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NOTES ON HELLENISM IN BACTRIA AND INDIA.

How far can the kingdoms in Bactria and India, ruled by kings with Greek names, be called Hellenistic, and how far were they simply native? These pages were put together with this question in view; they have no claim to be more than an attempt to get certain problems stated, to which some day some further answer may be given by the spade. The series of these kings stretches from the revolt of Diodotos, about 250 B.C., to the final merger of Indo-Greek rule in that of the Indo-Scyths in 26 B.C. The period is bisected by the conquest of Bactria by the Yue-tche, which probably took some little while to complete, but with respect to which our information centres on the year 128 B.C. By the time of Augustus, a number of merchantmen were sailing directly from the Red Sea to India, a rare event under the Ptolemies; and this traffic increased later, when in the reign of Nero was made that discovery, or rediscovery, of the monsoons which is associated with the name of Hippalos. To arrive, therefore, at any ideas about the kingdoms of Alexander's successors beyond Parthia, it is necessary to distinguish as carefully as possible the information with regard to India, and the traces of western influence on things Indian, which can be dated later than (say) the Christian era, (and which belong rather to the history of Rome), from information which can be, or may be, dated prior to 26 B.C., or I might almost say prior to 100 B.C., (the time between these two dates being for my purpose a blank); and only to make use of the former sources when they clearly refer to something that falls within the period under consideration. The general result appears to be, that one meets with more of the Iranian and less of the Greek than one expected.¹

I.

Greek life, if it existed anywhere, must be looked for in the towns. Bactria and the adjoining provinces were full of them; the thousand cities of Bactria passed into a proverb.² The first envoys of the Han emperors were

¹ I follow the history as given in Prof. P. Gardner's *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, 1886 (cited as P.G.). For other recent accounts of the history proper, so far as it can be deduced, I may refer to von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, 1888; M. E. Drouin in the

Grande Encyclopédie, s.v. 'Bactriane'; and W. Tomaschek in *Pauhy-Wissowa*, s.v. 'Baktrianoi.'

² Under Eukratides, Apollodoros ap. Strabo. 15, 686—this *might* refer to the Punjâb. Under Diodotes, Justin 41, 1, 8; 41, 4, 5—this cannot refer to the Punjâb.

struck by the great number that they saw. Every Greek ruler in the East seems to have founded one or more. Omitting those of Alexander and Antiochos I, we know of one foundation of Euthydemos, one of Eukratides, one at least of Demetrios.³ But as at the outset we are met by the fact that the only four towns of which history or legend has anything to tell (with the possible exception of Alexandria of the Caucasus) are *native* ones, it will hardly do to assume that a Greek foundation in the far East was a city with a municipal life and government, a polis, in the same sense as a foundation in Syria, or even in Parthia. However, as city goddesses appear on some of the coins,⁴ this may have been the case in some instances.

Justin, wise after the event, speaks of Alexander's towns as settled by the most unruly elements of the army, which is improbable; but as to the manner of settlement little is known.⁵ Certainly Alexander, in conformity with his general policy, would encourage the settlers to take native wives: so that the only period, during which it is probable that the country could have been settled as Syria, for instance, was settled, is during the rule of Seleukos's son Antiochos in the eastern provinces. If free Greek or Macedonian women then went out, (as to which we know nothing), Greek language and customs might persevere for several generations, as in the Branchidae town; failing this, the settlements would tend to orientalise themselves very quickly,⁶ and the people would soon become indistinguishable from natives.

It will be convenient to group a good deal of what I have to say round those cities of which alone more is known than the names. These are Bactra, Sagala-Euthymedeia, Taxila, and Eul-che, the 'royal city' of Ta-yuan.⁷

³ 'Ευθυδήμου ἄνασσα (see W. Tomaschek in *Pauly-Wissowa* art. 'Baktriano'); Eukratideia; Demetrios in Arachosia. I omit Euthymedeia.

⁴ E.g. coins of Philoxenos, Hipposstratos, Azes, Zeionises; and a coin of Peukelaos published by Mr. V. A. Smith, *J.A.S.B.* 1898, p. 132. This of course proves nothing as to whether the burghers were Greek, native, or both. There is nothing that corresponds to the Seleukid city coinages; unless it be at Taxila.

⁵ Justin, 12, 5, deduced from the revolt of the Greeks after Alexander's death. Arrian 4, 4, says mercenaries, and barbarians who volunteered, and time-expired Macedonians (of Alexandreschate). Curtius 7, 7, 27 (of the same town) 'captivi, quos...liberavit.' The captivi would be from Cyropolis. As Cyropolis seems to have risen again and superseded Alexandreschate, (see *post*, p. 282) Curtius's version, which would help to explain this, may be correct. Diodoros 17, 83, (of the cities near Alexandria of the Caucasus), bears out Arrian. The reference in Diodoros to mercenaries who volunteered is of importance. Curtius (7, 3, 23) seems to imply that volunteers settled in Alexandria of the

Caucasus, 'permissum...considerere.' These notices are not all in agreement, and, so far as they go, do not agree with the great number of Greeks settled in Bactria and Sogdiana, who rose on Alexander's death. There must have been a later importation of Greek settlers; 'nuper deducti,' says Curtius, 9, 7, 1.

⁶ The Branchidae town, settled with Greek men and women under peculiar circumstances, became bilingual in about six generations (Curtius, 7, 5, 29). The Barkaeans, settled at the same time in Bactria by Darius (Herod. 4, 204), are not again heard of. Some remarks on the orientalising of the new towns in Droysen, *Hellenismus*, III. 69. Livy, 38, 17, in Syros degenerarunt, &c., is special pleading.

⁷ A considerable legend has grown up round Alexandria of the Caucasus, seemingly based on nothing but the one well known reference to 'Alasuddá the capital of the Yóna country' in the Mahavanso, which may not refer to this Alexandria at all; the Egyptian capital is also a candidate, though a most unlikely one (S. Levi, 'Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs,' *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 23 (1891): cf. the Ptolemaic gravestone with wheel and trisula found by Prof. Petrie, *J.R.A.S.* 1898, p. 875);

1. Bactra the Royal, mother of cities, traditionally one of the oldest inhabited sites in the world, must from its associations have been the natural capital. Alexander no doubt intended it to be the capital of the province, if it was he who renamed it Alexandria.⁸ Under the corrupted form of Lan-chi it became, at least for a time, the capital of the Yue-tche after their conquest of Bactria.⁹ But for the Chinese we should not have known of the perseverance of the Alexander-name; ¹⁰ the native name not only again prevailed, but, in the mouths of the western world, was applied even to the Thibetan invaders.¹¹

After Alexander, it is heard of as standing a celebrated siege: von Gutschmid's conjecture, that this was a siege of Euthydemus by Antiochos III, seems in the present state of our knowledge the only possible one.¹² If so, it may be supposed that the town was the capital of Euthydemus's dynasty; and this is perhaps supported by a figure of Artemis radiate on one of Euthydemus's coins, which may refer to the celebrated statue of Anaitis at Bactra, described in the Avesta.¹³ Now Eukratides, the usurper, founded a town Eukratideia, which, being near the old capital, and bearing his name, may well have been intended as the capital of the new dynasty; but his son and murderer, Heliokles, must have returned to Bactra, as it was the capital when the Yue-tche arrived. Possibly something may be deduced from this.

It is clear that to accomplish the very considerable conquests made by Euthydemus and Demetrios, this dynasty must have been favourably regarded by the native Bactrians, as indeed may be gathered from Polybios.¹⁴ Now without believing all the details of Justin's story of the death of Eukratides, it is, I think, safe to infer this much, that in some way the usurper, for all his power, was looked on as a traitor to Bactria, and as such slain by

and why not Bactra-Alexandria? The legend makes this town a centre of Greek life in the East, the birthplace of Menander, and the last town ruled by a Greek king (Hermaios = Yin-muf-foo ruling in Yung-keu = Younaki, Greek town). All that is *known* about it is that it was twice founded by Alexander.

⁸ As to this, M. Specht, 'Les Indo-Scythes et l'Époque du Règne de Kanichka' in *J.A.* ser. 9, vol. 10, pp. 159-161. It may be the real meaning of Pliny, 6, 25 (23). It would probably be a workable hypothesis that Alexander intended the capital of each satrapy (anyhow in the East) to bear his own name. Hence he founded no Alexandrias beyond the Indus; for he intended to establish there not satrapies, but protected native rulers. Macedonian fondness for renaming places, Strabo 11, 518.

⁹ As appears from the annals of the lesser Han. See Specht in *J.A.* ser. 8, vol. 2, p. 321.

¹⁰ Converse instance of the double name in the case of Merv, Gr. Antiocheia; the Chinese preserved the native name in the form Mu-lu, (for Muru).

¹¹ e.g. the 'Bactrians' of the Periplus. Sometimes the Greek and Kushan rule is even confused together, as Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 55. Perhaps even in Justin; 2, 13, the Scyths founded the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms—this must refer to the Yue-tche. Tomaschek (*Pauly-Wissowa*, 'Baktrianoi') says compendiously, that when classical writers from 140 B.C. to 560 A.D. say Bactrians they mean Tochari (Yue-tche).

¹² Polyb. 29, 6a, 8: *Gesch. Irans*, p. 37.

¹³ She wears a golden crown with eight rays and a hundred stars, and is clothed with the skins of thirty beavers of the sheen of silver and gold. Her statue set up in Bactra, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 57. The description, a lengthy one, is in the *Ābân Yast*, §§ 126-129, see Darmesteter's trans. of the 'Zand-Avesta,' (in *Sacred Books of the East*), vol. 2, p. 82; also p. 53 for M. Halévy's suggestion that this description was taken from a consecrated type of statuary.

¹⁴ Polyb. 10, 49; no troops of Euthydemus are mentioned except the Bactrian horse.

Heliokles; and as Heliokles was associated in the kingdom, and Eukratides appears to have been returning from India, Heliokles must have been governing in Bactria. Heliokles further returned to the native capital, associated with the prosperous reign of Euthydemus, and the stronghold of Zoroastrianism. It is possible therefore that Heliokles, whose subsequent reign seems to have been a long one, in this matter represented native opinion. Now Eukratides probably came from the west; at least this appears to be a fair inference from the facts that he boasted his Greek or Macedonian descent, that his mother was royal and bore a name usually associated with the Seleukids, and that he appears to have introduced the Seleukid cult of the Dioscuri-Cabiri.¹⁵ The usurper might in any case desire a new capital; but the professor of a new cult would dislike the stronghold of Zoroastrianism, while the Greek might be revolted by the peculiar and unpleasant custom of a city which reared dogs, locally known as 'undertakers,' who were trained to devour the dying,¹⁶—a custom that even Alexander had failed to abolish. The point of this argument is, that if Eukratides represented some sort of a reaction, it can only have been a reaction towards Hellenism and away from Iran;¹⁷ and if this view be at all well founded, then his new city of Eukratideia must have been less of an oriental town than its neighbours, and, being new built, would be the place, if its site were ever located, where Greek architectural remains might be expected, if the Bactrians ever produced such architecture. It would seem, in fact, to be the most likely place to test the theory, still held by some writers, that India learnt its Graecised architecture of the Gandhara type from Bactria.

2. Sagala-Euthymedeia. Sagala, capital of the Cathaeans, had been taken and razed by Alexander. But as the town appears in Ptolemy with a Greek name attached,¹⁸ for which Euthydēmia was an obvious conjecture, such conjecture was long since made and has been universally accepted, and the town in consequence has been associated with Demetrios's conquests in India, and treated as renamed by him after his father. It is, however, not easy to see where the difficult MS. reading Euthymēdeia came from, if it be not correct. There is nothing whatever to associate this town either with Demetrios, or

¹⁵ Taken together, these particulars may carry some weight; in particular, it is difficult to see where else a royal Laodike can have come from; unless indeed it were from some dynasty in Arachosia or Aria, concerning which great provinces our knowledge is a blank, but which are treated as separate kingdoms in the Annals of the elder Han (if indeed Arachosia be Kepin, as M. Drouin supposes). The coins, indeed, know nothing of such dynasties; but they would leave us equally ignorant of Ta-yuan. As to the connection of Eukratides's coin-type with the Syrian Cabiri, Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, xxxi.—Seleukos II (246-226 B.C.) had taken the Dioscuri as a type.

¹⁶ Onesikritos ap. Strabo. 11, 517, *ἐνταφιστάλ*. The town was fair without, but within 'full of

men's bones.'

¹⁷ It is conceivable that, if Trognus were recovered, it would be found that Eukratides's offence against Bactria was *religious*. Alexander's edict against the dogs nearly brought on a revolt; Porph. *de abst.* 4, 21.—Onesikritos (St. 11, 517) says Alexander stopped the custom, with which a rhetorical passage in Plutarch agrees. But the version that he *tried* to must be correct, as von Gutschmid takes it; Zoroastrianism was excessively tenacious of customs.

¹⁸ Σάγαλα ἢ καὶ Ἐυθυμηδεία, see p. 273. Its site does not appear to have been identified; see J. W. McCrindle, 'Ancient India; its invasion by Alexander the Great,' p. 347, note M. Lahore is one conjecture.

with Euthydemus, whose coins do not appear to have been found further east than the Indus at Attock.¹⁹ On the contrary, all the legendary associations of the name are with Menander, whose capital it traditionally was. Unfortunately the elaborate description given in the 'Questions of King Milinda' is of no value as a help to the understanding of what a Graeco-Indian town was; for the author has frankly set to work to draw an ideal Indian great city as a residence for his hero. All it proves is that Sagala was important enough for the description not to appear an absurdity; and, as it was not the residence of the viceroy of the Punjab under the Mauryas, its importance *may* have been brought about by the Greek rather than by the Indian kings; with this would agree the conjecture of General Sir A. Cunningham, based upon the coin-finds, that during the later period of Greek rule in India, when Greek and Saka kings occupied the Punjab side by side, Sagala, and not Taxila, was the capital of the former.²⁰

As Sagala went down to fame in India as Menander's capital, this may be the place to notice the Menander tradition. We can say this much with a good deal of probability, that in some way or other he greatly struck the imagination of the East. It is a commonplace that in such a case the hero in Asia appropriates to himself the deeds of other men; much becomes attributed to an Alexander or a Timour that he never performed. Now it was long since noticed that Plutarch's story of the division of Menander's remains among eight towns was a duplication of, or taken from, the similar Buddha story; and an attempt has recently been made to show that the conversations between Nagasena and Milinda recorded in the 'Milinda' were in fact originally attributed to, or are based on conversations attributed to, the sage (who may not have been a contemporary of Menander²¹) and an older king, Nanda or Ananta.²² If this should be established, the *double* attribution to Menander becomes very strong evidence indeed of a considerable impression made by him upon his contemporaries, an impression that was hardly likely to be due to an interest in philosophy, but was more probably to be accounted for by simple conquest, very possibly

¹⁹ P.G. xxii, as to Euthydemus. P.G. xxv, "The coins of Demetrius come in almost all cases from Bactria."

²⁰ *Nun. Chron.* 1890 p. 110. Adopted by Mr. E. J. Rapson, *Ind. Coins*, § 30 (in Bühler's *Grundriss der Indo-ar. Philol.* 1898). If "Moga" of the Manikyala copper-plate be Maues (P.G. xlix), this becomes almost a certainty as regards Taxila.

²¹ Prof. Rhys Davids's translation of the 'Milinda' in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i, p. xxvi.

²² "A historical basis for the questions of king 'Menander' from the Thibetan," by Dr. Waddell, *J.R.A.S.* 1897, p. 227. "Chinese translations of the Milinda Panho," by J. Takakusu, *J.R.A.S.* 1896, p. 16. The form "Ananta" known to the Lamas; the Chinese

translation—date given as between A.D. 317-420—gives Nanda; query, Nanda of Magadha? Thibetan sources make Nagasena and Nanda contemporary.—Criticism by Count Goblet d'Alviella, *Bull. de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique*, 1897, vol. 33, p. 688 n, to the effect that Prof. Rhys Davids takes the Pâli back to 1st cent. A.D., *i.e.* prior to the Chinese version. I do not find that he takes it further back than its citation by Buddhagosa as of conclusive authority, about 430 A.D. D'Alviella however does not deal with that part of Dr. Waddell's article which attempts to show, by tables, that the rainfalls mentioned in the "Milinda" do not suit the Punjab at all; and no criticism can carry much conviction which does not first dispose of this definite matter of the rains.

stimulated by some accession of Greek force driven southward from beyond the Hindu-Kush.²³ As to the contents of the 'Milinda,' they may or may not give us any information about the historical Menander. The trade references are more likely to belong to the writer's period. The birthplace may be a genuine tradition; if so, all that is proved is that it was *not* Alexandria of the Caucasus.²⁴ The thing that one would like to believe in, as a mention of a Greek ruling caste, is the council of 500 Yonakas. But with the date of this work as uncertain as it is, it would be absurd to press this.

Whether the real Menander turned Buddhist or not, there is no question that tradition connects him with Buddhism; a sufficiently natural policy for a stranger, and one probably already adopted by Agathokles, and more strongly later by the Kushan Kanishka. This may perhaps suggest an explanation of the name Euthymedeia. Professor Rhys Davids has conjectured that the inscription *δίκαιος* on the coins of some of the kings may have been placed there to please Buddhist subjects, even if it does not (as he thinks it does not) refer to the Buddhist Dharma.²⁵ The wheel on one of Menander's coins has also been claimed as a Buddhist emblem. It is worth tracing the word *δίκαιος* a little further. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it does not occur on Seleukid coins. On the Parthian, it appears first with Mithradates I, who made conquests in India, or anyhow in White India, that were apparently not held. Among the Bactrians, the first to use it is Agathokles, who issued coins with Buddhist symbols, and who appears to have ruled over a further portion of India than any predecessor.²⁶ Later, the word becomes common among Parthians, Greeks, and (in its Indian form) Sakas; but if in three of the earliest instances, Agathokles, Mithradates I, and Menander, the use of the word coincides with an extension of rule over some part of Buddhist India; in one case, Agathokles, with a Buddhist symbolism; and in one Menander, with a Buddhist tradition; it appears to me quite possible that the term refers to, and that the kings in question claimed, not merely the

²³ *We* are interested in the Greek for his art and literature. But to his contemporaries he must have meant, chiefly, the best of all known fighters; until the Roman came. The Roman, having beaten him in the field, could afford to exalt his art and literature.—Apollodoros ap. Strab. 11, 516, attributes to the Bactrians (principally to Menander) the conquest of more nations than Alexander; and it is of interest to notice that Alexander's name is said not to occur in Indian literature, which possibly records Demetrios as well as Menander.

²⁴ That is, if Prof. Rhys Davids is correct in calling it an 'island.' Sir A. Cunningham however would translate Alasandadipa as "the country of which Alasanda was the capital" (*J.A.S.B.* 1893, vol. 62, part 1, p. 86, communicated to Mr. V. A. Smith).

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²⁵ In the introduction to his translation of the 'Milinda.'

²⁶ See *post*, under 'Taxila'; and see note 19. Assuming him later than Demetrios, Taxila appears to be the furthest east yet attained: the coins in fact do not bear out the tradition of Demetrios's conquests in India, which may only mean that he was the first to cross the Hindu-Kush; unless Demetrios' elephant-scalp refers to this. Whatever the legend Hidujasame means ('Just to those born on the Indus,' Bendall ap. P.G. lxxiii; 'King of Indians,' von Sallet; Of me, Agathokles, 'Indian by birth,' S. Levi doubtfully in "Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs," *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 23 (1891), p. 41, criticising the older interpretations), it appears to refer to some close connection of Agathokles with India.

ordinary righteousness of kings, but the Buddhist uprightness.²⁷ It may also be remembered that in the case of Menander the tradition preserved by Plutarch speaks of the fairness of his rule. If then Euthymedeia be translated 'the town of the Upright Ruler,'²⁸ a reasonable sense for the MS. reading can be obtained without resorting to conjecture, and the only association of this place known to us is preserved. It does not follow that the town was ever called Euthymedeia; the word may be merely a paraphrase of some native term.²⁹

3. Taxila. This city is the most interesting of those we meet with. According to one theory,³⁰ the name means 'the rock of Takshaka,' king of the serpents, and brings the place into connection with that aboriginal race who, as the Nagas or serpent folk, play so large a part in Buddhist art and legend, and who were, traditionally, the means of preserving the 'true' Buddhism of the Greater Vehicle. Whether a prae-Aryan town or not, Taxila appears as in perpetual opposition to the ruling powers. Its prince aided Alexander against Poros. When Macedonian rule was established, a Brahmin from Taxila instigated Chandra-gupta's revolt. When the Mauryan empire was established, Taxila (says tradition) revolted against Chandra-gupta's son Vindusara, and was not subdued until Asoka himself was sent; subsequently Asoka ruled there as his father's viceroy. When the empire of the Mauryas began to break up, Taxila was probably one of the earliest towns in India to come, for the second time, under Greek rule³¹; while, if Cunningham's before-mentioned conjecture be correct, it was one of the earliest to cease to be ruled by the Greek kings, who continued to reign at Sagala after Taxila had become subject to the Saka dynasty of Maues and his successors.



FIG. 1.—BRONZE COIN OF TAXILA (Single Die).

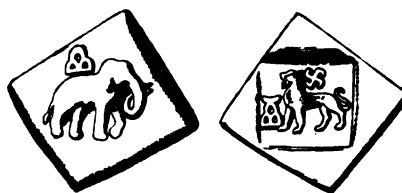


FIG. 2.—BRONZE COIN OF TAXILA (Double Die).

These statements can be illustrated from the coinage. The town had struck a square bronze native coinage, with a design only on one side (Fig. 1).

²⁷ This would of course have nothing to do with their own *belief*.

²⁸ It is no objection that the word would be poetical. There are at least two undoubted poetical words on the coins, *ἀνικητου* and *τυραννουτος*, the former as early as Demetrios, and common; add perhaps *νικηφορου* and the obscure *θεοτροπου*. Also the poetical name of Hermaios's queen, Kalliope. (On the adoption

of Muse-names in late Hellenism, see von Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*. 116.)

²⁹ A very similar case is that of the Bactrian town *Εὐθυδημου ἄνασσα*, which must in fact have borne the queen's actual name.

³⁰ See McCrindle, *Ancient India*, before cited, p. 342, note I, "Taxila." Its site has been identified with Shah-deri.

³¹ Agathokles's coins, *post*.

This coinage was imitated in the square bronze money of Pantaleon and Agathokles.³² Agathokles's bronze money is said to be found near Taxila, and as bronze does not travel far from the place of issue, it is possible that this square coinage was minted at Taxila in the existing mint. Later, the town struck double die square coins of its own (Fig. 2), the art of which is said to show the influence of the money of Agathokles, and which were in turn imitated by the Saka king Maues.³² Therefore, before the time of Maues, *i.e.* fairly early, this town was either independent or autonomous. As this is the only phenomenon of the kind that occurs, except the city-goddesses before referred to, it is worth seeing if anything can be deduced from the coins as to the constitution of this town.

Of the square coins of Agathokles, one (Fig. 3) bears on the reverse a 'maneless lion,' on the obverse a nautch girl; the other (Fig. 4)³³ obv. a stûpa



FIG. 3.—BRONZE COIN OF AGATHOKLES.



FIG. 4.—BRONZE COIN OF AGATHOKLES.

and a star, rev. a tree within a rail. The latter coin, of course, as has been noticed, can only have been struck to meet the susceptibilities of Buddhist subjects;³⁴ but no one seems to have thought it necessary to consider whether their susceptibilities would have been equally pleased by a dancing girl. Now the best known legend connected with Taxila is the story that near there Buddha, in a previous existence, had given his head to feed a starving tiger, a story commemorated in Asoka's foundation there of the stûpa of the 'Head gift.' This stûpa must be the one that appears on Fig. 4, and not some imaginary foundation of Agathokles's, which is in itself unlikely;³⁵ and I would conjecture that the 'maneless lion' of Fig. 3 is also an allusion to the same story, and is in reality the attempt of the semi-Greek artist at a tiger.³⁶ In this case

³² Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 56.

³³ The star is obliterated on the specimen here illustrated, but clear on others, *e.g.* P.G. No. 15.

³⁴ Cf. the use of *δλκατος*; see p. 273.

³⁵ M. S. Levi, in *Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs*, already cited, at p. 43; Agathokles, "soit par conviction, soit par politique, aurait élevé un stûpa." This stûpa coin is perhaps imitated by a copper coin from Khotan, which appears to bear traces of a stûpa; Dr. A. R. Hocnle in *Ind. Ant.* 1898, p. 227.

³⁶ It used for a long time to be believed that a species of maneless lion existed in Gujerat.

This is now said to have been conclusively disproved, the individuals in question being only immature specimens. (See *e.g.* *Enc. Brit.* s. v. 'lion.') I do not see therefore why they should figure on the coinage. Mr. E. J. Rapson (*J.R.A.S.* 1900, p. 103) gives a seal which he compares at length with the square coins of Agathokles and Pantaleon; the lion has a mane. The figure on the coins is certainly a poor tiger; but it would also be a poor lion; and as no Greek could ever manage a good lion, it is unreasonable to suppose that a designer on the fringe of Hellenism would succeed better with a tiger.

the coin in Fig. 3 would also be Buddhist. The dancing girl then would have to be connected with Buddhism in some way, and may perhaps be a reference to another well known Buddha story, his temptation by the Apsarases or nymphs, as Cunningham conjectured for the dancing girls of the Mathura sculptures³⁷; only the artist has imported a good deal of realism into his picture.

This leaves the star over the stûpa unexplained; nor have I seen any attempt to explain it. What follows is a guess.

When Taxila again struck its own coins, it did not try to imitate Agathokles's *Greek* coins, but struck square ones with Buddhist symbols³⁸; the Greek coinage was an exotic, a bit of Greek art put at the service of Buddhism, exactly like the well-known vihara at Taxila with Ionic columns. But if we hear nothing of a Greek colony, we do hear of an *Iranian* one. Aristoboulos knew that, unlike the rest of India, the people of Taxila exposed their dead to vultures³⁹; which can only mean that here were a considerable number of Zoroastrians. Agreeably to this, it is said that the low caste Chandalas there acted as corpse-bearers. This is no more than might have been expected, seeing that, for instance, Asoka in appointing a governor of Gujerat saw good to appoint one who from his name must have been an Iranian, and that Iranian traders or settlements were probably numerous in that region.⁴⁰ It appears to me that this Iranian element, which must have furnished considerable assistance to the second invasion of India by Demetrios and his successors, has also left a trace of itself on the coins in the star over Agathokles's stûpa.

The great number of Iranian deities that figure on the coins of the Kushans or Indo Scythians is well known. One theory is, that the Kushans learnt Zoroastrianism on the Oxus.⁴¹ Suppose, however, that the Bactrian kings had worked the mints with Greek or Graccised artists and Iranian workmen, as is probable enough. After two or three generations, Greek influence wears out; Eukratides, and more especially Heliokles, restore the Persian weight standard; if the Kushans found the mints in Iranian hands, with some tincture of Greek art, it is natural that the Iranian coin-designer would attempt to introduce part of his own symbolism.⁴²

Applying this to Agathokles's coin, Fig. 4, I believe that the star, which

³⁷ 'Stûpa of Barhut,' p. 27. It has been noticed that the dancing girl is the only purely Hindu type that occurs, prior to Siva on the coins of Oemo Kadphises (P.G. 124); and this is an additional reason for finding an explanation for her.

³⁸ Rapson, *Ind. Coins*, Pl. 1, 13; caitya on both obv. and rev.

³⁹ Strabo, 15, 714.

⁴⁰ The name is Tusâspa; M.S. Levi, '*Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*,' 1890, p. 4, and generally. These Iranian settlers would be of more assistance to the Bactrian invaders than would Alexander's

Indian foundations, if subsisting.—The Graeco-Bactrians seem to have found a Persian weight system established in the Punjab; Rapson, *Ind. Coins*, § 8.

⁴¹ Dr. A. Stein in *Ind. Ant.* for 1888 (vol. 17), p. 89, 98, '*Zoroastrian deities on Indo-Scythian coins*.'

⁴² It might be objected that the gold coins of the Kushans are not struck on the Persian standard, but approximate to the weight of the Roman aurei. Very likely, however, they are aurei restruck. (Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* 1889, p. 277.)

has nothing to do with a *stūpa*, is Sirius. Dr. Stein⁴³ has identified the figure with a bow and arrow on Huvishka's gold coin as Sirius, 'whose later name, *Tīr*, in Pahlavi and Persian actually means "arrow"'; he reads the legend as *TEIPO*, and shows that *Tīr* in this meaning is derived from the Zend *tighri*, and that in some way the attribute of swiftness had become affixed to the star, whose swift flight was compared to that of the arrow. Dr. Stein proceeds to cite part of a passage from Eustathius, which, when read as a whole, seems to carry us one step further than was necessary for his purpose.⁴⁴ Briefly, if it was doubted whether the name of the Tigris, swiftest of rivers, was derived from the arrow or the tiger, and if it is stated that the similar name of *Tīr*, brightest of stars, is derived from the arrow, it is an easy piece of guess-work that there may also have been a popular connection between the star and the tiger; and an Iranian designer, drawing the *stūpa* of the Head Gift, with the tiger story in his mind, may have been led by this connection to put in the star, merely perhaps as some addition of the symbolism of his own creed, but possibly too as evidence of some unknown joint cult of the two faiths.⁴⁵ I need hardly add that the above is put forward simply as a guess for what it may be worth.

Whether however Taxila can give much information about Iranians or not, it gives none about Greeks.⁴⁶ The celebrated vihara is not dated; the coins of Azes found under it merely show that it was not built *before* Azes; it may be altogether outside the period I am considering.

4. Eul-che, the 'Royal city' of Ta-yuan.⁴⁷

According to Strabo, the conquest of the Hellenes in Bactria made certain Scythian tribes famous. This conquest took place barely four generations after the revolt of Diodotos. The Chinese have left accounts of the then state of the countries which had originally formed the eastern part of the empire of Seleukos, and afterwards the Bactrian system or empire, these accounts being based on the report of Tchang K'ien, (128 B.C.), who had been sent as an envoy to the Yue-tche, then encamped to the north of the Oxus, and who visited personally, beside the Yue-tche, the nomad K'ang-kiu (north of Bokhara), and the settled countries of Ta-yuan (Kho-

⁴³ In the paper above referred to.

⁴⁴ Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 976, Bernhardy. Tigris swiftest of all rivers. *διὸ φασὶ καὶ Τίγρις καλεῖται, ἥγουν ταχὺς ὡς βέλος. Μῆθοι γὰρ Τίγριν καλοῦσι τὸ τόξευμα.* But some say it is called from the tiger; (follows a story); *καὶ ἄλλως δὲ δίχα τῆς μυθικῆς ταύτης ἐπιβολῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸ ζῶον ὁμωνυμίαν ὁ ποταμὸς ἔχει διὰ τὸ τοῦ βεβήματος δξύ.* For the tiger is very swift. Cf. the supernaturally swift tigers in Herodotos.

⁴⁵ Cf. an interesting suggestion of Dr. Hirth, that the metal mirrors with Bacchic symbols imported into China under the Han emperors might refer to a joint cult of Dionysos and Haoma; *Ueber fremde Einflüsse in der Chines. Kunst*, p. 25 seq.

⁴⁶ I purposely refrain from attempting to use

Philostratos. Yet he must at least be evidence of a belief that Taxila would be a reasonable location for such a story as his.

⁴⁷ For the Annals of the Elder Han I use A. Wylie's trans. of 'Notes on the Western Regions,' *J. Anthropol. Inst.* 1881, cited as 'Wylie'; for Sze-ma-t's'een, T. W. Kingsmill's translation of ch. 123 in *J.R.A.S.* 1883, vol. 14, 'Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan in the 2nd century B.C.' cited as 'Kingsmill.' Prof. Chavannes' translation has not yet, unfortunately, reached ch. 123; but his introduction, pp. lxx to lxxviii, deals with its subject-matter. Every Chinese scholar seems to transliterate the proper names differently; where I can, I have used Prof. Chavannes' spelling.

kand) and the Ta-hia (Bactria),⁴⁸ Chinese scholars appear to be satisfied that our accounts correctly represent what Tchang K'ien says he saw. It ought to be possible to some extent to argue backwards from these documents.

First of all, Tchang K'ien distinguishes pretty clearly the warlike nomad races from the settled peoples whom he calls unwarlike. The former are the Yue-tche and K'ang-kiu, the latter the Ta-hia and the peoples of Ta-yuan, Ngan-si (Parthia), Kepin (? Arachosia), and Woo-yih-shan-le (? Aria). The last three countries he had not visited personally. Also, he knows nothing of any former Bactrian *empire*. Each of the states he deals with is, for him, a separate kingdom. So far as this goes, it supports the idea that the break up of Seleukid rule in the East was followed by a number of independent Greek rulers. The Bactrian may from time to time have made himself overlord⁴⁹; but Tchang K'ien knows nothing of any preponderance of the Ta-hia.

The various points that he makes about the settled populations, from Ta-yuan to Ngan-si, are somewhat as follows.

(1) They can make themselves mutually understood, allowing for variations of dialect, from Ferghana to Parthia.⁵⁰ This speech was of course Iranian. This statement would not be inconsistent with the use of Greek, or bilingualism, in the cities; but nothing of the sort appears to have been observed.

(2) Their military power was small,⁵¹ and the Ta-hia were unwarlike.⁵² It was unfortunate to include Ta-yuan in the general statement, seeing that barely a generation later the little state not unsuccessfully resisted the strongest expedition that China could send. But the remark about the Ta-hia is interesting. Looking at the sudden extension of Bactrian power after Diodotos, and the reputation as fighters left in India by the Yavanas, it is hardly what we should have expected. I fancy the right explanation must be that of Justin; they engaged in too many wars, and bled to death.⁵³ When Tchang K'ien saw them, the strongest elements of the population were either dead or driven south over the Hindu Kush. He gives their then numbers at upwards of a million. It is possible of course that he was not indisposed to belittle the enemies of the Yue-tche, whose friendship he had been sent to solicit.

(3) The men all had deep blue eyes and large beards and whiskers.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Wylie, 67.

⁴⁹ See note 53.

⁵⁰ Wylie, 45; Kingsmill, 94. Cf. Strabo, 15, 724. Ariana includes parts of Media and Persia as well as Bactria and Sogdiana; *εἰς ἄρ πῶς καὶ δμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν*.

⁵¹ Kingsmill, 83. This seems to be applied to Parthia as well as to Ta-yuan and the Ta-hia; but elsewhere he knows of the power of Parthia, Kingsmill, 81.

⁵² Wylie, 41, 'weak and afraid to engage in war.' Kingsmill, 82, 'weak and cowards in battle.'

⁵³ 41, 6. *siquidem Sogdianorum et Arachotorum et Drangianorum Indorumque bellis fatigati, ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis, velut exsangues, oppressi sunt.*—Justin clearly contemplates separate states here. But one cannot depend on him as accurate merely because he is scanty. Strabo as clearly mentions a preponderance of Bactria, 11, 516, 517; the Hellenes who held Bactria held Sogdiana also, and conquered Ariana and the Indians—this last from Apollodoros.

⁵⁴ Wylie, 45; Kingsmill, 94.

The beard still marks the Irani. If there was any Greek ruling caste anywhere he does not mention them; still, though he notes a general similarity between the inhabitants of all these countries, it is only of the eastern part of Parthia that he says definitely that the people were all of one race.⁵⁵

(4) The men were astute traders, who would wrangle about a farthing; ⁵⁶ and they had a large commerce.⁵⁷ I have considered the question of commerce in a separate section of this paper.

(5) Among the Ta-hia there was no supreme ruler, each city and town electing its own chief.⁵⁸ So Sze-ma-ts'een. It is impossible to read this as meaning a break-up into city communities, after the fashion of Syria. The parallel passage in the Annals of the Han,⁵⁸ and the analogy of Ta-yuan, where the two towns mentioned have each a king, show that what is intended is something much more like the system of local chieftains and fortresses which Alexander had found in the country, a system perhaps that had never really yielded to Hellenism.

(6) They paid great deference to their women.⁵⁹

This statement creates a grave difficulty, as it will not apply to any race except one, and that is not the conquered Ta-hia at all, but the conquering Ta Yue-tche, who were Thibetans and polyandrous. Tomaschek cites this passage as an authority for polyandry among the Yue-tche⁶⁰ (which is said to be otherwise attested) without seeming to see the difficulty, viz. that it is not applied to the Yue-tche at all, but to the settled peoples. There may have been some peculiarity local to Bactria and the neighbouring lands of which we are ignorant, and which would explain it; but failing this it seems to me that there are only four alternatives: (a) that Tchang K'ien has made a bad mistake—a matter which, as he lived among the Yue-tche and visited the Ta-hia, would seriously impair the authority of practically the only eye-witness for any part of the period under consideration; (b) that the writers who used his report have introduced some error, a matter hardly less serious⁶¹; (c) that in some way the mistake has arisen through the Ta-hia being in fact not the Bactrians but the Tochari, one of the hordes of the invaders; (d) that the Yue-tche conquest was a gradual affair, and that the Bactrians, before the occupation of their capital, had become permeated with the manners of their conquerors.

Of these alternatives, (c) is almost incredible. Ta-hia cannot be

⁵⁵ Kingsmill, 91.

⁵⁶ Wylie, 45; Kingsmill, 94.

⁵⁷ Kingsmill, 83.

⁵⁸ Kingsmill, 82. The parallel passage (Wylie, 41) reads that the Ta-hia 'were originally without a chief paramount, and were accustomed to set up petty chiefs over their cities.'

⁵⁹ Wylie, 46. 'Women are honourably treated among them, and their husbands are guided by them in their decisions.' Kingsmill, 94, 'They held their women in high estimation,

and the husband commonly took his wife's advice before coming to a decision.' This statement appears to be made of all the countries westward from Ta-yuan as far as Parthia.

⁶⁰ 'Ueber das Arimaspische Gedicht von Aristeas,' in *Abh. d. k. Ak. der Wiss. in Wien. h. phil. Clas.*, 116, (1888), p. 751. Some writers treat the Yue-tche as Turks.

⁶¹ But not impossible. There must be a similar error, whatever its nature, in the contradictory statements as to the use of silk; see *post* p. 290.

Tocharia; the Ta-hia throughout are the *conquered* race,⁶² and, if they are not the native Bactrians, the whole of the Chinese account becomes an insoluble puzzle.⁶³ (d) is in one way possible. We know that some little time elapsed between the settlement of the Yue-tche on the north bank of the Oxus and their conquest of the capital⁶⁴; we know that they found it necessary or advisable to pass by Ta-yuan altogether without attacking it⁶⁵; we might conjecture from one of the coins, if genuine, that some little while previously they had been fighting with the Bactrians with varying success.⁶⁶ Bactria may have become lost to its Greek rulers by something of the same gradual process as, for instance, that by which Southern Gaul became lost to the Roman empire; but even were this the case, it is difficult to suppose that this particular form of the manners of the conquerors would be adopted by a conquered people of alien race, religion, and temper.

If the reference be not to polyandry, it is equally obscure, as it scarcely accords with what is known of the domestic systems of Greeks, Persians, or Parthians; and we must conclude either that there is here something peculiar to Bactria and the neighbouring districts, and otherwise unknown, or that there is some mistake in the authorities which may tend to impair their credit on other points.

Now in all this no trace appears of anything *Greek*, unless it be the name Lan-chi and a reference to the Parthian coinage.⁶⁷ The objection, however, as regards Bactria, may be taken, either that the Chinese envoy could not or did not distinguish Greeks from natives, or that the whole Greek element had retired to India; and this might be supported by Strabo's statement that the Scythians 'took Bactria away from' the Hellenes. It might also be conjectured that the outburst of Greek activity in India associated with the names of Apollodotos and Menander was connected with the expulsion of the Greeks from the countries north of the Hindu Kush

⁶² In 'Notes on the Western Regions' they do not even have a separate section from the Yue-tche.

⁶³ The name Ta-hia is so far unexplained. It does not even seem to be certain whether it means Great Hia or not. But the common explanation that Ta-hia = Dahae seems impossible. Ta hia may be good Chinese for Dahae; but unless it can *only* mean Dahae, which is clearly not the case (see e.g. Dr. Hirth, *Ueber fremde Einflüsse*, p. 23), it is worthless without some fact to support it. No connection of the Dahae with Bactria is known. The theory is, that they may have joined in the Saka invasion; but (1) the Chinese only mention the Sakas, (2) if so they were driven out with the Sakas before Tchang K'ien came. As a fact, the Dahae remained in their original seats, beyond Margiana, and contributed a refuge for Parthian pretenders, and mercenaries for Parthian and Seleukid kings; Artabanus III.

(c. 8 A D.) lived among them, Tac. *Ann.* 2, 3; they fought at Magnesia, Livy, 37, 40, and at Raphia, Polyb. 5, 79; see also Strabo, 2, 718 and Ptol. 6, 10, and Prof. P. Gardner 'The Parthian coinage,' 1877 (in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*), pp. 12, 13—Identifications by similar sound are worthless in themselves, unless used to support deductions from facts.

⁶⁴ Specht in *J. A.* 1883, p. 321 seq.

⁶⁵ See note 68.

⁶⁶ Coin representing Macedonian horseman charging two riders on an elephant; Prof. P. Gardner takes the riders to be Yue-tche, and the coin to commemorate a victory of either Eukratides or Heliokles; *Num. Chron.* 1887, p. 177; but its genuineness is said to be doubtful.—Is it possible that the 'Bactrians' of Justin, 36, 1, 5, allies of Demetrios Nikanor, were really an advanced horde of the Yue-tche? See note 11.

⁶⁷ Wylie, 39; Kingsmill, 81.

and the concentration of their energies on a narrower field, to be again curtailed by the Saka conquest of the Western Punjâb.

There is however one country north of the Hindu Kush to which this latter objection cannot possibly apply, as all accounts agree that the Yue-tche *passed by* it and came round to attack the Ta-hia from the west:⁶⁸ and therefore the Chinese must have found it in whatever was its normal state of development.⁶⁹

This is Ta-yuan, the country about Khokand and Uratube, south of the Syr and south-west of Ferghana. Here Alexander had settled a capital and Antiochos I. had kept a general; Strabo goes out of his way to quote Apollodoros to the effect that the Greeks possessed Sogdiana,⁷⁰ a name which would include the province in question. In the time of Tchang K'ien Ta-yuan was the only part of Sogdiana not occupied by nomads, the K'ang-Kiu possessing the valley of the Polyimnetos, and the Yue-tche holding the country along the north bank of the Oxus, which may have been included within the limits of Bactria.⁷¹ Alexander had settled several forts here beside Alexandreschate; and the Alexander-romance, curiously enough, speaks of voluntary settlements of Alexander's friends in Sogdiana.⁷² This district moreover commanded the northern and easier of the two old trade-routes into the Tarim valley; so that, although far from what must have been the centre of the Graeco-Bactrian system, it may nevertheless be a locality in which traces of Greek settlement should be expected.

Sze-ma-ts'een⁷³ tells the story of a Chinese expedition against Ta-yuan, (about 102 B.C.), to procure for the emperor some of the famous Shen horses of celestial race that sweated blood, which he coveted. The first expedition was defeated; but prisoners and ruffians were impressed, and a second army of 60,000 men, not including engineers and the seven classes of criminals used as transport, together with 100,000 cattle, more than 30,000 horses, and 10,000 baggage animals, including camels, and commanded by 50 generals, left Chinese Turkestan to attack this outpost of the west. Half the effective force appears actually to have arrived before the 'Royal' city, Eul-che,⁷⁴ to have defeated the Sogdian horse-archers, and to have stormed the outer town, while the engineers diverted the river that flowed through it; but the Sogdians must have fought with the same courage with which their fathers had resisted Alexander,⁷⁵ for the Chinese despaired of taking the inner city,

⁶⁸ Wylie, 41; Kingsmill, 81. Specht in *J.A.* 1883, p. 322, 'passèrent au delà de Ta-Ouan.'

⁶⁹ This does not exclude the possibility of Ta-yuan being one of the kingdoms formed by the Sse (Sakas); cf. the horse-archers, and the coins referred to, note 85.

⁷⁰ Strabo, 11, 517.

⁷¹ Tomaschek, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. 'Bactriane.' Strabo however is clear that the Oxus was the boundary.

⁷² For instance, Dr. Budge's *Life and Exploits*

of *Alexander the Great*, from the Ethiopian, pp. 183, 186. For volunteers at Alexandreschate, note 5.

⁷³ Kingsmill, 83 to end.

⁷⁴ Kingsmill transliterates Urh-shi, Dr. Hirth Ir-schi: de Lacouperie wished to read Nise.

⁷⁵ It is interesting to compare this account with the siege of the same town, (Cyropolis), by Alexander (Arr. 4, 3). Alexander took the outer city by thirst. As to the identification, see note 83.

particularly as the besieged had recently secured the services of some 'men from T'sin' who knew how to dig wells. Finally the besieged killed their king, Mou-koa, who was supposed to have instigated a previous murder of Chinese envoys, and sent out his head, with a promise of some horses if the Chinese retired; but if driven to extremities they would kill the horses and call in the K'ang-kiu.⁷⁶ The Chinese general took the horses, apparently with some admission of Chinese suzerainty as well, and returned home without entering the inner city, taking with him cuttings of the grape-vine, and some plants of lucerne for the horses.

The utmost possible has been made of this story from the Greek point of view.⁷⁷ Ta-yuan becomes the great country of the Yonas or Greeks, its capital Nise, its horses Nisaeon,⁷⁸ its king Μέγας. It appears to be admitted that the Chinese names for grapes and lucerne are really Greek;⁷⁹ but the rest is based on nothing but a similarity of sound, and seems to be of little value, more especially Nise. Mou-koa is said to be a possible representation of μέγας;⁸⁰ but to make out the point, it would be necessary to prove that μέγας alone is a possible name for a Greek king—as for instance Lucan can talk of Pompey as Magnus.⁸¹ I shall hope to show presently that, supposing Ta-yuan to mean Great Yona land, this need not refer to Greeks.⁸²

But the reasons for which I have given this story at length are the following: (a). Two cities of Ta-yuan are mentioned, the Royal city, Eul-che, and another, Yeou-tch'eng; and this latter has also a king. That is to say, five generations after Diodotos the country is still (or again) as Alexander found it, broken up into separate local chieftaincies. (b) If Eul-che, as universally supposed, be Uratube, and Uratube be Cyropolis, we get the important and startling result that the Persian foundation, which Alexander had razed and scattered, had again become the capital of the province, to the exclusion of his own town of Alexandreschate (Chodjend). But too much stress must not be laid on this, as the identification of Uratube with Cyropolis is not an absolute certainty.⁸³ (c) The 'men from T'sin.' It

⁷⁶ The same threat that Euthydemus used to Antiochos III.

⁷⁷ T. de Lacouperie, *Western origin of early Chinese Civilisation*, pp. 220, 221.

⁷⁸ As the revival of the letter San on the Kushan coins appears to be generally accepted, and as this letter, (sound sh), is known as used in Greece for branding horses, it ought to be suggested, to complete the list, that the Shen horses were σαμφάροι. For a suggestion that Ta-yuan = Strabo's Τουρισίαν (the province beyond Merv lost by Eukratides to the Parthians, and translated by Brunnhofer, *vom Aral bis zum Gangá*, 61 seq., as ἰκρόβοτος, i.e. Nisaeon fields which he places between Balkh and Merv) see Hirth *Ueber fremde Einflüsse*, &c., p. 24; it is geographically quite impossible, as Dr. Hirth sees. A considerable number of places called Nisaea are known; but the 'fields' were

certainly in Media.

⁷⁹ P'u-tao, vine = βότρυς; Muh-tuk, lucerne = μηδική (πόα).

⁸⁰ By Prof. Chavannes in his Introduction before cited.

⁸¹ The only case that occurs to me is the coins of the so-called Nameless king, P.G. xlvii., Kabul valley, circ. A.D. 30-50; the inscription is generally βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων σωτήρ μέγας; possibly Kushan.

⁸² See p. 287.

⁸³ Eul-che = Uratube; Prof. Chavannes in the Introduction before cited, p. lxxv; Dr. Hirth, *Ueber fremde Einflüsse*, &c., p. 21; both on a consideration of Chinese evidence. Cyropolis = Uratube; von Schwarz, *Alexander des G. Feldzüge in Turkestan*, (1893), pp. 51, 52. The stream and citadel are there; the town gave more trouble to the Russians than any

is out of the question in 102 B.C. that they should be Romans. They must therefore almost certainly have been Greeks, whether from Syria, Parthia, or Bactria.⁸⁴ Wherever they came from, however, they are noticed as foreigners, and the historian understands the difference between them and the natives of Ta-yuan. This suggests that Tchang K'ien might have informed himself of the same difference, had he come across it; and furnishes some reason for supposing that he makes no mention of Greeks in Bactria because there were none there to mention.

So far as Ta-yuan therefore is concerned, the case seems to be that the only Greek elements that commend themselves as fairly certain are the names for grape and lucerne, and the presence of certain foreigners in the citadel. It does not appear, for instance, that any coins of the Greek kings have been found so far north.⁸⁵

II.

So much has now been ascertained as to what India does or does not owe to the west,⁸⁶ that it ought to be possible in some sense to argue backwards, and to see if anything can be deduced from this as to the Bactrians. I may say at once that, omitting architecture and sculpture, the only debt that appears to be proved by any evidence that would satisfy a jury is astronomy, and this belongs to the history of Alexandrian astronomy of a much later date.⁸⁷

What will have to be considered in this connection may conveniently be grouped under three headings: 1. architecture and sculpture, 2. language, 3. the name Yavana.

1. Can it be deduced from ascertained results, of which far the most important here is the broad one that the Gandhara school cannot well commence before the Christian era and shows Roman influence, whether Greek or Graecised architecture was ever at the service of the Bactrian

other in Khokand and Bokhara.—Mr. D. G. Hogarth (*Philip and Alexander of Macedon*) does not accept von Schwarz's identifications as sufficient, in the absence of excavation.

⁸⁴ Hardly the last, having regard to the date.

⁸⁵ In the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities are seven silver tetradrachms from 'Samarkand, Tashkend, and other places in Western Turkestan,' which imitate coins of Heliokles and Euthydemus, and some of which are referred by Dr. Hoernle (*Ind. Ant.* 1898, p. 225 *seq.*), to circ. 150 and 130 B.C. Are they Saka?

⁸⁶ For discussions of this question, see (among other things) Weber, 'Die Griechen in Indien,' *Sitz. d. Ak. d. Wiss. Berlin*, 1890; Levi, *Quid de Graecis, &c.*; Count Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce*, 1897, and his series of articles in the *Bull. de l'Acad.*

Royale des Sciences de Belgique, vols. 33 and 34 (1897), (strongly pro-Greek); Mr. V. A. Smith's three articles, 'Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilisation of Ancient India' in *J.A.S.B.* 1889 (vol. 58), 1892 (vol. 61), and 1893 (vol. 62); and a clear summary in Prof. A. A. Macdonell's recent *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 411 onwards.—Greek or Graeco-Roman influence is of course generally treated as a whole.—Bibliography of the large literature relating to the architecture and sculpture is given by Mr. V. A. Smith, and by Dr. Burgess in his recent edition, with translation, of Prof. Grünwedel's *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*. My references to Grünwedel are to the second German edition (1900), as this paper was practically completed before I saw the translation.

⁸⁷ *Notes on Hindu Astronomy*, by Dr. Burgess, *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 717.

kings? The answer to this question was once an unhesitating affirmative; but that is ancient history. There is, however, a theory, held by D'Alviella,⁸⁸ which may be described as a sort of rule of three; as the semi-Greek Kushan coinage is to the Gandhara school, so should the coinage of the Bactrian kings be to a (vanished) school of pure Greek art. That is to say, the coins postulate a contemporary school of architecture and sculpture, of which most, if not all, of the traces have vanished. A supporter of this theory might adopt Cunningham's former suggestion that possibly the conquering Yue-tche destroyed all the works of art in question,⁸⁹ and might argue (and justly) that this theory cannot be *disproved* until, for instance, Balkh and the site of Eukratideia have been properly excavated. But it cannot either, with our present material, be proved. There is no evidence that the Yue-tche, whose conquest of Bactria may have been a gradual one, were mere vandals; they occupied, not destroyed, the capital; they spared certain pillars and stûpas of Asoka, and quickly took over the mints. The author of the *Periplus* knows of old shrines standing, inland from Barygaza, attributed to Alexander. The positive evidence in support of the theory is scanty in the extreme. There are certain figures in the architecture of the Asoka period, centaurs, man-headed bulls, and other half-human types, which may be due to Greek influence, probably filtered through a Persian medium; but the explanation of their adoption may be entirely religious or philosophical.⁹⁰ So far as I have been able to discover, the existing remains of 'Indo-Hellenic,' as distinguished from Indo-Persian, art, even possibly contemporary with the Graeco-Bactrian or Graeco-Indian kings, or even admittedly free from Roman influence, are the Lahore Athene, the Vihara with Ionic columns at Taxila, and the sculptures at Mathura.⁹¹ The vihara appears to be 'dated' by the coins of Azes found undisturbed beneath it, that is to say, it cannot be earlier than about 30 B.C., and may be later. The Athene however is Greek,⁹² and might be earlier than Azes, though it resembles the type on his coins. But most of the 'Indo-Hellenic' sculptures come from Mathura. These are said not to belong to the Gandhara school, and to show undoubted Greek influence not conveyed through Roman

⁸⁸ See also Oldenberg's essay on 'Buddhistische Kunst in Indien' in *Aus Indien und Iran* (collected essays, 1899), esp. pp. 116, 117; and cf. Mr. Vincent Smith's *Indo-Hellenic* school.

⁸⁹ *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. 5, 189.

⁹⁰ Grünwedel, pp. 17, 51, 57. They may be meant, he thinks, to symbolise the doctrine of transmigration and rebirth; in each stage of animal existence the human may be concealed, to be released through good works. It is interesting to meet the celebrated *Βουγενὲς ἀνδρόπρωπον* in India serving the use of an alien philosophy.

⁹¹ Certain traces of Greek or Graeco-Roman influences appear in the art of Khotan, which was so largely influenced by that of India; see for instance the seals from Taklamakan given by

Dr. Hoernle ('A collection of Antiquities from Central Asia,' *J.A.S.B.* 1899, vol. 68, part 1, nos. 24, 26, 32 and 33 on plate 3, and no. 11 on plate 19), which include two figures of Athene; and the clay seals representing Athene and Eros referred to by Dr. Stein in his recent *Preliminary Report* of his excavations in Chinese Turkestan, at p. 53. Dr. Stein says 'There is good reason to believe that this influence was exercised, partly through Bactria, partly through Gandhara and the adjoining regions on the N.W. frontier of India.' I do not know if any date has yet been suggested for these figures of Athene, or if they may be earlier than the Gandhara school.

⁹² Grünwedel, 81; 184 'direkt als griechische Göttin ist dargestellt Athene Promachos.'

channels.⁹³ How they got there is a problem whose difficulty may be gauged by the fact that Grünwedel suggests a relationship between this school and the residence of Seleukos's ambassador Megasthenes at Patna, a somewhat desperate theory, and perhaps inconsistent with the fact that coins of several of the Indo-Greek kings are said to have been found in the Mathura ruin-mounds.⁹⁴ Few however would care to maintain that the Bactrians must have brought Graecised architecture to India *because* the one group of sculpture that shows undoubted Greek influence is found at the furthest point from Bactria to which any Greek king can well have penetrated. If this theory of continuous Hellenic influence, which cannot be proved, should, however, ever be *disproved*, the result would be that the beautiful coinage of the earlier Bactrian kings would have to be considered as what naturalists call a 'sport.'

But if, upon present materials, no continuous Hellenic influence can be shown, this is not the case with the influence of Persia. Few things strike the ordinary reader more, on looking through Grünwedel's Handbook, than the stress laid upon Persian influence. So far as the art, which suddenly appears full blown under Asoka, owes anything to the stranger, it owes it to Persia; the Indo-Persian school continues through a line of stūpas to Amravati in the first century: Persian forms appear even among the alien art of Gandhara. It is difficult, in the face of this, to avoid supposing that such art as existed in Bactria was more native than Greek. It is perhaps also to the point to remark that no monument of any sort showing classical influence has yet (so far as known to me) come to light which *must* belong to the period between Asoka and the last Indo-Greek king: and such a blank may be in itself significant.⁹⁵

I have not overlooked the much-quoted words of Hiouen Tsang. When the Chinese pilgrim, some six centuries after the Yue-tche conquered Bactria, visited Amravati, he is reported to have said that the famous Tope was adorned 'with all the magnificence of the palaces of the Ta-hia.'⁹⁶ This proves nothing at all; because Hiouen Tsang does not date his 'palaces.' But supposing it to refer to Bactria prior to the Yue-tche conquest, then, if any one likes to attribute to the Chinese pilgrim an exact knowledge of the architectural style of six centuries previously, it would prove that the Bactrian architecture was like Amravati, viz., Indo-Persian; which is hardly the result contemplated. No one supposes that the kings had not palaces of some sort, as indeed Tchang K'ien expressly states with regard to Kepin.⁹⁷

⁹³ Grünwedel 80. Mr. V. A. Smith has suggested tentatively 200 A. D. for this school.

⁹⁴ Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. 3 (1870-72), p. 14; coins of Apollodotos, Menander, Strabo, and Antimachos.

⁹⁵ Perhaps the fact that a station on the silk route became well known as 'The Stone Tower,' (Ptolemy), may even suggest that in the neighbourhood, Sogdiana for example, stone architecture was rare and remarkable.—I have not

met anywhere with a description of the 'Greek' pillars at Oosh in Ferghana, mentioned by Vambéry (*Central Asia*).

⁹⁶ From Julien's translation. D'Alviella, (*Ce que l'Inde*, &c. p. 82) cites this passage, together with Philostratos, for a continuous Greek art.

⁹⁷ Wylie, 34, 35 the people of Kepin are ingenious in building palaces and mansions.

2. Nothing then at present known to us postulates with any certainty a Graecised architecture or sculpture among the Bactrians. Does anything postulate Greek speech? Omitting Philostratos, and statements in rhetoricians about Indians reading Homer, our knowledge seems to be this: that Greek writing persevered on the Indo-Scythian coins; that on the coinage of the Graeco-Indian and Saka kings the letter-forms change; that after A.D. some Indians read Alexandrian treatises on astronomy; and that the Branchidae town, which Alexander destroyed, had become bilingual in six generations or thereabouts.⁹⁸ The reading of astronomy books means nothing, while it is always possible to argue that Greek on the coins remained as a dead token, as we use Latin; but in view of Dr. Stein's brilliant conjecture,⁹⁹ that the ρ of the Indo-Scythian coins is in fact San revived, there remain two very strong arguments for the continuous use of Greek as a living speech. San is known as a numeral, as a mark used to brand horses, and as used for sigma in an old spelling of Dionysos;¹⁰⁰ a revival of San therefore must mean that Greek numeration was still in use. And if, as I assume, the changes in the letter-forms correspond to those in Greek letter-forms elsewhere,¹⁰¹—such changes being used as an assistance in dating the coins—this becomes the strongest argument of all. But if the Branchidae town, which was settled by Greek men *and women*, was bilingual in six generations, then it is fair to argue that Kanishka's die-sinkers, if they possessed Greek as in any sense a living tongue, and if they were native-born, and not imported by sea,¹⁰² were probably the descendants of Greek settlers *with Greek wives*. The argument perhaps is rather top-heavy; but I think there is enough to show that language must be a strong point for those who believe that Greek civilisation did much for the East.

3. The Yavanas. The passages in Indian literature where this name occurs have been collected by M. Levi,¹⁰³ who believes that the name means Greek and nothing else. But one of the first things that strikes the reader of his book is, that the writers quoted do not all appear to be talking about the same thing. Sometimes the Yavana is necessarily *local*; sometimes he is not necessarily local at all. On the one hand, the Yavanas are of Indian descent (p. 20), and appear to keep their place for some nine centuries (p. 8) and are linked with tribes like the Gândhâri, (whose location cannot be doubtful), and the Kamboji, who cannot be located, but whom Spiegel considered to be Iranian. On the other hand, they are people of strange customs, such as reclining at food and shaving the hair; among them, slaves can rise to be masters and masters sink to be slaves; they are settled in and often associated with Gujerat, they invade Oude, and leave behind them a record for furious

⁹⁸ Curtius, 7, 5, 29.

⁹⁹ *Academy*, 10th September, 1887.

¹⁰⁰ Doric; Ath. 466 f. Pindar ap. Ath. 467 b, complains that singers *would* use san; and as this is generally true, (a German sings Ish for Ich), the fact that the sound could not die might help to keep the letter alive.

¹⁰¹ P. G. xlvi.

¹⁰² Prof. P. Gardner (*Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 177 *seq.*) suggests, on grounds of style, that the Kushan kings got their artists from Bactria.

¹⁰³ In '*Quid de Graecis*,' &c. before referred to.

fighting and for adherence to a false religion; eight of their kings reign in India. The notices given of the science of the Yavanas, which do not come to much (pp. 23-24), may, and in one case at least must, refer to Roman times.¹⁰⁴ The Yavana kingdom in Orissa, again, which came to an end in 473 A.D. (p. 41), must refer to something quite different.

I believe there are other indications of a local use of the name, that is to say, of some tribe or people of this name, outside India, but comprised in the Seleukid empire. The name occurs in the three province-lists of Darius; once each in those of Behistun and Persepolis, and twice in that of Nakhsh-i-Rustam. The name in the lists of Behistun and Persepolis and the first name in the list of Nakhsh-i-Rustam is associated with Sparda (satrapy of Sardis), and clearly refers to the Ionians. But toward the end of this list appears, among peoples on the fringes of the empire, the name of 'Yunas wearing helmets.'¹⁰⁵

Again, the Chinese called Khokand Great Yuan (Ta-yuan), and also mention a Little Yuan (Siao Yuan), seemingly in Chinese Turkestan. There is no ground in fact whatever for treating the former as meaning 'the great land of the Yonas' in the sense of *Greeks*. Neither does it appear how or why the Chinese should hit upon this name for Greeks (which the Indians are supposed to have learnt from Persia), especially as a little later their name for the country of the Seleukids is Ta T'sin.¹⁰⁶

It seems to me more than possible that in the name Ta-yuan, and in the 'Yunas wearing helmets' of Darius, we have traces of the local or tribal use of this name.¹⁰⁷ If the 'Sakas wearing hats' of the Nakhsh-i-Rustam list are the recently conquered Sakas of the Jaxartes, as appears probable,¹⁰⁸ it is not unreasonable to seek the 'Yunas wearing helmets' of the same list in the same part of the world, especially having regard to the frequent conjunction of the names Saka and Yavana in Indian writers. And if there were a local Yavana name and country, ruled by other Yavanas from the west, who thence invaded India, the resulting confusion would be obvious.¹⁰⁹ That Yavana some-

¹⁰⁴ One would seem to date from the middle of the first century B.C., but refers only to astrology.

¹⁰⁵ Spiegel referred these 'Kronen tragenden Griechen' to some section of the Greek race; (*Iran. Alt.*, 1, 223); but if the Ionian satrapy had been divided, some notice of it should have been given upon the first occurrence of the name in its usual place, beside Sparda. Clearly the epithet is to distinguish these Yunas from the 'Ionians.'

¹⁰⁶ Hirth, 'China and the Roman Orient,' (1885).

¹⁰⁷ Prof. Bury has suggested that the Ionians got their common name from an original people of Iavones in Asia Minor; ('Prehistoric Ionians,' *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1900, p. 288); but the supposed occurrence of the name in the fifteenth and thirteenth centuries in Egyptian

records appears to be a mistake, see Mr. H. R. Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece* (1901), p. 129. The connection between 'Ιάϋων and 'Ιων is not known (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* 1, 283), and it would be tempting to compare the two forms with Yavana and Yona, but these latter seem to be identical; Levi, 'Quid de Graecis,' p. 3, (n), 'Yona nomen praeritice idem quod Yavana sanscritice scribitur.'

¹⁰⁸ Dr. F. Justi, *Gesch. Irans*, p. 444, in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (1900).

¹⁰⁹ Since the above was written, I see that Mr. V. A. Smith frankly calls the Yonas of Asoka's Rock Edicts 5 and 13 one of the 'semi-independent foreign tribes on the north-western frontier' of Asoka's dominions; 'Asoka' (1901), pp. 120, 132. But as he naturally translates the word in Rock Edict 2 as 'the

times means Greek is undeniable. But it appears to me equally true to say, not only that it sometimes has a local meaning, but that it is sometimes applied generally to people who showed the type of civilisation developed in the countries ruled by Greeks. To Asoka, Antiochos is king of the Yonas; but those of them who were settled in Asoka's kingdom were presumably Iranian, as they had a king or governor with an Iranian name.¹¹⁰ It seems to me therefore that the word affords no criterion to distinguish Greek from Iranian. One thing is clear, however, that Yavana is not Saka; consequently one episode, the attack upon Oude and the Mādhyamiki, which can be approximately dated,¹¹¹ must refer almost with certainty to a Greek king. After appearing in Asoka's inscriptions, the name is not again found in a public inscription for nearly three centuries, a gap that corresponds curiously with the gap in the architecture already noticed.

III

Most writers speak of the key to the history of the Greeks of the far East as trade,—an effort to obtain control of the trade with China and the Indian sea-traffic. An obvious explanation is thus furnished both of the extension of their rule to the Tarim valley, if such be the fact, and their efforts to reach the mouth of the Indus. As regards the latter, a sea-borne traffic from India to the west was already in existence, and the explanation is a probable one when the tedium and difficulty of the land routes be considered, especially if the shore-kingdoms of Saraostes and Sigerdis,¹¹² conquered by Demetrios or his successors, be brought into connection with the Yavana colony under Asoka, of which Tusâspa was ruler, and who, it would seem, could only have settled there for commercial purposes. Tchang K'ien also speaks in general terms of the large commerce of Ta-yuan, the Ta-hia and the adjoining people.¹¹³ But what I wish here to consider is the question of trade with China. With the exception of the fact that Aristotle knew of the silk-worm, most of the information to be derived from the usual classical sources with reference to the trade of the East belongs to a later period.

Two immemorial routes lead from the Oxus countries into the Tarim valley and so toward China; the southern one, by way of the upper Oxus and Badakshan to Yarkand, the northern one by way of Ferghana to Kashgar. According to the Annals of the Han,¹¹⁴ the intercourse of China with the 'Western regions' commenced in the time of the emperor Woo-te (140-87 B.C.), that is to say, at the earliest, towards the end of the reign of the last Greek king who ruled north of the Hindu-Kush, according to the coins. Richthofen

Greek king Antiochos,' the confusion I have noticed would be as old as the time of Asoka at least.

¹¹⁰ Levi, p. 4, translates 'Tusâspa, Açoki Mauryensis Yonorum rex.'

¹¹¹ Levi, p. 16. Cunningham interprets Mād-

hyamiki as the people of the middle country, that is, the Gangetic provinces above the Delta (*Num. Chron.*, 10, 225).

¹¹² Strabo, 11, 576.

¹¹³ Kingsmill, 83.

¹¹⁴ Wylie, 20.

dates the first caravan that went through as 114 B.C.¹¹⁵ It must in any case be later than Tchang K'ien, in whose time the Huns were across the route, and who was considering the question of the possibility of traffic going by way of Shuh (Szechuan) and India.¹¹⁶ It seems clear that the Chinese take credit to themselves for opening up the road to caravans, and the meaning appears to be intended that there had been no earlier caravans going through from the Oxus to China, or *vice versa*. By the end of the century this caravan traffic appears to have become extensive; but it does not seem that its commencement can be dated earlier than the period above mentioned, which corresponds roughly with the replacing of the Greek element in Bactria by the Yue-tche; and as the latter subsequently appear as considerable traders, it is permissible to wonder if this be only a coincidence.

But of course indirect trade may have flourished, through the medium for instance of the dwellers in the Tarim valley, to which, according to Apollodoros, the Bactrian kings carried their arms. It is not known what steps these kings took to safeguard their eastern frontiers, but anyhow they were effectual; the Yue-tche came right round and entered Bactria from the *west*, and this rather bears Apollodoros out.¹¹⁷ According to Tomaschek, Bactrian caravans must have been trading with the market town of the Seres, Issedon, earlier than the time of Herodotos, a traffic which continued for centuries¹¹⁸; but this statement, so far as I know, depends entirely for its value on the correctness of Tomaschek's location of the Issedones and other peoples mentioned by Aristeas.¹¹⁹ Can the Chinese trade, on other grounds, be carried back prior to 140 B.C. into the flourishing epoch of the Bactrian kingdom?

Coins of some of the Greek kings have been found in the Tarim valley;¹²⁰ but these may have been carried there at a later period, as it is known that they sometimes continued in circulation for a long time after the king's death; the author of the *Periplus* found coins of Menander and Apollodotos still current in Barygaza, and the same may be conjectured of the gold of Eukratides.¹²¹ Later, the Macedonian trader, Maes Titianos, was working this

¹¹⁵ Richthofen, *China*, p. 464.

¹¹⁶ Wylie, 'History of the South-western Barbarians,' *J. Anthropol.* I. 1880, p. 59; de Lacouperie, *Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 50. This book, though requiring critical use, contains a mass of information about the overland route to China.

¹¹⁷ It may be noted that in the message of Euthydemos to Antiochos (Polyb. 11, 34) he speaks of 'admitting' the nomads (*προσδέχεσθαι*) as if through some barrier, which can hardly be the Jaxartes, as they are said to be close at hand.

¹¹⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, 'Baktrianoi.'

¹¹⁹ *Ueber das Arimasische Gedicht des Aristeus* before cited. Issedon = Sera Metropolis = *Χουβδάν* = S'ian-fu. Issedones, a northern branch of the Thibetan race: Arimaspi, the Huns; Hyperboreans, the Chinese: Iranian

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influences in Tarim valley, and Iranian trade with Issedon, which may have possessed a merchants' quarter.

¹²⁰ Coins of Menander and Antimachos II. and the 'iron' coin of Hermaios; also Roman coins of Constans II., Justinus, Theodosius. Sir T. D. Forsyth, *J.R.G.S.* 47, p. 12; Prof. P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.* 1879, 274; Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, 'Indo-Chinese coins in the British collection of Central Asian Antiquities,' *Ind. Ant.* 1899, p. 46; also *J.A.S.B.* 1899, vol. 68, part 1; the 'iron' coins are really of copper. As to the seals from Khotan, see note 91.

¹²¹ Gold currency in Kepin, in the time of Tchang K'ien; on one side a man on horseback, on the other a man's face; Wylie, 34. Not a very good description of Eukratides's money, but it does not appear to what else it can refer.

route by means of native agents,¹²² which is perhaps in favour of the Iranians having previous knowledge of it; but such knowledge could well have been acquired since 140 B.C. Of articles of trade, much the most important would be silk, and silk unfortunately furnishes no assistance, as there appears to be a direct contradiction in the two Chinese accounts. According to Sze-ma-ts'een, the people from Ta-yuan westward as far as Parthia 'were not in the habit of using silk fabrics.'¹²³ According to the Annals of the Han 'silk and varnish are used all over the country.'¹²⁴ Both passages occur in exactly the same context, which appears to be part of Tchang K'ien's report. I may remark that, if the latter passage be the correct version, the Chinese trade for a period considerably anterior to Tchang K'ien would be *proved*, as neither silk nor lac could be produced elsewhere; but if the former be correct, it would not necessarily be *disproved*, for Tchang K'ien may be writing only of the common people of a country out of which the ruling caste had been driven, and people may also trade in a luxury that they do not use themselves. Here it must remain, until some Chinese scholar resolves the difficulty.

In later times furs and iron are mentioned as notable objects of Seric trade.¹²⁵ There is a square bronze coin of Philoxenos in the British Museum, of which the figure on the obverse is described by Cunningham as Apollo radiate, clad in skins,¹²⁶ a description which recalls the description of the furs on the radiate figure of Anaitis at Bactra.¹²⁷ Even however if the dress be meant for furs, they may have come from the north. The Seric iron, which was described as the best, is supposed to have included cast iron; and according to the Annals of the Han,¹²⁸ the countries of the west learnt the art of casting iron from a Chinese envoy who lost his troops and gave himself up. Trade in iron, however, is not referred to, though the importation of gold and silver from China is mentioned.

The celebrated metal mirrors covered with designs in clusters of grapes,¹²⁹ and with representations of panthers and other animals, that were imported into China under the Han dynasty, do not furnish any assistance, as their first appearance in China can be dated to the reign of Woo-te. The same consideration applies to Woo-te's reorganisation of the mint, which has been dated to 116 B.C., if indeed the idea was derived from a Greek source.¹³⁰

There remains the fact that some of the Bactrian kings struck coins of nickel, and as this was known early in China, it probably points to trade communication. Nickel coins are known of Euthydemus II, Pantaleon and Agathokles, that is to say, well within the first half of the second century B.C.

*Some traffic there must have been over this route from time immemorial;*¹³¹

¹²² Ptolemy, 1, 11, § 7 (from Marinus).

¹²³ Kingsmill, 94.

¹²⁴ Wylie, 46.

¹²⁵ Pliny, *N.H.* 34, 14, § 145; Periplus, § 39.

¹²⁶ Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* IX, 298. But the description given by Prof. P. Gardner (*P.G.* 57) is 'clad in chiton, himation and boots.' The boots are plain; but it does not clearly appear on the plate what the garment is.

¹²⁷ See note 13.

¹²⁸ Wylie, 46.

¹²⁹ Figured and described by Dr. Hirth, *Ueber fremde Einflüsse, &c.*

¹³⁰ De Lacouperie, *Western Origin, &c.*, p. 217, note 933.

¹³¹ More will be known about this if chemical analysis should ever prove that the jade objects found, *e.g.* in Assyria, *must* be Khotan jade.

but on the above facts it appears to me that, as regards any bulk of trade with China prior to the reign of Woo-te, it is for the present a case of not proven, though probable. A fact however like the enormous number and wide circulation of the coins of Menander, whose date has been put at about 140 B.C., would coincide very well with an outburst of commercial activity at that date, connected so far as the Indo-Greeks were concerned with the conquests of that monarch.¹³²

The considerable conquests made by the Bactrians must, however, in such a state, presuppose considerable wealth, even if carried out altogether by the troops of the state, and not, as is probable when the analogy of any other Hellenistic kingdom be considered, by mercenaries, possibly including nomads. Apollodoros in express terms attributes the power and conquests of the Bactrians to the natural fertility and resources of the country.¹³³ But I think that the general experience of the world shows that, whatever might be true of a peasant state, a state of the Hellenistic type could only acquire sufficient wealth in two ways, by commerce or by mines, which in the ancient world must mean gold. Even without a trade with China, the internal and the Indian trade might yield a large revenue; and Tchang K'ien attests the facts of a large commerce and of the ability of the people to conduct it. But it also appears probable that, until after the reign of Eukratides, they had access to a considerable supply of gold; indeed Eukratides struck the largest known Greek gold coin. As neither the Indo-Greek nor the Saka kings coined gold, and the Kushans coined imported Roman gold, it is clear that the gold of the Bactrian kings was not derived from India, and this suggests that the 'ant-gold' of Dardistan was not of the importance sometimes assigned to it, especially if Tchang K'ien is to be understood as meaning that the Bactrians were in his time driven to importing gold from China.¹³⁴ The inference must be, that until the reign of Eukratides they were in a position to tap the Central Asian supply from the Altai, from which came the great wealth of gold enjoyed by Panticapaeum.¹³⁵ The great movement of tribes which was initiated by the conquests of the Huns, and which ended in the defeated Yue-tche being precipitated on to the Sakas, and in both nations successively being driven on to the Bactrians, must have cut off the supply, which was never renewed. That the gold coinage stopped owing to a scarcity of gold is suggested by this, that the silver coins of the sixteen kings after

¹³² Alexander-legends attach themselves along this trade route to places where Alexander certainly never was, and are not all due to Islam; e.g. the story of the foundation of Taugast and Chubdan, given by Theophylact, is *prae*-Mahomedan. But even if they in fact referred to the Graeco-Bactrian kings, they cannot be dated, and so would be of little value for the present subject.

¹³³ Strabo, 11, 516. He calls it the greatest ornament of Iran (*τῆς συμπόσης Ἀριανῆς πρόσχημα*), and says the Greeks made their

conquests by growing strong *διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας*. It was *πρόφορος πλὴν ἐλαίου*: which is borne out by Sze-ma-ts'een, with a natural alteration of the important thing missing; Kingsmill, 94, 'Their country produced everything but silk and varnish' (lac).

¹³⁴ Wylie, 46, 'They applied the Chinese gold and silver to make vessels, instead of using them for state presents'; Kingsmill, 94, 'They obtained from China gold and silver surreptitiously to make various utensils.'

¹³⁵ Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 238, 239.

Eukratides became heavier, showing that gold at once began to rise in price.¹³⁶

IV.

One further point arises, from a consideration of the great extension of influence, measured by distance, which these kings are said to have achieved. We are dealing with pioneers; and when it is considered that, besides Bactria, they ruled at different times Afghanistan, Merv, Bokhara, Khokand, the Cabul valley, and the Punjâb,—that they carried their arms south to the mouths of the Indus, east as far as Chinese Turkestan and the Huns,¹³⁷ that they besieged Oude, reached the Jumna, perhaps the Ganges itself,¹³⁸ and proverbially overthrew more tribes than even Alexander,—then it becomes clear that to do all this with the force at their disposal, (even supposing that some of their 'conquests' meant little), little time or energy can have been left for such things as art, science and literature. In a new country (and such the East was to the Greeks) men turn to practical matters; it is not unfair to suppose that every European was needed as a fighter or a governor.¹³⁹ The only two things likely to attract a man to the far East would be wealth and power, *i.e.* commerce and fighting; and these are just the two things most certain. The chief impression that they left on the Indian mind was, that they fought: while the statement of the Indian that among the Yavanas slaves could rise to be masters, and the brief duration of dynasties in Bactria, point to a society of adventurers.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, neither Bactria nor India has yet furnished a single Greek inscription: the edicts of Asoka recall nothing that is Greek, though they do somewhat follow the inscriptions of Darius. Strabo has gone for his information about the Eastern Greeks, not to any writer of their own, but to Apollodoros of Artemita in Parthia.¹⁴¹ The one bit of information remaining about men of learning tends to show that they did not go to India, even when communication was easy¹⁴²; the rise of Parthia, if it did not cut communication entirely, must certainly have made it more difficult.

This might be followed out at some length; but it is probably correct to conclude that no one would ever have supposed that from the Bactrian

¹³⁶ Cunningham's deduction. *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 217.

¹³⁷ Apoll. ap. Strab. 11, 516 μέχρι Σηρῶν καὶ Φρυνῶν. Tomaschek, *Ueber das Arin. Gedicht* before cited, p. 769 reads Φδυνοί = Χδυνοί of Marinus = Ὀυννοί of Cosmas = Arimaspi = Huns.

¹³⁸ Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* 10, 224 seq. : Levi, *Quid de Graecis*, 15-17.

¹³⁹ Analogies drawn from Anglo-Indian life seem to me most misleading. It might be more in point to compare the history of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, more especially

their later prazo system in South-East Africa.

¹⁴⁰ Of the founders of new dynasties, Euthydemus certainly (Polyb. 11, 34), and Eukratides probably (p. 271), came from the west, and perhaps represented two movements of new settlers or mercenaries.

¹⁴¹ As to his dependence on Parthian (and Roman) sources of information, see 1, 14; 2, 118; 11, 508.

¹⁴² Vindusara's request for a sophist, which Antiochos put off with a jest; probably none would go. (Hegesandros ap. Ath. 652 f.)

Greeks India could have learnt philosophy or science, (possibly art should be included), had it not been for the coins. And in a way the coins prove too much; the realistic portraiture is too far in advance of the moneys of Egypt or Syria; individual genius must here have played its part, stimulated perhaps, even if unconsciously, by contact with those whom even the Greek acknowledged as the best of all 'barbarians.'¹⁴³ The very novelty and variety of the coin types prove the numerous influences here at work which had no counterpart in Syria or Egypt,¹⁴⁴ more particularly in the sphere of religious cults, the sphere in which, if at all, the point of contact between the Greek mind and the Buddhist would, under the circumstances, have to be sought. The meeting of Buddhism with Dionysos-worship might have been of supreme interest.¹⁴⁵

In conclusion, it may be worth while to turn for a moment to a sketch of what even a pure Greek community might become, when isolated among Scythians; I mean the Borysthenitica of Dio Chrysostom.¹⁴⁶ The city had shrunk to half its former circuit; the temple statues were in ruins; the men, already speaking Greek imperfectly, were in Scythian dress, fighting the Scythian day and night, and clinging to their one book, Homer, as the last tie with the mother country. The rare traders who came from Greece were quite illiterate men; the arrival of one who had any tincture of philosophy was a world's wonder. And this was a town, not in Central Asia, but in Europe; not inland, but on the sea. The Scythian dress, the imperfect speech, the total absence of strangers of any culture, the survival of Homer alone,—these make up a picture of which the general lines are more likely to be true of communities such as the Greeks of the far East than any sketch based upon the false analogy of Anglo-Indian life. If Apollodoros may be trusted, these Greeks expended their utmost strength in pushing down from the Oxus to the sea; once again cut off from salt water, they were swallowed up by the peoples about them as a desert stream is swallowed in the sand.

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¹⁴³ Strabo, I, 66. The same feeling seems to underlie all Alexander's dealings with India, and was well expressed by the mediaeval romance writer who made of Alexander and Poros, two knights tilting in the ring.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* IX. 293.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Oldenberg's most interesting parallel

between Orphism and Buddhism, *Aus Indien und Iran*, pp. 85 to 100.

¹⁴⁶ A curious similarity may be noted here. King Paerisades at Panticaepum had to bring up a Scythian prince as his heir (Holm. 4, 532, Eng. Tr.); while their joint coins show that Kadphises succeeded Hermaios peaceably.