

Cultural and Religious Integration in Gandhāra: Historical Background of the Lotus Sutra

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It is clear from the development of the bodhisattva concept — one who seeks not only personal enlightenment but also enlightenment of all sentient beings — that Mahayana Buddhism was a popular religious movement which rejected the traditional monasticism of the Hinayana sects and sought to return Buddhism to the people. Though one tradition places the origin of Mahayana in southern India, it is far more likely that Mahayana arose in an environment that actively encouraged religious integration — that of Gandhāra, in northwestern India, the cultural crossroads between East and West, around the beginning of the common era.

Gandhāra was conquered in the sixth century BCE by the third Achaemenid emperor, Darius I (r. 522-486 BCE), and remained under Persian domination for the next two centuries. According to the Greek historian Arrian,⁽¹⁾ when Alexander the Great descended upon India in 326 BCE, he founded people from Greece, reputed to be descendants of a certain Dionysus and known as Yona (Skt. Yavana) already living in the Swāt Valley. When Dionysus went to India and where he came from are not known, but tradition relates that he found the city of Nysa, between the Cōphēn (Kābul) and Indus rivers.⁽²⁾ This suggests that Greek colonies were established in the region west of the Indus before Alexander's campaign.

Alexander took control of the area west of the Indus and of part of Gandhāra and built a number of Greek settlements, all named Alexandria, the main ones being at Arachosia (Kandahār), at Caucasus (Hindu Kush) or Paropamisadae/Paropanisadae (Kābul Province) [Begrām], at Bucephala (on the east bank of the Jhelum River), at Nicaea (on the west bank of the Jhelum River), in Sind (in the Indus plain), and in Sogdiāna (north of the Oxus River [Amu Darya]).⁽³⁾

Northwestern India was incorporated into the empire of Candragupta Maurya (r. 321-292 BCE), founder of the Mauryan dynasty, when the former Seleucid provinces were

ceded by Seleucus I Nicator in 303 BCE. Taxila became the capital of the northern province under Candragupta's grandson Aśoka (r. 268-231 BCE), the greatest of the Mauryan rulers. After the collapse of the Mauryan dynasty in the second century BCE, the Greeks returned to northwestern India, establishing kingdoms and spreading Greek culture while remaining responsive to the integration of Greek and Indian cultural elements. After the fall of the Indo-Greek kingdoms in the first century BCE, the region prospered under Śaka-Pahlava (Scytho-Parthian) and Kuṣāṇa rule. These were nomadic peoples who had crossed into India over the Hindu Kush. Having settled in a region that was a cultural crossroads between East and West, they absorbed Indian culture and religion and were also influenced by Hellenistic culture.

The Greeks, settled in northwestern India for about a millennium, spread their own culture while absorbing that of India. Although as a people they were eventually absorbed into the mass of Indian peoples, the integration of cultures and religions encouraged by the Greeks formed the matrix for the rise of Mahayana Buddhism. This paper provides an overview of the conditions underlying the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism by examining the ways in which cultures and religions blended in ancient northwestern India.

§ 1. Rulers of Gandhāra and Their Integrative Policies

Mauryan Dynasty

At the time of Alexander's arrival in northwestern India, central India was ruled by the Nanda dynasty. In 321 BCE the throne was usurped by Candragupta Maurya, who set about trying to unify the subcontinent. By 317 he had built an empire stretching from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, incorporating an area extending from the Himalayas in the north to a substantial part of the Deccan in the south, and from Surāṣṭra in Gujarāt to the Hindu Kush (Paropamisadae). Candragupta was succeeded in 292 BCE by his son Bindusāra, and Bindusāra was succeeded in 268 by his son Aśoka, who had been viceroy in Taxila. Aśoka continued Candragupta's policy of expansion and consolidation, eventually creating the greatest unified state the Indian subcontinent has ever known. Filled with remorse over the slaughter caused by his conquest of Kalinga (Orissa) in 260 BCE, he embraced Buddhism. Thereafter he governed according to the Dhamma (Skt. Dharma), or Law — the Buddhist teachings — and instituted officers of the Dhamma (*dhamma-*

mahāmatta), to supervise the Buddhist sects and propagate the Law.

In northwestern India, Aśoka's empire incorporated Yona, the region settled by Greeks; Kamboja; and Gandhāra. These are considered to be among the lands ceded to Candragupta by Seleucus I Nicator. Seleucus, ruler of the satrapy of Babylonia after the partition of Triparadisus in 321, crossed the Indus in 305 in an attempt to recover Alexander's Indian territory. A great army under Candragupta prevented him from recovering the Punjab and Sind;⁽⁴⁾ furthermore, by the terms of the peace treaty that was concluded, Candragupta seems to have received the provinces of Arachosia, Paropamisadae, and Gedrosia (Makrān).⁽⁵⁾ Alexandria Paropamisadae (Begrām) is thought to have been the capital of Yona. The Greek and Persian elements in the population were addressed in Aśoka's Rock Edicts. These were edicts carved onto pillars and rocks at the extremities of his empire. Those at Lampāka and Kandahār addressed the people of Yona; those at Mānsehrā, the people of Kamboja; and those at Shāhbāzgarhī and Taxila, the people of Gandhāra. The edicts at Taxila (fig. 1) and Lampāka are in Aramaic; those at Kandahār are in Aramaic and Greek; and those at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā are in Prākṛit, written in the Kharoṣṭhī script.

Persian influence is noticeable in many aspects of life in the region besides Aśoka's practice of engraving edicts on rocks and pillars, which was reminiscent of the rock inscriptions of Darius I. It was in Gandhāra that the Kharoṣṭhī script was developed. This script derived from the Aramaic script used as the medium of official communication throughout Persia, was used to transcribe local languages in northwestern India. In addition, certain Persian words were adopted into local languages, such as *dipi* = *lipi* (imperial edict). The languages and scripts of the edicts bear witness to Greek and Persian settlers in the region and Aśoka's policy toward them.

The presence of Greeks and Persians in Aśoka's domains appears to have led to social unrest as well. The *Divyāvadāna* (Collection of Early Buddhist Legends; ed. Vaidya, pp. 234, 262) records a rebellion that broke out among the inhabitants of Taxila during the reign of Bindusāra and was quelled by his viceroy there, Aśoka, and another that occurred during Aśoka's own reign and was put down by his son Kuṇāla. A rebellion by the *mleccha* ("barbarians"; non-Aryan peoples) of Śrinagari (modern Shrinagar) is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (I.101-7), a twelfth-century history of Kashmir (Kāśmīra) by Kalhaṇa, which relates that it was quelled by Aśoka's son Jalauka, ruler of Kashmir. These accounts suggest that complete Mauryan control of Gandhāra and Kashmir was established only

during the reign of Aśoka.

According to Rock Edict 13, Aśoka regretted the death and dislocation of people caused by his conquest of Kalinga in 260 and forswore war, considering that “the greatest victory is the victory of the Dharma.” He sent emissaries to all the areas under his control and to neighboring lands, so that all might hear of the Dharma, and follow it. Among the neighboring lands mentioned are the Greek kingdoms to the west and the Tamil kingdom to the south. Scholars have identified the five Greek kings whose names are recorded as Aṃtiyoga, Turamaya, Aṃtekini, Magā, and Alikasudara as Antiochus II Theos of Syria (r. 261-246), Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (r. 285-283 or 282), Antigonus II Gonatas of Macedonia (r. ca. 276-239), Magas of Cyrene (r. 274-253), and either Alexander II of Epirus (r. 272-ca. 240) or Alexander of Corinth (r. ca. 290-245), respectively.

The Mauryan empire (capital: Pāṭaliputra) was divided into four provinces, each governed by a viceroy known as *kumāra* or *āryaputra*: Uttarāpatha (northern India: the Punjab, Sind, the Indus Valley, and Kashmir), capital Taxila; Aparānta (western India: Mālwa, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār), capital Ujjayinī; Kalinga (eastern India), capital Tosali; and Dakṣiṇāpatha (the area south of Narmadā), capital Suvarṇagiri.

Indo-Greek Kingdoms

After Alexander's death in 323 BCE, his empire was divided among his generals. The area east of Syria came under the control of Seleucus I Nicator.⁽⁶⁾ One of the easternmost provinces was Bactria, a fertile and prosperous region situated between the Oxus River and the Hindu Kush, which had been settled by Greeks left there as an army of occupation by Alexander to protect the important trade route from Gandhāra to Greece. As Seleucid power weakened in the course of the third century, Diodotus, the Greek satrap of Bactria, rebelled against the Seleucid authority and declared his independence from Antiochus II Theos. Sometime around 250 BCE he assumed the kingly title of Diodotus I (r. 250-245).⁽⁷⁾ At about the same time, the kingdom of Parthia rose farther to the east, when the Persian Arsaces, leader of a nomadic people called the Dahae Parṇi, likewise took advantage of Seleucid weakness and took the throne as Arsaces I (r. 250-248).⁽⁸⁾

Scholars have identified thirty-nine kings and two queens of Bactrian origin from the coins they issued. Often their reigns overlapped, and they belonged to at least three mutually antagonistic lineages.⁽⁹⁾ The line of Diodotus I was broken after his son Diodotus II

was killed in 235. The latter's successor, Euthydemus of Magnesia (Euthydemus I, r. 235-200), possibly a provincial governor under Diodotus II, and his son Demetrius I (r. 200-185), expanded and consolidated Bactrian power over Sogdiāna, Aria, Margiāna, Arachosia, and Drangiāna. Demetrius I and a brother, Euthydemus II, may have ruled as joint kings after the death of Euthydemus I in 200 BCE.

Some time after this a rival king, Antimachus I Theos (r. 190-180) came to power, possibly after killing Euthydemus II while Demetrius was away in the south. Establishing a base in eastern Bactria, Antimachus I made incursions into the Kābul and Indus valleys; indeed, he was the first Bactrian ruler to cross the Khyber Pass and occupy territory in India. He issued a square coin on the Indian model that was used by merchants for the India trade. An example has been discovered as far away as Taxila, in eastern Gandhāra. His son Demetrius II Aniketos (r. 180-165 BCE), who ruled over the Kābul Valley and the Kandahār region, was the first to issue coins with bilingual legends, in Greek and Prākṛit, thus demonstrating his close links with India. His coins (fig. 2) are stamped with the Prākṛit equivalent of the Greek title *anikētos* (Unconquered), *apadihita*, derived from the Sanskrit *apratihata* (<a-prati-√han).⁽¹⁰⁾

Fig. 2. Round silver coin of Demetrius II; Narain, *op.cit.*, PL. I.9:

Obverse: Head of Demetrius II, wearing a *kausia*. Legend in Greek: left — ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ = *Basileōs anikētou*; right — ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ = *Dēmētriou* ([coin] of King Demetrius, the Unconquered). Reverse: Zeus standing, holding a scepter and a thunderbolt. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: left — *Maharajasa apadihatasa*; right — *Dimetriyasa* ([coin] of Great King Dimetriya, the Unconquered).

The first incursion into the Mauryan territory of Arachosia by the Bactrian Greeks was made by Demetrius I, who took advantage of the vacuum created by the waning power of the Mauryas and the defeat and assassination of the Seleucid king Antiochus III in 187. After the death of Demetrius I in Bactria in 185 BCE, his sons Pantaleon (r. 185-175) and Agathocles (r. 180-165) ruled jointly. Their attempts to extend their control to the Kābul Valley were frustrated by Demetrius II Aniketos however.

Meanwhile a new king, Eucratides (r. 171-155), founder of a third line of Greco-Bactrian kings, rose to power in Bactria, taking advantage of the absence in the south of Demetrius

II, whom he eventually succeeded. Demetrius II returned to Bactria in 165 to deal with the rebellion, and, with his control loosened, Pantaleon and Agathocles were able to occupy Kābul and Kandahār and extend their sway to the Punjab. After the death of Pantaleon, Agathocles made Taxila his capital, and Sirkap, a city within Taxila, was probably founded during his reign.

Following the example of Demetrius II, both Pantaleon⁽¹¹⁾ and Agathocles⁽¹²⁾ issued bilingual coins (figs. 3a, 3b), as well as a few using only the local script (fig. 4).

Fig. 3a. Square bronze coin of Pantaleon; *BMC*, p. 9, No. 3; Pl. III.9:

Obverse: Dancing figure of the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī, wearing long pendant earrings, a loose robe, and trousers, and holding a flower in her right hand. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Brāhmī script: *Rājine Paṃtalevasa* ([coin] of King Paṃtaleva). Reverse: Maneless lion. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ = *Basileōs Pantaleontos* ([coin] of King Pantaleon).

Fig. 3b. Square bronze coin of Agathocles; *BMC*, p. 11, No. 12; Pl. IV.9:

Pictorial motifs similar to those of coin in fig. 3. Obverse: Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Brāhmī script: *Rājine Akathukleyasa* ([coin] of King Akathukleya). Reverse: Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ = *Basileōs Agathocleous* ([coin] of King Agathocles).

Fig. 4. Square bronze coin of Agathocles; *BMC*, p.12, No. 15; Pl. IV.10:

Obverse: A Buddhist stupa. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: *Akathukreyasa* ([coin] of Akathukreya). Reverse: The bodhi tree, under which Śākyamuni gained enlightenment, surrounded by a square railed enclosure. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: *Hiduja same* ([coin] of the ruler born in the Indus region).

Their coins used both the Kharoṣṭhī script of Gandhāra and the Brāhmī script of the Jumna and Ganges valleys. This suggests that they had extended their sphere of control to the eastern Punjab and that coins for use in the new lands had been issued by the Taxila mint. The inscription *Hiduja same* on a coin of Agathocles seems to mean “born in the Indus region” (the compound *Hiduja* consists of *Hindu* [Skt. *Sindhu*], the Indus River or river basin, plus *-ja*, born). *Same* may be a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *svāmin* (ruler) in

the singular masculine genitive. The coin would thus have been minted to bear testimony to the ruler's local origins and to appeal to the religious sentiment of the local people.

Pantaleon's and Agathocles' coins depicts the Hindu deity Lakṣmi, while the bodhi tree surrounded by a square railed enclosure shown on a coin of Agathocles (fig. 4) is a symbol of the Buddha's enlightenment, like similar images carved on the stupa railing at Bhārhut and the stupa gateway at Sāñcī, both in modern Madhya Pradesh. The stupa signified a holy place or a shrine in Indian religion; the stupa became the symbol of Buddhist faith because it enshrined relics of the Buddha.

After the death of Demetrius II and Agathocles, Eucratides was able to occupy the Kābul Valley, Arachosia, and perhaps parts of western Gandhāra. He was murdered by a son, probably Plato Epiphanes, in 155, after whose death a son of Demetrius II, Menander (Gk. Menandros, Pāli Milinda; r. 155-130), held sway over the region. His consort was Agathocleia, daughter of Agathocles. The marriage represented an alliance between the lines of Diodotus (ancestor of Demetrius II) and Euthydemus (grandfather of Agathocles).

According to the *Milindapañha* [Questions of King Milinda], Menander (Milinda) was born into the royal family in the village of Kalasi on the "island" of Alasanda (Alexandria), two thousand *yojanas* (805 kilometers) from Sāgala (Skt. Śākala), the center of trade and communications of the Indo-Greeks. Sāgala has been identified with Siālkot, located between the Chenāb and Rāvi rivers, and Alasanda may be the Alexandria of the Caucasus, or Hindu Kush (Begrām). Alasanda is described as being an island (*dīpa*), though I. B. Horner suggests that *dīpa* (Skt. *dvīpa*) is incorrect, and reconstructs the text to mean "the land between the two rivers" (*do-āb*).⁽¹³⁾ The distance between Begrām and Siālkot is close to the two thousand *yojanas* given.

The kingdom that Menander inherited through Agathocles included Gandhāra from the western Punjab to the Indus and its capital, Taxila. Arachosia, the Kābul Valley, and part of western Gandhāra had been under the control of Eucratides, and Menander's first enterprise after gaining the throne was to recover his native land of Paropamisadae. Exceedingly large numbers of his coins⁽¹⁴⁾ (fig. 5a, b) found in western Gandhāra and the Swāt Valley indicate that he ruled the area for a long time. Following these conquests, he extended his territory to the east. He established his capital in Sāgala, and apparently his domain included central India and Surāṣṭra.

Fig. 5a. Square bronze coin of Menander; *BMC*, p. 50, No. 73; Pl. XII.7:

Obverse: Wheel of the Law. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ = *Basileōs sōtēros Menandrou* ([coin] of King Menander the Savior). Reverse: Palm tree. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: *Mahārajasa trādatasa Menadrāsa* ([coin] of Great King Menadra the Savior).

Fig. 5b. Round coin of Menander; Narain, *op. cit.*, Pl.II.8:

Obverse: Helmeted head of Menander. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ = *Basileōs dikaiou Menandrou* ([coin] of King Menander the Just). Reverse: King on prancing horse. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: top — *Maharajasa dhramikasa*; bottom — *Menadrāsa* ([coin] of Great King Menadra the Just).

Menander also issued coins with bilingual legends. They show that he used two Greek epithets: *Sōtēr*, “Saviour” (Prākṛit *tradata*, from Sanskrit *trātṛ*) and *dikaio*, “the just” (Prākṛit *dhramika*, from Sanskrit *dharmika*). The *Milindapañha* records that the king questioned the *bhikṣu* (monk) Nāgasena about Buddhism and as a result was converted to Buddhism. The “wheel of the Law” on Menander’s coins, the symbol of the teachings of the Buddha, may represent evidence of the king’s religious faith.

According to Plutarch, “The cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and erect monuments [reliquaries] (Gk. *mnēmeia* = Skt. *stūpa*) to him in all their cities.”⁽¹⁵⁾ This is similar to what occurred when the Buddha died, and indicates the respect that the Buddhist inhabitants of the Indian cities had for Menander.

During Menander’s reign Puṣkalāvati (modern Charsadda), in western Gandhāra, was the chief strategic and trading center of the Indo-Greeks. Though Taxila had temporarily lost its preeminent position in northwestern India, it nevertheless remained prosperous as a center of learning and as the site of the mint, and it was around this time that Buddhist monasteries began to appear in the vicinity of the Dharmarājikā stupa of Aśoka, in Taxila. The political center of Menander’s territory shifted east to Sāgala (modern Siālkot).

The site of this city has not yet been extensively excavated, but we have an account of Sāgala’s appearance in the *Milindapañha*:

According to what has been heard: There was a city called Sāgala, a center of all kinds

of merchandise for the Greek Bactrians, graced with rivers and mountain-slopes, having delightful districts and regions, possessed of parks, pleasure-grounds, woods, lakes and lotus-pools — a lovely scene of rivers, mountain-slopes and woods, it was laid out by knowledgeable men. Enemies and adversaries had been destroyed, it was without oppression; [diverse], varied and strong were its watch-towers and ramparts, its splendid and noble arches curving over the city-gates; the palace was surrounded by a deep moat and pale encircling walls; well laid out were its carriage-roads, cross-roads, squares, and the places where three or four roads met; the bazaar shops were filled inside with innumerable varieties of well-displayed goods; it was richly adorned with a hundred varieties of halls where gifts (were given); it was splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent dwellings like crests of snowy mountains; it was filled with elephants, horses, chariots and pedestrians, with groups of handsome men and women; it was crowded with ordinary people, warriors, nobles, brahmans, merchants and workers; resounding with a variety of salutations to ascetics and brahmans, it was the resort of skilled men knowing a great variety (of things). It had [diverse] and varied shops for cloths: Benares muslin, Koṭumbara stuffs and so on. It was sweet-smelling with the great variety of shops for flowers and perfumes, well and tastefully displayed. It was filled with an abundance of alluring jewels. Its shops, well-displayed and facing (all) directions, were frequented by crowds of elegant merchants. Full of kahāpaṇas [money], silver, bronze and stone-ware, it was the abode of shining treasure. The warehouses were full of an abundance of riches and corn and wealth; there were many foods and drinks, a great variety of solid and soft foods, sweets, beverages and savouries as in Uttarakuru. Its harvests were heavy as in Ālakamandā, the city of devas.⁽¹⁶⁾

After Menander's death the kingdoms of the Indo-Greeks fragmented and collapsed. The only king of this later period mentioned in classical sources is Apollodotus (r. 115-95)⁽¹⁷⁾ (fig. 6). The name of another, Antialcidas (r. 115-100), appears in the Besnagar inscription of his ambassador Heliodorus, "a Greek from Taxila"⁽¹⁸⁾ (fig. 7).

Fig. 6. Round silver coin of Apollodotus; Narain, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV.6 = BMC, p. 37, No. 1; Pl. X.I:

Obv: Diademed bust of Apollodotus to r. Legend in Greek: top — ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ; below — ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ = *Basileōs megalou sōtēros kai philopatoros Apollodotou* ([coin] of Great King Apollodotus, the Savior and Loving [my] father).

* φιλοπάτωρ (*philopatōr*), loving one's father.

Rev: Pallas to 1. hurling thunderbolt; aegis on 1. arm. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), in Kharoṣṭhi script: top — *Maharajasa tratarasa*; below — *Apaladatasa* ([coin] of Great king Apaladata, the Savior).

Fig. 7. The Heliodorus inscription on the Besnagar pillar; Narain, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI.2:

Text (in Prākṛit in Brāhmī);

Translation:

This Garuḍa pillar of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, was erected by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata (*i.e.* a worshipper of Viṣṇu), the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Taxila, who came as Greek ambassador from the Great King Antialcidas to King Kosiputra (Kautsiputra) Bhāgabhadra, the Savior, then reigning prosperously in the 14th year of his kingship.

Three immortal precepts when practised lead to heaven — self-restraint, charity, conscientiousness.

Śaka-Pahlava Rulers

The Śakas⁽¹⁹⁾ — the Sacae of Strabo and the Sai of the Chinese *Shih chi* (Historical records; ca. 100 BCE: vol. 123) and *Ch'ien Han shu* (Records of the Former Han; compiled by Pan Ku in 76-83: vol. 96A) — were originally nomadic Scythians living east of the Caspian Sea who began filtering into Persia during the Achaemenid dynasty (559-330 BCE). Around 155 BCE, during the reign of the Parthian king Mithridates I (r. 174-138), one group of Śakas invaded Parthia, settling in the Helmand Valley and giving its name to the region of *Śakasthāna* (literally, "where the Śakas dwell"), modern Seistān. Here the Śakas intermarried with the local Parthians, known as the Pahlavas.

Another group of Śakas, forced out of the Oxus region by invading Uighurs (Yüeh-chih), moved into Bactria, causing the Greeks there to flee south across the Hindu Kush sometime after 139 BCE. The Uighurs moved across the Oxus around 100, dislodging the Śakas from Bactria and compelling them to escape across the Hindu Kush into Gandhāra and Kashmir in the wake of the Greeks. The connection between these Śakas and those of

Śakasthāna is unclear.

The first Śaka king in India was Maues (r. 100-75). He was helped in his invasion of northwestern India by the fighting between Antialcidas and Menander's son Apollodotus, which resulted in the overthrow of the former in Taxila in 100. Apollodotus, thus preoccupied, had left the Swāt Valley poorly defended, and Maues seems to have taken advantage of this. Apollodotus then tried to supplant Strato I, his elder brother, in the region east of the Jhelum. Maues apparently assisted Strato in his defensive campaign. In 85 BCE Maues occupied Taxila, driving a wedge between the two remaining Greek kingdoms, Strato's east of the Jhelum and that of the successor of Apollodotus west of the Indus. Like his Greek predecessors, he issued bilingual coins⁽²⁰⁾ (fig. 8). Persian influence is evident in Maues's use, on his coins, of the epithet "king of kings" (Gk. *basileus basileōn*; Prākṛit *rajadiraja*, from the Sanskrit *rājātirāja*), derived from the Persian title of the Achaemenid kings, *khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām*.

Fig. 8. Round silver coin of Maues; *BMC*, p. 68, No. 3; Pl. XVI.2:

Obverse: Zeus standing, wearing a himation, his right hand extended and his left holding a long scepter. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ = *Basileōs basileōn megalou Mauou* ([coin] of Maues, great king of kings). Reverse: Nike standing, holding a wreath and palm bound by a fillet. Legend in Prākṛit, Kharoṣṭhī script: *Rajadirajasa mahatasa Moasa* ([coin] of Moa, great king of kings).

The death of Strato I in 75 signaled the final collapse of Indo-Greek domination of the eastern regions of northwestern India. It was, however, not Maues but the Śaka-Pahlava king Azes I (r. 73-?) who overthrew the remaining Indo-Greek ruler of western Gandhāra, Hippostratus (r. 85-70), to dominate Gandhāra and the eastern Punjab. He is considered to be the builder of the Fire Temple at Jaṇḍiāl, in Taxila, for the worship of Ahura Mazda, the Śaka-Pahlavas of that time being Zoroastrian. The temple exhibits considerable Hellenistic influence (fig. 9).

Azes I issued a great variety of coins⁽²¹⁾ (figs. 10a, b, c, d). The Greek legends are the same as those on the coins of Maues. We may note the translation of the Greek title "great king" (*basileus megas*) into Prākṛit as *maharaja* (Skt. *mahārāja*), the translation of the Persian epithet "king of kings" (*khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām*) into Prākṛit as

rajaraja/rajadiraja (Skt. *rājātirāja*), and the translation of Menander's Greek title "the just" (*dikaios*) into Prākṛit as *dhramika* (Skt. *dharmika*). The Prākṛit °*varma* (Skt. °*varman*: literally, "defensive armor") at the end of the names of kṣatriyas, seen on Azes's coins in the legend *Indravarma-putrasa Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa*, shows the tendency for satraps (Skt. kṣatrapa) to Hinduize their names by adding *varma*; *stratega* was the phonetic transliteration of the Greek *stratēgos* (satrap).

Fig. 10a. Round silver coin of Azes I; *BMC*, p. 73, No. 1; Pl. XVII.8:

Obverse: King on horseback, holding a couched spear. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ = *Basileōs basileōn megalou Azou* ([coin] of Azes, great king of kings). Reverse: Zeus standing, radiating light, right hand stretched out, left holding, and a long scepter. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa* ([coin] of Aya, great king of kings).

Other coins show Poseidon, Pallas, a city, and Nike on the reverse.

Fig. 10b. Round bronze coin of Azes I; *BMC*, p. 87, No. 160; Pl. XIX.7:

Obverse: Elephant. Legend in Greek: same as (10a). Reverse: Humped bull. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: same as (10a).

Fig. 10c. Round billon coin of Azes I; *BMC*, p. 90, No. 191; Pl. XX.1:

Obverse: King on horseback, holding what may be an elephant goad. Legend: defaced. Reverse: Personified city, wearing chiton and peplum, right hand outstretched, left holding a cornucopia. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: *Maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajadirajasa Ayasa* ([coin] of Aya the just, great king of kings).

Fig. 10d. Round billon coin of Azes I; *BMC*, p. 91, No. 200; Pl. XX.2:

Obverse: King on horseback, holding an elephant goad, behind him a bow. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ = [□ = O] *Basileōs basileōn megalou Azou* ([coin] of Azes, great king of kings). Reverse: Pallas standing, armored, right arm outstretched, left bearing a spear and a shield, behind her a star. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: *Indravarma-putrasa Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa* ([coin] of Aspavarma the victorious ruler, son of Indravarma).

The successor of the Azes group of kings in Taxila was Gondophares (r. 30-10), who appears to have governed the eastern Punjab and Sind. According to the *Apocryphal Acts of*

Thomas,⁽²²⁾ he was the first convert of the Apostle Thomas who was, according to legend, the first missionary to transmit the Gospel to India. Since the oldest manuscript of this work dates back only to the first half of the third century of the common era, it is not clear whether the account is factual, but the Indian king Gūdnaphar in the text has been identified as Gondophares. According to Philostratus,⁽²³⁾ the Greek philosopher Apollonius of Tyana visited Taxila during the reign of Gondophares. He stayed in a temple at the gate of the city, found Taxila to be walled like a Greek city, and related that there was a temple of the sun and a palace within the walls. Sir John Marshall,⁽²⁴⁾ director of the Department of the Archaeological Survey of India and excavator of Taxila from 1912 to 1934, has identified the temple where Apollonius stayed as Janḍiāl. The title *tratarā* (Skt. *trātṛ*) on Gondophares' coins⁽²⁵⁾ (figs. 11, 12) is the Greek *sōtēr*. *Devavrada*, "worshiper of the gods," is the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *deva-vrata*. (Some read this as *deva-trātṛ*, "protected by the gods," the Sanskrit translation of the Greek *theotropos*.)

Fig. 11. Round silver coin of Gondophares; *SIC*, p. 369, XI/6:

[O] King on horse-back, to right, with right arm extended; king's special symbol on right; *Greek legend* — ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΥΝΔΟ[ΦΕΡΟΥ] = *Basileōs basileōn megalou Undo[pherou]* ([Coin] of King Undopherous, the great king of kings). [R] Zeus standing, to right, with right arm extended; Greek monogram on right and Kharoṣṭhi monogram on left; *Legend in Prākṛit* (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhi script: *Maharaja-rajatiraja-tratarā-devavrada[sa] Gudupharasa* ([coin] of the great king Guduphara who is the savior devoted to the gods [and] is the king of kings).

Fig. 12. Round silver coin of Gondophares; *BMC*, p. 104, No. 8; Pl. XXII.8:

Obverse: King on horseback. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ = [C = Σ, ω = Ω, ε = Ε] *Basileōs basileōn megalou Undopherrou*. ([coin] of Gondophares, great king of kings). Reverse: Zeus standing. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhi script: *Maharaja-rajatiraja-tratarā-devavrada-gudapharasa* ([coin] of Gudaphara, great king of kings, savior, worshiper of the gods).

The Śāka-Pahlavas eventually expanded their rule to the Mālwa and Kāthiāwār regions of western India, where they were known as the Kṣaharāta satraps in the west (destroyed by the Śātavāhana dynasty in 124 CE) and the great satraps at Ujjayinī (fell to the Gupta

dynasty in the fourth century CE). They encouraged the construction of, and donated money for, the Buddhist cave temples of the western Deccan. The Śaka period, which began in 78 CE, became the basis of the most widely used chronological system in India.

Kuṣāṇa Dynasty

According to the Chinese histories of the Former Han (206 BCE-8 CE) and Later Han (25-220) dynasties, the *Ch'ien Han shu* (vol. 96A, Record of Central Asia, 30b-33a) and the *Hou Han shu* (Records of the Later Han; compiled by Pan Yeh [398-445], vol. 118, Record of Central Asia, 11a-b), respectively, the (Ta-) yüeh-chih (Uighurs) had originally lived in the Tun-huang region of western Kansu. Around 160 BCE, they were pushed out by the Hsiung-nu and moved west to Ili, displacing the Śaka people there. Soon afterward they were attacked by the Wu Sun, and moved farther west. By 130 they had invaded and subjugated Bactria, then occupied by the Śakas. At that time there were five tribes of Uighurs, of which the Kuṣāṇas (Kuei-shang) were the strongest. About the beginning of the common era, the Kuṣāṇas attacked and destroyed the other tribes, and their leader made himself king. Thus the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, which was to create such a great empire in Central Asia, came into being.

The founder of the dynasty was Kujūla Kadphises (Kadphises I). He invaded Parthia, occupied Kābul, and took northern Arachosia and the Kābul Valley. Preceding this he had ruled the Kābul region in conjunction with the Indo-Greek king Hermaeus (r. 75-55) and had issued round coins⁽²⁶⁾ bearing the titles of both sovereigns (fig. 13).

Fig. 13. Round copper coin of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises; *BMC*, p. 120, No. 1; Pl.

XXV.1:

Obverse: Bust of Hermaeus. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Σ[Ω]ΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ [']ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ = [Ω = O, V = Y] *Basileōs s[ō]tēros su Hermaïou* ([coin] of King Hermaeus the Savior). Reverse: Heracles (Hercules) standing, holding a club in his right hand and a lion skin in his left. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Kharoṣṭhī script: *Kujulakasasa Kuṣana-yavugasa dhramaṭhidaśa* ([coin] of Kujulakasa, ruler of the Kuṣāṇas, he who dwells in the Dharma).

* *su*, W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 504: Konow has explained συ as Kushan shau, i.e. Shah, king, cf. *KH*, pp. lxiii-iv.

On the coin in figure 13 the word *yavuga*, thought to be derived from Scythian, means “prince,” “ruler,” or “chieftain.” *Dhramaṭhida* is the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *dharmaṣṭhita*, meaning “one who resides in the Dharma,” “one who is devoted to the Dharma,” or “one who practices the Dharma.” Another of Kujūla Kadphises’s coins⁽²⁷⁾ (fig. 14) bears the inscription *sacadhramaṭhida*, the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *satya-dharma-ṣṭhita*, meaning “one who dwells within the correct Dharma.” Both expressions are Buddhist, but it is uncertain to what extent Kujūla Kadphises was actually influenced by Buddhism.

Fig. 14. Round bronze coin of Kujūla Kadphises, *BMC*, p. 123, No. 1; Pl. XXV.5:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ΧΟΨΑΝΟΥ ΖΑΟΥ ΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΙΣ = [C=C, Σ] *Khoshanou Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes* ([coin] of Kozola Kadaphes, ruler of the Kuṣāṇas). Head of the king r., diad. (closely resembling that of Augustus). [R] Kharoṣṭhī in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): Khushanasa yanasa Kuyula Kaphsasa sachadhramaṭhidasa ([coin] of Kuyula Kaphsa, ruler of the Kuṣāṇas, he who dwells in the Satyadharma, the correct Dharma). The king seated r. on seat like curule chair; his r. hand extended.

Kujūla Kadphises eventually overthrew Hermaeus, seizing power over a wide area of the Indus Valley from the Greeks and the Parthians. His successor, Vima Kadphises (Kadphises II), conquered Herāt, Śakasthāna, and Arachosia, annexed all of western India, and acquired the important trading ports along the west coast and at the mouth of the Indus. Since the time of Augustus, who became the first Roman emperor in 23 BCE, mariners had utilized the monsoon to maintain a trade route to the east from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean, then up the Indus to what is now Peshāwār, across the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs, and on to China.

The titles inscribed on the coins of Vima Kadphises⁽²⁸⁾ (fig. 15) allow us a glimpse of the political integration of his period. We find epithets similar to those before: *Maharaja* (great king) deriving from the Greek, and *rajadiraja* (king of kings), from Persian usage. *Sarvaloga-iśvara*, the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *sarvalokeśvara* (<*sarva-loka+iśvara*), means “ruler of the world.” *Mahiśvara* is the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *māheśvara*, meaning one who is a worshiper of Śiva, the supreme Hindu god (*mahā+iśvara*).

Alternatively, if the reading *mahiśvara* is accepted, the compound means universal (*mahī*) ruler (*iśvara*), that is, king; but since the epithet “ruler of the world” has already been used and the coin includes an image of Śiva, the former appears to be the more likely interpretation. *Tradara*, a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *trātṛ*, a translation of the Greek *sōtēr*, “savior” occurs again. Thus Vima Kadphises incorporates in his titles Persian, Indo-Greek, and Indian expressions for “king.”

Fig. 15. Round gold coin of Vima Kadphises, *BMC*, p. 124, No. 2; Pl. XXV.7:

Obverse: King wearing a helmet and a small diadem, sitting cross-legged on clouds, a club in his right hand, his head surmounted by a trident. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ = [C = Σ] *Basileus Ooēmo Kadphisēs* ([coin] of King Ooēma Kadphisēs). Reverse: The Hindu deity Śiva standing, wearing a cloth hanging down his back over his left shoulder and holding a trident in his right hand. Flames rise from his head. Behind him is a humped bull. Legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī) in Kharoṣṭhī script: *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima-Kaṭhphīsa tradara[sa]* ([coin] of Vima Kathphīsa, great king, king of kings, ruler of all the realms, follower of Śiva, savior).

Kaniška, who succeeded Vima Kadphises, made Puruṣapura (modern Peshāwār) his capital and from there ruled over an empire that embraced Vārāṇasi in the east, a region extending from the Vindhyas to the Kāthiāwār Peninsula in the south, and the territory from Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan in East Turkestan almost to the Aral Sea in West Turkestan, in the northwest. Located as it was on the trade route linking Persia, India, and China, Kaniška's empire exerted a great influence on cultural contacts between East and West.

Coins issued by Kaniška include the inscription “king” in a variety of languages⁽²⁹⁾ (fig. 16a). As already noted, *basileus basileōn* is the Greek translation of the Persian *khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām*, “king of kings,” while *shāonāno shāo*,⁽³⁰⁾ the legend in Greek script on the obverse of a gold coin (fig. 16b), derives from the ancient Persian equivalent of the modern *shāhān shāh*, “king of kings.” Kaniška appears to have been a convert to Buddhism. The reverse of the same gold coin bears the figure of the Buddha, with the Greek legend *Boddo* (Buddha). Moreover, a relic casket excavated from a Buddhist stupa at Shāh-jī-kī Dherī, near modern Peshāwār, is ornamented with small

sculptures of the Buddha and bodhisattvas being worshiped by Kaniṣka⁽³¹⁾ (fig. 17).

Fig. 16a. Round gold coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 129, No. 1; Pl. XXVI.1:

Obverse: The king standing. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΨΚΟΥ = [C = Σ, ψ = sh] *Basileus basileōn Kanēshkou* ([coin] of Kaniṣka, king of kings). Reverse: Selene (male) standing. Legend in Greek scripts: ΚΑΛΗΝΗ = *Salēnē*.

Fig. 16b. Round gold coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 130, No. 16; Pl. XXVI.8:

Obverse: The king standing. Legend in Greek scripts in Pers.: βαΟΝΑΝΟ βαΟ ΚΑΝΗΨΚΙ ΚΟψΑΝΟ = *Shāonāno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno* ([coin] of Kaniṣka, king of kings, the Kuṣāṇa. Reverse: Buddha standing. Legend in Greek scripts in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī): ΒΟΔΔΟ = *Boddo* (<Skt. Buddha).

Kaniṣka was succeeded by Vāsiṣka, Kaniṣka II, Huviṣka (figs. 18a, b), and Vāsudeva (figs. 19, 20a, b). Inscriptions on coins issued by these later kings reveal the titles they used.⁽³²⁾ In 226 CE the Persian Ardashir (r. 226-240) overthrew the Parthians and established the Sassanian dynasty. His successor, Shāhpuhr I (r. 240-272), conquered Peshāwār and Taxila and brought Kuṣāṇa rule there to an end.

Fig. 18a. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *BMC*, p. 136, No. 4; Pl. XXVII.9:

Obverse: Upper part of king. Legend in Greek scripts in Persian: βαΟΝΑΝΟ βαΟ [']ΟΟΗΨΚΙ ΚΟψΑΝΟ = *Shāonāno shāo Hooēshki Koshāno* ([coin] of Huviṣka, king of kings, the Kuṣāṇa). Reverse: Sun-god. Legend in Greek scripts in Pers. (?): ΑΡΑΕΙΧΨΟ = *Araeikhsho*.

* The origin of the name is obscure: it may even be a mere corruption of ΑΡΔΟΧΨΟ = *Ardokhsho* (Gardner). Similar to coins of Kaniṣka, *Araeikhsho* (god of the sun).

Fig. 18b. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *SIC*, p. 372, XII/6:

[O] King seated cross-legged, turning to left, with goad in left hand and sceptre in right hand; legend in Greek scripts in Pers.: βαΟΝΑΝΟ βαΟ [']ΟΗΨΚΙ ΚΟψΑΝΟ = *Shāonāno shāo Hoēshki Koshāno* ([coin] of Huviṣka, king of kings, the Kuṣāṇa). [R] Bearded Heracles, with club and lion's skin, standing and having apple in left hand; symbol on left and Greek legend on right — [']ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ = *Hērakilo*.

Fig. 19. Round gold coin of Vāsudeva; *BMC*, p. 159, No. 5; XXIX.10:

Obverse: The king nimbate; holds right hand over altar; in left hand spear. Legend in Pers., Greek scripts: $\text{pAONANO pAO BAZOΔHO KOpANO} = \text{Shāonāno shāo Bazoēo Koshāno}$ ([coin] of Vāsudeva, king of kings, the Kuṣāṇa). Reverse: Śiva facing, having three faces and two arms; holds wreath and trident. Legend in Pkt. (Gāndhārī), Greek scripts. $\text{OkpO} = \text{Oksho}$.

Fig. 20a. Round gold coin of Vāsudeva; *SIC*, p. 372, XII/8:

Obverse: King, radiate, standing to left sacrificing at altar, wearing suit of chain-mail and holding spear in left hand; Legend in Greek scripts in Pers.: $\text{pAONANO pAO BAZOΔHO KOpANO} = \text{Shāonāno shāo Bazodēo Koshāno}$, (Vāsudeva, the king of kings, the Kuṣāṇa). Reverse: Many-headed Śiva standing in front of bull, with trident in left hand; symbol on right and legend in Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), Greek scripts on left: $\text{OHpO} = \text{Oēsho}$ (Skt. *Vṛṣa* or *Bhaveśa* meaning Śiva).

Fig. 20b. Round gold coin of Vāsudeva; *SIC*, p. 372, XII/8:

Obverse: King nimbate, to left, with peaked helmet and complete suit of chain-mail, making offering with right hand over altar, which long trident in left hand; Legend in Pers., Greek scripts: $\text{pAONANO pAO BAZOΔHO} = \text{Shāonāno shāo Bazodēo}$ (Vāsudeva, the king of kings). Reverse: Two armed Śiva standing to front, with noose in right hand and long trident in left hand, bull standing to left behind the god; vertical legend on right in Pkt. (Gāndhārī), Greek scripts: $\text{OHpO} = \text{Oēsho}$; monogram in upper left field.

A silver scroll inscription⁽³³⁾ (fig. 21) excavated from a side chapel to the west of the Dharmarājikā stupa, Taxila, and dated 79 CE mentions a number of royal titles derived from Greek, Persian, and Chinese: "In the year 136 of Azes, on the fifteenth day of the month of Āṣāḍha, relics of the World-Honored One were enshrined here by Urasaka, son of Imptavhria, a Bactrian, resident in the town of Noacha. These relics he enshrined within his own bodhisattva chapel in the grounds of the Dharmarājikā stupa at Takṣaṣilā, for the bestowal of health upon the *Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa khuṣana* (the great king, king of kings, the son of heaven, the Kuṣāṇa), in veneration of all the buddhas, all the pratyekabuddhas, all the arhats, all living beings, (his) parents, and (his) friends, advisers, and kinsmen and blood relations. (He) also prays for the bestowal of health upon himself. May his true gift lead him to nirvana."

Further proof of cross-cultural influence can be gained from coins bearing the legend

kaisara, derived from *caesar*, the title of Roman emperors, and *sāhi*, from the Persian *shāh* (king).

§ 2. Buddhism and Religious Integration

The Greek civilization that spread to many parts of the ancient world continued to prosper even after Greece lost its independence, for that civilization was adopted and perpetuated by later rulers, the Roman Empire being a case in point. In the various regions of Asia under the control of Rome, trade and technology continued to be handled by Greeks and Hellenized Asians.

In India, nomadic invaders such as the Śaka-Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas not only emulated a Greek lifestyle but also adopted Greek political institutions. Until the White Huns invaded northwestern India in the fifth century CE and destroyed its cultural heritage, all nomadic invaders prized the civilization and technology established by the Bactrian Greeks. The Śaka-Pahlavas, for example, preserved Menander's political structure almost unchanged. They employed Greek officials in their government and retained Greeks to operate the mint and to work as engravers. Sovereigns such as the Śaka-Pahlava king Gondophares or the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka were patrons of Greek art and artists. In short, although the ruling classes changed, society as a whole remained much the same for many generations after the end of Greek rule.

For more than two hundred years after the death of Hermaeus, the last Greek king, in 55 BCE, local coins continued to bear Greek legends. The Kuṣāṇa king Kujūla Kadphises, in fact, inscribed his own name on coins originally minted by Hermaeus and reissued them. This evidence of a continuing presence of large numbers of Greeks and of the strength of their urban community was a factor the new rulers could not ignore.

For more than a century and a half, Greek was the language of commerce in the Kābul Valley and in Gandhāra as far east as Taxila, and was used as a lingua franca by the nobility, though eventually it fell into disuse. A corrupt Greek was used on coins of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty through the reign of Kaniṣka, in the second century CE. In addition, Greek script was used to write Scythian legends on coins of Vāsudeva (ca. 230 CE). For example, coins of Vāsudeva used Greek script to inscribe the legend *Shāonāno shāo Bazodēo Koshāno* on the obverse and *Oēsho* on the reverse⁽³⁴⁾ (figs. 20a, b).

Even after the Greeks lost their political authority, Greek doctors in Taxila were

renowned for their skill. Greeks were also sought after for their expertise in siege technology and in the devising of war machines. Greek craftsmen were skilled in working with wood, stone, and metal. Saint Thomas was one such craftsman who traveled to India by an established trade route. The Jaṇḍiāl temple was built for the Pahlavas by Greek artisans, and the relic casket of Kaniṣka found at Shāh-jī-kī Dherī was made by a Greek goldsmith named Agesilas.

It is not known to what extent the Greek cities survived as communities under the Pahlavas. What is clear from coins is that Greek deities continued to be worshiped, together with a variety of Persian and Indian gods. Coins issued by the various rulers of northwestern India — Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva in particular — depict a variety of deities. In their coexistence we discern the prototype for the integration of the Hindu gods into Buddhism, a process which initially centered on Gandhāra, but continued over a broad spectrum of Indian society.

Let us examine the deities depicted on Kaniṣka's coins. A representative sampling is shown below.

Greek and semi-Greek deities: (1) Hēlios,⁽³⁵⁾ god of the sun (fig. 22). He holds a scepter as the symbol of kingship. (2) Salēnē,⁽³⁶⁾ the male personification of the moon (fig. 16a). He holds a scepter. (3) Nanaia,⁽³⁷⁾ a goddess holding a scepter (fig. 23). The Elamite or Sumerian mother goddess, she is the equivalent of Artemis, goddess of the moon and the hunt. (4) Nana⁽³⁸⁾ (figs. 24a, b)/Nana Shāo,⁽³⁹⁾ a goddess holding a scepter. The new moon appears above her head. *Shāo* (Pers. *shāh*) means "king"; in the *R̥g Veda* (IX.112, 3), *nadā* has the meaning of "mother."

Fig. 22. Round bronze coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 129, No. 2; XXVI.2:

[O] Greek: BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN KANH̄PKOY = [C = Σ, ω = Ω, p = sh] *Basileus basileōn Kanēshkou* ([coin] of Kanishka, king of kings). The king nimbate, holding a long trident. [R] Greek: [Γ]ΗΛΙΟC = *Hēlios*. Hēlios, Helios l., diad, clad in chiton and himation; radiate disk behind head; r. hand advanced; l. on hip.

Fig. 23. Round bronze coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 129, No. 5; Pl. XXVI.3:

[O] Greek: BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN KANH̄PKOY = *Basileus basileōn Kanēshkou* ([coin] of Kaniṣka, king of kings). The king as above (The king l., wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak, sacrificing at altar; flames rise

Fig. 24a. Round bronze coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 134, No. 54; Pl. XXVII.5:

Fig. 24b. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *SIC*, p. 371, XII/3:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ᐁAONANO ᐁAO KANHᐁKI KOᐁANO = *Shāonāno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. The king standing l. wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak; flames rise his shoulders; he holds in r. hand elephant-goad

over altar; in his l., spear; sword at his waist. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: AθpO = *Athsho*. Bearded deity, fire-god, l., diad., clad in chiton and himation; holds in r. hand, wreath; in l., which rests on hip., tongs.

Fig. 25b. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 132, No. 31; Pl. XXVI.17 [→16]:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: p̄AONANO p̄AO KANH̄pKI KOp̄ANO = *Shāonno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. Bust of the king l., diad. and wearing helmet; l. hand raised, holds spear; body emerges from couds. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: AθpO = *Athsho*. Bearded deity l. clad in chiton and himation; holds in r. hand wreath; in l. which rests on hip., tongs.

Fig. 26. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 130, No. 14; Pl. XXVI.7:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: p̄AONANO p̄AO KANH̄pKI KOp̄ANO = *Shāonno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. The king standing l., wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak; flames rise from his shoulders; he holds in r. hand elephant-goad over altar; in his l., spear; sword at his waist. [R] Greek scripts in Pers. (?): AΠOΟΑCΠO = [C = Σ] *Lrooaspo*. Bearded deity r., diad., clad in sleeved tunie; holds in r. hand, wreath; beside him, horse r., saddled, trotting; to l. name is near to the Pers. *Luhrasp*.

Fig. 27a. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 131, No. 17; Pl. XXVI.9:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: p̄AONANO p̄AO KANH̄pKI KOp̄ANO = *Shāonno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. The king standing l., wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and colak; flames rise from his shoulders; he holds in r. hand elephant-goad over altar; in his l., spear; sword at his waist. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: MAO = *Mao*. Male deity (moon-god) l., diad., clad in chiton and himation; crescent behind shoulders; r. hand advanced; holds in l., long sceptre, bound with fillet; sword girt round waist.

Fig. 27b. Round bronze coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 133, No. 39; Pl. XXVII.3:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: p̄AO KANH̄pKI = *Shāo Kanēshki* (King Kaniška). The king, clad as in last class, standing l. by altar; holds in l. hand spear; r. extnded over altar; king nimbate. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: MAO = *Mao*. Male deity l., clad as king; crescent behind shoulders; r. hand advanced; in l., long sceptre bound with fillet; sword at waist.

Fig. 28a. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 131, No. 20; Pl. XXVI.10:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: p̄AONANO p̄AO KANH̄pKI KOp̄ANO = *Shāonno shāo*

Kanēshki Koshāno. The king standing l., wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak; flames rise from his shoulders; he holds in r. hand elephant-goad over altar; in his l., spear; sword at his waist. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: MI-
[I]PO = *Mihiro*. Mithras, to l.; r. hand advanced; l. rests on hip; sword at waist.

Fig. 28b. Round bronze coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 134, No. 46; Pl. XXVII.4:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ὁΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΙΚΙ = *Shāo Kanēshki*. The king standing l. as before; holds in l. hand spear; r. extended over altar. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: ΜΙΟΡΟ = *Mioro*. Sun-god, Mithras, l., diad. with radiate disk, clad as king; r. hand advanced; in l. sword.

Fig. 29. Round bronze coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 135, No. 62; Pl. XXVII.6:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ὁΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΙΚΙ = *Shāo Kanēshki*. The king standing l. by altar, holds in l. hand spear; r. extended over altar. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: ΟΑΔΟ = *Oado*. Wind-god running l., his hair loose; holds in both hands ends of his garment which floats about him.

Fig. 30. Round gold coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 132, No. 29; Pl. XXVI.15 [→14]:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ὁΑΟΝΑΝΟ ὁΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΙΚΙ ΚΟῆΑΝΟ = *Shāonno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. The king standing l., wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak; flames rise from his shoulders; he holds in r. hand elephant-goad over altar; in his l., spear; sword at his waist. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ = *Orlagno*. War-god (Bahram?) r., wearing diadem, helmet surmounted by eagle, and clad like the king; holds in r. hand, spear; in l. sword.

Fig. 31. Round gold coin of Kaniṣka; *BMC*, p. 132, No. 30; Pl. XXVI.16 [→15]:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ὁΑΟΝΑΝΟ ὁΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΙΚΙ ΚΟῆΑΝΟ = *Shāonno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: ΦΑΡΡΟ = *Pharro*. Male figure to r., diad. and nimbate, clad in chiton and himation; holds spear in l. hand, and mountain or fire in r.

Indian deities: (1) Ardoksho,⁽⁴⁷⁾ a goddess holding a cornucopia (figs. 32a, b). Iconographically, this figure is close to that of Tyche, the Greek goddess of fortune. The name may be cognate with the Sanskrit *Ardhokṣan*, consort of the bull. Another theory suggests that this is the Persian goddess of fortune, Ashis, daughter of Ahuro. (2) Oksho,⁽⁴⁸⁾ a standing figure of Śiva with four arms (fig. 33). This name is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Ukṣan*. (3) Oēsho,⁽⁴⁹⁾ a standing figure of Śiva with four arms (fig. 34).

This name is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Vṛṣa/Bhaveśa* (Śiva). (4) Boddo,⁽³⁰⁾ a standing figure of the Buddha preaching (fig. 16b). This name is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Buddha*. (5) Sakamano Boudo,⁽⁵⁰⁾ a standing figure of the Buddha preaching (figs. 35a, b). This name is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Śākyamuni Buddha*. (6) Mētrago Boudo⁽⁵¹⁾ (fig. 36), Metraka Buddha < Skt. *Maitreya Buddha*.

Fig. 32a. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 130, No. 13; Pl. XXVI.6.

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ὁΑΟΝΑΝΟ ὁΑΟ ΚΑΝΗῖΚΙ ΚΟῖΑΝΟ = *Shāonāno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. [R] Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): ΑΡΔΟΧῖΟ = *Ardokhsho*. Female figure r., wearing modius and nimbate, clad in chiton and himation; holds cornucopiae.

Fig. 32b. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 133, No. 33; Pl. XXVI.19 [→18]:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ὁΑΟΝΑΝΟ ὁΑ [Ο] [ΚΑ]ΝΗῖΚΙ ΚΟῖΑΝΟ = *Shāonāno shā[o] [Ka]nēshki Koshāno*. The king standing l. at altar, nimbate; holds r. hand over altar; in l., spear bound with fillet; to l., trident bound with fillet. [R] Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): [Α]ΡΔΟΚῖΟ = *[A]rdoksho*. Goddess, seated facing on throne, nimbate; under feet, footstool; holds wreath and cornucopiae to l.

Fig. 33. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 132, No. 25; Pl. XXVI.13:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ὁΑΟΝΑΝΟ ὁΑΟ ΚΑΝΗῖΚΙ ΚΟῖΑΝΟ = *Shāonāno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno*. The king standing l., wearing helmet and diadem, clad in coat and trousers, and cloak; flames rise from his shoulders; he holds in r. hand elephant-goad over altar; in his l., spear; sword at his waist. [R] Greek scriptss in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): ΟΚῖΟ = *Oksho*. Śiva l., nimbate; hair in horn on top of head; has four arms and hands, in which he holds respectively a vase, a drum, a trident, and goat, the last by horns.

Fig. 34. Round gold coin of Kaniška; *SIC*, p. 371, XII/2:

[O] King standing to left, wearing peaked helmet, long heavy coat, and trousers, and sacrificing at altar; long spear in left hand; legend in Greek scripts in Pers. probably — ὁΑΟΝΑΝΟ ὁΑΟ ΚΑΝΗῖΚΙ ΚΟῖΑΝΟ = *Shāonāno shāo Kanēshki Koshāno* in Greek scripts in Pers. [R] Four-armed Śiva to left, holding in the hands — trident, goat, drum and gourd (with elephant-goad) respectively; vertical legend — ΟῚῖΟ = *Oēsho* in Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī).

Fig. 35a. Round bronze coin of Kaniška; *BMC*, p. 133, No. 37; Pl. XXVII.2:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers. $\beta\text{AO KANH}\beta\text{KI}$ = *Shāo Kanḥshki*. The king, clad as in last class, standing l. by altar; holds in l. hand spear; r. extended over altar. [R] Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): $\text{CAKAMANO BOY}\Delta\text{O}$ = $[\text{C} = \Sigma]$ *Sakamano Boudo* (<Skt. Śākyamuni Buddha). Buddha facing, nimbate; his r. hand raised as in teaching; in l., wallet.

Fig. 35b. Round bronze coins of Kaniṣka; ASS 1981, p. 232, Pl. 3-5.

Coins of Kaniska depicting Sakyamuni Buddha 3. Bronze didrachm (London). 4. Bronze tetrachm (London). 5. Bronze tetrachm (London). [R] Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): $\text{CAKAMANO BOY}\Delta\text{O}$ = $[\text{C} = \Sigma]$ *Sakamano Boudo*.

Fig. 36. Round bronze coin of Kaniṣka; SAA, 1981, p. 234, Pl. 6-8:

Coins of Kaniska depicting Maitreya Buddha. [R] Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): $\text{MHTRAGO BOY}\Delta\text{O}$ = *Mētrago Boudo* (<Metraka Buddha<Skt. Maitreya Buddha). 6. Bronze tetrachm (private collection). 7. Bronze tetrachm (Berlin). 8. Bronze tetrachm (London).

The following names of deities have been found inscribed on Huviṣka's coins: (1) Araeikhsho,⁽⁵²⁾ god of the sun (fig. 18a); (2) Hērakilo,⁽⁵³⁾ Gk. *Hēraklēs*, *Hēraklēs*, Heracles, Lat. *Heracles*; son of Zeus and Almena (fig. 37); (3) Mahasēno,⁽⁵⁴⁾ Skt. *Mahāsena*, "great general," an epithet of Skanda, god of warriors (fig. 38); (4) Manaobago,⁽⁵⁵⁾ god of the moon; Per. *Manō Vohū*, *Bahman* (fig. 39); (5) Oaninda,⁽⁵⁶⁾ standing Nike (Gk. *Nikē*); Zend word *Vanant* (fig. 40); (6) Sarapo,⁽⁵⁷⁾ Gk. *Sarāpis* (fig. 41); (7) Skando Komaro Bizago,⁽⁵⁸⁾ (fig. 42) Skt. *Skanda*, *Kumāra*, *Viśākha*; (8) Skando, Komaro, Mahaseno, Bizago,⁽⁵⁹⁾ Skt. *Skanda*, *Kumāra*, *Mahāsena*, *Viśākha* (fig. 43); (9) Ōron,⁽⁶⁰⁾ Gr. *Ouranos* (heaven); Skt. *Varuṇa*; god of justice (fig. 44).

Fig. 37. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; BMC, p. 138, No. 22; Pl. XXVII.15:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: $\beta\text{AONANO } \beta\text{AO } [\text{'}] \text{OOH}\beta\text{KI}$ = *Shāonāno shāo Hooēshki*. The king seated cross-legged to l., diad. and nimbate; flames rising from shoulders; wears conical helmet, and holds ear of corn and spear. [R] Greek: $[\text{'}] \text{HPAKIAO}$ = *Hērakilo*. Bearded Heracles l., naked; holds in r. hand, club; over l. arm. lion's skin; in l. hand, apple.

Fig. 38. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; BMC, p. 138, No. 23; Pl. XXVII.16:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: $\beta\text{AONANO } \beta\text{AO } [\text{'}] \text{OOH}\beta\text{KI KO}\beta\text{ANO}$ = *Shāonāno shāo*

Hooēshki Koshāno. Upper part of the king l., emerging from clouds, diad.; wears rounded helmet; holds ear of corn and elephant-goad. [R] Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): MA[']ACHNO = *Mahasēno*. Male deity (Mahāsena) facing, nimbate and diad., clad in coat and chlamys; holds in r. hand, standard surmounted by bird; in l., sword.

Fig. 39. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *BMC*, p. 139, No. 25; Pl. XXVII.17:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ᵂAONANO ᵂAO [']OOHᵂKI KOᵂANO = *Shāonāno shāo Hooēshki Koshāno*. similar. [R] Greek scripts in Pers.: MANAOBAFO = *Manaobago*. Moon-god facing, seated on throne; feet resting on footstool; wears helmet; crescent behind shoulders; has four arms and hands, in three of which he grasps sceptre, wreath? and fire?, fourth hand rests on hip.

Fig. 40. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *BMC*, p. 145, No. 95; Pl. XXVIII.13:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ᵂAONANO ᵂAO [']OOHᵂKI KOᵂANO = *Shāonāno shāo Hooēshki Koshāno*. Upper part of the king l., emerging from clouds, diad. and nimbate; wears conical helmet; flames rising from shoulders; holds ear of corn and spear. [R] Greek scripts: OANINΔA = *Oaninda*. Nike (Gk. *Nikē*) standing l.; holds wreath and trophy-stand., as on coins of Alexander.

* *Oaninda*: The Zend word Vanañt stands for the star of victory (Hoffmann). Thomas considers the legend to refer to Anandates, a Persian deity mentioned by Strabo, 512 (c). But he was a male deity, and of his character we know nothing. *BMC*, p. lxiii.

Fig. 41. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *BMC*, p. 149, No. 110; Pl. XXVIII.21:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ᵂAONANO ᵂAO [']OYHᵂKI KOᵂ[ANO] = *Shāonāno shāo Houēshki Kosh[āno]*. (Upper part of king l., emerging from clouds, diad.; wears rounded helmet; holds ear of corn and elephant-goad). similar. [R] Greek: CAPAIO = [C = Σ] *Sarapo*. Sarapis standing l., diad. and clad in himation; r. hand advanced; in l., sceptre.

Fig. 42. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *BMC*, p. 149, No. 110; Pl. XXVIII.21:

[O] Greek scripts in Pers.: ᵂAONANO ᵂAO [']OOHᵂKI KOᵂANO = *Sāonāno shāo Hooēshki Koshāno*. [R] Greek scripts in Pkt. (Gāndhārī): CKANΔO KOMARO BIZAFO = [C = Σ] *Skando Komaro Bizago* (<Skt. Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha). Skanda and Viśākha standing face to face, nimbate; each wearing chlamys and necklace, and sword at waist; but Skanda holds in r. hand, standard surmounted by bird;

Viśākha holds in l. hand, spear; between them.

Fig. 43. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *BMC*, p. 150, No. 115; Pl. XXVIII.24:

[O] Upper part of king. Greek scripts in Perc.: $\text{pAONANO pAO } [\text{'}]\text{OOHpKI}$
 $\text{KO pANO} = \text{Shāonāno } \text{shāo } \text{Hooēshki } \text{Koshāno}$. [R] Greek scripts in Pkt.
(Gāndhārī): $\text{CKANAO KOMARO MA } [\text{'}]\text{ACHNO BIZAGO} = \text{Skando Komaro Mahasēno}$
Bizago (<Skt. Skanda, Kumāra, Mahāsenā, Viśākha). Niche on basis, with which,
Skanda and Viśākha standing; between them, Mahāsenā, horned (?), facing,
nimbate, clad in chlamys; sword at waist.

Fig. 44. Round gold coin of Huviṣka; *BMC*, p. 153, No. 138; Pl. XXVIII.32:

[O] Upper part of king. Greek scripts in Pers.: $\text{pAONANO pAO } [\text{'}]\text{OOHpKI}$
 $\text{KO pANO} = \text{Shāonāno } \text{shāo } \text{Hooēshki } \text{Koshāno}$. [R] Greek: $\Omega\text{PON} = \text{Ōron}$. Male deity
l., bearded, wearing modius and himation; r. hand advanced; in l., long sceptre.

On a round gold coin (see fig. 19) of Vāsudeva is inscribed (1) Oēsho, a standing figure of Śiva with two arms.⁽³⁰⁾ This name is equivalent to the Sanskrit *Vṛṣa/Bhaveśa*. (2) On the round copper coin⁽⁶¹⁾ is a standing figure of Śiva with two arms (no legend) (fig. 45).

Fig. 45. Round copper coin of Vāsudeva, *SIC*, pp. 372-73, XII/10:

[O] King standing to left, with peaked helmet and suit of chain-mail, holding long trident in left hand and making offering with right on small altar; trident in left field; traces of *corrupt legend in Greek scripts*. [R] Two-armed Śiva standing, to front, with noose in extended right hand and long trident in left hand; bull standing to left behind the god; trident-battle axe on right. Non legend.

A. Cunningham's *Coins of the Kushāns*⁽⁶²⁾ divided the names of deities inscribed on the coins of kings of Kuṣāṇas into seven specimens, and explained the sources and variety of their characters as follows:

Sun:

Helios: This Greek name of the Sun is found only on the coins of Kanishka, both in gold and copper, which give the king's titles in the Greek form of *Basileus Basileōn*.

Miuro: This figure is an exact copy of *Helios*. On the coins of Huvishka the name is often spelt *Miuro*, and on a single specimen I find *Miuro*; but I have not seen any coin

with *Mithra*. On these coins the titles are given in the native form of *Shaonano Shao*, with the tribal name of *Koshano* added. (p. 76)

Moon:

Salēnē: The figure of *Salene* is exactly repeated in the presentation of *Mao*; but the former coin gives the titles of the king in Greek, as *Basileus Basileōn*, while the latter gives them in the native language as *Shaonano Shao*. The figure is represented exactly in the same attitude as that of the sun-god, but instead of a rayed halo, it has a lunar crescent behind the shoulders.

Mao: In ancient Persia, as well as in India, the "Moon" was a male deity. *Mao* is the Zend form of the ancient Persian *māh*. In addition to a sword the moon-god nearly always carries a scepter. (pp. 77-78)

Another figure of the moon-god, with the same name of *Mao*, seems to be simply a repetition of the sun-god as a "measure of time," with a pair of callipers in the extended right hand. The moon has been the recognised measure for months from time immemorial, and hence the word *māh* signifies both moon and month in Persian. In Sanskrit the term is *mās* for both. The Roman poet Catullus also calls Diana, "Goddess measuring the month." (p. 78)

Manao-bago is a third representation of the moon-god, who is here undoubtedly the "god of measure," as declared by his name, *māna* being "measure," and *baga* being "God" in ancient Persia. The figure, which is four-armed, is represented sitting on a throne with a lunar crescent behind his shoulders ... As the Indian moon-god, Soma, is usually represented with four arms, and a lunar crescent behind the shoulders, I infer that the figure of *Manao-bago* must be of Indian origin. (p. 78)

Mars:

Hephaistos: As the god of "Fire" his figure was probably borrowed from a Greek source. He is represented with a hammer and a pair of tongs, with flames springing from his shoulders. The same figure is repeated with the name of *Athsho*, for the old Iranian *Ader* or *Azer* = "Fire" or in modern Persian *Ātash*.

Athsho, or *Athro*, is bearded, holding out a wreath in the right hand, and resting the left hand on the hip or on the hilt of his sword, in the same pose as the figures of *Miuro* and *Mao*. (p. 79)

Mahaseno/Skando-Kumaro/Bizago: All three names are genuine titles of the Indian god of War, who is also known as *Kārtikeya*.

Mahāsena simply means a “general,” or “commander of an army.”

Skanda-Kumāra is the “Prince Skanda.” Skanda is also used alone.

Viśākha is the name of one of the two nymphs, or personified asterism, by whom the infant Skanda-Kumāra was suckled. (p. 81)

Orlagno, or *Orthagnes*: This name has been compared by Benfey with *Verethragna*, the Zoroastrian War-god. The Indian form of name is *Vritrahan*, an abbreviation of *Vritraghan*, which was a personification of Indra as the “cloud-striker,” or “foe-killer.” (p. 81)

The name of *Orlagno* on the Kushān coins I would correct to *Ordagno*, on authority of the Saka names of *Orthagnes* and *Orthanes*, as well as on that of its well-ascertained identification with *Verethraghna*.

On the gold coins of Kanishka the god is represented armed with sword and spear, and wearing a helmet crowned by a bird with expanded wings, which Dr. Stein has identified with the bird *Vāraghna*. (p. 82)

Mercury:

Oado, or *Vado*: The old Persian name for the “wind” was *bād*, Sanskrit *vāt*, or as rendered on the coins in Greek *Oado* = *Vado*. The element is appropriately represented as a running figure with distended robes. The term *bād* is often used in the composition of Persian names, as *Badizes* and *Badres*; and, perhaps, also in *Vasakes* and *Vagises*, with the shorter form of *Wāh*, the “wind.” (p. 83)

Jupiter:

Pharro: Throughout the ancient world there appears to have been a general belief that the great god of the firmament of Heaven was the author of all being, and that the Earth was the mother. In India we have this belief very clearly announced in the Vedas, with reference to *Parjanya*. (p. 86)

Venus Genetrix, Wife of the Lord of Heaven:

In treating of *Pharro*, the Rain-god of the Firmament whose showers fertilised the earth, I have somewhat anticipated the functions of the Earth-goddess. In the Vedas she is named *Aramati*, and in the Avesta *Armaiti*. But neither of these names is found upon the coins, which give only *Ardokhsho*. I have described the figure of the Earth as represented on my seal, which gives the figures of *Pharro* and the *Earth* and their child and their symbols. (pp. 90-91)

The female figure named *Ardokhsho* is represented in two positions, either sitting or

standing. When standing she usually carries a large cornucopiae, which she appears to grasp with both hands. On a single specimen she carries the cornucopiae in her hand, and holds out a wreath in her right hand. This last type is also that of the coin with the shorter legend of *Dokhsho*. (p. 91)

Nana, or Nanaia, the Babylonian Venus, was one of the most ancient deities of the East. Her statue had been carried off from Erech by Kudur-Nuhundi, king of Elam, 2300 years BCE. In Assyria she was worshipped as *Ishtar*, in Phoenicia as *Astarte*, and the planet Venus is still called *Ashtar* by the Mendeans, and *Nāni* by the Syrians. Her worship was foreign to the original Mazdeism of Zoroaster; but during the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, 404-361 BCE, her statues were set up in Babylon, Susa, and Ekbatana, when her worship was also introduced among the Persians and Bactrians on the east, and to Damascus and Sardis on the west. In Persia her cult was taught in the Abān Yasht, where she is described under the name of *Ardri-Sura-Anāhita*. She is the Anaitis of the Greeks, and the Nana or Nanaia of Persian history and of the Indo-Scythian coins. As the Persian name for planet Venus is *Zarah*, the adoption of the name of Anāhid shows that her worship was a foreign addition to the original cult. (pp. 95-96)

The usual legend on the gold coins is either *Nanaia* or *Nana* or *Nano*; but it is extended to *Nana Shao* or *Shao Nana*. With this royal title of "Queen Nana" she generally carries a sword in addition to the scepter. (p. 99)

Saturn:

Hērakilo, or *Hēraklēs*: On single gold coin, and on several rare copper coins, there is a naked standing figure, armed with a lion's skin and club, and inscribed *Hērakilo*. The figure on the gold coin is clearly a rude copy of some one of the many known statues of Herakles. On the copper coins the attitude and the position of the club are varied. (p. 100)

Oksho is a standing figure, evidently suggested by that of Herakles. But the figure has now become an Indian god with three heads and four arms. With one hand he grasps a club, which rests on the ground; the second hand holds a trident; the third a thunderbolt; and the fourth a water-vessel. (Huvishka)

A second representation of *Oksho*, also with three heads and four arms, shows him as a naked mendicant with trident, *damara* or drum, *cakra* or wheel, and deer. This is the Phallic Śiva. (Huvishka)

A third representation of *Oksho*, with one head and four arms, shows him carrying a trident, drum and water-vessel, and holding a deer. This is the common form on the coins of Kanishka.

A fourth representation of *Oksho* shows the god with one head and two arms, carrying the trident, and the *pāsa* or noose on coins of Vāsudeva.

A fifth representation of *Oksho* shows the god with one head and two arms, armed with trident and noose, standing in front of the humped bull Nandi. (Vāsudeva)

A sixth is similar to the last, but the head of the bull is turned round, boustrophedon. (Vāsudeva)

A seventh shows the god with three heads and four arms, standing in front of the bull Nandi. Some two-headed figures also have four arms. (pp. 100-101)

Sarapo is represented both sitting and standing. The former type occurs only on the small gold coins, but the figure corresponds so closely with that of the Greek Plutōn that there can be no doubt it is intended for the king of the lower World. (p. 101)

The carving on the base of the Stupa of the Double-Headed Eagle, in Taxila, is a good example of the hybrid Greek, Persian, and Indian culture of northwestern India in the first century BCE (see figs. 1, 47). In his account of the archaeological excavations at Taxila, Sir John Marshall⁽⁶³⁾ wrote:

The stupa-shrine [*caitya-gr̥ha* in Block F of Sirkap, the second site of Taxila] (fig. 46) stands in a court roughly 40 ft. [12.2 meters] square internally, but rather more from east to west than from north to south. Three steps from the Main Street led up to the entrance, which was in the middle of the western side. Within the court, against the west wall, were four chambers — two to the right and two to the left of the entrance — which were no doubt occupied by the keepers of the shrine. ... Of the stupa itself only the base has survived. It measures 21 ft. 10 in. [6.25 meters] north and south by 26 ft. 10 in. [8.17 meters] east and west, including the steps on its western side. Its core is of rubble, with a facing of squared *kañjūr* [stone]. Round the foot of the base runs a well-cut molding consisting of a torus and a scotia divided by a fillet, above which is a row of pilasters surmounted by brackets with a frieze and a dentil cornice at the top. The sides and back of the stupa are less ornamental than the front. On the two sides the center one of the five pilasters has a circular shaft and Corinthian

capital⁽⁶⁴⁾ (fig. 48); the rest have squared shafts and capitals consisting of plain moldings, except at the western corners, where the capitals are of the Corinthian order. On the front facade all the pilasters are Corinthian, two having rounded and the remainder flat shafts. The interspaces between the pilasters on this face are relieved by niches of three different patterns. The two nearest the steps resemble the pedimental fronts of Greek buildings⁽⁶⁵⁾ (fig. 49); those in the center are surmounted by ogival arches resembling the so-called "Bengal" roofs; those at the corners take the form of early Indian *torāṇas* [gateways]. Perched on the top of the central and outer niches are birds, one of which is a double-headed eagle.

The whole facing of *kañjūr* stone, including moldings, pilasters and other decorations, was originally finished with a thin coat of fine stucco, but, as time went on, several other and coarser coats were added, some of which showed traces of red, crimson and yellow paint.

Although the upper part of the stupa has completely fallen, various architectural members, recovered from the debris, make it possible to reconstruct the design of the superstructure. In the center of the base was a high drum surmounted by a dome, which was crowned in turn by a *harmikā* [railing] and umbrella shaft (*chatrāvalī*) carrying three umbrellas. Both drum and dome may have been adorned with decorations in relief executed in stucco and painted. Round the edge of the base, and presumably also flanking the steps, was a low balustrade of *kañjūr* stone finished with plaster, 3 ft. 8 in. [1.13 meters] in height. A section of this railing and the umbrella shaft (fig. 50) have been pieced together and set up in the local Museum. ...

The presence of the "double-headed eagle" motif on this stupa at Taxila is interesting, as supplying another link in the long chain of its migrations. ... It first makes its appearance among Hittite and early Babylonian sculptures⁽⁶⁶⁾ (figs. 51, 52) in Western Asia; later, it is found on early ivory of the Geometric Period from Sparta; still later it seems to have been particularly associated with the Scythians, and we may well believe that it was they — the Śaka — who introduced it at Taxila.

The builder must have designed the stupa with the conscious idea of uniting the diverse population of Taxila — Greek, Śaka-Pahlava, and Indian — within the Buddhist *saṃgha*. This stupa is an interesting example of the way Eastern and Western culture and religion were synthesized in Gandhāra.

Notes

* I wish to thank Dr. Gaynor Sekimori, Associate Professor at Tokyo University, for her help in the preparation of this English translation.

(1) Arrian, *Anabasis*, V.1, 1-2; VI.2.3; *Indica*, I.5; 5.9. Cf. Strabon, *Geographica*, XV.1.7; Diodorus, II.38.

(2) "These Nysaioi are not of the Indian race; they are descendants of the invaders who followed Dionysus [to India]: either Greeks who had been disabled in the wars which Dionysus led against the Indians, or also natives whom, at the Nysaeans' request, Dionysus had settled with the Greeks" (Arrian: *Indica*, I.4-5).

(3) Arrian, *Anabasis*, III.28.1.4; IV.22.4; V.1.5; 19.4; VI.15.4; 19.4; Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XVII.95.5; 102.4; Quintus Curtius, IX.8.8.

(4) Appianus, *Romaica, syriake*, 55; *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, III.6.43.

(5) Strabon, XV.2.9.

(6) Diodorus, XVIII.3; 39; XIX.48.1; Arrian, *Anabasis*, III.29.5; VI.27.3.

(7) Justin, *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XLI.4; *Shih chi*, 123; *Chien Han shu*, 61.

(8) Strabon, XI.9.2.

(9) A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford 1957, p. 181.

(10) *Ibid.*, Pl. I.9.

(11) P. Gardner, ed., *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Greeks and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India [BMC]*, London 1886, p. 9, No. 3; Pl. III.9.

(12) (a) *BMC*, p. 11, No. 12; Pl. IV.9. (b) *BMC*, p. 12, No. 15; Pl. IV.10.

(13) I. B. Horner, tr., *Milindapañha: Milindapañha: Milinda's Questions*, p. 114, n. 1: see *Cambridge Hist. of India*, i. 550 for this meaning of *dvāpa* (*doab*) being right here, and referring to "the country between the Panjshir and Kābul rivers, in which the ruins of Alexander's city haven recognised near Chārikār."

(14) (a) *BMC*, p. 50, No. 73; Pl. XII.7; (b) Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. II.8.

(15) Plutarch, *Moralia*, ed. H. N. Fowler (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1936), 821 D-E.

(16) Horner, tr., *Milinda's Questions*, vol. 1, pp. 1-3.

(17) At the end of the first century CE there were "still current in Barygaza ... ancient dhrachmas carved with Greek characters and bearing the effigy of those who ruled after Alexander: Appolodotus and Menander." *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 47; L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 81, 205; Narain,

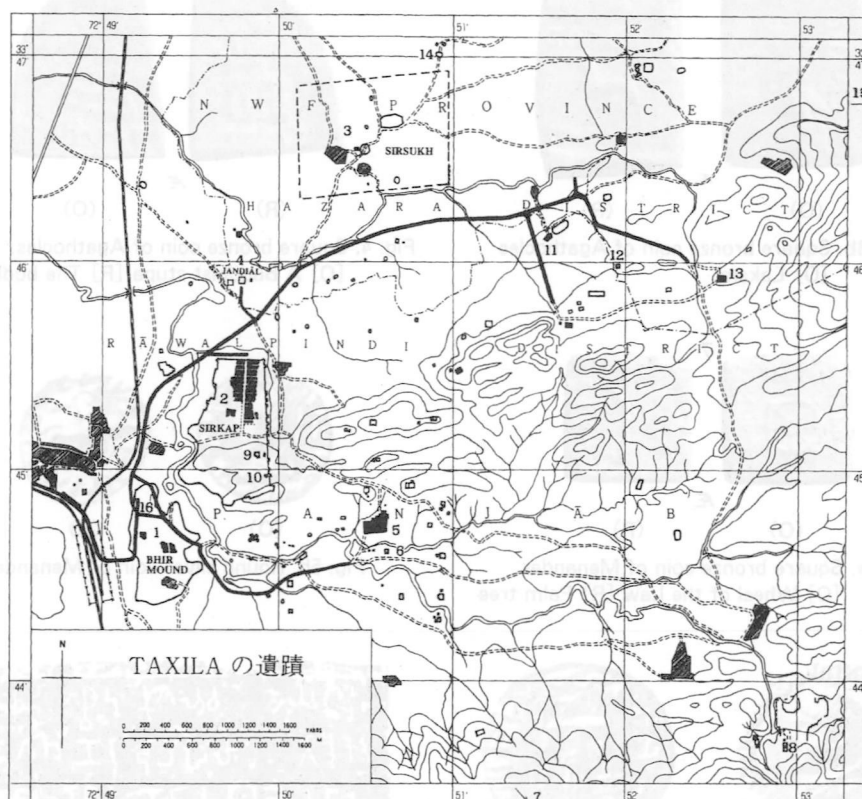
Indo-Greeks, Pl. IV.6. A coin of Apollodotus.

- (18) "That Garuḍadhvaja (pillar surmounted by a Garuḍa bird) of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), god of gods, was erected by Heliodora (Heliodoros), a follower of the Bhagavat, son of Diya (Dion) and an inhabitant of Takṣaśilā who came as the Greek ambassador (*yavanadūta*) of the great king Aṃtalikita (Antialcidas) to king Kāśiputa Bhāgabhadra, the savior (*trātāra*), in the fourteenth year of his reign." Lüders, p. 669; Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, Pl. VI.2.
- (19) Strabo, XI.8.2.
- (20) *BMC*, p. 68, No. 3; Pl. XVI.2.
- (21) (a) *BMC*, p. 73, No. 1; Pl. XVII.8; (b) *BMC*, p. 87, No. 160; Pl. XIX.7. (c) *BMC*, p. 90, No. 191; Pl. XX.1. (d) *BMC*, p. 91, No. 200; Pl. XX.2.
- (22) Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, II, pp. 146 ff.; *CHI*, i, 578-79.
- (23) Philostratus, "The Life of Apollonius of Tyana," *Vit. Apoll.* 2. 20.
- (24) Marshall, Sir John. *Taxila*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1951, p. 277; *A Guide to Taxila*, Cambridge, 1960, p. 28.
- (25) D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins [SIC]*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1968, p. 369, XI/6. Cf. *BMC*, p. 104, No. 8; Pl. XXII.8.
- (26) *BMC*, p. 120, No. 1; Pl. XXV.1.
- (27) *BMC*, p. 123, No. 1; Pl. XXV.5.
- (28) *BMC*, p. 124, No. 2; Pl. XXV.7; *SIC*, p. 370. Pl. XI/12. *Maraharaja* (Skt. *mahārāja*; great king) is a Prākṛit word form of *basileus megas*, which is the title of a Greek king; *rajadiraja* (king of kings; Prākṛit < Skt. *rājātirāja*) is the Greek translation (*basileus basileōn*) of the Persian title of the Achmaenid kings, *khshāyatiya khshāyathiyānām*; and *sarvaloga-iśvara* is a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *sarva-lokeśvara* (< *sarva-loka-iśvara*), meaning "the ruler of all the realms." The word *mahiśvara* is a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *māheśvara*, meaning "one who is a worshiper of Śiva, the supreme Hindu god (Maheśvara < *mahā-iśvara*). If read as *mahiśvara* (< *mahā-iśvara*), it means universal (*mahī*) ruler (*iśvara*), that is, king. But since the epithet "the ruler of the world" has been employed, and an image of Śiva was inscribed, it would be proper to interpret the word as "worshiper of Śiva." The word *tradara* is a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *trātṛ* and is the Gāndhārī translation of the Greek *sōtēr* ("savior").
- (29) *BMC*, p. 129, No. 1; Pl. XXVI.1.
- (30) *BMC*, p. 130, No. 16, Pl. XXVI.8; p. 175, No. 1.

- (31) Konow 72; Tsukamoto, *CSIBI*, Shāh-jī-kī Dherī 1.
- (32) Coin of Huviṣka: *BMC*, p. 136, No. 4; Pl. XXVII.9; *SIC*, p. 372, XII/6. Coin of Vāsudeva: *BMC*, p. 159, No. 5; Pl. XXIX.10.
- (33) Konow 27; Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 1, pp. 256-57; Tsukamoto, *CSIBI*, Taxila 3.
- (34) (a) *SIC*, p. 372, XII/8. (b) *SIC*, p. 372, XII/9. Cf. R. B. Whitehead, *The Pre-Muhammedan Coins of North-Western India* [*PMC*], New York, 1922, (i), XIX.216.
- (35) *BMC*, p. 129, No. 2; Pl. XXVI.2.
- (36) *BMC*, p. 129, No. 1; Pl. XXVI.1. (= Note 29)
- (37) *BMC*, p. 129, No. 5; Pl. XXVI.3; R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951, p. 143.
- (38) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 21; p. 134, No. 54; Pl. XXVII.5; *SIC*, p. 371, XII/3.
- (39) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 22.
- (40) *BMC*, p. 130, No. 10; Pl. XXVI.4; p. 132, No. 31; Pl. XXVI.17; *SIC*, p. 371, XI/15.
- (41) *BMC*, p. 130, No. 14; Pl. XXVI.7.
- (42) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 17; Pl. XXVI.9; p. 133, No. 39; Pl. XXVII.3.
- (43) *BMC*, p. 131, No. 20; Pl. XXVI.10; No. 19; p. 134, No. 46; Pl. XXVII.4.
- (44) *BMC*, p. 135, No. 62; Pl. XXVII.6.
- (45) *BMC*, p. 132, No. 29; Pl. XXVI.15 (emended to 14).
- (46) *BMC*, p. 132, No. 30; Pl. XXVI.16 (emended to 15).
- (47) *BMC*, p. 130, No. 13; Pl. XXVI.6; p. 133, No. 33; Pl. XXVI.19 (emended to 18).
- (48) *BMC*, p. 132, No. 25; Pl. XXVI.13; p. 135, Nos. 66, 70.
- (49) *PMC*, IX.2; *PMC* (i), XVII.65; *SIC*, p. 371, XII/2.
- (50) *BMC*, p. 133, No. 37; Pl. XXVII.2; Joe Cribb, "The Origin of the Buddhist image — the numismatic evidence," *South Asian Archaeology* [*SAA*], 1981, Cambridge University, p. 233, Pl. 3-5.
- (51) *SAA*, 1981, p. 234, Pl. 6-8.
- (52) *BMC*, p. 136, No. 4; Pl. XXVII.9.
- (53) *BMC*, p. 138, No. 22; Pl. XXVII.15.
- (54) *BMC*, p. 138, No. 23; Pl. XXVII.16.
- (55) *BMC*, p. 139, No. 25; Pl. XXVII.17.
- (56) *BMC*, p. 147, No. 95; Pl. XXVIII.13.
- (57) *BMC*, p. 149, No. 110; Pl. XXVIII.21.
- (58) *BMC*, p. 149, No. 112; Pl. XXVIII.22.

- (59) *BMC*, p. 150, No. 115; Pl. XXVIII.24.
- (60) *BMC*, p. 153, No. 138; Pl. XXVIII.32.
- (61) *SIC*, pp. 372-73, XII/10; *PMC* (i), XIX.216.
- (62) A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns, or Great Yue-ti*, London, 1892, in: *Coins of the Indo Scythians, Sakas & Kushans*. Part III, Varanasi-Delhi, 1971.
- (63) Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. 1, pp. 163-64.
- (64) Karl Schefold, *Die Griechen und Ihre Nachbarn*, Berlin 1967, Tafel 306 Athen, Olympieon, Ansicht von Südwest, um 175 v. Chr.
- (65) A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, Penguin Books, 1st ed. 1957, fig. 64: Restoration of front of larger temple, Taxiarches.
- (66) Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Penguin Books, p. 227, Pl. 261: Yazilikaya, Central group of gods.

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATION



- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|------------|
| 1 Bhir mound | 7 Kālawān | 13 Jauliān |
| 2 Sirkap | 8 Giri | 14 Lāichak |
| 3 Sirsukh | 9 Kunāla Saṅghārāma | 15 Bhamāla |
| 4 Jaṇḍiāl | 10 Ghai | 16 Museum |
| 5 Dharmarājikā | 11 Mohrā Morādu | |
| 6 Khāder Mohrā | 12 Pippala | |

Fig. 1. Taxila, archaeological sites



(O)



(R)

Fig. 2. Round silver coin of Demetrius II
[R] Zeus



(O)



(R)

Fig. 3a. Square bronze coin of Pantaleon
[O] Lakṣmi



Fig. 3b. Square bronze coin of Agathocles
[O] Lakṣmī

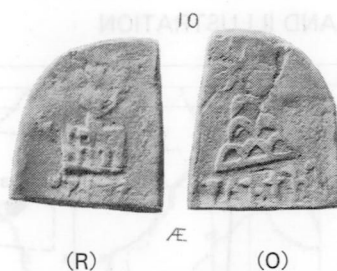


Fig. 4. Square bronze coin of Agathocles:
[O] A Buddhist stupa [R] The bodhi tree

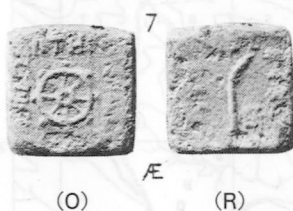


Fig. 5a. Square bronze coin of Menander
[O] Wheel of the Law [R] Palm tree



Fig. 5b. Round silver coin of Menander



Fig. 6. Round silver coin of Apollodotus:
[R] Pallas



Fig. 7. The Heliodorus inscription
on the Besnagar pillar



Fig. 8. Round silver coin of Maues
[O] Zeus [R] Nike



Fig. 9. Ruins of Janḍiāl temple, Taxila



Fig. 10a. Round silver coin of Azes I
[R] Zeus



Fig. 10b. Round bronze coin of Azes I
[O] Elephant



Fig. 10c. Round billon coin of Azes I:
[R] Personified city

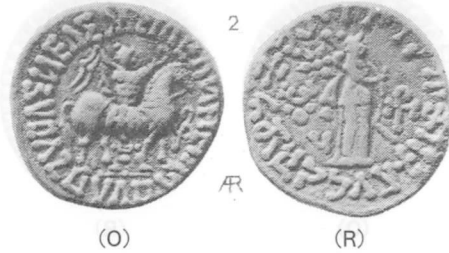


Fig. 10d. Round billon coin of Azes I
[R] Pallas



Fig. 11. Round silver coin of Gondophares
[R] Zeus



Fig. 12. Round silver coin of Gondophares
[R] Zeus

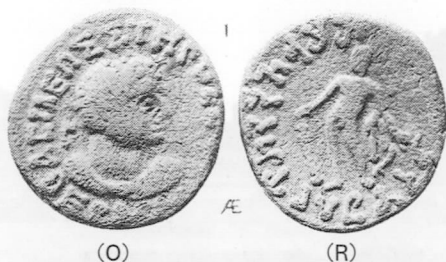


Fig. 13. Round copper coin of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises
[R] Heracles



Fig. 14. Round bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises



Fig. 15. Round gold coin of Vima Kadphises
[R] Śiva



Fig. 16a. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Salēnē (Selene)



Fig. 16b. Round gold coin of Kaniška:
[R] Boddo (Buddha)



Fig. 18a. Round gold coin of Huviška
[R] Araeikhsho



Fig. 17. Relic casket of Kaniška.
From Shāh-jī-kī Dherī



Fig. 18b. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Heracles



Fig. 19. Round gold coin of Vāsudeva
[R] Oksho) (Śiva)



Fig. 20a. Round gold coin of Vāsudeva
[R] Oēsho (Śiva)

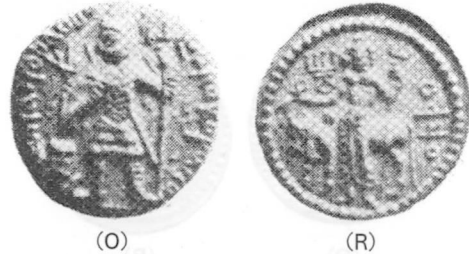


Fig. 20b. Round gold coin of Vāsudeva
[R] Oēsho (Śiva)

TAXILA SILVER SCROLL. YEAR 136

ORIGINAL



Fig. 21. Silver scroll inscription excavated at the Dharmarājikā stupa.



Fig. 22. Round bronze coin of Kaniṣka
[R] Hēlios (Helios)



Fig. 23. Round bronze coin of Kaniṣka
[R] Nanaia



Fig. 24a. Round bronze coin of Kaniška
[R] Nana



Fig. 24b. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Nana



Fig. 25a. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Athsho



Fig. 25b. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Athsho



Fig. 26. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Lroaspo



Fig. 27a. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Mao



Fig. 27b. Round bronze coin of Kaniška
[R] Mao

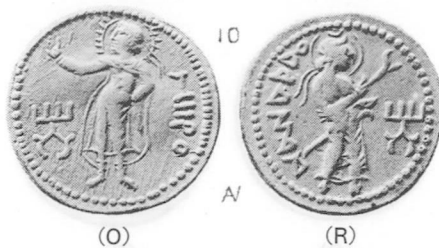


Fig. 28a. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Mihiro (Mithras, Sun-god)



4 AE
(R)

Fig. 28b. Round bronze coin of Kaniška
[R] Mioro (Mithras, Sun-god)



6 AE
(R)

Fig. 29. Round bronze coin of Kaniška
[R] Oado



14
(O) (R)

Fig. 30. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Orlagno (War-god)



15
(O) (R)

Fig. 31. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Pharro



6
(O) (R)

Fig. 32a. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Ardoksho



18
(O) (R)

Fig. 32b. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] [A] rdoksho



13
(O) (R)

Fig. 33. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Okhsho (Śiva)



2
(O) (R)

Fig. 34. Round gold coin of Kaniška
[R] Oēsho (four-armed Śiva)



Fig. 35a. Round bronze coin of Kaniška
[R] Sakamano Boudo (Śākyamuni Buddha)



Fig. 35b. Round bronze coins of Kaniška
[R] Sakamano Boudo (Śākyamuni Buddha)



Fig. 36. Round bronze coin of Kaniška
[R] Mētrago Boudo (Maitreya Buddha)



Fig. 37. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Hērakilo (Heracles)



Fig. 38. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Mahasēno (Mahāsena)



Fig. 39. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Manaobago (Moon-god)



Fig. 40. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Oaninda (Nike)



Fig. 41. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Sarapo (Sarapis)



Fig. 42. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Skando Komaro Bizago
(Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha)



Fig. 43. Round gold coin of Huviṣka
[R] Skando Komaro Mahasēno Bizago
(Skanda, Kumāra, Mahāsena, Viśākha)



Fig. 44. Round gold coin of Huviṣka: Ōron



Fig. 45. Round copper coin of Vāsudeva
[R] Two-armed Śiva (Non leged)

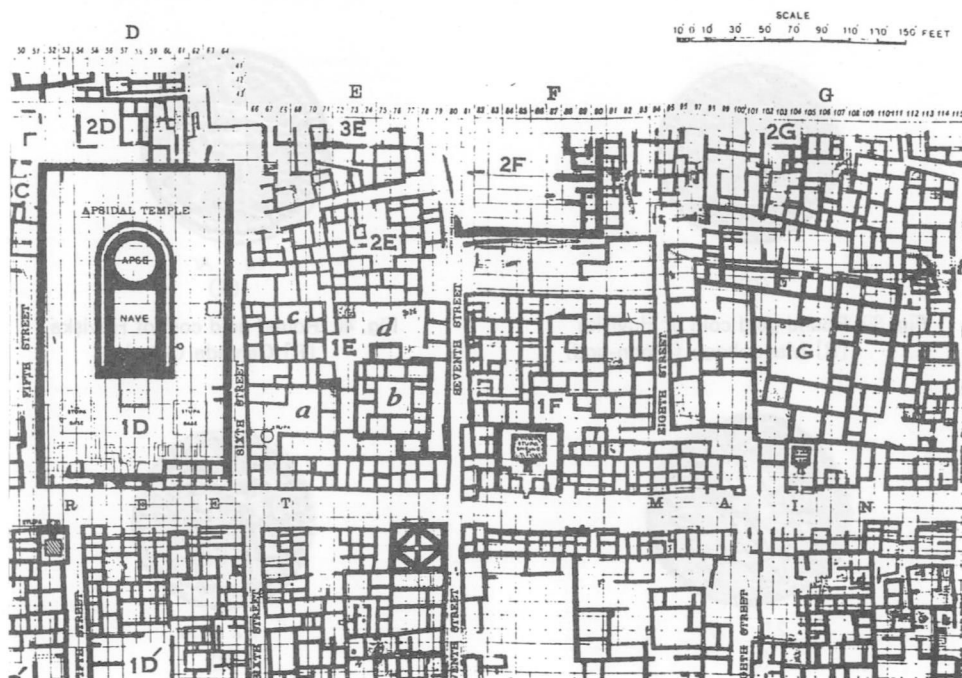


Fig. 46. Block F of Sirkap (1F), Taxila

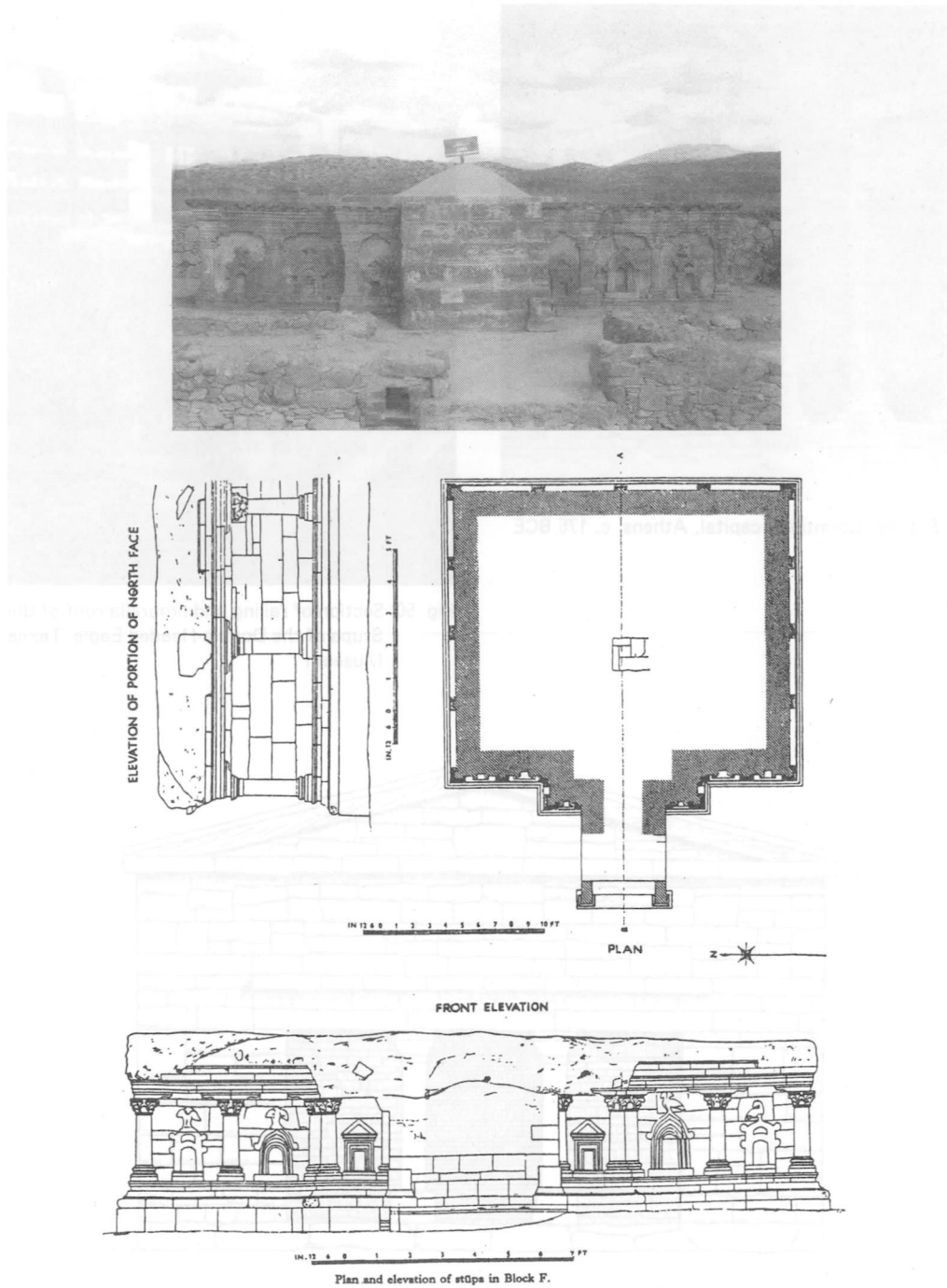


Fig. 47. Sirkap (Taxila):
above, Stupa of the Double-Headed Eagle;
below, Plan and elevation of stupa in Block F.



Fig. 48. Corinthian capital, Athens, c. 175 BCE



Fig. 50. Section of railing and umbrella roof of the Stupa of the Double-Headed Eagle, Taxila Museum

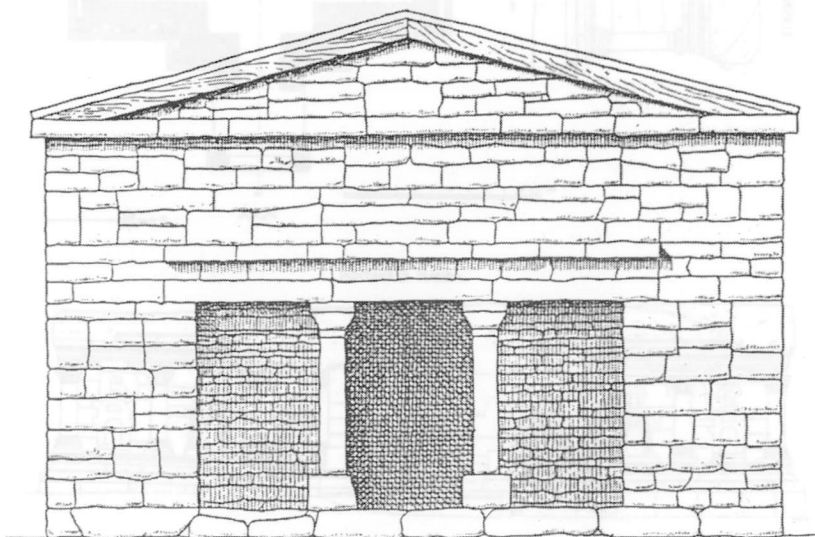


Fig. 49. Pedimental front of Greek temple, Taxiarches

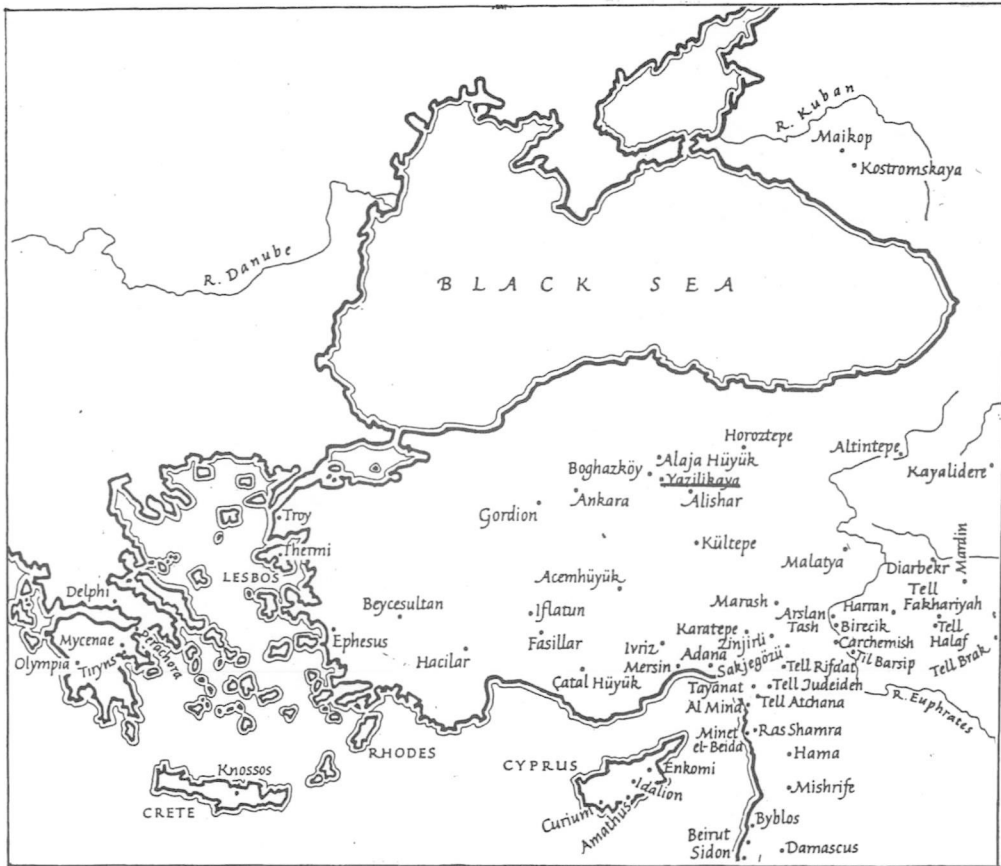


Fig. 51. Location of Yazilikaya



Fig. 52. Double-Headed Eagle (the lower right)
among Hittite Sculptures, Yazilikaya, 13th century BCE