

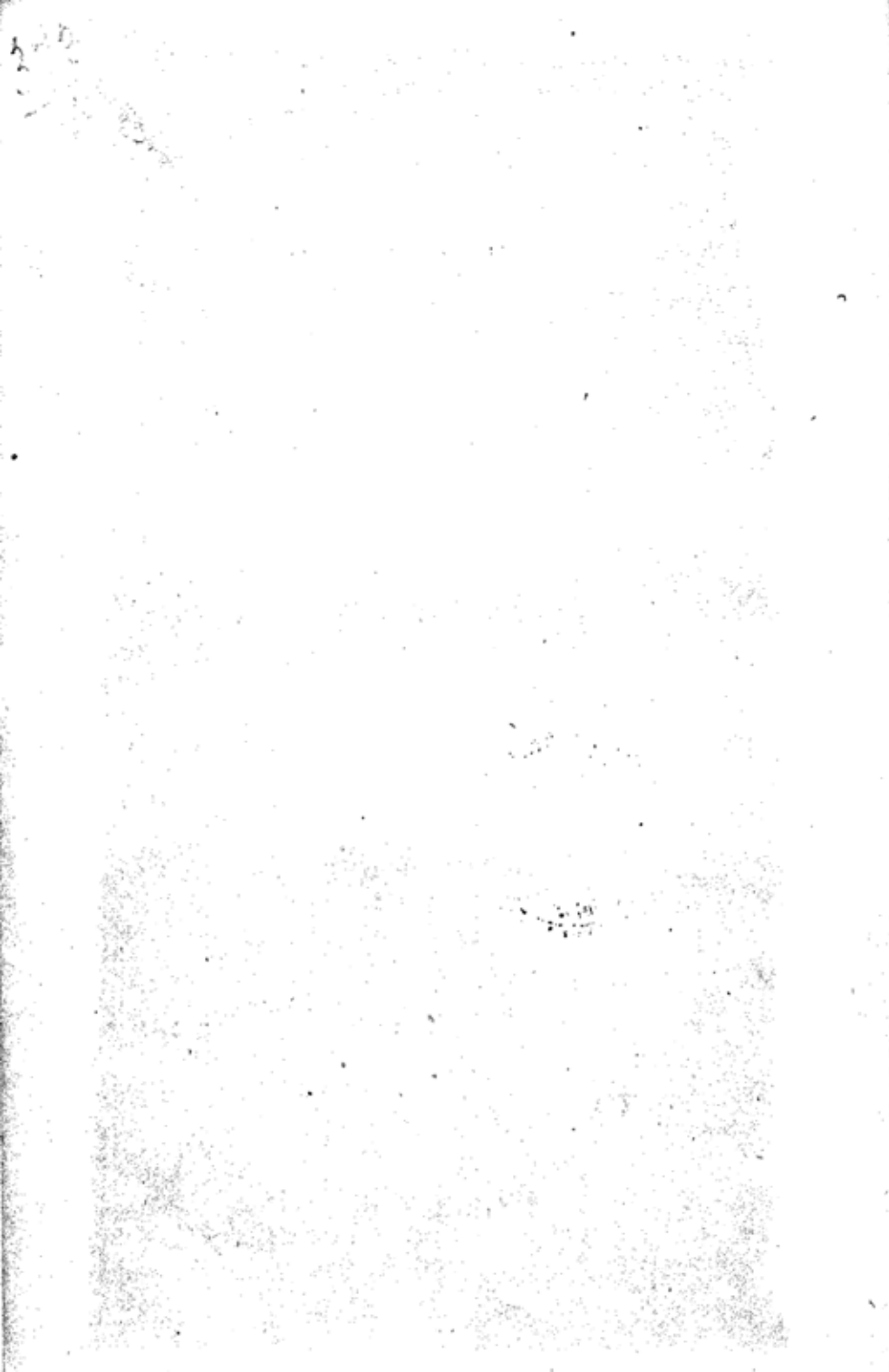
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JAINISM,

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THE EARLY FAITH OF ASOKA;

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WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF THE EAST,

FROM

THE PANTHEON OF THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

(Read at the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Feb. 26, 1877.)

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A NOTICE ON BACTRIAN COINS AND INDIAN DATES.



BY

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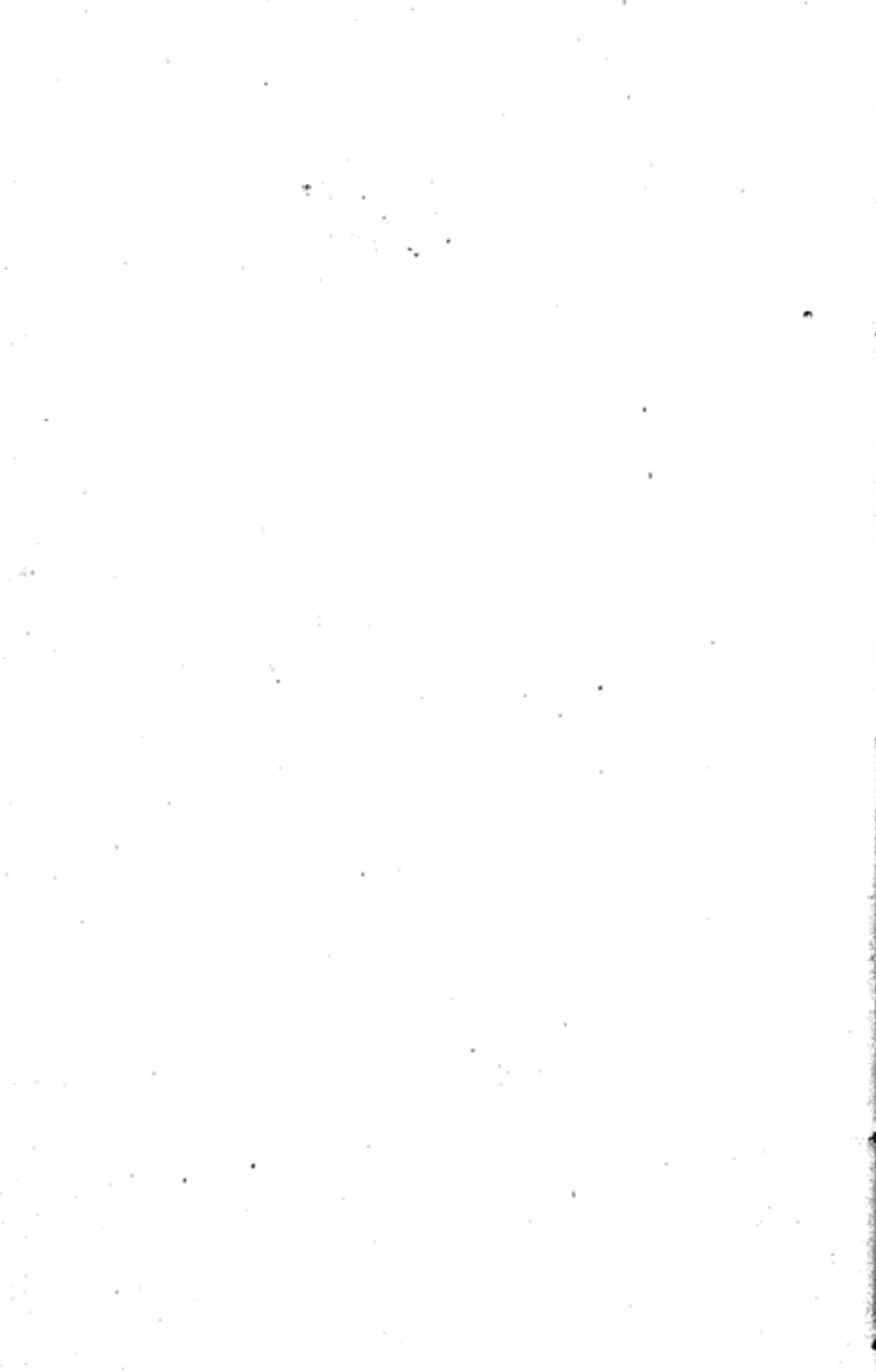
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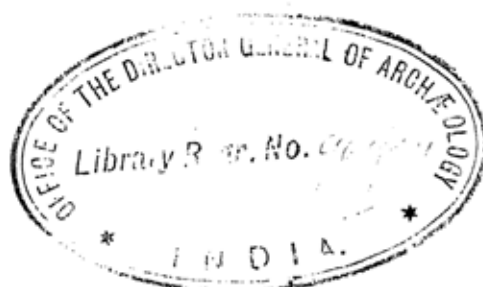
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BACTRIAN COINS AND INDIAN DATES.

BY

EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

A SHORT time ago, a casual reference to the complicated Greek monograms stamped on the earlier Bactrian coins suggested to me an explanation of some of their less involved combinations by the test of simple Greek *letter* dates, which was followed by the curious discovery that the Bactrian kings were in the habit of recognizing and employing *curtailed* dates to the optional omission of the figure for *hundreds*, which seems to have been the immemorial custom in many parts of India. My chief authority for this conclusion was derived from a chance passage in Albíruní,¹ whose statement, however, has since been independently supported by the interpretation of an inscription of the ninth century A.D. from Kashmír,² which illustrates the provincial use of a cycle of *one hundred* years, and has now

¹ Albíruní, writing in India in 1031 A.D., tells us, "Le vulgaire, dans l'Inde, compte par siècles, et les siècles se placent l'un après l'autre. On appelle cela le Samvatsara du cent. Quand un cent est écoulé, on le laisse et l'on en commence un autre. On appelle cela Loka-kāla, c'est-à-dire comput du peuple."—Reinaud's Translation, *Fragments Arabes*, Paris, 1845, p. 145.

² This second inscription ends with the words *Śaka Kālagatavdaḥ 726*—that is, "Śaka Kāla years elapsed 726," equivalent to A.D. 804, which is therefore the date of the temple. This date also corresponds with the year 80 of the local cycle, which is the *Loka-kāla* of Kashmír or cycle of 2,700 years, counted by centuries named after the twenty-seven *nakshatras*, or lunar mansions. The reckoning, therefore, never goes beyond 100 years, and as each century begins in the 25th year of the Christian century, the 80th year of the local cycle is equivalent to the 4th year of the Christian century.—General A. Cunningham, *Archæological Report*, 1875, vol. v. p. 181.

been definitively confirmed by information obtained by Dr. Bühler¹ as to the origin of the Kashmīrī era and the corroboration of the practice of the omission of "*the hundreds* in stating dates" still prevailing in that conservative kingdom.²

Since Bayer's premature attempt to interpret the mint-monogram Π , on a piece of Eucratides, as 108,³ Numismatists have not lost sight of the possible discrimination of dates as opposed to the preferential mint-marks so abundant on the surfaces of these issues, though the general impression has been adverse to the possibility of their fulfilling any such functions.⁴

¹ "Dr. Bühler has found out the key to the Kashmīrean era: it begins in the year of the Kaliyug 25, or 3076 a.c., when the Saptarshis are said to have gone to heaven. The Kashmīr people often omit the hundreds in stating dates. Thus the year 24 (Kashmīr era) in which Kalhana wrote his *Rājataranginī*, and which corresponded with Śaka 1070, stands for 4,224."—*Athenæum*, Nov. 20, 1876, p. 676.

² Since this was written, General Cunningham's letter of the 30th March, 1876, has appeared in the *Athenæum* (April 29th, 1876), from the text of which I extract the following passages. These seem to establish the fact that the optional omission of the hundreds was a common and well-understood rule so early as about the age of Asoka. "The passage in which the figures occur runs as follows in the Sahasrārām text:—

iyam cha savane vivuthena dutesa
paññalāti satāvivuthati 252.

The corresponding passage in the Rūpnāth text is somewhat different:—

ahāle sava vivasetarāya ati vyathena
sāvane katesu 52 satavivasāta.

The corresponding portion of the Bairāt text is lost. My reason for looking upon these figures as expressing a date is that they are preceded in the Rūpnāth text by the word katesu, which I take to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit *krānteshu*=(so many years) 'having elapsed.'

I do not stop to follow General Cunningham's arguments with regard to the value of the figures which he interprets as 252. The sign for 50, in its horizontal form, has hitherto been received as 80, but that the same symbol came, sooner or later, to represent 50, when placed perpendicularly, is sufficiently shown by Prof. Eggeling's Plate, p. 52, in Vol. VIII. of our Journal. I should, however, take great exception to the rendering of the unit as 2, which, to judge by Mr. Bayley's letter, in the same number of the *Athenæum*, Gen. Cunningham and Dr. Bühler had at first rightly concurred in reading as 6.

³ *Hist. Reg. Græcorum Bactriant*, St. Petersburg, 1738, p. 92: "Numus Eucratidis, quem postea copiosius explicabo, annum 108. habet, sine dubio epochæ Bactrianæ, qui annus ex nostris rationibus a.v.c. 606. Septembri mense init. Igitur cum hoc in numo victoriæ ejus Indicæ celebrantur, quibus ut Justinus ait, *Indian in potestatem redegit*." See also pp. 38, 56, 134.

⁴ H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 235, 238. General A. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. viii. o.s. p. 176; and vol. viii. n.s. 1868, p. 183; vol. ix. n.s. 1869, p. 230.

In 1858 I published, in my edition of "Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*," a notice of the detached letters OT as occurring on a coin of Eucratides (No. 3, p. 184, vol. ii.), and IT as found on the money of Heliocles (No. 1, p. 182), which letters, in their simple form, would severally represent the figures 73 and 83; but the difficulty obtruded itself that these numbers were too low to afford any satisfactory elucidation of the question involved in their application as dynastic dates.

Among the later acquisitions of Bactrian coins in the British Museum is a piece of Heliocles bearing the full trilateral date, after the manner of the Syrian mints, of $PIIT$ or 183, which, when tested by the Seleucidan era (*i.e.* 311–183), brings his reign under the convenient date of B.C. 128, authorizing us to use the coincident *abbreviated* figures, under the same terms, as $OT=73$ for 173 of the Seleucidan era = B.C. 138 for Eucratides, and the repeated $IT=83$ for 183 Seleucidan = B.C. 128, for Heliocles,¹ a date which is further supported by the appearance of the exceptionally combined *open* monogram \sqrt{A} (IIA), or 81 for 181 = B.C. 130 on his other pieces.

The last fully-dated piece, in the Bactrian series, is the unique example of the money of Plato (bearing the figured letter date $PMZ=147$ of the Seleucidæ, or B.C. 165). We have two doubtful dates $E=60$ and $EE=65$, on the coins of Apollodotus; but if these letters were intended for dates, they will scarcely fit-in with the Seleucidan scheme. Menander dates his coins in *regnal* years. I can trace extant examples from 1 to 8. But this practice by no means necessitates the disuse of the Seleucidan era in ordinary reckonings, still less its abandonment in State documents where more formal precision was

¹ General Cunningham was cognizant of the date $IT=83$ as found on the coins of Heliocles, which he associated with the year B.C. 164, under the assumption that he had detected the true initial date of the Bactrian era, which he had settled to his own satisfaction, "as beginning in B.C. 246."—Num. Chron. N.S. vol. viii. 1868, p. 266; N.S. vol. ix. 1869, pp. 35, 230. See also Mr. Vaux's note, N.C. 1875, vol. xv. p. 3.

required. Subjoined is a rough facsimile and technical description of the coin of Plato.¹

Silver. Size 1·2. Wt. 258 grains.



Obv. Head of king to the right, with helmet ornamented with the peculiar ear and horn of a bull, so marked on the coins of Eucratides.

Rev. Apollo driving the horses of the Sun. Monogram No. 46a, Prinsep's Essays.

Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Date at foot, PMZ=147 Selucidæ (or B.C. 165).

My first impression on noticing the near identity of the obverse head with the standard Numismatic portraits of Eucratides, and the coincidence of the date with that assumed, by our latest authority,² as the year of the decease of that monarch, was that Plato must have succeeded him; but the advanced interpretation of the dates, above given, puts any such assignment altogether out of court, and necessitates a critical reconstruction of all previous speculative epochal or serial lists of the Bactrian succession.

In the present instance the adoption of the helmet of the Chabylians³ by Eucratides and Plato may merely imply that

¹ The woodcut here given was prepared for Mr. Vaur's original article on this unique coin of Plato, in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xv. p. 1.

² Gen. Cunningham, N.C. vol. viii. o.s. 1843, p. 175, and vol. ix. n.s. 1869, p. 175.

³ "The Chabylians had small shields made of raw hides, and each had two javelins used for hunting wolves. Brazen helmets protected their heads, and above these they wore the ears and horns of an ox fashioned in brass. They had also crests on their helms."—Herodotus vii. 76; Rawlinson, vol. iv. p. 72; Xenophon Anab. v.

they both claimed kindred with that tribe, or at some time held command in their national contingent—and Plato may, with equal possibility, have introduced the device, in the first instance, as have copied the more abundant obverses of similar character from the coins of Eucratides. On the other hand, the identity of the helmet may indicate an absolute borrowing of a ready prepared device. The singular and eccentric combination of Bactrian Mint dies has from the first constituted a difficulty and a danger to modern interpreters. I have for long past looked suspiciously upon the too facile adaptations of otherwise conscientious mint masters, leading them to utilize, for reasons of their own, the available die-devices in stock for purposes foreign to the original intent under which they were executed. However, in the present instance, the imperfect preservation of the single coin of Plato available does not permit of our pronouncing with any certainty upon the identity of the features with those of the profile of Eucratides.

To revert to our leading subject. In addition to the value of the data quoted above as fixing definitively, though within fairly anticipated limits, the epochs of three prominent Bactrian kings, their conventional use of the system of abbreviated definitions points, directly, to the assimilation of local customs, to which the Greeks so readily lent themselves, in adopting the method of reckoning by the Indian *Loka Kāla*, which simplified the expression of dates, even as we do now, in the civilized year of our Lord, when we write 76 for 1876.

The extension of the Seleucidan era eastwards, and its amalgamation of Indian methods of definition within its own mechanism, leads further to the consideration of how long this exotic era maintained its ground in Upper India, and how much influence it exerted upon the chronological records of succeeding dynasties. I have always been under the impression that this influence was more wide-spread and abiding than my fellow-antiquaries have been ready to admit,¹ but

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 41; Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1855, p. 565, and 1872, p. 175; Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 86; Journal Asiatique, 1863, p. 388.

I am now prepared to carry my inferences into broader channels, and to suggest that the Indo-Scythian "Kanishka" group of kings continued to use the Seleucidan era, even as they retained the minor sub-divisions of the Greek months, which formed an essential part of its system: and under this view to propose that we should treat the entire circle of dates of the "Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka" family, mentioned in the Rája Taranginí, which their inscriptions expand from ix. to xcvi., as pertaining to the fourth century of the Seleucidan era, an arrangement which will bring them into concert with our Christian reckoning from 2 B.C. to 87 A.D. A scheme which would, moreover, provide for their full possession of power up to the crucial "Saka" date of 78-79 A.D., and allow for the subsequent continuance of a considerable breadth of sway outside the limited geographical range of Indian cognizance.

There are further considerations which add weight to the conclusion that the Kanerki Scythians adopted, for public purposes, the Seleucidan era; they may be supposed, like the Parthians and other Nomads, to have achieved but scant culture till conquest made them masters of civilized sections of the earth.

In the present instance, these new invaders are seen to have ignored or rejected the Semitic-Bactrian writing employed by the Kadphises horde in parallel concert with the traditional monumental Greek, and to have relied exclusively on the Greek language in their official records¹ till the later domestication of some of the members of the family, at Mathurá, led to an exceptional use of the Devanágari alphabet, in subordination to the dominant Greek, on the coins of Vásudeva. In no case do we find them recognizing the Semitic type of character, though the inscriptions quoted

¹ Prof. Wilson's Plates, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, arranged 35 years ago, and altogether independently of the present argument, will suffice to place this contrast before the reader. The Kadphises group extend from figs. 5 to 21 of plate x. All these coins are *bilingual*, Greek and Semitic-Bactrian. The Kanerki series commence with No. 15, plate xi., having nothing but Greek legends, either on the obverse or on the reverse, and follow on continuously through plates xii. xiii. and xiv. down to fig. 11. After that, the Greek characters become more or less chaotic, till we reach No. 19.

below will show how largely that alphabet had spread in some portions of their dominion. But beyond this, their adherence, or perhaps that of their successors, to Greek, continues mechanically till its characters merge into utter incoherence on the later mintages.¹ All of these indications lead to the inference that, as far as the Court influences were concerned, the tendency to rely upon Greek speech would have carried with it what remained *in situ* of the manners and customs of their Western instructors.²

There are two groups or varieties of Indo-Scythian Inscriptions of the Kanishka family. The one in the Indian *proper* or Lāt alphabet, all of which are located at Mathurá. The published Mathurá inscriptions of this group (excluding the two quotations placed within brackets) number 20 in all; as a rule they are merely records of votive offerings on the part of "pious founders," and contain only casual references to the ruling powers. Twelve of these make no mention of any monarch, though they are clearly contemporaneous with the other dedicatory inscriptions. Throughout the whole

¹ Ariana Antiqua, pl. xiv. Nos. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17.

² The circumstances bearing upon the battle of Karór (or كدور) are of so much importance in the history of this epoch, that I reproduce Albírdni's account of that event: "On emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri-Harcha, de Vikramá-ditya, de Śaka, de Ballaba, et des Gouptas. . . . L'ère de Vikramá-ditya est employée dans les provinces méridionales et occidentales de l'Inde. . . . L'ère de Śaka, nommée par les Indiens 'Śaka-kála,' est postérieure à celle de Vikramá-ditya de 135 ans. Śaka est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des Sakya; quelques-uns prétendent qu'il était Soudra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura; il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race indienne, et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vint du secours de l'Orient. Vikramá-ditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Multan et le château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre; à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Śaka, et on la choisit pour ère principalement chez les astronomes."—Reinoud's translation.

General Cunningham has attempted to identify the site of Karór with a position "50 miles S.E. of Multán and 20 miles N.E. of Baháwalpúr," making the "castle of Loni" into "*Ludhan*, an ancient town situated near the old bed of the Sutlej river, 44 miles E.N.E. of Kahrór and 70 miles E.S.E. of Multán."—*Ancient Geography of India* (Trübner, 1871), p. 241. These assignments, are, however, seriously shaken by the fact that Albírdni himself invariably places these two sites far north of Multán, *i.e.* according to his latitudes and longitudes, *Multán* is 91°—29° 30' N., while *Kadór*, as he writes it, is 92°—31° N., and *Loni* (variant *Loi*) is 32° N.—Sprenger's Maps, No. 12, etc.

series of twenty records the dates are confined to numbers below *one hundred*: they approach and nearly touch the end of a given century, in the 90 and 98; but do not reach or surpass the crucial *hundred* discarded in the local cycle.

The two inscriptions, Nos. 22, 23, from the same locality, dated, severally, Samvat 135 with the Indian month of Paushya, and Samvat 281, clearly belong to a different age, and vary from their associates in dedicatory phraseology, forms of letters, and many minor characteristics, which General Cunningham readily discriminated.¹

INDO-SCYTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Indo-Pali Alphabet.

At Mathura.	KANISHKA.	Mahārāja Kanishka. Samvat 9.	
		[Kanishka. Samvat 28.]	
		[Huvishka. Samvat 33.] ²	
	HUVISHKA.	Mahārāja DEVAPUTRA Huvishka. Hemanta, S. 39.	
		Mahārāja RĀJĀTIRĀJA DEVAPUTRA Huvishka. Grishma, S. 47. ³	
		Mahārāja Huvishka. Hemanta, S. 48.	
	VĀSUDEVA.	Mahārāja Rājātīrāja DEVAPUTRA Vāsu(deva). Varsha, S. 44.	
		Mahārāja Vāsudeva. Grishma, S. 83.	
		Mahārāja Rājātīrāja, SHĀHI, Vāsudeva. Hemanta, S. 87.	
		Rāja Vāsudeva. Varsha, S. 98. ⁴	

¹ Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 38.

² These two dates are quoted from Gen. Cunningham's letter to the *Athenæum* of 29 April, 1876, as having been lately discovered by Mr. Growse, B.C.S.

³ The 47th year of the Monastery of Huvishka.

⁴ I was at first disposed to infer that the use of the Indian months in their full development indicated a period subsequent to the employment of the primitive three seasons, but I find from the Western Inscriptions, lately published by Prof. Bhandarkar, that they were clearly in contemporaneous acceptance. While a passage in Hiouen Tsiang suggests that the retention of the normal terms was in a measure typical of Buddhist belief, and so that, in another sense, the months had a confessed conventional significance.

"Suivant la sainte doctrine de Jou-laï (du Tathâgata), une année se compose de trois saisons. Depuis le 16 du premier mois, jusqu'au 15 du cinquième mois, c'est la saison chaude. Depuis le 16 du cinquième mois, jusqu'au 15 du neuvième mois, c'est la saison pluvieuse (Varchâs). Depuis le 16 de neuvième mois, jusqu'au 15 du premier mois, c'est la saison froide. Quelquefois on divise l'année en quatre saisons, savoir: le printemps, l'été, l'automne et l'hiver."—Hiouen Tsiang, vol. ii. p. 63. The division into three seasons is distinctly *non-Vedic*.—Muir, vol. i. p. 13; Elliot, Glossary, vol. ii. p. 47.

"There are two summers in the year and two harvests, while the winter intervenes between them."—Pliny vi. 21; Diod. Sic. I. c. i.

The parallel series are more scattered, and crop up in less direct consecutive association, these are indorsed in the *Bactrian* or *Aryan* adaptation of the Ancient Phœnician alphabet.

INDO-SCYTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Bactrian-Pāli Alphabet.

- Bahāwalpūr. *Maharaja Rajadīraja DEVAPUTRA Kanishka.*
 Samvat 11, on the 28th of the (Greek) month of Diosius.
- Manikyāla Topo. *Maharaja Kaneshka, GUSHANA vasa samvardhaka.*
 "Increaser of the dominion of the Gushans" (Kushans).
 Samvat 18.
- Wardak Vase. *Maharaja rajatiraja Huveshka. Samvat 51, 15th of Artemisius.*¹

¹ Besides these inscriptions, there is a record of the name of Kanishka designated as *Raja Gandharya*, on "a rough block of quartz," from Zeda, near Ohind, now in the Lahore Museum. This legend is embodied in very small Bactrian letters, and is preceded by a single line in large characters, which reads as follows: *Sam 10 + 1 (=11) Ashadasa masasa di 20, Udeyana gu. 1. Isachhu nami.* I do not quote or definitively adopt this date, as the two inscriptions appear to me to be of different periods, and vary in a marked degree in the forms as well as in the size of their letters.—Lowenthal, J.A.S.B. 1863, p. 5; Gen. Cunningham, Arch. Report, vol. v. p. 57.

In addition to the above Bactrian Pāli Inscriptions, we have a record from Taxila, by the "Satrap Liako Kusuluko," in "the 78th year of the great king, the Great Moga, on the 5th day of the month Pansemus" (J.R.A.S. xx. o.s. p. 227; J.A.S.B. 1862, p. 40). And an inscription from Takht-i-Bahi of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares, well known to us from his coins (Ariana Antiqua, p. 340, Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 214), and doubtfully associated with the *Gondofers* of the *Legenda Aurea*, to the following tenor: "*Maharajasa Gudupharasa Vasha 20 + 4 + 2 (=26) Sam . . . Satimae 100 + 3 (=103) Vesakhasa masasa divase 4.*" (Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. v. p. 59.) And to complete the series of regal quotations, I add the heading of the inscription from Panjtār of a king of the Kushans: "*Sam 100 + 20 + 2 (=122) Sravanasa masasa di prathamē 1, Maha rayasa Gushanasa Ra . . .*" (Professor Dowson, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. o.s. p. 223; Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. v. p. 61.)

This is an inscription which, in the exceptional character of its framework, suggests and even necessitates reconstructive interpretations. The stone upon which it is engrossed was obviously fissured and imperfectly prepared for its purpose in the first instance; so that, in the opening line, Gondophares' name has to be taken over a broken gap with space for two letters, which divides the *d* from the *ph*. The surface of the stone has likewise suffered from abrasion of some kind or other, so that material letters have in certain cases been reduced to mere shadowy outlines. But enough remains intact to establish the name of the Indo-Parthian King, and to exhibit a double record of dates, giving his regnal year and the counterpart in an era the determination of which is of the highest possible importance. The *vasha* or year of the king, expressed in figures alone, as 26, is not contested. The *figured* date of the leading era presents no difficulty whatever to those who are conversant with Phœnician notation, or who may hereafter choose to consult the ancient coins of Aradus. The symbol for *hundreds*

is incontestable: The preliminary stroke 1, to the right of the sign, in

The above collection of names and dates covers, in the latter sense, a period of from An. 9 to An. 98, or eighty-nine years in all. The names, as I interpret them, apply to two individuals, only, out of the triple brotherhood mentioned in the *Rāja Taranginī*. After enumerating the reigns of (1) Aśoka, (2) Jaloka, and (3) Dāmodhara, Professor Wilson's translation of that chronicle continues:—

“Dāmodhara was succeeded by three princes who divided the country, and severally founded capital cities named after themselves. These princes were called Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka,¹ of Turushka or Tatar extraction. . . . They are considered synchronous, but may possibly be all that are preserved of some series of Tatar princes who, it is very likely, at various periods, established themselves in Kashmīr.”² I

the Western system, marks the simple number of *hundreds*; in India an additional prolongation duplicates the value of the normal symbol. Under these terms the adoptive Bactrian figures are positive as 103. Before the *figured* date there is to be found, *in letters*, the word *satimas* “in one hundred” or “hundredth,” in the reading of which all concur. It is possible that the exceptional use of the figure for 100, which has not previously been met with, may have led to its definition and repetition *in writing* in the body of the inscription, in order that future interpreters should feel no hesitation about the value of the exotic symbol. There was not the same necessity for repeating the 3, the three fingers of which must always have been obvious to the meanest capacity. I have no difficulty about the existence and free currency of the Vikramāditya era *per se* in its own proper time, which some archaeologists are inclined to regard as of later adaptation. But I am unable to concur in the reading of *Sameatsara*, or to admit, if such should prove the correct interpretation, that the word *Sameatsara* involved or necessitated a preferential association with the Vikramāditya era, any more than the *Sameatsara* (J.R.A.S., Vol. IV. p. 500) and *Sameatsaraye* (*ibid.* p. 222), or the abbreviated *San* or *Sam*, which is so constant in these Bactrian Pali Inscriptions, and so frequent on Indo-Parthian coins (Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 205, Coins of Azas, Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 12; Azilisas, Nos. 1, etc.; Gondophares, p. 215, No. 4.

¹ Abulfazl says “brothers.” Gladwin's Translation, vol. ii. p. 171; Calcutta Text, p. 574. هَشْك - زَشْك - كَشْك هر سه برادر آئین بودہ داشتند.

General Cunningham considers that he has succeeded in identifying all the three capitals, the sites of which are placed within the limits of the valley of Kashmīr, *i.e.*,

“*Kanishka-pura* (Kanikhpur) *hod.* Kāmpur, is ten miles south of Sirinagar, known as Kāmpur Sarai.

“*Hushka-pura*, the Hu-se-kia-lo of Hiuen Tshang—the Ushkar of Albīrūnī—now surviving in the village of *Ushkara*, two miles south-east of Barāhmula.

“*Jushka-pura* is identified by the Brahmans with Zukru or Zukur, a considerable village four miles north of the capital, the *Schecroch* of Troyer and Wilson.”—Ancient Geography of India (London, 1871), p. 99.

² Prof. H. H. Wilson, “An Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmīr,” Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 23; and Troyer's *Histoire des Rois du Kachmir* (Paris, 1840–52), vol. i. p. 19. See also Hiouen-Tsang (Paris, 1858), vol. ii. pp. 42, 106, etc.

assume *Vásu Deva* (Krishṇa's title) to have been the titular designation of Kanishka,¹ while *Devaputra* was common to both brothers, and the *Sháhi*² was perhaps optional, or devoted to the senior in the joint brotherhood³ or head of the more extensive tribal community of the Kanerki.

The Mathurá inscriptions, as we have seen, distinguish the subdivisions of the year by the old triple seasons of *Grishma*, *Varsha*, and *Hemanta*, while the Bactrian Páli inscriptions ordinarily define the months by their Macedonian designations;⁴ the question thus arises as to whether this latter

¹ Coin of *Vásu Deva* struck in his Eastern dominions. *Treſor de Numismatique*. Gold. Pl. lxxx., figs. 10, 11.

Obverse.—Scythian figure, standing to the front, casting incense into the typical small Mithraic altar. To the right, a trident with flowing pennons: to the left, a standard with streamers.

Legend, around the main device, in obscure Greek, the vague reproduction of the conventional titles of PAO NANO PAO KOPANO.

Below the left arm $\begin{matrix} \text{व} & \text{Pa} \\ \text{su} & \end{matrix} \} = \text{VASU}$, in the exact style of character found in his Mathurá Inscriptions.

Reverse.—The Indian Goddess Párvatí seated on an open chair or imitation of a Greek throne, extending in her right hand the classic regal fillet; Mithraic monogram to the left.

Legend, ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, Ard-Ugra = "half Siva," i.e. Párvatí.

Those who wish to examine nearly exact counterparts of these types in English publications may consult the coins engraved in plate xiv., *Ariana Antiqua*, figs. 19, 20. The latter seems to have an imperfect rendering of the $\text{व} \text{Pa}$ on the obverse, with su (formed like pu) on the reverse. [For corresponding types see also Journ. As. Soc. Beng. vol. v. pl. 36, and Prinsep's Essays, pl. 4. General Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. vi. o.s. pl. i. fig. 2.] The su is not curved, but formed by a mere elongation of the downstroke of the स s , which in itself constitutes the vowel. The omission of the consecutive *Deva* on the coins is of no more import than the parallel rejection of the *Gupta*, where the king's name is written *downwards*, Chinese fashion, in the confined space below the arm. See also General Cunningham's remarks on Vāsudeva, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. pp. 193, 195. Gen. Cunningham proposes to amend Prof. Wilson's tentative reading of Baraona on the two gold coins, *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xiv. figs. 14, 18 (p. 378), into PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO. The engraving of No. 14 certainly suggests an initial B in the name, and the AZ and O are sufficiently clear. We have only to angularize the succeeding O into Δ to complete the identification. These coins have a reverse of Siva and the Bull.—Arch. Rep. vol. iii. p. 42. Dr. Kern does not seem to have been aware of these identifications when he proposed, in 1873 (*Révue Critique*, 1874, p. 291), to associate the Mathurá Vāsudeva with the Indo-Sassanian *Pehlvi* coin figured in Prinsep, pl. vii. fig. 6. Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc. Vol. XII. pl. 3; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvii. fig. 9.

² The full *Devaputra Shahán Sháhi* occurs in the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahábád Lát. It may possibly refer to some of the extra Indian successors of these Indo-Scythians.

³ Troyer translates paragraph 171, "Pendant le long règne de ces rois," vol. i. p. 19.

⁴ "The Macedonian months, which were adopted by the Syro-Macedonian

practice does not imply a continued use of the Seleucidan era, in association with which the names of these months must first have reached India?¹ and which must have been altogether out of place in any indigenous scheme of reckoning. Tested by this system, the years 9-98 of the fourth century of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 311-12) produce, as I have elsewhere remarked, the singularly suitable return of B.C. 2 to A.D. 87. And a similar process applied to the third century of the newly-discovered Parthian era (B.C. 248)² would represent B.C. 39 and A.D. 50. But this last method of computation seems to have secured a mere local and exceptional currency, and the probabilities of its extension to India are as zero compared with the wide-spread and enduring date³ of the Seleucidæ, which the Parthians themselves continued to use on their coinage in conjunction with the old

cities, and generally by the Greek cities of Asia, after the time of Alexander, were *lunar* till the reformation of the Roman calendar of *Cæsar* (by inserting 67+23 = 90 days in this year). After that reformation the Greek cities of Asia, which had then become subject to the Roman Empire, gradually adopted the Julian year. But although they followed the Romans in computing by the solar Julian year of 365d. 6h. instead of the lunar, yet they made no alteration in the season at which their year began (ΔIOZ = Oct. Nov.), or in the order of the months." —Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* vol. iii. pp. 202, 347.

¹ Some importance will be seen to have attached to the use of the contrasted terms for national months in olden time, as we find Letronne observing: "Dans tous les exemples de doubles ou triples dates que nous offrent les inscriptions rédigées en Grèce, le mois qui est énoncé le premier est toujours celui dont fait usage la nation à laquelle appartient celui qui parle." —Letronne, *Inscriptions de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1852), p. 263.

² *Assyrian Discoveries*, by George Smith, London, 1875, p. 389. From the time of the Parthian conquest it appears that the tablets were dated according to the Parthian style. There has always been a doubt as to the date of this revolt, and consequently of the Parthian monarchy, as the classical authorities have left no evidence as to the exact date of the rise of the Parthian power. I, however, obtained three Parthian tablets from Babylon; two of them contained double dates, one of which, being found perfect, supplied the required evidence, as it was dated according to the Seleucidan era, and according also to the Parthian era, the 144th year of the Parthians being equal to the 208th year of the Seleucidæ, thus making the Parthian era to have commenced B.C. 248. This date is written: "Month . . . 23rd day 144th year, which is called the 208th year, Arsaces, King of kings."

Clinton, following Justin and Eusebius, etc., 250 B.C., *Fasti Romani*, vol. ii. p. 243, and *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 311; Moses Chorenensis, 251 or 252 B.C.; Suidas, 246 B.C.

³ "Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, . . . reigned in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks." —Maccabees I. i. 10 —ii. 70, et. seq. "In the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ." —Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 3. "It came to pass . . . in the 145th year on the 25th of that month which is by us called *Chasleu*, and by the Macedonians *Apellus*,

Macedonian *months*,¹ whose importance in their bearing upon the leading era I have enlarged upon in the parallel Indo-Scythic instance immediately under review. So that, as at present advised, I hold to a preference for the Seleucidan test, which places the Indo-Scythians in so satisfactory a position both relatively to their predecessors and successors. I have at the same time no reserve in acknowledging the many difficulties surrounding the leading question; but if we can but get a second "pied à terre," a fixed date-point, after the classical testimony to the epoch of the great Chandra Gupta, we may check the doubts and difficulties surrounding many generations both before and after any established date that we may chance to elicit from the present and more mature inquiries.

The comparative estimates by the three methods of computation immediately available stand roughly as follows:—

Seleucidan . . .	[1st Sept., 312 B.C.]	B.C. 2 to A.D. 87.
Vikramāditya . . .	[57 B.C. ²] . . .	B.C. 48 to A.D. 41.
Saka . . .	[14th March, 78 A.D. ³]	A.D. 88 to A.D. 177.

Before taking leave of the general subject of Indian methods of defining dates, I wish to point out how much the conventional practice of the suppression of the *hundreds* must have impaired the ordinary continuity of record and

in the 153rd Olympiad, etc."—xii. 4. "Seleucus cognominatus *Nicator* regnum Babelis, totiusque Eraki, et Chorasanae, Indiam usque, Ab initio imperii ipsius orditur aera, quae Alexandri audit, ea nempe qua tempora computant Syri et Hebraei."—Bar-Hebraeus, Poccocke, p. 63.

"The Jews still style it the *Æra of Contracts*, because they were obliged, when subject to the Syro-Macedonian princes, to express it in all their contracts and civil writings."—Gough's *Seleucidae*, p. 3.

The Syriac text of the inscription at Singanfu is dated "in 1093d year of the Greeks" (A.D. 782).—A. Kircher, *La Chine*, p. 43; Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 22; see also Mure's *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 74–79.

¹ The dates begin to appear on the Syro-Macedonian coins under Seleucus IV., *Trésor de Numismatique*, sAP=136; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 30, PAZ=137. Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII. also date their coins in the Seleucidan era. See Mionnet, vol. v. pp. 86, 87.

The Parthian coin dates commence with A.S. ΠΞ = 280 (B.C. 31), APTE, *Artemisius*, and continue to A.S. 539, *Trés. de Num. Rois Grecs*, pp. 143–147; Lindsay, *Coinage of the Parthians* (Cork, 1852), pp. 175–179.

² Luni-solar year. ³ Solar or Sidereal year. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, pp. 153–7.

affected the resulting value of many of the fragmentary data that have been preserved to our time.

The existence of such a system of disregarding or blotting-out of centuries—persevered in for ages—must naturally have led to endless uncertainties among subsequent home or foreign inquirers, whose errors and misunderstandings were occasionally superadded to the normal imperfections of their leading authorities. Something of this kind may be detected in the illustrative works both of Hiuen Tshang and Albîrûnî, wherever the quotation refers to hundreds in the gross. Apart from the improbabilities of events adapting themselves to *even numbers in hundreds*, it is clear that, where hundreds alone are given, the date itself must be looked upon as more or less vague and conjectural, elicited, in short, out of uncertain and undefined numbers, and alike incapable of correction from minor totals; such a test must now be applied to Hiuen Tshang's oft-quoted open number of 400 as marking the interval between Buddha and Kanishka.¹

So also one of Albîrûnî's less-consistently worked-out dates is liable to parallel objection, such, for instance, as the *even* "400 before Vikramāditya," which constitutes his era of "Śrî Harsha," and which he is frank enough to confess *may* perchance pertain to the other Śrî Harsha of 664 after Vikramāditya (or $57 + 664 = 607-8$ A.D.). His clear 400 of the era of Yazdegird is, however, a veritable conjuncture, a singular and unforced combination of independent epochs,²

¹ "Dans les quatre cents ans qui suivront mon *Nirvāṇa*, il y aura un roi qui s'illustrera dans le monde sous le nom de Kia-ni-se-kia (Kanishka)." —Mémoires sur les Contrées occidentales (Paris, 1857), i. p. 106. "Dans la 400^e année après le Nirvāṇa" (p. 172). This 400 is the sum given in the *Lalitā Vistāra*, but the Mongol authorities have 300. Foe-koue Ki, chapter xxv., and Burnouf's *Intr. Hist. Bud.*, vol. i. p. 568, "trois cent ans," p. 579, "un peu plus de quatre cent ans après Çakya, au temps de Kanishka." Hiuen Tshang confines himself to obscure hundreds in other places. "Dans la centième année après le Nirvāṇa de Jou-lâ, Aśoka, roi de Magadha," p. 170. "La six centième année après le Nirvāṇa," p. 179. Nāgarjuna is equally dated 400 years after Buddha. "Nāgarjuna is generally supposed to have flourished 400 years after the death of Buddha." —*As. Res.* vol. xx. pp. 400, 513. Csoma de Koros, *Analysis of the Gyut*. See also *As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 83; xv. p. 115; and Burnouf, vol. i. p. 447, and *J.A.S.B.* vol. vii. p. 143. M. Foucaux, in his Tibetan version of the *Lalitā Vistāra*, speaks of Nāgarjuna as flourishing "cent ans après le mort de Çakya Moumi, p. 392, note.

² Renaud, *loc. cit.* pp. 137, 139. Albîrûnî here rejoices, that "cette époque s'exprime par un nombre rond et n'est embarrassée ni de dizaines ni d'unités," which seems to show how rarely, in his large experience, such a phenomenon had been met with.

approximately marked by the date of the death of Mahmūd of Ghaznī,¹ in an era that had not yet been superseded in the East by the Muhammadan Hijrah.

I conclude this paper with a reproduction of the unique coin of the Śaka King Heraūs, which, on more mature examination, has been found to throw unexpected light on the chief seat of Śaka-Scythian power,² and to supply incidentally an approximate date, which may prove of considerable value in elucidating the contemporaneous history of the border lands of India.

I have recently had occasion to investigate the probable age of this piece by a comparison of its reverse device with the leading types of the Imperial Parthian mintages, with which it has much in common, and the deduction I arrived at, from the purely Numismatic aspect of the evidence, was

¹ The era of Yazdegird commenced 16th June, 632 A.D. The date on Mahmūd's tomb is 23rd Rabi' the second, A.H. 421 (30th April, A.D. 1030).

² Albīrūnī was naturally perplexed with the identities of Vikramāditya and Śalivāhana, and unable to reconcile the similarity of the acts attributed alike to one and the other. He concludes the passage quoted in note 2, p. 9, in the following terms:—"D'un autre côté, Vikramāditya, reçut le titre de Śri (grand) à cause de l'honneur qu'il s'était acquis. Du reste, l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé entre l'ère de Vikramāditya et la mort de Śaka, prouve que le vainqueur n'était pas le célèbre Vikramāditya, mais un autre prince du même nom."—Reinsud, p. 142.

Major Wilford, in like manner, while discussing the individualities of his "8 or 9 Vikramādityas," admitted that "the two periods of Vikramāditya and Śalivāhana are intimately connected, and the accounts we have of these two extraordinary personages are much confused, teeming with contradictions and absurdities to a surprising degree."—As. Res., vol. ix. p. 117; see also vol. x. p. 93.

A passage lately brought to notice by Dr. Bühler throws new light upon this question, for, in addition to supplying chronological data of much importance in regard to the interval of 470 years which is said to have elapsed between the great *Jaina Mahāvīra* (the 24th *Tirthankara*) and the first *Vikramāditya* of B.C. 57, it teaches us that there were Śaka kings holding sway in India in B.C. 61-57, which indirectly confirms the epoch of the family of Heraūs, and explains how both Vikramādityas, at intervals of 135 years, came to have Śaka enemies to encounter, and consequently equal claims to titular *Śakdri* honours.

"1. Pālaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tirthankara Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa. 2. 60 are (the years of King Pālaka, but 155 are (the years) of the Nandas; 103 those of the Mauryas, and 30 those of Pūṣamitta (Pushyamitra). 3. 60 (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, 40 Nabhovahana. 13 years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and 4 are (the years) of Śaka."—From the Prakrit Gāthās of Merutunga, etc.

"These verses, which are quoted in a very large number of Jaina commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is not clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vira and Vikrama, and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology."—Dr. Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii. p. 363.

that, recognizing the imitative adoption of certain details of the main devices of the suzerain rulers, and supposing such adoption to have been immediate and contemporaneous, the dates B.C. 37 to A.D. 4 would "mark the age of Heraüs."¹ This epoch singularly accords with the date of Isidore of Charax,² from whose text of the 'Stathmi Parthici' we likewise gather that the recognized seat of the Śaka-Scythians, then feudatories of the Parthian Empire, was located in the valley of the Helmund,³ and was known by the optional

¹ Records of the Gupta Dynasty (Trübner, 1876), p. 37.

"It is in regard to the typical details, however, that the contrast between the pieces of Manas and Heraüs is most apparent. Manas has no coins with his own bust among the infinite variety of his mint devices, nor has Azas, who imitates so many of his emblems. But, in the Gondophares group, we meet again with busts and uncovered heads, the hair being simply bound by a fillet, in which arrangement of the head-dress Pakores, with his bushy curls, follows suit. But the crucial typical test is furnished by the small figure of victory crowning the horseman on the reverse, which is so special a characteristic of the Parthian die illustration.

"We have frequent examples of Angels or types of victory extending regal fillets in the Bactrian series, but these figures constitute as a rule the main device of the reverse, and are not subordinated into a corner, as in the Parthian system. The first appearance of the fillet in direct connexion with the king's head in the Imperial series, occurs on the coins of Arsaces XIV., *Orodes* (n.c. 54-37), where the crown is borne by an eagle (Lindsay, *History of the Parthians*, Cork, 1862, pl. iii. fig. 2, pp. 146-170; *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. lxviii. fig. 17); but on the reverses of the copper coinage this duty is already confided to the winged figure of Victory (Lindsay, pl. v. fig. 2, p. 181). Arsaces XV., Phraohates IV. (37 n.c.-4 A.D.), continues the eagles for a time, but progresses into single (*Ibid.*, pl. iii. fig. 60; v. fig. 4, pp. 148, 170; *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. lxviii. fig. 18; pl. lxi. fig. 5), and finally into double figures of Victory eager to crown him (*Ibid.*, pl. iii. figs. 61-63), as indicating his successes against Antony and the annexation of the kingdom of Media (Lindsay, p. 46; Rawlinson, *The Sixth Monarchy*, p. 182).

"Henceforth these winged adjuncts are discontinued, so that, if we are to seek for the prototype of the Heraüs coin amid Imperial Arsacidan models, we are closely limited in point of antiquity, though the possibly deferred adoption may be less susceptible of proof."

² The period of Isidore of Charax has been the subject of much controversy. The writer of the notice in Smith's Dictionary contents himself with saying, "He seems to have lived under the early Roman Emperors." C. Müller, the special authority for all Greek geographical questions, sums up his critical examination of the evidence to the point: "Probant scriptorem nostrum Augusti temporibus debere fuisse proximum."—Geog. Grec. Min. vol. i. p. lxxxv.

³ 17. Ἐντεῦθεν Ζαραγγιανή, σχοῖνοι καὶ. Ἐνθα πόλις Πάρων καὶ Κορδὴ πόλις. 18. Ἐντεῦθεν Ζακαστανὴ Ζακῶν Ἰκνυῶν, ἥ καὶ Παρατακηνή, σχοῖνοι ἐγ'. Ἐνθα Βαρδὰ πόλις καὶ Μιν πόλις καὶ Παλακεντὶ πόλις καὶ Σιγάλ πόλις ἔνθα Βασίλεια Ζακῶν καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρεῖα πόλις (καὶ πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρόπολις πόλις). κῶμαι δὲ ἔξ. Isidore of Charax, "Stathmi Parthici," ed. C. Müller, Paris, pp. 263. lxxxv. and xciii., map No. x. The text goes on to enumerate the stages up to *Alexandropolis μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας*, and concludes: Ἀχρὶ τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Πάρθων ἐπικράτεια. I annex for the sake of comparison Ptolemy's list of the cities of Drangia, after the century and a half which is roughly estimated as the interval between the two geographers. Sigal and Sakastanē seem

names of *Sakastanè* or *Paraitakenè* with a capital city entitled *Sigal*.

The ancient *Sigal* may perhaps be identified with the modern site of *Sekooah*, the metropolis of a district of that name, which, in virtue of its position, its walls, and its wells, still claims pre-eminence among the cities of *Seistân*.¹

And to complete the data, I now find on the surface of the

alike to have disappeared from the local map. 1. Προφθάρια. 2. Ποῦσα. 3. Ίββα. 4. Ἀρικαδία. 5. Ἀστρα. 6. Ερατιάση. 7. Νορδία. 8. Φαραάνα. 9. Βρύς. 10. Ἀριάση. 11. Ἀράνα.—Ptolemy, lib. vi. cap. 19; Hudson, vol. iii. p. 44; Journ. R.A.S. Vol. X. p. 21, and Vol. XV. pp. 97, 150, 206; Darius' Inscription, Persian "Saka," Scythic "Sakka." The old term of *سكان* is preserved in all the intelligent Persian and Arabian writers. Majmal *سكان* شاه Isfahâni; Hamza *سكان* شاه Al Tawârikh, Journ. Asiatique, 1839 *سكان* شاه; p. 50; *سكان* اسم لسيستان p. 51. And the Armenians adhere to the *Sakasdan*.—Moses of Khorene, French edition, vol. ii. p. 143; Whiston, pp. 301, 364; St.-Martin, L'Arménie, vol. ii. p. 18. *سيستان*. Les villes principales sont: *Zalek*, *Kerkouyah*, *Hissoum*, *Zaranj*, et *Bost*, où l'on voit les ruines de l'écurie de Roustam, le Héros.—B. de Meynard, La Perse, p. 303. Other references to the geography of this locality will be found in Pliny vi. 21; Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 205; Anderson's Western Afghanistan, J.A.S. Bengal, 1849, p. 586; Leech (*Sekoa*), J.A.S.B., 1844, p. 117; Khanikoff, 'Asie Centrale,' Paris, 1861, p. 162 (*Sekouah*); Ferrier's Travels, p. 430; Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 67; Pottinger's Beloochistan, pp. 407-9; Burnouf's Yaçna, p. xcix.

¹ "This fortress is the strongest and most important in *Seistân*, because, being at 5 parasangs from the lake, water is to be obtained only in wells which have been dug within its *enceinte*. The intermediate and surrounding country being an arid parched waste, devoid not only of water, but of everything else, the besiegers could not subsist themselves, and would, even if provisioned, inevitably die of thirst. It contains about 1200 houses. . . . I have called it the capital of *Seistân*, but it is impossible to say how long it may enjoy that title."—Caravan Journeys of J. P. Ferrier, edited by H. D. Seymour, Esq., Murray, 1857, p. 419. "On the 1st February, 1872, made a 30 mile march to *Sekouah*, the more modern capital of *Seistân* . . . finally we found *Sekouah* itself amid utter desolation."—Sir F. J. Goldsmid. From R. Geog. Soc. 1873, p. 70. See also Sir H. Rawlinson's elaborate notes on *Seistân*, p. 282, "*Si-kohéh*" [three hills], in the same volume. I may add in support of this reading of the name of the capital, that it very nearly reproduces

the synonym of the obscure Greek *Σρυδα*, in the counterpart Pehlvi *سیکر = سدود*

Sî gar or *gal*, which stands equally for "three hills." Tabari tells us that in the old language, "*guer* a le sens de montagne" (Zotenberg, vol. i. p. 5), and Hamza Isfahâni equally recognizes the *ger* as "*colles et montes*" (p. 37). The interchange of the *rs* and *ls* did not disturb the Iranian mind any more than the indeterminate use of *gs* and *ks*. See Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268, and Vol. XIII. p. 377. We need not carry on these comparisons further, but those who wish to trace identities more completely may consult Pictet, vol. i. p. 122, and follow out the Sanskrit *giri*, Slave *gohs*, etc. Since the body of this note was set up in type, Sir F. Goldsmid's official report upon "Eastern Persia" has been published, and supplies the following additional

original coin, after the final Λ in ΣΑΚΑ, the Greek monogram \mathcal{B} , which apparently represents the ancient province, or provincial capital, of *Drangia*.¹



HERAÜS, ΣΑΚΑ KING.

Silver. British Museum. *Unique*.

Obv. "Bust of a king, right, diademed and draped; border of reels and beads.

Rev. ΤΥΑΝΝΟΤΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ

ΣΑΚΑ

ΚΟΙΑΝΟΥ.

(Τυαννοῦτος Ἡρόου Σάκα Κοιάνου.)

A king, right, on horseback; behind, ΝΙΚΗ, crowning him.²

details as to the characteristics of Sikoha:—"The town, . . . which derives its name from three clay or mud hills in its midst, is built in an irregular circular form around the base of the two principal hills. The southernmost of these hills is surmounted by the *ark* or citadel, an ancient structure known as the citadel of Mir Kuchak Khán. . . . Adjoining this, and connected with it, is the second hill, called the Búr-i-Fálaksar, on which stands the present Governor's house; and about 150 yards to the west is the third hill, not so high as the other two, undefended. . . . The two principal hills thus completely command the town lying at their base, and are connected with one another by a covered way." "Sekuha is quite independent of an extra-mural water supply, as water is always obtainable by digging a few feet below the surface anywhere inside the walls, which are twenty-five feet in height, strongly built."—Major E. Smith, vol. i. p. 258.

¹ The progressive stages of this Monogram are curious. We have the normal \mathcal{B} .—Mionnet, pl. i. No. 12; Lindsay, *Coins of the Parthians*, pl. xi. No. 7. Next we have the Bactrian varieties \mathcal{B}_1 , \mathcal{B}_2 , and \mathcal{B}_3 , entered in Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. xi. c. No. 53; *Num. Chron.* vol. xix. o.s. Nos. 48, 52, and vol. viii. n.s. pl. vii. Nos. 71, 72, and 76; and likewise Mionnet's varieties, Nos. 156, 299: *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xxii. No. 118.

² I am indebted to Mr. P. Gardner for this woodcut. I retain his description of the coin as it appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, vol. xiv. n.s. p. 161. It will be seen that Mr. Gardner failed to detect the worn outline of the Monogram.

Colonel Pearse, R.A., retains a single example of an exceptionally common class of small *silver* coins displaying the obverse head in identical form with the outline in the wood-cut. The reverse type discloses an ill-defined, erect figure, to the left, similar in disjointed treatment to some of the reverses in the Antiochus-Kodes class,¹ accompanied by two parallel legends in obscure Greek. The leading line, *giving the title*, is altogether unintelligible; but its central letters range $\times\Box\text{IAHN}\times$ or $\times\Box\text{IAHK}\times$. The second line gives a nearer approach to "Moas" in a possible initial M, followed by the letters $\text{M}\Box\text{H}\Delta\text{H}\text{L} = \mu\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma, \mu\omicron\pi\rho\eta\varsigma, \mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\eta\varsigma$, etc. All these specimens, in addition to other Kodes associations, give outward signs of debased metal, or the Nickel, which was perchance, in those days, estimated as of equal value with silver.²

The interest in this remarkable coin is not confined to the approximate identifications of time and place, but extends itself to the tenor of the legend, which presents us with the unusual titular prefix of *Τυραννοῦντος*, which, as a synonym of *Βασιλεύοντος*, and here employed by an obvious subordinate, may be held to set at rest the disputed purport of the latter term, in opposition to the simple *Βασιλεύς*, which has such an important bearing upon the relative positions of the earlier Bactrian Kings. The examples of the use of the term *Βασιλεύοντος* in the preliminary Bactrian series are as follows³ :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Agathocles in subordi-
nation to Diodotus | } Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. |
| 2. Agathocles in subordi-
nation to Euthydemus | } Obv. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. |
| 3. Agathocles in subordi-
nation to Antiochus | } Obv. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. |
| 4. Antimachus Theus in
subordination to Dio-
dotus | } Obv. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. |

¹ Num. Chron. vol. iv. n.s. p. 209, pl. viii. fig. 7.

² J.R.A.S., Vol. IV. n.s. p. 504; Records of the Gupta Dynasty, p. 38.

³ M. de Bartholomæi, Koehne's Zeitschrift, 1843, p. 67, pl. iii. fig. 2; Reply to M. Droysen, Zeitschrift für Münz, 1846, p. 67, pl. iii. fig. 2; my papers in Prinsep's Essays (1858), vol. i. p. xvi, vol. ii. pp. 178-183; in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii. 1862, p. 186; and Journ. R. A. S., Vol. XX. 1863, p. 126; M. Raoul Rochette, Journal des Savants, 1844, p. 117; Droysen, Geschichte des Hellenismus, Hamburg,

The whole question as to the relative rank of the princes, whose names figure conjointly in the above legends, reduces itself concisely to this contrast, that the sub-king invariably calls himself *βασιλεύς* on his own proper coins, but on these exceptional tributary pieces, where he prefixes the image and superscription of a superior, he describes himself as *Βασιλεύοντος*. These alien Satraps were effective kings within their own domains, but clearly bowed to some acknowledged head of the Bactro-Greek confederation, after the manner of their Indian neighbours, or perchance included subjects, who so especially regarded the gradational import of the supreme *Mahárajadhirāja*, in contradistinction to the lesser degrees of regal state implied in the various stages of *rāja*, *mahárāja*, *rájádhirāja*, etc. These binominal pieces are rare, and, numismatically speaking, "occasional," i.e. coined expressly to mark some public event or political incident, like our modern *medals*; coincident facts, which led me long ago to suggest¹ that they might have been struck as nominal tribute money or fealty pieces, in limited numbers, for submission with the annual *nazaráná*, or presentation at high State receptions, to the most powerful chief or general of the Græco-Bactrian oligarchy for the time being.

There is a curious feature in these binominal coins, which, as far as I am aware of, has not hitherto been noticed. It is, that the *obverse* head, representing the portrait of the superior king, seems to have been adopted directly from his own ordinary mint-dies,² which in their normal form presented

1843; Lassen, Ind. Alt., 1847; Gen. Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. viii. n.s. 1868, p. 278, et seq., ix. 1869, p. 29; Mr. Vaux, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xv. n.s. p. 15.

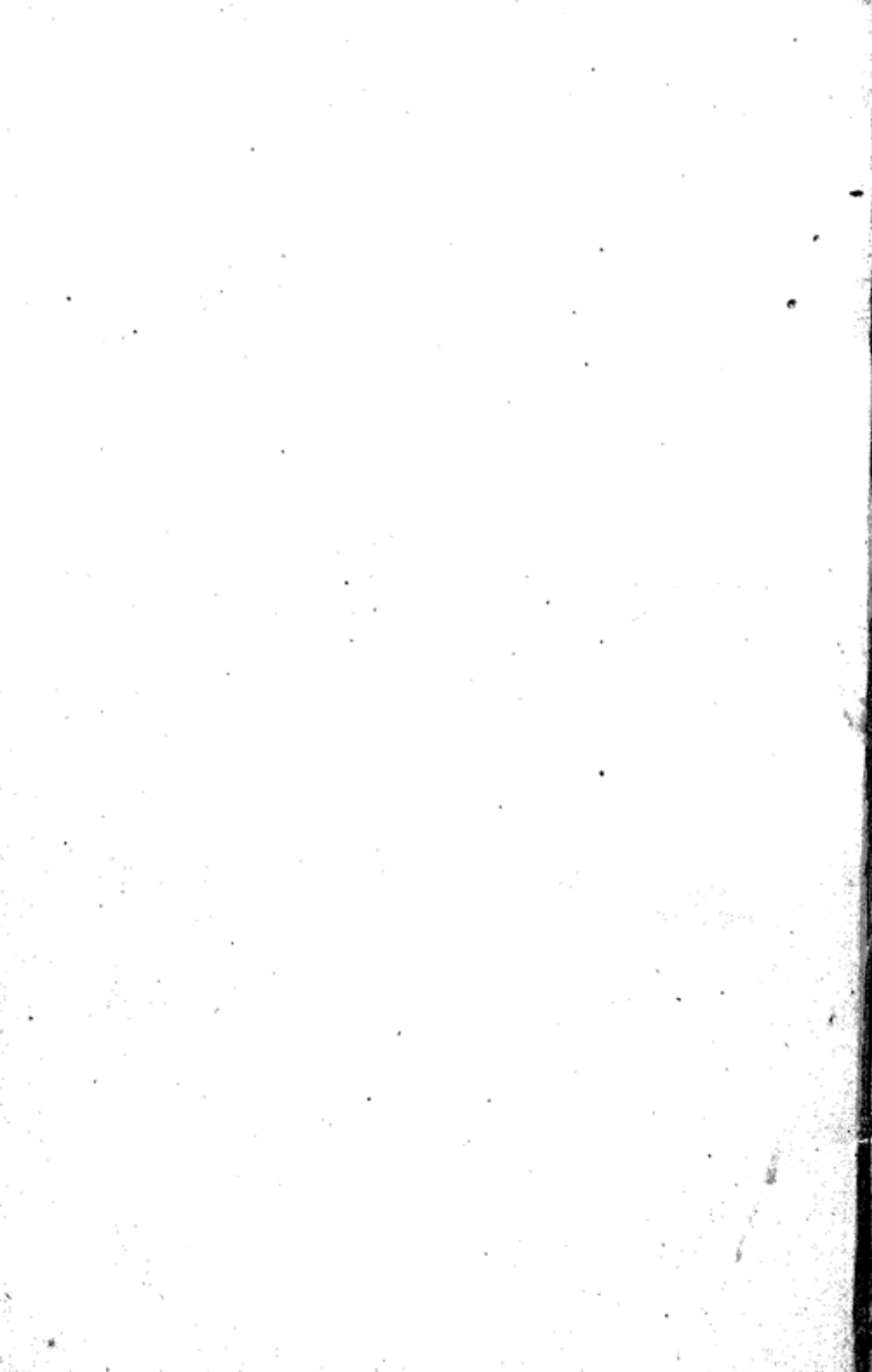
¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX. p. 127; Numismatic Chronicle, n.s. vol. ii. p. 186.

² I have long imagined that I could trace the likeness of Antiochus Theos on the obverse of the early gold coins of Diodotus (Prinsep's Essays, pl. xlii. 1; Num. Chron. vol. ii. n.s. pl. iv. figs. 1-3). I suppose, however, that in this case the latter monarch used his suzerain's ready-prepared die for the one face of his precipitate and perhaps hesitating coinage, conjoined with a new reverse device bearing his own name, which might have afforded him a loophole of escape on his "right to coin" being challenged. Apart from the similarity of the profile, the contrast between the high Greek art and perfect execution of the obverse head, and the coarse design and superficial tooling of the imitative reverse device, greatly favours the conclusion of an adaptation, though the motive may have been merely to utilize the *obverses* of existing mint appliances of such high merit.

the profile of the monarch without any surrounding legend, his name and titles being properly reserved for their conventional position on the *reverse* surface of his current coins. In the novel application of the head of the suzerain to a place on the *obverse* of a coin bearing the device and designations of his confessed subordinate on the *reverse*, it became necessary to add to the established obverse-device a specification of the name and titles of the superior, whose identification would otherwise have remained dependent upon the fidelity and the public recognition of the likeness itself. Hence, under the new adaptation, it likewise became requisite to engrave on the old die, around the standard Mint head, the suzerain's superscription in the odd corners and spaces in the field, no provision having been made, in the first instance, for any legend at all, and no room being left for the ordinary circular or perpendicular arrangement of the words, such as would have been spaced out under ordinary circumstances. In the majority of the instances we are able to cite, the Greek letters on the *adapted obverse* vary materially in their forms and outlines from those of the associated legends on the *reverse*, which still further proves the independent manipulation applied to the obverses of the compound pieces.

In addition to these indications as bearing upon the Bactrian proper coinage, the title of *Τυραννάρχης* is highly suggestive in its partial reappearance on the coins of the leading Sáh Kings Nahapana and Chastana, connecting the Scythic element geographically to the southward with the province of Guzerát, for a full *résumé* of which I must refer my readers to the Archaeological Report of Western India,¹ for 1875.

¹ See also the short copies of my Essay on the Records of the Gupta Dynasty, London, 1876, p. 31.



THE EARLY FAITH OF AŚOKA.

BY

E. THOMAS, F.R.S.

IN most of the modern discussions on the ancient religions of India, the point at issue has been confined to the relative claims to priority of Buddhism and Brahmanism, a limitation which has led to a comparative ignoring of the existence of the exceptionally archaic creed of the Jainas.

This third competitor for the honours of precedence has lately been restored to a very prominent position, in its archæological *status*, by the discovery of numerous specimens of the sculptures and inscriptions of its votaries on the sacred site of Mathurá, the *Módoupa ἡ τῶν Θεῶν* of the Greeks,¹ that admit of no controversy, either as to the normal date or the typical import of the exhumed remains.

This said Mathurá on the Jumna constituted, from the earliest period, a "high place" of the Jainas, and its memory² is preserved in the southern capital of the same name, the *Módoupa, βασιλειον Πανδύλων* of Ptolemy, whence the sect, in after-times, disseminated their treasured knowledge, under the peaceful shelter of their *Matams* (colleges)³ in aid of

¹ Ptolemy, *Métopa*, Arrian (quoting Megasthenes), *Indica* viii. *Mathora*, Pliny, vi. 22.

² F. Buchanan, Mysore, iii. 81, "Uttara Madura, on the Jumna."

³ The modern version of the name of the city on the Jumna is मथुरा *Mathurá*. Babu Rajendralála has pointed out that the old Sanskrit form was मधुरा *Madhurá* (J.A.S. Bengal, 1874, p. 259), but both transcriptions seem to have missed the true derivative meaning of मठ *Maṭha* (hodie 修道院), "a monastery, a convent or college, a temple," etc., from the root मठ् "to dwell,"

local learning and the reviving literature of the Peninsula.¹

The extended geographical spread of Jaina edifices has lately been contrasted, and compactly exhibited, in Mr. Fergusson's Map of the architectural creeds of India;² but a more important question regarding the primary origin of their buildings is involved in the sites chosen by their founders: whence it would appear that the Jainas must have exercised the first right of selection, for the purposes of their primitive worship, of the most striking and appropriate positions, on hill-tops and imperishable rocks,³ whose lower sections were honey-combed with their excavated shrines—from which vantage-ground and dependent caves they were readily displaced, in after-days, by appropriating Buddhists on the

as a hermit might abide in his cave. The southern revenue terms have preserved many of the subordinate forms, in the shape of taxes for "Maths." Rajputāna and the N.W. Provinces exhibit extant examples in abundance of the still conventional term, while the distant Himālayas retain the word in Joshi-Math, Bhairava-Math, etc. The Vishnu Purāṇa pretends to derive the name from *Madhu*, a local demon (i. 164), while the later votaries of Krishna associate it with the Gopi's "churn" *math*.—Growse, Mathurā Settlement Report, 1874, vol. i. p. 50.

¹ "The period of the predominance of the Jainas (a predominance in intellect and learning—rarely a predominance in political power) was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, the period when the Madura College, a celebrated literary association, appears to have flourished, and when the Kural, the Chintāmaṇi, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written."—Caldwell, p. 86. See also p. 122. "The Jaina cycle. I might perhaps have called this instead *the cycle of the Madura Sangam or College*."—p. 128. Dr. Caldwell, Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, London, 1875.

² History of Indian and Eastern Architecture; Murray, London, 1876, Map, p. 47.

³ The late Mr. G. W. Traill has preserved an illustration of the innate tendency of the aboriginal mind to revert to primitive forms of worship, which almost reminds us of the party-coloured Pigeons of Norfolk Island, which, when left to their own devices, reverted to the normal type of Blue Rock. He observes: "The sanctity of the Himalaya in Hindu mythology by no means necessarily implies the pre-existence of the Hindu religion in this province (Kumaon), as the enormous height and grandeur of that range, visible from the plains, would have been sufficient to recommend it as a scene for the penances of gods and heroes. . . . The great bulk of the population are now Hindus in prejudices and customs, rather than in religion. Every remarkable mountain, peak, cave, forest, fountain and rock has its presiding demon or spirit, to which frequent sacrifices are offered, and religious ceremonies continually performed by the surrounding inhabitants at small temples erected on the spot. These temples are extremely numerous throughout the country, and new ones are daily being erected; while the temples dedicated to Hindu deities, in the interior, are, with few exceptions, deserted and decayed."—G. W. Traill, As. Res., xvi. p. 161. See also J.R.A.S. Vol. VIII. p. 397; Vol. XIII. "Khond Gods," pp. 233-6; "Aboriginal Gods," p. 285. Hunter's Rural Bengal, pp. 130, 182, etc.

one part, or ousted and excluded by the more arrogant and combative Brahmins on the other.

The introductory phase in the consecutive order of the present inquiry involves the consideration of the conflicting claims to priority of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Some half a century ago, Colebrooke, echoing the opinions of previous commentators, seems to have been fully prepared to admit that Buddhism was virtually an emanation from anterior Jainism. We have now to examine how far subsequent evidence confirms this once bold deduction. Unquestionably, by all the laws of religious development, of which we have lately heard so much, the more simple faith, *per se*,¹ must be primarily accepted as the precursor of the more complicated and philosophical system,² confessing a common origin.

Colebrooke summarized his conclusions to the following effect :

"It is certainly probable, as remarked by Dr. Hamilton and Major Delamaine,³ that the Gautama of the Jainas and of the Bauddhas is the same personage : and this leads to the further surmise, that both sects are branches of one stock. According to the Jainas, only one of Mahāvīra's eleven disciples left spiritual successors : that is, the entire succession of Jaina priests is derived

¹ "The ritual of the Jainas is as simple as their moral code. The *Yati*, or devotee, dispenses with acts of worship at his pleasure, and the lay votary is only bound to visit daily a temple where some of the images of the *Tirthankaras* are erected, walk round it three times, and make an obeisance to the images, with an offering of some trifle, usually fruit or flowers, and pronounce some such *Mantra* or prayer as the following : '*Namo Arihantnam, Namō Siddhantnam*,' . . . 'Salutation to the *Arhats*,' etc. A morning prayer is also repeated : . . . 'I beg forgiveness, O Lord, for your slave, whatever evil thoughts the night may have produced—I bow with my head.' . . . The reader in a Jaina temple is a *Yati*, or religious character; but the ministrant priest, the attendant on the images, the receiver of offerings, and conductor of all usual ceremonies, is a *Brahmdn*."—Wilson's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 319. "I may remark, parenthetically, with a view to what is still to be established—that the Khandagiri Inscription opens with the self-same invocation, '*NAMO ARAHANTANAM, NAMO SAVA SIDDHANAM*,' 'Salutation to the *arhantas*, glory to all the saints' (or those who have attained final emancipation!)."—Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.* vol. vi. p. 1080.

² "Buddhism (to hazard a character in a few words) is monastic asceticism in morals, philosophical scepticism in religion; and whilst ecclesiastical history all over the world affords abundant instances of such a state of things resulting from gross abuse of the religious sanction, that ample chronicle gives us no one instance of it as an original system of belief. Here is a legitimate inference from sound premises; but that Buddhism was, in very truth, a reform or heresy, and not an original system, can be proved by the most abundant direct testimony of friends and enemies."—B. H. Hodgson, *J.R.A.S.* (1835), Vol. II. p. 290.

³ Major J. Delamaine, *Trans. R.A.S.* Vol. I. pp. 413-438.

from one individual, Sudharma-swāmī. Two only out of eleven survived Mahāvīra, viz. Indrabhūti and Sudharma: the first, identified with Gautama-swāmī, has no spiritual successors in the Jaina sect. The proper inference seems to be, that the followers of this surviving disciple are not of the sect of Jina, rather than that there have been none. . . .

"I take Pārśwanātha to have been the founder of the sect of Jainas, which was confirmed and thoroughly established by Mahāvīra and his disciple Sudharma. . . . A schism, however, seems to have taken place, after Mahāvīra, whose elder disciple, Indrabhūti, also named Gautama-swāmī, was by some of his followers raised to the rank of a deified saint, under the synonymous designation of Buddha (for Jina and Buddha bear the same meaning, according to both Buddhists and Jainas)."—Transactions of the R.A.S. (1826), Vol. I. p. 520; and Prof. Cowell's edition of Colebrooke's collected Essays, vol. ii. p. 278.¹

At the time when Colebrooke wrote, the knowledge of the inner history of Buddhism was limited in the extreme. Our later authorities contribute many curious items and suggestive coincidences, tending more fully to establish the fact that Buddhism was substantially an offshoot of Jainism. For example, Ananda is found, in some passages of recognized authority, directly addressing Gotama *himself* in his own

¹ Professor Wilson, writing in 1832 on the "Religious Sects of the Hindus," objected to this inference of Colebrooke's, on the ground of the supposed contrast of the *castes* of the two families. It is, however, a question, now that we know more of the gradual developments of *caste* in India, whether the divisions and subdivisions, relied upon by Prof. Wilson, had assumed anything like so definite a form, as his argument would imply, at so early a period as the date of the birth of Śākya Muni. Professor Wilson's observations are as follows:—"When MAHĀVĪRA's fame began to be widely diffused, it attracted the notice of the *Brahmans* of *Magadha*, and several of their most eminent teachers undertook to refute his doctrines. Instead of effecting their purpose, however, they became converts, and constituted his *Ġaṇadharas*, heads of schools, the disciples of MAHĀVĪRA and teachers of his doctrines, both orally and scripturally. It is of some interest to notice them in detail, as the epithets given to them are liable to be misunderstood, and to lead to erroneous notions respecting their character and history. This is particularly the case with the first INDRABHŪTI, or GAUTAMA, who has been considered as the same with the GAUTAMA of the *Bauddhas*, the son of MĀYĀDEVĪ, and author of the Indian metaphysics. That any connexion exists between the *Jain* and the *Brāhmana* Sage is, at least, very doubtful; but the Gautama of the *Bauddhas*, the son of ŚUDDHODANA and MĀYĀ, was a *Kṣatriya*, a prince of the royal or warrior caste. All the Jain traditions make their GAUTAMA a *Brahman* originally of the *gotra*, or tribe of GOTAMA *Rishī*, a division of the *Brahmans* well known and still existing in the South of India. These two persons therefore cannot be identified, whether they be historical or fictitious personages."—H. H. Wilson's Essays, vol. i. p. 298; Asiatic Res. vol. xvii.

proper person, and speaking of the "twenty-four Buddhas, who had immediately preceded him."¹ On other occasions the twenty-four Jaina *Tirthankaras* are reduced in the sacred-texts of their supplanters to the six authorized antecedent Buddhas, or expanded at will into 120 *Tathāgatas* or Buddhas, with their more deliberately fabulous multiplications.²

The Mahāwanso, in like manner, has not only allowed the reference to the "twenty-four supreme Buddhos" to remain in its text,³ but has given their conventional names—which however have little in common with the Jaina list—in the order of succession. Mahanāmo's *Tikā*⁴ has preserved the catalogue, in its more complete form, specifying the parentage, place of birth and distinctive "*Bo-trees*"⁵ of each of the "twenty-four Buddhos," and concluding, after a reference to Kassapo (born at *Benares*), with Gotamo (a Brahman named Jotipālo at Wappula), "the *Buddho* of the present system, and *Mettēyo* [who] is still to appear." This amplification and elaborate discrimination of sacred trees has also a suspicious air of imitation about it, as we know that Ward was only able to discover six varieties of Indian trees nominally sacred to the gods,⁶ and Mr. Fergusson's exami-

¹ Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 88, 94, 311.

² B. Hodgson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 444, "Sarvārthasiddha observes, he has given so many [120] names *exempli gratia*, but his instructors were really no less in number than 80 crores." In other places Mr. Hodgson expresses his doubts "as to the historical existence of Śākya's six predecessors."—*Works*, p. 135, and *J.R.A.S.* Vol. II. p. 289. See also Csoma de Kőrös, *J.A.S.B.* vol. vii. p. 143. "Immense is the number of such Buddhas that have appeared in former ages in several parts of the universe."

³ Cap. i. p. 1.

⁴ Mahāwanso, *Turnour's Introduction*, Ceylon, 1837, p. xxxii.

⁵ The "*Bo-trees* of the twenty-four Buddhos" are given in the following order (*Mahāwanso*, p. xxxii):

1. Pippala.	9. Sonaka.	17. Assana.
2. Śālakalyāna.	10. Salala.	18. Amalaka.
3. Nāga.	11. Nipa.	19. Pātali.
4. Do.	12. Welu.	20. Pundariko.
5. Do.	13. Kakudha.	21. Śāla.
6. Do.	14. Champā.	22. Sirisa.
7. Ajjuna.	15. Bimbajāla.	23. Udumbara.
8. Sonaka.	16. Kanihāni.	24. Nigrodha.

As this list is quoted merely to contrast the numbers 24 against 7, it would be futile to follow out the botanical names of the various *Bo-trees*; but it may be remarked *en passant*, that No. 3 is a tree of the wet forests of Assam, Concan, Malabar, and Ceylon, while No. 11 is a palm-like plant which is entirely *maritime*, and abounds in the Sundarbans, wherein we have no record of Buddhist "sittings."

⁶ Vol. i. p. 263.

nation of all the extant Buddhist representations of their Bo-trees does not carry the extreme total beyond the legitimate "six or seven species altogether."¹

Another indication which may prove of some import in this inquiry is to be gleaned from the Chinese text of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrim *Fah-Hian* (400—415 A.D.), which, in describing the town of Srāvastī, proceeds to advert to "the ninety-six heretical sects of mid-India," who "build hospices" (*Punyasāls*) etc., concluding with the remark, "Devadatta also has a body of disciples still existing; they pay religious reverence to the three past Buddhas, but not to Śākya Muni."²

Again, an instructive passage is preserved in the Tibetan text of the *Lalita-vistara*, where, under the French version, "Le jeune Sarvārthasiddha,"³ the baby Buddha, is represented as wearing in his hair the *Śrivatsa*, the *Swastika*, the *Nandyāvarta* and the *Vardhamāna*, the three symbols severally of the 10th, 7th and 18th Jaina Tīrthankaras, and the fourth constituting the alternative designation of Mahāvīra, and indicating his mystic device, which differed from his ordinary cognizance in the form of a lion.⁴ Further on, the merits

¹ Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 116. Among the sculptures lately discovered at Barahāt, are to be found "representations of five separate Bodhi-trees of as many different Buddhas, which are distinctly labelled as follows:—

- (1). *Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi*, that is, the Tree of *Vipasyin* or *Vipasvi*, the first of the seven Buddhas.
- (2). *Bhagavato Kakusadhara Bodhi*.
- (3). *Bhagavato Konagamana Bodhi*.
- (4). *Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi*.
- (5). *Bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi*.

These last are the four well-known Buddhists named *Krakucchanda*, *Konagamani*, *Kasyapa*, and *Sakyamuni*." It is scarcely necessary for me to add, that I by no means concur in the early date attributed by General Cunningham to these sculptures.

² Rev. S. Beal, Travels of *Fah-Hian*, p. 82. *See kous ki*, cap. xx. Remusat's Note 35. Laidlay, pp. 168, 179. Spence Hardy, alluding to these sectaries, says, "they are called in general *Tīrthakars*."—Manual of Buddhism, p. 290.

³ "Grand roi, le jeune Sarvārthasiddha a au milieu de la chevelure un *Śrivatsa*, un *Swastika*, un *Nandyāvarta* et un *Vardhamāna*. Grand roi, ce sont là les quatre-vingts marques secondaires du jeune Sarvārthasiddha." . . . Foucaux, p. 110. "Pendant qu'elle le préparait ces signes précurseurs apparurent: Au milieu de ce lait, un *Śrivatsa*, un *Swastika*, un *Nandyāvarta*, un lotus, un *Vardhamāna* (Diagramme particulier dont la forme n'est pas indiquée), et d'autres signes de bénédiction se montrèrent."—Cap. viii. p. 258 (see also pp. 305, 390).

⁴ Colebrooke's Essays, vol. ii. p. 188. Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 304. J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. pp. 475-481. J.A.S. Bengal, vol. vii. p. 143. Burnouf, Lotus, pp. 624-645. Col. Low, Transactions R.A.S. Vol. III.

of the young Buddha are adverted to as, "qui est apparu par l'effet de la racine de la vertu des précédents Djinas."

The importance of these indications will be better appreciated, when it is understood that the twenty-four statues of the Jaina saints were all formed upon a single model, being indistinguishable, the one from the other, except by the *chinas* or subordinate marks on the pedestals, which constituted the discriminating *lakshanas* or *mudrās* of each individual Tīrthan-kara. These crypto-devices were, in other cases, exhibited as frontal marks, or delegated to convenient positions on the breast and other parts of the nude statue. In this sense, Jainism may be said to have been a religion of signs and symbols, comprehending many simple objects furnished by nature and further associated with enigmatical and *Tantric* devices, the import of which is a mystery to modern intelligence.¹

The following is a list of the twenty-four

JAINA TĪRTHANKARAS, WITH THEIR PARENTAGE AND
DISCRIMINATING SYMBOLS.²

NAMES.	SYMBOLS.
1. Rishabha, of the race of <i>Ikshvaku</i> , <i>Prathama Jina</i> , "the first Jina"	a Bull
2. Ajita, son of <i>Jitāśatru</i>	an Elephant
3. Sambhava, son of <i>Jitāri</i>	a Horse
4. Abhinandana, son of <i>Sambara</i>	an Ape
5. Sumati, son of <i>Megha</i>	a Curlew
6. Padmaprabha, son of <i>Sridhara</i>	a Lotus
7. Supārśwa, son of <i>Pratishṭha</i>	a <i>Swastika</i>
8. Chandraprabha, son of <i>Mahāsena</i>	the Moon
9. Pushpadanta, or Suvīdhi, son of <i>Supriya</i>	an Alligator
10. Śitala, son of <i>Dridharatha</i>	a <i>Śrivatsa</i>

¹ In modern times, Mr. Hodgson tells us, he was able to discriminate statues, which passed with the vulgar for any god their priests chose to name, by the crucial test of their "minute accompaniments" and "frontal appendages."—J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. p. 395. See, also, the Chinese-Buddhist inscription from Keu-Yung Kwan, with its *mudrās*, and Mr. Wylie's remarks upon *dhāranis*.—J.R.A.S. Vol. V. n.s. p. 22.

² Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 187; *As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 305. Mr. Burgess, *Indian Antiquary*, 1873, vol. i. p. 134.

NAMES.	SYMBOLS.
11. Śreyān (or Śriyānsa), son of <i>Vishṇu</i> . . .	a Rhinoceros
12. Vāsúpūjya, son of <i>Vasupūjya</i>	a Buffalo
13. Vimāla, son of <i>Kṛitavarman</i>	a Boar
14. Ananta (Anantajit), son of <i>Sinhasena</i> . .	a Falcon
15. Dharma, son of <i>Bhānu</i>	a Thunderbolt
16. Śānti, son of <i>Viśvasena</i>	an Antelope
17. Kunthu, son of <i>Sūra</i>	a Goat
18. Ara, son of <i>Sudaršana</i>	a <i>Nandiyāvarta</i>
19. Malli, son of <i>Kumbha</i>	a Jar
20. Munisuvrata (Suvrata), son of <i>Sumitra</i> .	a Tortoise
21. Nimi, son of <i>Vijaya</i>	blue Water-lily
22. Nemi (or Arishṭanemi), s. of <i>Samudrajaya</i>	a Conch
23. Pārśwa (Pārśwanātha), son of <i>Aśvasena</i>	a hooded Snake
24. Vardhamāna, also named <i>Vira</i> , <i>Mahāvira</i> , etc., surnamed <i>Charama-tīrthakṛit</i> , or "last of the Jinās," "emphatically called <i>Śramaṇa</i> or the saint," son of <i>Siddhārtha</i>	a Lion. ¹

In addition to these discriminating symbols, the different Tīrthankaras are distinguished by the tint of their complexions. No. 1 is described as of a yellow or golden complexion, which seems to have been the favourite colour,

¹ Dr. Stevenson has tabulated some further details of the Jaina symbolic devices in "Trisala's Dreams":

Elephant.	Bull.	Lion-Tiger.	Lakshmi.	A Garland.
Moon.	Sun.	Standard.	Jar.	Lotus Lake.
The Sea.	Heavenly Mansion.	Trisala.	Heap of Pearls.	Flameless Fire.

Lucky figures, ¹Srivatsa, ²Satvika, ³Throne, ⁴Flower-pot, ⁵couple of Fishes, ⁶Mirror, ⁷Nandiyāvarta, ⁸Vardhamāna.—*Kalpa Sūtra*, page i.

Dr. Stevenson has an instructive note upon Jaina emblems, which I append to his Table:—"In the prefixed scheme of the emblems of the different Tīrthankaras, it may strike the reader that there is no vestige of anything like this Buddhist Chaitya in any of them. This arises from one remarkable feature of dissimilarity between the Jains and Buddhists. The Dagoba, or Buddhist

Nos. 6 and 12 rejoice in a "red" complexion, Nos. 8 and 9 are designated as "fair," No. 19 is described as "blue," and No. 20 as "black." Pārṣwanátha is likewise "blue," while Mahāvira reverts to the typical "golden" hue, the सुवर्ण हवि *Suvarṇa chhavi*, "the golden form" claimed alike for Sákya Muni.¹

In illustration of this tendency to faith in emblems among the Jains, I quote the independent opinion of Captain J. Low regarding the origin of the celebrated *Phrabát*, or ornamental impress of the feet of Buddha,² and his demonstration of the inconsistent and inappropriate assimilation of the worship of symbols with the higher pretensions of the creed of Sákya Muni:—

"As the *Phrabát* is an object claiming from the Indo-Chinese nations a degree of veneration scarcely yielding to that which they pay to Buddha himself, we are naturally led to inquire why the emblems it exhibits are not all adored individually as well as in the aggregate. It seems to be one of those inconsistencies which mark the character of Buddhist schismatics; and it may enable us more readily to reach the real source of their religion, from which so many superstitions have ramified to cross our path in eastern research. To whatever country or people we may choose to assign

Chaitya, was a place originally appropriated to the preservation of relics, a practice as abhorrent to the feelings of the Jains as it is to those of the Brahmans. The word Chaitya, when used by the Jains, means any image or temple dedicated to the memory of a Tirthankara."—*Kalpa Sutra*, p. xxvi.

From quasi-Buddhist sources we derive independent Symbols of the Four Divisions of the *Vaiśhāḍhika* School.

FOUR CLASSES.	SUBDIVISIONS.	DISTINCTIVE MARKS.
Rahula..... <i>Sākya's</i> .	4 sects, using the Sanskrit tongue	<i>Utpala padma</i> (water-lily) jewel, and tree-leaf put together in the form of a nosegay.
Kāśyapa	6 sects, entitled "the great community," using a corrupt dialect	Shell or conch.
<i>Brahman's</i> .		
Upali	3 sects, styled "the class which is honored by many," using the language of the <i>Piśāchikas</i>	A <i>sortika</i> flower.
<i>Sūdra's</i> .		
Kātyāyana	3 sects, entitled "the class that have a fixed habitation," using the vulgar dialect.....	The figure of a wheel.
<i>Vaiśya's</i> .		

Osoma de Kōrōs, J.A.S.B. vol. vii. p. 143.

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 84.

² Examples of Jaina-Buddhist *Foot-prints* may be seen in Vol. III. n.s. of our Journal, p. 159.

the original invention of the *Phrabát*, it exhibits too many undoubted Hindu symbols to admit of our fixing its fabrication upon the worshippers of the latter Buddha; of whose positive dogmas it is rather subversive than otherwise, by encouraging polytheism. And further, the intent with which it was originally framed—namely, to embody in one grand symbol a complete system of theology and theogony—should seem to have been gradually forgotten, or perverted by succeeding ages to the purposes of a ridiculous superstition.”—Capt. J. Low, “The Phrabát, or Divine Foot of Buddha from Bali and Siamese Books,” Transactions R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 64.¹

The existing traditions of the Jainas, on the other hand, consistently adhere to the reverence of nature’s forms or the more elaborated diagrams and curious devices of their ancient creed,² which is here shown to have been incompatible with the advanced tenets of Buddhism. The Vaishṇavás, equally in their turn, had their *Vishṇu-pad*; but when we meet with the symbolical impression of the feet under their adaptative treatment, we find it decorated and adorned with a totally different series of minor emblems to those affected by the early Jainas.³

Dr. Stevenson, in editing the text of the leading Jaina authority, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, in 1848,⁴ arrived independently at

¹ A pertinent inquiry is made by R. Friederich in the last Number of our Journal (Vol. IX. n.s. p. 65): “Were the Buddhists of Java Jainas?”

² Col. W. Franklin, in his account of the Temple of Páraswanátha at Samet-Sikhar, describes the statues as having the “head fashioned like a turban, with seven expanded heads of serpents, *Coluber Naga*, or hooded snake, the invariable symbol of Páraswanátha.” The summit of the hill, emphatically termed by the Jainas *Samet Sikhar*, comprises a table-land flanked by “twenty small Jaina temples. In them are to be found the *Vasu-Padikas* or ‘sacred feet,’ similar to what are to be seen in the Jaina Temple at Chámpánagar. On the south side of the mountain is a very large and handsome flat-roofed temple, containing several figures of this deity, which exhibit the never-failing attributes of Páraswanátha and the Jaina religion, viz. the crowned serpent and cross-legged figures of Jineṣwara or Jina, the ruler and guardian of mankind.”—Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. pp. 528, 530. “In their temples, the Swetámbaras have images of all these persons (the twenty-four Jinas), which they worship; but their devotions are more usually addressed to what are called representations of their feet.”—Dr. B. Hamilton, Mysore, p. 538.

³ General Cunningham has published a fac-simile of the Gaya *Vishṇu-pad*, which, however, he designates in the Plate, “Buddha-pad,” executed in A.D. 1308: in this, although many symbols of Indian origin and local currency are displayed, we miss the leading *Swastika*, and the other mystic diagrams more immediately associated with the Jaina and secondary Buddhist systems.—Arch. Rep., 1871, vol. i. p. 9, pl. vii.

⁴ The extant MS. text of the *Kalpa Sūtra* contains a record that “900 years after MAHÁVIRA, and in the 80th year of the currency of the tenth hundred,

a similar conclusion with Colebrooke as to the relative positions of Jainism and Buddhism, in reference to their common source and the more recent innovations and arrogant assumptions of the latter creed. He sums up his remarks in the subjoined passage :

"There are, however, yet one or two other points in the accounts the Jains give us, which seem to have a historic bearing. The first is the relation said to have subsisted between the last Buddha and the last Tīrthankara, the Jains making Mahāvira Gautama's preceptor, and him the favourite pupil of his master. . . . In favour of the Jain theory (of priority), however, it may be noticed, that Buddha is said to have seen 24 of his predecessors (Mahāvanso, I. c. i.), while in the present Kappo he had but four. The Jains, consistently with their theory, make Mahāvira to have seen 23 of his predecessors, all that existed before him in the present age. This part of Buddhism evidently implies the knowledge of the 24 Tīrthankaras of the Jains. Gautama, however, by the force of natural genius, threw their system entirely into the shade, till the waning light of Buddhism permitted its fainter radiance to re-appear on the western horizon."¹—Kalpa Sūtra, London, 1848, p. xii.

Dr. Stevenson was peculiarly competent to express an opinion on this and collateral questions, as he had made the "ante-Brahmanical worship of the Hindus"² a subject of his especial study, during his lengthened career, as a missionary in the Dekhan, in direct association with the people of the land. Among other matters bearing upon Jainism, he gives an instructive account of the process of making a god, as traced in the instance of VITṬAL or VITHOBA, commencing with the "rough unhewn stone of a pyramidal or triangular shape,"³ which formed the centre of the druidical

this Book was written and publicly read in the currency of the 93rd year." Hence, taking Mahāvira's period at 503 B.C., its date is fixed at "454 A.D. and its publication at 466 A.D."—Stevenson's Kalpa Sūtra, p. 95. Colebrooke's Essays, vol. ii. p. 193.

¹ "After writing the above I found my conclusion anticipated by Mr. Colebrooke, and I am happy that it now goes abroad with the suffrage of so learned an Orientalist—Trans. R.A.S. Vol. I. p. 522."

² J.R.A.S. Vol. V. pp. 189, 264; Vol. VI. p. 239; Vol. VIII. p. 330. See also J.A.S. Bengal, articles on cognate subjects, vol. iii. (1834), p. 495; vol. vi. p. 498.

³ J.R.A.S. (1839), Vol. V. p. 193 *et seq.* Among other questions adverted to, Dr. Stevenson remarks :—"Vetṭal is generally, in the Dekhan, said to be an *Avatar* of

circle of similarly-shaped blocks—proceeding, in the second stage, to their adornment with red-ochre tipped with white, to imitate fire, the further development of the central block into “a human figure,” “with two arms,” and its coincident promotion to the shelter of a temple with more complicated rites and ceremonies; and, finally, in other cases, to the transformation of “the form of a man, but without arms or legs,” into “a fierce and gigantic man, perfect in all his parts.”¹

Dr. Stevenson, in a subsequent article,² followed up his comparison of the later images of *Vithoba*³ with the normal ideals of the Jaina *nude* statues. One of his grounds for these identifications is stated in the following terms: “The want of suitable costume in the images (of Vithoba and Rakhami), as originally carved, in this agreeing exactly with the images the Jainas at present worship, and disagreeing with all others adored by the Hindus”—who, “with all their faults, had always sense of propriety enough to carve their images so as to represent the gods to the eye arrayed in a way not to give offence to modesty.”

The author then goes on to relate how the Brahmanists of

Siva, and wonderful exploits performed by him are related in a book called the *Vettal Pachisi*; but which composition has not had the good fortune to gain the voice of the Brahmins and be placed among the *Māhātmyas*. On the contrary, they look upon it merely as a parcel of fables, and dispute the claims of *Vettal* to any divine honours whatever.”—Dr. Stevenson, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. V. p. 192.

¹ Dr. John Wilson, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. V. p. 197. “The temple of Vetāl at Arāwali, near Sāwant Wādī.”

² *J.R.A.S.* Vol. VII. p. 6.

³ The legend of the creation of Jagannātha, accepted by his votaries, points to an equally simple origin, which, in this instance, took the form of a drift log of Nim-wood. This *dāra* or “branch” having been pronounced on examination to be adorned with the emblems of the *Sanka*, *Gadd*, *Padma* and *Chakra*, was afterwards, by divine intervention, split “into the four-fold image of *Chatur Mūrti*. A little colouring was necessary to complete them, and they then became recognized as Śrī Krishna or Jagannāth, distinguished by its black hue, Bādeo, a form of Śiva, of a white colour, Subhadra, the sister, . . . of the colour of saffron.”

In this case the Brahmins seem to have surpassed themselves in their theatrical adaptations, for they are said to have adopted a practice of dressing-up the figure of Śrī Jīu, in a costume appropriate to the occasion, to represent the principal deities of the ruling creeds. “Thus at the Rām Navami, the great image assumes the dress and character of Rāma; at the Janam Ashtami, that of Krishna; at the Kālī Pūjā, that of Kālī,” with two other alternative green-room transformations, which we need not reproduce.—Stirling’s Orissa, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 318.

later days appropriated the sacred sites and adapted the very images of the local gods to their own purposes. His description is most graphic of the way in which the *nude* statues of Vithoba and *Rakhami*, at *Pandarpur*, were clothed in appropriate Hindu garments and made to do duty for the Brahmanical *Krishna* and *Rukmini*. Not less caustic is the completion of the tale in the account of the "image-dresser's" appearance over night at feasts, in the borrowed habiliments of his patron god, to be restored for the benefit of the admiring multitude on the following morning.¹

Among other suggestive inquiries, Dr. Stevenson has instituted a comparison between the equality of all men before their god—indicative of *pre-caste* periods—at the several shrines of Vithoba and Jaggannátha,² and the inferential claims of the Jainas to the origination of the ever-popular pilgrimage to the latter sanctuary. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the title of "Jaggannátha is an appellation given by the modern Jainas to their *Tirthankara* Párswanátha in particular."³ General Cunningham, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes,⁴ long ago pointed out the absolute identity of the outline of the modern figures of Jaggannátha with the *trisul* or curved-trident ornament so frequent in the early Buddhist sculptures,⁵ and, in like manner, Burnouf had detected the coincidence of the form of the *Vardhamánakya*, or mystic symbol of Mahávíra above adverted to, with the outline of the Bactro-Greek Monogram so common on the

¹ No less acute is Dr. Stevenson's analysis, in another volume of our Journal (Vol. VIII. p. 330), of the position traditionally held by Śiva in India—his absence "from the original Brahmanical theogony," his imperfect assimilation with the later forms of their ritual—and the conclusion "that the worship of Śiva is nothing more than a superstition of the aboriginal Indians, modified by the Brahmans, and adopted into their system," for their own ends. An opinion which has been fully confirmed by later investigations.

² Journal R.A.S. Vol. VII. p. 7, and Vol. VIII. p. 331. See also Col. Sykes, Vol. VI. p. 420, note 3.

³ Journ. A.S., p. 423.


⁴ "The triple emblem, represented in fig. 22, pl. xxxii., is one of the most valuable of the Sanchi sculptures, as it shows in the clearest and most unequivocal manner the absolute identity of the holy Brahmanical Jaggannáth with the ancient Buddhist triad."—Bhilsa Topes (London, 1854), p. 358. Fac-similes of these figures may be seen at p. 450, Journ. R.A.S., Vol. VI. o.s. See also Laidlay's translation of *Po-kue-ki*, pp. 21-26, 261.

⁵ The symbol forms a distinct object of worship at Amravati.—Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," pl. lxx. etc.

local coins.¹ This last identification opens out a very wide field of speculation, inasmuch as this particular mark has now been found in all its integrity, on the person of a Jaina statue in the Indian Museum. Another coincidence which may prove to have some bearing upon the relative claims of Jainas and Buddhists to the Lion pillars,² and the frequent representations of that animal upon the sculptures on the Topes, etc., is that the Lion proves to have been a special emblem of *Mahāvīra*, as the mystic trident in its turn answered to his second title of *Vardhamāna*.

Before taking leave of the question of the relations once existing between *Mahāvīra* and Buddha, it remains for me to cite a most curious passage, furnishing a vivid outline of the intercourse between *Guru* and *Chela*, and foreshadowing the nascent doubts of the *disciple*—which occurs in the *Bhagavati*,³ a work recently published by Prof. Weber, of the existence of which neither Colebrooke nor Wilson were cognizant. I may add in further support of the identity of *Gautama* and *Śākya Muni*—so freely admitted

¹ Burnouf, in noticing the 65 names of the figures traced on the supposed *Dharma pradīpikā* or imprint of the foot of Buddha in Ceylon, remarks under the sixth or *Vardhamānākya* head: "C'est là encore une sorte de diagramme mystique également familier aux Brâhmanes et au Buddhistes; son nom signifie 'le prospère'."

"Quant à la figure suivante, on trouvera peut-être qu'elle doit être le Vardhamāna; je remarquerai seulement sur la seconde, , qu'elle est ancienne, et on la remarque fréquemment au revers des médailles de Kadphises et de quelques autres médailles indo-scythiques au type du roi cavalier et vainqueur (A.A. pl. x. 5, 9 a), et sur le troisième, qu'elle paraît n'être qu'une variante de la seconde."—Lotus, p. 627. "Waddhamānaṁ kumārīkaṁ." Mahāvanso, I. c. xi. p. 70. Col. Sykes, J.R.A.S. VI. o.s. p. 456, No. 34, etc.

² The Kusaon pillar is manifestly Jaina, though there is this to be said, that it is more fully wrought than the ordinary round monoliths, some of which Aśoka may have found ready to his hand. It bears the inscription of Skanda Gupta (219 A.D.), but this need no more detract from its true age than the modern inscription of Visala deva of A.D. 1164 would disturb the prior record of Aśoka on the Dehli (Khizrābād) lāt. "The bell (of the capital) itself is reeded, after the fashion of the Aśoka pillars. Above this the capital is square, with a small niche on each side holding a naked standing figure, surmounted by a low circular band, in which is fixed the metal spike already described, as supporting a statue of a lion, or some other animal rampant. . . . On the western face of the square base there is a niche holding a naked standing figure, with very long arms reaching to his knees. Behind, there is a large snake folded in horizontal coils, one above the other, and with its seven heads forming a canopy over the idol."—General Cunningham, Arch. Rep. i. p. 93.

³ Fragment der Bhagavati. Ein Beitrag zur kenntnis der heiligen litteratur und sprache der Jaina. Von A. Weber, Berlin, 1867, p. 315. The author, a Jaina writer named *Malayagiri*, flourished in the thirteenth century A.D.

in previous quotations¹—that the Iranian texts equally designate him by the former epithet.² And it is to be remembered that Buddhism very early made its way in force over parts of Bactria—as the construction of the *Nau Bihār* at Balkh, lately identified by Sir H. Rawlinson,³ suffices to prove. An edifice which Hiouen Tshang commemorates as “qui a été construit par le premier roi de ce royaume.”⁴

“At that time, then, at that juncture, the holy Mahāvira’s eldest pupil, Indrabhūti,—houseless, of Gautama’s Gotra, seven (cubits) high, of even and regular proportions, with joints as of diamond, bull and arrow, fair like the streak on a touchstone or like lotus pollen, of mighty, shining, burning, powerful penance, pre-eminent, mighty, of mighty qualities, a mighty ascetic, of mighty abstinence, of dried-up body, of compact mighty resplendency, possessed of the fourteen preliminary steps, endowed with the four kinds of knowledge, acquainted with all the ways of joining syllables, in moderate proximity to the holy Ārāmaṇa Mahāvira, with knees erect and lowered head, endowed with a treasury of meditation,—lived edifying himself by asceticism and the bridling of his senses.

“Thereupon that holy Gautama, in whom faith, doubt, and curiosity arose, grew and increased, rose up. Having arisen he went to the place where the sacred Ārāmaṇa Mahāvira was. After going there, he honours him by three pradakṣiṇa circumambulations. After performing these, he praises him and bows to him. After so doing, not too close, not too distant, listening to him, bowing to him, with his face towards him, humbly waiting on him with folded hands, he thus spoke.” . . .

I have already adverted to Fah-Hian’s mention of a sect, in India, who declined to accept Śākya Muni as their

¹ This has not, however, always been conceded. Prof. Wilson, in his remarks upon “Two Tracts from Nipāl,” says Dr. Buchanan “has only specified two names, Gautama and Śākya, of which the first does not occur in the Nipāl list, whilst, in another place, he observes that Śākya is considered by the Burmese Buddhists as an impostor. . . The omission of the name of Gautama proves that he is not acknowledged as a distinct Buddha by the Nipālese, and he can be identified with no other in the list than Śākya Sinha.”—*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 9. At p. 10 Prof. Wilson contests Buchanan’s assertion, and adds that in the Pali version of the *Amara Kośa* GAUTAMA and ŚĀKYA SINHA and ADITYABANDHU are given as synonyms of the son of SUDDHODANA.”

² Fravardin Yasht (*circa* “350-450 B.C.”), quoted by Dr. Haug, *Essay on the Sacred Language of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1862, p. 188.

³ *Quarterly Review*, 1866, and his “Central Asia,” Murray, 1875, p. 246.

⁴ *Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 30. “*Nava saṅghardma*.” See also *Voyages*, p. 66.

prophet, but who avowedly confessed their faith in one or more of his predecessors.

Some very instructive passages in this direction have been collected by the Rev. S. Beal, in his revised edition of the Travels of Fah-Hian.¹ Among the rest, referring to the Chinese aspects of Buddhism, shortly after A.D. 458, he goes on to say :

"The rapid progress of Buddhism excited much opposition from the Literati and followers of Lao-tseu. The latter affirmed that Sakya Buddha was but an incarnation of their own master, who had died 517 B.C., shortly after which date (it was said) Buddha was born. This slander was resented by the Buddhists, and they put back the date of their founder's birth in consequence—first, to 687 B.C., and afterwards to still earlier periods."—p. xxvi.

A coincident assertion of priority of evolution seems to have been claimed, *in situ*, at the period of the visit to India of the second representative Chinese pilgrim, *Hiouen Tsang* (A.D. 629-645).

His references to the Jainas, their practices, and their supposed appropriation of the leading theory, and consequent modification of portions of the Buddhist creed, are set forth, at length, in the following quotation :—

In describing the town of *Sinhapura*, *Hiouen Tsang* proceeds : "A côté et à une petite distance du *Stoupa*, on voit l'endroit où le fondateur de la secte hérétique qui porte des vêtements blancs (*Çvêtavāsa* ?), comprit les principes sublimes qu'il cherchait, et commença à expliquer la loi. Aujourd'hui, on y voit une inscription. A côté de cet endroit, on a construit un temple des dieux. Les sectaires qui le fréquentent se livrent à des dures austérités. . . La loi qu'a exposée le fondateur de cette secte, a été pillée en grande partie dans les livres du *Bouddha*, sur lesquels il s'est guidé pour établir ses préceptes et ses règles. . . Dans leurs observances et leurs exercices religieux, ils suivent presque entièrement la règle des *Çramaṇas*, seulement, ils conservent un peu de cheveux sur leur tête, et, de plus, ils vont nus. Si par hasard, ils portent des vêtements, ils se distinguent par la couleur blanche. Voilà les différences, d'ailleurs fort légères, qui les séparent des autres. La statue de leur maître divin ressemble, par une sorte d'usurpation, à celle

¹ London, Trübner, 1869.

de *Jou-lai* (du Tathâgata); elle n'en diffère que par le costume; ses signes de beauté (mahâpouroucha lakchapâni) sont absolument les mêmes."¹—Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, Paris, 1857, vol. i. p. 163.

In this conflict of periods, the pretensions of the Northern Buddhists may be reduced, by the internal testimony of their own books, to severely approximate proportions; and here Mr. Brian Hodgson's preliminary researches present themselves, with an authority hitherto denied them; perchance, because they were so definitively in advance of the ordinary knowledge of Buddhism, as derived from extra-national sources. In this case Mr. Hodgson was able to appeal to data, contributed from the very *nidus* of Buddhism in Magadhâ—whose passage, into the ready refuge of the Valley of Nipâl, would *prima facie* have secured an unadulterated version of the ancient formulæ, and have supplied a crucial test for the comparison of the southern developments, as contrasted with the northern expansions and assimilations of the Faith. Mr. Hodgson observes:—

"I can trace something *very like* Buddhism into far ages and realms: but I am sure that *that* Buddhism which has come down to us, in the Sanskrit, Pâli, and Tibetan books of the sect, and which only we do or can *know*, is neither old nor exotic."—J.A.S.B. 1837, p. 685.²

¹ One of Hiouen Tshang's contributions to the place and position of the Jains in reference to the Buddhists *proper*, upon whom he has been supposed exclusively to rely, is exhibited in his faith in a native magician of the former creed, the truth of whose predictions he frankly acknowledges in the following terms:—"Avant l'arrivée du messager du roi *Kûmdra*, il y eut un hérétique nu (*Ni-kien-Nirgrantha*), nommé *Fa-che-lo* (*Vajra*), qui entra tout à coup dans sa chambre. Le Maître de la loi, qui avait entendu dire, depuis longtemps, que les *Ni-kien* excellaient à tirer l'horoscope, le pria aussitôt de s'asseoir et l'interrogea ainsi, afin d'éclaircir ses doutes: 'Moi *Hiouen-Tshang*, religieux du royaume de *Tch'i-na*, je suis venu dans ce pays, il y a bien des années, pour me livrer à l'étude et à de pieuses recherches. Maintenant, je désire m'en retourner dans ma patrie; j'ignore si j'y parviendrai ou non.'" He then goes on to relate: "Le *Ni-kien* prit un morceau de craie, traça des lignes sur la terre, tira les sorts et lui répondit en ces termes."—Hiouen-Tshang, vol. i. (Voyages), p. 228. See also vol. i. p. 224; and (Mémoires) vol. i. (ii.), pp. 42, 93, 354; vol. ii. (iii.), p. 406.

² In the same sense, another distinguished writer on Buddhism remarks: "There is no life of Gotama Buddha, by any native author, yet discovered, that is free from the extravagant pretensions with which his history has been so largely invested; from which we may infer that the records now in existence were all prepared long after his appearance in the world."—Spence Hardy, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. p. 135.

Col. Tod's observations were not designed to extend to the question of the relative age of the Jaina and Buddhist creeds, but they serve to show the permanence and immutability of the former faith in a portion of the continent of India, where the people, beyond all other sectional nationalities, have preserved their individuality and reverence for local traditions. They explain, moreover, how the leading tenet of Jainism—which was shared in a subdued form by Buddhism¹—came under its exaggerated aspect to leave their best kings at the mercy of less humane adversaries.²

Col. Tod proceeds to speak of the Jainas in the following terms:—

"The Vedīaván (the man of secrets or knowledge, magician), or Magi of Rājasthán. The numbers and power of these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted they

¹ "The practical part of the Jain religion consists in the performance of five duties and the avoidance of five sins.

"The duties are—1. Mercy to all animated beings; 2. Almsgiving; 3. Venerating the sages while living, and worshipping their images when deceased; 4. Confession of faults; 5. Religious fasting.

"The sins are—1. Killing; 2. Lying; 3. Stealing; 4. Adultery; 5. Worldly-mindedness."—*Kalpa Sūtra*, p. xxii.

The Jainas "believe that not to kill any sentient being is the greatest virtue."—*The Chintāmaṇi*, ed. Rev. H. Bower, Madras, 1868, p. xxi.

The leading contrast between the simple duties of the Jainas and the later developments introduced by the various schools of Buddhists may be traced in the following extracts:

"1. From the meanest insect up to man, thou shalt kill no animal whatever; 2. Thou shalt not steal; 3. Thou shalt not violate the wife or concubine of another."—Gützlaff, "China Opened," London, 1838, p. 216.

"There are three sins of the body: 1. The taking of life, Murder (1); 2. The taking that which is not given, Theft (2); 3. The holding of carnal intercourse with the female that belongs to another, Adultery (3)."—Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 461.

"The ten obligations" commence with "1. Not to kill; 2. Not to steal; 3. Not to marry; 4. Not to lie, etc."—*The Rev. S. Beal, Fah-hian*, p. 59. Mr. Beal goes on to expound the four principles involved in the existence of Buddhism, which are defined as these:—1. That man may become superior to the Gods; 2. That *Nirvāṇa* is the Supreme good; 3. That religion consists in a right preparation of heart (suppression of evil desire, practice of self-denial, active benevolence); 4. That men of all castes, and women, may enjoy the benefits of a religious life."—p. i.

² "To this leading feature in their religion (the prohibition of the shedding of blood) they owe their political debasement: for Komarpal, the last King of Anahulwara, of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued. The strict Jain does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it should attract moths to their destruction."—i. p. 519. The oil-mill and the potter's wheel are stopped for four months in the year, when insects most abound."—i. p. 521. At p. 520 Col. Tod enlarges upon the mines of knowledge (of the Jaina) books by the thousand, etc.

are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark, that the pontiff of the *Khartra-gatcha* (true branch), one of the many branches of this faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India; that a single community, the Ossi or Oswal (Ossa in Marwar), numbers 100,000 families; and that more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity."—Tod, under Mewar, vol. i. p. 518.

Col. Tod's contemporary, and superior officer, Gen. Malcolm, gives us an equally striking insight into the active aggressiveness of the Brahmans and the helpless submissiveness of the Jains in his current narrative:—

"Six years ago, the Jains built a handsome temple at Ujjain; a *Jutte*, or priest of high character, arrived from Guzerát to consecrate it, and to place within the shrine the image of their favourite deity (Parswanáth); but on the morning of the day fixed for this purpose, after the ceremony had commenced and the Jains had filled the temple expecting the arrival of their idol, a Brahman appeared conveying an oval stone from the river Seeptra, which he proclaimed as the emblem of Mahádeva, (and his following) soon drove the unarmed bankers and shopkeepers from their temple, and proclaimed 'Mahádeva as the overthrower of Jains.'"—Malcolm, Central India, vol. ii. p. 160. See also Edward Conolly, in J.A.S.B., 1837, p. 834.

In addition to the personal experiences and graphic narratives of Col. Tod, as detailed in his "*Rájasthán*," a new class of testimony, from indigenous sources, has lately reached us, in the contributions of an independent visitor to the courts of the Chiefs of the Rájput states, whose careful examination and reproduction of the monuments existing *in situ* has been associated with the acquisition of an amount of ancient lore, as preserved among the people themselves, which has not always been accessible under the necessarily reserved attitude of English officials.

I cite M. Roussélet's own words regarding the nature of the documents in the possession of the Jains, and the reiterated charges they advance against the heretical Buddhists:

"Les livres religieux des Jaïnas, dont la traduction jetterait un grand jour sur les âges reculés de l'histoire de l'Inde, ont été dé-

laissés jusqu'à présent par nos savants orientalistes. Si l'on en croit les traditions conservées par les prêtres de cette secte, l'origine du jainisme remonterait à des centaines de siècles avant Jésus-Christ; il paraît, en tout cas, établi qu'il existait bien avant l'apparition de Çakya Mouni, et il est même possible que les doctrines de ce dernier ne soient qu'une transformation des doctrines jaïnas. Les Bouddhistes reconnaissent du reste Mahavira, le dernier Tīrthankar jaïna, comme le précepteur de Çakya. Les Jaïnas considèrent, de leur côté, les Bouddhistes comme des hérétiques, et les ont poursuivis de tout temps de leur haine."—p. 373.

We could scarcely have expected any contributory evidence towards the antiquity of the Jaina creed from Brahmanical sources, and, yet, an undesigned item of testimony to that end is found to be embalmed in the "*Padma Purāṇa*," where, in adverting to the deeds of *Vrihaspati* and his antagonism to *Indra*, Jainism is freely admitted to a contemporaneous existence with the great *Gods* of the Brahmins, and though duly designated as "heretic," is confessed, in the terms of the text, to have been a potent competitor for royal and other converts, in very early times.¹ I am by no means desirous of claiming either high antiquity or undue authority for the *Hindu Purāṇas*, but their minor admissions are at times instructive, and this may chance to prove so.²

¹ "The *Asuras* are described as enjoying the ascendancy over the *Devatas*, when *Vrihaspati*, taking advantage of their leader *Sukra's* being enamoured of a nymph of heaven, sent by *Indra* to interrupt his penance, comes among the former as *Sukra*, and misleads them into irreligion by preaching heretical doctrines; the doctrines and practices he teaches are Jain, and in a preceding passage it is said that the sons of *Raji* embraced the *Jina Dharma*."—*Padma Purāṇa*, Wilson, J.R.A.S. Vol. V. p. 282. See also pp. 287, 310–11.

² Professor Wilson, arguing upon the supposed priority of the Buddhists, attempted to account for the frequent allusions to the Jainas in the Brahmanical writings by concluding that "since the *Bauddhas* disappeared from India, and the *Jainas* only have been known, it will be found that the Hindu writers, whenever they speak of *Bauddhas*, show, by the phraseology and practices ascribed to them, that they really mean *Jainas*. The older writers do not make the same mistake, and the usages and expressions they give to *Bauddha* personages are not *Jaina*, but *Bauddha*."—*Essays*, vol. i. p. 329.

It is to be added, however, that Prof. Wilson, when he put this opinion on record in 1832, had to rely upon the limited knowledge of the day, which presupposed that the Jainas had nothing definite to show prior to the ninth century (p. 333). He was not then aware of the very early indications of their unobtrusive power in Southern India in Śaka 411 (A.D. 469), if not earlier, as proved by Sir W. Elliot's Inscriptions (J.R.A.S. 1837, Vol. IV. pp. 8, 9, 10, 17, 19): and still less could he have foreseen the new revelations from Mathurā, which, of course, would have materially modified his conclusions.

The *Pancha Tantra*—the Indian original of Æsop's Fables—which has preserved *intact* so many of the ancient traditions of the land—also retains among the network of its ordinary homespun tales and local stories, a very significant admission of the position once held by the Jaina sect amid the social relations of the people. The fable, in question, appears in the authorized Sanskrit text, which, under some circumstances, might have caught the eye of Brahmanical revisors; nevertheless we find in its context “the chief of the (*Jaina*) convent” expressing himself, “How now, son; what is it you say? Are we Brahmans, think you, to be at any one's beck and call? No, no; at the hour we go forth to gather alms, we enter the mansions of those votaries only who, we know, are of approved faith.”¹

That Chandra Gupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course, and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration.² The documentary evidence to this effect is

¹ This is Prof. Wilson's *own* rendering of the text. As we have seen, his leading tendencies were altogether against the notion of the antiquity or ante-Buddhical development of the Jaina creed (Essays, vol. iii. p. 227); and yet he was forced on many occasions, like the present, to admit that the *terms* were Buddhist, but the *tenor* was Jaina. In a note on the *Pancha Tantra* (p. 20, vol. ii.) he remarks, “From subsequent passages, however, it appears that the usual confusion of Bauddha and Jaina occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*; and that the latter alone is intended, whichever be named.” And with regard to the quotation given above he goes on to say: “The chief peculiarity, however, of this story is its correct delineation of Jain customs; a thing very unusual in Brāhmanical books. The address of the barber, and the benediction of the Superior of the *Vihāra*, are conformable to Jain usages. The whole is indeed a faithful picture. . . . The accuracy of the description is an argument for some antiquity; as the more modern any work is, the more incorrect the description of the Jainas and Bauddhas, and the confounding of one with the other.”—1840, vol. ii. p. 76.

² Book No. 20. Countermark 774, Mackenzie MSS., J. A. S. Bengal, vol. vii. p. 411.

“Section 8. Chronological tables of Hindu rājas (termed Jaina kings of the Dravida country in the table of contents of book No. 20).
“In the 4th age a mixture of names, one or two of them being Jaina; Chandra Gupta is termed a Jaina. Chola rājas. Himasila a Jaina king.”

The reporter, the Rev. William Taylor, adds the remark, “These lists, though imperfect, may have some use for occasional reference.”

“The extinction of the *Brahman* and *Kshatriya* classes was predicted by BHADRA-BAHU MUNI, in his interpretation of the 14 dreams of CHANDRA GUPTA, whom they, the Srāvaka Yatis, make out in the *Buddha-vildāsa*, a *Digambar* work, to have been the monarch of Ujjayani.”—Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 413.

“And Chandra Gupta, the king of Pātaliputra, on the night of the full moon

of comparatively early date, and, apparently, absolved from all suspicion, by the omission from their lists of the name of Aśoka, a far more powerful monarch than his grandfather, and one whom they would reasonably have claimed as a potent upholder of their faith, had he not become a pervert.

The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that Chandra Gupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the *śarmānas*, as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahmins. The passage in Strabo runs as follows:—*Τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι συνείναι δι' ἀγγέλων πυνθανομένοις περὶ τῶν αἰτίων, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων θεραπεύουσι, καὶ λιτανεύουσι τὸ θεῖον.*—Strabo, xv. i. 60.

We must now turn to the authoritative account of the succession of the Mauryas, as presented by the Brahmanical texts, which had so many chances of revision, both in time and substance, in their antagonism to all ancient creeds, and less-freely elaborated delusions, than their own more modern system professed to teach the Indian world.

The most approved of their Purānas, under the chronological and genealogical aspects—the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*—introduces the succession of the Mauryas in the following terms:

“Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth; for Kauṭilya will place Chandragupta on the throne. His son will be Bindusāra; his son will be Aśokavardhana; his son will be Suyāsa; his son will be Daśaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Śāliśūka; his son will be Somaśarma;

in the month of Kārtika, had 16 dreams. . . .”—Mr. Lewis Rice, *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 155.

Mr. Rice adds the “Chronology of the Rājāvali Katha,” as given by Deva Chandrá, to the following effect: “After the death of Vira Varddhamaṇa Gautama and other Kevalis, 62 years. Then Nandi Mitra and other Śruta Kevalis, 100 years. Then Viśākha and other Daśa purvis, 183. Then Nakshatra and other Ekadaśāṅgadhara, 233. Then was born Vikramāditya in Ujjayini; . . . and he established his own era from the year of Rūdiroddgarī, the 605th year after the death of Varddhamaṇa.”

“Interpretation of the 16 dreams of Chandra Gupta.

“1. All knowledge will be darkened.

“2. The Jaina religion will decline, and your successors to the throne take *dīkṣa*.

“3. The heavenly beings will not henceforth visit the Bharata *Keśetra*.

“4. The Jainas will be split into sects.

“5. The clouds will not give seasonable rain, and the crops will be poor.

“6. True knowledge being lost, a few sparks will glimmer with a feeble light.

“7. Āryakhaṇḍa will be destitute of Jaina doctrine.

“8. The evil will prevail and goodness be hidden.

“16. Twelve years of dearth and famine will come upon this land.”

his son will be Śatadhanwan; and his successor will be Bṛihadhratha. These are the ten Mauryas, who will reign over the earth for 137 years."—Vishṇu Purāṇa, book iv. cap. xxiv.

The full list of the Kings of Magadhā, obtained from these sources, runs as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| i. PRADYOTANA. | xv. MAHĀNANDIN. ² |
| ii. PĀLAKA. | xvi. NANDA, <i>Mahāpadma</i> . ³ |
| iii. VIŚĀKHAYŪPA. | xvii. SUMĀLYA & 7 BROTHERS |
| iv. JANAKA. | ("the Brahman Kautilya will root out the 9 Nandas"). |
| v. NANDIVARDHANA. ¹ | xviii. CHANDRA GUPTA. |
| vi. ŚISUNĀGA. | xix. BINDUSARA. |
| vii. KĀKAVARṆA. | xx. AŚOKAVARDHANA. |
| viii. KṢHEMADHARMAN. | xxi. SUYASA. |
| ix. KṢHATTRAUJAS. | xxii. DAŚARATHA. |
| x. VIDMISĀRA (BIMBISĀRA). | xxiii. SĀNGATA. |
| xi. AJĀTAŚATRU. | xxiv. ŚĀLIŚŪKA. |
| xii. DARBHAKA. | xxv. ŚOMASARMAN. |
| xiii. UDAYĀŚWA. | xxvi. ŚATADHANWAN. |
| xiv. NANDIVARDHANA. | xxvii. BṚIHADRATHA. |

The inquiry might here be reasonably raised, as to how a *Brahman*, like *Kautilya*, came to select, for sovereignty, a man of a supposedly adverse faith. But though our King-maker was a *Brahman*, he was not necessarily, in the modern acceptance of the term, a "*Brāhmanist*." The fact of the *Brahmanas* being bracketed in equal gradation with the *Sramanas* of the Jains and Buddhists, in the formal versions of Aśoka's edicts, clearly demonstrates that the first-named class had not, as yet, succeeded to the exclusive charge of kings' consciences, or attained the leading place in the hierarchy of the land which they subsequently claimed. Moreover, in the full development of their power, the Brahmanas, as a rule, recognized their proper *métier* of guiding and governing from within the palace, and but seldom sought to become ostensibly reigning kings. Thus, supposing *Kautilya* to have been, as is affirmed in some passages, an hereditary minister,⁴ he might well have sought to secure a submissive

¹ "5 Pradyota kings, 138 years."

² "10 Śaiṣunāga kings, 362 years."

³ "He will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for, after him, the kings of the earth will be Śiṣṍras."

⁴ Hindu Theatre, p. 145. "Vishṇu Gupta," son of Chapaka (hence Chāṇakya). He is described in the *Vṛihat-Kathā* as a "Brāhman of mean appearance, digging in a meadow."—H. T. p. 140, and Wilson's Works, vol. iii. p. 177; see also vol. iii. p. 354, and the Mahawanso, p. 21, with the full list of references, pp. lxxvi, et seq.

prince, without regard to his crude ideas of faith, and one unlikely to trench upon the growing pretensions of the Brāhmanical class. But, among other things, it is to be kept in view that, hitherto, there had been no overt antagonism of creeds, regarding which, as will be seen hereafter, Aśoka so wisely counsels sufferance and consideration.

The leading question of caste, also, has a very important, though seemingly indirect, bearing upon the subject under discussion. It is clear that the whole theory of Indian *castes* originated in a simple natural division of labour associated with heredity of occupations, constituting, as civilization advanced, *ipso facto*, a system of social class discrimination; each section of the community having its defined rights and being subject to its corresponding responsibilities.¹ In the initiatory stage this simple distribution of duties clearly had no concern with creeds or forms of religious belief.

But beyond this, we have already seen (p. 3) that it was not incompatible with their obligations to their own faith, that Brahmins should officiate in Jaina temples—and, as almost a case in point, we find very early instances of Jaina Kings entertaining Brahmin *Purohīts*,² but it need not for a moment be supposed that these “spiritual guides” taught their sovereigns either the Vedic or Brahmanical system of religion.³

The conception of caste itself was obviously indigenous, and clearly an institution of home growth, which flourished and

¹ In the South and Central India the term *caste* seems still to represent *class*. “The Hindus, as in all parts of India, are divided into four great castes; but it will be preferable to speak of the inhabitants of this country as nations and classes; for it is in this manner they divide themselves and keep alive those attachments and prejudices which distinguish them from each other.—Malcolm’s “Central India,” vol. ii. p. 114.

² “While Padmapara was reigning in the city of Kotikapura. . . His Queen being Padmaśrī, and his *purohita* Soma Somarai, a Brāhman.”—Rajavali Kathe, Ind. Antiquary, 1874, p. 154.

³ Govinda Rāya makes a grant of land to a “Jaina Brahman.”—Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII. p. 2; see also Colonel Sykes, J.R.A.S., Vol. VI. pp. 301, 305, and F. Buchanan, Mysore, vol. iii. p. 77.

It has elsewhere been remarked by other commentators:—“We see from the history of the Buddhist patriarchs, that the distinction of castes in no way interfered with the selection of the chiefs of religion. Śākya Muni was a Kshatriya; Mahā Kāśyapa, his successor, was a Brāhman; Śāṅg na ho sieou, the third patriarch, was a Vaiśya; and his successor, Yeou pho Khicouto, was a Sudra.”—Reinssat, note, cap. xx. *Foe koi ki*, Laidlay’s Translation, p. 178.

“Sāṅguta books treating on the subject of caste never call in question the antique fact of a fourfold division of the Hindu people, but only give a more

engrafted itself more deeply as the nation progressed in its own independent self-development. In this sense we need not seek to discover any reference to its machinery in the authentic texts of the Vedas.¹ The Aryan pastoral races, who reached India from distant geographical centres, however intellectually endowed, were, in their very tribal communities and migratory habits, unfitted and unprepared for such matured social conditions.

The intrusion of a foreign race, in considerable numbers, would tend to fix the local distribution, and add a new division of its own to those already existing among people of the land. It might be suggested that the Vedic Aryans thus constituted, in their new home, the *fifth* of the "five classes of men" to whom they so frequently refer in the text of the *Rig Veda*.²

But there are decided objections to any such conclusion, as in one instance the five classes are distinctly alluded to as within the Aryan pale, in opposition to the local *Dasyus*.³

liberal interpretation to it than the current Brāhmanical one of their day."—B. H. Hodgson, J.R.A.S. Vol. II. p. 289.

And to conclude these references, I may point to the fact that Śākya Muni, in one instance, is represented as having promised a "young Brāhman that he shall become a perfect Buddha."—Kosma de Kōrōs, Asiatic Researches, vol. xx. p. 463.

¹ Muir, J.R.A.S. n.s. Vol. I. p. 356; Sanskrit Texts, vol. i. pp. 7, 16, etc.; vol. v. p. 371. Colebrooke, As. Res. vol. vii. p. 261; Essays, vol. i. pp. 161, 309. Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 570. Wilson, Rig Veda, vol. i. p. xlii.

² "Over the five men, or classes of men" (*pañcha kṣitindim*).—Rig Veda, Wilson's translation, vol. i. pp. 20, 230, 314; ii. p. xv. "The five classes of beings," p. 170; iii. p. xxii. "The five races of men" (*pañchajanydsu kṛishṭishu*) 87; "The five classes of men," pp. 468, 506, etc. "The commentator explains this term to denote the four castes, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, and the barbarian or Nishāda; but Śyāna, of course, expresses the received opinions of his own age."—Wilson, Rig Veda, vol. i. p. xliii; also vol. ii. p. xv. See also Muir, vol. i. p. 176, *et seq.*

Pliny's detail of the castes or classes of India differs slightly from that of Megasthenes', and, like the Vedic tradition, estimates the number of divisions at *six*, excluding the lowest servile class. "The people of the more civilized nations of India are divided into several classes. One of these classes tills the earth, another attends to military affairs, others, again, are occupied in mercantile pursuits, while the wisest and most wealthy among them have the management of the affairs of State, act as judges, and give counsel to the King. The fifth class entirely devoting themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, which, in these countries, is almost held in the same veneration as religion." . . . "In addition to these, there is a class in a half-savage state, and doomed to endless labour; by means of their exertions, all the classes previously mentioned are supported."—Pliny, vi. 22. 19, Bohn's edition, 1855.

³ "The sage ATRI, who was venerated by the five classes of men, . . . and baffling, showerers (of benefits), the devices of the malignant *Dasyus*."—Wilson, vol. i. p. 314 (R.V. i. viii.).

So that these references must be supposed either to apply to the Aryan tribes, as once distinguished from each other in their previous dwelling-places, or to refer to the independent waves of immigration of the clans across the Indus, which would establish a sufficiently marked subdivision of the parent race.

On the other hand, it is clear that if they had no birth-caste, they had very arrogant notions of *Varna* "colour," which, under modern interpretation, has come to have the primary meaning of *caste*. We find them speaking of the *Aryam varṇam*, "the Aryan-colour;"¹ and our "white-complexioned friends" are contrasted with the black skins and imperfect language of the indigenous races.²

These utterances appear to belong to the period of the Aryan progress through the Punjáb. Whether after their prolonged wanderings, the surviving members of the community reached the sacred sites on the Saraswatī in diminished force, we have no means of determining; but they would, as far as we can judge, have here found themselves in more densely inhabited districts, in disproportionate numbers to the home population, and cut off from fresh accessions from the parent stock.

But, however few in numbers, they were able to place their mark upon the future of the land, to introduce the worship of their own gods, to make their hymns the ritual, and finally, as expositors of the new religion, to elevate themselves into a sanctity but little removed from that of the deity.³

We have now to inquire, what bearing this view of *caste*

¹ "He gave horses, he gave the Sun, and INDRA gave also the many-nourishing cow: he gave golden treasure, and having destroyed the *Dasyus*, he protected the Aryan tribe."—Wilson, R.V. vol. iii. p. 56. *Aryam varṇam* "the Aryan colour."—Muir, vol. v. p. 114; and ii. 282, 360, 374. "INDRA . . . divided the fields with his white-complexioned friends."—Wilson, R.V. vol. i. p. 259.

² (Indra) "tore off the black skin." Vol. ii. p. 35 (ii. i. 8). (Indra) "scattered the black-sprung servile" (hosts). Vol. ii. p. 258 (ii. vi. 6). (*Dasyus*) "who are babblers defective in speech." Vol. iv. p. 42. "may we conquer in battle the ill-speaking man." Vol. iv. p. 60.

³ "viii. 381. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brāhman; and the King, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest."

"ix. 317. A Brāhman, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity."

"ix. Thus, although Brāhmans employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupation, they must invariably be honoured; for they are something transcendently divine."—G. C. Houghton, "The Institutes of Manu" (1825).

has upon the pretensions of the Jainas to high antiquity. It is clear that the elaboration and gradual development of the subdivisions of caste must have been the work of ages; in early times limited to four classes of men, it has so grown that, in our day, in a single district in Upper India, the official statistical return gives no less than ninety-five classes of the population, as ranged under the heading of "Caste,"¹ and the full total for the entire government of the North-Western Provinces mounts up "to no less than 560 castes among the Hindus" alone.²

If this be taken as the rate of increase, to what primitive times must we assign the pre-caste period, and with it the indigenous population represented by those, who, with the simplest form of worship, avowedly lived a life of equality before their Maker; and so long resisted any recognition of caste, till the force of example and surrounding custom led them exceptionally, and in a clumsy way,³ to subject the free worship of each independent votary to the control of a ministering priesthood.

We may conclude, for all present purposes, that Vindusāra followed the faith of his father, and that, in the same belief—whatever it may prove to have been—his childhood's lessons were first learnt by Aśoka.

The Ceylon authorities assert that Vindusāra's creed was "Brahmanical," but, under any circumstances, their testimony would not carry much weight in the argument about other lands and other times, and it is, moreover, a critical question as to how much they knew about Brahmanism *itself*, and whether the use of the word *Brahman* does not merely imply, in their sense, a non-Buddhistic or any religion opposed to their own.⁴

¹ Report on Sahāranpur, Elliot's Glossary, vol. i. p. 296.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283. Census Report for 1865.

³ "VRISHABHANĀTHA was incarnate in this world . . . at the city of *Ayodhya*. . . . He also arranged the various duties of mankind, and allotted to men the means of subsistence, viz. *Asi*, 'the sword'; *Masi*, 'letters' (*lit. ink*); *Kṛishi*, 'agriculture'; *Vānija*, 'commerce'; *Paśupala*, 'attendance on cattle.' . . . Thus Vrishabhanātha established the religion of the Jainas, in its four classes or castes, of *Brāhmanas*, *Kṣhatris*, *Vaisyas*, and *Sūdras*."—C. Mackenzie, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 259.

⁴ "The father (of Aśoka) being of the Brahmanical faith, maintained (bestowing daily alms) 60,000 Brahmanas. He himself in like manner bestowed them for 3 years."—Mahawanso, p. 23.

I now arrive at the primary object, which, in nominal terms, heads this paper, regarding the relative precedence of Jainism and Buddhism, as tried and tested by the ultimate determination of "the early faith of Ašoka."

In the preliminary inquiry, I have often had to rely upon casual and inconsecutive evidence, which my readers may estimate after their own ideas and predilections. I have at length to face what might previously have been regarded as the crucial difficulty of my argument; but all doubts and obscurities in that direction may now be dissipated before Ašoka's *own* words, which he or his advisers took such infinite pains to perpetuate—under the triple phases of his tardy religious progress—on rocks and big stones, and more elaborately-prepared Indian *Lāts* or monoliths.

It is fully ascertained, that the knowledge of the characters of this *Lāt* alphabet, together with the power of interpreting the meaning of these edicts, had been altogether lost and obscured in the land, where these very monuments stood undefaced, up to the fourteenth century A.D.; when Fírúz Sháh, on the occasion of the removal of two of the northern monoliths to his new city on the Jumna, ineffectually summoned the learned of all and every class and creed, from far and near, to explain the writing on their surfaces.¹ It is therefore satisfactory to find that, so to say, *Jaina* records had preserved *intact* a tradition of what the once again legible purport of the inscriptions reveals, as coincident with the subdued and elsewhere disregarded pretensions of the sect.

Abúl Fazl, the accomplished minister of Akbar, is known to have been largely indebted to the *Jaina* priests and their carefully preserved chronicles, for much of his knowledge of the past, or *Hindú*, period of the empire he had to describe statistically, under the various aspects of its soils, its revenues, its ancient legends, its conflicting creeds, etc. In his *A'in-i-Akbari* he has retained, in his notice of the kingdom of Kashmír, *three* very important entries, exhibited in the

¹ My Pathán Kings of Dehli, p. 292. General Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. i. pp. 155, 161. Elliot's Historians, vol. iii. p. 352.

original Persian version quoted below,¹ which establish: (1) that Aśoka himself first introduced "JAINISM," *eo nomine*, into the kingdom of Kashmīr; (2) that "Buddhism" was dominant there during the reign of Jaloka; and (3) that Brahmanism superseded Buddhism under Rāja Sachinara.²

و چون فرماندهی باشوک پسر عم راجه جنک باز کردید کیشی
 Dr. Blochmann's revised text, p. ۵۷۹. During the reign of Jaloka Buddhism is stated to have been pre-
 valent. (و آئین بودۀ در آن زمان روایی یافت). Under Raja Sachinara the
 Brahmins again asserted their supremacy بر بودۀ در زمان راجه نر برهمن
 پ. ۵۸۰. چیره دست آمدند و پرستش جای آنان خاك توده گشت

² *KINGS OF KASHMIR AFTER 35 PRINCES "WHOSE NAMES ARE FORGOTTEN."*
 PERSIAN NAMES. SANSKRIT NAMES (AS. RES. XV.).

لوه (Lava).

کشن پور او Kuseśaya.

کهنندر پور او (variant تاجینیر) Khagendra.

سرندر پور او Surendra.

گودهر از قوم دیگر Godhara.

سورن پسر او Suvarna.

جنک پسر او Janaka.

شچی نر پسر او Sachinara.

اشوک پسر عم جنک Aśoka, descended from the pa-
 ternal great-uncle of Khagendra.)

جلوک پسر او Jaloka.

دامودر از اولاد اشوک Dāmodara.

هشک, زشک, (یشک var.) کنشک } Hushka, Jushka, Kanish-
 هر سه برادر آئین بودۀ داشتند } ka.

ابه من Abhimanyu.

In brief, this extraneous evidence, from possibly secondary Jaina sources, is fully consistent with what Aśoka has still to disclose in the texts of his own inscriptions; but it conveys, indirectly, even more than those formal and largely-distributed official documents—which merely allow us to infer that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism occurred late in his life or reign. But the annals of Kashmīr, on the other hand, more emphatically imply that either he did not seek to spread, or had not the chance or opportunity of propagating his new faith in the outlying sections of his dominions; and that, in this valley of Kashmīr, at least, Buddhism came after him, as a consequence of his southern surrender rather than as a deliberate promulgation of a well-matured belief on his part.

The leading fact of Aśoka's introduction or recognition of the Jaina creed in Kashmīr, above stated, does not, however, rest upon the sole testimony of the Muhammadan author, but is freely acknowledged in the Brahmanical pages of the *Rāja Taranginī*—a work which, though finally compiled and put together only in 1148 A.D., relies, in this section of its history, upon the more archaic writings of *Padma Mīhira* and *Śrī Chhavillākāra*. Professor Wilson's recapitulation of the context of this passage is somewhat obscure, as, while hesitating to admit that Aśoka "introduced" into Kashmīr "the *Jina Sāsana*," he, inconsistently, affirms that "he invented or originated" it. If so, we must suppose that *Jainism* had its germ and infantile birth in an outlying valley of the Himālaya in 250 B.C.—a conclusion which is beyond measure improbable.¹

¹ Professor Wilson's paraphrase runs: "The last of these princes being childless, the crown of Kashmīr reverted to the family of its former rulers, and devolved on Aśoka, who was descended from the paternal great uncle of Князь-ГЕНДРА. This prince, it is said in the *Alin-i-Akbari*, abolished the Brahmanical rites, and substituted those of *Jina*: from the original (text of the *Raja Tarangini*), however, it appears that he by no means attempted the former of these heinous acts, and that, on the contrary, he was a pious worshipper of Siva, an ancient temple of whom in the character of Vijayaśa he repaired. With respect to the second charge, there is better foundation for it, although it appears that this prince did not introduce, but invented or originated the *Jina Sāsana*."—*As. Res.* vol. xv. p. 19.

The text and purport of the original are subjoined; the latter runs: "Then the prince Aśoka, the lover of truth, obtained the earth; who sinning in subdued affections produced the *Jina Sāsana*. Jaloka, the son and successor of Aśoka,

I had outlined and transcribed the subjoined sketch of the contrasted stages of Ašoka's edicts, before the *Indian Antiquary* containing Dr. Kern's revision of the translations of his predecessors came under my notice.

As I understand the position of the inquiry at this moment, Dr. Kern is aided by no novel data or materials beyond the reach of those who came to the front before him, and it may chance to prove that he has been precipitate in closing his case, while a new and very perfect version of the same series of inscriptions, at Khalsi, is still awaiting General Cunningham's final *imprimatur*—a counterpart engrossed in more fully-defined characters, which Dr. Kern does not appear to have heard of. Dr. Kern's method of dealing with his materials might not commend itself to some interpreters. He confesses that the original, or *Palace* copy, forming the basis of all other variants, was cast in the dialect of Magadhá, and he then goes through the curious process of reducing the Gírnár text—which he takes as his representative *test*—into classical or Brahmanic Sanskrit, on which he relies for his competitive translation. At the same time he admits, without reserve, that the geographically distributed versions of the guiding *scripture* were systematically adapted to the various dialects of "Gujarátí

was a prince of great prowess; he overcame the assertors of the *Bauddha* heresies, and quickly expelled the Mlechhas from the country.

"The conquest of Kanauj by this prince is connected with an event not improbable in itself, and which possibly marks the introduction of the Brahmanical creed, in its more perfect form, into this kingdom, and Jaloka is said to have adopted thence the distinction of castes, and the practices which were at that time established in the neighbouring kingdoms. . . . He forbore in the latter part of his reign from molesting the followers of the *Bauddha* schism, and even bestowed on them some endowments."—*As. Res.* vol. xv. p. 21.

Troyer's translation of 102 runs:

"Ce monarque (Ašoka) ayant éteint en lui tout penchant vicieux, embrassa la religion de Djina, et étendit sa domination par des enclos d'élévations sacrées de terre dans le pays de Čuchkala, où est située la montagne de Vitastá.

103. La Vitastá passait dans la ville au milieu des bois sacrés et des Viháras; c'était là où s'élevait, bâti par lui, un sanctuaire de Buddha, d'une hauteur dont l'œil ne pouvait atteindre les limites."—vol. ii. p. 12.

A notice which may have some bearing upon these events is to be found in the *Dulva*. It purports to declare: "100 years after the disappearance of Sakya, his religion is carried into Kashmir. 110 years after the same event, in the reign of Ašoka, King of Pátaliputra, a new compilation of the laws . . . was prepared at Alláhábád."—*J.A.S. Bengal*, vol. i. p. 6.

or Maráthí—Mágadhí, and Gándhárí" [the Semitic version of Kapurdigiri].

I should have had more confidence in this rectification of the translations of all previous masters of the craft, if the modern critic had proceeded upon diametrically opposite principles, and had recognized the confessed necessity of the variation and distribution of dialects, site by site, as a fact making against the pretended supremacy of classical Sanskrit at this early date.¹

Singular to say, with all these reservations, I am fully prepared to accept so much of Dr. Kern's general conclusions as, without concert, chances opportunely to support and confirm my leading argument, with regard to the predominance of Jainism in the first and second series of Aśoka's Inscriptions. Dr. Kern, elsewhere, relies on a short indorsement of, or supplementary addition to, the framework of the Gīrnār Inscription, as satisfactorily proving, to his perception, the Buddhistical import of the whole set of Edicts which precede it on the same rock.²

I am under the impression that this incised scroll is of later date than the body of the epigraph. It is larger in size, does not range with the rest of the writing, and does not, in terms, fit-in with the previous context. Of course should it prove to be authentic and synchronous in execution with the other chiselled letters, and, at the same time, of *exclusively* Buddhist tendency, I might regard its tenor as

¹ The pretence of the universality of the Sanskrit language in India at this period has often been contested in respect to the method of reconstruction of these ancient monuments. Mr. Turnour was the first to protest against James Prinsep's submission to the *Sanskritic* tendencies of his Pandits. Mr. B. Hodgson, in like manner, consistently upheld the local claims and prior currency of the various forms of the vernaculars, and, most unquestionably, Professor Wilson's own perception and faculty of interpreting this class of inter-provincial records was damaged and obscured by his obstinate demands for good dictionary Sanskrit.

² "In one place only—I mean the signature of the Gīrnār inscription—the following words have reference to Buddha. Of this signature there remains,

... *va sveto hasti savalokasukhāharo ndma.*

What has to be supplied at the beginning I leave to the ingenuity of others to determine, but what is left means 'the white elephant' whose name is 'Bringer of

of more importance; but, even accepting all Dr. Kern's arguments in favour of "*White Elephants*," which I distrust altogether, how are we to reconcile the repeated arrays of elephants, (the special symbol of the second *Jina*), upon acknowledged Jaina sculptures, with anything but the general identity of symbols of both sects, and a possible derivation on the part of the Buddhists?

Dr. Kern thus concludes his final *résumé*:—

"The Edicts give an idea of what the King did for his subjects in his wide empire, which extended from Behár to Gándhára, from the Himáláya to the coast of Coromandel and Páñdya. They are not unimportant for the criticism of the Buddhistic traditions, though they give us exceedingly little concerning the condition of the doctrine and its adherents. . . .

"At fitting time and place, [Aśoka] makes mention, in a modest and becoming manner, of the doctrine he had embraced; but nothing of a Buddhist spirit can be discovered in his State policy. From the very beginning of his reign he was a good prince. His ordinances concerning the sparing of animal life agree much more closely with the ideas of the heretical Jainas than those of the Buddhists." (p. 275.)

THE EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

Prof. Wilson, when revising the scattered texts of Aśoka's Edicts within the reach of the commentators of 1849, declared, and, as we may now see, rightly maintained, that there was nothing *demonstrably* "Buddhist" in any of the preliminary or Rock Inscriptions of that monarch, though, then and since, he has been so prominently put

happiness to the whole world.' That by this term Śákya is implied, there can be no doubt (he entered his mother's womb as a white elephant,—*Lalitā Vistara*, p. 63). . . . Even if the signature is not to be attributed to the scribe, the custom evidently even then prevalent, and still in use at the present day, of naming at the end of the inscription the divinity worshipped by the writer or scribe, can offer no serious difficulty."—*I. A.* p. 258. [If Śákya Muni was the seed of the white elephant, how came he to be so disrespectful to his deceased relatives as to speak of his dead friend "*the white elephant*" Devadatta killed, as "*cet être qui a un grand corps, en se décomposant, remplirait toute la ville d'une mauvaise odeur*"?]]

forward as the special patron and promoter of the *Creed of Sakya Muni*.¹

In the single-handed contest between Buddhism and Brahmanism, Prof. Wilson made no pretence to discover any *status*—throughout the whole range of these formal records—for the latter religion; except in the vague way of a notice of the Brahmins and Sramans mentioned in the corresponding palaeographic texts, which were, in a measure, associated with the coeval references of the Greek authors to these identical designations. But no suggestion seems to have presented itself to him, as an alternative, of old-world *Jainism* progressing into a facile introduction to philosophic Buddhism.

We have now to compare the divergencies exhibited between the incidental records of the tenth, twelfth, and possibly following years, with the advanced declarations of the twenty-seventh year of Aśoka's reign. We find the earlier proclamations advocating *Dharma*,² which certainly does not come up to our ideal of "religion," represented in its simplest phase of duty to others, which, among these untutored peoples,

¹ "In the first place, then, with respect to the supposed main purport of the inscription, proselytism to the Buddhist religion, it may not unreasonably be doubted if they were made public with any such design, and whether they have any connexion with Buddhism at all."—J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 236. "There is nothing in the injunctions promulgated or sentiments expressed in the inscriptions, in the sense in which I have suggested their interpretation, that is decidedly and exclusively characteristic of Buddhism. The main object of the first appears, it is true, to be a prohibition of destroying animal life, but it is a mistake to ascribe the doctrine to the Buddhists alone." p. 238. "From these considerations, I have been compelled to withhold my unqualified assent to the confident opinions that have been entertained respecting the object and origin of the inscriptions. Without denying the possibility of their being intended to disseminate Buddhism, . . . there are difficulties in the way, . . . which, to say the least, render any such an attribution extremely uncertain." p. 250.

² The four *Dharmas*, in their simplicity, are defined by the Northern Jains as "merits," as consequent upon the five *Mahāvratas* or "great duties."—Wilson's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 317. This idea progressed, in aftertimes, into a classification of the separate duties of each rank in life, or the "prescribed course of duty." Thus "giving alms," etc., is the *dharma* of the householder, "administering justice" of a king, "piety" of a Brahman, "courage" of a Kshatriya.—M. Williams, *sub voce*. "Later Jaina interpretations of the term *Dharma* in Southern India extend to 'virtue, duty, justice, righteousness, rectitude, religion.' It is said to be the quality of the individual self which arises from action, and leads to happiness and final beatitude. It also means Law, and has for its object *Dharma*, things to be done, and *Adharma*, things 'to be avoided.' This *Dharma* is said by the Jains to be eternal. *Dharma*, as well as *Veda*, if they are true Virtue and Law, are attributes or perfections of the Divine Being, and as such are eternal."—Chintamani, Rev. H. Bower, p. xl. See also Max Müller's "Sanskrit Literature," p. 101: "In our *Sātra Dharma* means Law," etc. The intuitive

assumed the leading form of futile mercy to the lower animals, extending into the devices of "Hospitals" for the suffering members of the brute creation, and ultimately, in after-times, progressing into the absurdity of the wearing of respirators and the perpetual waving of fans, to avoid the destruction of minute insect life. An infatuation, which eventually led to the surrendering thrones and kingdoms, to avoid a chance step which should crush a worm, or anything that crept upon the face of the earth; and more detrimental still, a regal interference with the every-day life of the people at large, and the subjecting of human labour to an enforced three months' cessation in the year, in order that a moth should not approach a lighted lamp, and the revolving wheel should not crush a living atom in the mill.

I have arranged, in the subjoined full *résumé* of the three phases or gradations "of Aśoka's faith," as much of a contrast as the original texts, under their modern reproductions, admit of; exhibiting, in the first period, his feelings and inspirations from the tenth to the twelfth year after his inauguration; following on to the second, or advanced phase of thought, which pervades the manifestos of his twenty-seventh year; and exhibiting, as a climax of the whole series of utterances, his free and outspoken profession of faith in the hitherto unrecognized "*Buddha*."

The difference between the first and second series of declarations or definitions of *Dharma* is not so striking as the interval in point of time, and the opportunities of fifteen years of quasi-religious meditation, might have led us to expect; but still, there is palpable change in the scope of thought—"a marked advance in faith"; only the faith is indefinite, and the morals still continue supreme. Happily, for the present inquiry, there is nothing in these authentic documents which has any pretence to be either Vedic or

feeling that "laborare est orare" seems to have prevailed largely in the land, and would undoubtedly have been fostered and encouraged under the gradual development of caste. The great Akbar appears to have participated in the impressions of his Hindu subjects; for we find him, in the words of his modern biographer, described as one "who looks upon the performance of his duties as an act of divine worship."—Dr. Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. iii.

Brahmanical, and therefore we can pass by, for the moment, all needless comparisons between the terms "Brahmans and Sramans"—the latter of whom equally represented Jainas and Buddhists—a controversy to which undue emphasis and importance has been hitherto assigned, and confine ourselves to Aśoka's aims in departing from the silence of the past, and covering the continent of India with his written proclamations. His ideas and aspirations, as exhibited in his early declarations, are tentative and modest in the extreme: in fact, he confesses, in his later summaries, that these inscribed edicts represent occasional thoughts and suggestive inspirations; indeed, that they were put forth, from time to time, and often, we must conclude, ostentatiously *dated*, without reference to their period of acceptance or their ultimate place on the very stones on which we find them.

When closely examined, the two sets of edicts, contrasted by their positions as ROCK and PILLAR Inscriptions, covering, more or less, a national movement of fifteen years, resolve themselves into a change in the *Dharma* or religious law advocated by the ruling power of very limited and natural extent. The second series of manifestos are marked, on the one hand, by a deliberate rejection of some of the minor delusions of the earlier documents, and show an advance to a distinction and discrimination between good and evil animals, a more definite scale of apportionment of crimes and their appropriate punishments, completed by an outline of the ruling moral polity, reading like a passage from Megasthenes,¹ in regard to the duties of inspectors, and forming a consistent advance upon Chandra Gupta's moral code.

¹ Arrian xii.; Strabo xv. 48; Diod. Sic. ii. 3. There are several points in the Greek accounts of Indian creeds which have hitherto been misunderstood, and which have tended to complicate and involve the true state of things existing in the land at the periods referred to. Among the rest is the grand question, in the present inquiry, of Jaina *versus* Buddhist, of which the following is an illustration:—Fah Hian, chap. xxx. "*The honourable of the age* (Buddha) has established a law that no one should destroy his own life."

Mr. Laidlay adds, as a commentary upon this passage:—"The law here alluded to is mentioned in the *Dulva* (p. 162 to 239); where, in consequence of several instances of suicide among the monks, . . . Sākya prohibits discourses upon that subject. So that the practice of self-immolation ascribed by the Greek historians to the Buddhists was, like that of going naked, a departure from orthodox principles."—p. 278.

The Rev. S. Beal, in his revised translation of Fah Hian, in confirming this

All these indications, and many more significant items, may, perchance, be traced by those, who care to follow the divergencies presented in the subjoined extracts; but no ingenuity can shake the import of the fact, that, up to the twenty-seventh year of his reign, Aśoka had no definite idea of or leaning towards Buddhism, as represented in its after-development. His final confession and free and frank recognition of the name and teaching of Buddha in the Bābhra proclamation, form a crucial contrast to all he had so elaborately advocated and indorsed upon stone, throughout his dominions, during the nearly full generation of his fellow-men, amid whom he had occupied the supreme throne of India.

As my readers may be curious to see the absolute form in which this remarkable series of Palæographic monuments were presented to the intelligent public of India, or to their authorized interpreters, in the third century B.C., I have, at the last moment,¹ taken advantage of Mr. Burgess's very successful paper-impressions, or *squeezes*, of the counterpart inscription on the Gīrnār rock, to secure an autotype reproduction of the opening tablets of that version of the closely parallel texts of Aśoka's Edicts. Those who are not conversant with ancient palæographies may also be glad of

conclusion of Mr. Laidlay, emphatically declares, "I doubt very much whether there is any reference to Buddhists in the Greek accounts."—pp. xlii, 119. See also J.R.A.S. Vol. XIX. p. 420, and Vol. VIII. n.s. p. 100.

"A long series of the rock inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgōla, in the same old characters, consist of what may be termed epitaphs to Jaina saints and ascetics, both male and female, or memorials of their emancipation from the body. . . . It is painful to imagine the pangs of slow starvation, by which these pitiable beings gave themselves up to death and put an end to their own existence, that by virtue of such extreme penance they might acquire merit for the life to come. . . . The irony is complete when we remember that avoidance of the destruction of life in whatever form is a fundamental doctrine of the sect." . . . The inscriptions before us are in the oldest dialect of the Kanarese. The expression *muḍippidar*, with which most of them terminate, is one which seems peculiar to the Jains."—Mr. Lewis Rice, *Indian Antiquary*, 1873, p. 322.

The passages regarding *suicidal* philosophers will be found in Megasthenes (Strabo xv. i. 64, 73); Q. Curtius viii. ix. sec. 33; Pliny, vi. c. 22, sec. 19; Arrian xi.

The *naked* saints figure in Megasthenes (Strabo xv. 60). Cleitarchus (Strabo xv. 70), Q. Curtius, viii. ix. 33.

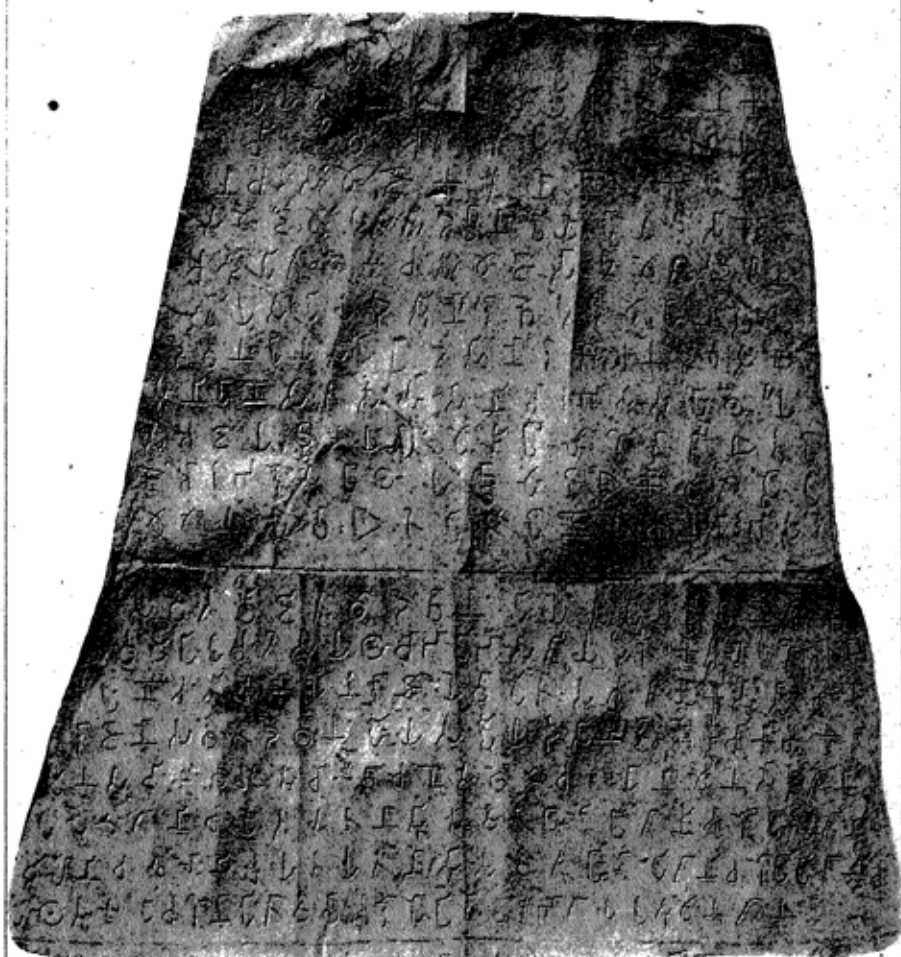
¹ Mr. Burgess's Report for 1874-5 reached me on the 15th February, 1877, a few days only before the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society at which this paper was read. These paper-impressions are now deposited in the Library of the India Office.

the opportunity of examining the nature of the alphabetical system here in force—which constituted, in effect, the *Alphabet Mère* of India at large. These inscriptions, of about 250 B.C., contribute the earliest specimens of indigenous writing we are able to cite, their preservation and multiplication being apparently due to a newly-awakened royal inspiration of engraving edicts and moral admonitions on stone. This alphabetical system must clearly have passed through long ages of minority before it could have attained the full maturity in which it, so to say, suddenly presents itself over the whole face of the land. And which from that moment, unimproved to this day, asserts its claim to the title of the most perfect alphabet extant.

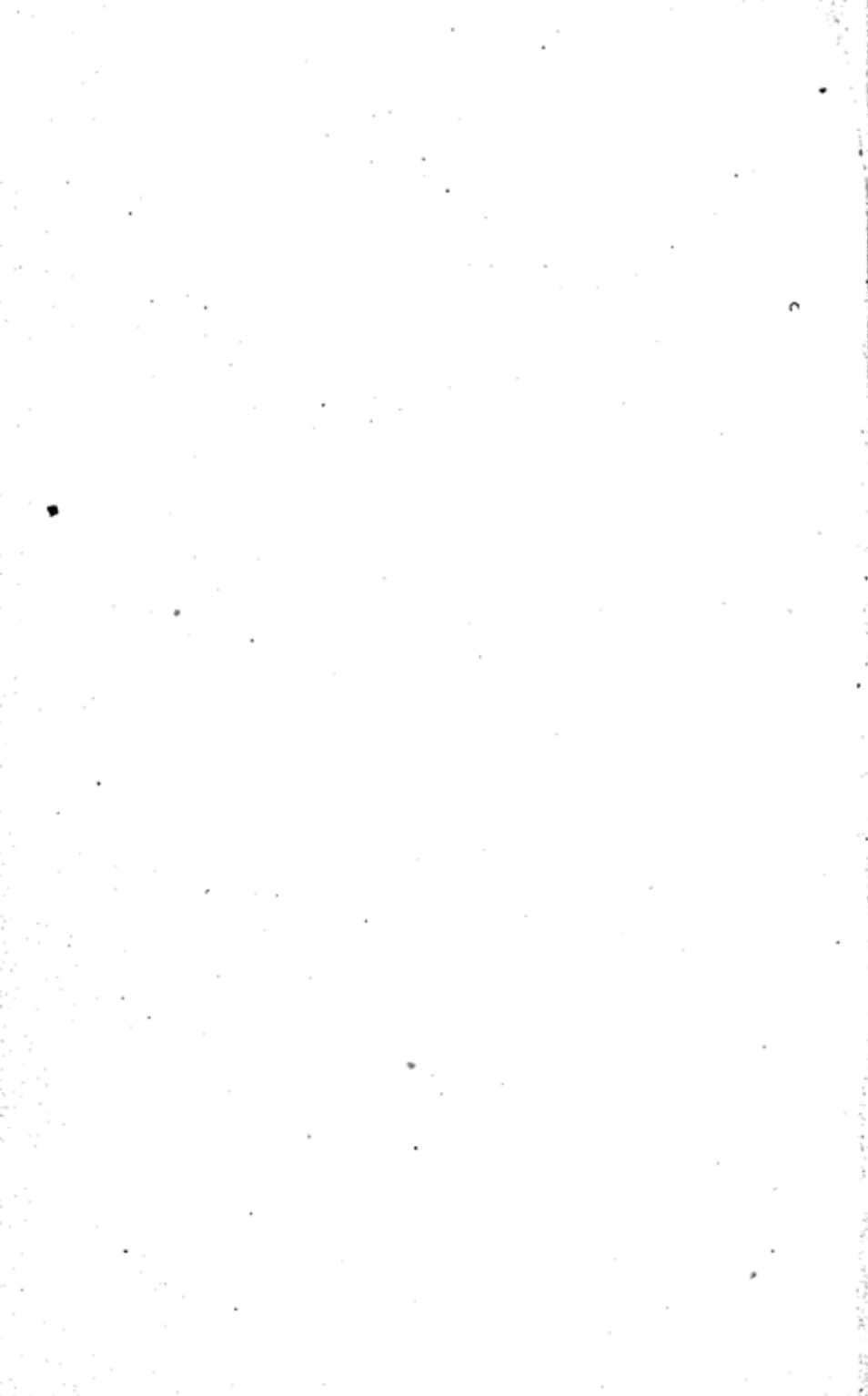
The Sanskrit-speaking Aryans discarded, in its favour, the old Phœnician character they had learnt, laboriously transformed, and finally adapted to the requirements of their own tongue, during their passage through the narrow valleys of the Himalaya, and their subsequent residence on the southern slopes of the range, in the Sapta Sindhu or Punjab, which scheme of writing would appear to have answered to the term of the *Yavanāni lipi* of Pāṇini and the earlier Indian grammarians.

In this second process of adaptation, the Aryans had to repudiate the normal ethnographic sequence of the short and long vowels, to add two consonants of their own (क्व, ण) utterly foreign to the local alphabet, and to accept from that alphabet a class of letters, *unnneeded* for the definition of Aryan tongues; an inference which is tested and proved by the fact that accomplished linguists of our age and nationality are seldom competent to pronounce or orally define the current Indian cerebrals.¹

¹ Prinsep's *Essays* (Murray, 1868), pp. ii. 43, 144, 151, etc. Burnouf, *Yasna*, p. cxlv. Bopp's *Grammar* (Eastwick), i. 14. Lassen, "Essai sur le Pali," p. 15. J.R.A.S., o.s. X. 63; XII. 236; XIII. 108; XV. 19; n.s. I. 467; V. 423. J.A.S. Beng., 1863, p. 158; 1867, p. 33. Journ. Bom. Branch R.A.S., 1858, p. 41. *Ancient Indian Weights* (Numismata Orientalia, Part i. Trübner, 1874), pp. 3, 6, 21, 48. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1863, p. 226. Caldwell, *Dravidian Grammar* (edit. 1875), pp. 13, 45, 64, 69, 82, 92, etc. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, ii. xxiv, and 34n, 440n, 468, 488, etc. Weber, "Greek and Indian Letters," *Ind. Ant.* 1873, p. 143. "On the Dravidian Element in Sanskrit



ASOKA'S INSCRIPTION AT GIRNÁR.



places where roots and fruits were wanting he has caused them to be brought and planted; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted, on the roads for the benefit of cattle."—Indian Antiquary, p. 272; Arch. Rep. 1874-5, p. 99.

The 3rd section adverts to "expiation," and the 4th continues: "During a past period of many centuries, there have prevailed, destruction of life, injury to living beings, disrespect towards kindred, and irreverence towards Sramans and Brahmins."¹

The 5th edict, after a suitable preamble, proceeds:

"Therefore in the tenth year of the inauguration have ministers of morality been made,² who are appointed for the purpose of presiding over morals among persons of all the religions, for the sake of the augmentation of virtue and for the happiness of the virtuous among the people of Kamboja, Gandhara, Naristaka and Pitenika. They shall also be spread among the warriors, the Brahmins, the mendicants, the destitute and others." . . .

The 6th edict declares:—"An unprecedentedly long time has passed since it has been the custom at all times and in all affairs, to submit representations. Now it is established by me that . . . the officers appointed to make reports shall convey to me the objects of the people"—and goes on to define the duties of supervisors of morals, and explain their duties as "informers," etc., continuing:—

"There is nothing more essential to the good of the world, for which I am always labouring. On the many beings over whom

¹ Dr. Kern's elaborate criticism of Burnouf's revision of Prof. Wilson's translation of this passage (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 731) scarcely alters the material sense quoted above. His version runs:

"In past times, during many centuries, attacking animal life and inflicting suffering on the creatures, want of respect for Brāhmins and monks."

Dr. Kern, in the course of his remarks upon his new rendering, observes, "Apart from the style, there is so little exclusively Buddhistic in this document, that we might equally well conclude from it that the King, satiated with war, had become the president of a peace society and an association for the protection of the lower animals, as that he had embraced the doctrine of Śākya Muni."—*I. A.*, p. 262.

² The Cuttack version of the Edicts differs from the associate texts, saying, "who shall be intermingled with all the hundred grades of unbelievers for the establishment among them of the faith, for the increase of religion . . . in Kambocha and Gandhāra, in Surāstrika and Pitenika, . . . and even to the furthest (limits) of the barbarian (countries). Who shall mix with the *Brahmins* and *Bhikkhus*, with the poor and with the rich."—p. 190; Prinsep, *J. A. S. Bengal*.

I rule I confer happiness in this world,—in the next they may obtain *Svarga* (heaven)."¹

Tablet 7 does not seem to call for any remark. Tablet 8 refers to some change that came over the royal mind in the tenth year of his reign. "Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, having been ten years inaugurated, by him easily awakened, that moral festival is adopted (which consists) in seeing and bestowing gifts on Brahmanas and Sramanas, . . . overseeing the country and the people; the institution of moral laws," etc.

Burnouf's amended translation differs from this materially. He writes:

"[*Mais*] Piyadasi, le roi chéri des Dévas, parvenu à la dixième année depuis son sacre, obtient la science parfaite que donne la Buddha. C'est pourquoi la promenade de la roi est cette qu'il faut faire, ce sont la visite et l'aumône faites aux Brâhmanes et aux Samanas." . . .

I see that Dr. Kern now proposes to interpret this contested passage as,

"But King Devánámpriya Priyadarśin, ten years after his inauguration, came to the true insight. Therefore he began a walk of righteousness, which consists in this, that he sees at his house and bestows gifts upon Brâhmanas and monks. . . . Since then this is the greatest pleasure of King Devánámpriya Priyadarśin in the period after his conversion" [to what?].—I. A. p. 263.

In his remarks upon the tenor of this brief tablet Dr. Kern continues,

"It is distinguished by a certain simplicity and sentiment of tone, which makes it touch a chord in the human breast. There is a tenderness in it, so vividly different from the insensibility of the later monkish literature of Buddhism, of which Th. Pavie observes, with so much justice, 'Tout reste donc glacé dans ce monde bouddhique.'"

Tablet 9, speaking of festivities in general, declares:

"Such festivities are fruitless and vain, but the festivity that bears great fruit is the festival of duty, such as the respect of the servant to his master; reverence for holy teachers is good, tender-

¹ Lassen renders this, "my whole endeavour is to be blameless towards all creatures, to make them happy here below and enable them hereafter to obtain *Svarga*."—*Indian Antiquary*, p. 270.

ness for living creatures is good, liberality to Brahmanas and Sramanas is good. These and other such acts constitute verily the festival of duty. . . With these means let a man seek *Swarga*.”¹

Tablet 10 contrasts the emptiness of earthly fame as compared with the “observance of moral duty,” and section 11 equally discourses on “virtue,” which is defined as “the cherishing of slaves and dependents, pious devotion to mother and father, generous gifts to friends and kinsmen, Brahmanas and Sramanas, and the non-injury of living beings.”

Tablet 12 commences: “The beloved of the gods, King Priyadasi, honours all forms of religious faith,”² . . . and enjoins “reverence for one’s own faith, and no reviling nor injury of that of others. Let the reverence be shown in such and such a manner, as is suited to the difference of belief,”³ . . . “for he who in some way honours his own religion and reviles that of others, saying, having extended to all our own belief, let us make it famous, he, who does this, throws difficulties in the way of his own religion: this, his conduct cannot be right.” . . . The Edict goes on to say, “And as this is the object of all religions, with a view to its dissemination, superintendents of moral duty, as well as over women, and officers of compassion, as well as other officers” (are appointed).⁴

The 13th Tablet, which Professor Wilson declined to translate, as the Kapur di Giri text afforded no trustworthy corrective, seems, from Mr. Prinsep’s version, to recapitulate much that has been said before, with a reiterated “injunction for the non-injury of animals and content of living creatures,” sentiments in which he appears to seek the sympathy of the “Greek King Antiochus,” together (as we now know⁵) with that of the “four kings Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and

¹ Dr. Kern’s conclusion of Tablet 9 runs as follows, “By doing all this, a man can merit heaven; therefore let him who wishes to gain heaven for himself fulfil, above all-things, these his duties.”—I. A., p. 271.

² Dr. Kern’s rendering says “honour all sects and orders of monks.”

³ “so that no man may praise his own sect or condemn another sect.”

⁴ “For this end, sheriffs over legal proceedings, magistrates entrusted with the superintendence of the women, hospice-masters (?) and other bodies have been appointed.”—I. A., p. 268.

⁵ Gen. Cunningham, Arch. Report, vol. i. p. 247, and vol. v. p. 20. See also my “Dynasty of the Guptas in India,” p. 34. I append the tentative trans-

Alexander." The postscript in larger letters outside the square of this tablet adds, according to Prinsep, "And this place is named the WHITE ELEPHANT, conferring pleasure on all the world."

Prof. Wilson, in conclusion of his review of the purport of these palæographic documents, adverts to the Tablet numbered 14 in the original list, but he does not seem to have had sufficient confidence in his materials to have ventured upon a continuous translation.¹

PERIOD II. THE ADVANCED STAGE.

The contrasted Lāt or Monolithic Inscriptions,² as opposed

literation of the several versions of this tablet, which I had prepared for the latter work.

My learned friends are unwilling as yet to compromise themselves by a translation of the still imperfect text.

TRANSLITERATIONS OF TABLET XIII. OF THE AŠOKA INSCRIPTIONS AT (1) KAPUR-DI-GIRI, (2) KHALSI, AND (3) GIRNĀR.

1. *Ka.* Antiyoka namā Yona raja paran cha tenan Antiyokena chatura |||| rajano
2. *Kā.* Antiyoga nāma Yona . . . lan chá tena Antiyo . ná chatali + lajane
3. *Gir.* Yona raja paran cha tena chaptena[sic]rajano

1. *Ka.* Traramaye namā Antikina namā Māka namā Alikasandaro namā
2. *Kā.* Tulamaye nāma Antekina nāma Mākā nāma Alikyasadale nāma
3. *Gir.* Turamāyo cha Antakana cha Magā cha

1. *Ka.* nicham Choḍa, Paṇḍa, Avam Tambupanniya hevammavabhena raja
2. *Kā.* nicham Choḍa, Paṇḍiya, Avam Tambapaniyā hevamovāhevamevā . . lājā
3. *Gir.*

1. *Ka.* Vishatidi Yonam Kamboyeshu Nibha Kanabhatina Bhojam Piti
2. *Kā.* Vishmavasi Yona Kambojasu Nubha Kānābha Pantisa Bhoja Piti
3. *Gir.*

1. *Ka.* Nikesu, Andrapulideshu savatam

2. *Kā.* Nikesa Adhapiladesa savatā

3. *Gir.* ndhepirandesu savata

Under the Elephant at Khalsi, *Gajatemre*? At Girnār, *Sveto hasti*, as above, p. 34.

¹ The 14th Edict at Girnār is more curious, in respect to the preparation of the Edicts, than instructive in the religious sense. Dr. Kern's revision produces, "King Derānāmpriya Priyadarśin has caused this righteousness edict to be written, here concisely, there in a moderate compass, and in a third place again at full length, so that it is not found altogether everywhere worked out; (?) for the kingdom is great, and what I have caused to be written much. Repetitions occur also, in a certain measure, on account of the sweetness of certain points, in order that the people should in that way (the more willingly) receive it. If sometimes the one or other is written incompletely or not in order, it is because care has not been taken to make a good transcript (*śhādyā*) or by the fault of the copyist (i.e. the stone-cutter)." — I. A., p. 275.

² J. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. vi. 1837, p. 566. The text on the Dehli lāt has been taken as the standard; these edicts are repeated verbatim on the three other lāts of Allahābād, Betiah and Radhia.

to the Rock edicts already examined, open, in the text of the Tablet on the northern face of the Dehli pillar, with these words:

A

"In the 27th year of my anointment, I have caused this religious edict to be published in writing.¹ I acknowledge and confess the faults that have been cherished in my heart. From the love of virtue, by the side of which all other things are as sins—from the strict scrutiny of sin, etc., . . . by these may my eyes be strengthened and confirmed (in rectitude)." . . .

In the 10th line the King continues:

"In religion (*dhamma*) is the chief excellence: but religion consists in good works:—in the non-omission of many acts: mercy and charity, purity and chastity;—(these are) to me the anointment of consecration. Towards the poor and the afflicted, towards bipeds and quadrupeds, towards the fowls of the air and things that move on the waters, manifold have been the benevolent acts performed by me." . . .

The concluding section of this tablet is devoted to a definition of the "nine minor transgressions," of which the following five alone are specified: "mischief, hard-heartedness, anger, pride, envy."

B

The text of the western compartment of the Dehli lát begins:

"In the 27th year of my anointment, I have caused to be promulgated the following religious edict. My devotees in very many hundred thousand souls, having (now) attained unto knowledge;² I have ordained (the following) fines and punishments for their transgressions.

Prinsep's half-admitted impression, that these inscriptions

¹ Burnouf renders this opening, "La 26^{ème} année depuis mon sacre j'ai fait écrire cet édit de la loi. Le bonheur dans ce monde et dans l'autre est difficile à obtenir sans un amour extrême pour la loi, sans une extrême attention, sans une extrême obéissance," etc.—Lotus, p. 655.

² Dr. Kern's translation departs from this meaning in a striking manner, and substitutes: "I have appointed sheriffs over many hundred thousands of souls in the land, I have granted them free power of instituting legal prosecution and inflicting punishment."

were necessarily of a Buddhist tendency, led him into the awkward mistake of interpreting धात्री *dhātrī* as "the myrobalan tree," instead of "a nurse," and the associate *asvattha* as "the holy fig-tree," in which he was followed by Lassen (Ind. Alt. vol. ii. p. 256), instead of the *asvatha abhītā*, "consolés et sans crainte" of Burnouf, who corrected the translation in the following words: "De même qu'un homme, ayant confié son enfant à une nourrice expérimentée, est sans inquiétude [et se dit:] une nourrice expérimentée garde mon enfant, ainsi ai-je institué des officiers royaux pour le bien et le bonheur du pays."—Lotus de la bonne Loi, p. 741.

Prinsep's text here resumes the subject of transgressions, and "according to the measure of the offence shall be the measure of punishment, but (the offender) shall not be put to death by me."¹ "Banishment (shall be) the punishment of those malefactors deserving of imprisonment and execution."

The text proceeds with a very remarkable passage: "Of those who commit murder on the high road, even none, whether of the poor or of the rich, shall be injured on my three especial days."²

If we could rely upon the finality of this translation, we might cite, in favour of the Jaina tendency of the edict, the curious parallel of the *Jainas* under Akbar, who obtained a *Firmān* to a somewhat similar tenor in favour of the life

¹ It is curious to trace the extent to which these Jaina ideas developed themselves in after-times, and to learn from official sources how the simple tenets of mercy, in the abstract, progressed into the demands and rights of sanctuary claimed by and conceded to the sect.

"Maharana Śrī Rāj Sing, commanding. To the Nobles, Ministers, Patels, etc., of Mewar. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the Jainas have been authorized; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter. This is their ancient privilege.

"2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*amra*).

"3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*śirna*) to the dwellings (*upasra*) of the Yatis, shall not be seized by the servants of the court. . . . By command, Śāh Dyal, Minister. Samvat 1749 (A.D. 1693)."—Tod. vol. i. p. 553.

² Singular to say, with all this excellent mercy to animals, there is a reference to injuring (*torturing*?), and later even to "mutilation" of the human offender! —J.A.S.B. vol. vi. p. 588. See also Foo-koue-ki, cap. xvi.

of animals, and their exemption from slaughter on certain days peculiarly sacred in their *Rubric*.¹

C

The tablet, on the southern compartment, gives a list of the "animals which shall not be put to death," enumerating many species of birds, the specific object of whose immunity it is difficult to comprehend—and especially exempting the females of the goat, sheep, and pig, . . . concluding with the declaration that "animals that prey on life shall not be cherished."

The Edict goes on to specify the days of fasts and ceremonies, closing with the words,

"Furthermore, in the twenty-seventh year of my reign, at this present time, twenty-five prisoners are set at liberty."

D

The Monolithic Inscriptions are continued in the eastern compartment, the text of which Prinsep translated in the following terms:

"Thus spake King DEVĀNAMPĪYA PĪYADASI: In the twelfth year of my anointment, a religious edict (was) published for the pleasure and profit of the world; having destroyed that (document) and regarding my former religion as sin, I now for the benefit of the world proclaim the fact. And this . . . I therefore cause to be destroyed; and I proclaim the same in all the congregations; while I pray with every variety of prayer for those who differ from me in creed, that they following after my proper example may with me attain unto eternal salvation: wherefore the present

¹ *Firman* of Akbar. "Be it known to the Muttasuddies of Malwa, that the whole of our desires consists in the performance of good actions, and our virtuous intentions are constantly directed to one object, that of delighting and gaining the hearts of our subjects.

"We, on hearing mention made of persons of any religious faith whatever, who pass their lives in sanctity, etc., . . . shut our eyes on the external forms of their worship, and considering only the intention of their hearts, we feel a powerful inclination to admit them to our association, from a wish to do what may be acceptable to the Deity."

The prayer of the petitioners was: "That the Padishah should issue orders that during the twelve days of the month of Bhadra called Puteboossur (which are held by the Jainas to be particularly holy), no cattle should be slaughtered in the cities where their tribe reside."—Ordered accordingly, 7th Jumād-us-Sāni, 992 Hij. Era.—Malcolm, Central India.

edict of religion is promulgated in this twenty-seventh year of my anointment."

"Thus spake King Devánampiya Piyadasi. Kings of the olden time have gone to heaven under these very desires. How then among mankind may religion (or growth in grace) be increased, yea through the conversion of the humbly-born shall religion increase. . . . Through the conversion of the lowly-born if religion thus increaseth, by how much (more) through the conviction of the high-born and their conversion shall religion increase."

Prinsep concludes his version of this division of the Inscription:—

"Thus spake King Devánampiya Piyadasi:—Wherefore from this very hour I have caused religious discourses to be preached, I have appointed religious observances—that mankind having listened thereto shall be brought to follow in the right path and give glory unto God."

If Dr Kern's amended reading of the opening paragraphs of this tablet is to be accepted as final, we must abandon any arguments based upon a supposed cancelment of previous manifestos.¹ But the reconstruction in question—whether right or wrong—will not in the least degree affect my main argument of the pervading *Jaina* tendencies of the Monolithic edicts.

Dr. Kern's translation runs as follows:

"King Devánampiya Priyadarśin speaks thus:—12 years after my coronation, I caused a righteousness-edict to be written for the benefit and happiness of the public. Every one who leaves that unassailed shall obtain increase of merit in more than one respect. I direct attention to what is useful and pleasant for the public, and take such measures as I think will further happiness, while I provide satisfaction to my nearest relatives and to (my subjects) who are near as well as to them who dwell far off."

¹ Prof. Wilson, while criticizing and correcting much of Prinsep's work upon these documents, remarked, "If the translation (of the text of the eastern compartment) is correct, and in substance it seems to be so, there are two sets of opposing doctrines in the inscriptions, and of course both cannot be Buddhist. Mr. Prinsep comes to the conclusion that the Buddhist account of the date of Aśoka's conversion, the fourth year of his reign, is erroneous, and that he could not have changed his creed until after his twelfth year. Then it follows that most, if not all the Rock inscriptions are not Buddhist, for the only dates specified are the tenth and twelfth years. Those on the Láts appear to be all of the twenty-seventh year. If, however, those of the earlier dates are not Buddhist, neither are those of the later, for there is no essential difference in their purport. They all enforce the preference of moral to ceremonial observances" (J.R.A.S. vol. xii. p. 260).

II. a. THE AIM AND PURPOSE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The Dehli pillar, in addition to the four edicts inclosed within square tablets, has a supplementary inscription encircling the base of the column. In this proclamation Aśoka, after enumerating his own efforts for the good of his people after the truly Indian ideal of planting trees and excavating wells along the high roads, goes on to arrange for the missionary spread of his religion, in these terms :

"Let the priests deeply versed in the faith (or let my doctrines?) penetrate among the multitudes of the rich capable of granting favours, and let them penetrate alike among all the unbelievers whether of ascetics or of householders. . . . Moreover let them for my sake find their way among the brāhmins (*bābhaneshu*) and the most destitute." . . .

The text proceeds :

"Let these (priests) and others most skilful in the sacred offices penetrate among" . . . "my Queens, and among all my secluded women," . . . "acting on the heart and on the eyes of the children, . . . for the purpose (of imparting) religious enthusiasm and thorough religious instruction."

After much more of similar import, the Edict concludes :

"Let stone pillars be prepared, and let this edict of religion be engraven thereon, that it may endure unto the remotest ages."

*The separate Edicts of the Aswastama Inscription at Dhauli*¹ continue these exhortations in the subjoined terms :

"My desire is that in this very manner, these (ordinances) shall be pronounced aloud by the person appointed to the *stupa*; and adverting to nothing else but precisely according to the commandment of DEVĀNĀMPIYA, let him (further) declare and explain them."² . . . "And this edict is to be read at (the time of) the

¹ "The Aswastama is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river near to the village of Dhauli. The hills alluded to rise abruptly from the plains, . . . and have a singular appearance, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles." —Major Kittoe, J.A.S.B. vol. vii. p. 435.

² Burnouf revised this translation, with his usual critical acumen, in 1852. The following quotation gives his varied version :—"Aussi est-ce là ce qui doit être proclamé par le gardien du *stupa* qui ne regardera rien autre chose, (ou bien, aussi cet édit a dû être exprimé au moyen du *Prākṛita* et non dans un autre idiome). Et ainsi veut ici le commandement du roi Chéri des Deras. J'en confie l'exécution au grand ministre. . . .

"Et cet édit doit être entendu au *Nakkhata Tisa* (Nakchatra Tichya) et à la fin

lunar mansion Tisa, at the end of the month of *Bhādr̥a*: it is to be made heard (even if) by a single listener. And thus (has been founded) the *Kāṇṭha stupa* for the spiritual instruction of the congregation.¹ For this reason is this edict here inscribed, whereby the inhabitants of the town may be guided in their devotions for ages to come."—J.A.S. Bengal, May, 1837, pp. 444-5.

PERIOD III. POSITIVE BUDDHISM.

THE BHABRA EDICT.²

Professor Wilson's translation of the Bhabra Edict—unlike his previous renderings of Aśoka's rock inscriptions, where he was at the mercy of succeeding commentators—was undertaken at a time when he, in his turn, had the advantage of the revised interpretations of Lassen and Burnouf. It may be taken, therefore, as a crucial trial of strength on his part.

But the most curious coincidence in connexion with the present inquiry is that, in default of critical Sanskrit aids, he was obliged to have recourse to the vulgar tongue of the *Jaina* Scriptures for an explanation of the obscure opening terms, in the word *bhante* "I declare, confess," etc., etc., which proved, to his surprise, to constitute the ordinary *Jaina* preliminary form of prayer or conventional declaration of faith.³

I prefix Burnouf's translation, as exhibiting the inevitable divergences in the individual treatment of these obscure writings:

du mois Tisa (4 letters) au *Nakhata*, même par un seule personne il doit être entendu. Et c'est ainsi que ce *stupa* doit être honoré jusqu'à la fin des temps, pour le bien de l'assemblée."—Burnouf, B. L. 673.

See also my article in the J.R.A.S. Vol. I. n.s. p. 466; and the *Kalpa Sūtra*, pp. 16, 17.

¹ As a possible commentary upon this, the avowedly Buddhist *Lalitā-Vistara* says: "The rehearsal of religious discourse satiateth not the godly."—Preface, p. 24, Sanskrit Version, Rajendralāla.

² At Bairath, three marches N.E. of Jaipur.

³ "But in turning over the leaves of a *Jaina* work (the *Parikramanavidhi*), which, according to Dr. Stevenson, means the Rules of Confession to a Guru, I found the word *Bhante* . . . repeated fourteen times, and in every instance, with the pronoun *aḥam*—*aḥam bhante*—preceding apparently some promise or admission; 'I declare, I promise, or acknowledge.' The book is written in the *Magadhi* of the *Jainas*, mixed with provincial Hindi, and is full of technicalities, which it would require a learned *Yati* to expound."—J.R.A.S., Vol. XVI. p. 361.

"Le roi Piyadasa, à l'Assemblée du Magadha qu'il fait saluer, a souhaité et peu de peines et une existence agréable. Il est bien connu, seigneurs, jusqu'où vont et mon respect et ma foi pour le Buddha, pour la Loi, pour l'Assemblée. Tout ce qui, seigneurs, a été dit par le bienheureux Buddha, tout cela seulement est bien dit. Il faut donc montrer, seigneurs, quelles [en] sont les autorités; de cette manière, la bonne loi sera de longue durée: voilà ce que moi je crois nécessaire. En attendant, voici, seigneurs, les sujets qu'embrasse la loi: les bornes marquées par la *Vinaya* (ou la discipline), les facultés surnaturelles des Ariyas, les dangers de l'avenir, les stances du solitaire, le *Sāta* (*sūtra*) du solitaire, la spéculation d'Upatisa (Çariputtra) seulement, l'instruction de Lāgula (Rāhula); en rejetant les doctrines fausses: [voilà] ce qui a été dit par le bienheureux (Buddha). Ces sujets qu'embrasse la loi, seigneurs, je désire, et c'est la gloire à laquelle je tiens le plus, que les Religieux et les Religieuses les écoutent et les méditent constamment, aussi bien que les fidèles des deux sexes. C'est pour cela, seigneurs, que je [vous] fais écrire ceci; telle est ma volonté et ma déclaration."—Lotus, p. 725.

Prof. Wilson's translation is as follows:

"Piyadasi, the King, to the general Assembly of Māgadha, commands the infliction of little pain and indulgence to animals.

"It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, and in the Law, and in the Assembly.

"Whatever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them, verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned: so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed). For these, I declare, are the principal discipline (*Vinaya*), having overcome the oppressions of the Aryas, and future perils, (and refuted) the songs of the Munis, the *sūtras* of the Munis, (the practices) of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines. These things, as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim, and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the Law. . . . These things I affirm, and have caused to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention."—Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XVI. (1851), p. 357. See also Translation, Journ. A.S. Bengal, vol. ix.

I subjoin Dr. Kern's newly-published translation, for the double purpose of comparison with the redactions of his predecessors, and to satisfy the modern world, that whatever

the associate *Piyadasane*, "lovely to behold." "Siddhārtha" is represented in the text of the Kalpa Sūtra, as "issued forth the king and lord of men, the bull and lion among men, lovely to behold," etc. Dr. Stevenson adds, in a note: "This is the famous epithet *पियदसणे* *Piyadasane* that occurs so frequently in the ancient inscriptions, and which we have met with several times before." *Piyadasi* is further given as the name of one of the 24 (*Jaina* ?) Buddhos in the opening passage of the *Mahāvanso*.¹ Mr. Turnour contributes the following additional quotation from the Pāli annals: "Hereafter the prince *Piyadáso*, having raised the *chhatta*, will assume the title of *Aśoko* the *Dhamma Rāja*, or righteous monarch."²

Thus, while we can comprehend that the retention of the simple title of "*Pyadasi*," by an avowed Buddhist, was harmless enough, the rejection of the designation of "Beloved of the gods" became a clear necessity for any convert to a religion which *ipso facto* repudiated all gods.

The title of *Devánampiya* does not seem to have been admitted into the scriptures of the Northern Buddhists,³ who were deferred converts; but it was carried down with the earliest spread of the faith to Ceylon, in B.C. 246, by "*Devánampiya Tissá*,"⁴ together with, as we have seen, many of the other elements and symbols of the *Jaina* creed.

Amid the varied indirect sources of information bearing upon the "faith of the Mauryas," now available, we should scarcely have looked for any contributions from the formal

hārtha, in explaining *Trisala's* dream, commences, "O beloved of the gods." At pp. 56, 61, speaking to the royal messengers, he addresses them as "O beloved of the gods," and at p. 64 the "interpreters of dreams" are received with the same complimentary greeting.

¹ *Mahāvanso*, vol. i. p. 75.

² *J.A.S. Bengal*, vol. vi. p. 1056. See also *Wilson*, *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XII. p. 244.

³ The objection to the term *Devdnampiya* of course does not extend to the inevitable *Devaputra* of the *Lalita-vistara*—the "heaven-born" need not have been compromised by his later apostacy.—See *Rajendra Lāla's* (*Sanskrit text*), *Preface*, pp. 14, 15, 21, etc.

⁴ *Mahāvanso*, pp. 4, 68, 62, etc. *Indian Antiquary*, 1872, p. 139. *Rhys Davids*, *Inscription of Gamini Tissā*, son of *Devánampiya Tissā*, at *Dambula*, Ceylon.

pages of dictionaries or grammars. Nevertheless, amid the odd words cited, for other purposes, we discover, in Patanjali's commentary on the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, a most suggestive record by the annotator, who is supposed to date somewhere about B.C. 160-60,¹ regarding the gods of the Mauryas. Prof. Goldstücker's translation of Pāṇini's leading text, with the illustration added by Patanjali, is subjoined:

"'If a thing,' says Pāṇini, 'serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale' (it has the affix *ka*). This rule Patanjali illustrates with the words 'Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha,' meaning the idols that represent these divinities, and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them—while they are not for sale. And 'why?' he asks. 'The Mauryas wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities.' Good; (Pāṇini's rule) may apply to such (idols as they sold); but as to idols, which are hawked about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their names will have the affix *ka*."²

That there are many difficulties in the translation, and still more in the practical interpretation of this passage, need not be reiterated.³ The first impression the context conveys

¹ This is Prof. Weber's date; Prof. Goldstücker assigned Patanjali to 140-120 B.C.; and Prof. Bhandarkar fixes the date of his chapter iii. at 144-142 B.C.—Ind. Ant. 1872, p. 302.

² Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 228. Prof. Goldstücker goes on to add: "Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which they sell, because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do—I know not. . . . I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his (Patanjali's) words, . . . that he lived after the last king of this (Maurya) dynasty."—p. 229.

Prof. Weber's critical commentary upon Goldstücker's rendering of this passage, amid other argumentative questions as to the period of Pāṇini himself, proceeds:

"Patanjali, in commenting on rule v. 3, 99, of Pāṇini, . . . in the case of a life sustenance-serving (object, which is an image, the affix *ka* is not used), except when the object is valuable. . . . In the case of a saleable, e.g. Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha, the rule does not apply." . . .

"The gold-coveting Maurya had caused images of the gods to be prepared. To these the rule does not apply, but only to such as serve for immediate worship (i.e. with which their possessors go about from house to house) [in order to exhibit them for immediate worship, and thereby to earn money]."—Indian Antiquary, 1873, p. 61.

³ Prof. Weber's opinion on the bearing of this passage is to the following effect: "In the passage about the Mauryas I must leave it to others to decide if Patanjali's words do really imply it as his opinion that Pāṇini himself, in referring to images that were saleable, had in his eye such as those that had come down from the Mauryas. I never said more than this. And Bhandarkar goes too far when he says: 'Prof. Weber infers that Pāṇini in making his rule had in his eye,' etc. My words are: 'According to the view of Patanjali;' 'Patanjali is undoubtedly of

seems to refer to the multitudinous images of the *Jaina* Mauryas, which were so easily reproduced in their absolute repetitive identity, and so largely distributed as part and parcel of the creed itself, of which we have had so many practical exemplifications in the preceding pages.¹ But Patanjali's direct reference to the Maurya gods of his day—that is to say, during the reign of that staunch adherent of the Brahmins, the *Sunga Pushpamitra*²—under the definite names of *Śiva*, *Skanda*, *Viśākha*, opens out a new line of inquiry as to the concurrent state and progress of Brahmanism, and his evidence undoubtedly indicates that their branch of the local religion was in a very crude and inchoate stage at the period referred to—an inference which is more fully confirmed by the testimony of numismatic remains.³

Among the extant examples of the mintages of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, we meet with the self-same designations of the three Brahmanical gods, under the counterpart Greek transcription of OKPO, ΣΚΑΝΔΟ, and ΒΙΖΑΡΟ. The only

opinion; 'Be this as it may, the notice is in itself an exceedingly curious one.' Now with regard to this very curious and odd statement itself, I venture to throw it out as a mere suggestion, whether it may not perhaps refer to a first attempt at gold coinage made by the Mauryas (in imitation of the Greek coins). It is true no Maurya coin has been discovered as yet, so far as I know, but this may be mere chance: the real difficulty is how to bring Patanjali's words into harmony with such an interpretation, the more so as in his time no doubt gold coins were already rather common."—*Indian Antiquary*, July, 1873, pp. 208, 209.

¹ "As these twenty-four Tirthankaras are incarnations of wisdom, and are divine personages who appeared in the world and attained the enjoyment of heavenly bliss, the Jains consider them to be *Śivamis*, equal to the divine-natured *Arūṇa*. . . . And accordingly they build temples in honour of these Tirthankaras, and make images like them, of stone, wood, gold, and precious gems, and considering these idols as the god *Arūṇa* himself, they perform daily and special *pūjas*, and observe fasts and celebrate festivals in their honour."—p. xix. Notice on Jainism, by Śāstram Aiyar, from "The Chintāmaṇi," edited by the Rev. H. Bower, Madras, 1868.

² Pushpamitra is the king who offered 100 *dīndrs* for the head of every *Śramana*, and hence obtained the title of *Munihata*, "Muni-killer."—Burnouf, vol. i. p. 431.

³ I must add that in other portions of the "Mahābhāṣya" reference is made to "the Brahmanical deities of the Epic period, Śiva, Viṣṇu, etc.; to Vāsudeva or Krishna as a god or demi-god, and to his having slain Kansa and bound Bali." Mr. Muir, from whose analysis of Prof. Weber's *Indische Studien* (1873) I take this information, adds: "The genuineness of the whole of Patanjali's work itself, as we now have it, is not, Prof. Weber considers, beyond the reach of doubt, as some grounds exist for supposing that the work, after having been mutilated or corrupted, was subsequently reconstructed, and at the same time perhaps received various additions from the pen of the compiler." See also *Academy*, 8th August, 1874, p. 156.

other Brahmanical gods that apparently attained any prominence, at the epoch of these three Indo-Scythian kings, which, for the moment, we may accept as at or about the commencement of our era, would seem to have been Śiva's supposed consort, ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ, and *Mahāsenā*, which latter embodiment is elsewhere understood as a mere counterpart of Śiva.¹ In the same manner, *Skanda* constitutes the title of a "son of Śiva," and *Viśākha* is the conventional name of *Kārttikeya* or *Skanda*, "the god of war," and finally, *Kumāra* is simply a synonym of *Skanda*. In fact we have here nothing but the multiform *Śiva* personally, or the various members of his family. So that the combined testimony of the grammarian and the material proofs exhibited by the coins would almost necessitate the conclusion that, at the commencement of our era, *Brahmanism* had not yet emerged from *Saivism*, whose Indian origin is now freely admitted by the leading authorities.

In testing the position of Saivism, at approximate periods, we are able to appeal to the independent testimony of the coins of a collateral division of the Indo-Scythic race, whose leading designation follows the term of ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ.

It has hitherto been usual to place this branch of the Scythic intruders considerably earlier, in point of time, than their fellow and more permanently-domiciled brotherhood; but the question as it is presented, under later lights, seems to resolve itself into a geographical rather than an epochal severance. The Kadphises horde settled themselves in lands where the Bactrian Pāli alphabet and quasi-Aryan speech were still current. The Kanerki group, wherever their first Indian location may have been, clearly followed Irānian traditions in the classification and designations of their adopted gods, in the regions of their abundant mintages.

The Kadphises forms of Saivism may be followed in detail in Plate X. of Prof. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. The

¹ *Mahā-senā*, "a great army," an epithet of *Kārttikeya* or *Skanda*; of *Śiva*. So also *Śenāpati*, "army chief," name of *Kārttikeya*; of *Śiva*, etc.—M. Williams; in vocibus.

conjoint legends appertaining to which are couched in the following terms:

Latin-Greek—BACIAETC OOHMO KAAΦICIC.

Bactrian-Pali—

Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Sarva-loka-iṣṭavarasa Mahiṣvarasa Kapiṣasa.

Of the Great King, King of Kings, ruler of the whole world, the Great Lord (of) Kapisa.¹

We have here, again, *Siva* very much under the guise of a God of War (Nos. 9, 13), though the trident is suggestive of Neptune and the ill-defined drooping garment, in the left hand, is reminiscent of the lion's skin of Hercules. But the Saivism is complete in No. 5, even to the spiral shell-shaped hair² (less apparent in Nō. 13), with the conventional VĀHANA or Bull, which now becomes constant and immutable; following on in Nos. 12–21 the leading type exhibits various gradations of the gross hermaphrodite outline of half man, half woman, with "the necklace of skulls," possibly disclosing the first definite introduction to *caste* threads, out of which so many religious conflicts grew in later days.

Under any circumstances, the present coincidences must be accepted as beyond measure, critical, when we find Patanjali, a native of Oudh, speaking of things on the banks of the Soane, at Patna, and Scythian intruders on the Kábul river, responding in practical terms, as to the ruling *Saivism* which covered, with so little change, a range of country represented in the divergent paths of a continuous highway, starting from the extreme geographical points here named.

For the purposes of the illustration of the international associations, and the accepted religions of the period, we are beyond measure indebted to the recent numismatic contributions of the Pesháwar find. These coins, comprising the large total of 360 gold pieces, all belong to the combined Kanishka brotherhood, or tribal communities, to which reference has been made in my previous article in the Journal,³ and in

¹ Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 213. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 354. *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XX. p. 239. Solinus tells us: *Quidam libri Caphusam. In alii: Caphisam. Plinius Capissam vocat. cap. liv. p. 827.*

² Rudra and Pushan are said to wear their hair wound or braided spirally upwards into the form of a shell called "Kapardin."—Muir, vol. v. p. 462.

³ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. 8 *et seq.*

the earlier pages of this paper. The triple series of *obverse* legends are restricted to the following repetitive Greek transcriptions :

GREEK LEGENDS ON THE KANERKI COINS.

1. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.
2. PAO NANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO.
3. PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO.

These titles seem to have been more or less sectional and eventually to have become hereditary, like Arsaces, Cæsar, etc., and though probably applicable in the first instance severally to the three brothers, they appear, in process of time, to have become dynastic as the conventional titular designation of the head of the family or tribe, for the time being, and to have continued in imitative use, especially in the instance of BAZOΔHO,¹ for many centuries. Until, indeed, as I have previously remarked, the Greek characters become altogether unintelligible,² though the mint types are still mechanically reproduced.

I have now to describe, as briefly as the subject will admit of, the coins I have selected for insertion in the accompanying Plate II., which were primarily arranged to illustrate the objects of worship admitted into the Indo-Scythian Pantheon; but, which, under subsequent discoveries, have assumed a more important mission in the general range of inquiry.

CONTENTS OF PLATE II.

KANERKI.

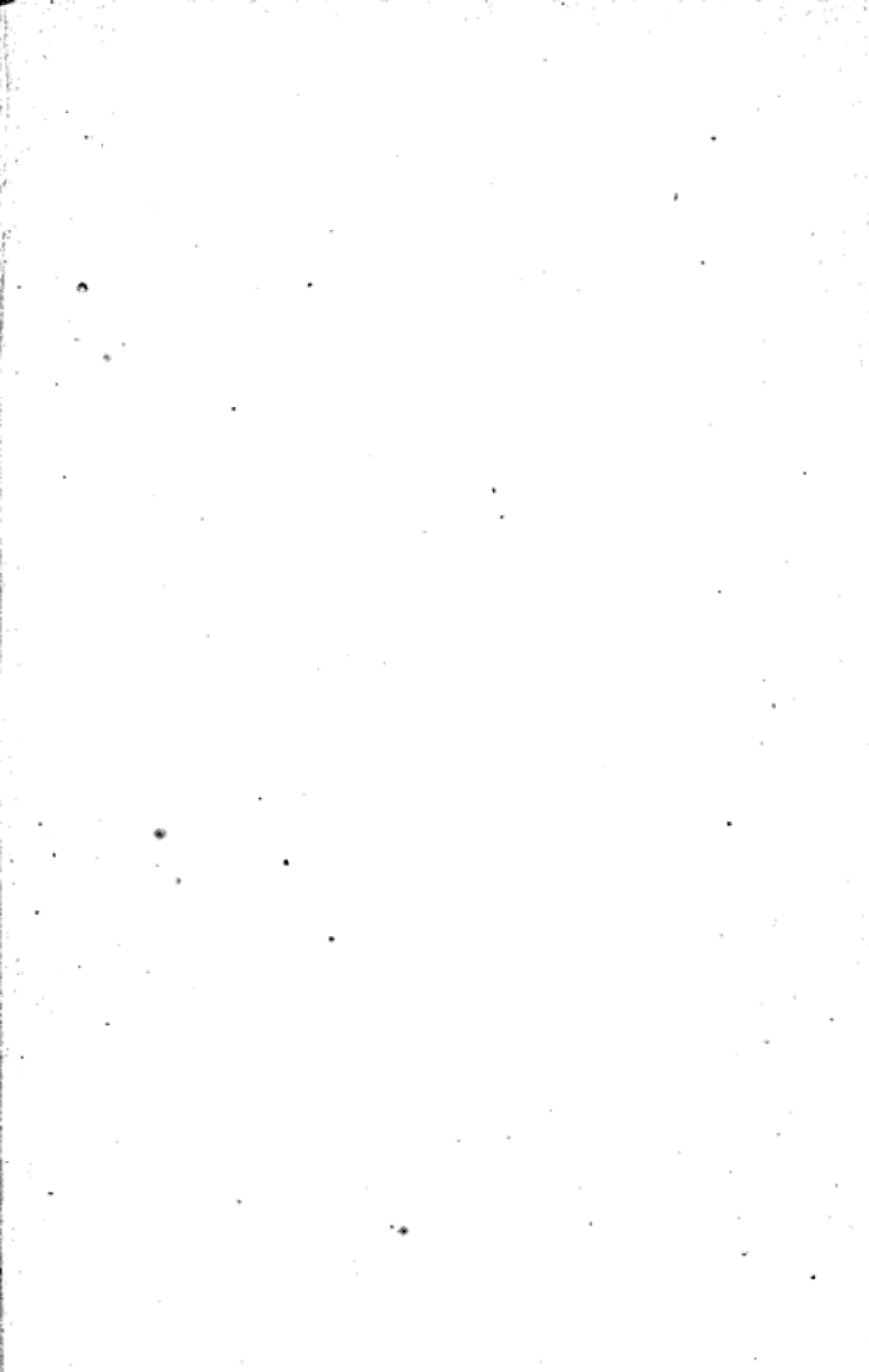
No. 1. (*Obverse*. King standing to the front, in the conventional form represented in *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xi. fig. 16, *worn die*.)

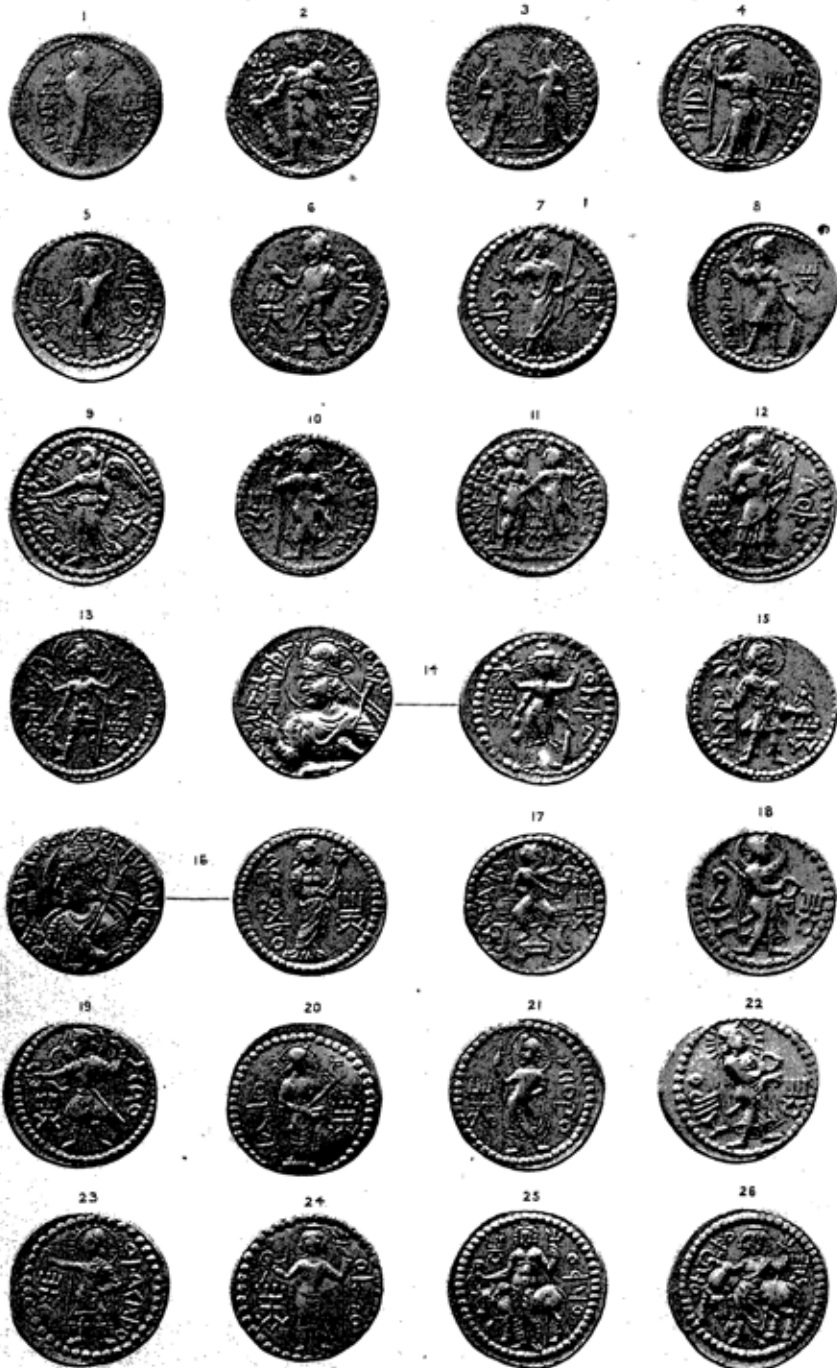
Legend. Constant. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate. *Legend* NANA PAO, *Nanaia*.

¹ The identity of Bazdeo as one of the three brothers, and as the person alluded to in the Mathurā inscriptions under the title of *Vāsudeva*, in conjunction with *Kanishka* and *Huvishka*, seems to be now placed beyond doubt; but the new coins teach us to discriminate Bazdeo as the third king, in opposition to my suggestion (*Vol. IX.* p. 11, *supra*) that *Vāsudeva* might have been "the titular designation of Kanishka."

² Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. xxii. 4, 5, 6-11, 13. *J.R.A.S.* o.s. Vol. XII. Pl. IV. the same figures. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xiv. figs. 12, 13, 16, 17.





OOERKI.

- No. 2. (*Obverse*. King seated cross-legged, wearing a close-fitting helmet, with bossed cheek-plates and flowing fillets, ornamental coat fastened by two brooches or link-buttons in front, flames issue from both shoulders. He holds a small mace in the right hand, and a spear in the left.)

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. *Legend*. ΗΡΑΚΛΙΟ, *Hercules*.

- No. 3. (Bust of the King, as in the ordinary Kadphises types (A.A. xiv. 2). Quilted coat, flame issuing from the right shoulder, close cap, double feather frontlet, half moon, spiked mace, etc.)

Reverse. Figures as in Plate. *Legend*. ΜΑΟ ΜΟΟΝ, ΜΗΡΟ ΣΟΝ.

- No. 4. (*Obverse*. Ooerki, old form (A.A. xiv. 6), die much worn.)

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. *Legend*. ΠΙΛΗ (or ΠΙΠΗ or ΠΙΘΗ), *Pallas*.

This type was first introduced at Rome by Domitian, A.D. 80, who affected to be the son of Pallas Capitolina.—Trésor de Numismatique, p. 42.

- No. 5. (*Obverse*. ΟΟΗΡΚΙ, (A.A. xiv. 6), worn-out die.)

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. *Legend*. ΒΡΟΗ or ΒΡΟΒ. *Varuna*.

- No. 6. (*Obverse*. Well-executed bust of King, with close-fitting cap, eagle feather frontlet, and flowing Sassanian fillets at the back; silken dress, with large necklace. He holds a small mace, and an *ankus* (elephant goad).

Reverse. Figure as in Plate. *Legend*. ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟ, *Sarapis*.

- No. 7. (*Obverse*. King seated, the general outline of the device is similar to that of No. 2; but the crossed legs are merged in rising clouds. The helmet has a prominent frontlet in the form of the sun, no cheek-plates, the ear and beard are visible, flames on shoulders, spear and mace, the coat is more than usually open in front and displays an embroidered undergarment.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate. *Legend*. ΖΕΡΟ (Ceres), *Diana*. Device imitated from a coin of Augustus, A.U.C. 744, B.C. 10.—Trésor de Numismatique, vii. 12.

- No. 8. (Bust of King, similar to No. 2; Sun frontlet, in this instance the helmet has a cheek bar only, and shows the ear, traces of Sassanian fillets, etc. Armlets, link-brooch, mace, spear, etc. In one example of the Mars reverse, the *obverse* head is similar to No. 16 *infra*, but the King wears a pallium.)

Reverse. Figure of a Roman warrior, as in the Plate. There are five varieties of this reverse. In one instance the figure

of Mars holds what is described, in the Trésor de Numismatique, as "un bouclier rond," a type which occurs on the money of Germanicus, A.U.C. 801, A.D. 47 (Pl. xix. 7, 8).

Legend. PAO PHĒPO (Rao-rethro), *Mars*.

No. 9. (*Obverse.* Bust of King, as in No. 7.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate.

Legend. OANINΔA (Oaninda), *Anandates*.

No. 10. (*Obverse.* Bust as in No. 3. No flame on shoulder, *Sassanian* fillets.)

Reverse. As in the Plate. *Legend.* MAAZHNO (Mahāsenā), an Indian form of *Mars*? *Siva*?

No. 11. (*Obverse.* Bust as in No. 3.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate. *Legends.* ΣKANΔO, KOMAPO, BIZARO; *Skanda*, *Kumāra*, *Viṣṇukha*.

No. 12. (*Obverse.* Bust of King, with ornamental jacket, armlets, mace, spear, flames on shoulders, etc. Peaked cap as in A.A. xiv. 5, but with bossed cheek-plates.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate. *Legend.* AΘPO, *Zend Atars* (the Roman Vulcan).

No. 13. (*Obverse.* Bust of King as in No. 8.)

Reverse. Device as in the Plate; exhibiting a three-faced Indian form of *Śiva* wearing short drawers (*jānghiyā*), in front of which appears, for the first time, a marked definition of the Priapus, which however has nothing in common with the local *Linga*. The left hands hold the trident and an Indian thunderbolt. The one right hand grasps the wheel or *chakra* (the symbol of universal dominion), the other is extended to the small goat.

Legend. OKPO. *Ugra* the "fierce" (a title of *Śiva*).

No. 14. *Obverse.* As exhibited in the Plate. The King wears a Roman *pallium*; ornamental cap with cheek-plates and well-defined *Sassanian* fillets; in the right hand the small iron-bound mace,¹ in the left a standard, surmounted by *Śiva's Vāhana* or the bull *Nandi*, in the conventional recumbent position.

¹ General Cunningham was under the impression that this object was a Buddhist praying-wheel. I prefer to look upon it as an iron-bound mace, a counterpart of the modern club, so effective in strong hands, known by the name of *lohā-band lātki*. The *gurz* of Feridūn was an historical weapon. The use of which was affected by the great Mahmūd of Ghazni and his successors after him. The Kadphises Scythians also were demonstrative about maces, but theirs took the form of a bulky wooden club. See also Tabari (O.T.F.), vol. ii. p. 228.

Legend, legible. ρΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ Οηρικι κορανο.

Reverse. Śiva, three-faced, four-armed, to the front, holding the trident, a club, a western form of the thunderbolt and a gourd, water-vessel?

Legend. ΟΚΡΑ, Zend *uḡra*, अग्र *Ugra*, the "fierce," "terrible."

No. 15. (*Obverse*. King's bust as in No. 8.)

Reverse. Roman figure, as in the plate, holding a brazier with ascending flames. *Legend*. ΦΑΡΡΟ, Pharos. There are several varieties of this type: in one instance the figure holds a *simpulum*, such as is seen on the coins of Antonia Augusta, A.D. 37.—Trésor de Numismatique, pl. x. fig. 14.

No. 16. *Obverse*. King's bust as in the Plate. Ornamental jacket, armlets, mace and spear; with a curious peaked helmet having buffalo horns diverging upwards from below the frontlet, as is seen in certain Indo-Sassanian coins of a later age;¹ flowing fillets at the back, with *Sassanian* fillets distributed over each shoulder.

Reverse. A Roman type of abundance. *Legend*. ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ. The cornucopiæ and the style of dress belong to the period of Julius Cæsar and the early days of Augustus, A.U.C. 711, 33 B.C.—Trésor de Numismatique, pl. iii. fig. 1.

No. 17. (*Obverse*. Kadphises type of King's bust, with mace and *ankus*, Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Four-armed figure, as in the Plate. *Legend*. ΜΑΝΑΟ ΒΑΡΟ, the *Moon-god*.

No. 18. (*Obverse*. Kadphises bust; silken garment, mace, *ankus*, etc., flame on right shoulder, ordinary fillets.)

Reverse. Male figure, as in the Plate. *Legend*. ΜΑΟ, *Mao*, the Moon.

No. 19. (*Obverse*. King's bust as in A.A. xiv. 3; highly ornamental robe and collar, Sassanian fillets, etc.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate, with sword and staff, holding out a chaplet. *Legend*. ΜΑΟ, the Moon.

No. 20. (*Obverse*. King's bust, with Roman pallium, peaked cap, and Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Female figure with Caduceus, as in the Plate.

Legend. ΝΑΝΟ, *Nanaia*.

¹ See Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 116; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xvii. 6, etc.; Herodotus, vii. c. lxxvi.

- No. 21. (*Obverse*. Juvenile bust of the King, with silken garment, mace, *ankus*, with a close-fitting compact helmet and Sassanian fillets.)

Reverse. Rayed figure, with flowing garments, as in the Plate.

Legend. ΜΙΘΡΟ, *Mithra*.

- No. 22. (*Obverse*. Old form of bust of the King, Kadphises style.)

Reverse. Figure as in the Plate. *Legend*. ΜΙΗΡΟ, *Mihira*.

- No. 23. (*Obverse*. Well-executed profile, but less-finished bust, of the King; wearing the Roman *pallium*, with mace, spear, peaked cap, prominent frontlet, bold *halo*, bossed cheek-plates with flowing fillets of the ordinary character, associated with the Sassanian drooping falls on the back of the left shoulder, flame on the right shoulder.)

Reverse. Figure, also clothed in the *pallium*, as seen in the Plate.

The type of the reverse follows, in a measure, the earlier examples of ΗΑΙΟC (A. A. xi. 16) and ΜΙΗΡΟ (A. A. xii. 15), and it has something in common with the beautiful reverse of No. 21 of our Plate II. Legend of "undetermined" import ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ.

ΒΑΖΑΗΟ.

- No. 24. (*Obverse*. King standing to the front, in full Scythian cap-à-pied armour, with sword, spear, high pointed cap, reduced halo, falling fillets, with large Mithraic altar, into which the right hand of the King seems to be casting votive incense, as in A. A. xiv. 18.)

Legend, constant. ΡΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ.)

Reverse. Figure as exhibited in the Plate. *Śiva trimukhi*, to the front, with top-knot, holding trident and noose (*paśu*), clad in the Indian *dhōtī*, naked above the waist.

Legend. Reversed-Greek ? ΟΚΡΟ.

- No. 25. (*Obverse*. Full-length figure of the King, in bossed and armour fished skirt (as in A. A. xiv. 14).)

Reverse. Figure as shown in the Plate. *Śiva*, single-faced, with top-knot, and bushy hair, clothed in the Indian *dhōtī*, bold muscular development of the chest, trident, noose (*paśu*), well-defined Bráhmaṇī bull, monogram, etc. *Legend*. ΟΚΡΟ.

- No. 26. (*Obverse*. Standing figure of the King, the bosses of the body-armour appear in full detail, the fish-scale skirt is also given, as are the greaves and the rings, or serpent-like protection of the arms. The spear is here a subdued trident, with a bold central point and reduced side spikes; but the

peculiarity of the whole device, in this instance, consists in the tall Kuzzalbāsh-like cap, which is surmounted by the head of a bird.

Reverse. Śiva *trimukhi*, as reproduced in the Plate, with his bull in a varied position. The god, in addition to ordinary trident and noose, reveals a subdued but fully defined priapus in front of the folds of the *dhoti*, together with the first determinate representation of a Brahmanical or *caste* thread, which replaces the early necklace of skulls adverted to at p. 59.

One of the most important revelations of the Peshāwar *find* is the large amount of Roman influence to be detected amid the types of these Indo-Scythian coinages.

The earliest archaeological trace of commercial or other intercourse between India and Rome is represented by the celebrated deposit in a tumulus at Manikyāla, discovered by M. A. Court in 1833.

M. Court's description of the position and condition of the crypt is as follows:

"At ten feet from the level of the ground, we met with a cell in the form of a rectangular parallelogram, built in a solid manner, with well-dressed stones, firmly united with mortar. The four sides of the cell corresponded with the four cardinal points, and it was covered with a single massive stone. Having turned this over, I perceived that it was covered with inscriptions. In the centre of the cell stood a copper urn, encircling which were placed symmetrically eight medals of the same metal. . . . The urn itself was carefully enveloped in a wrapper of white linen tightly adhering to its surface. . . . The copper urn enclosed a smaller one of silver; the space between them being filled in with a paste of the colour of raw umber. . . . Within the silver urn was found one much smaller of gold, immersed in the same brown paste, in which were also contained seven silver medals, with Latin characters.¹ The gold vessel

¹ 1. No. 19. pl. xxxiv. J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iii. A silver denarius of Mark Antony, struck while he was a member of the celebrated triumvirate; M. ANTONIUS. iii. VIR. R.P.C.—Vaillant, ii. p. 9. Riccio, pl. iv. 26. J. des Sav. 1836, p. 72 (A.U.C. 711).

2. No. 20. Julius Cæsar. Julia family, Riccio, xxiii. 31. R. Rochette. A.U.C. 694-704, "si connu et si commun."

3. No. 21. Cordia family. Ric. xiv. 1. R.R. A.U.C. 705. "Un denier d'Auguste, avec les têtes accouplées de Caius et de Lucius Cæsars."

4. No. 22. Minucia family. Riccio, xxxiii. 7. Q. THERM. M.F. about A.U.C. 680.

enclosed four small coins of gold of the Græco-Scythic type¹ . . ; also two precious stones and four pearls."

With a view to determine the age of the monument itself from external evidence, M. Raoul Rochette critically examined the Roman coins found in the inner coating of the main deposit. The result of his exhaustive study is subjoined in his own words :

"Maintenant, ce qui résulte de la réunion de ces sept monnaies de familles romaines, six desquelles sont reconnues avec certitude, et qui furent toutes frappées dans le cours des années 680 à 720 de Rome; ce qui résulte, non-seulement de la présence de ces sept monnaies, appartenant toutes aux derniers temps de la république, et de l'absence de monnaies consulaires ou impériales, c'est que le monument où on les avait déposées à dessein, appartient lui-même à la période de temps qui est celle de l'émission et de la circulation de ces monnaies; car le fait qu'on n'y a trouvé mêlé parmi elles ni un seul denier consulaire, ni un seul denier impérial, est certainement très-significatif; et ce ne peut être, à mon avis, une circonstance purement fortuite ou accidentelle qui ait réuni ainsi, dans un monument considérable, sept monnaies choisies entre toutes celles que le commerce avait portées dans l'Inde, et toutes frappées dans la période républicaine des guerres civiles, qui eurent principalement l'Orient pour théâtre."—*Journ. des Savants*, 1836, p. 74.

At one time it was fondly hoped that this monument might prove to have been the last resting-place of the ashes of Kanishka himself, but the inscription on the inverted slab effectually disposed of any such notion.² The covering stone of the crypt mentions *Samvat* 18, and the Mathurá inscriptions extend his reign to *Samvat* 33. The discovery, however, is of the highest importance under other aspects. It has been usual to associate Kanishka's name with Buddhism, and in

5. No. 23. Accoleia family. LARISCOLVS, i. 1. A.U.C. 710-720.

6. No. 24. Julia family. Ric. xxii. 4.

7. No. 25. Furia family. R. xxi. 8. R.R. A.U.C. 686. The latest authorities, therefore, limit the date of the most recent of these coins to B.C. 34. Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 149.

¹ Four "gold coins found in the gold cylinder." Pl. xxxiv. vol. iii. J.A.S. Bengal. 1 and 2. Kanerki bust and peaked cap. Rev. Śiva, four-armed and OKPO.

3. Kanerki standing figure. Rev. Śiva, four-armed and OKPO.

4. Kanerki standing figure. Rev. Standing figure. AΘPO.

² Prof. Dowson, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. o.s. p. 250.

his reign a new convocation of the Buddhists was convened, once again to revise and determine the authorized faith. If Kanishka ever was a Buddhist, he, like Aśoka, must have become so late in life. His coins, as we have seen, are eminently Saiva, and this monument, erected during his reign, contained, within the gold cylinder in the innermost recess of its undisturbed chamber, no less than three coins bearing the image of Śiva, out of the four, selected for inhumation with the ashes of the person, in whose honour it was built. Moreover, so distinctly was the ruling Śaivism accepted in India, that we find the coins of NANA PAO conventionally denominated *Nānakas* (and elsewhere defined as bearing the mark of *Śiva*) in the authoritative text of Yajñavalkya's Hindu Law.¹ On the other hand, Indo-Scythic Buddhism is undemonstrative in the extreme, and one of the coins most relied upon to prove devotion to that faith² turns out, under the legends of the better specimens of the Peshāwar find, to bear the name of ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ (No. 23, Pl. II.), whereas those coins which bear the unmistakable figure of Śākya Muni—as I shall show hereafter—clearly belong to a later period of the Kanerki series.

Under the system in vogue, in more advanced Buddhistic days, of the gradual enlargement of Topes and the concurrent exhibition of relics, which for convenience sake were placed near the summit of the mound, we find a later deposit three feet only from the top of this smaller Manikyāla *tope*, which consisted of three coins bearing the form and name of Śiva, and one coin only with the image and superscription of ΟΑΔΟ, the Wind.³

¹ Yajñavalkya's date is uncertain. Some commentators place him before Vikramāditya, others so late as the second century A.D. See my *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 20. Prof. Wilson remarks that the name of शाणक *nānaka* occurs in the play of the *Mricchhakatika* (act i. scene 1), and the commentary explains the *nānaka* as शिवाङ्कटङ्क *Śivāṅka-taṅka*, or "coin with the mark of Śiva."

² General Cunningham, J.A.S. Bengal, 1845, p. 435, pl. ii. fig. 3.

³ The four copper coins found above the stone cover of the tumulus, pl. xxxiv. vol. iii. J.A.S. Bengal, are identified with—

1. Kadphises, the King, standing. *Rev.* Śiva and Nandi, with Bactrian-Pāli legends similar to A.A. Plate x. figs. 15, etc.

2. Coin of Kanerki, with *Rev.* ΟΑΔΟ.

3 and 4. Coin of Kanerki, with *Rev.* Śiva four-armed, OKPO.

We have now to seek to discover, from the numismatic remains,—which constitute the only positive data left us,—how it came to pass, that so many of the elements of Western forms of worship and classic Roman devices found their way into such a specially-dissevered section of the earth, as that which bowed to Indo-Scythian sway at and shortly before the commencement of our era.

The first and most obvious suggestion would point to ordinary commercial intercourse, the superior value of Indian produce, and the consequent import of Roman gold for the requisite balance of trade, about which Pliny was so eloquent.

But in this case we are forced to admit some more direct and abiding influence. If the Roman gold had been suffered to remain intact in the shape it was received, as mere bullion, which sufficed for the traffic of the Western coast, we should have gained no aid or instruction in the explanation of the present difficulty.

But, fortunately, the recoinage of the original Roman aurei *in situ*, at whatever exact point it may ultimately be placed, must clearly be limited to a region, far removed from the inspiring centre, and separated by some natural belt of desert or hostile territory from free intercourse with old associations, or home relations.

In the Parthian dominions, which intervened between the extreme points indicated, there existed precisely such barriers: and excepting the perseverance with which their kings retained the eagles of Crassus, there was no notion of recognition or adoption of Roman devices by the Parthian monarchs till the Italian slave Mousa got her image placed on the Arsacidan mintages.

Whereas, among the distant communities in the far East, we discover consecutive imitations of Roman types, extending over a considerable space of time, and following irregularly the latest novelties and innovations of the Imperial mints; but always appearing in independent forms, as reproductions, with newly-engraved dies of inferior execution, but with Latin-Greek legends embodying Zend denominations; and, more distinctive still, uniformly accepting either

the already-prepared *obverses* of the Indo-Scythian kings, or reviving their semblance from time to time in apparent recognition of the suzerain power.



- The enigma above outlined seems to me to be susceptible of but one solution, which singularly accords with the given circumstances of time and place—that is, that the 10,000 captives of the army of Crassus,¹ who were transported to Merv-ul-rūd, on the extreme border of the Parthian dominions,² a site intentionally most remote from their ancestral homes, finding even that fertile valley, that pleasant Siberia, unprepared to accommodate so large and so sudden an influx of population, spread and extended themselves into the proximate dominions of the Indo-Scythians,³ and freely ac-

¹ Plutarch in Crassus xxxi.—*Λέγονται δ' οἱ πάντες διαμύριοι μὲν ἀποβαίνειν, μύριοι δὲ ἀλῶναι* (saves). Repeated in Appian Parth., p. 66.

² Pliny, N. H. vi. xvi. 18.—“Sequitur regio Margiane, apricitalis inclytæ, sola in eo tractu vitifera, undique inclusa montibus amœnis . . . et ipsa contra Parthiæ tractum sita: in qua Alexander Alexandriam condiderat. Qua diruta a barbaris, Antiochus Seleuci filius, eodem loco restituit Syriam; nam interfuerat Margo, qui corrivatur in Zotale, is maluerat illam Antiochiam appellari. Urbis amplitudo circumitur circuitu stadiis lxx; in hanc Orodes Romanos Crassiana clade captos deduxit.”

The references in Vell. Patereulus ii. 82, and Florus iv. 10, only go to show how mercifully the captives were treated, inasmuch as they were freely allowed to serve in the Parthian ranks. Justin, xlii. cap. v. affirms that the prisoners of both the armies of Crassus and Antony were collected and restored, with the standards, in B.C. 20, but this statement probably refers only to those who were within easy call; and the thirty-three years' residence in the distant valleys of the Indian Caucasus may well have reconciled the then surviving remnant of Crassus's force to their foreign home and new domestic ties. See also Suetonius, in Augustus, c. xxi., in Tiberio, c. ix.

³ Ἀντιόχεια ἡ καλουμένη Ἐνδρος, or Antiochia irrigua, was distant 537 schæni, by the Parthian royal road, from Ctesiphon, or Madain, on the Tigris: in continuation of the same highway, it was 30 schæni N.N.E. of Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ ἐν Ἀπολῶν or Alexandria Ariana, the modern “Herât,” from whence the route proceeded by Farrah and the Lake of Zaranj to Sikohah, the Σακαστάνη Σακῶν Σκυθῶν or Sacastana Sacarum Scytharum, and hence to Bust and Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας, or the modern Kandahâr.—C. Müller, Geographi Græci Minores (Paris, pp. xci. 252, and Map No. x.).

Merv-ul-rūd  was selected as the seat of government of Khorasân on the Arab conquest, in preference to the more northern Merv  or Merv

Shahjahan—both which names are to be found on the initial Arabico-Pahlavi coins of Selim bin Zîād and Abdullah Hazim, in 63 A.H. (J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. p. 293, and XIII. p. 404). The early Arabian geographers, who officially mapped-out every strategic and commercial highway, tell us that important routes conducted the merchant or traveller from Merv-ul-rūd eastwards, by Talikân, Farayâb and Maimana, to Balkh, whence roads branched-off to the southward, to Bamiân, and by other lines to Andarâbah, Parwân, and Kâbul.

While Herât once reached, by the direct main line to the south, offered endless

cepting their established supremacy, settled themselves down as good citizens, taking in marriage the women of the country,¹ and forming new republics,² without objecting to the recognition of a nominal Suzerain—a political supremacy their fellow-countrymen so soon submitted to in its closer and more direct form of Imperator—at the same time that they retained their old manners and customs, and with them the religion of the Roman pantheon, with the due allowance of Antistes and possibly a Pontifex Maximus, in *partibus infidelium*.

To judge from the changes and gradations in the onward course of these mintages, it would seem as if the new settlers had either directly copied the *obverses* of the Indo-Scythians with their normal Greek legends, or possibly they may have been supplied with official mint-dies, which they used to destruction, and when, in turn, they had to renew these *obverse* dies, they imparted to the ideal bust of the suzerain many of their own conventional details of dress, etc. But in the process of imitation, they appear to have adhered as far as possible to a mechanical reproduction of the old quasi-Greek letters of the Indo-Scythian legend, while on their new and independent *reverses* they took licence in the Latin forms of the Greek alphabet, frequently embodying the current Zend terms in their own hybrid characters, and in some cases becoming converts to, or at least accepting the symbols of the local creeds. Their influence, on the other hand, upon local thought and Indian science, may perchance be traced in the pages of the *Paulīṣa-Siddhānta* and *Romaka-Siddhānta*, wherein their adopted Greek astronomy was insured a shorter passage to the East than the hitherto-recognized devious routes from Alexandria to the Western coast and other points

facilities for the dispersion of the new settlers in the six or seven roads which focussed in the centre formed by that ancient city. (See Sprenger's *Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, maps 4, 5; M. N. Khanikof, "*Asie centrale*," Paris, 1861, map; Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, London, 1857, map.)

¹ Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara, etc.—Horace, *Od.* iii. 5. 5.

² A very suggestive indication has been preserved, in later authors, about the white-blood claimed by the ruling races of Badakhshān, Darwāz, Kulāb, Shighnān, Wakhān, Chitrāl, Gilgit, Swāt, and Bālti.—Burnes, *J.A.S.B.* vol. ii. p. 305; *J.R.A.S.* Vol. VI. p. 99; Marco Polo, cap. xxix. Yule's edit. i. p. 152. See also, for Kanishka's power in these parts, Hiouen Tsang, *Mémoires*, i. pp. 42, 104, 172, 199.

of contact could have afforded.¹ And, in another direction, these new suggestions may lead us to re-examine, with more authority, the later amplifications of the Zend alphabet,² and to expose the needless introduction of foreign vowels and diphthongs—the assimilation of the anomalous Latin *g* and the reception of the *ʃ*, which was only dubiously represented in the Sanskrit alphabet by *ph*.

Prof. Max Müller has remarked that the mention of the word *dīnār* is, in a measure, the test of the date of a Sanskrit MS.,³ and so the use of the re-converted Roman *aurei* may serve to check and define the epoch of distant dynastic changes.

Pliny has told us of the "crime," as he calls it, of him who was the first to coin a *denarius* of gold,⁴ which took place sixty-two years after the first issue of silver money, or in B.C. 207. Under Julius Cæsar the weight of the *aureus* was revised and fixed at the rate of forty to the *libra*, after which period the rate gradually fell, till, under Nero, forty-five *aurei* were coined to the *libra*.

The average weight of extant specimens of Julius Cæsar's *denarii* of gold is stated to run at about 125·66 grains, while similar pieces of Nero fall to a rate of 115·39 grains.

The Persian Daric seems to have been fixed at 130 grains.⁵ The Greek gold pieces of Diodotus of Bactria weigh as much as 132·3 grains.⁶

The Indo-Scythian gold coins reach as high as 125,⁷ but this is an exceptionally heavy return. The Kadphises' group of coins range up to 122·5, and support an average of 122·4; an average which is confirmed by the double piece, no. 5, pl. x. *Ariana Antiqua*, which weighs 245 grains.⁸ The

¹ Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 340. Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. pp. 55, 101, etc. Reinaud, *Mem. sur l'Inde*, pp. 332, etc. Whitney, *Lunar Zodiac*, 1874, p. 371. Kern, Preface to "*Brihat Sanhitā*," p. 40, etc.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. p. 272, and Vol. III. n.s. p. 266. Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 171.

³ *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 245.

⁴ xxxiii. 13.

⁵ *International Numis. Orient.*, Mr. Head, p. 30.

⁶ *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XX.* p. 122.

⁷ Gen. Cunningham, J.A.S.B., 1845, p. 435. Coin of *Arasikro* (No. 23, Pl. II.).

⁸ Coin in British Museum.

Kanerki series present a slightly lower average, but sustain, in numerous instances, a full measure of 122 grains. So that, allowing for wear or depreciation in recoinage, the official imitative mint-rate would not be far removed from the fall following close upon Julius Cæsar's full average, which progressively reached the lower figures above quoted under Nero. While the coin weights, on the one hand, serve to determine the initial date of the serial issues, the devices above described will suffice, on their part, to indicate the periods of inter-communion with the Imperial history as seen in the periodical introduction of copies of the new Roman types of Mint reverses.

To enable my readers to judge of the state of the religious beliefs of Upper India and the adjoining countries to the northward and westward, I have taken advantage of the very important discovery of the gold coins of the Scythic period above described, to compile, or rather to enlarge a previous Table,¹ exhibiting the names of the multitudinous gods recognized amid the various nationalities who, at this time, bowed to the Indo-Scythian sway.²

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, n.s. vol. xii. 1872, p. 113. My "Sassanians in Persia" (Trübner, 1873), p. 43.

² The faith or dominant creed of the three brothers, Kanerki, Ooerki, and Vasudeva (*Hushka*, *Jushka*, *Kanishka*), or that of their subjects, may be tested by the devices of the Peshāwar hoard of their coins.

KANERKI, Κανερκι.	OÖERKI, Οοηρκι.	BAZDEO, Βαζοδης.
1. Μυρο	1. Πιαη	1. Nava
2. Μειρο	2. Ηρακιδιο	2. Οκρο, under numerous forms
3. Mao	3. Οροη	
4. Αθρο	4. Σαραπο	
5. Nava ραο	5. Ζερο	
	6. Οανινδο	
	7. Μιθρα (Μυρο, Μορο, etc.)	
	8. Mao	
	9. Mao with Μυρο	
	10. Μανας βαγο	
	11. Αθρο	
	11a. Ραο ρηθρο	
	12. Αραειχρο	
	13. Φαρρο	
	14. Nava	
	15. Οκρο	
	16. Αρδοχρο	
	17. Μασσηνο	
	18. Σκανδο	
	18. Κομαρο	
	Βιζαγο	

This table is confined to the list of 93 specimens, selected from the total Peshāwar find of 524 coins, as numismatic examples for deposit in the British Museum. The 60 coins brought home by Sir Bartle Frere from the same *trouvaille*, for the Indian Government, do not add any varieties to these lists.

VEDIC GODS.	IRANIAN GODS.	PERSIAN.	GREEK AND GRECO-ROMAN.	BRAHMANICAL.	BUDDHIST.
1. DPOH <i>Vareṇa</i>	1. OAOO <i>Vayu</i>	1. MIPO <i>Mithra</i>	1. HAIOΣ <i>Ἥλιος</i>	1. OKPO <i>Śiva</i>	1. BOAA SAMANA <i>Bodhi Sramana</i>
2. OPAATNO <i>Agni</i>	2. MIPO <i>Mithra</i>	2. NANA <i>Nana</i>	2. HPAKIAO <i>Hercules</i>	2. APAOXPO <i>Parvati?</i>	
	3. APAEIXPO	3. NANA PAO <i>Nana-va</i>	3. ΠIAH <i>Rhea? (Pallas Capitoline)</i>	3. MAAΣHNO <i>Mahadeva</i>	
	4. MAO <i>Mao</i>	4. NANAIA <i>Nanaia</i>	4. ΣΑΡΑΠΗO <i>Sarapis</i>	4. ΣKANΔO <i>Skanda</i>	
	5. MAO and MIPO <i>Mao and Mithra</i>	5. OANINAO <i>Anandates</i>	5. ZEPO <i>Ceres? (Diana)</i>	5. KOMAPO <i>Kumara</i>	
	6. MANAO BAFO <i>Maonā Bago</i>		6. PAO PHOPO <i>Paorēthra (Mars)</i>	6. BIZATO <i>Vipika</i>	
	7. APO <i>Atara</i>				
	8. ΦAPO <i>Pharo, fire-bearer</i>				

I have reduced both the description of Plate II., as well as the above Table, to the narrowest possible outlines, for two reasons: firstly, because I do not desire to anticipate or

interfere with Mr. Vaux's more comprehensive description of Sir B. Frere's selections from the great Peshāwar *find*—which we may hope shortly to see in the pages of our Journal; and secondly, because I wish to await General Cunningham's mature report upon the same *trouvaille*, which is designed to form an article in the *Numismata Orientalia*, a work in which I am much interested. The only portions of the full number of 524 coins that I have examined are confined to the 93 specimens Sir E. C. Bayley has forwarded to me for the purpose of study and for *eventual* deposit in the British Museum, and the 60 coins from the same source brought home by Sir Bartle Frere, now in the Library at the India Office.

Nevertheless, there are some suggestive identifications embodied in the Table for which I¹ may be held more immediately responsible, and which I must, as far as may be, endeavour to substantiate.

I. VEDIC GODS.

The first, and most venturesome of these, is the association of the *ωρον* on the coins with the Vedic *Varuṇa*; but the process of reasoning involved becomes more simple, when we have to admit that *Οὐρανός* and *Varuṇa* are identical under independent developments from one and the same Aryan conception—and that, even if exception should be taken to the elected transcription of *Ωρον*, the manifestly imperfect rendering of the letters of the Greek legend freely admits of the alternative *Ωρον*.

Some difficulty has been felt, throughout the arrangement of the Table, as to under which of the first four headings certain names should be placed; in this instance, I have been led to put *Varuṇa* in the Vedic column, on account of the absence of the final Zend *o*—which would have associated the name more directly with the Iranian branch of worship.¹

A similar reason might properly be urged for removing

¹ Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. pp. 58, 72, 76, 120, etc.; Haug, *Sacred Writings of the Parsees*, pp. 226, 230.

ΟΡΑΑΓΝΟ from column i. to column ii.; but in this case the "Agni" is preferentially Vedic,¹ and the Iranian branch has its own representative of "Fire," in the technical ΑΕΡΟ. There is also another objection to be met, in the matter of the prefix. It has been usual to follow Lassen's identification of ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ, as meaning "half-Siva," i.e. the female form of that hermaphrodite god;² but these new legends suggest, if they do not prove, that the prefix ΑΡΑ corresponds to the Sanskrit अर्त *rita*, "worshipped," great, etc., instead of to the assumed अर्द्ध *arddhan*, "half." And as, in the present instance, the figure to which the designation is attached is clearly a male, with spear and crested helmet,³ there can be no pretence of making a half-female out of this device.

II. IRANIAN GODS.

The opening ΟΑΔΟ of this list might well have claimed a place in column i., in virtue of its approximation to the Vedic *Vāyu*—a term under which "the wind" is equally addressed in the Zend-Avesta: *Vāyus uparōkairyo*, "the wind whose business is above the sky."⁴ But the term ΟΑΔΟ is certainly closer in orthography to the Persian باد *bād*,⁵ and the class of coins upon which it is found pertain more definitely to the Iranian section of the Aryan race, and refer to days when the main body of the Vedic Aryans had long since passed on to the banks of the Jumna.

The ΜΗΡΟ has been committed to column ii. on simply

¹ "Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins, the Ogni of the Slavonians. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig-Veda. . . Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaistos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods."—Muir, vol. v. p. 199.

² Journ. A.S. Bengal, 1840, p. 455; Ind. Alt. (new edition), vol. ii. p. 839; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 366.

³ Ar. An. pl. xii. fig. 3; Journ. A.S. Bengal, 1836, pl. xxxvi. 1; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxii. fig. 1; Journ. R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Pl. VI. Fig. 1. I must add that the best specimens of the coins extant give the orthography of ΟΡΑΑΓΝΟ, which, however, has hitherto been universally accepted as ΟΡΑΑΓΝΟ;—a rectification which the parallel frequency of the prefix to other names largely encourages.

⁴ Haug, p. 194; see also pp. 193-232.

⁵ Lassen, J.A.S.B., 1840, p. 454; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 369; Muir, S. Texts, vol. v. p. 143, "Vāyu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rig-Veda."

orthographical grounds; and the MAO and ΜΗΡΟ follow the same law. Among the many outward forms of the Moon-god, MANAO BAGO would almost seem to be a superfluous variant, were it not that the word *Māonh* may assign it to a more definitely Zend-speaking locality.¹ Then, there are complications about male and female Moons,² which seem to be indicated in the varieties of outlines given to the figures of MAO, and it is clear that the ruling religious systems fully recognized both male and female Mithras.³

It is with much reserve that I venture to suggest any interpretation of the title of ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ. The opening letters may possibly be referred to the Sanskrit अर *ara* "swift,"⁴ and, considering the mixed complications of letters and languages to be seen in parallel transcriptions, the ΕΙΧΡΟ might be dubiously associated with *equus*, ἵκκος, ἵππος, ἱκφος, the "coursier rapide," i.e. the Sun.⁵

ΑΕΡΟ, as the type of Fire, the Roman Vulcan, sufficiently declares itself in the artistic rendering of his personal form.

¹ Haug, p. 180; Khurshid and Mah Yashts.

"The first yasht is devoted to the sun, which is called in Zend *hware kshaita* = (خورشید) 'sun the King,' the second to the moon called *māonh* = ماه."

"Je célèbre, j'invoque Ahura et Mithra, élevés, immortels, purs; et les astres, créations saintes et célestes; et l'astre Taschter (Tistrya), lumineux, resplendissant; et la lune, qui garde le germe du taureau; et le soleil, souverain, coursier rapide, œil d'Ahura Mazda; Mithra, chef des provinces."—Burnouf, *Yasna*, p. 375.

² Creutzer, p. xxiv, fig. 330, etc.; Maury, *Hist. des Religions*, Paris, 1859, vol. iii. p. 127, "Sin ou Lune des Assyriens . . avait une caractère hermaphrodite. Cette première explication nous donne deux divinités, placées, pour le dire en passant, dans l'ordre hiérarchique, Ahura et Mithra. Mais la séparation même de ces deux mots, *ahuraibya* et *mithraibya*, pourrait faire soupçonner qu'il est question en cet endroit de deux Mithras, et que *ahura* doit être regardé comme un titre: 'j'invoque, je célèbre les deux seigneurs Mithras.' Ces deux Mithras seraient sans doute Mithra mâle et Mithra femelle, dont le culte était, selon les Grecs, anciennement célèbre dans la Perse."—Burnouf, *Yasna*, p. 361; *Zend-Avesta*, vol. i. p. 87.

³ Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. p. 155, "The two sun gods celebrated in the hymns of the Rig Veda," "*Sūrya* and *Savitri*."

⁴ "Thou, *Sūrya*, outstrippest all in speed."—Wilson, *Rig-Veda*, vol. i. p. 131.

⁵ As in note 1, Mr. Muir also considers that some passages in the Rig-Veda symbolize the Sun under the form of a horse.—*Texts*, vol. v. p. 158. Prof. Geldstucker has further traced the derivation of the name of the Aswins from "*aswa*, meaning literally the pervader, then the quick; then the horse, which becomes the symbol of the sun"—J.R.A.S. Vol. II. n.s. p. 14; Mrs. Manning, *Ancient India*, vol. i. p. 9. I am fully aware that a coin is extant bearing the letters ΑΡΟΟΑΧΙΟ (Αρροασιο), but the use of the *aspa* "horse" in this case is not necessarily conclusive against the interpretation of the independent transcript above suggested.


The Φ ΑΡΟ or Φ ΑΡΡΟ is equally obvious in its intention and in the pictured outline given to the central figure. The name, of course, is derived from the Latin *fero*, as embodied in Lucifer and Diana Lucifera. The early Greeks only knew the designation as that of a light-house, without being able to supply a root for the word, or, indeed, to interpret it otherwise than as "an island in the bay of Alexandria." The term is constant in ancient Persian combinations, as Ataphernes, etc.,—which eventually settled into the *Atūrparn* or Fire Priest of the Sassanian period.¹

III. PERSIAN GODS.

I have repeated the name of ΜΙΕΡΟ in the Persian column, more out of regard to the early Persian worship of the god, than because I can trace the direct descent of the Mithra of Cyrus to the same Iranian deity in his Eastern home.

The simple enumeration of the various forms of the worship of *Nanaia* would fill volumes. Under its Persian aspect it may be sufficient to refer to Artaxerxes Mnemon's inscription at Susa, which specifies "Ormazd, Tanaitis, and Mithra,"² as the gods who "help" him. The thirty chapters of the Aban Yasht are devoted to *Ardvi Sūra Anāhita*, "sublime, excellent, spotless," whom "Ahuramazda himself is said to have worshipped."³ And, for the traditions of her worship in the lands with which these coins are indirectly associated, we may cite the many sacred places that still bear her name.⁴

The Oanindo, Anandates, is a new discovery; but I conclude there will be no difficulty in admitting her identity with the Anandates of Strabo.⁵

¹ See J.R.A.S. Vol. XIII. o.s. p. 415, etc. We have now new and clear examples of the true  *Atūrparn*. See also Haug, p. 250. "Soshyantos and Angirās = *Atharevans*."

² J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. p. 159.

³ Haug, pp. 178, 179.

⁴ J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iii. 449; v. 266. Masson, "Travels in Balūchistān." London, 1844, vol. iv. p. 391. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 362.

⁵ Strabo xi. viii. 4: "They (the Persians) erected there a temple to Anaitis, and the gods Omanus (*Ὀμάνου* καὶ *Ἀναδάρου*) and Anandatus, Persian deities who have a common altar." xv. iii. 15: "The same customs are observed in the

IV. ROMAN GODS.

In the identification of the whole list of the Roman and Græco-Roman gods, I have been guided more by the forms and figures stamped on the coins than by the legends which are supposed to define the names and attributes of each divinity, which must often be accepted as simply independent versions of the original nomenclature. I am uncertain about the decipherment of ΠΙΑΗ, but there can be little doubt for whom the figure is intended. In the same way the type of Mars is manifest; his title of ΠΗΡΟ may be referred to the Zend 𑀧𑀭𑀢𑀺 *eretha* चत "great," etc.,¹ and though ἐπυθπας might find some advocates, Anquetil's *Veréthre* "victorious" seems to be conclusive as to the derivation. It will be remembered that the nearly similar term of ΟΡΑΗΡΟΤ is to be found on the coins of *Kodes*.²

V. BRAHMANICAL GODS.

These several deities, their nomenclatures and attributes, have already been fully adverted to, under their Saivic aspect, in the preceding pages.

I have only to add, in addition to what has already been said about ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, a reference to the fact which seems to have been hitherto lost sight of, that the second portion of this name does not coincide with the legitimate orthography of the ΟΚΡΟ of Śiva. Indeed, as far as direct numismatic evidence may furnish a test, Śiva is more directly associated with *Nana*, the *Pārvati* of later belief,³ than with the *Ardokro*, or the Roman definition of "abundance" on coin No. 16, Plate II.

temples of Anaitis and of Omanus. Belonging to these temples are shrines, and a wooden statue of Omanus is carried in procession. These we have seen ourselves."

¹ Burnouf, *Yasna*, pp. 323, 377, 473.

² J.R.A.S. Vol. IV. n.s. p. 518. ΤΡΚΩΔΟΤ, ΟΡΑΗΡΟΤ, ΜΑΚΑΡΟΤ. See also Num. Chron. n.s. vol. xiii. p. 229.

³ See coin No. 7, J.R.A.S. Vol. XII. o.s. Plate IV., and J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iv. fig. 7, pl. xxxviii., and Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. ii. pl. xxii. fig. 7, wherein ΟΚΡΟ Śiva appears upon the reverse in company with *Nana*.

VI. BUDDHIST.

Although I have felt bound to insert the words $\text{BOAA } \Sigma\text{MANA}$ in my Table, on the authority of Gen. Cunningham, I have only been induced to admit any such possible reading by the coincident appearance of definite figures of Buddha, under the double aspect of the conventional standing and seated statues of the saint.

I am not myself prepared to follow the present interpretation of the legends, though better examples may modify my views.¹ But the point I have now more especially to insist upon is, that the appearance of these Buddhist figures is confined to inferior copper pieces of very imperfect execution, whose legends are absolutely chaotic in the forms and arrangement of the Greek letters. So that I should be disposed to assign the limited group of these *Buddha-device* coins to a comparatively late date in the general series of imitations: which, though still bearing the name and typical devices of *Kanerki*, would seem to consist of mere reproductions of old types by later occupants of the localities in which the earlier coins were struck.

THE MATHURÁ ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS.

I adverted, at the commencement of this article, to the importance of the late archæological discoveries in and around the ancient city of Mathurá²—which so definitely

¹ The coin most relied on to prove the intention of the terms "OM BOA or perhaps OAI BOA; either *Am Buddha* or *Adi Buddha*," published by General Cunningham in 1845 (J.A.S. Bengal, p. 435, plate 2, fig. 3), presents a central figure on the reverse exactly like the outline of the APAEIXPO of the present plate. His Nos. 6 and 7, as I have remarked, though clear in the definition of the figures of Buddha, are of coarse fabric, of far later date than the associate OAAO of the same plate, and finally, the letters of the legends are so badly formed and so straggling as to be utterly untrustworthy in establishing any definite reading. The other limited examples of this class of coins will be found in *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xiii. figs. 1, 2, 3. Here, again, the figures are incontestable, but Prof. Wilson did not pretend to interpret the broken legends. Prinsep figured a coin of this description in fig. 11, pl. xxv. J.A.S. Bengal, vol. iii.; Prinsep's Essays, pl. vii. This coin was noticed, but left uninterpreted by Lassen in his paper in the J.A.S. Bengal, 1840, p. 456.

² Amid the cities which were supposed to have claims to the honour of becoming the birthplace of Śākya Muni, Mathurá is rejected because its kings had hereditary ideas inconsistent with the new faith, i.e. adhered to the old,

establish the prominence of the Jaina religion, in the full developments of its sacred statues and associate inscriptions, at or about the commencement of our era.¹

The Mathurá sculptured monuments have preserved for modern examination the *nude* images of the saints of the Jainas,² with the devotional dedications of the votaries of the faith appended in all contemporary formality.

Jainism? "D'autres dirent: La ville de Mathoura, riche, étendue, florissante, et animée par une population nombreuse, toute remplie d'hommes; ce palais du roi Soubahou. . . D'autres dirent: Elle ne convient pas non plus; pourquoi? Parce que ce roi est né dans une famille où les vœux fausses sont héréditaires, et qu'il règne sur des hommes pareils aux barbares."—Lalita Vistara, Foucaux, p. 25.

¹ General Cunningham was fully aware of the value of these discoveries, in their bearing upon the associate creeds of Jainism and Buddhism. That he should have ventured so far independently in the direction of the leading argument of this paper is highly encouraging. His remarks are to the following effect:

"This is perhaps one of the most startling and important revelations that has been made by recent researches in India: It is true that, according to Jaina books, their faith had continuously flourished, under a succession of teachers, from the death of Mahāvira in B.C. 527 down to the present time. Hitherto, however, there was no tangible evidence to vouch for the truth of this statement. But the Kankālī mound at Mathurá has now given us the most complete and satisfactory testimony that the Jaina religion, even before the beginning of the Christian era, must have been in a condition almost as rich and flourishing as that of Buddha.

"The Kankālī mound is a very extensive one, and the number of statues of all sizes, from the colossal downwards, which it has yielded, has scarcely been surpassed by the prolific returns of Buddhist sculpture from the Jail mound. But, as not more than one-third of the Kankālī mound has yet been thoroughly searched, it may be confidently expected that its complete exploration will amply repay all the cost and trouble of the experiment."—General Cunningham, Arch. Rep. vol. iii: p. 46.

² Albīrūnī (A.D. 1030) has furnished us with a description of the forms of many of the Indian idols, derived from the text of Varāha-Mihira (sixth cent. A.D.). He defines the contrast between the statues of Buddha and those of the *Arhats* or Jaina saints in the following terms: "Si tu fais la statue de Djina, c'est-à-dire Bouddha, tâche de lui donner une figure agréable et des membres bien faits. Il doit avoir les paumes de la main et le dessous des pieds en forme de nénufar. Tu le représenteras assis, ayant des cheveux gris, et respirant un air de bonté, comme s'il était le père des créatures. S'il s'agit de donner à Bouddha la figure d'un arhanta, il faut en faire un jeune homme nu, beau de figure, et d'une physionomie agréable. Il aura les deux mains appuyées sur les genoux," etc.—Reinaud, *Mémoires sur l'Inde*, p. 121. Dr. Kern's translation, direct from the original Sanskrit text, gives: "The god of the Jainas is figured naked, young, handsome, with a calm countenance, and arms reaching down to the knees; his breast is marked with the *Chrivatsa* figure."—J.R.A.S. Vol. VI. n.s. p. 328. See also Wilson, J.A.S. Bengal, vol. i. p. 4; Burnouf, vol. i. p. 312. I omitted to notice in my previous references to nude statues (pp. 14, 18, 19, etc.), the remarkable expressions made use of by Calanus to Onesicritus; after "bidding him to strip himself naked, if he desired to hear any of his doctrine," he adds, "you should not hear me on any other condition though you came from Jupiter himself." Plutarch in Alexander. The exaction of these conditions seems to point to the tenets of Jainism.

While on the subject of discriminating points, I add to the information, outlined

These *nude* statues of the Jaina Tīrthankaras teach us, like so many other subordinate indications of the remote antiquity of the creed, in its normal form, to look for parallels amid other forms of worship in their initiatory stage—and here we are inevitably reminded of the time when men made idols after their own images,¹ and while those men, in the simplicity of nature, stood up, without shame, as the Creator had fashioned them.

The value of the dedicatory inscriptions towards the elucidation of my leading question is, however, still more precise and irrecusable, in respect to the age of the monuments themselves, in the conjoint record of the name of the great Saint *Mahāvira* and that of *Vāsudeva*,—the ΒΑΣΟΔΗΟ of the Indo-Scythian coins above described,—the third brother, or, as the case may be, the nominal head of the third tribe of the "*Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka*" once nomad community.

Of the twenty-four dated inscriptions given by General Cunningham in his Archæological Report for 1871–2, no less than seven refer either directly, or indirectly, in the forms of the pedestals and the statues to which they are attached, to the Jaina creed.

Nos. 2 and 3, dated *Sam.* 5; 4, dated *Samvat* 9, bear the name of *Kanishka*. No. 6, dated *Sam.* 20, is remarkable, as it specifies "the gift of one statue of *Vardhamana*" or *Mahāvira*.

at p. 9, a curious account of the modern Jaina reverence for the Footprints of their saints: "Shading the temple (of Vasinghji—one of the five snake brethren, at Thán) is a large *Ráyana* tree—the close foliage of small dark green oval leaves, which makes the shade so grateful, apparently having had to do with its being consecrated as a sacred tree in Western India, where it is specially dedicated by the Jainas to their first Tīrthankara—Rishabhanátha—the patron saint of Śatruñjaya—no shrine to him being complete without a *Ráyana* tree overshadowing his *charana* or footprints."—Mr. Burgess, Arch. Rep. 1875, p. 5.

¹ Xenophanes, *colophonii Carminum Reliquiæ*, by Simon Karsten (Brussels, 1830), p. vi. His interpretation of one of the leading passages of the Greek text runs:—"v. At mortales opinantur natos esse Deos, mortaliq[ue] habitu et forma et figura p[re]ditos." And vi. continues: "Si vero manus haberent boves vel leones, aut pingere manibus et fabricari eadem quæ homines possent, ipsi quoque Deorum formas pingerent figurasq[ue] formarent tales, quali ipsorum quisque p[re]ditus sit, equi equis, boves autem bobus similes."—p. 41. Pliny, xxxiv. p. 9, under *iconica*, adds the Greek practice is, not to cover any part of the "body" of their statues. Max Müller, *Sanskrit Literature*, vol. ii. p. 388.

No. 16, with the date of *Sam.* 83, and the name of Mahārāja Vāsu-deva, records, on the pedestal of a naked statue, "the gift of an image." No. 18, in like manner, preserves, at the foot of "a naked figure," the entry of *Sam.* 87, and the titles of Mahārāja Rājatirāja Shāhi Vāsu-deva.

No. 20, which is, perhaps, the most important of the whole series of inscriptions, is appended to a "Naked standing figure," and commences with the following words:

"*Siddham Aum ? Namō Arahate Mahāvīrasya Devanāsasya Rājanya Vāsu Devasya Samvatsare 98, Varsha Māse, 4 divase, 11 etasya.*"

"Glory to the Arhat Mahāvīra, the destroyer of the Devas! (In the reign) of King Vāsu-deva, in the Samvat year 98, in Varsha (the rainy season), the 4th month, the 11th day," etc.

Without doubt this list might be largely extended from concurrent palæolithic documents, which do not so definitely declare themselves as of Jaina import; but enough has been adduced to establish the fact of the full and free usage of the Jaina religion in Mathurā so early as the epoch of the Indo-Scythian *Kanerkis*.

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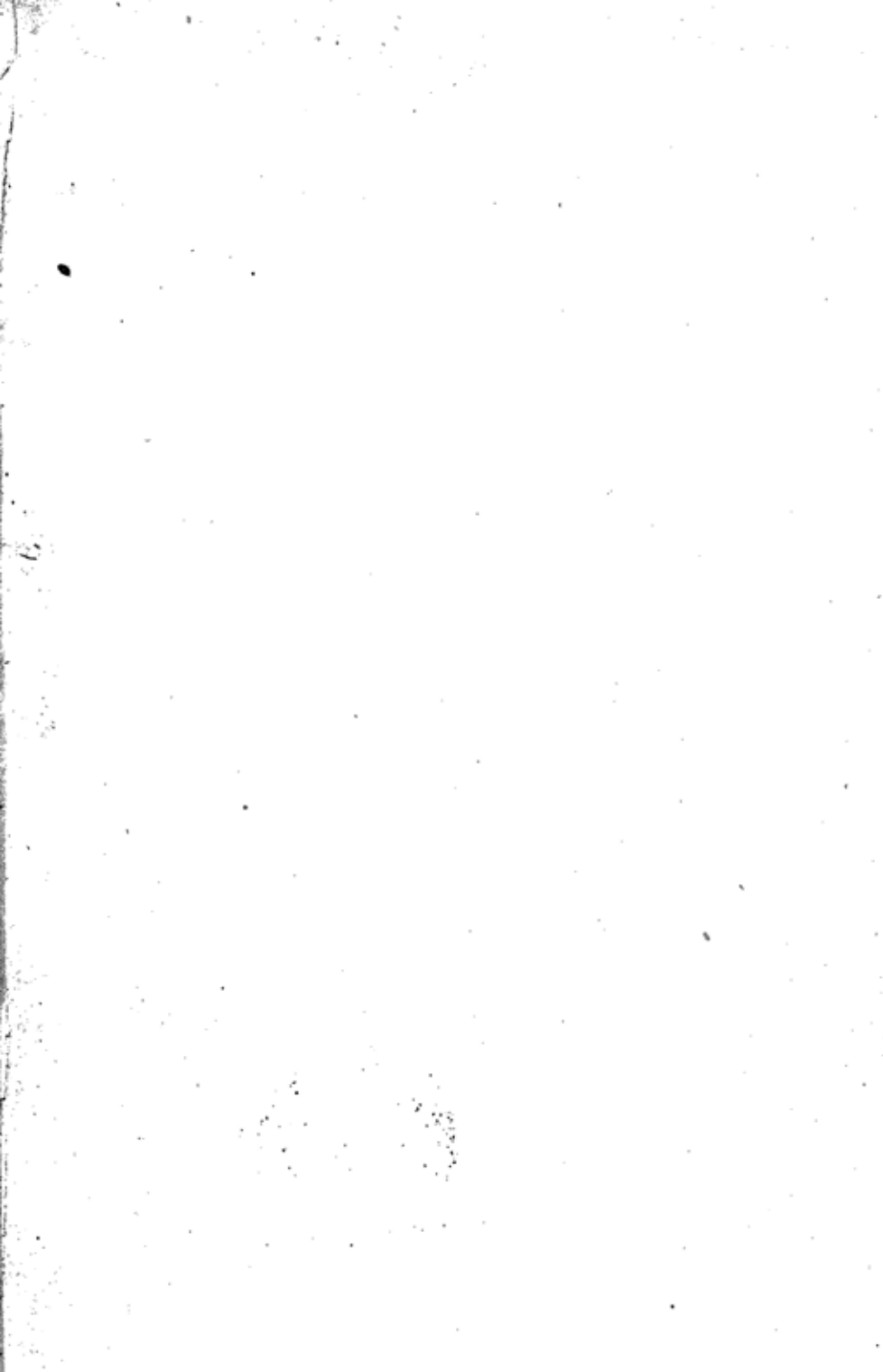
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