. I. Zeymal, Ancient Settlement in Khalkadzhah (R), *Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. xxvii, 1961, pp. 159-166; E. V. Zeymal, Archaeological Work in the Gissar Valley (R), *ibid.*, pp. 121-136; B. A. Litvinsky, T. I. Zeymal, Vases from the Vakhsh Valley (R), *Izvestiya AN Tadzh. SSR*, No 1 (22), 1960, pp. 73-79; T. I. Zeymal, Survey Work in the Vakhsh Valley in 1959 (R), *Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. xxxi, 1961, pp. 143-152; B. A. Litvinsky, Archaeological Discoveries in Tajikistan in the Soviet Period and Some Problems in the Ancient History of Central Asia (R), *VDI*, 1967, N 4, pp. 134-136.

credited with quite a number of extremely interesting finds of the Kushan period (towns, fortresses and castles). Along with pottery, terracotta figurines of men and animals were discovered, as well as Kushan coins. For the first time in Central Asian excavations a Roman Coin of Emperor Nero was discovered.<sup>31</sup> An expedition of the Institute of Art Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, led by G. A. Pugachenkova, produced very good results. The greatest accomplishment of this expedition, which operated in the same Surkhan Darya region, was the excavation in 1959-1963 of a small crude structure with fragments of murals and magnificent clay sculpture in Khalchayan.<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that apart from the Khalchayan excavations, the said expedition has been prospecting and excavating in different places in the Surkhan-Darya region with particular emphasis on Kushan sites. In 1967 this expedition made another important discovery—near the Dalverzin-Tepe town site a Kushan Buddhist temple was found with remarkable clay sculpture depicting not only the Buddha but also local rulers and nobles.

There is also joint archaeological expedition of the State Hermitage Museum, the State Museum of Oriental Art and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which has been working in the Surkhan Darya region since 1961, parallel to the Uzbek research. This expedition, headed by B. Y. Stavisky, continued research into the Kushan Buddhist structures on Kara-Tepe hill in Old Termez and found a number of cave and surface temples, fragmentary stone reliefs, gaudy statues and other objects of the Buddhist cult, Kushan coins and inscriptions in the Indian Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī alphabets as well as in the so-called Kushan script,

31. L. I. Albaum, *Balalyk-Tepe*, Tashkent, 1960, L. I. Albaum, *The Town Site of Dalverzin-tepe (R)*, *IMKUz*, fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1966, pp. 47-65; V. D. Zhukov, *Archaeological Survey at Khairabad-tepe (R)*, *IMKUz*, fasc. 2, Tashkent, 1961, pp. 177-191; V. A. Nilsen, *Teshik-tepe near Angor (R)*, *IMKUz*, fasc. 5, Tashkent, 1964, pp. 57-66.

32. See G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan*, Tashkent. 1966.

i.e., the Greek alphabet adjusted to convey the local language of Kushan Bactria.<sup>33</sup>

This is the brief history of the archaeological studies in Central Asia of the Kushan period carried out by Soviet scholars. The primary result of these studies is the discovery of extensive and varied materials which form a very solid basis for source studies. These sources are traces of canals and scores of town sites and other settlements, hundreds of burial mounds and burial-grounds, numerous household objects and artifacts, imported items and local imitations of foreign artifacts,<sup>34</sup> a few gem-seals<sup>35</sup> and vast numismatic collections,<sup>36</sup> and finally inscriptions in the Khorezmian and Soghdian, Bactrian and Indian languages.

The abundance of these materials has enabled Soviet

33. See T. V. Grek, Y. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *op. cit.*; Y. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, Kara-tepe-Remains of a Buddhist-Monastery of the Kushan Period in old Termez, *Indo-Asian Studies*, pt I. 1963. B. Y. Stavisky, J. Harmatta, V. A. Livshitz, V. G. Lukonin, V. A. Meshkeris, *The Buddhist Caves of Kara-tepe in Old Termez (R)*, M., 1969.
34. See B. Y. Stavisky, *Central Asia, India, Rome: International Contacts in the Kushan Period (R)*, in *India in Ancient Times (R)*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 166-187; V. M. Masson, *Archaeological Sites of Central Asia and the Graeco-Roman Influences and Links, Attide convegno sul dema: La Persia e il Mondo Greco-Romano (Roma 11-14 aprile 1965) Academie Nazionale dei Lincei, anno cclxiii*, Roma, 1966, pp. 335-356.
35. See B. Y. Stavisky, Notes on gem-seals with Kushana cursive inscriptions in the collection of the State Hermitage, *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, vol. xxii (1960), Banaras, 1961, pp. 102-108; Addenda and Corrigenda, *ibid* vol. xxiii, 1961, Banaras, 1962, pp. 513-514.
36. See M. E. Masson, *The Origin of the Nameless King of Kings, the Great Saviour (R)*, *Trudy SAGU*, fasc. ii, Tashkent, 1950, pp. 11-49; E. V. Zeymal, *Kushan Coins from the Collection of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Tajik Academy of Sciences (R)*, *Izvestiya otdeleniya obshchestvennykh nauk AN Tadzh. SSR*, fasc.

scholars to bring to light and solve many important aspects of the Kushan problem, such as, for instances the matter of the nomadic conquerors who crushed the Graeco-Bactrian rulers and gave rise to the Kushan kingdom ; of the cultural and artistic standards of Central Asia in the Kushan period, its religion, languages and scripts, of its international cultural ties, of the "Gandharan art" and its place in the history of the arts in Central Asia in the subsequent period, etc. Special attention is drawn to one of the most complicated problems—the chronology of the Kushan rulers.<sup>37</sup>

Until recently, information about the nomad tribes that put an end to Greek rule in inland Asia was based only on the fragmentary and often contradictory testimony of foreign written sources. On the basis of these sources different scholars had extremely differing ideas as to the geography of the various nomad tribes on the map of Asia. It seemed as though there would be no end to the disputes about these tribes. Yet the archaeological studies by Soviet scholars in Central Asia and, first and foremost, A. N. Bernshtam's expedition to Southern Kazakhstan and Northern Kirghizia and S. P. Tolstov's to the Lower reaches of the Syr Darya, provided enough geographical evidence as to the territorial distribution of the ancient nomads and their burial-grounds, to pin-point, for the first time, their geographical location.<sup>38</sup>

37. See, for instance works by S. P. Tolstov and E. V. Zeimal on the "date of Kanishka" and Kushan chronology. See *Datirovanniye dokumenty iz dvortsa Toprak-kala is problems 'ery Shaka' i ery Kanishki*, *Problemy Vostokovedeniya*, 1961, N 21, pp. 54-71 ; S. P. Tolstov, made an ingenious, but regrettably insufficiently convincing attempt to identify the Saka Era (78 A.D.) with the "Kanishka Era" on the basis of the Toprak-Kala evidence. E. V. Zeymal "The Problem of Kushan Chronology and Coins (R)", *Abstracts of Reports Made at the Anniversary Session. The State Hermitage Museum : 1764-1964 (R)*, Leningrad, 1964, pp. 40-46. He suggested that the "Era Kanishka" be reckoned beginning with the year 200 of the "Era Saka", i.e. the year 278 A.D.; thereby coming back to the hypothesis of the Indian scholar D.R. Bhandarkar.

38. See A. N. Bernshtam, *Historico-Archaeological Survey of the*

It became possible to draw boundary-lines marking the areas inhabited by two large groups of steppe tribes of Northern Central Asia—the Sakas of the Seven-River region and the adjacent mountain pastures and the Scythian-Massagetae tribes of the lower Syr Darya and the rural areas. Moreover, work has begun on delineation of individual tribes or tribal confederations. Scientifically, it is very important to collate the available data on the nomads of the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. with the burial mounds found in Soghd and Northern Bactria. O. V. Obelchenko has pointed out the big role played in the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. by the tribes of the "Sarmatian circle" (he bases his conclusion on the similarity of the funeral rites and the inventory of the burial mounds in Soghd with the burial-grounds of the Sarmatian tribes in Kazakhstan and the Volga region). Similarly, A. M. Mandelshtam has traced Sarmatian characteristics in the burials in Turkmenistan and Southern Tajikistan. On the basis of the distribution and nature of nomad monuments in Northern Bactria, he has also made a number of valuable conclusions as to the presence in this area of nomads in the pre-Kushan and early Kushan periods. A broad archaeological survey of Northern Bactria shows that there were several large burial mounds here, all of them well outside the cultivated land plots and, in general, at some distance from the agricultural oases. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that the nomad newcomers, far from trying to undermine the economy of the local peasants, on the contrary, attempted to spare the fields the damage they would have inevitably incurred on account of the immediate proximity of large masses of nomads and their herds. The location of large burial mounds near the Amu Darya, which was the watershed between Northern and Southern Bactria, and in

Tien-Shan and Pamir-Alais (R), *MJA SSSR*, N 26, Moscow-Leningrad, 1952; S. P. Tolstov, *Tracing the ancient Khorezmian Civilization*, Moscow, 1948; S. P. Tolstov, *The Aral Scythians and Khorezm* (R), *SE*, 1961, N 4 (*De Scythes de l'aral et le Khorezm*, *Iranica Antiqua*, vol. i Leiden, 1961) S. P. Tolstov, *The Old Deltas of the Oxus and the Yaxartes* (R), Moscow, 1962, pp. 136-203.

addition between the major river-crossings—the Kerki and Kelif, Termez and Aivadj—leads one to assert that large groups of nomads were aligned in such a way as to be within easy reach of these vantage river-crossings in case of a contingency. This is how archaeology describes the life of the nomad tribes in Northern Bactria. As further corroborated by the written sources, they appear not as transitory strangers, plunderers of agricultural oases, but rather as tribes that came to stay for good on the subjugated lands, that had a concern in the economic prosperity of the local population and were prepared to defend arms in hand, Northern Bactria from possible invaders.

It is noteworthy that, as distinct from big burial mounds which marked the areas of large concentrations of nomads, small mound groups of the pre-Kushan and Kushan period are scattered throughout the whole of Northern Bactria, often in the immediate proximity of Kushan settlements. This, as well as local Bactria pottery and other artifacts made by Bactrian craftsmen found in the nomad burial mounds testifies to the fact that the nomads maintained constant close contacts with the oasis inhabitants. The distribution of these small burial mounds further proves that in the early Kushan period, the nomadic newcomers were not only the political elite but also an organic part of the population of Northern Bactria.

Work in the Bishkent valley also revealed that early in the 1st century A.D. large masses of nomads had abandoned this valley, but whether this exodus was a local phenomenon or one typical of the whole of Northern Bactria is at this stage difficult to assert. (At any rate, the large Babashov mound not far from the station of Murky in Turkmenia, studied in 1960 and 1962, is evidence of the presence there of a big group of nomads as late as the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.). Thus, studies into the nomads' monuments of the Kushan period in Central Asia have already produced quite tangible and stimulating results, which clearly point to the indisputable value of further research along this line.



Of equal interest are the conclusions made by Soviet archaeologists on the cultural and artistic standards in Central Asia, i.e. Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm in the Kushan period. Prospecting and excavations in the above territories show beyond doubt that the last centuries B.C., and particularly the first centuries A.D. were a period of significant advances in agriculture and irrigation. Many of the now desert lands in the south of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, in the Kashka Darya valley, in the western section of the Bukhara oasis and in the Pridargom steppe south of Samarkand, in Kushan Khorezm, were thriving oases. Thus, in the above-mentioned Bishkent valley in the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. a large canal was dug which gave life to an oasis with three new settlements. Moreover, an attempt was made to irrigate the northern part of the valley with an immense 3-kilometre long underground canal-kyariz. The project was not completed, though. As shown by prospecting in the mountains of the upper reaches of the Zeravshan River, it was exactly during the Kushan period that agricultural population settled in the heart of the mountainous regions of Central Tajikistan. They were aligned in the Zeravshan valleys reaching the present-day extreme frontier of horticulture—the villages of Madrushkat and Matcha. Therefore, one will be justified in asserting that in Kushan times the agricultural population spread not only over the plains, but also in the mountain areas. The expansion of agriculture at that time was accompanied by an appreciable advance in agricultural techniques.

It was in the Kushan stratum on the Tali-Barzu site close to Samarkand that for the first time an iron plowshare of the omach plow was found, which was a major agricultural implement that persisted in Central Asia until the 20th century.

The Khorezmiān excavations furnish evidence that the canal system was also largely improved in Kushan times, when the canals became narrower and deeper than before and were laid through the middle of the field and not along the edges,

the diversion cuts branching from the main at acute angles. This system was far more progressive than the preceding system whereby irrigation ditches and branches from the main flow almost at right angles and only to one side.

The works of Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia have proved that during the Kushan period the standards of town life in Khorezm, Soghd and Northern Bactria were quite high. The numerous towns which sprang up at that time had thick walls with rectangular towers and a regular rectangular layout. They were built, as a rule, according to a single elaborate plan. Many towns and settlements of the pre-Kushan time, such as Old Termez, were thriving in the Kushan period. It was also at that time that the Kampyr-duval, a long wall fencing in the Bukhara oasis, was erected. Crafts and trade were prominent in the life of towns and other settlements of Kushan Central Asia, which can be inferred from the findings of hardware and earthenware shops, and from the high quality of pottery, metal articles and jewelry. This is further proved by the great number of coins found not only on town sites, but on individual farm sites, such as Ayaz-kala in Khorezm.

The findings made by the archaeological expeditions in Central Asia give an insight into the arts of Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm of the Kushan period. In Northern Bactria, besides the famous stone reliefs of Airtam, which are close to the Gandhara artistic tradition, and stone reliefs and decorative column capitals characteristic of the local-Bactrian school of Kushan sculpture, there have been found early Kushan murals and monumental clay sculpture in the small palace in Khalchayan. The latter sculpture points to the existence in Bactria of local Hellenistic art even prior to the emergence of the Kushan Kingdom, a conclusion which is in good agreement with the discovery by French archaeologists at Oi-Khanum, so far the first authentic Graeco-Bactrian town, in Northern Afghanistan. All the above finds, including the latest ones from Dalverzin-Tepe, as well as numerous variegated terracottas, give one grounds to assert that artistic creation reached great heights in Kushan Bactria and that an

interesting and brilliant variety of fine art had evolved here. This art was of mixed origin, a blend of local—Iranian (Bactrian) and Hellenistic—as well as modifications of foreign—Indian and Graeco-Roman—artistic traditions. Also well advanced are studies of the architecture of Kushan Northern Bactria with its crude structures, sometimes lined with stone, with a more or less organic mixture of Oriental and Antique traditional elements (for instance, the Oriental stepped merlons and antique antefixes crowning the Khalchayan buildings or stone bases and capitals of columns with wooden trunks found in many places of Northern Bactria).

Clearly traceable are the characteristic features of temple architecture of Kushan Bactria, such as the use on a wide scale in various religious structures (Buddhist—on Kara-Tepe in Old Termez, and non-Buddhist—in Surkh-Kotal in Afghanistan) of one and the same layout—a closed sanctuary with three or four processional corridors. This principle, later detected in the medieval temples of Central Asia, Eastern Turkistan and parts of Northern India, descended from the ancient Iranian and Near Eastern cult structures and is entirely alien to the pre-Kushan and early Kushan architecture of Buddhist India.

The results of archaeological studies of Kushan-time Khorezmian monuments lead one to assume that there were close ties between the Khorezmian and Northern Bactrian arts. Like Bactrian, Khorezmian palaces were adorned with murals and clay sculpture. The latter, as evidenced by the finds in Gyaur-Kala and particularly in Toprak-Kala, bears traits of a strong influence of Graeco-Roman sculpture, especially manifest in the depiction of the body-forms and interpretation of draped garments. The same influence is visible in the sculpture of Northern Bactria and of the whole Kushan Kingdom in general. Khorezmian architecture of the Kushan period, which is also crude in character, uses stone less often than Bactrian, but here we encounter also stone bases of wooden columns and apparently Corinthian-type capitals (that they did exist is proved, among other things, by a terracotta

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replica of such a capital found in the vicinity of Koy-Krylgan-Kala). The definite affinity between the arts of Khorezm and Northern Bactria of the Kushan period is further manifested by a number of shapes and types of artistic ceramic ware, such as goblets on stems, vessels burnished in a striped or grid pattern against red engobe, etc. All the similarity notwithstanding, the architecture and terracottas reveal quite a few essential divergencies in the art of these two regions of Kushan Central Asia, the reason for which should be sought in the impact of local pre-Kushan cultural and artistic traditions as well as in the extensive relations Khorezm maintained with the tribes that inhabited the Kazakh steppes, the Volga region and the south of Russian.

The art of Kushan-time Soghd, of which much less is known has a few things in common with Khorezm and Northern Bactria (crude architecture with the use of stone profiled bases and wooden columns, red-engobe pottery, including articles burnished in a striped or grid fashion, goblets on stems, etc). Similarly to Bactria, finds were made here of pottery with small embossed design, but also of Khorezmian-type earthen dishes decorated with intertwined bands. Yet the pottery of Kushan-time Soghd has many features specific to this area, only in much the same way as the basic iconographic types of its multiple small plastics—terracotta sculpture.

On the whole, all the material gives us reason to consider the Kushan period as a time of economic, cultural and artistic upsurge both for Bactria and Khorezm and, in all probability, Soghd too.

The archaeological excavations in Central Asia have shed light on other facets of the culture of Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm of the Kushan period, such as religion, language and writing. Since religious texts of that time have not yet been discovered, our ideas of religion in Kushan times are based on the burial monuments and cult-oriented pieces of art in Khorezm and Soghd. As for Bactria, additional insights are provided by temples and the objects and inscriptions found

in them. In regard to the spoken and written language of Kushan Central Asia, apart from coins, we now have at our disposal written documents.

It should be particularly stressed that prior to the large-scale archaeological explorations conducted by Soviet researchers in Central Asia, nothing had been known in the way of inscriptions, or structures, or burials of Kushan times; the coins had been practically unstudied, and of the art monuments only a few terracottas had been noticed, and their dating and interpretation had been obscure. As for the monuments of a specific burial rite—ossuaries, discovered as early as the end of the past century, which have given rise to heated debates, they are related, as shown by current studies to the post-Kushan period—the early Medieval times 5th-8th centuries.

In Bactria several pieces of evidence have been found, the most vivid among which are the Buddhist temples in Kara-Tepe and the sanctuary of Dalverzin-Tepe, testifying to the spread of Buddhism here in the Kushan epoch.

The terracottas reveal, though, that parallel to Buddhism there existed firmly entrenched old Iranian Mazdeist cults, in particular worship of the female deity of the waters and fertility. An analysis of funeral rites of Tup-hona in Hissar (not far from Dushanbe) and the sculpture of Khalchayan reveal that during the early Kushan period the inhabitants of Northern Bactria held religious beliefs much influenced by the Hellenistic cults and beliefs. Thus, in a number of the Tup-hona burials the deceased held in the mouth small coins—obols (compare the Greek notion of a fee to be paid to Charon for transporting the soul of the dead to the underground kingdom), while, among the personages of Khalchayan, G. A. Pugachenkova has noted Athena, Eros and other deities obviously borrowed from Greek mythology.

Kushan-time terracottas and the recently discovered burials

of the local Soghdian population bear no trace whatever of any Buddhist or Greek religious influence. Judging by the inventory of the burial, they testify to the worship of Mazdeist deities, above all the female deity of the waters and fertility. The iconography of the latter, however, is original and sharply distinct from the iconography of Bactrian and Khorezmian goddesses. Yet written sources report the existence of Soghdian Buddhist monks in the 2nd-4th centuries. Moreover, the remains of a Buddhist temple have been found in the Sanazar River valley (north-east of Samarkand). Provided it is proved that the temple is related to Kushan times, these facts give grounds to expect further discoveries of material traces of the penetration of Buddhism into the area.

The religious beliefs in Kushan-time Khorezm are shown by the terracottas which are by and large of the Mazdeist type. Prevalent among the known Khorezmian terracottas of the Kushan period are the images of the local goddess of water and fertility and of a male deity, supposedly the deity of the dying and reviving nature. However, one should not neglect the find of several Buddhist terracottas—Bodhisattvas and replicas of the Buddhist stūpa, which evidence that under the Kushans Buddhism made inroads into Khorezm. On the other hand, the clay statues from the Toprak-Kala palace dated to the 3rd—early-4th centuries corroborate Biruni's testimony as to the existence in Kushan Khorezm of mysteries (the "dancing maskers" hall). They also point to the survival of some other elements of Antique beliefs (the statue of the goddess of Victory—Nike, crowning the Khorezmian kings) and, as likely as not, to the worship of deified kings (the hall containing statues of Khorezmian kings). It should be stressed that the ossuarial burials which in the 5th-8th centuries widely spread in Northern Bactria and in Soghd as well as in other territories of Central Asia, and which testify to a certain degree of unification of Mazdeist beliefs in different regions of Central Asia, are not found in the Kushan sites either in Bactria or Soghd, whereas in Khorezm such burials have been discovered. In all likelihood, it is here, in Khorezm,



that such a mode of burial originated and developed in the pre-Kushan and early Kushan time.<sup>39</sup>

Similar to religious beliefs, in the Kushan period Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm each had its own local spoken and written language. Thus, in Northern Bactria along with the Indian languages and alphabets, most likely brought by the Buddhist missionaries and used, we believe, in the Buddhist monasteries and temples (Kara-Tepe in particular abounds in Indian Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī inscriptions), there emerged in the Kushan time an original script based on a slightly modified Greek alphabet adopted to convey the local Iranian language. Monuments of the "Kushan script" in Northern Bactria are so far best represented also in Kara-Tepe. There it was used, among other things, for donatory inscriptions on pottery along with Indian deeds of similar contents (there are bilingual deeds made in Indian and Bactrian). In the south of Bactria the best monuments of this script are, as is known, the inscriptions of Surkh-Kotal. The same script is encountered on Kushan coins as well.

The language and script of Kushan Khorezm are now known from separate small inscriptions on pottery, from Khorezmian coins of the 3rd century A.D. and later centuries, and finally, from the large administrative archive of Toprak-Kala. In all the inscriptions and documents mentioned, the language is local Iranian Khorezmian, while the script, as distinct from the Bactrian, is not Greek but Aramaic in origin. This script is traceable down to the Aramaic documents of the Achaemenian offices. Its most ancient monuments are represented by the inscriptions on sherds in Koy-Krylgan-Kala.

So far, with the exception of coins, nothing has been found in the way of Soghdian inscriptions of the Kushan time on the territory of Soghd proper. However, a fairly substantial archive from Eastern Turkistan goes back as early as the 4th century A.D. This archive contains the famous "Soghdian

39. Transactions of the XXV International Congress of Orientalists (R), vol. ii, Moscow, 1963, pp. 127-134.

ancient letters" from Tung-huang, one of which is addressed to the capital of Soghd—Samarkand. The language of these documents, as well as of the coin legends, is local Iranian-Soghdian, whereas the script, like the Khorezmian, is Aramaic, whose most ancient specimens, judging by the coins, go back to the Graeco-Bactrian kings of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. Despite sizeable gaps, the history of the Soghdian language and script is now outlined fairly clearly. This is particularly important, since the Soghdian language and script becomes in the 7th-8th centuries the language and script of international communication across the vast expanse of Interior and Central Asia. Moreover, Soghdian inscriptions have been found, apart from Soghd, in Merv and Ladak, in Eastern Turkistan and Inner Mongolia.

When discussing the finds in Kushan Central Asia, one cannot but dwell on its international cultural relations. It is well-known that the Kushan kingdom maintained broad international relations, first and foremost, with the Graeco-Roman world. But practically all the scholars who dealt with these relations discussed only the Southern Kushan regions (which is now North India, West Pakistan and Southern Afghanistan), whereas the part played by Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm in the international relations of the Kushan period remained entirely obscure. Soviet scholars have shed light on this facet of the "Kushan problem" too, and now it is an indisputable truth that the Central Asian territories of the Kushan kingdom were active in the international relations of that epoch.

The ties of Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm with India which go back to the time of the Achaemenian empire and Alexander the Great during the Kushan period fall into two stages. The first embraces the period from the second half of the 2nd century B.C. until roughly the threshold of the 1st century A.D. characterised by the invasion south of the Hindu-Kush of large masses of nomads from the Central Asian steppes.

The Central Asian nomads brought to India some battle tactics and weapons which had originated in Eurasian steppes,

including those of the North Central-Asian tribes, as well as some garments, household articles and ornaments, all of which was to some extent adopted by the Indians. At the same time there are no traces of Indian influence on the culture of the Central Asian regions of that epoch. Such one-sided orientation of cultural influences is accounted for by the fact that the nomad conquerors of North India, Central Asian by origin and culture, had left their motherland not at all of their own accord (thus, for example, the Śakas headed south fleeing from the Yüech-chih and consequently severed all ties with Central Asia).

The second, and most important stage, embraces the Kushan period proper, i.e., the time of the existence of the Kushan Empire (1st-4th centuries A.D.). During that period, as distinct from the preceding one, there was apparently no mass migration of Central Asian tribes to India. The material evidence pointing to Kushan traces south of the Hindu-Kush boils down in the main to finds relating to the court of the Kushan kings. These are coins, sculptures (in particular, statues from the famous royal sanctuary in Mathura) reflecting Central Asian tastes in the clothes, weapons and attitudes of the figures; inscriptions of Kushan kings and local governors mentioning august names and titles (characteristically, all these inscriptions are made in Indian alphabets). On the other hand, this stage was marked by an appreciable Indian influence both on the Kushan nobility, who simply imitated the culture of the conquered Indian regions, and on the Kushan regions of Central Asia, first and foremost Bactria, where a far more complicated process was in progress: interaction of different cultural traditions, with the local population creatively mastering the culture of foreign peoples. In other words, the history of the Kushan Kingdom was marked by lively cultural exchanges between Central Asia and India, the cultural influences being of a reciprocal nature. The carriers of cultural influences in India were primarily the Kushan authorities, functionaries and soldiers, whereas in Central Asia they were Buddhist missionaries and monks.

The above-mentioned Kara-Tepe in Old Termez is a vivid instance of the Central Asia-Indian ties of the Kushan period. Here, on the right bank of the Amu Darya, in the vicinity of Kushan Termez, an enormous Buddhist centre was excavated, comprising scores of temple complexes, which consisted of large cave sanctuaries, surface courts and temple structures, cave and overground cells of the monks who serviced these Buddhist shrines.

The architecture, the articles of cult and the inscriptions found in Kara-Tepe are all documentary evidences of the fact that on the one hand, Indian Buddhism exerted a powerful impact upon the local culture, and on the other, that the Bactrian adepts of this religion had a creative approach to it. Thus, along with Indian inscriptions there are Buddhist inscriptions in the Bactrian language. Moreover, the layout of the Buddhist temples does not follow Indian canons, but rather the common principle whereby enclosed sanctuaries were built with three or four processional corridors.

The close contacts between Northern Bactria and India found reflection in Bactria's sculpture and in some elements of its secular culture.

Much less known so far are the ties between India and Kushan-time Soghd and Khorezm. Nevertheless, here too there are traces of Buddhist influences and some objects testifying to the existence of such relations, for instance, terracotta elephants and monkeys.

It has been found that along with the close cultural contacts with India, the regions of Kushan Central Asia maintained lively relations with Iran and the Far East as well as with the seemingly distant Graeco-Roman world. "The great silk route" led to Roman Syria *via* the Central Asian domains of the Kushan Empire. It was likewise here, apparently in Khorezm, that the little known routes to the ancient cities on the Northern Black Sea Coast started. Through these routes, as well as *via* the sea route which connected Egypt conquered by Augustus with the ports of Western India, Mediterranean beads, pendants and other ornaments, as well as Roman coins,

clay lamps and vessels, etc., made their way to Central Asia. It is interesting to note that earthenware imitations of Roman pottery were produced in Central Asia in Kushan times (such imitations are encountered in Bactria—on Kara-Tepe, in Khorezm and on the territory of Soghd).

The latest discoveries made by Soviet researchers are conducive to a novel approach to such an important problem as the origin and nature of the so-called Gandharan art (it would be more correct to refer to it as Kushan art). This problem is prominent by virtue of the disputes raging around it and by the controversy it has aroused. Let us cite just a few of the opinions.

The prominent British scholar M. Wheeler maintains that the corner-stone of the Gandharan art was Roman influence manifested in Roman sculpture which made its way to the Kushan Empire. J. Marshall attaches special importance to Parthian influence. Some scholars are known to regard Gandharan art as eclectic, and as distinct from Antique plastic art on the one hand and the Mathura school of Indian sculpture on the other.

In the light of the new data from Central Asia and Afghanistan it is obvious that all the above theories fail to reflect such a complex and multi-facet phenomenon as the art of the Kushan Empire. We have grounds to believe now that it absorbed the varied artistic traditions of ancient Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and India, organically combining them with the best achievements of antique (Graeco-Roman) art.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, there is every reason to assert that under the Kushans there existed different territorial schools, which, though interconnected, were in full measure official artistic trends. One of such schools, which has been proved to be

40. See G. A. Pugachenkova's works, *The Problem of Art of Northern Parthia and Northern Bactria* (R), *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1964, N 6, and "Khalchayan", which deal with the Parthian and Northern Bactrian contributions to the evolution of Kushan art and in particular a Gandhara art.

highly original and important for Oriental art, was the Bactrian school, whose brilliant monuments were discovered by Soviet archaeologists in the south of Uzbekistan (Khalchayan, Dalverzin-Tepe, etc.) and by French archaeologists in Northern Afghanistan. All this leads one to regard Gandharan art proper as but an artistic trend and a territorial school of north-west India.

D. Schlumberger's work in Surkh-Kotal and Soviet research in Northern Bactria have made it clear that the formerly popular viewpoint, whereby "Gandharan art" was considered purely Buddhist, is to be revised. The latest discoveries prove that in the Kushan period, parallel to Buddhist relics of north-west India, there doubtless existed clearly non-Buddhist monuments—Graeco-Iranian, or secular, as D. Schlumberger puts it. This conclusion, based on factual evidence, opens up a new aspect in the art of the Kushan Kingdom, and it prompts us to be more aware of the contributions of local cults and beliefs and local traditions in the culture of the peoples of Central Asia.

Kushan art influences survived long after the decay of the Kushan Empire, and so studies in the complexes reflecting them might prove instrumental in disentangling the enigma of Kushan art as a whole.

The finds in the palace of the Khorezmi kings of the 3rd—early-4th centuries in Toprak-Kala bear witness to the tremendous impact of Kushan Art on this remote area of Central Asia at the time of the downfall of the Kushan Empire. Mention should also be made of the murals of the Balalyk-Tepe castle (Uzbek SSR) related to the 5th-6th centuries,<sup>41</sup> where along with the Buddhist motive analogous to the murals of Bamiyan (in Afghanistan), there is a very prominent secular trend. This also refers to the 7th-8th century murals in Varakhsha,<sup>42</sup> Pianjikent<sup>43</sup> and

41. See L. I. Albaum, *Balalyk-tepe*, Tashkent, 1960.

42. See V. A. Shishkin, *Varakhsha*, Moscow, 1963.

43. See *The Painting of Ancient Pianjikent (R)*, Moscow, 1954; *The*

Afrasiab,<sup>44</sup> which show Indian influences but have very pronounced local traits. In this connection, special interest is merited by the excavations of the Buddhist monastery dated to the 7th-8th centuries in Adshina-Tepe, where, among other things, remarkable sculptures were found which bear traces of the local Bactrian school of Central Asian art of the preceding period.<sup>45</sup>

Thus Kushan art in Central Asia evolved as an organic blend of the ancient traditions, both local and foreign, possibly going back as far as the Achaemenian period and Alexander the Great; it transcended the boundaries of the Kushan Empire and for many centuries exerted a powerful impact on the art of the Central Asian peoples.

These are just some of the results of the studies conducted by Soviet scholars in the archaeological monuments of Kushan Central Asia. Entirely unknown only 30 or 40 years ago, it has come to light as a highly developed country with a rich culture, remarkable art and broad international connections with the West and the East, with the North and the South, with all the advanced countries and areas of the time.

Sculpture and Painting of Ancient Pianjikent (R), Moscow, 1959; A. M. Belenitsky, B. Y. Stavisky, New Data on Ancient Pianjikent (R),—in *Archaeologists Speak* (R), Stalinabad, 1959, pp. 38-66; A. M. Belenitsky, Ancient Pianjikent (Main Results of Excavations in 1954-1957) (R), *SA*, 1959, No. 1, pp. 195-217; A. M. Belenitsky, Results of Excavations on the Site of Ancient Pianjikent in 1960 (R), *Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR*, vol. xxxiv, 1962, pp. 90-117; Nouvelles découvertes de sculptures et de peinture murales à Pianjikent, *Arts Asiatique*, t. v, fasc. 3, 1958, pp. 163-182.

44. See V. A. Shishkin, New Relics of Soghdian Art (R), *Art* (R), 1966, N 1, pp. 62-66.
45. The results of the excavations will be published soon. See preliminary report by B. A. Litvinsky, Tajikistan and India: Ancient Links and Contacts (R), *India in Ancient Times* (R), Moscow, 1964, p. 159; also B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*, Moscow, 1968.

The study of Kushan monuments in Central Asia is going on, and we hope that they will result in new important finds that will allow us to get still closer to solving to the “Kushan problem”.



# INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

## *Historico-Cultural Contacts in Ancient Times*

Historico-cultural contacts between Central Asia and India can be traced back to the distant past, when these two major regions of the East were seats of original cultures and centres of two of the world's earliest civilisations. During certain phases of their history, when some areas of Central Asia and India became part of the same state formations, cultural and economic ties between them were particularly strong. Many aspects of these ties have come into prominence in recent years following archaeological excavations in Central Asia and India. Large-scale investigations of archaeological sites conducted by Soviet scholars in Central Asia have brought to light many previously unknown cultures, ancient cities and settlements. New trends of cultural exchange have been traced.

These researches have also made it possible to solve certain general problems of historico-cultural contacts between India and Central Asia and some specific problems.

Archaeological data reveal a certain typological affinity between the cultures of South Tajikistan and the Soan culture of North-West India as early as the Palaeolithic age.<sup>1</sup> In the Neolithic age many territories of Central Asia and North India were included in the vast area where similar agricultural cultures prevailed. Similar processes of social development occurred in the area, giving rise to urban civilisations and states.

New researches by Soviet archaeologists in South Turkmenia have brought to light the existence of ties between the towns

1. See V. Ranov, *The Stone Age in Tajikistan* (R), Dushanbe, 1965. Contributions in Russian are given in the notes in English translation, with "(R)" as in the present note.

of the Indus Valley and the settlements of South Turkmenia in the period of the mature Harappa.<sup>2</sup> Some of the finds from South Turkmenia have counterparts in the Harappa culture, e.g. metal and ivory articles, segmented faience beads, pottery. Apart from objects imported from India (ivory articles, beads) there are those bearing unmistakable traces of Indian influence—above all, a silver seal in the shape of a three-headed monster (analogous representations occur on Harappa seals).<sup>3</sup> There are also the South Turkmenian terracottas which resemble those manufactured by the Indus people. We do not yet know how these contacts materialised and whether they were direct or indirect,<sup>4</sup> but the existence of links between Central Asia and India at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. is beyond doubt. Scholars are still confronted with the task of establishing the specific features and the trend of the cultural influence exerted by Central Asia on the Indus civilisation. In all probability, this was a reciprocal process.

Contacts between Central Asia and India apparently existed also in the period immediately after the flourishing of the Indus towns. Some of the Soviet archaeologists are inclined to see traces of affinity between the post-Harappan Jhangar culture, discovered in Chanhu-Darø above the Jhukar level and in several Sind sites, and the cultures of Central Asia of the period of so-called barbarous occupation.<sup>5</sup>

2. V. M. Masson, *The Proto-Urban Culture of the South of Central Asia* (R), *Soviet Archaeology* (R), Moscow, 1967, N 3, pp. 174-176; A. Y. Shchetenko, *South Turkmenian Parallels of the Harappa Culture* (R), *Problems of Central Asian Archaeology* (R), Leningrad, 1968, pp. 35-36.
3. See E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, London, 1948.
4. In recent years we have learned about the maritime contacts between Harappa and the West and about the existence of the Harappan trading outposts in Makran. See S. R. Rao, *Shipping and Maritime Trade of the Indus People*, *Expedition*, (1965), N 3, pp. 30-37, G. F. Dales, *Harappa Outposts on the Makran Coast*, *Antiquity*, vol. xxxv, N 142, pp. 86-92.
5. S. P. Tolstov, M. A. Itina, *The Problem of the Suyargan Culture* (R),

The problem of the "Aryan invasion" of India, i.e., of the coming and spread of Indo-Aryan tribes in North India, is still a much discussed issue. Opinions vary as to the ancient homeland of the Indo-Iranians and the routes along which the Indo-Aryans came to India. According to some, Central Asia was the starting-point of the Indo-Aryan migration while others think that the Indo-Aryans reached India from the West, for they believe them to have passed through the Caucasus. Irrespective of how this moot question is decided, it is possible to speak of the existence of certain ties between Central Asia and North India in the post-Harappan epoch.

The era of the Achaemenian state and of Alexander the Great should be regarded as a special phase in the history of relations between Central Asia and India. Some regions of Central Asia (Bactria, Soghd, Parthia, Khorezm) and territories of North West India (the Gandhāra region and the Indus territories) became parts of the same empire. We know from Greek sources that there were Indian soldiers in the Achaemenian army, in which men from Central Asia were also drawn. Reciprocal relations were greatly stimulated at the time of the campaigns of Alexander the Great, when Central Asian regions and large areas of North West India became a part of his empire.

In the 2nd century B.C. when the Saka (in Indian sources, Śaka) tribes migrated from Bactria to North India *via* the Pamirs, they carried with them elements and traditions of Central Asian culture. There are, for example, the distinctive iron swords discovered at Taxila, which apparently can be traced to Central Asian tribes, and specific disc-shaped bronze mirrors, which were spread in Central Asia.<sup>6</sup>

But, of course, ancient relations between Central Asia

*Soviet Ethnography* (R), Moscow, 1960. N 1; S. P. Tolstov, *The Ancient Deltas of the Oxus and the Yaxartes*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 67-68,  
6. B. Y. Stavisky, *Central Asia, India, Rome: International Contacts in the Kushan Period* (R), *Ancient India* (R), Moscow, 1964, p. 169.

and India reached their zenith in the Kushan period, with the rise of the Kushan Empire incorporating many territories of Central Asia and a considerable part of North India.

Judging by the inscriptions of that period, men from Central Asia went to live in India. They embraced Buddhism and even held official posts. A Kushan inscription from Taxila mentions the building of a Buddhist caitya by a Bactrian. Inscriptions from Sarnath mention Vanaspara and Kharapallana—two Kṣatrapas who were Buddhist donors. The name occurs on a Kushan gem with an inscription in Bactrian letters (published by A. Cunningham). This suggests a comparison with the name Kharapallana, mentioned in the Sarnath inscription<sup>7</sup> and indicates its Bactrian origin. The same apparently holds true for the other name, Vanaspara—Bactrian *Wanaspar*, from *Wanaspāra*, “appealing for victory”.

The Kushan sculptures from Mathura show the influence of Central Asian traditions as concerns weapons, clothing, etc. A case in point is the distinctive Indo-Scythian helmet worn by the statues of kings from Mathura<sup>8</sup>—a headdress unusual for India but typical of Central Asia.<sup>9</sup>

The Kushan pantheon, amply represented on Kushan coins, attests to the spread of Zoroastrianism (current at that time in Central Asia) and its coexistence with the Indian religions of Buddhism and Śaivism.

In the early period of the Kushan state, the main direction of cultural exchange was from Central Asia to India. Indian influence was little felt at the time; it was later, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, that the impact of India's cultural traditions became quite substantial. This is clearly seen when studying the art of Kushan Bactria.

Even quite recently the monuments of the Bactrian art of the Kushan period were regarded as a mere imitation of or

7. V. A. Livshitz, *Cusano-Indica* (R), *The Hellenistic East, Byzantium and Iran* (R), Moscow, 1967, pp. 169-170.

8. J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967, pl. 14-16.

9. B. Y. Stavisky *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

a deviation from the Indian school of Gandhara which was considered the only and comprehensive artistic trend of the Kushan art and often was treated as purely Buddhist in its nature. The brilliant students of Oriental Art A. Foucher and his followers attributed to the Gandhara art a Graeco-Buddhist content which emerged as a result of the Greek art coming into contact with Buddhism. Another group of scholars headed by Mortimer Wheeler, patriarch of British archaeology, believed Gandhara art to be an Indian embodiment of Roman traditions. Central Asian monuments were frequently treated also as an artificial hybrid of Indian and Graeco-Roman traditions complicated by the intrusion of a barbaric element.

The discoveries by French scholars (the expedition in Afghanistan headed by Daniel Schlumberger, in the first place) and Soviet scholars—G. A. Pugachenkova in Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe (Southern Uzbekistan) made it imperative to revise these old ideas of the origin and nature of Kushan art, including the Gandhara and Bactrian schools. It became clear that the term "Gandhara art" was too relative and narrow : the original territory of the initial finds of Gandhara specimens has been greatly expanded as a result of archaeological excavations in various areas of the Punjab, Afghanistan and Central Asia. After the excavations at Surkh-Kotal the outstanding French archaeologist Daniel Schlumberger made a new evaluation of Gandhara monuments attributing the utmost importance to the Graeco-Iranian and Graeco-Bactrian elements taking a firm footing in Bactria and proving to be a steady custodian of the Greek tradition connected with the Macedonians and even their predecessors in the heart of Asia. Prof. Schlumberger strove to substantiate this very important conclusion regarding the great contribution of the local Bactrian stratum to the Kushan art, but prior to the discovery of Bactrian monuments in the Soviet Central Asia there had been a lack of material to prove this theory. Therefore Prof. Schlumberger could not but say : "I feel like an astronomer who, having discovered certain puzzling

features in the orbit of a planet, decides that they can be explained only by the existence of some other planet. This other planet—the ‘Graeco-Bactrian art’ is as yet hiding somewhere on the Bactrian horizon”.

Now this planet has been found and shines very brightly, and we feel like lucky astronomers. We have now at our disposal sufficient data to speak about the existence of an original and distinctly independent Bactrian school of Kushan Art, which had emerged independently and before the shaping of the Gandhara school of India. Moreover, the Bactrian school (having a strong secular trend) had greatly influenced the formation of the Gandhara school and Kushan art as a whole. At a later stage, along with the spread of Buddhism, there can be traced the influence of the Indo-Buddhist traditions on the art of Kushan Bactria and Central Asia as a whole, though the indigenous Bactrian element continued to exist and to feed in a powerful way the foreign cultural elements and traditions.

The clearest idea of the original Bactrian school and the Bactrian contribution to the formation of the Gandhara school and Kushan art as a whole is derived from the finds yielded by the excavations of the Khalchayan castle.<sup>10</sup> Khalchayan was an ancient town on the bank of the Surkhan-Darya river in Uzbekistan. But the significance of the investigations at Khalchayan is much broader. Belonging to the Saka-Yüeh-Chih period (i.e. the initial period of the emergence of the Kushan kingdom in Northern Bactria), when Greek traditions had already been adopted and creatively modified on the basis of the indigenous traditions, Khalchayan vividly demonstrated an independent line of development of indigenous schools of architecture and sculpture. Reflecting the creative adoption of Hellenistic traditions, the Khalchayan complex represents, however, not a hybrid, but a profoundly original phenomenon of the Bactrian artistic culture.

10. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan, k probleme khudozestvenoy kulturi severnoy Baktrii*, Tashkent, 1966.

The excavations of the palace revealed a reception hall (17.5 x 6 m) with wall paintings and sculpture. Local architects paid great attention to the interior decorations, and used colour on a broad scale. Sculptures were placed in accordance with a general plan and a strict rhythm. Wall sculptures are placed in the upper part of the walls. The lower part was plastered; above this was a two-meter high zoophorus, and over it—a half-a-meter high frieze. The frieze had the images of children carrying garlands, girls playing musical instruments, Satyrs, buffoons. These themes have no direct parallels in the Graeco-Roman art, but form a part of the so called Dionysian cycle which was current in Central Asia. The Khalchayan palace is an interesting example of the modification of the Bacchanal theme on the North Bactrian soil. The spread of the Dionysus cult in Central Asia is illustrated also by an interesting vessel from Termez, on which there is also a Bacchanal scene. We see there a Maenada, companion of Bacchus, and Dionysus himself in a robe thrown over his hips and a shoulder. Dionysus leans upon a girl playing a lyre, with a panther lying at her feet. There is a Satyr dancing with abandon. Apparently, the scene on the Termez vessel was made with the help of moulds brought to Bactria from the Hellenistic areas in the first centuries A.D., but Dionysus worship in Central Asia had its own peculiarities. The image of Dionysus is, for instance, quite interesting, being different from its Hellenic or Roman prototypes. This indigenous Dionysus, far from being young, greatly differs from the classic-type created by Praxiteles. Of the sculptures forming part of the frieze mention should be made of the painted man's head made of clay. The head is covered by a wig or hat with bold locks. The man's left hand pulls at a small pointed beard, a half-smile lingers on his lips. In contrast with his neighbours on the frieze, bearing a concentrated and sad expression on their faces, "this Bactrian

Mephistopheles", is laughing. Perhaps, it is the head of a "Maskarabòs" (buffoon) whose image was very popular in Central Asia. Below the figures of the frieze come the sculptures of the zoophorus. There is a whole portrait gallery there, apparently of the family of the first Kushan kings. It may even be supposed that these are portraits of the members of the Heraios family whom we know from the numismatic data. Unlike his Bactrian predecessors, Heraios did not follow the Greek fashion in dress and hair-do, preferring the local, Asian attire and hair-dress. Similar were the members of "Heraios' kin". The type of the faces, clothes, peculiar hair-do are clearly of indigenous origin. Here is, for instance, the head of a man (warrior or king) with a red pointed beard and a peculiar hair-dress (resembling to a certain extent a French dandy of the time of the Musketeers). His hair is held by a diadem. Quite different from him is the warrior in a roundish helmet with a peak. His broad-checked face is very expressive and speaks of the impulsive nature of the warrior. There is another warrior in a similar helmet with his neck protected by a high collar. Then comes a Kushan royal prince with a strong and commanding face, a diadem on his head, and a fixed look.

Secular rather than religious themes are prevalent in the Khalchayan sculptures. Their main idea is the glorification of the ruling dynasty.

The archaeologists' interest was aroused by a female figure with a white helmet on her head. A scarlet cloak hangs from her shoulders down her back, revealing a crimson gown under it with a white girdle holding it under the breasts. Her right arm is half-bent, the left arm is held aside and an imprint of a spear is seen between the bent fingers.

A suggestion was made that it was Athena whose cult, as is known, had penetrated into Central Asia as far back as the time of Alexander the Great and who had also been worshipped in the Graeco-Bactrian period. Though there is an apparent link with the initial image of Pallas Athene, the local treatment of the goddess is quite peculiar. What matters is not



only the Bactrian helmet on Athene's head and her Asian attire, but the treatment of the image as a whole.

The Khalchayan motif indeed reflects the influence of Hellenistic sculpture, but it is not the powerful impact which we find in the art of Graeco-Bactria. In Khalchayan there are only distant reminiscences manifested in the use of the images of Greek mythology.

The Khalchayan motif occupies a special place in the art of Central Asia and the East. It had already transcended the hypnosis of the Hellenistic tradition, while the influence of the Indo-Buddhist tradition had not yet been felt. Its basis was formed by the indigenous artistic traditions of Bactria.

We can now speak of the existence of a distinctive, original Bactrian school of Kushan art,<sup>11</sup> which arose independently of India's Gandhara school and before the latter took final shape. Moreover, the Bactrian school, with a marked secular stream in it, exerted a telling influence on the formation of the Gandhara school and of Kushan art as a whole. Later, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, the influence of Indo-Buddhist traditions could be traced both in the art of Kushan Bactria and the whole of Central Asia. These processes are illustrated not only by the monuments of Khalchayan, but also of Dalverzin-tepe, the Buddhist monuments of Termez (Kara-tepe) and the reliefs of Airtam.

The most striking of the figures of the Airtam frieze is that of the harp player. S. F. Oldenburg has suggested that the musicians depicted on the frieze represent the *pañcamahāśabda*, or Five Great Sounds of Indian mythology. G. A. Pugachenkova thinks that the frieze is a reflection of the Parinirvāṇa Jātaka.<sup>12</sup> The Airtam frieze does personify the influence of India's cultural traditions (specifically those of Mathura and Gandhara), but it is undoubtedly based on local traditions, on features of the Bactrian school.

11. G. A. Pugachenkova, On the Problem of Kushan Art (R), *Problemy arkheologii Srednei Azii*, Leningrad, 1968, p. 43.

12. B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 18-19.

A comparison of sculptures from Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe yields interesting results. The figures from Khalchayan are highly realistic portrait sculptures, untouched as yet by the influence of Buddhist traditions. The statues from Dalverzin-tepe, where a Buddhist shrine was discovered, date from a later period and these illustrate the evolution of Bactria's local artistic traditions inseparably linked with Hellenistic and Indian traditions. Particular interest is merited not by the Buddhist personages from Dalverzin-tepe but by the statues representing secular characters. The Buddha and the Bodhisattvas are fashioned in accordance with the canon as interpreted by the Gandhara school,<sup>13</sup> while the secular personages are treated in keeping with the traditions of local art. Similarly to Khalchayan, these are portrait sculptures—but the treatment is more generalised. According to G. A. Pugachenkova, Dalverzin-tepe indicates the beginning of the idealisation of characters.<sup>14</sup> The date of Dalverzin-tepe coincides with the period when Buddhism penetrated to Kushan Bactria.<sup>15</sup>

G. A. Pugachenkova draws the correct conclusion that in the first centuries before our era India did not play any substantial part in the formation of Bactrian architecture and sculpture. At that time it was Bactria and Eastern Parthia that produced the basic influence which, blending with the purely Indian artistic tradition, affected the formation of the so-called Gandhara school of sculpture in India. But in the first centuries of our era, under the Great Kushans, a reverse process took place, when the Gandhara school with

13. G. A. Pugachenkova, *The study of the Monuments of Northern Bactria (R)*, Social Sciences in Uzbekistan (R), Tashkent, 1968 N 8, p. 34.
14. G. A. Pugachenkova, *iskusstva*, p. 44.
15. In her analysis of the Dalverzin-tepe finds G. A. Pugachenkova has noted that the site enables us to date the beginning of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia not from the time of Kanishka, as it is generally accepted, but from the time of his predecessors. G. A. Pugachenkova, *K izucheniyu pamyatnikov Severnoi Baktrii*, p. 34).

its life-giving Buddhist conception overwhelmed the art of Tukharistan.<sup>16</sup>

This second stage is well illustrated by the excavations of Kara-tepe (led by B. Y. Stavisky).

The Buddhist monastery discovered at Kara-tepe is convincing proof of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia, which it reached from India, its homeland. The architecture of this cave monastery, the finds of a number of objects (lids ornamented with lotus flowers, chatras, etc.) as well as inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharoshthi indicate clearly the influence of Indian traditions and Indian culture (thus, cave structures are not typical of Central Asia, but they occurred widely in ancient India).<sup>17</sup>

At the same time, one should bear in mind that the local population creatively assimilated outside traditions, including the Indian. This is seen, for example, in the layout of the structures (the building of processional corridors—a characteristic feature of the local building canon). The creative principle in assimilating Indian-Buddhist traditions is also illustrated by epigraphic data.

Not only did the followers of Buddhism in Bactria translate Buddhist texts from Sanskrit, but they gave their own interpretations.<sup>18</sup> Local versions of the Indian scripts were elaborated, although the marked affinity between the inscriptions of Kara-tepe and certain Indian inscriptions indicates the penetration of the traditions of writing directly from India without any intermediary stages.<sup>19</sup>

Written sources give us an idea of the important part played by Bactria's Buddhist monks in the development and dissemination of Buddhism. According to the Buddhist

16. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan* p. 265.

17. See T. V. Grek, Y. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-tepe: Buddhist Monastery in Old Termez* (R), Moscow, 1964.

18. B. Gafurov, *Kushan Civilisation and World Culture*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 14-15.

19. T. V. Grek, *Indian Inscriptions of Pottery from Kara-tepe* (R), *Kara-tepe, buddiysky monastyr v Starom Termeze*, p. 80.

tradition, Ghosaka,—a Tukhara, was one of the compilers of a commentary (Vibhāṣā) to the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharmapiṭakas which were approved by the Buddhist Council in Purushapura at the time of Kanishka. The Abhidharmāmṛtaśāstra was also attributed to him. Chinese sources credit Dharmamitra, who was born in Termez (Tarmita) with having supplied a commentary for the Vinayasūtra. He translated the works of the Vaibhāṣika school into Tokharian.<sup>20</sup>

If we proceed from the above, it appears that during the period under review the Vaibhāṣika school gained ground in Central Asia (or, more precisely, in Bactria-Tukharistan). This school was connected with the Sarvāstivāda.

Central Asia played an important role in the dissemination of Buddhism in the Far East. There were many monks from Central Asia in China in the first centuries A.D., who translated and annotated Buddhist texts, actually introducing Buddhism to the Chinese.<sup>21</sup>

B. A. Litvinsky has correctly noted that the sojourn of many monks from Central Asia to the countries of the Far East,—monks engaged in translation and annotation work—testifies to the wide spread of Buddhism in their homeland, Central Asia.<sup>22</sup>

20. For details see La Vallee Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, pt. i, Paris, 1923; P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955; H. W. Bailey, Indo-Iranica, III.5. Tarmita, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, 1950, vol. xiii, pt. 2, pp. 400-403 (further referred to as BSOAS).
21. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, *Sinica Leidensia*, vol. xi, pp. 20-35; J. Brough, *Comments of Third-Century Shan-Shan and the History of Buddhism*, BSOAS, vol. xxviii, London, 1965. This question has been elaborated by B. A. Litvinsky in *Central Asian Peoples and the Spread of Buddhism. 2nd Century B.C.—3rd Century A. D. Written Sources and Linguistic Data (R)*, *History, Archaeology and Ethnography of Central Asia (R)*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 130-133; B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*.
22. B. A. Litvinsky, *Sredneaziatskiye narody i resprostraneniye buddizma*, p. 133.

Of great importance is the discovery at Kara-tepe of Sanskrit inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharoshthi. These inscriptions prove beyond doubt that men from India found their way into the area around Termez, bringing, in addition to the teaching of the Buddha, elements of Indian culture and learning.

An analysis of the fragmentary inscriptions on Kara-tepe pottery has led J. Harmatta to the conclusion that there were followers of the Buddhist schools of Vaibhāṣika and Mahāsāṅghika in Bactria in the Kushan period<sup>23</sup> (the present writer does not believe this conclusion to be fully warranted).

Cultural exchange between India and Central Asia continued to develop in the post-Kushan period, too—true, on a smaller scale. New researches by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia give us a better idea of this exchange, supplementing the evidence of written sources known before.

Of particular interest are excavations at Balalyk-tepe, Pianjikent, Varakhsha and Adzhina-tepe.

The excavations at Balalyk-tepe (by the expedition led by pP. Albaum)<sup>24</sup> revealed a rural castle and estate of the 5th century A.D. and provided rich material testifying to the state of early medieval secular painting in Central Asia. The lower part of the walls in the central hall was painted. The hall is small—about 5 x 5 metres. The main subject of the murals is a feast. Noblemen of high standing sit on “sufas”, and behind them, as if in the background, stand servants who are smaller in size. Women take part in the feast along with men. Men wear tunics with a right-side lapel, tightly girdled at the waist. The guests hold goblets and cups. The servants have large fans. Here is one of the fragments: a man holds a cup in his right hand and something like a long-handled fan in his left hand (some scholars believe it to be a mirror). He has a gold necklace on his neck. The cloth of his tunic is ornamented. The woman’s hair is done in an elegant manner—taken

23. J. Harmatta, *The Interpretation of Inscriptions from Kara-tepe (R), Kara-tepe*, fasc. II, Moscow, 1969.

24. L. Albaum, *Balalyk-tepe*, Tashkent, 1960.

into a knot and tied with a white ribbon. She has two rows of beads around her neck. Her attire is very interesting. Under a yellow sleeveless cloak she wears a red dress.

A mural on the southern wall of the building has been well preserved. There are three figures on it with servants, holding large fans, behind them. There is a boy with a peculiar hair-do. His black hair is done up in small plaits, and he has ear-rings. He wears a long tunic girdled at the waist and holds a cup at the lady's lips. The lady has a fan or a mirror in her hand. Her hair-dress is different—a long braid in place of the elegant knot.

A very interesting scene has been preserved on the western wall of the building. It is there that some researchers try to find a clue to the theme of the murals. On the left there is apparently the main hero of the paintings, the biggest male figure. His tunic has two lapels—which is a very significant detail, for all the other men are dressed in tunics with one lapel. Evidently this man is a royal one. A necklace of twisted gold adorns his neck. In his right hand he holds a cup two times bigger than the cups of other participants in the feast; in his left hand there is apparently a fan. He wears bracelets on his arms and rings on his fingers. His eyes are turned to the people sitting at his side, and his entire body seems to lean a little to the left. At his side there are three ladies who look alike, three "moonfaced beauties". The figures of the second and the third ladies are best preserved. They look into mirrors and there are ear-rings in their ears and rings on their fingers, while gold rings hang on ribbons from their necks. They also are feasting and hold golden goblets in their hands. After them come the figures of three youths. The first youth seems to be reclining, the second sits straight and the third leans on his elbow. The youths are also taking part in the feast without forgetting about their appearance, because they, too hold mirrors in their hands. What was, then, the intention of the painter? Was it an accidental composition—a king, three young ladies and three youths instead of the usual pairs of men and women taking part in the feast? It was

suggested that the theme of the painting was prompted by the romantic story used by Firdausi in his "Shahnameh" and which had been, as one may surmise, quite popular in the Middle East. Serv, ruler of the far-away Yemen, proved unable to deceive the sons of the Shah-in-Shah Feridun, who had come to marry his three beautiful daughters. The young men guessed the riddle put to them by Serv : during the feast they had to guess which of the daughters were the elder, second and younger. So Serv had to keep his promise and give his daughters to the princes in marriage. His court rejoiced, the nobility rejoiced, and the princes felt very happy. All raised their goblets to drink to the happiness of the young couples.

Firdausi described Serv's three beautiful daughters as maidens of the same height, all of them having a "resemblance to the moon", and he referred to the youths as brothers. The painter of the mural painted three beautiful maidens who are very much alike and three noble youths.

Of course, such an explanation is only one of the possible interpretations, but it seems quite plausible, when one takes note of the fact that many cultural achievements, traditions and tales of the Iranian or Central Asian-Iranian cultural cycle had wide currency in Central Asia.

The Balalyk-tepe murals have much in common with the art, particularly, the painting of Afghanistan, India, and Eastern Turkestan, thus reflecting the close cultural contacts maintained between the peoples of these areas. Some garments depicted on the Balalyk-tepe murals, for instance, full-skirted robes with ribbons on the breast and right-side lapels with an edging, the puffy faces, and the position of fingers are features characteristic of Indo-Buddhist iconography. In particular, there is a certain resemblance to the paintings of Dukhtari-Nushirvan and Bamian in Afghanistan. A strong indigenous current of ancient Bactrian and Sogdian art merging with the traditions of the Indo-Buddhist cultural

area formed the basis of the original art of Balalyk-tepe. Apparently there was also another process—the influence of Central Asian traditions on the Buddhist art of Afghanistan, India and East Turkestan.

Excavations at Pianjikent, famous for its remarkable paintings, have yielded frescoes that have parallels in Indian art—e.g., the fragment showing people playing dice, reminiscent of the Bharhut relief and the Ajanta frescoes.<sup>25</sup>

In 1962 a composition was discovered at Pianjikent representing a blue dancer, his body draped in a tiger skin, with a trident behind him. A. Belenitsky is justified in thinking that the blue dancer may be traced to the iconography of Śiva, the Hindu god who is often depicted a Natarāja; this is connected with the legend of how Śiva became Nīlakaṇṭha (blue-necked).<sup>26</sup>

Pianjikent may with good reason be called a sea of Sogdian painting. Wall-paintings have been found in structures of different types—in the palace, temple and houses of rich citizens. Among the known specimens of Pianjikent painting one scene merits a special attention—the “scene of mourning” a masterpiece of Sogdian and, one may say, of the entire Oriental painting of early Middle Ages. A dead youth is in the centre of the composition. He lies in a special funeral structure that may be a marquee. Behind him weeping women beat themselves on their heads. Below, close to the sepulchral structure, there are three figures clad in white clothes. Two of them hold some articles on long handles, perhaps torches, and the third, who is between them, has a handleless vessel in his hands. Still lower there are four men and a woman, and ahead of them two more figures. The artist depicts their sorrow in an interesting way. There is

25. *The Sculpture and Painting of Ancient Pianjikent* (R), Moscow, 1959, tab. xiv.

26. A. M. Belenitsky. *The History of Cultural Relations between Central Asia and India in the Early Medieval Period* (R), *Ancient India* (R), Moscow, 1964, p. 192.



sadness in their faces, eyes are full of sorrow, hair hanging loose. Many have scratches and cuts on their bodies and faces. Two men are shown cutting their ear-lobes. Below a man seems to be piercing his nose as a token of extreme grief and devotion to the dead. Three female deities have been preserved to the left of the scene, though in a worse state. One of them has several arms. The deities also mourn the dead youth. They lift their hands and hold them to their heads, repeating, evidently, the gestures of the weepers. Some scholars believe that those in white clothes are Sogdians, and figures in red and yellow-brown garments, with broad-cheeked faces and slanting eyes, are Turks. If this is correct, then both the indigenous inhabitants and the foreigners who had adopted local traditions and beliefs mourn the deceased man jointly. Who was, then the dead man mourned by both Sogdians and Turks, human beings and deities? Diverse opinions were voiced by scholars. Some would regard the scene as a reflection of the Manichaean teaching on the life after death; other found direct analogies with the epic tale of the death of Siyavush, a popular personage of the Central Asian literature, art and beliefs. The tale of Siyavush and his tragic end is found in the "Shahnameh" and in the writings of Narshahi, Bokhara historian of the 10th century. We know from written sources about the spread of Siyavush worship in Sogdiana, but it would be premature to speak with certainty of the connection of the Pianjikent mourning scene with the legend of Siyavush's death.

One may, however, use as a parallel the description of the Buddha's demise in Buddhist writings, the Mahāyāna texts, in the first place. Both human beings and deities mourn the deceased. The weepers torture themselves in such a way that they bleed profusely and their blood comes out in a river. Though there are no direct Buddhist accessories in the Pianjikent scene, there is an obvious similarity in the treatment of the subject which is worthy of note, especially if one takes into consideration other direct analogies between the Indian and Sogdian art vividly represented in Pianjikent.

At the same time, it is necessary to lay a special stress on the documental nature of the scene of mourning and self-torture painted by the artist. Biruni for instance, mentions that Sogdians, while bewailing their dead, used to cut their own faces. We pointed out that the so-called "Turks" were cutting their ear-lobes in the scene of mourning. We have also the testimony of Tabari that in early 8th century, at the time of the death of a Turkish khaqan, his warriors cut off their ears and beat their heads, savagely, bewailing the dead. Another outstanding find is the painting of the Varaksha palace (Excavations there were for many years led by V. Shishkin).<sup>27</sup> The main point of interest is the so-called Red Hall in the king's palace, decorated with a hunting scene. The king rides an elephant and his men fight ferocious animals (tigers). There are special statements in the literature that the idea of hunting on elephant-back was apparently borrowed from India, since this mode of hunting was not known in Central Asia.<sup>28</sup>

The scene has some points of similarity with the frescoes of Ajanta (similar clothing, ornaments, e.g.). Yet this is undoubtedly Central Asian art rooted in local artistic traditions, with parallels in other Central Asian schools (Pianjikent, Balalyk-tepe). These traditions may stem even from the Kushan period, from an earlier trend in the art of Bactria-Tukharistan.

Central Asian sculpture, too, merits attention inasmuch as some of its specimens undoubtedly demonstrate the influence of Indian culture and Indian schools of sculpture. Wooden sculptures, which are known to have been popular in India, have been found at Pianjikent. Works in wood are highly perishable, so that very few specimens have been preserved. At Pianjikent, some charred sculptures have survived, which barely escaped burning and thus became immune to the ruinous influence of the climate.

27. See V. A. Shishkin, *Varaksha* (R), Moscow, 1963.

28. A. M. Belenitsky, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

Indian repercussions in Central Asian painting and sculpture are attributable both to common artistic traditions and to direct contacts. Several years ago a short Sanskrit inscription in Brahmi was found at Pianjikent, traced on a potsherd—clear proof of the arrival of an Indian in that town.

In recent years new and remarkable specimens of Tukharistan's art have come to light (excavations at Adzhina-tepe, South Tajikistan, led by B. Litvinsky). A Buddhist monastery of the 7th century A. D. with sculptures and paintings has been discovered there.

The buildings of Adzhina-tepe have the characteristic layout of a Buddhist monastery, falling into two parts, the vihāra and the saṅghārāma. The latter part has been well preserved: monks' cells enclosing the courtyard, and large rooms which were used for the saṅgha's meetings, meals and prayers. In the temple part, the centre of the courtyard is occupied by a stūpa, with the flights of stairs on every side. The stūpa has a "railing" of corridors, used by Buddhist monks and adepts to reach the shrine.

The walls have niches containing statues of the Buddha of different sizes, sometimes one-and-a-half times life size. The walls and vaults are painted with Buddha figures, seated on special pedestals in different attitudes, with individualised gestures of the hands and positions of the head. The colouring of the garments is likewise varied.

There are several scenes depicting gift-bearing: rich donors offer gold and silver vessels and flowers to honour the Buddha. The faces of the donors bear a striking resemblance to local types. When this scene was discovered, Tajik researchers even started arguing as to which part of Tajikistan these types should be associated with.

The most striking find has been a huge recumbent figure (about 12 metres) of the Buddha in nirvāṇa.

The monastery of Adzhina-tepe was built in keeping with the general Buddhist tradition, which is best known from the monuments of India and Afghanistan. The influence of India's

Buddhist art is self-evident. Yet the masters of Tukharistan did not blindly follow the canon. The excavations of Adzhina-tepe have graphically revealed the amazing tenacity of the local traditions and the originality of the schools of architecture and art of ancient Tukharistan. Local sculptors and painters, builders and architects made use of the traditions and practices which had already taken shape in Central Asia and which they combined with the cultural traditions of the neighbouring countries, primarily India and Afganistan (specifically with the Gupta traditions of sculpture).

This, then, was a peculiar creative synthesis of Indian, Indo-Buddhist and Bactrian artistic traditions and it gave rise to the distinctive Tukharistan school of art.

The main treasure of Adzhina-tepe is its clay sculpture. This, too, demonstrates the influence of Indian art—but with the prevalence of local traditions. It is noteworthy that sculptures of a secular nature have been discovered in this Buddhist monastery along with purely religious statues (of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas). While the Buddha images are strictly canonical, the figures of laymen and monk<sup>29</sup> graphically demonstrate the influence of the local Bactrian school of art, which emerged and flourished in Bactria under the Kushans, when Bactria was the core of a powerful empire.

The excavations of Adzhina-tepe have made it possible to reappraise the contribution made by the school of Bactria-Tukharistan to the Buddhist art of Central Asia. Tukharistan was the area which transmitted Buddhist culture to the Far East. Arriving at Tukharistan from India, many elements of culture were considerably modified here through the impact of local traditions, and advanced farther—to China, Korea and Japan—in a novel form.

Buddhist monasteries were not only centres of worship and rituals. The great educational role played by the famous

29. Some scholars believe that one of the sculptured heads depicts a Kaśyapa.

Buddhist monastery in Nalanda, India, is well known. The Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia, too, may have been seats of learning.

The monastery of Adzhina-tepe is not the only proof of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia in the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. In recent years, many other monuments of Buddhist architecture and art have been discovered,<sup>30</sup> and, what is particularly important, written records: Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in Brahmi.

A fortified estate of the 7th century A.D. has been excavated on the hill of Zang-tepe, 30 kilometres from Termez. Twelve fragments of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts on birch bark have been discovered there.<sup>31</sup> The fragments are small in size, and it is difficult to reconstruct the full text. Excerpts that have been reconstructed show that these are parts of the "Vinayapitaka", a canonical Buddhist work. Some of the excerpts deal with a meeting of the saṅgha, charity, an unrighteous act committed by a monk<sup>32</sup> etc.

Still greater interest attaches to the find of a Sanskrit-Buddhist manuscript in the vicinity of Merv (Turkmenia). This manuscript comprises more than 300 sheets of palm leaves. The tentative date is the 7th century A.D. At present Soviet researchers are preparing the manuscript for publication. Preliminary studies have shown that it contains several Buddhist works, including the "Suttavibhaṅga". The text makes special mention of the scribe, who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school.

This evidence is quite important in establishing the character of Central Asian Buddhism. Together with the data

30. See B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*.

31. See L. I. Albaum, Latest Excavations at Zang-tepe and the Finds of Indian Documents (R), *Ancient India* (R), Moscow, 1964.

32. G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, E. N. Tyomkin, Fragments of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Zang-tepe (R), *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, Moscow, 1965, N 1, pp 154-162; M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, Indian Documents discovered in Central Asia (R), *Ancient India* (R), Moscow, 1964.

of Far Eastern texts and archaeological data, it gives us grounds to assume that the Sarvāstivāda school enjoyed considerable influence in Central Asia. This conclusion tallies fully with the evidence of earlier written sources and inscriptions from ancient India and the Kāra-tepe finds, which J. Harmatta, as mentioned above, believes to prove the presence in the Termez area of both Sarvāstivāda and Mahā-sāṅghika adepts.

We should also take note of the Afrasiab paintings, which also show the connection between Centralasian and Indian culture.

Samarkand paintings excavated in recent years by Soviet scholars at Afrasiab, the ancient site of that city, are some of the most wonderful masterpieces of early medieval painting of Central Asia and, perhaps of the entire East. The history of Samarkand has celebrated 2500 years of its existence, thus being one of the oldest existing cities in the world, continuing to thrive as an important urban centre.

Up to the recent time we have admired at Samarkand its famous architectural monuments of the 14-17th centuries. Now we can properly appreciate the wonderful art of the Sogdian artists of the 6th and 7th centuries. Samarkand was a contemporary of the ancient Rome. Archaeologists have opened up there strata dating to the middle of the 1st millenium B.C. In the 4th century B.C. Maracanda sustained the attacks of the army of Alexander the Great and became the centre of the Sogdians led by Spitamenos fighting against the Graeco-Macedonians.

The 6th and the 7th centuries were the time of a new rise of Samarkand, of the growth of its trade and external relations. The excavations of Afrasiab yielded remnants of an architectural complex of that period, apparently the palace of the ruler of Samarkand. Massive walls have been preserved up to the height of 3-3.5 metres. Painting was opened up in a hall 11 x 11 metres in size. There is a big composition on the southern wall, showing a rich caravan moving toward a castle or a pavillion where there is a group of people in richly

decorated tunics, evidently meeting the travellers. At the head of the cavalcade there is an elephant with a palanquin preserved only in fragments. The elephant is white and is covered with an ornamented cloth decorated with circles in the centre of which there are winged lions. A bell hangs on its neck. It is possible that a noble lady, perhaps a princess, travels in the palanquin, her maid-servant walking at her side. Three horses (dark grey, yellow and red) follow the elephant. They carry the ladies of the retinue. One of the ladies has been preserved quite well, and we can see her clothes. She wears a short red frock, yellow shalwar and black boots. A scarf is thrown over her shoulder and there are bracelets on her arms. There is a short Sogdian inscription on the arm of one of the ladies: "The Princess' lady in attendance". Two men riding camels come after the ladies. One of them is quite young, with a white face, narrow moustache and small black beard; the other is a dark-complexioned old man, with a dark-red face and white beard. The high rank of these men is apparent from the fact that they have maces (batons) in their hands. They are well armed: swords and short daggers hang from their belts. The old man points to the castle with two fingers of his right hand. There are also rich gifts in the picture—a herd of white horses whose legs have been preserved in the upper part of the murals, and some white birds. Apparently, the birds had a special significance as they occupy one of the central places in the composition. What kind of birds they are, it is difficult to say. There is a Sogdian inscription "sich" on one of the birds, meaning "Goose" or "duck". The birds are accompanied by two armed men with the lower part of their faces covered by a white cloth (they may be servants, who, apparently, should not defile the gifts with their impure breath). Beyond the birds comes the figure of a giant riding a yellow horse, who, unfortunately, is very badly preserved. Its upper part was not preserved as it was above the surviving

part of the wall. But even the remaining part of the figure gives one an idea of its height (as only a part of the wall two-metres high survived the whole figure of the horseman it must have been at least 4 metres high and this shows how tall the palace hall itself was). Evidently the horseman had a special place in the procession. One may suggest that it was a wedding procession. The princess on the elephant was to marry either the ruler of the ancient Samarkand or one of his sons.

On the western wall there are men in long, rich dresses decorated with various ornaments. Birds with pearl necklaces in their beaks alternate with fantastic animals resembling winged dogs, and with winged lions in circles. Long swords and daggers are suspended from golden belts. The men's faces are different—dark and white, young and old. Some of them have various objects in their hands, something like necklaces or pieces of figured cloth. There is a Sogdian inscription on the skirt of the white garment of one of the figures telling of the embassy of the Chaganikan king to the king of Samarkand. (Chaganikan was a small state in the Surkhan-Darya valley). The King's chief secretary came to Samarkand as his ambassador.

Here is a translation of the Sogdian inscription made by Prof. V. Lifshitz :

“When king Varkhuman came (i.e. when the audience started), one of the ambassadors opened his mouth and said : I, the Chaganikan Dapirpat (chief of the Chancellery), have come here, to Samarkand, from the Chaganikan king Turantash to the king of Samarkand to express his respect. So now I am standing respectfully before the King. And you, oh, King, should not have any apprehensions about me—I know well of the Samarkand gods and writing and also (I recognise) the power of the king of Samarkand.

“May you, oh, King, live in prosperity and happiness. King Varkhuman also welcomed him.

“Then the Chach (Tashkent) Dapirpat (Chief of the Chancellery) opened his mouth...”

Ambassadors came not only from the near-by Chaganikan,



but also from far-away countries. There is a Sogdian inscription "Tibetans" on the arm of one of the figures.

When the compositions on the southern and western walls are taken together, there are grounds to suppose that the Sogdian painters depicted an important event in the life of the Samarkand ruler—either his own wedding or that of one of his heirs, ambassadors coming to present gifts and pay respect.

The Afrasiab painting is a brilliant specimen of Sogdian art and opens a new page in the history of the ancient culture of Central Asia and the whole of the East. The elephant and, perhaps, the white birds may be regarded as the Indian influence. It is known that in ancient India white swans were considered attributes of Sarasvati, the goddess of art and sciences. Similar birds can be seen in some Hindu temples in India.

The excavated Sogdian inscriptions are of a tremendous interest, because very few monuments of Sogdian writing have reached us. One of the inscriptions informed us of the relations between the ancient Sogd and Tibet.

The scholars studying Central Asia and the Far East have before them the task of investigating the problem of the cultural relations between Central Asia and Tibet in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

We have cited only some of the new data yielded by archeological finds and written sources on the historical-cultural ties between India and Central Asia. It goes without saying that this interesting problem merits closer study. But even the material cited in this paper clearly reveals that contacts between these two major areas of world civilisation arose at an early period and were quite durable. These links were of paramount importance for the development of the culture of both lands, for their social, political and economic progress. Common cultural elements produced outstanding contributions to the treasure-trove of world culture.

The centuries-old history of relations and cultural exchange between Central Asia and India also shows that, notwithstanding the considerable reciprocal enrichment and cultural

impact (the character and direction of the contacts, their sphere and scope differing throughout the period), the cultures of the peoples of the two countries remained distinctive and original, and preserved specific local features and traits.

Historical-cultural contacts promoted a more intensive development of local cultures and traditions. This, too, was an important aspect of contacts between Central Asia and India. The close historical-cultural contacts which existed between Central Asia and India in ancient times persisted and further developed in the subsequent periods and they continued to exert a strong influence on the development of both countries.

## NEW BUDDHIST TEXTS FROM CENTRAL ASIA

The sensational finds of ancient Buddhist manuscripts in Central Asia at the turn of the 19th century marked a new stage in the study of Indian culture, and considerably expanded the traditional views of the history and evolution of Buddhism and its schools during this period.

The manuscripts confronted specialists in Buddhism with many new problems, such as the interrelation between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the authenticity of the Pali canon, the reconstruction of Buddha's pre-canonical doctrine and the rise and historical destiny of various schools of northern Buddhism. Simultaneously, a new branch of Oriental studies—Central Asian philology—came into being, with the discovery of two previously unknown languages, Khotanese (Śaka) and Tokharian, and of new types of ancient Indian writing (the upright and slanting Central Asian Brāhmī alphabets).

The expeditions of P. Pelliot, A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, K. Otani, and other scholars yielded rich collections of Sanskrit and Khotanese Buddhist texts. By now a large part of these manuscripts has been published and studied.

Russian Orientalists, too, made a fundamental contribution to the study of the history of Central Asian culture. This is fully borne out by the expeditions of S. Oldenburg, B. Klements and M. Berezovsky, and the work of N. Petrovsky and N. Krotkov. As a result of their efforts, the Russian Academy of Sciences came to possess a rich collection of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Khotanese, mostly from Kashgar and Khotan. Credit for compiling this manuscript collection goes largely to N. Petrovsky.<sup>1</sup>

1. For greater details see S. Oldenburg, *Pamyati N. Petrovskogo* (1837-1908), (In the memory of N. Petrovsky), *Zapisky Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Rossiyskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obchestva*, vol. 20, St. Petersburg 1908-1909, further referred to as ZVOIRAO.

Today these manuscripts are deposited at the Leningrad Department of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Sciences. Both in scope and value, this fund is probably on a par with the London, Paris, Berlin and Tokyo collections. Unfortunately, specialists in the field still know too little about it, with the exception of certain manuscripts and fragments which were published years back, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century; these include some famous texts, e.g. fragments from the Prākṛt *Dhammapada* in Kharoṣṭhī writing,<sup>2</sup> the *Kāśyapaparivarta*,<sup>3</sup> and the Khotanese Manuscript *E*.<sup>4</sup>

Academician S. Oldenburg, an enthusiastic pioneer in the field of studying Buddhist manuscripts and Central Asian variants of Indian writing, succeeded in identifying a number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, which he published in the *Bulletin of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archeological Society*. Altogether, he published more than 30 fragments from Petrovsky's collection.<sup>5</sup> The publications of Oldenburg and his colleagues, N. Mironov<sup>6</sup> and A. Stael-Holstein introduced new important data, which were highly appraised by scholars,

2. S. Oldenburg, *Preliminary note on the Buddhist manuscript written in kharoṣṭhī*, (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1897. See also J. Brough, *The Gandhāri Dhammapada*, Oxford, 1962: in this book the author drew on the manuscript deposited at the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
3. A. Stael-Holstein, *The Kāśyapaparivarta*, Shanghai, 1926.
4. E. Leumann, M. Leumann, *Das nordarische (śakische) Lebrgedicht des Buddhismus, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. xx, Leipzig, 1933-1936.
5. S. Oldenburg, N. Petrovsky's manuscript from Kashgar (in Russian), *ZVOIRAO*, vol. vii, St. Petersburg, 1892, pp. 81-82; by the same author, *On the Buddhist texts from Kashgar* (in Russian), *ZVOIRAO*, vol. viii, St. Petersburg, 1893-1894, pp. 152-153; by the same author, *Once again on the Buddhist texts from Kashgar* (in Russian), *ibid.*, pp. 349-357; by the same author, *The fragments of the Sanskrit Kashgar manuscripts from N Petrovsky collection* (in Russian), *ZVOIRAO* vol. xi, St. Petersburg, 1897-1898, pp. 207-264, and vol. xv, St. Petersburg, 1902-1903, pp. 113-122.
6. N. Mironov, *From the hand-writing collection about M. Beresovsky's*

and drew the attention of specialists in this field (E. Leumann, L. Finot, S. Lévi, H. Kern, B. Nanjio and others) to Petrovsky's collection.

Unfortunately, Oldenburg's work was not continued, and the Leningrad collection was neglected until the early 1950's, when the young gifted Orientalist V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky embarked on his studies. He was actually the first to undertake the sorting out and classification of the texts and to compile the first inventory and preliminary catalogue giving brief paleographic description. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky succeeded in identifying several important Sanskrit and Khotanese texts, some of which he was able to bring out before his untimely death.<sup>7</sup>

The efforts of Academician Oldenburg and the work accomplished by Vorobyov-Desyatovsky in sorting out, systematising and identifying the texts provide a reliable basis for the further study and publication of documents from the Leningrad collection.

The greater part of documents are in black Indian ink, on paper from Central Asia, in many instances primed and tinted yellow or grey. The texts are traced in upright and slanting Indian Central Asian Brāhmī of various types.

The publications of S. Oldenburg, N. Mironov, A. Stael-Holstein, V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky present more than 50 Buddhist texts (mostly fragments) in Sanskrit and Khotanese. This, however, is but a small part of the Leningrad collection : it can be safely asserted today that it contains a large number of new, original Buddhist texts (in Sanskrit), previously known

expedition in Kucha (in Russian), *Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pp. 547-562.

7. Vorobyev-Desyatovsky, New folios of the Śaka manuscript "E" (in Russian), *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, vol. xvi, Moscow, 1955, pp. 68-71 ; by the same author, New found folios of the *Kāśyapaparivātra* manuscripts (in Russian), *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. xxi, Warszawa, 1957, pp. 491-500 ; by the same author, Manuscripts in Central Asian writings (in Russian), *Ucheniye zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, vol. xvi, Moscow, 1958, pp. 280-308.

only in Chinese and Tibetan translations. It is clear already at this stage that among the Khotanese fragments there are several texts previously unknown in any form.

At the same time, the Leningrad collection comprises important texts whose existence has long been known but which have remained unpublished. This refers above all to the oldest extant copy of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (the so-called McCartney manuscript)—a *poṭhi*-type manuscript of 280 folios, 56 x 17 cm., in ornamental uncial upright Central Asian Brāhmī. H. Kern partly drew on this copy when he published the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.<sup>8</sup> The McCartney manuscript, however, is far from the only version of this *sūtra* in the Leningrad collection, which contains approximately 100 other fragments of different *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* copies, unknown to the scholars who published this *sūtra*. The work to prepare for publication the McCartney manuscript and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* fragments is already under way.<sup>9</sup> It will evidently be of great help to students of Buddhism.

Another unique specimen is the *Kāśyapaparivarta* manuscript in Sanskrit, so far known only from Stael-Holstein's transliteration.<sup>10</sup> A facsimile edition of this important Buddhist work will undoubtedly stimulate fresh interest in it.

Of great value are the unpublished fragments of the *Śārdulakarṇāvadāna*, their texts differing markedly from the Nepalese version published by E. Cowell and R. Neil.<sup>11</sup>

8. H. Kern, B. Nanjio, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*Bibliotheca Buddhica* x). St. Petersburg, 1908-1912.

9. G. M. Bongard-Levin, E. N. Tyomkin, Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from N. F. Petrovsky Collection,—*Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. viii, No. 4, 1965, pp. 268-274. See also Akira Yuyama, Supplementary Remarks on "Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from N. F. Petrovsky Collection" by G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin,—*Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. ix, No 2, 1966, pp. 85-112.

10. A recent translation of the text was made by Weller after the Stael-Holstein edition (F. Weller, *Zum Kāśyapaparivarta*, Berlin, 1965).

11. *The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 611-659.

Academician Oldenburg at one time intended to publish these texts.

Worthy of notice among the Khotanese texts are new folios of the Manuscript E<sup>12</sup> and some previously unpublished fragments (19 folios) of the *San̄ghāṣasūtra*, which have been prepared for the press by L. Gertsenberg of Leningrad.<sup>13</sup>

There are also good reasons in favour of publishing a facsimile edition of several Khotanese texts, known only from E. Leumann's transliteration.<sup>14</sup>

And yet the greater part of Central Asian documents from the Leningrad collection has not been identified and studied so far, although the fund obviously contains many new texts of the *dhāraṇī* type; fragments of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*; *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Avadāna* texts; fragments of the major *Mahāyāna sūtra*-s, as well as fragments of other *sūtra*-s.

The first steps taken to resume the study of the Leningrad collection have already produced tangible results.<sup>15</sup> We would like to mention some of them in this paper.

Until recently scholars were familiar with only one version of the Sanskrit text of the *Dharmaśarīra*, from Idikutśabri (one folio, 32 x 7 cm., bearing 32 lines); it was published by H. Stonner.<sup>16</sup> Now we know that the Leningrad collection

12. Vorobyev-Desyatovsky V., Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya M. *Skazaniye O Bhadre* (Tale of Bhadra), Moscow, 1965.
13. These folios belong to a manuscript which differs from that published by S. Konow (S. Konow, *Śaka Studies*, Oslo, 1932).
14. For example, *Jñānolka-dhāraṇī* (E. Leumann, *Buddhistische Literatur, Nordarisch und Deutsch*, Teil I, *Nebenstücke*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 157-164 & *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* (E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, Strassburg, 1912, pp. 84-99).
15. Apart from publications of isolated fragments mentioned in the present paper, see G. Bongard-Levin, M. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya, E. Tyomkin, New Sanskrit texts from Central Asia (in Russian) *Programma nauchnoi konferenzii po yazikam Indii, Pakistana, Nepala i Zeilona*, Moscow, 1965; by the same authors.
16. H. Stonner, *Zentralasiatische Sanscrittexte in Brāhmischrift aus*

includes the full text of another *Dharmaśarīra*-version, differing from the published one both in its content and size; moreover, the colophon is preserved. The text is inscribed in black Indian ink on five folios of yellowish paper, 36.5 x 8.3 cm., in upright Central Asian Brāhmī, with four lines on each side of every folio. The *Dharmaśarīra* in the Leningrad collection contains a short list of the basic Buddhist categories and reveals direct analogies with works of the *Dharmasaṃgraha* and *Mahāvīyutpatti* type.

The specific importance of this document is still further enhanced by the recent find of a fragment of the Khotanese version of the *Dharmaśarīra* (three folios, *recto* and *verso*). Paleographic analysis suggests that it dates from the 7th or 8th century A.D. This text, although it shows traces of affinity with H. Stonner's Sanskrit text, cannot be regarded on the whole as the Khotanese version of the same. The Khotanese text is much closer to the above-mentioned manuscript of the Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra* deposited at the Leningrad Department of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, but it does not tally completely with that version either. It can be assumed that this is a fragment of the Khotanese text of the *Dharmaśarīra*—a translation of another as yet unknown version of the Sanskrit original which nevertheless is rather close to the Leningrad manuscript.

The Khotanese version, having, as it does, a closely corresponding Sanskrit original, is of the utmost importance also for the study of the Khotanese language, above all its vocabulary. The text contains several new Khotanese words, which do not occur in the hitherto analysed texts.<sup>17</sup>

Idikutšahri, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xlv, 1904, pp. 1282-1287.

17. An article offering the Khotanese text, its translation and a glossary, was published in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. xi, Hague, 1969. Considerable help in interpreting the meaning of several Khotanese words was rendered by Prof. H. Bailey; we take this opportunity to convey the sincere appreciation of his help.



Among the Buddhist Sanskrit fragments there is one folio (*recto* and *verso*) retaining the colophon of the Sanskrit original of the *Nagaropamasūtra*, a work previously known only in a Chinese translation, and a small fragment (one folio, *recto* and *verso*) of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*,<sup>18</sup> which makes it possible to fill in some of the lacunae in the text published by L. Finot.<sup>19</sup> Mention should also be made of the fragment from the *Samādhirājasūtra*, an important *Mahāyāna-sūtra*. In several instances the fragment gives an alternative reading compared with the text published by N. Dutt.<sup>20</sup>

In the imposing catalogue of texts of the *dhāraṇī* type, there stands out a section of the Sanskrit *Vajrapāṇisumukhānāmadhāraṇī*; previously it was only known from Chinese, Tibetan and Khotanese translations and the Sanskrit original was believed to have been lost.<sup>21</sup> The Sanskrit text is all the more valuable since it materially helps to understand the Khotanese version. Collation of the Sanskrit original with translations makes it possible to tackle the reconstruction of the original text and to elucidate the evolution of its various versions.

Of exceptional importance are six Sanskrit fragments of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, a prominent work of the Buddhist canon. V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky was the first to establish that some of these fragments from the Leningrad collection belonged to the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.

Before that, only one Sanskrit fragment of this *sūtra* was

18. The text treats of a category of *pārājika*—a monk whose faults and sinful deeds made him liable to be expelled from the *saṅgha*. The text deals with expulsion for stealing.
19. M. Louis Finot, *Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins*, *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1913, pt. ii, p. 477.
20. The fragment discovered corresponds to chapter 27 of the Gilgit version of this *sūtra*. See *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. ii, pt. ii, ed. by N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 220-223.
21. See G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya, E. N. Tyomkin, A Fragment of the Sanskrit *Sumukhadhāraṇī*, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. x, N 2-3, Hague, 1967, pp. 150-159.

known to the scholars, published by R. Hoernle in 1916.<sup>22</sup> Other Sanskrit fragments of the *sūtra*, discovered by the third and fourth German expeditions in Turfan and published by E. Waldschmidt,<sup>23</sup> on the whole correspond to the Pāli Hīnayāna version and form part of the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivādins. The six fragments from Leningrad are of unique value, especially in the context of the problem of the relationship between the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna canons.

The Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* was widely popular, as attested by its Tibetan and numerous Chinese translations, and also by the evidence of the Chinese sources that the Indian scholar Dharmakṣema made a special journey to Khotan to look for the full text of this *sūtra*.<sup>24</sup>

The attempts to collate the new fragments with their Tibetan and Chinese translations have been crowned with success and it is now possible to undertake the reconstruction of the full Sanskrit text of these fragments. The fragments are inscribed on grey paper in black Indian ink, in slanting Brāhmī of the transitional type (from the Indian to the Central Asian). One of the fragments repeatedly mentions the name of the *sūtra*, and, moreover, bears the colophon of a section that reads : End of second section entitled *Unperishable Body of Vajra*. The text offers the Mahāyāna interpretation of several episodes from Buddha's life (e.g., his meeting with Cuṇḍa) and of certain concepts of the Buddhist doctrine. The fragments from Leningrad radically differ from the well-known Pāli version and contain new material, indispensable for studying the Mahāyāna doctrine.

22. R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, vol. i, Oxford, 1916, pp. 93-97 ; see also Nakamura Hajime, *A Critical Survey of Mahāyāna and Esoteric Buddhism chiefly based upon Japanese Studies*, *Acta Asiatica*, vol. vii, Tokyo, 1964, pp. 49-53.

23. E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, vol. i-iii, Berlin, 1950-1951.

24. See P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 109-110.

In this short paper mention has been made only of some Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and in Khotanese which are now prepared for publication. This is only the beginning. Ahead lie painstaking, laborious efforts to identify, study and publish Buddhist texts from the Central Asian fund in Leningrad. It is to be hoped that these publications will introduce much that is new into our present knowledge of Indian culture, Buddhism and Buddhist literature, and will help to solve the focal problems of Buddhist studies.

# FRAGMENT OF AN UNKNOWN MANUSCRIPT OF THE *SADDHARMAPUNDAṚĪKA*

*from the N. F. Petrovsky Collection*

An unidentified fragment of a manuscript, written in upright Central Asian Brāhmī, is kept in the manuscript collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Science (Code SI- $\frac{P}{62A}$ ). The text is written in black Indian ink on a piece of yellowish paper 22 x 9.5 cm. The spacing is 1.5 cm. The size of characters is within the 1 x 1 cm. limits, as a rule. The *poṭhi*-type folio is only partially preserved and torn diagonally from the left to the top right angle.

Along with other Buddhist texts this fragment was handed over to the former Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences by N. F. Petrovsky, who had acquired it in Kashgar in the 1890's.

The text reads as follows :

*Recto :*

- 1) . . . *yaṃ kāśyapa buddhu bheṣyati. anāgate dhvani  
asamkhyi*
- 2) . . . *ipūrṇakoṭiṇāṃ jinānayaṃ draśyati kāśyapo*
- 3) . . . *āna pājaṃ dvipadottamānāṃ sa*
- 4) . . . *te apratimo maharṣiḥ*
- 5) . . . *īyaṃ suva*
- 6) . . . *ndhaṃ*

*Verso :*

- 1) . . .
- 2) . . . *hasrakoṭa*
- 3) . . . *hūni bheṣyaṃti sa*
- 4) . . . *dharmarājinaḥ pramāṇa ye*
- 5) . . . *śa antarakalpa sthāsyati paripūrṇa viṃ*
- 6) . . . *prabhāsasya viyūha bheṣyati 9 || atha khalvāyu*

In our opinion the text is a part of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (chapter VI).

The editors of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* were not familiar with this fragment, which is a part of an unknown manuscript, and did not include it in their edition.

The editors, H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, used the Kashgar manuscript of this text along with other manuscripts from the N. F. Petrovsky collection.<sup>1</sup> However, Prof. H. Kern, the well-known Dutch scholar, overlooked some materials, among them folio 142 coinciding in its content with the fragment under review. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio pointed out the absence of this folio in the Kashgar manuscript.<sup>2</sup> We were fortunate enough to discover, among the undescribed materials of the N. F. Petrovsky collection, a folio of the manuscript whose number was not preserved but which, as we have succeeded in establishing, is precisely folio No. 142 absent from the Kashgar manuscript.<sup>3</sup>

The size of the folio is 18 x 57.5 cm. The text is written in black Indian ink on a dark-yellow primed ruled piece of paper containing seven lines on each page. The size of characters is normally 1.5 x 1.5. The distance between the rules is 2.5 cm. The left edge of the manuscript is damaged. Several initial characters are absent on each line.

Fragment SI  $\frac{P}{62A}$ , which, as has been mentioned above, is a part of an unknown manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, and folio No 142 of the Kashgar manuscript from the N. F. Petrovsky collection provide new reading for the verse-part of the beginning of Chapter VI of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. It appears relevant here to collate these texts with the

1. See *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, x), edited by Prof. H. Kern and Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio, St. Petersburg, 1912. p. v.
2. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 145.
3. Besides this folio, the undescribed materials of the N. F. Petrovsky collection contain more than 100 unnumbered folios of the Kashgar manuscript which, unfortunately, escaped the attention of H. Kern and other scholars who studied the text.

critical edition of H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio taking into consideration the later Japanese edition as well.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of some differences between the readings of the Kashgar texts and those of the existing editions, the Kashgar manuscripts add a number of new, heretofore unknown variants important for the study of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. The new variants are particularly valuable because the Kashgar manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* are much older than the Nepalese ones which were chiefly used by Prof. H. Kern and Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio in their edition. They contain a number of Prākṛtisms and cases of wrong Sanskritisation which are important for the study of the original text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. The influence of Apabhraṃśa on the language of the Kashgar manuscripts can be traced. According to Prof. H. Kern, the Kashgar versions are more original than the Nepalese ones.<sup>5</sup>

It is quite evident that the scientific study of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā* should be based on the Kashgar manuscript from the N. F. Petrovsky collection and on the facsimile edition which we intend to publish in the nearest future. The first publisher of the text, Prof. H. Kern, considered the fulfilment of this task most desirable.

The text according to H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio's edition :

paśyāmyahaṃ bhikṣava buddhacakṣuṣā sthaviro'hyayaṃ  
 kāśyapa buddha bheṣyati /  
 anāgate'dhvani asaṃkhyakalpe kṛtvāna pūjāṃ  
 dvipadottamānām // 1

4. Wogihara U. and Tsuchida C., Kaitei Bonbun Hokekyo, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram*, Romanized and Revised Text of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* Publication (Tokyo, 1934-1935). Photomechanically reprinted in 1958. Thanks to the courtesy of Prof. J. W. de Jong we could familiarise ourselves with the necessary excerpt of the Japanese edition of this text. We are very grateful also to Mr. Akira Yuyama for his remarks on the readings of the text and on the notes.

5. See *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *ibid.*, p. ix.

trimśatsahasrāḥ paripūrṇakoṭyo Jinānayaṃ  
 drakṣyati kāśyapo'hyayam /  
 cariṣyati tatra ca brahmacaryam bauddhasya  
 jñānasya kṛtena bhikṣavaḥ // 2  
 kṛtvāna pūjāṃ dvipadottamānāṃ samudāniya  
 jñānamidamanuttaram /  
 sa paścime cocchrayilokanātho bhaviṣyati  
 apratimo maharṣiḥ // 3  
 kṣetram ca tasya pravaram bhaviṣyati  
 vicitra śuddham śubhadarśanīyam /  
 manojñarūpaṃ sadā premanīyam  
 suvarṇasūtraiḥ samalamkṛtaṃ ca // 4  
 ratnāmayā vṛkṣa tahiṃ vicitrā  
 aṣṭāpadasmim tahi ekameke /  
 manojñagaudham ca vimuñcamānā  
 bheṣyanti kṣetrasmi imasmi bhikṣo // 5  
 puṣpaprakāraiḥ samalamkṛtaṃ ca  
 vicitrapuṣpairupaśobhitaṃ ca /  
 svabhraprapātā na ca tatra santi samam  
 śivam bheṣyati darśanīyam // 6  
 tahi bodhisattvāna sahasrakoṭyaḥ  
 sudāntacittāna maharddhikānām /  
 vaipulyasūtrāntadharāṇa tāyinām bahū  
 bhaviṣyanti sahasrameke // 7  
 anāsravā antimadehadhāriṇo bheṣyanti  
 ye śrāvaka dharmarājñāḥ /  
 pramāṇu teṣāṃ na kadāci vidyate  
 divyena jñānena gaṇitva kalpān // 8  
 so dvādaśa antarakalpa<sup>1</sup> sthāsyati  
 saddharma viṃśāntarakalpa sthāsyati /  
 pratirūpakaścāntarakalpaviṃśati raśmi-  
 prabhāsasya viyūha bheṣyati // 9  
 atha khalvāyusmān mahāmaudgalyāyanaḥ sthavira...

1. According to the Errata on page 492.

The pages 141B and 142A,B of the Kashgar manuscript  
from the N. F. Petrovsky collection :

paśyāmyaham bhikṣavakṣava<sup>2</sup> buddhacakṣuṣā  
sthaviro hyayam kāśyapa buddhu<sup>3</sup> bheśyati /  
anāgate'dhvanī<sup>4</sup>... samkhyi<sup>5</sup> kalpe kṛtvāna  
bahu pūja<sup>6</sup> tathāgatānām<sup>7</sup> // 1  
triṃśamsahasrāḥ paripūrṇakoṭi . . . <sup>8</sup> āṃ  
jinānayaṃ drakṣyati kāśyapo hyayam /

2. *bhikṣavakṣava* instead of *bhikṣava*. Most probably, a copyist's mistake.
3. *buddhu* instead of *buddha*. It is noteworthy that this reading, characteristic of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS), is repeated in the two different manuscripts from Kashgar. Such a form is possibly a result of the influence of Apabhraṃśa. H. Kern failed to note this reading and referred only to the manuscript of the Royal Asiatic Society. On forms like *buddhu*, see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 1.8.20.
4. Folio 141 ends here. The dots before the text that follows designate the beginnings of lines which were not preserved on folio 142AB.
5. In both Kashgar manuscripts *asamkhyi* is irregular. Loc. Sg. of *asamkhyā* characteristic of BHS. The edition of Kern and Nanjio notes *asamkhyeya* and *asamkhyeye* (according to the manuscripts of the Royal Asiatic Society and Watters' manuscript). U. Wogihara and G. Tsuchida give no variants. See Edgerton BHS, 1.8.59.
6. *pūja* instead of classical *pūjām*. A BHS form, common in verses. See Edgerton, 1.9.19. with a reference to Mv. III.140. 23 ; *kṛtvā . . . pūja jineṣu* ; *pūja karoti* ; Gv. 215.3 : *pravartayi pūja jinānām*, 231.18.
7. The Kashgar manuscript of N. F. Petrovsky has *tathāgata* instead of *dvipadottama*. Judging by the absence of indications relating to this variant, the editors did not come across this reading in the manuscripts at their disposal.
8. Thanks to Fragment SI <sup>P</sup> 62A the reading in folio 142 A; *koṭinām* which is different from that accepted by H. Kern and U. Wogihara is restored. Both variants are possible in the context, although the agreement of the numerals with the adjoining words is different. The fact that both manuscripts textually coincide clearly indicates that *koṭinām* must be the right reading.



cariṣyate<sup>9</sup> tatra ca brahmacaryaṃ boddhasya<sup>10</sup>  
 jñānasya . . . tena bhikṣuḥ<sup>11</sup> //2  
 kṛtvāna pūjāṃ dvipadottamānāṃ<sup>12</sup>  
 samūdāniyā<sup>13</sup> jñānamidaṃ hyanuttaram<sup>14</sup>  
 sa . . . āścayi<sup>15</sup> lokanāyako<sup>16</sup> bhaviṣyati<sup>17</sup>  
 apratimo maharṣiḥ<sup>18</sup> // 2<sup>19</sup>  
 kṣetraṃ ca etasya va<sup>20</sup> . . . bhaviṣyati  
 vicitra pariśuddha<sup>21</sup> sudarśaniyam

- 9, *Cariṣyate* instead of *cariṣyati* results from the mixing of the middle and active voices in the Middle Indian period. H. Kern and U. Wogihara have *i* which is possible for BHS (see Edgerton I.26.2) and which corresponds to the metre. The variant of the Kashgar manuscript also corresponds to the metre.
10. *boddha* instead of *bauddha* according to the editions of H. Kern and U. Wogihara.
11. The reading *bhikṣuḥ* corresponds to the metre.
12. The superfluous *m* is a copyist's mistake.
13. *samūdāniyā*; the long final *ā* is obviously determined by the metre. The length of final *a* (*ā*) is possible in BHS.
14. *hyanuttaram* instead of *anuttaram* is evidently caused by the metre; *aṃ* is already long in BHS.
12. *ā-ścayi-* ?
16. The Kashgar manuscript of N. F. Petrovsky has *lokanāyaka* instead of *lokanūtha*. In the manuscripts used by H. Kern and B. Nanjio this reading did probably not occur. The footnotes give no reference to other variants. The same in the Japanese edition.
17. In Fragment SI  $\frac{P}{62A}$  *-(bhaviṣya)-te* which corresponds to the metre. The variants of H. Kern and U. Wogihara are correct.
18. The absence of *visarga*, which is present in H. Kern's edition and in the fragment, is possibly a copyist's mistake.
19. *Sic* in the manuscript. Possibly, a copyist's mistake. Should have been Numeral 3.
20. The reading *etasya* allows to restore *va(ram)*, which corresponds to the metre.
21. The edition of H. Kern and B. Nanjio points out that *śubha* is left out in the manuscript belonging to Ekai Kawaguchi (just as in the present manuscript). The authors of the Japanese edition follow the reading of H. Kern. In the N. F. Petrovsky manuscript the metre is correct.

manojñarūpaṃ sada preṇmanīyaṃ<sup>22</sup> suva . . .  
 sūtrai samalamkṛtaṃ ca //4  
 ratnāmayā vṛkṣa bahūnīnekā<sup>23</sup> aṣṭāpadasmi tahi eka . . . m  
 manojñagandhaṃ sada mūṃcamānā bheṣyaṃti  
 kṣetrasmi imasya<sup>24</sup> bhikṣo<sup>25</sup> //5  
 puṣpaphale<sup>26</sup> . . . malamkṛtaṃ ca  
 vicitrapuṣphebhi<sup>27</sup> suśobhamānaṃ  
 prapātaśvabhra<sup>28</sup> na bhavaṃti kṣetre pṛthivī<sup>29</sup>  
 sa . . . ṣyati darśaniyāḥ //6  
 tahi bodhisattvāna sahasrakoṭaya.<sup>30</sup>  
 sudāntacittāna . . . harddhikāno

22. The copyist's mistake is evidently to be explained by a dialectal pronunciation.
23. *bahūni* instead of *vicitrā*. The second *n* in *bahūnīnekā* may be an inter-vocal prothetic consonant or *bahūnīnekā* is *bahūni' nekā*.
24. *imasya* (gen.) instead of Prākṛt *imaṃhi* (loc.); the translations are slightly different: *kṣetrasmi imasmi* "in this field"; *kṣetrasmi imasya* "in his field". The first variant is preferable. Both variants are possible as far as the metre is concerned.
25. *bhikṣo* in both editions. See Edgerton, 1.12. 63 for this place. A Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit form resulting from the coincidence of the *a*- and *ū*- declensions. In their comments on the word, H. Kern and B. Nanjio cited other possible emendations: *bhikṣūh* or *bhikṣavo*. The Kashgar manuscript of Petrovsky confirms the adopted variant.
26. It is possible to restore *puṣpaphale|bhiḥ| /sa/malamkṛtaṃ* by analogy, although it does not correspond to the metre.
27. Irregular form *puṣphebhi* from *puṣpebhi*. *puṣpebhi* instead of *puṣpaiḥ* (Cf. Prākṛtic Inst. Pl. *puṣpehi*, Vedic *puṣpebhiḥ*): *divyebhi* (in 8th śloka) instead *divyena* (according to H. Kern). This must be *divyehi* after Sanskritisation: *divyebhi*.
28. *prapātasvabhra* instead of *svabhraprapāta* must be a copyist's mistake.
29. *pṛthivī* Nom. Sg. Fem. It is possible to restore *sa/mā bhe/ṣyati* and *darśaniyā/ḥ|*. In that case the translation would be slightly different from that based on the text of Kern's and Wogihara's editions: "And the land will be smooth and beautiful".
30. The *visarga* is absent which is either due to the influence of the Prākṛt which underlays the *Gāthā-s* (see Kern, *ibid.*, pp. x-xi) or to a copyist's mistake. The form *koṭaya/ḥ|* instead of the more regular *koṭyaḥ* is most interesting and occurs in both Kashgar manuscripts. See Edgerton, 1.10. 152-153; 10.162 with reference to *koṭyaḥ*.

vaitulya<sup>31</sup> sūtrāntadharāṇa tāyinām  
 buhūni<sup>32</sup> bheṣyanti sahasranekā //7  
 . . . nāsravā antimadehadhāriṇo bheṣyati<sup>33</sup>  
 ye śrāvaka dharmarājinaḥ<sup>34</sup>  
 pramāṇa ye<sup>35</sup> . . . na kadāci vidyate divyebhi  
 cakṣūbhi<sup>36</sup> gaṇitva kalpā<sup>37</sup> //8  
 sa dvādaśa<sup>38</sup> antarakaḷpa sthāsyati pa . . . pūrṇa<sup>39</sup>  
 viṃśacca saddharma sthāsyati prasthāsyati<sup>40</sup>  
 pratirūpakaṃ cāparaviṃśa sthāsyati ra . . .  
 prabhāsasya viyūha bheṣyati //9  
 atha khalvāyuṣmāṃt<sup>41</sup> sthavira //? //.

31. *vaitulya* instead of the equivalent *vaiṇulya* adopted by H. Kern and B. Nanjio. H. Kern cited this reading in the list of variants characteristic of the Kashgar manuscript.
32. The text of fragment SI  $\frac{P}{62A}$  coincides with the Kashgar manuscript. *bahūni* instead of *bahū* adopted by H. Kern and U. Wogihara. *bahūni* is the restored Sanskritization of the regular *bahū*. Probably this reading has been chosen in order to restore the metre.
33. *bheṣyati* instead of *bheṣyanti*. This could have been possible in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, but is contrary to the metre. Probably a mistake of the copyist.
34. The texts of the Kashgar manuscripts coincide. The form *dharmarājinaḥ* is a Prākṛtic form, evidently a North-Western one. Both variants are metrically possible.
35. In our opinion it is necessary to restore *pramāṇa ye/śām/na kadāci vidyate*. The final *a* in *pramāṇa* instead of *u* is possible. See footnote 3.
36. The translation is : "divine eyes" instead of "divine knowledge". The metre is correct.
37. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *kalpā* instead of regular *kalpān*.
38. Instead of *dvādaśa* in the edition of H. Kern and B. Nanjio. The Japanese scholars have suggested *dvādaśo*. The manuscript of Petrovsky and Fragment SI  $\frac{P}{62A}$  confirm the variant adopted by H. Kern and B. Nanjio.
39. Thanks to the text of Fragments SI  $\frac{P}{62A}$  we can restore in the ninth line of folio ,142B of the Kashgar manuscript *paripūrṇa* which corresponds to the metre.
40. Repetition : *sthāsyati prasthāsyati*. Probably a copyist's mistake.
41. So in MSS.

Fragment SI P  
62A

. . . yaṃ kāśyapa buddhu<sup>3</sup> bheṣyati  
 anāgate dhvāni asaṃkhyi<sup>5</sup>  
 . . . ipūrṇakoṭinām<sup>8</sup> jinān. ayaṃ drakṣyati kāśyapo  
 . . . āna pūjāṃ dvipadottamānāṃ sa  
 . . . te<sup>17</sup> apratimo maharṣiḥ  
 . . . īyaṃ suva  
 . . . ndhaṃ  
 . . . hasrakoṭa  
 . . . hūni<sup>32</sup> bheṣyaṃti sa  
 . . . . . dharmarājinaḥ<sup>34</sup>  
 pramāṇā ye<sup>35</sup>  
 . . . śa<sup>38</sup> antarakalpa sthāsyati paripūrṇa<sup>39</sup> vim  
 . . . prabhāsasya viyūha bheṣyati || 9  
 atha khalvāyu

See notes *supra*

# A FRAGMENT OF THE SANSKRIT SUMUKHADHĀRANĪ

Among the Central Asian documents<sup>1</sup> from the collection of N. F. Petrovsky kept in the Manuscript Collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, under the code SI  $\frac{P}{65a}$  there is a fragment of a manuscript written in Brāhmī. The fragment is a sheet of yellowish paper, 65.5 x 6 centimetres, 5.5 cm. from the left edge *recto* there is a circle in black ink, 2 cm. in diameter, with a hole in the centre evidently for a cord. The text is written in black ink, 4 lines on each page. The script is Upright Central Asian Calligraphic Brāhmī, the size of characters is 1 cm. (width) x 0.5 cm. (height) The spacing is 1 cm. On the left margin *recto* the number of the sheet is preserved—6.

The date of the document is unknown. It was acquired by N. F. Petrovsky, Russian consul in Kashgar at the beginning of the 20th century. The whole collection was passed by him as a gift to the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The text of the document reads as follows :<sup>2</sup>

*recto*

1. *husavatipusavti. hilihili. yathābhaya. yathāgniyathā*
2. *paraṃyathābhayaṃyathāvajreyathāhrdayaṃiyamvajrapāṇisumu-*
3. *khanāmadhāraṇītathāgatenabhāṣitāsarvasatvānā|ma|rthā|ya|-*
4. *kāruṇyatayāhamapibhāṣyāmiyathataipūrvakaisamyaksum-*  
*bu|d|dh|ai-*

1. We express our sincere gratitude to Professor H. W. Bailey for his very valuable notes on this article.
2. The text here is not divided into words. We followed only the line division and punctuation of the original. The marks of division at the end of the text are the same as in the manuscript.

## verso

1. *rbhāṣitādhiṣṭhitācasatyapratijñenavyavasthāpitā. athakha = lubhagavā/to|—*
2. *rnakośā/n/mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇāraśmipramuktāsarvabuddhak-  
ṣetteṣur/aś/my|ā|—*
3. *vabhāsaprādurbhū|ta|tayācaraśm|y|āsaṃcoditābuddhābhaga-  
vatasvaka—*
4. *svakaibuddhakṣetrasaṃprasthitāsahebuddhakṣetraih : // : : //*

The contents of the text and above all the name of the *dhāraṇī*, occurring in the second and third lines of the text *recto* give a sound basis for considering this fragment as part of the Sanskrit text *Sumukhadhāraṇī*.

Academician S. F. Oldenburg was the first to suppose that this document is part of the *Sumukhadhāraṇī*. On the paper in which this document was wrapped there was written by S. F. Oldenburg. —*Sumukhadhāraṇī*.

This text is of considerable interest, for it supplies us with a fragment of the Sanskrit original which was up to the present time regarded as lost and preserved only in Tibetan, Chinese and Khoṭanese-Śāka translations. The discovery of the Sanskrit original is of particular importance because it helps us to understand the whole of the Khoṭanese-Śāka version better and, in particular, to determine the meanings of those Śāka words which are not found in other Khoṭanese-Śāka texts.

The composition of the text of the *Vajrapāṇisumukhadhāraṇī* may be traced to the first centuries A.D., i.e. to the period when Vajrayāna, the achievement of *nirvāṇa* through *dhāraṇī* (magic formulas) began to take shape. The Sanskrit name of the *dhāraṇī* is *Excellent Gate of Vajrapāṇī*.<sup>3</sup>

The discovery of the fragment of the Sanskrit text gives us the opportunity to collate the four versions of the *Vajrapāṇisumukhadhāraṇī*, namely, the Sanskrit, the Khoṭanese-Śāka, the Tibetan and the Chinese ones. The Sanskrit text should naturally be regarded as original, the Śāka, Tibetan and

3. Vajrapāṇī—name of a Buddha pr Bodhisattva, see *BHS*, p. 467.

Chinese as translations. But the analysis and collation of the texts show that they were not merely translations of the original now found but rather reveal the existence of at least three different versions of the source in question from which they originate. The Tibetan and Chinese versions can be dated with rather close approximation. The four Chinese versions date back to the 4-5th centuries. A.D. The first mention of the Chinese versions is found in the catalogues of the Eastern China but the fifth one was translated by Bodhiruci in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. (N 1139).<sup>4</sup>

There is a considerable discrepancy in all the translations but Bodhiruci's translation is the closest to the Sanskrit text at our disposal.

The Tibetan translation of the *dhāraṇī* is called, 'phags-pa sgo-bzañ-po zes bya-ba'i gzuñs (the literal translation of the Sanskrit name) and is part of the *Kanjur*.<sup>5</sup> Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde who lived in the 9th century A.D. are mentioned as translators.<sup>6</sup>

The Śaka text<sup>7</sup> is written in the so called "late-Khotanese" language and can be dated to the 9-10th century A.D.<sup>8</sup>

4. Hobogirin, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises, Fascicule annexe* : N 1137, 1138a, b ; 1139, 1140. N 1137 (*Chan fang pien t'o lo ni king*) ; N 1138a (*Kin kang pi mi chan men t'o lo ni king*) ; N 1138b (*Kin kang pi mi chan men t'o lo ni tcheou king*) ; N 1139 (*Hiu ming fa men chen tcheou king*) ; N 1140 (*Yen cheou miao men t'o lo ni king*). Bodhiruci's translation is in *Taisho*, vol. xx, pp. 585b (2)-589.
5. See *Kanjur*, De-rge edition, *rgyud-'bum, ba*, f. 47b-52a ; the fragment in question is on f. 48a.
6. In the Tibetan chronicles the activity of the translators Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde is assigned to the reign of Ralpacan (815-839 A.D.). See, for example, E. Obermiller, *Bu-ston, History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, Heidelberg, 1932, pt. ii p. 196.
7. Published in H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, London, 1951, pp. 135-143 ; the fragment under consideration is on p. 137.
8. See H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Iranica, II, Bulletin of the School of Oriental*

The collation of the Sanskrit text with the above-mentioned translations reveals that neither of them (except for Bodhiruci's version) originates from the discovered Sanskrit version. This is demonstrated above all by the *dhāraṇī*-s themselves being different in all the above-mentioned texts. Closest to the Sanskrit version are the Tibetan text and the Chinese translation made by Bodhiruci. The Śaka translation as compared with the Sanskrit and Tibetan ones, is more elaborate mainly due to the introduction of some descriptive detail. At the same time the Sanskrit, the Tibetan, the Śaka versions and the Chinese of the T'ang period form one group which clearly contradicts other Chinese translations. Bringing together the chronological data and the translations of the given text together with the results of textual analysis, we are justified in supposing that in the first centuries of the christian era (earlier than the 4th century, that is before the Chinese translation was made) the original Sanskrit version of the *dhāraṇī* was composed (Sanskrit version I), on which the Chinese translation bases itself—*King kang pi mi chan men t'o lo ni king* (N 1138a).

Simultaneously, there evidently appeared the shorter Sanskrit version (Sanskrit version II), which fathered another Chinese translation (N 1138). The supposition that the short Chinese translation is a summary of the complete one can hardly be accepted, for the Chinese translations differ not only in their length but also in the texts of the magic formulas (*dhāraṇī*-s). The Sanskrit versions I and II which can be reconstructed on the basis of the Chinese translations did not survive. The Sanskrit manuscript that we now possess comes from Central Asia, judging by the hand-writing and the place of acquisition—Kashgar. The version is closer to the Tibetan, the Śaka and the Chinese one of the T'ang period. The date

*and African Studies (BSOAS)*, vol. xiii, 1949, p. 138 ; M. J. Dresden, "The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's former birth'", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, New Series*, vol. 45, part 5, 1955, p. 404 and others.



of the compilation of the Tibetan translation being exactly known, and the possibility of approximately determining the time when the Śaka one appeared, allow us to suppose that the discovered Sanskrit version (III) was extant in Central Asia not later than the 8-9th centuries A.D. or may be, even earlier. This supposition is further strengthened by the existence of the Chinese translation, dating back to the beginning of the 8th century A.D., which had evidently been made from the Sanskrit version found in Kashgar.

It is necessary to point out that Bernhard Karlgren<sup>9</sup> bases his reconstruction of T'ang phonetics on the classic literature of the T'ang period, above all on poetry. However, the *dhāraṇī*-s and the transliteration of the Sanskrit untranslated names and terms in the translations of Buddhist texts made at the time of the T'ang dynasty (Hsüan-tsang, I-ching, Bodhiruci etc.) convince us that the translators transcribed the words most probably on the basis of the Northern dialect of the regions of Loyang, Ch'angan, Tunhuang, the phonetics of which is almost completely identical with that of the modern northern dialects.

That is why we shall first give the transliteration of the text of the *dhāraṇī* using characters adopted for modern *p'u t'ung hua*. The cases of the supposed deviations from modern *p'u t'ung hua* which we draw from the *dhāraṇī* texts in Chinese are indicated in brackets : *huso(sa)pati*, *puso(sa)pati*, *puso(sa)pati*, *si(hi)lisi(hi)li*, *ye(ya)t'a<sup>10</sup> she(che)ya*, *ye(ya)t'aach'i (k'i)ni*, *ye(ya)t'apo(pa)lan(lam)che(cha)*, *ye(ya)t'apayen(yam)*,<sup>11</sup> *ya(ye)t'apachelan(lam)*, *ye(ya)t'ahelito(ta)yen(yam)*.<sup>12</sup>

9. B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, vol. 29, 1957.

10. Here as well as henceforward it is clear from the text that the hieroglyph *t'a* must be read long.

11. This sign read *chien*, but we presume, on the strength of the Sanskrit text, that this is a mistake. It is used instead of the sign *yen* (salt) similar to it in shape and having the reading which corresponds to the Sanskrit one.

12. We express our sincere gratitude to L. N. Menshikov and L. G. Gerzenberg whose help in the analysis of the Chinese and Śaka texts

Lines	Sanskrit
2 (end)	<i>iyam vajrapāṇisumu-</i>
3	<i>kha nāma dhāraṇi tathā-</i> <i>gatena bhāṣitā sarvasatvānā-</i> <i>ma(rthā)ya/</i>
4	<i>kāruṇyatayā'ham api bhā-</i> <i>ṣiṣyāmi yathatai<sup>13</sup> pūrvakai</i> <i>samyaksambu(d/dh)ai/-</i>

*Verso*

1	<i>r bhāṣitādhiṣṭhitā ca satya-</i> <i>pratijñena vyavasthāpitā atha</i> <i>khalu bhagavā(to)<sup>14</sup></i>
2	<i>rñākośā(n)<sup>15</sup> mahāpuruṣa-</i> <i>lakṣanā(d)<sup>16</sup> raśmi<sup>17</sup> pramuktā</i> <i>sarvabuddhakṣetreṣu (raś)-</i> <i>my ā/-</i>
3	<i>vabhāsa pradurabhūt (ta)yā<sup>18</sup></i> <i>ca raśm(yā)<sup>19</sup> saṃcoditā buddhā</i> <i>bhagavata svaka—</i>
4	<i>svakai buddhakṣetrasaṃprā-</i> <i>sthitā sahe buddhakṣetraih //</i>

was invaluable. The remarks on the transliteration of the Chinese *dhāraṇi* and translations of the Chinese versions have been made by L. N. Menshikov.

13. We leave here the reading of the manuscript. The given text is notable for the absence of the final *visarga*, which is possible in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. (BHS).
14. One must read *bhagavā* [to|/rṇa.
15. In the manuscript /ū|rñakośā/d/ with *a* in *ūrṇā*. Evidently, a mistake of the scribe.
16. In the manuscript °*lakṣaṇā*. The sense demands here Ablative sing. In classical Sanskrit it is °*lakṣaṇāt*. May be it is possible to have °*lakṣaṇā* in BHS with *ā* (see Edgerton, I.8.46-48; most examples are concerning *Mahāvastu*).
17. *Visarga* is absent in the manuscript. It is possible in BHS.
18. We suggest the reconstruction /ta/yā.
19. In the manuscript only *raśmā* is written.

*Translation*

Lines	Sanskrit text
2 (end)	This <i>dhāraṇī</i> by the name of <i>Vajrapāṇisumukha</i> (Excellent gate of Vajrapāṇi)
3	is uttered by the Tathāgata for the sake of all the living beings (and)
4	out of compassion ; I shall also utter it just as by the former completely enlightened Buddhas.

*verso*

1	it was said and produced magically and by true claim established. Then by the Bhagavat
2	from the circle of hair between the eye-brows—the mark of a great man—was emitted a ray (of light) and over all the Buddhafields the light of the ray
3	spread. And urged by that ray the blessed Buddhas each
4	from their Buddhafields to the world of people departed.

## Lines                      Śaka text

2 (end)	This <i>dhāraṇī</i> by the name of Vajrapāṇa-sumukha,
3	the stanzas of magic formulas, was uttered by the former innumerable Buddhas.
4	From compassion to all the living beings I shall now say it again (also) just as the former divine Buddhas

*verso*

*arhat*-s who conceived all *dharma*-s, proclaimed and produced magically and by true claim established this *dhāraṇī*. Then at that time divine Buddha Śākyamuni

- 2 from the circle of hair between the eye-brows and from other marks (of the) great man emitted a shining ray. All over the world, over all Buddha-fields
- 3 the light of this ray spread. Of these rays all over the world in all the Buddha-fields the Buddhas became incited by this magic transformation. And then from each
- 4 Buddha-field so many Buddhas went there to that world of people.

Tibetan text

This *dhāraṇī* by name of  
Excellent gate of Vajrapāṇi  
by the *tathāgata*-s for the  
sake of all living beings  
is uttered

out of compassion. Just as  
by the former *tathāgata*-s  
*samyaksambuddha*-s it was  
said and blessed and by true  
claim established so do I  
proclaim it. Then the  
Bhagavat

from the circle of hair between  
the eye-brows—the mark of a  
great man— emitted a ray of  
light. Over all the Buddha-  
fields the brilliance of  
this

light spread. Urged by this  
brilliance of the light,  
they came from each Buddha-  
field to that part of the  
Universe, where people  
(live).

- Lines                      Chinese text
- 2 (end) Buddha said to the Bodhisattva-mahāsattva  
—“The Hand of Varja” :  
“This
- 3        divine incantation, *dhāraṇī* preserving life,  
“The Excel-
- 4        lent Gate” was already uttered (and) protected by  
the former *tathāgata-s samyaksambuddha-s*.

*verso*

- 1        They proclaimed a vow and established it truly, I  
at present also for the benefit and out of compassion
- 2        for all beings proclaim a great vow and establish  
it truly. Therefore I say this *dhāraṇī*. Then the  
Bhagavat emitted light
- 3        from the circle between the eye-brows—the mark  
of a great man. This light illuminated all the  
Buddha-fields.
- 4        By the magical power of the Buddha all the  
*tathāgata-s* in the Buddha-fields saw this light and  
each of them at the same time went from his field  
to the world of human beings (*sahā lokadhātu*).

In the table below we suggest the possible reconstructed variant of the reading of the given *dhāraṇī* in the T'ang period.

Sanskrit	Śaka	Tibetan	Chinese
husavati	hūsavate	husavati	husapati
pusavati	phusavate pusavati <sup>20</sup>	mupavati	pusapati, pusapati <sup>20</sup>
hilihili	hili heli	hilihili	hili hili
yathābhaya	yathā vajrri	yathāpadzuya	yat'ācheya
yathāgni	yathā agni	yathāagni	yat'āk'ini
yathāparam	yathā paramcam	yathāparantsa	yat'āpalamcha
yathābhayaṃ	yathābhayaṃ	yathānala	yat'āpayam

20. Two words instead of one in the Sanskrit text.

yathāvajre	yathā paramca <sup>21</sup>	yathāvadzraṇa	yat'āpachelam
	yathā vajrram		
yathāhṛdayam	yathā hyadayaam <sup>22</sup>	yathāhṛdaya <sup>23</sup>	yat'āhelitayam
—	—	svāhā <sup>24</sup>	

The table shows that magic formulas in different versions coincide and diverge in a way which makes it impossible to reconstruct the original Sanskrit version.

21. *paramca* is repeated here. In the Sanskrit text it is absent.
22. The reading of the Khoṭanese-Śaka version suggested by Prof. H. Bailey should possibly be changed to *hṛdayam*. The underline sign for *ya* and *r* in Upright Central Asian Brāhmī is almost the same and its variations often depend on the peculiarities of the hand-writing. However, the possibility of Skt, *hṛdayam* changing into *hyadayaam* in the late Khoṭanese-Śaka language should be considered, for the latter in a position before a consonant often proves unstable. See H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, vol. x, p. 917 ; *Asia Major*, N. N. S., i, p. 38 ; *TPhS*, 1952 (1953), p. 57 ; M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, p. 408.
23. Inseparably from the following word.
24. This word is present only in the Tibetan text,

# FRAGMENT OF THE SAKA VERSION OF THE DHARMAŚARĪRA-SŪTRA FROM THE N. F. PETROVSKY COLLETION

The Manuscript Collection of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences contains two folios of a Śaka text which, in our opinion, is a part of the Śaka version of the Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra-sūtra*. This opinion is confirmed not only by the contents of the text itself but by the fact that the title of the Sanskrit original is mentioned in it.\*

★ Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows :

Asmussen—J. P. Asmussen, *The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā*. Text, Translation and Glossary, together with the Buddhist Sanskrit Original(=Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, historisk-filologiske Meddelelger, xxxix, 2), Copenhagen, 1961.

BHSD—F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, vol ii : Dictionary.

Dresden—M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's Former Births'* : Indo-Scythian (Khotanese) Text, English Translation, Grammatical Notes, and Glossaries (=Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 45), 1955.

E—E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*. Text und Uebersetzung aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben Von M. Leumann (=Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxi, Leipzig, 1933,-36).

Edgerton—F. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, vol. i : Grammar.

Kt—H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. iii, Cambridge, 1956. vol v, 1963.

Primer—Sten Konow, *Primer of Khotanese Śaka*, Oslo, 1949.

SP—*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. by H. Kern and B. Nanjio, St. Petersburg, 1912. (Quoted by pages and lines).

Siddhasāra—H. M. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. i, Cambridge, 1945, p. 56.

Before this only one very short text (one folio) of the Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra-sūtra* was known. It had been discovered in Idikutśahri (Eastern Turkistan) and was published in 1904 by H. Stoenner.<sup>1</sup>

The Śaka text under review, though similar in a number of Buddhist terms to the Sanskrit one from Idikutśahri, is not a direct Śaka version of the latter. It agrees more closely with the text of a manuscript containing another Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra*, which is also kept in the above-mentioned Leningrad Manuscript Collection (See Tables below)<sup>2</sup> though the latter does not completely correspond with it either.

We believe that the text under analysis is a fragment of a Śaka version of the *Dharmaśarīra* which in its turn is a translation of another hitherto unknown version of the Sanskrit work, similar to the Leningrad manuscript. The discovery of the manuscripts containing a new version of Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra* and a part of the Śaka version shows that the *Dharmaśarīra* was quite popular both with the Indian and the Iranian populations of Eastern Turkistan. A Chinese translation (Fa shen ching) is also known. It was made by Fa-hsien at the end of the tenth century.<sup>3</sup>

1. H. Stoenner, "Zentralasiatische-Sanskrittexte in Brāhmīschrift aus Idikutśahri, Chinesisch-Turkistan, I", *SPAW*, xliv, 1904, pp. 1282-1287.
2. We intend to publish this Sanskrit manuscript in the near future. It evidently contains the complete version of the work, judging by the *siddham* at the beginning of the text and by the colophon at its end. The latter reads as follows: . . . *dharmāśarīraṃ nāma samāpta idam avocat bhagavaṃn āptamaṇā bhikṣu bhāṣitam abhyānandat*. The manuscript consists of five folios, each of four lines, and contains a large number of terms and categories of the Buddhist doctrine. Some passages are very similar to those of the *Dharma-saṃgraha* (see *Dharmasaṃgraha*, An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms, prepared for publication by Kenjiu Kaswara, ed. by F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885).
3. Fa shen ching, *Chinese Tripiṭaka* (Tokyo, 1880-1885), vol. vi, fasc. 7, pp. 56-57, see Nanjio's Catalogue, N 921; *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, N 766, vol. xvii, pp. 699b-700c. We have compared the Chinese translation with the Sanskrit text of the Leningrad *Dharmaśarīra* manuscript. The comparison revealed considerable similarity in the texts. It is



There is no doubt that the publication of the Śāka version of the *Dharmaśarīra* is of considerable interest for Buddhologists and particularly for those who are concerned with Buddhist manuscripts. But it is of even greater importance for the study of the Śāka language, because it presents a new Śāka text, a version of a well-known Sanskrit work, which in several respects is similar to the Sanskrit original. These Sanskrit-Śāka parallels are particularly interesting.

It is necessary to point out the titles of Buddhist works mentioned in the Śāka text such as *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Daśabhūmika*, *Ratnakūṭa*, *Mahāsannipāta*.

The text is written on yellowish paper 36 x 8.5 cm in four lines. At eleven cm from the left edge there is a hole for the cord. Its diameter is 1.5 cm. It is surrounded by a circle. The margins on both sides are 1.5 cm.

The writing is upright Central Asian Brāhmī, the folios are numbered on the left margin *recto*, the numbers being 6 and 7.

The manuscript was discovered in Kashgar and was sent to academician S. F. Oldenburg by N. F. Petrovsky. The palaeography of the manuscript allows us to date it approximately in the sixth or seventh century A.D.

The text reads as follows :

6A

1. ttina sūtrana natagaṃggavālyā<sup>4</sup> gyasta balysa baly-sūstā busta<sup>5</sup> u cu ra bhadrakalpya balysa tti—

quite possible that the Chinese text is a translation from a manuscript containing the same version of the Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra* as the one represented in the Leningrad Manuscript Collection. A final solution of the problem requires a more detailed comparison of the texts after the publication of the Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra*. We take the opportunity to express our gratitude to L. N. Menschikoff (USSR), who has helped in the study of the Chinese text and also to Prof. Sir H. Bailey (England), Prof. I Gershevitch (England), Prof. V. Livschitz (USSR) and Dr. L. Gerzenberg (USSR).

4. With deleted first two dots, hence *nata*, skt. *nadī* transcribed.

5. Cf. Skt. *Dharmaśarīra* (5A 3-4 ; MS. from Petrovsky's Collection,

2. na bvāri. ttina cu biśsam gyastana balysāna meri pīra māñamḍa ttina cu mahāyāmñā

3. hauda padya haṅgaśsa haṅbistana siddhāṃtta hvata āstaṃna tathāggataggarbha. śe e—

4. kayāna. dida dharmakāya.<sup>6</sup> tcūraṃma anutpādani-raudha.<sup>7</sup> pūha lokadhātuvyavasthāṃna kṣeṃ-

## 6B

1. ma (bodhi)satv(a)<sup>8</sup> hau(da)ma /.../ tath(āga)tamahātmya. ṣi(ta) haṅgaśa mahāyāmñā siddhāṃtta hva

2. cu vi(na) mahāyaṃna uhulamñā ni byauda ttina mī ṣi dhārmaśsarīra nāṃma dāta ttidi-

3. ra uvāra gaṃbhīra paramārtha cu Prajñāpārāṃme āstaṃna Saddharmapuṇḍarī Bu-

4. ddhavalatsai (Laṃ)ggāva(tā)ra<sup>9</sup> Daśabhūmai Ratnakūla<sup>10</sup> Mahāsaṃdvā<sup>11</sup> cu buru mahāyāmna dā-

Leningrad): ... dharmasāriraṃ dharmanadī Gaṅgānadīvūluko samyaksambuddhā svalakṣaṇasāmānyalakṣaṇataś cāvabudhya ...

6. Cf. E. xxv 387 : *ttathāgatta-ggarbha trāmu vaṣṣata pūstalkho ye ratanu nūsta u di śśandau priha* ; 388 : *puṣṣo eka-yāni dharma-kaya abhāva/dāta hvāñāmata hurṣṣāya panaśte*.
7. Cf. E. xiv, 157 : *kye' anutpāda paysenda anarodho-dharma paysenda kho na na bodhisatva paysenda huna māñanda diyāna*.
8. Perhaps *bodhisattva*, as *bodhisattvabhūma* (7A2).
9. In the *Mahāvvyutpatti* the name *Laṅkāvatāra* is mentioned together with the following names of *sūtras* : *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Śaka *Buddhavalatsai*), *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Daśabūmika*, *Ratnakūta*.
10. In E. xiv, there are the following names of *sūtras* : *Ratnakūla*=*na* (verse 42), *Daśabhūm(i)ya* (43), *Buddhavalatasiya* (46), *Prajñāp(ā) rāmato* (48).
11. Śaka *Mahāsaṃdvā*=Skt. *Mahāsannipāta*. In Śaka the *-ṃn-* or *-nn-* of the Skt. word has become *-n(m)d-*. The word *sannipāta* often occurs in medical texts in the form *saṃdvaina* (see *Siddhasāra*, 125, v. 4). In E, xiv, 13 the form *mahāsandavūta* is mentioned along with *Prajñāpārāmata* and *Buddhavalatsai* (see our text). On the text of the *Mahāsannipāta*, see F. W. Thomas in A. F. R. Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 100ff. ; N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, iv, 1 (Calcutta, 1959), pp. i-xiv, text pp. 1-136 (also *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 1959, ix, pp. 135-140).

## 7A

1. ta haṃgaśśa haṃbistana artha mara dharmāśśarīra  
sūtra vīra hvata tcuīna smṛtyupasthānāna

2. ā(staṃ)na samyakprahāṇāṃna riddhipādāṃ<sup>12</sup> u hauda  
bodhyaṃga dassau bodhisatvabhūmā khu vista-

3. rna (Da)śśabhūmvā hvata<sup>13</sup> u dasau pārāme u dassau  
mista praṇihāna u dassau ttathā-

4. gatabala tteye (kiḍna) ṣi(ta) (dha)rmaśśarīra nāma. cu  
b(uru) balysūṇa dā artha biśśa mara ṣi

## 7B

1. tteye kiḍnai mī gyasta balysa dātīnai śśarīra hve cu  
biśśe dāta haṃdraṃga balysuṣṭi : ttara hve gyasta

2. balysa cu ja i bisivṛāṣṣai o bisivṛāṣṣaiṇa cu ttū hvanau  
pīriya o pīri<sup>14</sup> pī-

3. ḍi o sāji o parrāṃmi<sup>15</sup> cī ṣṣai ṣi paṃjsa anaṃttanarya  
karma yuḍi āya tteye sūtra pra-

4. bhāvanai biśśa tti karma jyāri ṣi ni narya ni jsāta u  
ysaṃtha vara ni nāsti. u ttiṣṭhaṃda

(6A) —With this *sūtra* the divine Buddhas (as numerous) as the grains in the Gaṅgā river have attained Enlightenment and in the same way the Buddhas belonging to the Bhadrakalpa attain (Enlightenment) with this *sūtra*. And with it for all divine Buddhas and, like a father and mother, in the Mahāyāna in short and in summary is related the teaching consisting of seven main ways, at the beginning the *tathāgata-garbha* [the womb of Tathāgata], the second—*ekayāna* [the

12. Cf. E. xxv. 279 : *smṛty-upasthāna durna samyaprahāṇa|pūrnānu bājo raddhapāta kho haḷṣta.*

13. Similar text in E. xiv. 43 : . . . *kho Daśabhūm(i)ya vistarna hvañāre.*

14. With deleted first *i*, hence for *pari*.

15. Misprint for regular *parrāmi*. Cf. our text with the text of the Śaka *Bhadrakalpikāsūtra* (Sten Konow, Śaka Version of the Bh<sup>o</sup> [= *Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, 1929, ii, Nr 1/, p. 10 : *u cu mi śamanyau ṣi himāte ṣṣada bisivṛāṣai o bisivṛāṣaiṇa cu ttiyām yseryām paṃjem gyastām baysām nāṃma sāji o vāśiya o hvāṃni o pīri o pari piḍe o dijsate o pvāte . . .*

only vehicle], the third—*dharmakāya* [the body of *dharmā*], the fourth—*anutpādanirodha* [absence of origination and cessation], the fifth—*lokadhātuvyavasthāna* [respective determination of the world system], the sixth—

(6B)—*bodhisattva*, the seventh—*tathāgatamāhātmya* [the magnificence of Tathāgata]. This teaching is related in short in the Mahāyāna. And [this] is to be found nowhere else but in the Mahāyāna. So here is this doctrine called the *Dharmaśarīra* so exalted, deep and possessing the highest meaning, and beginning with *Prajñāpāramitā* (includes) *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Daśabhūmika*, *Ratnakūṭa*, *Mahāsannipāta*; and however extensive the teaching of the Mahāyāna is—

(7A)—on the whole the meaning [of it] here in the *Dharmaśarīra-sūtra* in short is set forth: beginning with four applications of mentality (*smṛtyupasthāna*), proper exertions (*samyakprahāṇa*) and bases of supernatural power (*ṛddhipāda*) [there are also] seven members of Enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*) ten stages of *bodhisattva* (*bodhisattvabhūmi*) as (it) is related in detail in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and ten supreme virtues of Buddhas (*pāramitā*) and ten great ardent desires (*praṇihāna*, Skt. *praṇidhāna*) and ten powers of Tathāgata name (*tathāgatabala*). For the sake of this is this here *Dharmaśarīra*. Whatever is the Buddha's meaning it is all.

(7B)—For the sake of this the divine Buddha has preached this body of the Law. And the divine Buddha has explained there the whole Law of the perfect Enlightenment, And whoever are the youth or the maiden let him or her write down this sermon or order to write down or learn by heart or understand; and (for him) too who has committed the five sins causing endless hells, by the power of this *sūtra* all his *karma*-s will disappear and he will not go to hell and he will not enter upon (the circle) of birth there and those remaining (in the world)"...

The categories of the Buddhist doctrine which are enumerated in the Śāka manuscript agree with those in the Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra* (of the Leningrad manuscript) and in some other

Śāka Dharmasāhira	Sanskrit Dharmasāhira	Dharmasāhira from Idikutśahri	Dharma- samgraha	Mahāvvyutpatti
tcāhora smṛtyupasthāne <sup>17</sup> (7A1)	catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni (2A2-3)	line 5	XLIV	XXXVIII (The list of 4 smṛtyup <sup>o</sup> )
tcāhora samyakprahāṇa (7A2)	catvāri samyakprahāṇāni (2A3)	— 6	XLV	XXXIX (The list of 4 prahāṇa)
tcāhora riddhipāda (7A2)	catvāro ṛddhipādo <sup>18</sup> (2A3)	— 6	XLVI	XL (The list of 4 ṛddhipāda)
hauda bodhyaṅga (7A2)	sapta bodhyaṅgāni (2A4)	— 8	XLIX	XLIII (The list of 7 bodhyaṅga)
dassau bodhisatvabhūmā (7A2)	daśa bodhisatvabhūmaya/h/ (2B1)	— 8	LXIV (The list of 10 bhūmi)	XXXI (The list of 10 bhūmi)
dasau pārāme (7A3)	daśa pāramitā (2B4)	— 8	XVII-XVIII	XXXIV (The list of 10 pāramitā)
dassau mista praṇihāna (7A3)	daśa mahāpraṇidhānāni (3A1)	— 8	—	—
dassau ttathāgatabala (7A3-4)	daśa tathāgatabalāni (3A3)	—14	LXXVI	VII (The list of 10 tathāgatabala)

17. N. pl—according to E. xxv. 279.

18. So in MS. On such forms see Edgerton, 19.15 ; 8.83.

similar texts (*Dharmaśārīra* from Idikutśabri, *Dharmasaṃgraha*, *Mahāvvyutpatti*). These agreements are listed in the table. (p. 263).

### GLOSSARY<sup>16</sup>

*anutpādaniraudha* (Skt. *anutpādanirodha*) 'without origination and cessation', BHSD, pp. 27, 300 ; n.sg. *anutpādaniraudha* (6A. 4).

*anaṃttanaria* (adj.) (Skt. *anantarya*) "(action) causing endless hells, bringing immediate retribution, deadly sin" (see Asmussen, p. 42) ; see Bu. Skt. *anantarya* (adj.) 'immediately successive' ; *anantariya*, subst. nt. 'crime bearing immediate fruition, deadly sin' (BHSD, p.20) acc. pl. *anaṃttanarya* (7B. 3).

*artha* (Skt. *artha*) 'object, meaning, aim, matter', n.sg. *artha* (7A. 1, 4).

*ah* (Av. *ah-*) 'to be' ; op. 3 sg.ī (7B. 2) ; perf, opt. 3sg. *āya* (7B. 3) (see Dresden, p. 453).

*āstana* 'beginning with' (on the verb *āstañ-āsta(m) da* "to begin", see Bailey, JRAS, 1942, p. 24 ; inst. sg. *āstaṃna* (6A3) ; (6B3 ; 7A2) ; see Dresden, p. 469.

*I*, see *ah*.

*u* (Av. *utā*, Primer, p. 97) 'and' (6A1 ; 7A2, 3 ; 7B4).

*uvāra* (Skt. *udāra*) 'exalted, noble', Dresden, p. 459 ; n. sg. *uvāra* (6B3).

*uhulaṃṇā* 'elsewhere' (6B2) (see Primer, p. 53 *uholaṇā*).

*ekayāna* (Skt. *ekayāna*) (6A3-4) ; Bu. 'the only vehicle' ; synonym for *mahāyāna* along with *buddhayāna* and *bodhi-sattvayāna*, See BHSD, p. 446 with reference to SP 40. 13f. where is said that this is really the only vehicle and there is no second nor a third vehicle.

16. The entries are in the following order : a, ā, i/a, ī, u, ū, e/ai (ei), o/au ; k, kh, g/gg ; c, ch, j/gy, tc, ts, js ; (t/ṭt, ḍ, ḍh) ; t/tt, th, d/dh, n/ṇṇ (ny) ; p, ph, b/bh, m ; y, r/rr, l, v : s/(śś), ṣ/(ṣṣ), s(ss) : ys ; h.

o 'or' (7B2, 3).

*karma* nt. (Skt. *karman*) 'an act, action'; n.pl. *karma* (7B3-4); *kiḍna* 'for the sake of'; *kiḍna* (7A4); *kiḍnai* (7B1); E has *kaḍana*, *kaḍna*; see Dresden, p. 471. These and other forms go back to a NW Prakrit Krorayina Kharoṣṭhī *kridena*, *kritena*, Skt. *kṛte* (See Bailey, *Asia Major*, N.S., II, 1, 1951, p. 41).

*kṣema* 'sixth'; n.sg. *kṣemma* (6A4; 6B1).

*khu* 'as, like, so that, when' (7A2) (see Asmussen, p. 66).

*gaṃbhīra* (Skt. *gambhīra*) 'deep, profound'; see Asmussen, p. 55; n.sg. *gaṃbīra* (6B3).

*gaṃgga*, see *nataggaṃggavālyā* (Skt. Gaṅgā, N. of a river; on the different forms see Śāka St., 136). The first of *nata* is deleted.

*gyasta* 'divine, majestic'; as a noun 'god, king' = n.sg. *gyasta* (7B1); n. pl. *gyasta* (6A1); gen. pl. *gyastana* (6A2).

*cī* 'if, when' (7B3).

*cu rel*, pron. 'who, which; since, because, when' (6A1, 2; 6B2; 7B1, 2); *cu buru* 'as many as' (6B4, 7A4).

*ja* 'indeed, now' (7B2)

*jin*, *jan-*: *jata* 'to decay, disappear'; pres med. pass. 3 pl. *jiyāri* (7B4) (see Dresden, p. 474).

*tcahora* 'four'; gen. *tcūina* (7A1) (see Dresden, p. 411 n.).

*tcūrama* (*tcūraṃma*) 'fourth'; n. sg. *tcūraṃma* (6A4).

*jsā* 'to go' (cf. Skt. *gacchati*); pres. 3 sg. *jsāta* (7B4) (Dresden p. 475).

*tathāgataggarbha* (Skt. *tathagāta-garbha*) "the womb of Tathāgata, the womb where the T. is conceived and nourished and matured" (BHSD, p. 248); n. gen. sg. *tathāgataggarbha* (6A3).

*tathāgatamahātmya* (Skt. *id.*) 'the magnificence of the Tathāgata' not given in BHSD ; n. sg. °*mahātmya* (6B1). Two unclear *akṣaras* precede, possibly *sarva-*.

*ttathāgatabala* (Skt. *tathāgatabala*) 'a power of a Tathāgata' (see BHSD, p. 397) ; n. pl. *ttathāgatabala* (7A3-4).

*ttaram* 'there' (7B1) (cf. Skt. *tatra*) (see Primer, p. 104 *ttara*, *ttira* < \**taera*).

*tti*, see *ṣi* (*ṣa*).

*ttidira* 'such' (cf. *ttereda* : Śāka St., p. 50) ; n. sg. *ttidira* (6B2-3).

*ttina*. see *ṣi* (*ṣa*).

*ttiṣṭha* (Skt. *tiṣṭha-*) 'to stand' ; pres. pple n. pl. *ttiṣṭhaṃda* (7B4) (see Śāka St. p. 188). Cf. Skt. *tiṣṭhantika* 'remaining in the world', contrasting with 'entered into *nirvāṇa*' (see BHSD, p. 254).

*ttu*, see *ṣi* (*ṣa*).

*ttye* see *ṣi* (*ṣa*).

*Daśabhūmai* (Skt. *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*), name of a Buddhist work ; n. sg. *Daśabhūmai* (6B4) ; loc. pl. *Daśśabhūmvā* (6A3).

*dasau* (7A3), *dassau* (Skt. *daśa*) 'ten' (7A2, 3).

*dā*, see *dāta*.

*dāta* (*dā-*) (Skt. *dharma*) 'a Law, *dharma*, doctrine' ; n. sg. *dāta* (7B2 ; 6B4-7A1) ; acc. sg. *dāta* (7B1) ; n. sg. *dā* (7A4).

*dātināa* 'belonging to the Law, of the Law' (see Dresden, p. 458) ; acc. sg. *dātinai* (7B1).

*dida* 'third' ; n. sg. *dida* (6A4).

*dharmakāya* (Skt. *dharmakāya*) 'the body of *dharma* (one of the three bodies of a Buddha along with *saṃbhoga-kāya* and *nirmāṇa-kāya*)' ; n. sg. *dharmakāya* (6A4).

*Dharmaśśarīra* (Skt. *Dharmaśarīra*), name of a Buddhist work 'the body of the *dharma*' ; n. sg. *Dharmaśśarīra* (6B2 ; 7A4) ; gen. sg. *Dharmaśśarīra* (7A1) (*dharmāśśarīra sūtra vīra*) see Dresden, p. 408.



*naria* (Skt. *naraka*) 'a hell' ; loc. sg. *narya* (7B4).

*nāma* (cf. Av. *nāman-*) 'a name' ; *nāmma* (6B2) 'by name' (Dresden, p. 459 ; *nāma* (7A4) 'by name'.

*nās* : *nāta* 'to take, undertake, enter upon' ; pers. 3 sg. *nāsti* (7B4) (see Dresden, p. 459).

*ni* 'not' (6B4).

*nataggamggavālya* (6A1) 'the sand of the Gaṅgā river'. *gaṅga-vā=likā* is often used in many Indian sources, for example in SP 10.9 : *yathā gaṅga-vālikāḥ* ; 96.9 : *yathā gaṅga-vālikāḥ*. See note 5. The first . . of *nata* is deleted ; here *nata* transcribes SKt. *nadī*.

*pañsa* (Av. *panca-*) 'five' (7B3).

*padya* 'a way, manner, path' ; acc. pl. *padya* (6A3) ; see H. W. Bailey and Alan S. C. Ross. 'Path', TPS, 1961, pp. 130-132.

*paramārtha* (Skt. *id.*) adj. 'having the highest, best sense' ; n. sg. *paramārtha* (6B3).

*pariām* 'to understand' ; opt. 3 sg. *parrāṃmi* (7B3), misprint for *parrāmi* ; the *Vajracchedikā* (29 v. 3) has *sūtra dijsādi vāśīdi parāṃīdi* (KT, III, p. 26) for Skt. *sūtrāntān udgrahiṣyanti dhārayiṣyanti vācayiṣyanti paryavāpsyanti*. The verb *paryavāp-* means 'to understand' ; see BHSD, p. 334 *paryavāpnoti* 'masters, understands (words, a speech, a text, learning)'. See also *parāmāṃ* (KT, III p. 31) , *parrāmemate* (KĪ, V, p. 261). Prof. H. W. Bailey kindly gave some material on the verb *parrām*.

*pārāmā* (Skt. *pāramitā*) f. 'supreme virtue of Buddhas' ; n. pl. *pārāme* (7A3).

*pitar, pata* (Av. *pitar*) 'a father' ; gen. sg. *pīra* (7A2).

*pīr* ; *pīḍa* 'to write' ; inf. *pīḍi* (7B2-3) (Dresden, p. 460) ; opt. 3 sg. *pīriya* (7B2) ; *pīri* (7B2) (see Bailey, BSOAS, VIII 4, p. 935 *pīr*, *pplē pīḍa* as from old Iran, *pati-kar-to* 'imitate, cope' used in old Persian of the *rock sculptures* of Behistan, and in Mid. Pers. *patkar*, N. Pers. *paikar*, Arm. *patker* for

'representation, picture' ; also BSOAS, IX, 1, p. 76) ; but abandoned later BSOAS, XXI, 5sq. Here *pīri* (7B2) has deleted *first* ī, hence *pari*.

*pūha* 'fifth' ; n. sg. *pūhaa* (6A4).

*Prajñāpārāmma* (Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā*) N of a work (or class of works) ; gen. sg. *Prajñāpārāmmē* (6B3) (see Dresden, p. 409).

*prañihāna* (Skt. *prañidhāna*) 'fixation of mind, ardent desire, earnest wish, vow' (BHSD, p. 360) ; n. pl. *prañihāna* (7A3) : *dassau mista prañihāna-* Skt. *daśa mahāprañidhānāni* ; see E. S. 467 ; XIV, 43 *dasau prañihāna*.

*prabhāva* (Skt. *prabhāva*) 'power, influence' ; ins. sg. *prabhāva =na* (7B4) (with *i* 'it' *prabhāvanai*).

*balysa* 'the Exalted one, the Lord, Buddha' ; n. sg. *balysa* (7B1-2) ; n. pl. *balysa* (6A1) ; gen. pl. *balysāna* (6A2).

*balysūñña* 'belonging to Exaltedness, exalted, connected with Buddha' (Dresden, p. 461 ; Asmussen, p. 47) ; n. sg. *balysūñña* (7A4).

*balysūsti* 'Exaltedness, Enlightenment' (Skt. *bodhi*, Asmussen, p. 47) ; acc. st. *balysūsta* (6Af) ; gen. sg. *balysūsti* (7B1) (see Dresden, p. 400, 11.1).

*biśśa*, *biśa* (Av. *vīspa*) 'each, all every' ; n. sg. *biśśe* (7B1) (see Dresden, p. 461) ; *biśśa* (7A4) ; n. pl. *biśśa* (7B4) ; gen. pl. *biśśām* (6A2).

*bisīvrāṣṣaa* (translated from Skt. *kulaputra*) 'the son of a (noble) family ; high-horn young man' ; n. sg. *bisīvrāṣṣai* (7B2).

*bisīvrāṣṣaiñña* f. 'a high-born maiden' ; n. sg. *bisīvrāṣṣaiñña* (7B2).

*bud-*, *busta* 'to understand, feel, attain, experience, perceive (Av. *baod-*, Dresden, p. 483) ; past pass. pple 3 pl. *busta* (6A1) ; pres. med. 3 pl. *bvāri* (6A2).

*Buddhavalāitsai* (Skt. *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*), name of a Buddhist work ; n. sg. °*ai* (6B3-3) ; see E. XIV, 13, XIV,

46. In XIV. 13 B° occurs together with *Mahāsandavātā* (*Mahāsannipātasūtra*) and *Prajñāpāramata* (*Prajñāpāramitā*).

*busta*, see *bud*.

*bodhisatva* (*bodhasatva*) (Skt. *bodhisattva*); n. sg. *bodhisatva* (6B1).

*bodhisatvabhūmi* (Skt. *bodhisattvabhūmi*) 'the stage, state, ground of *bodhisattva*' (see BHSD, pp. 410-411); n. pl. *bodhisatvabhūmā* (7A2); see *Mahāvīyutpatti* 885-895. In the Skt. *Dharmaśārīra* from Leningrad *daśa bodhisatvabhūmaya* (*h*) is mentioned (2B2).

*bodhyaṃga* (Skt. *bodhyaṅga*) 'member of Enlightenment (usually seven)' (BHSD, p. 403) n. pl. *bodhyaṃga* (7A2); see E. XXV. 280 *hoda bodhyaṃga*.

*byeh*: *byauda* 'to attain, obtain, come to, succeed in' (Primer, p. 46; Asmussen, p. 50); past pass. pple n. sg. *byauda* (6B2).

*bhadrrakalpya* (Skt. *bhadrakalpika*) ('belonging to the *Bhadra-kalpa*'); n. pl. *bhadrakalpya* (6A1). *Bhadrakalpa* 'a kalpa such as the present in which five Buddhas are to appear' (BHSD, p. 406).

*mara* 'here' (7A1, 4); from \**imaθra* (see Bailey, BSOAS, XIII, 3, 1950, p. 659).

*mahāyāna* (Skt. *id.*) 'the great vehicle, *Mahāyāna*'; gen. sg. *mahāyāṃna* (6B2, 4); loc. sg. *mahāyāṃṇa* (6A2, B1).

*Mahāsamdvā* (Skt. *Mahāsannipātasūtra*), name of a Buddhist work; n. sg. *mahāsamdvā* (6B4); see note 10; cf. E. *Mahāsandavāta*.

*Mātar* (Av. *mātar-*) 'a mother'; gen. sg. *meri* (6A2).

*māñanda* (pres. pple *√māñ* 'to resemble, to be like') 'like, resembling, just as'; n. sg. *māñanda* (6A2).

*mista* (*masta-*) (cf. Skt. *mahā-*) 'great' (7A3).

*mī* 'this, thus' (6B2; 7B1).

*yan*: *yuda* 'to make, to do' past pple *yudī*, with opt. *āya*

(7B3) (see Asmussen, B 93 and the text 55 r 3 ; *ṣṣai anamī-tana=rya bisā tsūma ttrikṣa/paṃjsa yuḍi ī jaḍi tsūme rrāśa*’).

*ysaṃtha* ‘a birth’ ; n. sg. *ysaṃtha* (7B4).

*ra* ‘now, also, just (6A1) ; often with *cu* (see).

*Ratnakūla* (Skt. *Rātnakūṭa*), name of a Buddhist work ; n. sg. *Ratnakūla* (6B4).

*riddhipāda* (Skt. *ṛddhipāda*) ‘the elements or bases of supernatural power (usually four)’ BHS, p. 151) ; gen. pl. *riddhipādām* (7A2) ; see E. XI. 15 ; XXV, 279, sq.

*lokadhātuvyavasthāṃna* (Skt. *lokadhātuvyavasthāna*) ‘respective determination, differentiation of the world-region, world-system’ (BHS, pp. 464, 516) ; n. sg. *lokadhātuvyavasthāṃna* (6A4).

*Laṃggāvatāra* (Skt. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*), name of a Buddhist work ; n. sg. *Laṃggāvatāra* (6B4) ; in Śaka the *ṅk* of the Skt. word may give *ṃgga*. In E (6, 4 ; 17, 47) we have *Laṃgga*=Skt. *Laṅkā*.

*vara* ‘there’ (7B4).

*vālya* (Skt. *vālikā*) ‘sand, gravel’ ; n. pl. *vālya* in *nataggaṃgga-vālya* (6A1). In Skt. we often have the form *vālukā* (Monier-Williams, Skt. Eng. Dict., p. 946), but in Buddhist texts from Central Asia, for example in the Kashgar MSS. of the SP : *vālikā* (see BHS, p. 478).

*vina* (Skt. *vinā*) ‘without, excepting’ (6B2).

*vistara* m. (Skt. *id*) ‘detail, amplification, full description ; (in BHS) the full text’ (BHS, p. 504) ; inst. sg. *vistarna* (7A2-3), meaning ‘in detail, fully, at length’ ; see E. V. 39 *ausführlich* XIV, 11, 43 ; XV. 97 ; XXIII, 303 ; XXV, 437 ; see also note 11.

*vīra* ‘in, on, upon’ (7A1) (see Bailey, TPS, 1945, p. 6).

*vyavasthāṃnā*, see *lokadhātu*.

*śśarīra* (Skt. *śarīra*) ‘a body’ ; acc. sg. *śśarīra* (7B1). 1 *ṣa* (*ṣi*) ; 2. *ṣata* (*ṣita*), dem. pron. ; n. sg. *si* (6B2) ; 7B3, 4., *ṣita*

(< \**ṣata*) (6B1 ; 7A4) ; acc. sg. *ttū* (7B2) ; gen. sg. *ttye* (7A4 ; 7B1 with *kiḍna*, *kiḍnai* ; 7B3) ; inst. sg. *ttina* (6A1-2 ; 6B2 'therefore, so') ; n. pl. *tti* (7B4).

*śe* (older *śata*) 'another, second' ; n. sg. [*śe*] (6A3) (see Bailey BSOAS, XIII, 3, 1950, p. 653).

*ṣṣai* 'even, also, indeed' (7B3) (rendering Skt. *api*, Dresden, p. 487) ; see E. *ṣṣai*, *ṣṣei*.

*ṣtā* : *stāta* (Old Iran, *stā-*) 'to stand, to be' ; pres. med. 3 sg. *ṣti* (7A4).

*Saddharmapuṇḍarī* (Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*), name of a Buddhist work ; n. sg. (6B3).

*samyakprahāṇa* (Skt. *id.*) 'proper, right exertion, strenuosity' (BHSD, pp. 389, 582), gen. pl. *samyakprahāṇāṃna* (7A2) ; see E. XXV, 279, etc. (see p. 467).

*sāj* (*sīya*) 'to learn, study' ; opt. 3 sg. *sāji* (7B3).

*siddhāṃtta* (Skt. *siddhānta*) 'a doctrine, dogma, teaching' ; n. sg. *siddhāṃtta* (6A3 ; 6B1).

*sūtra* (Skt. *id.*) ; inst. sg. *sūtrana* (6A1) ; gen. sg. *sūtra* (7A1 ; *sūtra vīra* ; 7B3).

*smṛtyupasthāna* (Skt. *id.*) 'application of mentality, of awareness' (see BHSD, p. 614) ; gen. pl. *smṛtyupasthānāna* (7A1) ; see E. VII, 56 ; XI. 18 ; XXV. 279.

*haṃgaśsa* 'in short' (6A3 ; 7A1) (see Śaka St., p. 140) ; *haṃgaśa* (?) (6B1).

*haṃdraṃga* (from the verb *haṃdraṅg*) 'to make firm'. The root *draṅg* means 'to hold, make firm'. The verb *haṃdraṃj* occurs for example in *Siddhasāra* (126, v. 5) for Tib. *bsruṅ ziṅ* 'to keep' ; see Bailey, BSOAS, VIII, 1, p. 124, *haṃdraṃjāṅna* 'to be kept', Tib. *bsruṅ* (*haṃ-draṅg*) ; also Bailey, JRAS, 1955, pp. 14ff. *draṃga* in Khar. text 'holding, established position' ; Sogd. \**d-rang* 'fortified', with reference to Henning, BSOAS, XII, p. 605, n. 4. See also I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959, pp. 266-267), on *avadraṅga* from Bu

Skt. *avadraṅga* (see BHSD, p. 72). On the basis of this material it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the word *haṃdraṃgga* but we can suppose that it means 'strong' and in a metaphorical sense 'perfect, real' (cf. 'perfect Enlightenment'), because it is connected with *balysūṣṭi* 'Enlightenment' (perhaps it corresponds to Skt. *samyaksambodhi* 'perfect Enlightenment'); gen. sg. *haṃdraṃgga* (7B1). A. G. Perihyanan kindly gave some material on the verb *draṅg*.

*haṃbista* (past pass. pple of the verb *haṃbrīh-*) 'putting together'; inst.—abl. sg. *haṃbistana* (6A3; 7A1) (translation of Skt. *samāseṇa* 'in short, in summary'; see Dresden, p. 408; Bailey, BSOAS, VIII, p. 124).

*hauda* 'seven' (6A3; 7A2).

*haudama* 'seventh'; n. sg. *haudama* (6B1).

*hvanaa* m. or nt. 'a word, saying'; acc. sg. *hvanau* (7B2).

*hvāñ*: *hvata*, *hva* 'to speak'; past pass pple n. sg. *hvata* (6A3; 7A1), *hva* (6B1) (see Śāka St., p. 145); n. acc. pl. *hvata* (7A3); pple. 3 sg. *live* (7B1).

# SUPPLEMENT





## FROM THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN BUDDHOLOGY

There exists a long and lasting tradition behind the school of Buddhist studies in Russia. Professor I. Minayev (1840-1890) an eminent student of the East and a great traveller, is with good reason regarded as the founder of this school. His best known and most fundamental work on Buddhism—*Buddhism: Surveys and Materials*, was published in 1887 and was designed, as the author himself stressed, “to question the conclusions and principles accepted by contemporary scholars”. Professor Minayev opposed the view that Buddhism having appeared as both an ethical and religious creed, had remained unchanged throughout its long history and that the Pali Canons alone represented the complete and systematic exposition of the ancient Buddhist doctrine. Most scholars of the 19th century did not show a critical approach to accounts in the Southern Canons and later Pali commentators on events in the history of Buddhism and to the chronology of many texts. One needed outstanding erudition, a profound knowledge of the Buddhist sources, audacity, and unflinching intuition to attempt to refute long-established beliefs. Minayev urged the need for a more thorough study of Buddhism which he regarded as a historico-cultural and social phenomenon exerting a profound influence on all aspects of the people’s life in the East.

In Professor Minayev’s research the problem of the Buddhist doctrine and the history of the shaping of the Pali Canons connected with the Buddhist councils figure prominently. After an analysis of Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan writings, he concluded that the Buddhist councils were in reality meeting centres of individual Buddhist sects. Minayev’s conclusions on the sectarian nature of these councils, and his claim that chronicles to that effect were altered in the later Buddhist schools, evoked long and animated discussion among scholars of Buddhism.

It was his brilliant knowledge of factual material derived from a multitude of sources, such as written records, legends and works of art, that enabled Professor Minayev to go so deeply into the major problems of the history of Buddhism. Professor Minayev was one of the first European scholars of Buddhism to become interested in the Jātakas and to regard this collection of tales not so much as a monument of Buddhist moral teaching as an important clue to profound research in folklore.

In the course of his many travels through the Orient, this Russian scholar acquired a rich collection of manuscripts, mostly referring to Ceylon, India, Nepal and Burma, which today are kept in the manuscript division of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad. Most impressive was the number of manuscripts in Pali which he brought from Ceylon and Burma. During his lifetime Minayev succeeded in publishing only a small selection of his manuscripts, among them the *Anāgatavaṃsa* and *The Hymn to the Avalokiteśvara*. However, the greater part of his collection has not yet been studied or published.

His master's thesis included the publication, translation and study of the *Pratimokṣa-sūtra*, the principal part of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*. It was with good reason that Minayev chose this monument for his object of research. This being one of the most ancient Buddhist canonic compositions, gives a remarkable insight into the history of the organization of the Buddhist community and the strife of the various schools and sects within it. Minayev's publication enabled scholars to acquire a knowledge of these Buddhist disciplinary rules not in translation, as previously, but in the Pali original. The publication of the *Pratimokṣa-sūtra*, based on several manuscripts, may well be regarded as the first scholarly textual work in Russian Indology, the forerunner of such world-famous publications as the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, initiated by the academicians F. Shcherbatsky (Th. Stcherbatsky) and S. Oldenburg, who were Minayev's disciples.

Of the Pali sources published by Professor Minayev the

most notable is *The Kathāvatthupakaraṇa*, a work expounding controversial issues of Buddhist philosophy and dealing with the struggle of the orthodox Buddhists against the heretical schools. The Ceylon tradition ascribes the expounding of the *Kathavatthu* to Tissa Moggaliputta who was supposed to have delivered an address on it at the Third Synod at Pāṭaliputra. After a historical study of the text, Professor Minayev was able to assign its origin to a later date which, however, in his opinion by no means minimized its significance as testimony of the fierce struggle which arise among the various schools within Buddhism in the course of many centuries.

In the second edition of his principal work, *Buddhism : Surveys and Materials*, Professor Minayev published the *Mahāvyaṭṭpatti* or *The Great Etymology*—a dictionary of Buddhist terms. This compilation was extremely popular in the Buddhist world and had come down to us in the Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian and Manchurian translations.

The role which religion in general and Buddhism in particular played in the cultural and historical development of the Oriental nations was well understood by Professor Minayev. He wrote : “Not only him who, in time, will be obliged to act in the East is a knowledge of the Oriental religions essential and vital, but the study of this religion is of lofty significance to every thinking person of our time”.

Professor Minayev had a brilliant command of Pali and was one of the first European students of that language. He wrote a grammar of Pali which won high favour with specialists in that field and was translated into French and English. It also served as a textbook for the study of Pali in some of the countries of the East, including Burma and Ceylon.

Of great importance to Russian students of the history and culture of Ceylon were Professor Minayev’s travel diaries on Ceylon, in which he described in detail the monuments of art in that country and gave a brief exposition of the history of Buddhism there.

Professor Minayev was a man of progressive democratic views. During his travels in the East he displayed a deep

interest in the destinies of the Eastern peoples and their national anti-British movement. He believed in the ultimate triumph of the various national movement and criticized the colonial regimes.

The finest traditions of Professor Minayev's school of Buddhist research were continued by his pupils and disciples who have made a great contribution to the world study of Buddhism.

The next period of Russian Buddhology concerns mainly the works of Academicians F. Scherbatsky (Th. Stcherbatsky) and S. F. Oldenburg.

The activities of F. Scherbatsky were a prominent landmark in the studies of the philosophy and culture of Buddhism and these opened a new stage in that branch of science. The scholar and his disciples ushered in a new epoch in Soviet and world Buddhology. It was due to Academician F. Scherbatsky's research that the scientific community in Europe was able for the first time to realize how important and original the theory of knowledge and the logic of Buddhism were.

Prof. Scherbatsky's view on the progress of Buddhist philosophy and logic was that of a man of the 20th century, who tried to survey them in terms of the development of philosophical thought throughout the world and to translate them in all their complexity into the language of European science. "I tried", F. Scherbatsky wrote, "to make those theories understandable by contrasting them with and drawing parallels with the relevant European theories".

The legacy that F. Scherbatsky left us is manifold and varied. His studies in Buddhology comprised investigation into and analysis of the main aspects of the Buddhist doctrine and the most important problems of Buddhology as it appeared in his day.

Scherbatsky became deeply interested in the scientific aspects of Buddhism at the beginning of our century. By that time world Buddhology had already advanced considerably in the study of the Buddhist doctrine and the publication of many monuments of Buddhist culture, especially of those

belonging to the Ceylonese Pali tradition of Theravāda. Scholars in Europe already knew a number of very important Pali and Sanskrit texts : the Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon (The *Mahāvamsa*), the *Dhammapada*, the text and the translation of the *Sutta-nipāta*, etc.

The wealth of Pali literature available to European scholars led some Buddhologists to believe that the Southern tradition of Buddhism was the most ancient and that the Pali canon was the authentic body of writing, representing the genuine teachings of the Buddha himself. However, these traditional views were substantially revised after the finding and the subsequent publication of Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist texts belonging not to the Southern but to the Northern tradition of Buddhism. The writings of the Mahāyāna school of Northern Buddhism became available to European scholars ; this development brought about new problems in Buddhology—Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna were to be correlated, the nature and chronology of the original teachings of the Buddha were to be established and verified, etc.

Scherbatsky was initiated into Buddhology at a time when the basic concepts of the science and the formulation of its leading criteria were the subject of heated discussions and controversy.

At the outset, Scherbatsky accepted the new orientation in Buddhology linked with the study of Buddhism on the broad historical basis of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sources and the somewhat fabulous number of writings on the subject available in translation.

Scherbatsky viewed Buddhism as a comprehensive historical and cultural phenomenon that played a most important part in the evolution of many nations in Asia ; he attached great importance to such an approach to the science.

Scherbatsky considered Buddhism not as a one-dimensional phenomenon of an ethical, religious or philosophic nature that was static and identical in various countries and throughout all the epochs of its history, but, instead, he always emphasized the constant evolution of the Buddhist doctrine,

of its basic tenets and ideas as well as the specific distinctions of various schools and sects subscribing to the doctrine. At the same time Scherbatsky interpreted Buddhism as a broad corpus of definite ideas shared by all the schools of Buddhism.

Scherbatsky's studies upset the traditional Brahmanical approach to Buddhism as something second-rate and of minor importance in Indian culture. Scholars were convinced by his works that Buddhism had been at the very core of Indian culture and philosophy and that Brahmanism and its philosophy had substantially changed under the extensive influence of Buddhism.

*The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word 'Dharma'* is the title of a book that Scherbatsky published in 1923 in English. The author analyses the concept of *dharma* that he himself viewed as the key notion of the Buddhist teachings.

The study is based on the writings of the Sarvāstivāda school. The author demonstrates that the interpretation of *dharma* one finds in these texts is not peculiar to that school but is characteristic of Buddhism as a whole, though in the initial stage of Buddhism *dharma* was sometimes treated in its older meaning—as moral gospel and moral duty.

Investigation into the problem of Nirvāṇa marked the next significant stage in F. Scherbatsky's scientific studies of Buddhism. Walter Ruben, an outstanding German scholar, is fully justified in saying that no other European or Indian scholar could have produced the study accomplished by F. Scherbatsky. In *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, published in 1927, he managed to solve a number of problems of exceptional difficulty connected with the conception of Nirvāṇa and of other basic concepts of Buddhist teachings. Scherbatsky was the first scholar to provide the philosophical interpretation of *nirvāṇa*, and he discerned essential changes in the formation of this concept at the various stages of the evolution of Buddhism and in various schools of Hinayana and Mahāyāna.

Scherbatsky was the first scholar in Buddhology to define clearly and consistently the very essence of interpretation of the *nirvāṇa* in Mahāyāna and to show the distinction between it and the treatment of the concept by the believers of the Hīnayāna doctrine. The comparative analysis was based on the study of the Madhyamaka-śāstra, a most important treatise by Nāgārjuna accompanied by a commentary by Candrakīrti. The study allowed Scherbatsky to elaborate upon a new approach to the evaluation of the entire doctrine and to bring out the essential distinctions between earlier and subsequent traditions in Buddhism.

The study of Buddhist logic was the main line of his research almost throughout his entire scientific career. His first publication on the subject was made in 1902—it was a brief article *Logic in Ancient India*—and the last was the comprehensive monograph,—*Buddhist Logic*.

By virtue of its comprehensive nature, this study by F. Scherbatsky might be called an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy. Prof. Edward Konze, a noted British Buddhologist, referred to *Buddhist Logic* by F. Scherbatsky as the summit of the author's scientific writings, a scientific masterpiece of first magnitude.

The publication and translation of many other highly significant monuments of Buddhist culture was another important contribution made by Academician F. Scherbatsky to Buddhology.

The scholar devoted many years to the study of the *Abhidharmakośa*—the treatise of an outstanding Indian scholar,—Vasubandhu, known in the Buddhist world as the second Buddha.

A universally acknowledged scholar, Scherbatsky was never satisfied exclusively with theoretical study. He travelled a great deal, examining monuments of culture of ancient times and the present day. In 1905 Scherbatsky went to Buryatia

and Mongolia where he acquainted himself with modern Buddhism and examined the Buddhist libraries in the monasteries. He had in mind the creation of 'a Department of Sanskrit in the Trans-Baikal region for the study of the ancient Indian culture in which he took a deep interest. In a letter to Oldenburg Scherbatsky wrote : "By studying Indian culture we shall raise ancient India higher than Greece and Rome, and it indeed has a right to it". Scherbatsky dreamt of going to India.

At last in 1910 his dream came true. He went to India and spent two years there studying ancient monuments. He made a special study of the influence of Buddhism on the cultural development of India. Scherbatsky wrote that the main purpose of his trip was "not only a general acquaintance with the country but also searching for the relics of the Buddhist philosophical literature, both in the works of the Buddhists themselves and in those of the Brahmins and Jains, inasmuch as these reflected—directly or indirectly—the period when Buddhism flourished in the history of Indian civilization". "Along with this work", wrote Scherbatsky, "I intend to acquaint myself with the present state of the Sanskrit language and literature, which up till now have remained an enigma for European scholars who could not interpret them". In Bombay Scherbatsky found a Pandit, a wonderful scholar of Sanskrit, with whom he studied philosophical works. There he thoroughly investigated into the manuscripts of important philosophical treatises. The trip to India proved extremely useful for Scherbatsky ; it gave him an opportunity of making sure that his conclusions concerning the unique character of Indian culture were correct, while the standpoints of the Indologists who underestimated the part played by Buddhism in the development of Indian culture were wrong.

Scherbatsky made a valuable contribution to the study of ancient Indian literature and poetics. The study of Indian poetics interested Scherbatsky most of all during the first period of his Indological activities. He published a Sanskrit



text of considerable poetic importance—the *Haihayendracarita*—and wrote a valuable work on Sanskrit poetics, where he analysed in detail the principles of Dhvani, as propounded in Ānandavardhana's great work, *Dhvanyāloka*. Scherbatsky translated into Russian the *Daśakumārcaritam* (The Adventures of Ten Princes), a magnificent piece of Sanskrit literature. He was also one of the main translators of the *Arthaśāstra*, which was published after his death.

Scherbatsky had a deep respect for Indian culture which he considered to be one of the greatest achievements of mankind. In his work *Scientific Achievements of Ancient India*, Scherbatsky wrote: "Of all the peoples that used to inhabit ancient Asia, the Hindus were undoubtedly the most gifted. Some of their scientific achievements of the ancient ages are so perfect that they amaze and delight the investigator." Scherbatsky carried on the best traditions of the Russian School of Oriental Studies represented by Minayev, Vasiliev, and Oldenburg. Scherbatsky created a school of Soviet Buddhologists. Some of his followers, such as Professor Obermiller, have won universal acclaim and are well-known in India.

In collaboration with Academician Oldenburg, F. Scherbatsky was the initiator of the world renowned *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

*Bibliotheca Buddhica* became an important international publication; listed among its contributors, along with Russian Buddhologists, are the most prominent scholars of the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: Bendal, Finot, the Passen, Kern, Nanjo, Wogihara, Wallezer, Levi and others.

Academician F. Scherbatsky always stressed the importance of investigations into Buddhism, and he established a school of Buddhology of his own that developed and advanced the new line in Buddhist studies.

F. Scherbatsky wrote: "Given the tremendous importance of Buddhist Literature for the entire area of Central and Eastern Asia and the close proximity of it to us, who but the Russian scholars could have initiated its study and

systematization". Indian scholars, like the scholars of all the world, have a great respect for the works of F. Scherbatsky.

Prof. D. N. Shastri wrote that the Indian people held sacred the memory of F. I. Scherbatsky and were extremely grateful to his country for producing such a great scholar whose contribution to the development of the Indian philosophical thought has been inestimable.

It is fitting that the monument to F. I. Scherbatsky has the following words inscribed upon it: "He explained to his country the wisdom of the ancient thinkers of India".

An honorary place in the history of Soviet and world Buddhology belongs to Academician S. F. Oldenburg, a brilliant and many-faceted scholar and the closest associate of I. Minayev,—the father of Russian Buddhology. Oldenburg's scientific and organisational activities were remarkably multifarious: he was a historian, philologist, archaeologist, paleographer, and literary critic. Yet, primarily he was an Indologist and Buddhologist.

He had an excellent knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, Tibetan and Iranian languages. And all his works are distinguished by his profound philological knowledge.

As a Buddhologist, he was most interested in Buddhist literature and the written monuments of Central Asia. In 1894 he published his famous work *Buddhist Legends—Bhadrakalpāvadāna* and *Jātakamālā*. A specialist in folklore and world literature, Oldenburg managed, in studying Buddhist literature, to distinguish in it many specific features and compare it with the literature of other Oriental and Western nations.

He made a magnificent study of Buddhist art in India and outside India. He correctly interpreted the scenes of the Bharhut *stūpa* and many sculptural monuments of the famous Borobodur complex on the Island of Java.

Like F. Scherbatsky he devoted special attention to the study of Northern Buddhism, without forgetting the importance of the Pali traditions. In Oldenburg's days, Southern Buddhism had been studied much better than

Northern, and, thanks to the establishment of the Pali Text Society, many Pali works had been published. Jointly with Scherbatsky, Oldenburg decided to organise a special international edition of the written monuments of Northern Buddhism. This famous series is known as the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* and includes many wonderful Buddhist productions which had made Russian Buddhology world famous.

Oldenburg rendered exceptionally great service as a Buddhologist in the study of the written monuments of Central Asia. As early as the end of the last century, he received from Kashgar a series of manuscript excerpts written in Central Asian variants of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. At that time these were almost unstudied. The reading and interpretation of these texts called for exceptional industriousness, immense knowledge and scientific daring and Oldenburg brilliantly coped with this very difficult problem. He can very well be called a pioneer in the study of paleography and the Buddhist texts of Central Asia. His publications were highly appraised by many outstanding Buddhologists. Oldenburg's publication of a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript became world famous—it contained the Prākṛit version of the *Dhammapada*—one of the most important documents of Buddhism.

Oldenburg was the head and organiser of the Russian expeditions to East Turkestan where he discovered many highly valuable monuments of Buddhist culture. He studied with his colleagues the famous complex of 1,000 caves in Dunhuan. He is the author of important works on Buddhist iconography and on the Gandhāra monuments from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.

This brilliant and thorough scholar was also a major organiser of Russian and Soviet Oriental studies and one of the sponsors of the extensive study of Buddhism by Soviet researchers.

In the year 1919, a difficult time for the young Soviet Republic, Oldenburg and his colleagues in St. Petersburg organised the First Buddhist exhibition, at which he delivered a lecture on the Buddha and his teaching. For many years

he was the permanent Secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences and head of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Together with Maxim Gorky, the great Russian writer, he organised, as part of the *World Literature Series*, the translation of monumental writings from Oriental languages. He tried to familiarise the Soviet citizens at large with the achievements of oriental culture.

The scholar's research and public activities were influenced greatly by a meeting with Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, during which Lenin highly praised the work of Russian orientalists.

Academician Oldenburg was elected an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society in Britain, of the French "Société Asiatique", honorary member of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy.

He was the teacher of many talented Buddhologists and the traditions of his school are being carefully preserved and developed by Soviet scholars.

Soviet scholars pay much attention to studying the history, culture and philosophy of Buddhism. They attach great importance to studying original Buddhist sources, a considerable number of which are preserved in USSR manuscript collections (in Leningrad). The collection of Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and other languages began long ago, back in the 18th century, when the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great, issued a special decree on preserving ancient articles, including written monuments.

An Asian Museum, which became the centre for the study of written monuments of the East, was set up in Petersburg (now Leningrad) in 1818. Russian travellers brought to the Museum manuscripts which they acquire on their trips to the Asian countries. Gradually, a collection was built up which now contains many unique texts. At the present time the collection is preserved in the manuscript division of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences where a large staff of qualified academic workers study and edit written documents.

Russian Buddhologists have made a considerable contribution to the study of Buddhism, its history, art and literature.

They published previously unknown writings of South and North Buddhism. The Russian school of Buddhology deserves a world-wide recognition.

Soviet scholars are aware of these traditions and do their best to carry them on. In recent years Russian translations of the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra and of the *Dhammapada* were produced, the latter with a circulation of 40,000 copies. They are going to be followed by the translations of such Pali Buddhist works as the *Sutta-nipāta* and *Milinda pañha*. Those scholars whose field of investigation is Ceylon are working on translations of the ancient chronicles of Ceylon—the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dipavamsa*.

Recently a new Pali grammar in the Russian language has appeared.

In this way Soviet scholars carry on their research on Buddhism, and there is no doubt that they will soon present new interesting works on Buddhist history and culture.