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25. Kālayavana, A Key to Mathurā's Cultural Self-Perception

NORVIN HEIN

Once upon a time, says the *Harivaṁśa*, all of Mathurā's most dreadful enemies fell upon that pleasant city and laid siege to her together.¹ From the east came Jarāsandha king of Magadha with his auxiliaries the uncouth Kirātas and other barbarian peoples of his region. Jarāsandha hoped to bring back additional royal captives for his prisons, so that he might sacrifice a full one hundred kings like animals in an atrocious religious rite. From the opposite direction, at the same time, came the rapacious hordes of Kālayavana the 'Black Greek.' His allies were the Śakas, Tuṣāras, Daradas, Pahlavas and all the terrible *dasyus* of the snowy mountains. They swarmed over the plains like grasshoppers. They darkened the sun with their dust. The flowing excrement of their innumerable mounts ran together to form a stinking stream that was named the Horsemanure River.

Kālayavana was of wholly Indian parentage, but he had been born in the harem of a Yavana king. That king had had no son of his own; but with the cooperation of the sage Gargya the king's wife, an apsaras, had given birth to Kālayavana. The old Yavana king was not displeased with this event; in fact he had deliberately sent his wife into the countryside to meet that sage because he had heard that Śiva had promised him that he would father a son who would be a mighty conqueror. The child was raised at court as a Yavana. When he became king he vented a bellicose Yavana disposition as foretold. Looking for lands to conquer, his eye fell upon fair Mathurā. Thus it was that he too arrived before that city. Lusting for personal combat with Mathurā's chief, Kālayavana ran after Kṛṣṇa on the battlefield. When Kṛṣṇa took refuge in a cave,

Kālayavana plunged into the cave also in hot pursuit. Lying asleep in the cavern was the royal sage Mucukunda. Ages before, Mucukunda had lain down there with a divine promise that any who molested his repose would be destroyed. Coming upon the sleeping form of the holy *ṛṣi* the surly Yavana kicked him. Mucukunda rose up in wrath. Using his special power, in a single glance of his fiery eye he burned Kālayavana to ashes. Thus goes this famous story as told in the authentic text of the *Harivaṁśa*, which has been dated by the editor of the critical edition at about 300 A.D., just before the Gupta time.²

This story cannot be a chronicle of any historical attack upon Mathurā. Mathurā's known relations with Yavanas and with rulers of Magadha do involve at least one conquest of Mathurā by each, but any league between Jarāsandha and a Yavana ruler is as impossible as a joint attack on Rome by Hannibal and the Huns. The purāṇas themselves assign Jarāsandha to the very beginning of dynastic history in Magadha, and place the Yavana kings, correctly, after the age of the Nandas and Mauryas.³ The original story of Jarāsandha's attack, when first told in the *Mahābhārata*, involved no cooperating Yavana.⁴ The feature of a coalition against Mathurā is a fictional complication introduced by the author of the *Harivaṁśa*. The mind of a bard appears to have been the ultimate source, also, for the designation 'Kālayavana' itself. Unknown in any independent record of royal names, 'the Black Greek' seems more likely to be an epithet than a proper name. One might say that Kālayavana is a myth. Mythologists, however, have seen as little meaning in Kālayavana as have historians. In this paper the study of myth and history

will be brought together in an effort to deepen historical understanding of the nature of the great issues in the public life of Mathurā and of India in the third century A.D.

The author of the *Harivaṃśa* is a man of Mathurā in the deepest sense. We dare say that, even though we do not know his name, and do not know that he was born in Mathurā or even resided there. His verse reveals him as a lover of the city and its traditions. In his opening lines he says he is continuing the narrative of the *Mahābhārata* in order to tell the neglected story of the *Vṛṣṇis* and of the family of Hari. He devotes many of his chapters (*adhyāyas* 47 to 75) to describing the deeds—never narrated in literature before—that Kṛṣṇa had performed in Mathurā neighborhoods. His mind is full of the special lore of the region and to swell the number of those who hold it in affection is his calling as a poet. He initiates the process whereby Mathurā will gain, in time, the aura of a holy land. The beginning of a sense of sanctity is already perceptible in his description of the beauty of *Vṛndāban* (*adhyāya* 53 f.) and of the charm of the countryside near Govardhana (49: 15–30). He is the author of the famous panegyric (85: 2 f.) that praises Mathurā as

‘The crown of Madhyadeśa, Lakṣmī’s sole abode,
Earth’s evident perfection, rich in money and grain,
Full of noble wealthy folk—a town of highest excellence!’

The author of the *Harivaṃśa* is an adopted son, at least, of Mathurā, and he reflects the outlook of that city in his picturing of its struggles with surrounding powers.

Our perception of the meaning of *Kālayavana* began with the discovery that, in a small detail, the author of the *Harivaṃśa* was not making up his picture entirely out of the stuff of fairy tales. When in 25: 11b he gives us a glimpse of the royal stables of King *Kālayavana* he remarks on the great horses there to be seen, *vṛṣa-purvārdhakāyās tam avahan vājino rane*, ‘stallions whose bodies had the fronts of bulls bore him in battle.’ We have a clue here that in his picture of the establishment of *Kālayavana* the author had ethnic realities in mind, for in the *Mahābhārata* the excellence of the horses and the horsemanship of the *Yavanas* is the most mentioned of their characteristics. In 8: 64.16c the *Yavanas* appear in battle as *sādinah*, warriors who are mounted. In 2: 47.12 f. Bhagadatta comes with *Yavanas* to the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira bringing a tribute of ‘speedy horses of good breed, swift as the wind.’ In 7: 95.43 a *Yavana* detachment gallops by in a swift getaway and the bard mentions that the riders are mailed men, *damśitāḥ*. 7: 95.35 mentions the *Yavanas*

fine armor of damascened steel and brass. (Neither the chargers nor the armor were products of Greece. Their use had been learned in the Iranian highlands and in India.⁵) The heavy weapons and armor of the Indo-Greek cavalry could be carried in battle only by horses of exceptional size and strength. The representations of the muscular horses of the *Yavanas* can be seen on the Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. On the obverse of all the many issues of the coins of Eukratides, for instance, two such massive horses carry their riders in furious onslaught with long lances at the level.⁶ The cavalry charge was a spectacular military actuality of the *Yavanas*. The *Harivaṃśa* in its picture of *Kālayavana* is drawing upon the general Indian reputation of *Yavanas*. It draws upon Indian opinion also in this *Yavana*’s readiness to kick a holy *ṛṣi*, in his descent from a woman of easy virtue, and his indecent eagerness for war (*yuddhābhikāmo*, 85: 16a). For the *Mahābhārata* classes *Yavanas* with ‘the frightful *mleccha* races’ (6: 10.64a), ‘skillful smiters’ (7: 95.12b) who are all too passionately fond of fight (*yuddhaśauṇḍa*, 8: 31.14). Associated with the effluvium of horse manure, *Kālayavana* is an ethnic caricature. A representative of the *Yavana* type, we argue that he has been created to express Mathurā’s deep apprehension about a *Yavana* power in the public life of the time.

This hypothesis that *Kālayavana* personifies a *Yavana* threat to Mathurā that was current at the time of the writing of the *Harivaṃśa* appears to be ruled out immediately by the fact that, by 300 A.D., the history of the Greeks in Indian politics had surely run its course. Even in the first century B.C. the Śakas had wiped out the last remnant of Greek rule. India’s last witnesses to the separate existence of Indo-Greek social groups of any kind had been the final narrators of the *Mahābhārata*, writing about the second century A.D. and mentioning *Yavana* military detachments that serve obscurely under the *Kauravas*. Those poets of the late epic mention no leaders who are Greeks, nor do they remember their royal past, nor their entrance into the country. Judging by the deteriorating quality of Greek inscriptions on Indian coins, it seems that knowledge of Greek as a living language had come to an end in the time of Kanishka. After the reign of Huviṣka we hear of no persons having Greek proper names.⁷ A certain Palamedes named in an inscription at Surkh Kotal appears to be the last of his kind.⁸ If in 300 A.D. families still existed—despite our ignorance of them—who claimed a Greek identity, the identity was nominal. They had no living contact with Greece or its culture; they had little share in the Greek heritage that exceeded that of their neighbors, and no place as a separate

faction in politics. Kālayavana cannot have represented a third-century threat posed by Indo-Greeks, because they had become at best a faded presence and a political factor beneath all notice or concern. If we look carefully into what we know about the situation of Mathurā in the late third century, however, we can descry on Mathurā's horizon a worrisome force for which 'Kālayavana' could be the name.

In the early decades of the third century A.D. the satraps of the Kuṣāṇas had surrendered Mathurā to the control of a regional dynasty. 'Seven Nāgas shall enjoy the fair city of Mathurā,' says the Vāyu Purāṇa.⁹ Under the rule of its own kings the fame of the city was high, its artists and its traders prospered. Partisans of the regime must have existed in at least the usual number, and a defensiveness can be assumed regarding the preservation of the city's autonomy. In using Mathurā's concern for its own integrity in our effort to interpret the Kālayavana myth it is easier, however, to begin with a scrutiny of Kālayavana's partner in mischief, Jarāsandha of Magadha. Jarāsandha is presented as the first of the dynasts of Magadha, and as primal king of Magadha he is the archetype of all remembered tyrants from the uncultured east. Nanda and Maurya and Muṇḍa imperial overlords were remembered as rude and impure rulers, hostile to brahmins and to kṣatriyas.¹⁰ *Prācyā dāsā*, 'The easterners are non-Aryan,' says Mahābhārata 8: 30.73 after praising the Matsyas and the Śūrasenas. In the late third century A.D. Mathurā observers were watching the westward advance of another eastern dynasty of dubious brahmanical credentials, in the expansion of the early Gupta monarchs from Pāṭaliputra and Prayāga. Mathurā had known the rule of Magadha in the past and was not reassured by its memories. With no foreknowledge that great rulers of the line would become *paramabhāgavatas* and promoters of Mathurā's own faith, the author of the Harivaṁśa expresses in the figure of Jarāsandha Mathurā's abhorrence of control by an eastern power that was presumed to be heterodox and hostile toward the brahmanical order.

When the dominant classes of Mathurā looked toward the west and north, it was an even more alien array of powers that they beheld at the end of the third century. First there was a cordon of new buffer states, and beyond, the remaining lands of the once-mighty Kuṣāṇas. After almost five hundred years of rule by Indo-Greeks, Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, the dominion of dynasties of foreign origin was reduced and in fragments. But many of the successor states of the Kuṣāṇa Empire were controlled by houses of the same general cultural orientation. Directly west of Mathurā lay the

realm of the Mālavas, a warrior people of unusual republican institutions whose kings are described in old purāṇas as very unrighteous śūdras.¹¹ To Mathurā's southwest lay a great and firm bastion of remaining Scythian power, the kingdom of the Western Satraps. They had survived the retreat of their Kuṣāṇa overlords and were ruling prosperously over Mālwa and all the coastal lands from northern Mahārāṣṭra to Sindh. The divided remnants of the imperial Kuṣāṇa tradition remained, in their collectivity, an impressive power still.

This examination of Mathurā's northwestern neighbors reveals none who were Yavanas in the sense that they were surviving Indo-Greeks. But before we conclude that Kālayavana cannot refer to any power on Mathurā's western horizon, we must study the ethnic and cultural melting-pot that had been simmering for centuries in India's northwestern quarter, and we must note the changing meaning of the term 'Yavana'. Throughout the whole region a syncretic culture prevailed in which the Indo-Greeks had originally set the tone. Those who know only the intense self-consciousness of the Greeks of the Mediterranean world can easily assume that the Greeks of Middle Asia practiced a cultural exclusiveness that is not true to their actual attitudes. The Hellenism of the Indo-Greeks was an eastern version that had received special tendencies from the tradition of Alexander the Great, who dreamed of a world culture, promoted international marriage, and took Iranian nobles into his administration. We have noticed the Central Asian fighting methods adopted by Indo-Greeks who had absorbed the military technology of the lands through which they passed. They preserved the satrapal structure that was established in the administration of the Persian Empire, and continued other features of Achaemenian rule. The Greeks of Bactria developed a close cooperation with the old Iranian-speaking population of the land, and when they moved into the Afghan highlands they absorbed old communities of Greek exiles that had been living there for centuries in tolerant communication with settlers of quite different ethnic origin. In India, Greek rulers made immediate use of Indian vernaculars, and they moved freely into Indian religious groups. When Śakas and Tocharians overwhelmed their kingdoms they came to terms with their conquerors quickly. An early positive relationship between Indo-Greeks and the new rulers is evidenced in the fact that the Kuṣāṇas proceeded to reduce their Śaka language to writing in the Greek alphabet, surely with the help of Greeks. The seniority of the Greeks in literacy and in skillful administration of agricultural lands made

them valuable recruits to the armies and to the bureaucracies of the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa monarchs. Many of the political methods that the Greeks had developed in earlier amalgamations were continued under Scythian rulers who preserved the old provincial divisions and provincial names and who ruled through governors called satraps and meridarchs. The Seleucid calendar continued in official use. Military commanders continued to bear the title *strategos*. Through such continuing accommodations the composite culture of the Kuṣāṇa Empire was produced.

The diversity of that culture and the place of its Greek component can be seen in a nutshell in a coin of the Śaka ruler Azes.¹² The Prākṛit inscription on the reverse reads *Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa*, '(Coin) of Indravarma's son Aspavarma the victorious general.' The issuer's name Aspavarma (or rather Aśpavarma) is Gāndhārian,¹³ his title *stratega* is the Greek *strategos*, his father's name Indravarma is Indian. The ruler whom he acknowledges as his overlord is Azes the Scythian, who is called on the obverse, in Greek, *basileus basileon megaloy Azoy*! These Greek words used in the position of honor manifest a characteristic Śaka respect for Greek civic emblems, and illustrate how these Scythian rulers of India wished to be seen as sustainers of Greek traditions. In the revealing matter of coins, in which governments project the ideal identities of their preference, the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa rulers accepted proudly their continuity with the Indo-Greeks who had laid the foundations of their hybrid administration.

The limited Greek identity that these northwestern states acknowledged, Indian eyes of course perceived. To the casual Indian observer these rulers who had absorbed Greek ethnic remnants and had preserved Greek practices and who used the Greek alphabet and Greek-style coins were a kind of Greek. The aggregation of outlandish northwestern fighting peoples were a single continuing military class in a certain brahmanical comprehension that established 'Yavana' as a comprehensive term applicable to all the lightly hellenized peoples of the northwest.¹⁴

The broadening of the meaning of the word Yavana or Yona was a gradual development. In the third century B.C. Aśoka in his inscriptions used the terms *Yona* and *Yonarāja* out of a background of recent contacts with Greeks of Mediterranean type and with precise knowledge of the Greek language and of the Greek homelands and their rulers. In the next century, when the Yavana presence in the east had become that of the Bactrian Greeks, the Yavana identity began to be perceived less sharply, as the people designated by

the term married and mingled with a swirl of other peoples of the northwest frontier. Throughout the epics—in Mahābhārata 7: 6.5, 7: 9.7, 8: 31.15, 9: 2.18 and 13: 33.19 for example—the Yavanas are mentioned in stereotyped lists of peoples of the Indian borderlands whose individualities are little marked and of little concern. To illustrate we may note Harivaṁśa 10: 38, which tells of how Sagara annihilated the troublesome Hehayas and then turned northwest to deal similarly with all the other disorderly peoples, 'the Śakas along with the Yavanas the Kāmbojas the Pāradas and also the Pahlavas,' *tataḥ śakān sayavanān kāmbojān pāradāns tathā, pahlavāns cai'va*. The copulative compound *śakayavana*, found already in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* 2.4.10, shows that a conglomerating of Scythian and Greek identities was developing quite early; and in a Rāmāyaṇa description of a military group as consisting of Śakas mixed with Yavanas, *Śakān Yavanamīṣṛitān*, we perceive how these peoples' collaboration in social action was making the difference between the two a matter of small importance to Indian observers.¹⁵

It was only a small further development to apply the name Yavana or Yona to all the outlandish peoples of the northwest, a part for the whole. Perception of all these folk as somehow Yonas seems to occur first in several Mahābhārata passages that play upon a fancied origin of many of these borderers from the *yoni* or womb of a certain cow. Mahābhārata 7: 87.36 f. calls *goyonayas* a whole array of fighting peoples coming from the mountain fastnesses of the north, and 7: 68.41 f. names half a dozen barbarian tribes as *goyoni-prabhava*, 'sprung from the cow's *yoni*.' The background is an old tale, necessarily in a vernacular using the term Yona rather than Yavana, that relates how Vasiṣṭha's wish-giving cow protected herself from abduction by the greedy Viśvāmitra by emitting hosts of barbarous warriors from various parts of her body. From her tail (*puccha*) came the Pahlavas. The distinction of arising from her dung (*śakṛt*) fell to the Śakas. Other hordes came from whatever part of the bovine body the alliterative possibilities of their names allowed. And the Yonas came from her *yoni*. By either alliterative or grammatical logic what could a *yoni* have contained but a Yona? Because the pun on *yoni* does not work in Sanskrit when the people involved must be called Yavanas, Mahābhārata 1: 65.35 ff. gives a stumbling version of the tale that derives the Yavanas from the cow's urine, *mūtra*. A number of variant readings continue to derive the Yavanas from the cow's *yoni*, however, in an effort to preserve the original humorous story's logic in which only a Yona can credibly spring

from a *yoni*. The Yonas are the central people, indispensable to this story, and when in Mahābhārata 7: 68.41 f. the bard includes Śakas, Daradas, Puṇḍras, Pāradas, Sunikas and others among the peoples who are *goyoniprabhava*, he reveals that he thinks of all of them as somehow Yonas or Yavanas.

A clear use of the word 'Yavana' to designate all the barbarians of the western borderlands is found at last in an old geographical saying that occurs with unimportant variations in several early purāṇas. The version of Viṣṇu Purāṇa 2: 3.8 has been translated thus:

On the east of Bharata dwell the Kirātas; on the west, the Yavanas; in the centre reside Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, occupied in their respective duties of sacrifice, arms, trade, and service.¹⁶

The hearers of this adage knew very well that many outlandish peoples dwelt to the east of the brahmanized heartlands, and that the term 'Kirāta' referred to them all. On the western frontier too the peoples were known to be many. As we have seen, their various names were recited fulsomely when time and interest allowed. But to call them all 'Yavaṇas' would do.

A phase in which 'Yavana' meant any people of the Indian northwest must be affirmed, also because it is a necessary bridge in the expansion of meaning that eventually made the word refer to any of the peoples living westward from India—to Muslims in particular, and even to Europeans. At widest, even Africans were included, as may be seen in a reference to a Kālayavanadvīpa in Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita* of the seventh century A.D.¹⁷ But our earliest application of the word to people living entirely outside the bounds of India occurs in the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa, where he describes (4: 60–64) how Raghu with his army marched upon the Pārasikas or Persians. In describing the dismay of the ladies of that land he calls them *Yavanīs*.¹⁸ 'Yavana' then was in the process of becoming India's term for the western half of all foreign peoples. In the phase preceding, India applied it to the somewhat westernized quarter of her own interior world.

The Kālayavana of the Harivamśa story is a figure for the total agglomeration of 'Yavanas' thus conceived. Kālayavana does not represent the power of the forgotten Indo-Greek imperialism of a bygone time, but the still-continuing pressure of that imperialism's partly-hellenized successors, against whom the Indian heartland was in full reaction in the third century A.D.

Though that century is one of the least illumined of all periods of Indian history, scholars have been able to perceive in it the outlines of a great resurgence of

loyalty to indigenous Indian traditions. The Sanskrit language and the leadership of brahmins enjoyed a renewal of general favor and there was a selective revival of Vedic rituals.¹⁹ It is also known that India's old ruling houses of foreign origin began to topple in the storm of this neo-Vedic enthusiasm. But there has been little discussion of what it was that this brahmanical battle-line confronted. It is an outlook, and since the outlook that the revivalists defeated lacks a name, we shall provide one out of the resources of our study of the tale of Kālayavana. It can be called Yavanism. The struggle between brahmanism and Yavanism in the third century was one of the decisive contests in Indian history, determining the nature of Indian culture for well over a millenium.

We have the entire ocean of classical Sanskrit literature as a massive source of information on what was championed by the brahmanical side in that titanic struggle. But proper understanding of the great issues of the century requires some knowledge of the character of brahmanism's rival also. What was the content of the culture that Kālayavana symbolizes, and how did its ideals threaten Mathurā? The recovery of positive information about this Yavanism is difficult because these 'Yavanas' share the silence of history's losers. Their literature has not survived. What we do have is Sanskrit literature's casual observations of Yavanas and its anti-Yavana polemic. Though these materials are slight and seldom positive, a sifting of them enables us to perceive certain aspects of Yavana life and thought that were a basis for opposition and friction in the century under study.

Because it was the Indian warrior class that had most intimate exposure to Yavanas, the Indian epics provide rather full information on Yavana deportment on the battlefield. To give attention now to Indian comment on Yavana arms and tactics does not serve our interests. It is more important to notice that the Yavana warrior was not only admired, but regarded with aversion. Though they are skilled and fearless, Yavanas do not fight by the rules of gentlemen. 'Terrible and of cruel deeds, *ugrās ca krūrakarmāṇas*, are the Tocharians and Yavanas and Khasas,' says Mahābhārata 8: 51.18a. There is a difference in the very principles of their battlefield behavior. They do not obey the ancient Indian code of chivalry.²⁰

When the characteristics of Yavana political administration are remarked on in the Sanskrit literature of this period, Hindu criticism points again to a root-difference in the norms that govern Yavana action. The old purāṇic texts collated by Pargiter describe prophetically the nature of the rule of the Yavana kings

who will reign in the Kali Age when the fate of the world is at its worst:

There will be in this world unconsecrated kings,
Yavaṇas in their social rules and purposes and policies.
These kings will practice evil in accord with the wickedness
of the age,
Killing women and children and also each other...
Utterly wanting in regard to *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*.²¹

Here again there is mention of the harshness of the Yavanas in war, but the most serious charge is that they follow their own deficient *dharma* and that wickedness is involved in all their norms of behavior. The fundamental source of their barbarity is their lack of proper brahmanical consecration to kingship. Their kings rule therefore without sanctification, without guidance and without restraint. By rejecting the rites and the counsel of brahmins, the Yavana rulers separate themselves from the very source of culture. Where such untutored kings rule, indiscipline prevails among their subjects also. The life of rulers and subjects in such dark kingdoms is pictured in *Mahābhārata* 3: 186.29 ff.:

There will be wicked overlords punishing wrongly, lying deliberately—
Āndhrās, Śakas, Pulindas and Yavanas,
Kāmbojas, Aurnikas, Śūdras and Abhīras, O Excellency.
None will make a living then by the proper work of a
brahman;
Even kṣatriyas and vaiśyas will be in unlawful occupations.²²

We conclude that the rising tradition of the *dharma-śāstras* was being ignored in these barbarian kingdoms, and that the four-*varṇa* stratification of society that prevailed in the midlands was not being enforced.

In religion, the Yavanas are not accused of importing or imposing foreign faiths. Available information suggests that many were Buddhists; but Śiva is prominent on Kuṣāṇa coins, and Śiva was the favorite deity of the Western Satraps if one may judge by the prominence of Śiva in their royal names.²³ Kālayavana's father Gargya is represented as a worshipper of Śiva in *Harivaṃśa* 85: 11 f. Śiva is a deity whose connection with the Vedic cult and with brahmanical orthodoxy was late in its establishment, and for a long time tenuous. Yet even the Kuṣāṇa monarchs made major donations for the benefit of brahmins.²⁴ Giving their adherence to various popular Indian religious cults these north-western peoples presented no homogeneity in religious outlook. They shared a religious attitude that entailed bad relations with the social leaders of the Middle Country, however. There is ample evidence that their esteem for brahmins was not high, and that their

estimate of the importance of brahmins was far lower than the brahmins' own perception of their proper place in the leadership of society. A deep brahman resentment is exposed in *Mahābhārata* 13: 33.19, which lectures kings that they must cherish brahmins if they aspire to political success, and holds up as a warning the heedless Yavanas and their associates: 'The Śakas, Yavana-Kāmbojas and various kṣatriya groups came to the state of śūdras (*vr̥ṣalatvam*) by disregarding brahmins (*brāhmaṇānām adarśanāt*).' *Harivaṃśa* 10: 38–45 says that the Yavanas, in punishment for certain offenses, were forbidden to study the Vedas or to participate in sacrificial rites (*nīhsvādhyāyavaśatkārāḥ*). From this statement we may infer that Yavanas did not in fact perform Vedic sacrifices. The supposition is supported by the fact that, in an age when down-country kings were performing such rites frequently and recording their faithfulness with much pride, no known record of any Yavana prince makes any such claim. The Yavana infidelity was resented. *Mahābhārata* 12: 65.13 ff. asks Aryan kings to use compulsion on Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras and others who live in their domains and yet neglect brahmanical religious practices. They must be made to be pure and non-violent and charitable and to be respectful toward kings, parents, gurus, *ācāryas* and similar authority-figures, and they must be made to perform the Vedic observances (*vedadharmakriyā*'s) and the sacrifices to the Manes, and to give fees to brahmins.

Thus, brahmanical literature sets itself against a Yavanism that it perceives in almost entirely negative terms, as hostile toward brahmins and brahmanism and non-conformist in relation to the rising neo-Vedic orthodoxy and in social and political behavior. The positive ideals that the Yavanas may have held are not recorded. It was not in accord with ancient India's view of culture to look for great rival intellectual propositions in the opponents of brahmanical civilization. The ancient Indian world-view did not envision a plurality of great civilizations that occasionally collide and exert pressure on each other. The pattern of the social universe was conceived as consisting of a single central civilization surrounded by wild borderers representing non-culture rather than rival culture. The Cīnas of the northeast were understood to be not-yet-brahmanized forest tribes, and the Yavanas, their counterparts in the northwest, were seen as another satellite people of low development. After the time of Aśoka, at least, popular knowledge knew of no Yavana homeland beyond the western mountains, and *Mahābhārata* 1: 80.26 f. provided the Yavanas with a thoroughly Indian genealogy in tracing their descent

from Turvasu, the son of Yayāti and brother of Yadu the ancestor of the Yādavas. We have noticed the myth according to which the Yavanas made their first appearance from the womb of the sage Vasiṣṭha's marvellous cow. The accounts agree only in omitting any notion of an extra-Indian origin. Their foreign origin had seldom been noted and was soon forgotten, and in the third century A.D. there was probably little in the appearance of those called Yavanas to require the ascription to them of an extraordinary origin. Those of their ancestors who had been immigrants had entered India centuries before, and they had married persons of the country and adopted Indian languages and religions, and they had not been able to draw continuous sustenance from cultural centers elsewhere in the world, as did the Muslims and the British. To perceive the struggle with Yavanism on the model of modern India's struggle for independence from foreign rule has its truth, but the conception is not that of ancient India itself. To the leaders of ancient India the tension with the Yavanas was another internal struggle—the familiar effort to subject and civilize irreverent and disruptive and lawless *dasyus* about whose ideas other than rapine there is little need to enquire.

The observation recorded above (see Note 21) that some kings were Yavanas in regard to *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha* suggests that Yavanism upheld distinctive principles of its own that were not primitive. And indeed a political tradition that was able to survive for four centuries in a minority position in a populated country must be supposed to have possessed championable ideals that were attractive to some. The best-supported surmise about the ideational essence of Yavanism draws upon the Indo-Greek numismatic tradition that continued strongly in the northwest throughout these centuries. The most conspicuous conceptual feature of these Greek and Scythian and Kuṣāṇa and satrapal coins is their celebration and justification of personal rulership. On the honorific obverse side, these coins display the idealized portrait of the issuing king, along with the high titles that he claimed. Such stress on the individual person of the ruler was unknown in earlier Indian numismatics. Yavana coins, on the other hand, often suggest the issuer's super-human nature. The inscriptions on some include titles that ascribe to the king a divine status or function.²⁵ The coins of Kadphises II show that Kuṣāṇa monarch seated on the clouds or emerging from the clouds with flames radiating from his shoulders—a celestial being.²⁶ Even on ordinary coins the king, whether divine or not, is glorified in an imperious portraiture that rather clearly imputes to him autonomous authority and right

to control. It is not easy for modern persons to understand the political viability of such an authoritarian posture until we remember that absolute monarchy, which has often involved simple suppression, has in other ages been a popular weapon for the destruction of an entrenched nobility or a hated system. We must consider what the major alternatives in political theory are likely to have been in India in the first centuries of the Christian Era. The dividing issue was the question of a monarch's freedom or lack of freedom to regulate society without reference to the dharmaśāstras and their official brahman interpreters. Those who disliked the social requirements of the sacred dharmaśāstras had no plausible ground for proposing in India that the voice of the people was the voice of God, but the authority of a divine priesthood could be resisted through the authority of a sublime king.

The defects of unlimited monarchy have been obvious in all ages, and they must have been manifest in the Yavana practice of government. In the third century A.D. this style of kingship had run a long course and created its own enemies, and much of India was reaching out for the regularity and security of life that was offered by the justice of the dharmaśāstras. However, even while India as a whole was making its decisive turn to brahmanical regimes, Yavanism continued to hold partisans to itself who were powerful enough to make the issues of the century matters of deep feeling and sharp political contest. Whether or not we have been successful in identifying the values that attached some to the Yavana tradition, it is demonstrable that many were thus attached.

The enduring respect of certain circles for the Greek political tradition is evidenced in the long voluntary use of Indo-Greek coin types in northern and western India and of inscriptions in the Greek language or alphabet. This symbolic identification with the tradition of Indo-Greek statecraft was not finally eradicated until Candragupta Vikramāditya wiped out the last of the Kuṣāṇa successor states in about 400 A.D. This long conformity to Indo-Greek numismatic models must have expressed something of the respect that is shown even today for the Roman political tradition by the persistent use in western coins of Latin phrases and Roman portraiture and civic emblems. A positive attitude toward Yavana statecraft can be seen also in the picture of an Indo-Greek ruler that was being propagated in this age in the *Milindapañha*, a Buddhist work of about the first century A.D. In its first chapter the famous King Milinda (Menander) is romantically described as a wise and cultured king ruling tolerantly and prosperously over a well-ordered domain.²⁷ One

can ask how seriously the author intends to offer a general political evaluation, but it is clear that he does not view Yavana kingship as inherently evil in type. The *Milindapañha*'s idealizing attitude toward Menander's rule suggests that Yavana policy had the favor and support of many Buddhists.

Pro-Yavana feeling on the part of the Great Satrap Rudradāman reveals itself in a phrase that he used in one of his inscriptions found near Junagarh in Kāthiāvār. The inscription, of 150 or 151 A.D., celebrates the reconstruction of a dam. Rudradāman says that the dam had been built originally by Candragupta Maurya, and that the hydraulic masonry had been improved in Aśoka's time by Aśoka's provincial governor. He names that governor as the *yavanarājā* Tuśāspa and says that the *yavanarājā* completed the project by the addition of conduits 'constructed in a manner worthy of a king,' *rājānurūpakṛta*.²⁸ Now, what kind of Yavana a man named Tuśāspa may have been is not entirely clear, but Rudradāman's admiration for this Yavana's work cannot be doubted. He sees the *yavanarājā* as a model of unstinting excellence in the execution of projects of royal construction. The Great Satrap wishes to be seen as belonging himself, as builder, to that imposing tradition of rulers who did things in a first-class manner.

Partisanship toward Yavanas in Western India is demonstrated again in Western Indian manuscripts of a part of the *Gargī Saṁhitā* called the *Yugapurāṇa*. P. V. Kane considers the *Yugapurāṇa* to be a work of the first century B.C.²⁹ Its *variae lectiones* breathe a factional spirit characteristic of the age of controversy that preceded the Gupta settlement of the Yavana problem. Judging by the author's eastern geographical interests and his hostility toward *bhikṣus* and *sūdras*, one concludes that he was a brahman of Magadha. In the prophetic style of the purāṇas, he chronicles the pernicious events that will occur in the evil Kali Age. They will include an eastward incursion by Yavanas who will capture even Pāṭaliputra. Professor D. C. Sircar has produced and translated what can be called the eastern version of the story, resting his editorial work upon the agreement of two manuscripts of eastern provenance belonging to the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the Government Sanskrit College, Vārāṇasi:

The viciously-valiant Yavanas will reach (or seize) Kusumadhvajam.

Yavanā duṣṭavikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam...

Prospering under the protection of Dhamamīta (Demetrius), the Yavanas will eat up (i.e. oppress) the people unafraid.

Dhamamīta-tayā vṛddhā janān bhokṣa(ksya)nti nirbhayāḥ.

(And) will burn (alive) five rulers at Nagara (i.e. Pataliputra).
*Yavanā(h) kṣāpayisyanti Nagare pañca pārthivā(n).*³⁰

This text from eastern India should be laid alongside another text published from West Indian manuscripts by D. R. Mankad in 1951.³¹ Professor Mankad had found a new manuscript of the *Yugapurāṇa* at Jodiyā in Surāṣṭra and made use of various fragmentary manuscripts and a complete text from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris that had long been known. Depending heavily on the Surāṣṭra manuscript, Mankad produced a western version of the text in which we can easily see that there was once a regional tug-of-war over the criminatory terms in the passage just quoted. The *duṣṭavikrāntāḥ* of Sircar's first line and of the Calcutta and Benares manuscripts expresses the usual brahmanical view of the Yavanas as atrocious in war. *Duṣṭavikrāntāḥ* was probably the original reading. But the Surāṣṭra manuscript followed by Mankad in line 95 has made it *suvikrāntāḥ*—the very valorous Yavanas took the City of the Flower-standard! The Paris manuscript's *puṣṭavikrāntāḥ* has the same flattering import. Our perception of the slant of the western copyists continues to clear as we perceive what they have done with the second half of the second line *janān bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ*, 'they (the Yavanas) will eat up the people unafraid.' Mankad reads in his line 111, on the basis of *mokṣanti* and *bhoṣyati* of his Surāṣṭra and his Paris manuscripts apparently, *janān mo(ksy)anti nirbhayāḥ*, 'fearless, they will liberate the people.' Mankad and Sircar continue to give different versions of our final line, where Sircar reads that in Pāṭaliputra the Yavanas 'will burn alive five rulers,' *kṣāpayisyanti*, and Mankad reads *jñāpayisyanti*—that the Yavanas will proclaim five as rulers.

To decide which group of scribes preserved the original meaning is not our problem. Each version expresses its own genuine regional sentiment in language that is as deliberate as it is vehement. Not even the most torpid copyist could by mistake change *bhokṣyanti* into *mokṣyanti*, changing Yavanas from cannibals into liberators or vice versa, and not be jarred awake, and no copyist who is awake would make such a change save in dead earnest. So long as 'Yavanas' were a political and military reality in ancient India, India was of divided mind about them, and each camp survived on the strength of the passion of its own adherents.

The Yavana identity outran the limits of any biological strain in the Indian population. We have mentioned the lack of evidence for the descendents of

the Indo-Greeks being visually distinguishable from the mass of the northwestern population by the time of the third century A.D. Though the name 'Kālayavana' suggests that the name-maker knew of Yavanas who were not black, it shows also that the term 'Yavana' had no necessary racial limitation. In Buddhist donatory inscriptions of Western India half a dozen persons of Indian name, and often of mentioned local residence, describe themselves as Yavanas—a certain Idrāgnidatta (Indrāgnidatta) at Nasik,³² 'the Yavana Caṇḍa' at Junnar,³³ at Karle the Yavanas Sihadhaya, Dhamadhaya, Culayakka and Yasavadhana,³⁴ and also the mysterious person from Dhenukākatā who refers to himself only as Dhenukākatā Dhammayavana.³⁵ These were surely the names of persons born in India who were Yavanas in some non-racial meaning of the term. If further evidence is needed of the existence of such an Indian group, it is available in the case of the Kilakila Yavanas who are mentioned in Matsya Purāṇa 273: 24 f. and in its parallel passage in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The kings of the Kilakila line ruled in a region along the River Narmadā, apparently, in an interlude between the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta times. The author of the purāṇic passage is well aware of the Indo-Greek dynasties of the Yavanas proper because he mentions them in their correct chronological place. In true sequence he tells next of the rule of the Tuṣāra or Kuṣāṇa monarchs. Then he goes on to mention the Kilakilas, who are kings that are Yavanas in a demonstrably non-racial sense:

These having been removed by time,
there will then be Kilakila kings.
They will be Yavanas in this world
in their social rules their purposes and their policies
(*dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ*).³⁶

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions the 'Kilakila Yavanas' in the same terms. It adds the names of the rulers and they are not Greek: Vindhyaśakti, Puranjaya, Rāmacandra, Dharma, Varāṅga, Kṛtānanda, Śāsinandi, Nandiyāśas, Sisuka and Pravīra. That the dynasty may have been Śaiva in religion is suggested by the name of their capital city Kilakila, which is one of the thousand names of Śiva.³⁷ This ruling family is discernibly Indian in language and in family life. The author does not consider them to have been made Yavanas by birth, but by their own choices and activities. Their *dharma*, their purposes and their policies identify these kings as Yavanas. They have made themselves Yavanas by the nature of their rule.

It is all such cultural turncoats that the author of the Harivaṁśa lampoons in the caricature that he calls Kālayavana.

The legend of Kālayavana places the camp of the defenders at Mathurā, and it is at Mathurā that this personification of faithlessness meets his doom. Its picture of Mathurā as the stronghold of the way of the Vedic *ṛsis* shocks those who may have thought of Mathurā—to the extent that it was Hindu at all—as the center of a heterodox Kṛṣṇa cult. The early tensions between Kṛṣṇaism and the Vedic tradition are well known. The Harivaṁśa itself (in *adhyāya* 60 f.) relates struggles between the Kṛṣṇa-devotees and the Vedic Indra, and all are aware of the accusations the heterodoxy leveled in medieval times against Bhāgavatas and particularly against those that were Pāñcarātrins.

In the Mathurā of 300 A.D., however, these various contentions between Bhāgavatism and the Vedic tradition had either vanished or had not yet arisen or were being conducted far away. No practice of the Pāñcarātra ritual has yet been evidenced in Mathurā. Early Kṛṣṇaism's tensions with the Vedic tradition had been adjusted; for about four centuries the healing influence of the Bhagavadgītā had been at work, reconciling Bhāgavatas to the Vedas and to the Vedic priesthood and to the social guidance of the dharmaśāstras. The hostility toward Vedic ritual that one finds even in the Bhagavadgītā had been dissolved. Already in the second century B.C. a certain King Sarvatāta in a dedicatory inscription at Nagari in Rājasthān had proudly called himself a Bhāgavata and as proudly, one who had performed an *āśvamedha* sacrifice.³⁸ Mathurā participated fully in the return to Vedic ritual that was sweeping the midlands in the early centuries of the Christian era and there is some evidence that Mathurā had a pre-eminence in this enthusiasm. In praising various peoples for their special excellence in various matters, Mahābhārata 8: 30.73 mentions the Śūrasenas as outstanding in the observance of Vedic sacrifice:

brāhman pañcālā kauraveyāḥ svadharmah
satyam matsyāḥ śūrasenāś ca yajñah.

The Nāga line of kings who ruled the region during the century before Samudragupta's conquest were notable in their time for their performance of Vedic sacrifice: the Vākātaka king Pravaraśena in a copperplate inscription boasts of his connection by marriage with King Bhavanāga whose line, he says, was illustrious for pushing its dominion north to the Ganges and for performing ten times the *āśvamedha* sacrifice.³⁹ Bhavanāga, many of whose coins have been found at Mathurā, is one of about twelve Nāga rulers of the region whose names have been ascertained from literature, coins and inscriptions.⁴⁰ That Vedic sacrifice was cultivated in Mathurā itself we know through the discovery of two stone *yūpas* or sacrificial posts that

are now in the Mathurā Museum. One of them bears an inscription of the second century A.D., in pure Sanskrit, relating that the post was used by a brahman in performing a twelve-night sacrifice in the neighborhood.⁴¹ The acceptance of current brahmanical practices by Bhāgavatas also is seen in Harivaṃśa 41: 1-11 where the practices of good kings are described: good kings heed the Vedas, sacrifice to gods and ancestors, give generous fees, know the *dharmaśāstras*, and appease Indra to insure rain. Bhāgavatism rose to pre-eminence in Mathurā by pooling its strength with that of brahmanism as a whole. Brahmanism and Bhāgavatism had become a single cause in that city even before the arrival of the Guptas. The early monarchs of the Gupta line had not, according to D. C. Sircar, been much given to the practice of Vedic sacrifices as a matter of fact.⁴² After Samudragupta's conquest of Mathurā, however, his son Candragupta Vikramāditya in a Mathurā inscription shrewdly plays up to local loyalties by presenting his father as 'the restorer of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice that had been long in abeyance' (!) and as a donor of millions in gold and cattle as honoraria to the performing priests.⁴³

Mathurā had become a strong outpost of the Vedic revival, if not in fact its center.

In returning to the Vedic tradition in language, Mathurā also had an eminent place. Theo Damsteegt in a recent book gives an account of the replacement of Middle Indo-Aryan dialects in inscriptions with Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit and pure Sanskrit, beginning in the time of the Kṣatrapa rulers. 'By far the most inscriptions composed in Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit have been found in the Mathurā region,' he says,⁴⁴ and he finds that the language used in the inscriptions of Mathurā served as a model for the makers of inscriptions in such far places as Nasik, Sāñci and Pabhosā.⁴⁵

Deep predilection toward old indigenous traditions of the country governed Mathurā's artistic life, as well, during this period. Since the first century A.D. there had been two great equally vital centers of artistic activity in India, at Gandhāra and at Mathurā. The art of Gandhāra was syncretistic, responding freely to impulses from India and from Central and Western Asia in a characteristic Yavana manner. The artists of Mathurā were quite aware of the techniques that were being developed in Gandhāra, as one can perceive in their occasional imitation of the northwestern artists in minor matters like the representation of a type of garland or the folds of a garment. But the artists of Mathurā borrowed little from the northwest.⁴⁶ Their main ties were with the established styles of inner

India. In all fundamental aspects of her art, Mathurā's attachment was to the indigenous, and that was the stance that the city now adopted in cultural life in general at the end of the Kuṣāṇa age. Mathurā became the place where Yavana ways stopped.

Staunch adherence to the *social* norms of the brahmanical renaissance was another matter in which Sanskritic circles in this age turned to Mathurā as a model. We have seen in the translated passage cited (see note sixteen above) that the four-varṇa class structure was extremely important in brahmanical understanding of the difference between true Indians and Yavanas. At least three manuscripts of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa insert special note of the fact that Śatrughna, when he had built the original city of Mathurā, peopled it (properly!) with settlers composed of the four *varṇas*.⁴⁷ The prominence of the region of Mathurā in the propagation of brahmanical life is seen most clearly in the second chapter of the Mānavadharmasāstra, verses 17-23.⁴⁸ There the Indian moral world is conceived as a concentrum in which impurity recedes as one moves from the borderlands toward the heart of the country. The broadest territory in which any degree of decorum can be expected is Āryavarta, which extends from Himalaya to Vindhya and from sea to sea. The extremes of this Aryan country are inhabited, however, by people of corrupted life. More select, morally, is that portion of Āryavarta that is called Madhyadeśa, the Middle Country, that ranges from Prayāga in the east to Vinasāna in the west where the River Sarasvatī disappears. The behavior of the people of that Middle Country is middling and not blameworthy. But for true models of purity one must turn still further inward to two areas that are truly exemplary. The first is Brahmāvarta (just west of modern Delhi), whose inhabitants are the supreme model of virtuous conduct. The second land is Brahmārṣideśa, whose brahmins are the final resort for all who seek authoritative moral instruction. This Land of the Vedic Sages consists of the country of the Matsyas, the Pañcālas and the Śūrasenas. 'From a Brāhmaṇa born in that country let all men on earth learn their several usages,' says Manu 2: 20. It is not a sectarian work, but the first of the dharmaśāstras, that accords this position of unrivaled leadership in the proclamation of the brahmanical life to the country extending today from Delhi to Mathurā. We have just noticed that Mahābhārata 8.30.73 makes the Śūrasenas of Mathurā the foremost of these three in skill in sacrifice, and that Harivaṃśa 85: 20 makes Mathurā the acme of the entire Middle Country in all things.

To lead the resistance to Kālayavana, then, what

town could be more suitable than Mathurā—old imperial city with a tradition of leadership, full of wealthy and well-ordered folk, heart of the heart of Āryavarta, commissioned by the śāstras themselves to teach *dharma* to the world?

In one sense the text we have been studying is not a historical document. It chronicles not even a single actual happening of that dark third century about which historians would like to know the elemental facts. If not history, however, this piece of literature nevertheless illumines history. It reveals how important participants in the century's struggles conceived the fundamental issues of their time. It confirms an already-posed analysis that a revival of old indigenous traditions was in full flow and it reveals the dimensions of that revival in human passion. It has enabled us to perceive much more precisely what the object of that reaction was: India was defining itself and organizing itself against the easternmost extension of Hellenism and was raising against it the neo-brahmanism that was to be the consensual basis of the Gupta Empire. This story that reveals history may also have made history. Any work

that creates a self-understanding in a people can create in them also a sense of mission and a will to action. The Guptas, pausing in their westward thrust, with Mathurā as their advanced center, may have acquired there the reasoning and the resolve that carried them forward in their triumphant drive to the Arabian Sea.

It is not objectionable to call the Kālayavana tale a myth. If one does, one must not allow the name 'myth' to obscure the ties with history just mentioned. If this story is a myth, then some myths respond as well to historical explication as to the more esoteric methods of interpretation. Debating the applicability of the word 'myth' has not seemed to be as important in this case as studying the function of the story. It is a social reverie, a collective daydream of a people who have used personifications to understand their tensions, define their hopes, and draw encouragement from the contemplation of the coming success of their cause. If a document that records such a powerful construction of the human mind is not history, it is nevertheless a document for the attention of historians.

NOTES

1. *Harivamśa* 25: 8–27 and 80: 1 to 85: 52, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona 1969 BORI. Note the critical edition's determination that the episode of Śālya's embassy to Kālayavana is an interpolation (*Harivamśa*, Vol. II, no. 20, pp. 162 ff.). The material would utterly confuse this paper's analysis if not understood to be of a late and very different age.
This critical edition will be the basis of all *Harivamśa* references below.
2. Vaidya in *Harivamśa*, Vol. I, introduction, pp. xxxvii–xxxix.
3. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Varanasi 2nd edition, 1962, pp. 14, 45, 67–72.
4. *The Mahābhārata*, Vol. II, Poona, 1944 BORI, 2: 13.34–43. 12: 326.88 mentions Kālayavana for the first time, not connecting him with Jarāsandha.
All citations of the *Mahābhārata* below will refer to this critical edition.
5. F. E. Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*, Berkeley 1957, pp. 47–52; W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, Cambridge 1930, pp. 72–78.
6. Raoul Curiel and Gérard Fussman, *Le Trésor monétaire de Qunduz*, Paris 1965, plates IX–XXI. For association of this horse with later kings see plate LIII no. 626 in the same work, and R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Varanasi 1971, plates IV no. 213 and VIII no. 614. It continues to be seen on the coins of Śaka kings: Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings in the British Museum*, New Delhi 1971, plates XXII–XXIV.
7. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1951, 1956, pp. 355, 389 f.
8. Raoul Curiel, 'Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal,' *Journal Asiatique* 242 (1954), p. 194. Of the same general time may be a certain Miṇamdra (Menandros) whose name is inscribed on a sculpture representing two wrestlers in the Peshawar Museum, in characters also of the late Kuṣāṇa Period. See Sten Konow, ed., *Kharoshthi Inscriptions in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II Part I, Calcutta 1929, p. 134.
9. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 53.
10. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 25 ff.; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *An Advanced History of India*, London 1963, p. 58.
11. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 54 f.; B. P. Majumdar, 'Political Theory and Practice in the Mālava and Yaudheya Republics,' *Journal of Indian History* Vol. 47 (1969), pp. 303–311.
12. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, 2nd ed., Varanasi 1971, p. 130, no. 310.
13. G. Fussman, 'Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka,' *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 67 (1980), p. 25 and note 95.
14. Compare how in Muslim languages all Europeans have

- often been called Franks, and how in St. Paul's usage (e.g. Romans 1: 16 and 10: 12) by synecdoche they are called Greeks.
15. F. Keilhorn ed., *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali*, Vol. I, Bombay 1880, p. 475; G. H. Bhatt ed., *The Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, Vol. I, Baroda, 1960, 1: 53.20 f.
 16. H. H. Wilson, tr., 3rd ed., Calcutta 1972, p. 142. *Purve Kirātā yasya syuh, paścime Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* ed. Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1882, p. 231. Comparable versions in *Garuḍa Purāṇa* 55: 5 (Varanasi 1964) and in *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 47: 8, Pargiter tr.
 17. Georg Bühler, ed. *The Daśakūmarācharita of Daṇḍin*, Bombay, Bombay Sanskrit Series no. X, 1887, p. 8, lines 23 and 24. The island here called Kālayavana Dvīpa, in which the merchant Kālagupta dwells, seems to derive its name from the characteristics of its general inhabitants. There is no hint of any connection with our purāṇic personage.
 18. Moreswar Ramachandra Kale ed., *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa*, Bombay, 3rd revised ed. 1922, pp. 90 f., 111 f. Professor D. C. Sircar in 'Yavana and Pārasika,' *Journal of Indian History* Vol. 14 (1935) pp. 31 f. held that the Yavans are not represented as living in Persia but in an Indian borderland through which Raghu's army passed in its overland route to the country of the Pārasikas. Professor Sircar's understanding, while credible in terms of geography, is made quite unlikely by literary considerations. It does violence to the literary unity of this brief episode in which description of the terror of the Yavans (v. 61) is followed at once (v. 62) by the melee of a battle with horsemen and (v. 63) the covering of the earth so tightly with their severed shaven heads that the battlefield looked like the surface of a capped honeycomb. It is gratuitous to suppose that the decapitated were any but the menfolk of the Yavans. And to bite the dust and expose their shorn heads in this manner was in Kālidāsa's time the established literary fate of Yavanas in particular. Mahābhārata 7: 95.20, 40, tells how Sātyaki vowed to slay the shaven-headed Yavanas and Kāmbojas and strewed the earth with their cropped heads that looked like pluck-tailed birds. Harivaṁśa 10: 42b (continued by Viṣṇu Purāṇa 4: 3, Wilson tr., *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* p. 300) explains how their distinctive mark of shaven-headedness was imposed as a punishment on the Yavanas by Prince Sagara. Even when Kālidāsa writes of the conquest of the Persians, we conclude that he writes of a kind of Yavanas.
 19. For such perception of the basic issues of this period see R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vākātaka Gupta Age*, Delhi 1967, introduction and pp. 368–370; S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad 1967, pp. 53–81; and Vittore Pisani, 'Sanskrit-Renaissance,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 105 (1955), pp. 319–326.
 20. On the warrior's code see Sarva Daman Singh, *Ancient Indian Warfare*, Leiden 1965, pp. 156–167.
 21. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 56: bhaviṣyanti 'ha yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ
nai'va mūrdhābhiṣiktās te bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ.
yugadoṣadurācārā bhaviṣyanti nṛpās tu te
strīnām bālavadhanai'va hatvā cai'va parasparam...
vihinās tu bhaviṣyanti dharmataḥ kāmato'rthataḥ
 22. Mahābhārata 3: 186.29 ff.:
mithyānuśāsinaḥ pāpā mṛṣāvādaparāyaṇāḥ
āndhrāḥ śakāḥ pulindās ca yavanās ca narādhipāḥ
kāmbojā aurnikāḥ śūdrās tathā'bhūrā narottama
na tadā brāhmaṇaḥ kaścit svadharmam upajīvati
kṣatriyā api vaiśyās ca vikarmasthā narādhipa.
 23. R. Salomon, 'The Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas of India,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sud- und Sudost Asiens* Vol. 18 (1974), pp. 6 f.
 24. Baij Nath Puri, 'The State of Brahmanism in the Kuṣāṇa Period,' *Journal of Indian History* Vol. 22 (1943), pp. 1–6.
 25. M.-Th. Allouche-le Page, *L'art Monétaire des royaumes Bactriens*, Paris 1956, pp. 70–72.
 26. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, New Delhi 1971, p. 1241, Plate XXV.
 27. I. B. Horner, tr., *Milinda's Questions*, London 1963, 1: 3 f., p. 5.
 28. F. Kielhorn, 'Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman: the Year 72,' *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 8 (1905), p. 43, lines 9 f.
 29. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra* Vol. 5 pt. 2, Poona 1962, p. 828.
 30. D. C. Sircar, 'The Account of the Yavanas in the Yuga-Purāṇa,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1965), pp. 17 f.
 31. D. R. Mankad, *Yugapurāṇam*, Vallabhvidyanagar, 1951.
 32. H. Lüders, 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,' *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 10 (1909–1910), p. 128, no. 1140.
 33. Lüders, 'List', p. 131, no. 1156.
 34. E. Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle (Concluded),' *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VII (1902), pp. 53 and 64, no. 7; M. S. Vats, 'Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Caitya Hall at Karle,' *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 326–328, nos. IV, VI, and X.
 35. Senart, 'Inscriptions', pp. 55 f., no. 10.
 36. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Poona 1907, p. 505. Cf. Vidyāsāgara ed., *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Calcutta 1882, 4: 24.14.
 37. Mahābhārata, Vol. 16 p. 2061, line 221a with variant readings.
 38. J. N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, Lucknow 1968, p. 9.
 39. J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III; 3rd ed. Varanasi 1970, no. 55, 'Chammak Copperplate Inscription of the Maharaja Pravarasena II,' pp. 237, 241.
 40. Krsnadatt Vājapeyī, *Braj kā Itihās*, Mathurā 1955, pp. 97 f.
 41. J. Ph. Vogel, *Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, 1910; Delhi 1971, p. 89, no. Q13; Heinrich Lüders, ed. Klaus

- Janert, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, Göttingen 1961, pp. 125 f., bibl.
42. D. C. Sircar, 'Samudragupta's Asvamedha Sacrifice,' *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 13 (1934), pp. 36-38.
43. Fleet, *Inscriptions*, no. 4, 'Mathurā Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II,' pp. 26 f.
44. Theo Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 1.
45. Damsteegt, *Hybrid Sanskrit*, pp. 204-237 and *passim*.
46. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 'Gandhāra and Mathurā: their Cultural Relationship,' pp. 27-43 in Pratapaditya Pal, *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden 1972, p. 43.
47. *The Rāmāyana* Vol. VII, variant readings of 7: 62.12.
48. G. Bühler, tr., *The Laws of Manu*, in *SBE* Vol. 35, Oxford 1886, p. 33.