Of all the foreign invasions of India in the historical age, the first was from her north-western neighbour i.e. Persia ruled by the Achaemenid dynasty. It appears that this invasion was largely due to the geographical contiguity of India with expansionist Persia. Due to this very territorial occupation there must have been some cultural and political relations between the two countries during the Vedic and pre-Achaemenian periods, but solid evidence is not available to us in regard to this. Historians have pointed out some references in the Avesta regarding Iranian domination of north-western India, but corroboratory evidence is not available to prove it. Even about the Greek invasions of Heracles and Dionysus mentioned by Arrain in his Anabasis, no definite information is forthcoming. The invasion of India by Semiramis, the fabled Assyrian queen, also remains a myth to the historians, in the absence of reliable historical evidence.

EARLY IRANIAN AND INDIAN RELATIONS

The Iranian and Indian relations go back even prior to the Pre-Aryan age. It is believed that the Satem dialect of the undivided Indo-Iranians suggests that they might possibly have left their original Indo-European home after the Hittites and the Proto-Chosharians, but before any other Indo-European Tribe. After some wanderings they settled down

1. Mr. Criddle, The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, pp. 76, 136
2. See the General Notes, 'Semiramis'
in what may be called the Indo-Iranian original home which was situated in the Pamir region or more probably in the plains of the Oxus and Jaxartes.\(^1\)

Herzfeld says \(^2\) "from the time immemorial at least from the third millenium down to the middle of the second, the Aryans inhabited as an undivided ethnic group, the vast plain of the Oxus and Jaxartes, the land Erainvej of the two rivers Vekvi-Datiya and Ratna". It is quite clear that the Aryan that the Aryan principalities appearing about 1400 B.C. in Mesopotamia and Syria war the successful creation of a group of Condottieri and their troops who had detached themselves from the main body, while the wandering tribes passed through eastern Iran towards India.\(^3\)

**PRE-ARYAN CULTURES**

The undivided Indo-Iranians must have passed a long time in their central Asian common home for here grew up a specified Indo-Aryan culture and religion that may be reconstructed at least partially, by comparing the Veda with Avesta.\(^4\)

Before the occupation of the Iranian plateau by tribes from the Indo-Iranian original home, the high land, to all appearance, was the seat of a culture that was probably matriachal and the people worshipped Shaka Gods like the primitive non-Aryans of India. It is very probable, therefore, that the Pre-Aryan cultures of North-West India and Iran were of the same spirit and origin.\(^5\)

1. R.C.Majumdar (Ed.), *The Vedic Age*, p. 218
2. E.Herzfeld-Iran in the Ancient East, p. 192
3. Ibid., p. 192
4. R.C.Majumdar (Ed.), *The Vedic Age*, p. 218
5. E.Herzfeld-Iran in the Ancient East, pp. 11, 177
There are two factors that show that the Aryans of India brought some links from the Aryans of Iran. One is language and the other religion. Their similarity was little short of identity. Though historical contact may not be proved, yet cultural, social or commercial links cannot be ruled out through some scholars deny any such links completely. They allege indifference and hostallty between the two, after parting the company. They cite the examples of Asura religion of ancient religion of Iran and Daiva religion of the ancient Aryans. It is true that in the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, the Daiva worship is shown as forcibly suppressed in the Achaemenian empire, but this does not prove that the links were severed, but on the contrary this proves the existing links that continued right up to the fifth century B.C.

It is also true that with the Daiva worshipping Aryans, many Asura worshippers also migrated to India. Therefore, in spite of the predominantly, Daivic society opposing the Asuric society of Iran, the contacts continued. It is also logical to presume this, in the absence of concrete evidence. It is hardly an accident that in Hindu mythology, the architect of Gods is an Asura whose name is Maya (Maya Danava). The conception of Maya by means of which Indra and his Iranian opposite number Vrtragnā could assume different forms at will, dates from the Indo-Aryans epoch.

1. V.A., p.219
2. Ibid, pp.219 f.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.221
5. (In Vṛtra et Vṛtragnā, Paris, 1924, pp.32ff). Quoted by Dr. R.C. Majundār(Ed), V.A., p.224, no.12 to 22.
In fact, the ancient Aryan culture of Iran was hardly distinguishable from the ancient Aryan culture of India, and that is as it should be, for both were derived from one and the same Indo-Iranian culture.1

POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA

India's political condition was not very stable when the Persian military incursions took place. During the Sixth century B.C., the whole country was parcelled out in sixteen Mahajana-Padas or great States i.e. States of considerable extent and power.2 The Anguttara Nikāya mentions these sixteen Mahajana-Padas. They were: Kashi, Kosala Anga, Maghadha, Vaijji, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Panchala, Magha, S'ursaṇa, As'maka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kamboja.3

In the first half of the Sixth century B.C., north west India, like the rest of the country, was parcelled out into a number of States - the most important of which were Kamboja, Gandhāra and Madra.

No soverign arose in this part of India, capable of welding together the warring communities as Ugroṣena Mahapadma had done in the East. The whole region was at once wealthy, and disunited and formed a natural prey of the strong Achaemenian monarchy which grew up in Persia. But a little beyond this region, India was nursing her own empire almost on the same lines as in Persia, though on a smaller scale.

1. R.C. Majumdar (Ed.), The Vedic Age, p. 273.
2. A.I.U., p. 1
3. Anguttara Nikāya, P.T.S.I. p. 213; IV, 251-256; 260
4. H.C. Raychaudhuri, P.H.A. 1, p. 239.
The rise of Magadha—Parallelism to Persian Imperialism

Of the sixteen great States (Mahajanapadas) only one state namely Magadha was really great. The rise of Magadhan imperialism not only provides a parallelism to the Persian empire but also indirectly maintains a balance of power that continued to exist even after the invasion of Alexander the great. The rise of Magadha under Bimbisara (Shrenika) provides some interesting parallelism to the prominence of Persia under Cyrus.

Magadha Persia

1. Bimbisara (C 582-554 B.C.) a junior contemporary of Bimbisara belonging either to Baryanka or Siyuna or Naga dynasty lays the foundations of the Magadhan greatness which continued from the Naagas to the Maurayas for more than 3 centuries.

2. Bimbisara establishes matrimonial alliances with Kosala Lichchhavis and other states in order to enhance his political power.

3. He was a religious man, both Jainism and Buddhism claim as their follower. (Trishtati Sataka XP 6.10.11 and Satta Nipata Verse 403)

Kurush (550-520 B.C.) a junior contemporary of Bimbisara belonging to Achaemenian dynasty who ruled Persia through the most famous period of its history, lays the foundation of the greatness of Persian empire which ended with the battle of Arbela two centuries later.

His empire rested not so much on conquests but on generosity (Will Durant OOH.F.353)

Was a respecter of all religions. He treated the jews with magnanimity, considered religion stronger than State.
4. Bimbisara invades Anga enhances his dominance in the east, appoints his son Kusuma as Governor (Bhagavati Sutra 200). Peaceful acquisition of Kasi.

5. Maintains friendly relations with distant powers. The king of Gandhara Pulka (Sat Pushkarasarin) sends embassy to Magadha. Roads and communications improved. Foundation of new capital laid at Raja-griha.

6. Bimbisara was troubled by his sons and his end was sorrowful (Avasyaka-Sutra pp.682-3). Thought has Ajatasatru imprisoned him during his old age; and perhaps killed him. (Vinay II. 190)

7. He launched Magadha into that career of conquest which only ended after 3 centuries, when Asoka beathed his sword after the conquest of Kaling.

There is no evidence to prove that the powerful Kingdom of Magadha deterred the Achaemenians from proceeding towards the east. But they never went beyond the Beas. Cyrus (558-520 B.C.) Darius I (522-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486-465) B.C. all conquerors
did not go beyond the Punjab. Alexander's invincible troops refused to proceed toward Magadha in the 325 B.C. and two decades later they were driven back from the Indus by Chandra-Gupta Maurya - the First Emperor of Magadha. Thus Magadha provided that balance of power which is sine-qua-non in the international relations.

THE RISE OF MAGADHA

Of the sixteen great states only one state namely Magadha was really great.

As regards the diplomatic relations between the two empires, there is no evidence to suggest that there was any diplomatic communication between the Achaemenian provinces on the Indus and the growing Kingdom of Magadha. There might have been some indirect communication through other smaller states. In fact, many small states must have existed in north-west India when Sulex sailed down the Indus river as was the case when Alexander invaded this country two centuries later. India has seldom changed in this respect.

But when the Achaemenids conquered and established their rule on the Indian border land, they had been dealing with a region already known to them not only through trade and commerce but also by a semi-common tie of culture. We shall see that the history of this conquest is unfolded by a series of inscriptions left by the Achaemenid monarchs themselves and much of it included in the works of historians like Herodotus, Ktesias and Xenophon (all of the fifth century B.C.).

1. PHAI, p. 239.
INDIA AS KNOWN TO HERODOTUS

Herodotus\(^1\) whom Cicero dubbed as the father of History and whose account has survived, tells us that the Indians are the last of all the nations on the eastern side of the world.\(^2\) For beyond the Punjab lay the limitless Rajputana desert, the Murusthali or a place of death stretching, as he thought, up to the end of the world. He knew nothing of the Ganges valley and refers to, strange "gold digging ants"\(^3\) of India which will be referred to in the next chapter. It was also thought that the limitless desert of India was inhabited perhaps by the strange monsters described by the pen of Stasias.

Herodotus says "Indians are of many nations speaking a different tongue".

A Brief History of the Achaemenian Kings would help in understanding their impact on India during the period under review.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE ACHAEMENIANS DYNASTY

The founder of the Persian monarchy was Ha - Hamanish (Seventh century B.C.) or - Achaemenes - a prince of the tribe of Paraverte. His capital was the city bearing his name. Although no definite facts can be traced to Achaemenes after whom the dynasty was named, yet the fact that his memory was highly revered tends to prove that he did, in truth, mould the tribe of rude Persians into a nation before they stepped on the stage of history.

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1. See General notes - 'Herodotus.'
3. See notes, 'Gold Digging Ants.'
His son Ghishpish or Teipes took advantage of the defenseless position of Elam after its overthrow by Assur-bani-pal (7th Cent. B.C.), to occupy the districts of Arishan and assumed the title of "Great King". Upon his death, one of his sons succeeded to Arishan and another to Pars, thus establishing two separate Kingdoms.

**Double line of Achaemenian Monarchs.**

This division of rule by the two sons started the double line, reference to which by Darius in Behistun inscription greatly puzzled its decipherers at the first instance. This double line continued to exist for long and an examination justified the statement of Darius: "There are eight of race who have been Kings before me: I am the ninth. In a double line, have been Kings."

The following genealogy of the Achaemenian Kings would show the order of their succession.

1. Achaemenes (About 650 B.C.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anshan Line</th>
<th>Fars Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Cyrus I (?)</td>
<td>5 Aaranes (about 600 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Cambyses (?)</td>
<td>6 Aaranes (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Cyrus the Great (558-528 B.C.) died in battle</td>
<td>9 (Hystaspes) a Zoroastrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Cambyses (522-521 B.C.) suicide</td>
<td>10 Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) was murdered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Artazerves I (465-425 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Xerxes II &amp; Savezines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Soglianus (425-424 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Darius II Notaus (424-404 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Artaxerxes III and Oetus (359-338 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Arses (338-328 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Darius III Condomenus (336-330 B.C.) killed after the battle of Arbela</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Not all the Achaemenian Kings had a bearing on India. Only 48 important Kings such as Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes played a major role in shaping the destinies of large chunks of Indian territories.

KURUSH OR CYRUS (558-530 B.C.)

Kurush or Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire was the first to lead a military expedition against India. He ruled Persia through the most famous period of its history Cyrus, at first the King of Anshan, became the King of Persia in the year 550 B.C. He organised the soldiery of Media and Persia into an invincible army, captured Sardis and Babylon, ended for a thousand years the rule of the Semites in Western Asia and absorbed the former realms of Assyria, Babylonia Lydia and Asia Minor into the Persian Empire, the largest political organization of pre-Roman antiquity and one of the best governed in history. In 538 B.C., Cyrus changed the name of Iran to Persia after the last of the great Semitic Empires of Western Asia came to an end. The Persian monarch took the title of "Lord of Sumer, Akkad, Babylonia and the four quarter of the World." 3

It appears that Kurush led his first expedition against India through Gedrosia, but had to abandon the enterprise escaping with seven men only. But he was more successful in the Kabul Valley (1st Cent. A.D.) possibly in his second invasion. We learn from Pliny that he destroyed the famous city of Kapisa at or near the confluence of Ghorband and Panjshir 4 (in modern Afghanistan) Arrian informs us that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Gophen(Kabul) is inhabited by the Astagani(Astaikas) and Assagani(Asvakas) Indian tribes." 5 These were, in ancient times, subject

1. COH, p. 352
2. Iran was derived from Aryan. Edmond D'Cruz, Survey of World History, p. 7
3. H.G. Rawlinson, India and the Western World, p. 35
4. PHAI, p. 239
5. Arrian's Anabasis, p. 333
to the Assyrians afterwards to the Medes and finally they submitted to the Persians and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as the ruler of their land.\(^1\)

From these statements, it appears that Cyrus did not reach India across the Sindhu river and his conquests might have been confined to its western side only. The German scholars have rightly concluded that Cyrus subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paro Panisus (Hindukush) and Gandharian in the Kabul Valley.\(^2\) It is said that for a period of five or six years from 545 B.C. to 539 B.C. he is almost lost to sight waging distant war against almost unknown tribes.\(^3\) Xenophon informs that Cyrus brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians and extended his sway up to Erythrean Sea (i.e. the Indian Ocean, Persian gulf etc.). An Indian King sent an embassy conveying a large sum of money, possibly in payment of tribute. It may be held on this information that Cyrus did conquer the areas west of the Indus and thereby compelled the Indian King to pay tribute as a subordinate ruling prince if not as a vassal. The King was perhaps Paushkarasarrin of Gandhara who lost his independence in 519 B.C. and had become subject to Persia.\(^5\)

Cyrus was a great statesman. He followed a policy of toleration in his conquests of Babylon and Sardis. Following the same policy he might have also allowed this Indian King (whose name we do not know definitely) to continue ruling even after his defeat by Cyrus. On the ground of religion

\(^1\) PHAI, p. 240.
\(^2\) Edward Meyer, Geschishte des Altertums, III, p. 47.
\(^3\) Percy Sykes, A History of Persia, p. 150.
\(^4\) Rawlinson, India, Cyrus Overran Gandhara sometime after 538 B.C.
\(^5\) Xenophon, Cyropaedia I, p. 4.
also Cyrus was very shrewed. He knew that religion is stronger that the state. Even Herodotus informs that the Indian conquests of Cyrus included. Drangiana, part of modern Caistan, Sattagydia possibly Hazara country, and Gandharitis i.e. Gandhara.2

The Greek writers such as Megasthenes and Arrain seem to convey that Cyrus did not conquer any part of India. The Seleucid ambassador accredited to the court of Chandragupta Maurya suggests this while Arrain states that "the Indian people never engaged in foreign warfare, nor had they ever been invaded and conquered by a foreign power except by Herakles (a mythical Greek God) and Dionysus (perhaps 8th Cen B.C.) and lately by the Macedonians under Alexander. Apparently these writers wrote this to increase the glory of Alexander, the Great. They further state that the Persians, although they hired mercenary troops from India namely Ksudrakas, did invade that country. On one occasion the Persians summoned (1st century) the Hydraces (the Ksudrakas) from India to attend them as Mercenaries.3

DEATH OF CYRUS

We learn from Ctesis the physician to the Persian court that Cyrus died of a wound inflicted by an Indian who was with the troops of Darbises east of the Caspian Sea. Both Herodotus and Xenophon do not support the death of Cyrus in this manner. Will Durant has correctly said that like Napoleon too, he died of excessive ambition?4

2. Gandham was then included as the seventh Satrapy of the Persian Empire (THAT, p. 241)
4. Gilmore (Ed) Fragments, p. 37
5. Will Durant mentions the name of the tribe as Massagetai (OCH, 352)
6. Herodotus, I, p. 214
Cyrus spent his whole life in conquests like Alexander, he conquered an empire but did not live to organise it. Cambyses (530-522) his half-mad son, who succeeded Cyrus was too much occupied by rebellion in his empire to think of engaging in any movement towards India.¹ This was left to his illustrious successor, Darius I.

DARIUS I.

In the year 522 B.C. Darius, son of Bystaspe succeeded Cambyses, who had committed suicide in great despair. Darius was, in fact, an usurper of the throne. The usurpation and assassination gave an excellent opportunity for revolt. The governors of Egypt and Lydia refused submission and the provinces of Susiana, Babylonia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Scia and others rose in simultaneous revolt. Darius subdued them with a ruthless hand perceiving how easily the vast empire might in any crisis fall to pieces; he put off the armour of war and became one of the wisest administrators in history and his realm became a model of imperial organisation till the fall of Rome ².

The Persians are all but unknown till with Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, they suddenly became the centre of the world History. To the extreme east, as we shall presently see, Darius made an extensive and important enlargement of his dominions. Among the countries enumerated by Darius on the Behistun inscription as having come to him with the crown are Ganâhara and Sattagydia, ¹ Hist. of the Persians, p. 120.

2. Darius belonged to the Pars Line & Cambyses to the Anshan line of Achaemenids. He couldn't be a lawful successor of Cambyses; ³ Will Durant, OOH, Vol. 1, p. 358.
from which it may be inferred that Cyrus had already pushed the Persian conquests to the north-western frontier of India and the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush.  

Referring to Darius and Cyrus, Rawlinson says that apparently Cyrus overran Gandhara a term which later denoted the Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts (modern Pakistan). The annexation of the Punjab was left to Darius. However, this may not apply literally to the northern part of the Punjab wherein Taxila, the capital of eastern Gandhara was situated. By Punjab, Rawlinson might be meaning the portion of Punjab which was not included in Gandhara.

DATE OF ACHAEMENIAN CONQUESTS

In the Behistun or Bahistun inscription of Darayavansh, the people of Gandhara appear among the subject people of the Persian empire. But no mention is made of the Hindus-(Hindus) people of Sindhu or the Indus valley who are explicitly referred to in the Naranjan Inscription and are included with the Gandharians in the list of subject people given by the inscriptions on the terrace at Persepolis and around the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustam. From this it has been inferred that the Sindhu deity (Hindus) were conquered at some date between 519 B.C., the possible date of Behistun Inscription and 513 B.C., the possible date of Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription. Bepson is not so specific about the date of Darius' conquest of India. He says, that in the inscription at Behistan no mention is made of the Indians who are included with the Gandharians in the lists of the subject peoples given by the

1. J.B. Bury, The Persian Empire and the West, & C. H. P. 2
2. Rawlinson, India, p. 53
3. D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 5
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
inscriptions on the palace of Darius at Persepolis and on the Tomb of Bakhsh-i-Rustam. From this fact, it may be inferred that the Indians were conquered at some date between 516 B.C. the probable date of Behistan inscription, according to him and end of the reign of Darius in 486 B.C. Referring to the views of other scholars, Rapsone becomes more specific saying that the northern domain must, therefore, have been annexed sometime between the promulgation of the Behistoon edict and the completion of the two records - blocks tablets and tomb inscription. The present tendency of scholarly opinion is to assign the Indus conquest to about the year 518 B.C.

The following inscriptions of Darius through a flood of light on the history of that period:

INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS I

Darius or Darayavush gives ample information about his Indian dominion through his inscriptions. Five inscriptions including a Tablet inscription of Darius, have been discovered so far. They are as under:

1. The Behistoon Inscription (C. 520-418 B.C.) lists 23 provinces making up the empire of Darius. It does not include India as one of his provinces, but mentions Gandara, S'uguda (Scydiens), Saka, Scythia and Bakhtrish(Bactria) in the Persian empire.

2. Perspolis Inscription (C. 518-515 B.C.) mentions Hindush as a part of his empire along with Gandhara. It was found on the terrace of the Imperial palace at Persepolis.

1. E.J. Rapsone, Ancient India, p. 94
2. E.J. Rapsone, CHI, p. 300
3. B.C. Sirchar, S.I., p. 5
4. K.C. Majumdar, A.I.U., p. 41
5. In the opinion of Jackson (CHI p. 334) the Behistoon Rock Inscription should be assigned to a period between 520-518 B.C. with the exception of the fifth column which added later. Rapsone regarded 516 B.C. as the probable date while Herzfeld refers to 519 B.C. (No. 34, p. 2.)
3. Naksh-i-Rustam (c.515 B.C.) found near Persipolis mentions Hindukush or Sindhu, as part of the empire of Darius. The inscription was incised on the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam. 1

4. Susa Palace Inscription (c.515 B.C.) of Darius mentions that teak wood used in the construction of this palace was brought from Gandhara. 2

5. Hamdan Tablet Inscription mentions Hindus as a province of the Persian empire of Darius I. This gold and silver tablet inscription mentions "Hindus".

**PERSIAN NAVY UNDER DARIUS**

Some historians have referred to the endeavours of Darius to raise a Navy. It was natural for Darius to have a navy to guard the southern coast of his empire. He is said to have built a powerful navy and manned it with skilful Phoenician sailors. His plan to send a naval expedition to explore the Indus and its delta on the Arabian coast was a part of his wider programme. Scylax, the naval captain of Darius, had, in fact, sailed in the unknown course of the river for twin purposes—to establish the Persian hold over the entire delta and to find the sea route to Egypt.

Historians think that the result of the naval expedition of Scylax had not been disappointing. He reported about the conditions prevailing in India and on the seas up to Egypt. He informed Darius Helenestas about the man-eating crocodiles in the Indus, garments of cotton worn by the Indians and the dense population in the Indus valley. In fact, this was one of the reasons that prompted Darius

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1. D.C. Sircar, *Sl*, p.10
2. Ibid., p.6-7 n.
3. Ibid., p. 6-7
to make this exploratory effort. He, being desirous to know in what part of the Indus which is the second river that produces crocodiles discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships to both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. Who knows if Chandragupt Maurya had taken a lesson from the Persian Navy of the Achaemenian King also through his forefathers?

**NAVAL EXPEDITION OF DARIUS**

Herodotus has mentioned about the naval expedition despatched by Darius to explore the Indus. It appears that sometime about 517 B.C., Darius despatched a naval expedition under Scylax, native of Caryanda in Caria, possibly after securing his hold over the Indus Valley. The naval squadron embarked at a place in the Gandhara country, somewhere near the upper course of the Indus, the name of the city being Kaspatyros (Kaspapyros). The exact location of this place is a matter of discussion, but the town may have been situated near the lower end of the Coppen (Kabul) river before it joins the Indus. The fleet succeeded in making its way to the Indian ocean and ultimately reached Egypt 3½ years from the time the voyage began.

From the statement of Herodotus, it would appear that this achievement was accomplished prior to the Indian conquest, for he says that after they had sailed around, Darius conquered the Indians and made use of this sea, but it seems much more likely that Darius must have previously won by force of arms and the headwaters of the Indus to the ocean in order to have been able to carry out such an expedition. This view of Rapson is

2. H.G. Raychadhuri, P.H.A.I., p. 241
3. E.J. Rapson, G.H.I., Vol. I., p. 301
strategically sound and plausible. No naval expedition in the Indus could have been successfully led without an effective control of the territory in depth on both the sides of the river.

LIMITS OF PERSIAN DOMINATION

Although the exact limits of the Indian satrapy (under Darius) cannot be determined, we know that it was distinct from Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar) and Gandhara (North-west Punjab). It must have comprised of the course of the Indus from Kalabagh to the sea, including the whole of Sind and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab, east of the Indus. As regards the region of Indus Rapson opines that five provinces that are indirectly connected with the region of the Indus itself are Gandhara, the Ghilzai, Harahuvati, Saka and Maka. Corresponding to North-West Punjab, Gazni, Kandahar, Seistan and Makran or Baluchistan.

Referring to the descriptions of Herodotus, Rapson points out that although it would be a forced interpretation of these passages to construe them as including India proper among the subject nations of the Persian empire, it seems clear nevertheless that Darius when he assumed the sovereignty in 522 B.C., had an authentic claim to the realms immediately bordering upon India if not to that land itself. Tarn says that Darius-I had conquered Gandhara, Sindh and part of the Punjab. Whether he had any plan beyond the enlargement of his empire is not known but it seems to have been a good deal of Iranian blood in the north west, which may have had some bearing on his actions.

The details regarding "India" left by Herodotus leave no room for doubt that it embraced the Indus valley (and Gandhara) and was bounded on the east by the desert of Rajputana. That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand; for the people with whom we are acquainted, the Indians live; the farthest towards the east and the sunrise of all the inhabitants of Asia, for the Indian country towards the east is a desert by reason of the sand. Even Curtius refers to extensive desert beyond the Beas river.

Will Durant has listed the possessions and areas under Darius. He says that at its greatest extent, under Darius, the Persian empire included twenty provinces or satrapies namely Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Phoenesia, Lydia, Phrygia, Ionia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia, Assyria, the Caucasus, Babylonia, Medea, Persia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, India, Sogdiana, Bactria, Massagetals and Central Asiatic tribes. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that the Persian empire included a part of modern Punjab and whole of the Indus delta. Perhaps this was the largest empire before to the rise of the Roman Empire more than two centuries later.

Herodotus (iii.94) states that India constituted the twentieth and most populous satrapy of the Persian Empire. Both Gandhara and Indus were the two Indian provinces of the empire. See map on page 52.

1. P.H.A.I., p. 242
2. O.O.H., p. 381
3. P.H.A.I., p. 241
While the civilizations at the extreme west of the Old World were in political disunity, the Achaemenid empire united the Syriac and Iranian world. A universal state East and West were precarious trade routes - the 'Severn across steppes occupied by pastoral barbarians.'
Darius was a splendid organiser and financier—his abilities in the latter direction had gained him the contemptuous title of "The Pedlar" from the Persian nobility—and he was struck with the brilliant idea of annexing the Indus Valley to his eastern possessions. Punjab was occupied. There seems little doubt that the Persian occupation of the Punjab made a great impression upon India. Persian customs and Persian architecture were probably adopted at the courts of some of the local Rajas.

Herodotus states that India counted as the most populous Satrapy of the empire of Darius. This Indian Satrapy contributed 260 talents of gold dust as revenue to the imperial treasury. We shall discuss its economical implications for India later on, but they must have been far-reaching.

In his financial policy Darius adopted the monetary system of Croesus and minted gold 'daries' and silver 'shekels', which bore as a device, the great King armed with bow and spear. These coins struck on the Babylonian standard, henceforth known as the Persian standard, were prized for their purity and served as a medium of international exchange from India to Sicily. At this time the (gold/silver) ratio in the Indian Satrapy was 1:8 while in Persia it was 1:13:3. As such one would naturally expect the importation of Silver Bullion and coins in large amount from the West to Indus in exchange for her gold of which she had an ample supply. This enabled Darius to spend money on the works of public utility.

1. H.G.Rawlinson, I.H.S., p. 203.
2. Will Durant says that the amount was 4680 talents. p. 363. Percy Sykes says that it was the lowest amount (A History of Persia, p. 164) paid by Mak (Makar an).
4. S.K. Chakravarty, Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 82.
Darius was a great builder. He built a long highway uniting the various capitals of his empire. One of them was from Susa to Sardis more than 2400 Km long. Military posts, Royal Stations and inns were provided after every 20 Km (4 Parases) and the roads generally passed through the inhabited and safe areas. The historians believe, as we would discuss in this chapter, that the Indian prototype from Taxila to Pataliputra must have been taken from the Persian example.

According to Ctesis there was a similar road from Persia to Bactria and India. The entire network of roads in Persia and then in India made a tremendous impact on the history of these countries.

The influence of the Royal Road in widening the horizon of the provinces through which it ran must have been considerable and its importance in the eyes of the Greeks is shown by the prominence given to it in the earliest maps of the Ionian geographers.

DEATH OF DARIUS

in 485 B.C. Darius, who was great, to the end as discussed above, suddenly in the 36th year of his reign, his son Xerxes, better known by his Greek name Xerxes, ascended the throne without opposition.

Khshayarsha (Xerxes) I  
(c. 486 - 465 B.C.)

Khshayarsha generally known as Xerxes succeeded his illustrious father Darius I sometime in 486 B.C. He continued his hold on the Indian provinces. This is proved by the military service rendered by an Indian contingent to fight his battles in Greece. H.C. Haychandhari says "In the great army which he led against Hellas both Gandhara and "India" were represented. The Gandharians are described by Herodotus as bearing bows of reed and short spears and the 'Indians' as being clad in cotton garments and bearing stone bows with arrows tipped with iron. 1 Herodotus also mentions that the Indians were marshalled under the command of Parmenathrou, son Artabates 2.

The Indian contingent was an important unit of the armed forces of Xerxes. They were meant for long range action. The Indian provinces also supplied the Persian King with Cavalry & Chariots and riding horses. Cavalry also had the same equipment, as infantry. Herodotus also mentions the wild asses and the dogs, but how the wild asses and dogs drew the chariots we do not know! Perhaps they might have been mules driving the vehicles of war accompanied by the ferocious dogs whose description we find during the invasion of Alexander the Great 3, after some 150 years.

Some scholars believe that the Indian soldiers became known for their bravery in Europe. They were, therefore, in greater demand for military service. After Xerxes withdrew from Europe,

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1. FMAI, p. 242
2. Herodotus VII, p. 65
3. H. G. Grindley,  Alexander the Great, p. 365

The Samyan (ii 70.21) mentions among the 'Kaikeyas' the dogs bred in the palace, gifted with the strength of the tiger and of huge body. (Jaschke, p. 405)
the Indian soldiers took part in the Boeotian campaign under the Persian Commander Mardonius. In fact, the Indian soldiers defended the Persian empire till the last, when Darius III was finally defeated at Arbela by Alexander, in the year 330 B.C.

Xerxes, had embroiled himself in the confrontation with Greece that he could not pay sufficient attention towards his Indian possessions which continued to be in the Achaemenid empire. The battles of Sicily, Maroneia, and Platea: in 478 and 479 B.C., sapped his energy to a great extent. In the midst of the turmoil, Xerxes was, assassinated by Artonius the Captain of his guard in the year 466 B.C.

Artaxerxes I succeeded Xerxes the following year under sinister conditions.

ARTAXERXES I
(465 - 25 B.C.)

The Persian empire was by no means breaking up when Artaxerxes faced several domestic convulsions and revolts such as the rebellion of Hystaspes, (462 B.C.) King's elder brother, the Revolt of Egypt (C.460 - 451 B.C.) the revolt of the Greeks. The Rebellion of Megabyzus was followed by long uneventful reign till he died in the year 425 B.C.

1. A.I.U, p.43
2. B.O.T, p. 213
Artaxerxes was succeeded in 425 B.C. by his son Xerxes II who was quickly murdered, when drunk, by his brother, Sogdianos. This Prince in turn was attacked by Ochus, another son of Artaxerxes, ultimately Sogdianos was seized and killed in C. 424 B.C. These events did not make any impact on the Indian scene.

Darius II
(424-404 B.C.)

Darius Nothus ascended the throne under the title of Darius II. The complete degeneration of the Persian court and from the high ideals of Cyrus/Darius I is illustrated by the cruel events and conspiracies of Terituclus etc. However, nothing important happened on the Indian side.

On the death of Darius II (405 B.C.) his son Artaxerxes reached Susa in time, to succeed to the Achaemenian throne. He assumed the sobriquet of Mnemon or "the Thoughtful". He had to face revolts in his empire.

Artaxerxes II Mnemon
(405-358 B.C.)

We have no definite knowledge about Persian imperialism in India after the death of Xerxes till the reign of Darius III (330 B.C.) except one instance referred to by Ctesias court physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon at Susa, Ctesias has reported that a tiger was sent from India to the court of Artaxerxes as a present. Ray Chaudhuri points out that the south tomb,

2. Ibid., p. 231
inscription at Persipolis usually assigned to Artaxerxes II continued to mention the Sattagydiens, the Gandharians and the Hin(n)dus side by side with the Persians, the Medians, the Susians and others apparently as subject of the Achaemenian King. Even otherwise it cannot be said that India shook off the foreign yoke during this period. Like his predecessors, however, he had to face revolts from several parts of his empire such as Asia Minor, Egypt, Cappadocians, but we have no knowledge if Gandhara and Sindhus provinces of India had also stirred against him.

Artaxerxes Mnaemon died as an old man in the year 358 B.C.

ARTAXERXES III
(C. 358 - 338 B.C.)

The accession of Artaxerxes III in the same year and his murder 20 years later are hardly of any consequence for India. However, India's connections with Persia are revealed once again when we usher in the reign of Darius III in the year (C. 336 B.C.)

DARIUS III CODOMANNUS
(335 to 330 B.C.)

Artaxerxes died in or about 358 B.C. After a period of weak rule and confusion the crown went to Darius III Codomannus. Darius III(335 B.C.) was the last of the Persian Kings who exercised control over the Indian provinces. When Alexander the Great invaded Persia, Darius called upon the 'Indians' to supply troops to oppose the Macedonian conqueror at Arbela in 330 B.C. Arrain informs us that one contingent of Indian soldiery fought at Gaugamela under the Satrap of Bactria. While a mountaineering unit fought under the Satrap of Arachosia. 'India' also supplied

1. H.C. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 244
Darius with a small force of elephants. As 'Indians' are said to have fought under the Satraps of the other provinces, it appears that there was no Satrap for Indian possessions. Either the Persian hold became relaxed or the Indian area under the Persian domination shrank during the reign of Darius III. We would see in the next chapter that this was the King against whom Alexander the great, King of Macedon, led forth his famous phalanx. After several engagements in which the Persian forces suffered repeated defeats, the Macedonian conqueror rode on the tracks of his vanquished enemy and reached the plain watered by the river Bumodos¹ (Chin noek-Arrains Anabasis p. 142-3). It is a sad story that the last of the Great Achaemenids was betrayed and killed by his own people. With the death of Darius III ended the Achaemenid imperialism after about 325 years of existence. It is rightly said that Cyrus and Darius created Persia, Xerxes inherited it and his successors destroyed it

FALL OF THE EMPIRE

The Persian Kings, as time went were no longer as strong and skilful as Cyrus and Darius. They loved luxury and ease and left much of the task of ruling to their governors and officials. This meant corruption and ineffective government. The result was weakness and decline.²

1. H.C. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 244
2. H.T. Breasted, Conquest of Civilization, p. 233
The Persian domination of India or her north western part for about two centuries left certain marks on the Indian culture particularly in the field of language, administration, religion, Architecture coinage which has been briefly described below.

From the Iranian side, if we may judge by the sources available, the evidence seems to be much stronger in favour of Persian influence upon India and modifying control over the northern part of the country than it is for a reverse influence of India upon Iran. Throughout ancient history Persia was a more aggressive power of the two. Yet it is uncertain how far the sphere of Iranian knowledge and authority in India may be extended prior to the time of Achaemenian empire at which era our information takes on a more definite form. In the opinion of scholars, at no time, does the realm of Persian activity in this direction appear to have extended much beyond the limit of the Indus. But its impact was felt as far as Pataliputra if not immediately, sometime later.

1. E.J. Rapson C.H.I. p. 289
Many languages were spoken in the far flung empire of the Achaemenians. The speech of the court and nobility in the days of Darius I was Old Persian—closely related to Sanskrit of India. Evidently both were once dialects of an older tongue. Some examples given below will prove the point—(Rawlinson, *Facts and Problems of the Persian Empire*, III, p. 211, 212).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word in Old Persian</th>
<th>Sanskrit word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pitar (father)</td>
<td>pitar पितृ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nama (name)</td>
<td>nama नाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napat (grandson)</td>
<td>napat नापत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar (bear)</td>
<td>bhrb भर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matar (mother)</td>
<td>matar मातृ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brater (brother)</td>
<td>bhrater भृत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sda (Stead)</td>
<td>१४</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The old Persian developed on the one hand into Zend— the language of the Zend—Avesta—and on the other hand into Pahlavi. The evidence only proves similarity and not the influence of the one on the other. It can be suggested that the similarity in the language and speech might have been brought about by geographical proximity but political conquests might have accelerated the process of Old Persian developing into Pahlavi. Will Durant opines that the Persian language reveals its close kinship with those Aryans who crossed Afghanistan to become the ruling caste of northern India. The Persians did not

1. Will Durant *ODH*, p. 357
2. Will Durant *ODH*, p. 356
condescend to produce literature. The common man was contentedly illiterate and gave himself completely to the culture of the soil. It appears that the Achaemenians did not make any worthwhile impact on the Indian literature. It can be surmised, in the absence of any evidence, that either the literatures of the conquerors and the conquered were matched in the level of attainment or perhaps the Indian literature was richer than that of Persia and therefore, there was no appreciable Persian impact worth mentioning. It is probable that there might have been, to some extent, mutual give and take, the evidence of which has been lost under the sands of time.

German Scholar Hermann Schneider goes to the extent of saying "Very little literature appears to have been written down" in Persia during this period. Therefore, we do not notice any Persian impact on the Indian literature.

When the Persians took to writing, they adopted the Babylonian cuneiform for their inscriptions and the Aramaic alphabet, unwieldy syllabary of the Babylonians from 300 characters to 36 signs which gradually became letters instead of syllables and constituted a cuneiform alphabet.

**KHAROSHTHI SCRIPT**

Some scholars are of the opinion that the conquests of Cyrus brought Aramaic scribes with the Kharoshthi system of writing to India. Cambyses is reported to have introduced Aramaean as the language of administration in Egypt when he conquered it in 525 B.C. Similarly Cyrus is credited with the introduction of a new script in the Indian provinces which he had conquered. Rapson writes that Kharoshthi was derived from the Aramaic script which was introduced into India in the sixth century B.C. When the North-West India was under Persian rule and when Aramaic was used as a common means of communication for the purposes of government throughout the Persian empire.

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1. N. Schneider, A History of World Civilization, p. 350
2. E.H. Hotton, The History of the Art of Writing, p. 204
3. E.J. Rapson, C.H.I., p. 55
According to Prof. B.B. Pandey, the Kharosthi script is known by various names. It was formerly called Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Aryan Bactro-Pali, North-Western Indian, Kabulian, Kharoshthi etc. Its most popular name is Kharoshthi which was accepted on the basis of the Chinese literature in which this name continued up to the seventh century A.D. Generally the following explanations of Kharoshthi are found:

1. The inventor of this script was a person called Kharoshtha (Khara-Ostha = asslip).

2. It is so called because it was used by the Kharosathas, the barbarous peoples on the north-western boundaries of India, for instance Yavanas (Greeks), the Sakas (Scythians), the Tirasas (Kashanis) and other peoples of Central Asia.

3. Kharoshthi is the Sanskrit form of Kashgar, a province in Central Asia, which was the latest centre of this script. Prof. Levi maintained that the correct name of the Script was Kharoshtha which was derived from the Chinese word Kea-Lu-Shu-ta-(n)-1o used for the province of Kashagar.

4. It is the Indian adaptation of the Iranian word Kharastha or Kharaosta, meaning ass-skin. Most probably this script was used for writing on ass skin.

5. There was an Aramaic word 'Khanttha used for this script which in course of time, through popular method of derivation, assumed the Sanskrit form Kharostha.

1. Fa-Wan-Shu-Lin, Babylonian and Oriental Record I, p. 59
2. Bulletin De Francoisco 1902, pp. 246 fff
The name Kharoshtna is evidently Indian, a Prakritised form of Sanskrit "Kharausta". The script may have been called so due to the fact that most of the Kharosti characters are irregular elongated curves and they look like the moving lips of an ass (Khara). Originally it must have been a nickname, which got currency in course of time.

THEORY OF ARAMAIC ORIGIN

The most current theory regarding the origin of the Kharosti script is that it originated from the Aramaic alphabet. The following arguments are produced in favour of this theory:

1. Resemblance between the Aramaic and Kharosti characters.
2. The direction of the Kharosti script from the right to the left.
3. The Kharosti has certain characteristics common with the Semitic scripts for instance, the absence of long vowels.
4. The use of Kharosti in only those parts of India which were occupied by the Iranians from the second half of the sixth century B.C. up to the fourth century B.C.
5. The Asokan edicts found in the north-west of India at Nandara and Shahbasangani use for writing or 'edict' the word 'Dapi' which evidently was borrowed from the old Persian.

2. Bühler, T.P., pp. 19-20 Bühler is one of the main champions of this theory.
In the year of Aya 136, in the month Asابha on the 15th day. On this day the relics of the Lord (Buddha) were deposited by Urasaka the Bactrian, the son of Imtavhria, a citizen of the town of Nana. These relics of the Lord were deposited by him in his own Bodhisattva chapel of the Dharmarajika (Stupa) of Takṣaśila, for the blessing of health for the great King, the King over Kings, the Son of the Gods, the Kusāna, and in reverence to all the Buddhas, in reverence to all the Pratyeka Buddhas, in reverence to all the Arahants, in reverence to all beings, in reverence to his mother and father, to reverence to his friends, his advisors, his kinsmen, and those of common blood, and for the boon of health and Nirvāṇa for himself. May right renunciation be widespread.

The correct interpretation of this word is much disputed.
6. The appearance of the Kharoshthi in India after its Iranian invasion.

7. The wide use of the Aramaic alphabet in Western Asia and Egypt and its acceptance by the Iranian emperors for administrative use, which brought it to India.

8. The Aramaic alphabet was adopted to Indian Languages by introducing a number of modifications and additions.

9. The later analogy of the Arabic script which was introduced into India in the medieval time with some modifications and it was used for writing Indian languages.

These arguments can now be analysed in order to get the real worth of them.

1. There is some resemblance in the general external appearance of the Kharoshthi and the Aramaic characters but this resemblance is very superfluous.

2. The leftward movement of writing was never an absolute monopoly of the Semitic people.

3. The absence of long vowels in Kharoshthi is due to the fact that it was used for writing Prakrits.

4. No official Persian document in Kharoshthi or Persian document in Aramaic is found in the Persian ruled parts of India.

5. The word 'Dip' might also have been derived from the Sanskrit root 'Dip' to shine, to be illustrious.

6. The marking of Persian 'sigleis' with Kharoshthi syllables presupposes the existence of the Kharoshthi script.

1. R.D. Pandey, Indian Paleography, p. 53
In deciding the problem of the origin of Kharoshthi alphabet, it is necessary to know the place of its rise and expansion later on. The earliest known inscriptions in Kharoshthi have been found in the north-west of India. In no country of western Asia any document or specimen of Kharoshthi has been discovered. Even Persian Kings did not use the Aramaic or Kharoshthi for their official business.

The earliest known Kharoshthi inscriptions of Asoka belong to the 3rd Cen. B.C.; all other Kharoshthi inscriptions found in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia are later in date, and they clearly indicate that they were carried these by the Indian colonists or missionaries. Its letters are Indian and it was used for writing Indian languages even outside India. The nature of formation of letters is Indian. Kharoshthi originated in the north-west part of India and as it is recorded in the Chinese traditions, it was invented by an Indian genius whose name was Kharoshtha, as the letters resembled ass lip. During the Persian domination it was recognised as a popular script, that is why Persian Siglos was stamped with Kharoshthi syllables. When Mauryas occupied that part of the country, they adopted the Kharoshthi script. Next, the Bactrians, Parthians, Sakas and Kushanas used this script for Indian languages side by side with the Greek under Kushanas
with the expansion of Buddhism, Kharosthi was carried to western and northern region and continued up 4th Century A.D. The long association of Kharoshthi with foreign powers in India in the areas dominated by them created some aversion towards it in the rest of India particularly with the rise of the Gupta power, and the upsurge of the unification of the country and nationalism, the Kharoshthi died with the official foreign support and the Brahmi which was current in India, replaced Kharoshtai in North-West India also.

But really speaking there was nothing foreign about Kharosthi. It had its origin, rise and fall in India. The view of Pandey appears to be the most acceptable one. in the present state of our knowledge. He has given cogent and sound reasons for the Indian origin of the Kharoshthi script Therefore the views of Buhler Rapson etc. should be discarded completely.

**Kharashth - Signs for Long Vowels**

The earliest inscriptions in Kharoshtian were those of Asoka (middle of the third century B.C.) found at Manschra and Shambazgabai and the latest are those known in inscriptions of the later Kushanas (third to fourth century A.D.) A few private records may have been written slightly later, but already Brahmin was adopted by the Indianised rulers in this region. In Chinese Turkestan, Kharoshthi was kept up by the local people for some time more. But in India, when the Hunas appear in the fifth century A.D. no trace of Kharoshthi is seen.

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1. R.B. Pandey, *Indian Palaeography* p. 57
When I had been consecrated twenty-six years I ordered this inscription of the Law (Dhamma) to be engraved. Both this world and the other are hard to reach, except by great Love of the Law, great self-examination, great obedience (to the Law), great respect (for the Law), great energy.

Thus speaks the King, Dear to the Gods, of Gracious Mien.

The Law and love of the Law have grown and will grow from day to day. Moreover my officers, of high, low and medium grades, follow it and apply it, sufficiently to make the waverer accept it; the officers on the frontiers do likewise. For this is (my) rule: government by the Law, administration according to the Law, gratification (of my subjects) by the Law, protection by the Law.
The institution of the dialectic strokes for few sounds most important in Kharoshthi. As this script has been used to express sounds needed in different languages, it was necessary to devise ways by which a foreign alphabet might be adopted to the particular need.

Kharoshthi follows the principles of Brahmin as far as the language demands. It was the necessity of grammar that brought it closer to Brahmi helped in the evolution of similar vowel notation of an equal number of consonance. The conjuncts are also formed in similar ways. But the main difference is seen in the vowels, while Brahmin has three basic forms of vowels a, i and u, Kharoshthi has only one the forms of remaining vowels being obtained by the addition of diaeresic strokes. In this respect Kharoshthi is nearer to Aramnic, but while Aramaic does not need to express the mediant vowels, Kharoshthi has to do it according to the needs of the grammar. Kharoshthi also differs from Brahmi in the application of signs for dirga, gupta and Vridhi. In Kharoshthi an extra stroke is added to the right bottom of the letters, but Brahmin usually double the stroke. This difference suggests that the indication of long vowels in the Kharoshthi script is of later origin, it appears only in the documents from Chinese-Turkistan where it was mainly used in Sanskrit words.

1. Ahmed Hasan Dani, Indian Palaeography, pp. 233-251
Kharoshthi wooden documents found at Niya (Central Asia) show that Prakrit was the official language over the wide area from Khotan to the western extremity of the Lop Nor region in South eastern Turkistan upto the beginning of the fourth century (V.S. Agrawala). Therefore, they are of a later date. The debt of Kharoshthi to Aramania is in making the signs the basis for the evolution of its own signs.

The above discussion brings home the point of close linguistic relationship between Persia and India - in other words, the Indian influence on the Achaemenian Persia and also vice versa.

The Kharoshthi even influenced the coins during the subsequent periods.

Kharoshthi on the Coins

The Kharoshthi letters have been found on some of the Greek coins proving the Achaemenian influence for the next several centuries. Some of these kings ruled over the territories east of the Jhelum. These are Kings of the houses of Bathyas and Menander. Kharoshthi letters are common on the coins of Strato I, Zeilus II soter, Apollodotus II and occur on those of Apollodorus and Dionysius.

The bilingual coinage, with legend in Greek and Kharoshthi was continued by Sakes, Parthians and the early Kushans. With the passing of Greek rule their meaning and significance also passed off. The Kharoshthi legends were first discontinued by Kamisaka.

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1. V.S. Agrawal, Archaeology in India, p. 20
3. Ibid, p. 353
POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Persia itself, which was to rule the forty million souls for two hundred years, was not at that time the country now known to us as Persia and of its inhabitants as Iran; it was that smaller tract immediately east of the Persian Gulf known to the ancient Persians as Pars and to the modern Persians as Pers or Pakistan. But at its greatest extent, this Persian empire included 20 Stupas from Egypt to India, from the Caucasus to the Arabian sea. Never before had history recorded so extensive an area brought under one Government. Such an empire could be possible by political philosophy that was practicable and the administrative system that could maintain it.

Cyrus subordinated his State policy to the religious beliefs of his subjects. His first principle of Statesmanship was that religion is stronger than State. His military campaigns from Media to the Jaxartes were concluded with the religious freedom of the conquered and leniency in treatment.

Their efficient administrative system ensured the continuity of the empire. Excellent roads and communication system, the reliable spy network - Satrap system all contributed in the stability of the administration.

It is impossible that such a vast and powerful empire at the door of India did not make any impact on her political thinking and administration. This must have been true to the Indian areas of Gandhara whole of Indus valley and Punjab which were parts of the Achaemenian hegemony. No evidence of this Persian influence is readily available. We can take the Kingdom of Pushkarasena of Gandhara that was included in the Achaemenian empire by 519 B.C. He had sent an embassy and a letter of friendship to Dhibisara of Magadha before his Kingdom was over-run by Persians. Dhibisara might certainly have been concerned with these developments though the facts are not available to us. Persian empire must have influenced Indian Political thought and administration. History can never be completely written.

History of
1. Sir Paykes, A Persia, p. 6
2. Will Durant, C.H., p. 355
Some scholars suggest that the manner of address and titles of ancient Indian Kings were Assyrian. "King of the Universe" is a title of Tukulti-Ninurta I (C - 1250 B.C.) Tiglath-Pileser I (C 1100 B.C.), Shalmaneser III (858-824) while the same title with the additional "Kings of four quarters of the world" applies to Assyrian (C 983-95 B.C.). Tiglath Pileser III (747-72 B.C.) and Sargon (724-68 B.C.)

It is true that in his bilingual Greek and Aramaic Rock inscription found at old Manda, Assurian describes himself in this manner as ruler of all things over the whole world", but this similarity cannot be termed as Assyrian or Persian titles. Again when Moses assumed the title of the Parthian Mithradates that is to say 'Great King of Kings' he was not copying any particular practice. In fact such titles like Maharaja, Maharajadhiraja, Samrat etc. are found in Indian literature, epics and Puranas. These Kings have certainly taken them from the Indian traditions and they do not necessarily imply borrowing from a foreign country. Therefore, the views of these scholars are not convincing and cannot be accepted.

CUSTOMS AND COURT ETIQUETTE

The Mauryan Kings were, it is said, deeply influenced by the now vanished Persian Empire. For centuries the Persians ruled the Punjab and the Indians had been impressed by the Stately edifice of Persian rule. Perhaps Chandragupta Maurya had, during his boyhood in Taxila, come under Persian influence. The customs of his court were purely Persian. Like the Great King he lived in seclusion, only appearing for religious festivals and on solemn occasions. He kept, like him, the "hair washing festival Tyka" described by Herodotus.

Megasthenes also testifies to this fact. He says that the court of Chandragupta was conducted in Persian fashion. As in Persia, the King lived in strict seclusion and observed Persian festivals like the curious 'hair washing festival', held on the King's birthday.

1. Luckenbill D.D. Ancient Records of Babylonia & Assyria pp. 201-229
2. East and West IX -1 - 2 1958, page 125
3. Rawlinson H.G. - Bactria page 105
4. Natya Sastri 17.59, 80,81 King has been addressed as Maharaja in Pratima Nataka, Sumanta addresses Dasaratha as Maharaja (Act II), Similarly in Abhiseka Natak Krishna is addressed by Bimbhisara as Maharaja, Act III
5. Rawlinson H.G. - India and the West, page 63.
Held on the King's birthday. Herodotus mentions a Royal festival is held once a year on the birthday of Xerxes. It is called Tyeta in Persian. The King washes his hair and makes presents to the Persians (Herod. page 110). Strabo (1st cen. B.C.) informs us (Bk XVII.1.69) that when the King washed his hair, they celebrated a great festival and send him great presents seeking to out rival his neighbour, Chandragupta might have borrowed the Persian custom. If we take into consideration the vedic practice of Rajyabhishekam and anointing the Kings with sacred waters of rivers as mentioned even in the Epics, it would appear that the Vedic customs might have been followed by the Persian Kings and Chandragupta might also be doing as per the Indian tradition. For washing heirs no nationality is involved, an Indian can wash his heir ceremoniously, so a Roman or Persian can do. This can be a coincidence also. If the Indians have been continuing this practice after the epics, then the Persian influence cannot be established. Hair washing might have been an independent practice in both the countries.

HINDU POLITY

THE CONCEPT OF 'DEVI-VIJAYA'

The Achaemenid empire extending from Greece to the Indus was the largest political organisation in the recorded history upto that time. Cyrus and Darius I both were great conquerors and some historians suggest that the idea of conquest of other countries on the parts of contemporary Hindu Kings - Bimbisera

1. V. Smith, I.A. Vol. XXIV, p. 202
and Ajatsatru could have been stimulated by the spectacular example of Persian conquests. The Kingdom of Magadha was not far away from the eastern boundary of the Achaemenian empire which included parts of the Punjab. It is hardly likely that the Kings of Magadha were ignorant of what was happening in the North-West. It is believed that their policy of expansion was in part inspired by the examples of the Persians.

A careful scrutiny of the above statement shows that even if it were true there is no evidence to support this view. The vedic polity mentions the 'Chakra Vartin' King - or the Universal monarch. The ancient Hindu King used to perform Ashvamedha sacrifices in which he would overrun the territories on all four sides in order to become a Chakravarti King. Therefore, the suggestion that Binbisara annexed Kasi Kosal or Ajatsatru conquered the Lichhaviya being stimulated by Cyrus or Darius, appears to be far-fetched.

It is true that Cyrus had adopted the title of 'Lord of the Four Quarters' mentioned in clay barrel but he might have been rather inspired by the Vedic ideal of Chakravarti King than vice versa.

It has been suggested that the concept of Chakravarthi or Universal monarch might have come from the Achaemenian empire. A historian says that the example of the great empire of Persia must have given birth to the idea of the unification of North India. While there can be no objection to the latter suggestion, it can be said that the Indian concept of

1. A.L. Bashu, The Wonder that was India, p. 47
2. W.W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, p. 282
3. V.D. Mahajan, Ancient India, p. 212
Chakravarty Kings is even older than the Achaemenian title "Lord of the Four Quarters" mentioned in an inscription of Cyrus on a clay barrel. The performance of horse sacrifices during and after Vedic age is a pointer in this direction. The words 'Bharat' and 'Samrat' were in vogue even in the Vedic period much earlier than the Achaemenian period.

**MAURYAN SYSTEM OF ROADS**

The Royal Road of the Mauryas from their western front to their capital Patiliputra as described by Megasthenes might have taken shape from the famous prototype of the Achaemenid. According to Herodotus (V. page 52) the post-route between Sardis and Persian capital Susa took 90 days to cover. Ctesias (2nd Cent A.D.) informs us that there was a similar Persian road from Susa to Bactria and India. The Persian Emperors maintained communication by excellent roads from end to end of the vast empire. On a smaller scale, these roads must have done for them what rail roads do for us. The Royal messenger maintained a much more complete postal system than the one introduced by Assyrian Empire. These messengers were surprisingly swift, although merchandise require slightly more time to reach from Susa to the Aegean sea.

A good example of the effect of these roads was the introduction of domestic fowl—the chicken into Europe. It was originally a wild jungle hen of India which the Indians tamed. It was

unknown in the Mediterranean until Persians communication brought it from India to the Aegean Sea.

We see almost a similar pattern of roads in Mauryan India. The main road was the Royal Road which ran from Taxila to the capital, linking all the principal towns. Another trade route ran from Pataliputra through Prayag, Bharhut, Vidasa to Ujjain - an important trade centre whence roads diverged northwards to the mouth of the Indus and southwards to Purneukachee or Broach.

Any vast empire would need good roads and communication and in that sense Mauryas might have built these roads on their own. Persian communication system might have served as a model, just to perfect their system. Megasthenes writes "in India milestones are fixed on the roads at an interval of ten stades to know the distance between the rest-houses for the use of the traveller".

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

The Persian Laws were strict and harsh as indicated by the famous phrase of Daniel "the law of Medes and the Persians, which altereth not". The First Median King Darius had acquired a great reputation for justice. The Achaemenid might have inherited some of the legal institutions that were so loved by the Medians. Cyrus was not a hero of the Justice loving

1. H.J. Breasted - Conquest of Civilization p 230
2. H.G. Rawlinson, India p. 69
3. INDIE OF MAGASTHENES A, Fragment. p. 125-126
   C. MULLIER - R. History of Greece, p. 421
Greeks without any reasons.

The will of the King was the law of the land. No rights were sacred against these and no precedents could avail except an earlier decree of the King. This was in accordance with the above principle that Persian laws never changed and so a royal promise or decree was irrevocable. In his edicts and judgments the King was supposed to be inspired by the God Ahura Mazda himself. Therefore, the law of the realm was the Divine Will and any infraction of its an offence against the deity. It may be a coincidence that in ancient India almost the same situation prevailed. From the days of Bimbisara till Chandra Gupta Maurya, the King's Will was the law. He was guided by the scriptures till broad legal principles were enunciated by Charakya in his Arthashastra.

A parallel between the Persian courts and the Indian courts of the Lichchhavis may be quoted here. Below the Achaemenian King was a High Court of Justice with seven members and below this were local courts scattered throughout the realm. In the Lichchhavis Republic of India, there were, according to Ekapanna and Chulla Jatakas seven Rajas and seven Urajjas (who had to discharge judicial functions also). There was a tier of seven tribunals of inquiring Magistrates. That is one of the reasons for Vincent Smith holding Lichchavi as the foreigners & Pandit S.C.Vidyabhushan suggests that

1. Will Durant, O.O.H., Oaeel
2. Ekapanna Jataka, Cambridge edition, p. 149
the name Lichchhavi (Nichchivi of Manu) was derived from the Persian city of NISIRIS. There may not be much substance in the suggestion but the fact remains that with the exception of savage punishment in Persia and the lenient laws (till that time) of India, there was a marked similarity in some aspects the judicial system of both, but no definite evidence is forthcoming so in the case with the religion and philosophy.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The ideas move with the people. One should not be surprised if the political contacts of Persia and India had enabled the transfer of some religions and philosophical thought from one country to another.

The two peoples, the Indians and the Persians have been living side by side in contact with each other due to geographical proximity and naturally there must have been mutual borrowing that is 'give and take' according to the circumstances then prevailing. We know what the Indians took from the Persians because we have literary and epigraphic records both India as well as Persian to substantiate our conclusions. But it is rather difficult to determine what the Persians took from the Indians because our source and evidences are generally lost, only some traditions in literature survive.

In his Zoroastrian period of Indian history, Spooner traced many Persian influences in different spheres of Indian life, but few from the other side. Most of his conclusions appear to be far-fetched and at times one-sided. Due to the reasons

given above, only the reasonable conclusions should be accepted after due scrutiny and analysis.

The ancient Aryans during their migration from Central Asia were divided into two parts; after reaching north-Iran, one branch going to India and the other to western Iran and beyond. Aryan names are recognizable in the case of the Kassites who ruled in Babylonia about 1746-1180 B.C. and those of Aryan deities were in use amongst the Mitani people at Boghaz Koi in Cappadocia about 1400 B.C.

The Aryans appear to have entered India between 2000-1500 B.C. through Afghanistan settling at first in the upper Indus valley then migrating Eastwards to Ganga valley, later still reaching sea, the Vindhyas and the Narbada.

The identity between the Vedic and Iranian deities was established by an important archaeological find by the German Professor Hugo Winckler who in 1907, discovered at Boghaz Koi in North Eastern Asia Minor, some Cuneiform tablets, having a record of treaties between the Kings of Mitani and Hittites, concluded about 1400 B.C. Among the deities invoked to witness on the occasion were some who were common to India and Iran.

They were -  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vedic Deity</th>
<th>Iranian Deity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mi - it - ra</td>
<td>Mitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U - ru - nna</td>
<td>Varuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In - da - ra-</td>
<td>Indra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na - sa - at - ti - ia</td>
<td>Nasatya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows that these gods were at one time worshipped in common by the ancestors of the Vedic and Iranian people and a kind of religious affinity existed between them.

As these inscriptions of Roghazkoi show the language still one and undivided we obtain a limit after which the differentiation of Iranian and Indo-Aryan must have begun. These Aryan languages have some characteristics in common which distinguish them from all others.

**SUN IMAGE WORSHIP**

Some scholars believe that the Achaemenians had had a hand in spreading Iranian sun image worship in India, particularly in the areas ruled by them. We have no definite evidence to substantiate all the claims put forth in this regard.

The tradition regarding the divinity of the Sun to us has come down from the Vedic times. Rigveda mentions sun worship and many hymns were composed in praising the beauty of dawn and the rising sun. Epics and other scriptures imply prove that sun worship was already in vogue in India of the 6th century B.C. But the cult of Sun image worship and sun temples was introduced into India from Persia. Previously the Sun was worshipped in its celestial form and with the advent of the Megas the Sun images were made and Sun temples were built in India. It is believed that this advances in art (image making - stone architecture) affected the Indian religious also by its encouragement of image worship in India.

1. F.D. Davar, *Iran and India through the Ages*, p. 14
2. The sequence of this language development as agreed upon is Indo-European
3. E.B. Bosanq, *C.R.I.A.* p. 65
5. E.B. Bosanq, *C.R.I.A.* p. 422
The Brihat Samhita (6th cen. A.D.) expressly lay down that the images of the God should be duly installed by the Magas, who are none other than the Sun and fire worshipping Magi of ancient Iran. The 57th chapter of the Brihat Samhita and many iconographic texts again emphasise such alien features of the Surya figures, as Udichyavesa (northern dress), Avyanga (the Indian form of the Iranian aivyanghen, the sacred woolen waist girdle which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear) etc. which are invariably present in the extant North India specimen.

When and by whom the Persian solar cult was introduced into India, and whether Mulasthanā (Multan in Pakistan) was the original seat of Sun temple, cannot now be satisfactorily settled.

According to Tradition, Samba, son of Krishna is regarded as responsible for introducing such Sun worship from Persia. Multan and he first brought it to Mulasthanā where the first Sun temple of India was built.

The Puranas like Bhavishya, Varaha, narrate the story of the introduction of the cult into India from Sakadvipa (6th cen. A.D.?) (Eastern Iran) and a reference to Maga in Brihat Samhita clearly suggests the post Achaemenian period when the cult was introduced in India.

1. E.C. Majumdar (Ed.), A.I.U., p. 465
2. Ibid., p. 466
Some figures on ancient coins and a Bharhut medallion containing a human bust of the Sun, with the stamens of a lotus representing his rays, suggest that the Sun was a popular deity in the third century B.C. The references by Greek writers and the Kushana coins with the name and image of the Sun show that the popularity continued in later times.

This would show that the cult introduced in the sixth or fifth century B.C. continued to grow in the subsequent period.

Some pre-Christian Surya figures have been found in different parts of India, the one carved on one of the railing pillars at Bodh Gaya (Bihar) being the most interesting. Here the God is shown riding on a four-horsed chariot accompanied by the Goddess usha and Pratusha shooting arrows.

The Bhaja(Mahayana) relief depicts the God seated in a Quadriga in company with two female figures, the horse and wheels of which are shown trampling upon uncouth figures identified as demons of darkness. The inference would be that though Sun worship was in vogue in India in the pre-Achaemenian days, yet the advent of the Magas gave a boost to the cult of image worship which continued for several centuries.

1. R.C. Majumdar (Ed.), A.I.U., p. 465
2. R.C. Majumdar (Ed.), A.I.U., p. 466
Under the invading Achaemenian rulers of North West India, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism came into contact with each other and it was probably through this that the idea of the heavenly Buddha became a part of the orthodox belief. If there had been Buddhas on the earth, there would be Buddha's in heaven also.

In Zoroastrianism the concept of Fravashi appears to have helped this belief. According to Fravashi the multifarious objects of the material world and the terrestrial copies of the celestial originals. All that exist in the world are copies of these eternal types.

Secondly, the close resemblance between the Zoroastrian concept of 'evil' and Buddhist idea of 'Mara', is very striking. According to Zoroastrianism, the existence of evil is a stubborn fact in life. Similarly 'Mara' is an evil who misleads the good people from the path of righteousness. Zoroastrianism, being older might have indirectly influenced Buddhism in a subtle manner.

Zarathustra's position is more or less analogous to that of the Buddha in India and Orpheus in Greece, both of whom protested effectively against the ceremonial slaughter of the animals in the name of religion but not by far so vehemently as Zarathustra. The fact that Zarathustra was at least a senior contemporary of the Buddha, would suggest his possible influence on the Buddhism. According to some scholars he might have existed much prior to the 7th century B.C.

1. Taken from the Wonder that was India by B.Bham p. 276
3. Rapson, CHI, I, p. 76
A large number of common cult words such as Baoma (=Soma) Zaoter (=hota), Atharavan (= Atharavan) manthra (=Mantra), Yazata (= Yajata), Yasna (=Yagna) etc. leave no doubt that the Vedic and Avestan ritual are of one and the same origin. There are other similarities between the Veda and Avesta:

(a) The ceremony of Upanayan is practically the same in both
(b) The conventional number of Gods is also the same, thirty-three.
(c) Both have the picture of Gods riding a chariot drawn by powerful steeds - like warriors.
(d) Both Aryan and Avestan Gods hold up the stag from falling down.

Under the Achaemenid and the later Sassanid emperors Zarathushtrianism was certainly practised in parts of North-West India and had some influence on Hinduism and Buddhism, but no very clear traces of a Zoroastrian community have survived there. Though Zoroastrian merchants from Persia may have settled on the west coast of India very early, we have no record of them until after the Arab conquest of Persia when Zoroastrian refugees came to India in appreciable numbers. The later developments and advent of Parsis in India need not be discussed here as they are not within the scope of this work.

2. A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India, p. 344.
Cyrus, Darius I and Artaxerxes I between them, enabled Jews to reestablish themselves in Babylon as a liberal gesture. This spirit of tolerance and even active sympathy and of selective assimilation of the early Persian stands in marked contrast with the exclusiveness and intolerance of their successors in the Sassanian period (226-571 A.D.) about 700 years later. The Neo-Persian empire as the Sassanian Kingdom is designated, showed itself to be a continuation of the national tradition of the Achaemenian period in almost all respects excepting in that of basic spirit of tolerance and of the practice of ceremonial purity.

The Achaemenians made a point of respecting and patronising their subjects religions - an enlightened policy that did much to win acquiescence in Persian rule except in rare but embarrassing cases, in which it was difficult for the Persian authority to preserve neutrality. If we compare this Achaemenian toleration with the Asokan toleration and reverence, we would agree that the Asokan policy was effected by the example of the Persian rulers. This must have been easier as there was a regular intercourse between the Mauryans with the Persian world. This Persian imperial government toleration of alien religions is more creditable and more remarkable considering that Darius I and

1. C.S. Chureye, - Caste and Class in India, p. 143
2. A.J.I. Toynbee, - Mankind and Mother Earth, p. 124
3. Barabar Caves Inscriptions in Favour Ajivika
4. In BE XII, Asoka declares reverence to man of all sects.
at least his immediate successor Xerxes are shown by their own inscriptions, to have embraced a religion which was akin to Zarathustra and militancy and not toleration, has been Zarathustra's spirit. In spite of this policy of toleration was followed which is commendable. This fact must have made a deep impression upon the Mauryan King for his policy of religious toleration.

INDIAN RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

It may also be pointed out that the spellings of the mentioned above names in the Boghaz-kol inscription point out to their Vedic origin and as such the influence of Vedic people of India on the ancient Iranian culture may be believed.

It is said that the Persian religion of the Achaemenian age shows significant points of similarity with the Vedic religion.

Even before Zarathustra in Persia, there were many Iranian deities and religious elements common with the Hindus of the Vedic age. In Avesta, we discover here and there, the Gods and Ideas sometimes the very words and phrases of Rig Veda to such an extent that some Indian scholars consider Avesta to have been inspired not by Ahura Mazda but by the Vedas.

Though this contact is much earlier than our period, yet it can be surmised that such contacts must have continued in more or less intensity in the subsequent periods also;

1. V. D. Mahajan, Ancient India, p. 209
2. Ratanbai Kartak, Lectures-The Persian Religion, pp. 216-17
Some Historians are of the view that from the Iranians the Hindus parted too early to receive from Zoroastrianism any influence. On the contrary, the religion of Zoroaster budded from a branch taken from Indic soil. Even where Persian influence may with propriety be suspected, in the later Indic worship of the Sun image, India took no new religion from Persia. But it is very possible that her own antique and preserved holiolatry was aided. Of Iranian influence in early times, along the line of Hindu religious development, there is scarcely enough in 509 B.C. Darius' general conquered the land about the Indus. But considering the influence on Hinduism, Sun worship and Aryan toleration the truth lies in between two extremes.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL ORDER

In the early period of the Iranian civilization, three classes of society are often mentioned — priests, warriors and the husbandmen but the fourth class formed by artisans is only once mentioned, though there is frequent reference to the work carried on by members of this class viz. goldsmith, masons etc. The origin of these classes is attributed to Zarathustra.

According to a later work — Shabana the four classes were created by Yima. The priests are likened to the head of man, the warriors to his hands the husbandmen to his stomach and the artisan to his feet.

This is the simile that we find in the Purusa Sukta of Rig Veda wherein the Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaishnay and Sudra have been termed as the parts of God.

According to Hindu tradition the caste system owes its origin to the four Varnas which are respectively deprived from the Brahma, the Creator - Brahmanas. Sprang from the mouth of the deity, the Kshatrya from his arms, the Vaishya from his thighs and the Sudra from his feet. Reg Veda is decidedly of a much earlier date than Zarathushtra (7th Cen B.C.). Therefore, the caste system of India cannot reasonably owe its origin to Persian. Slater has suggested that the caste arose to India before the Aryan invasion as a result of occupation becoming hereditary. Therefore, Indian caste system has involved independently of Persian influence.

In Persia also, the four classes were credited with different virtues, good nature being that of the premier class resourcefulness and manliness of the second, strenuous tillage of the third and diligence and skill of the fourth. They can be well compared with Varnasram dharma described in the Manusmriti.

By way of conclusion, Hutton sums up "an attempt may be made to recapitulate a number of more obvious factors which have been indicated as probably contributory to the emergence and development of the caste system:—

1. Rig Veda, Purusukta I. 90
2. Ibid.
3. This influence cannot be attributed to the Achaemenian invasion but has been included to make the picture complete, otherwise this alleged impact would remain uncovered.

\( J. H. Hutton, \)}
The geographical isolation of the Indian Peninsula as a whole and of individual areas within it. Primitive ideas about the power of food transmitting qualities. Similar ideas of totemism, taboo mana and soul stuff or life matter. Ideas of pollution, ablation, purification and ceremonial purity in the associations of ritual scripture. Ideas of the exclusive family, ancestry worship, and the sacramental meal.

Beliefs in re-inarnation, and in the doctrine of Karma. Belief in magic associated with crafts and functions. Hereditary occupation, and trade and craft secrets; guilds and associations of that character and various factors in the development of economic life, such as

Clash of antagonistic cultures, particularly between cultures with matrilineal and patrilineal modes of descent, clash of races, colour prejudice and conquest.

The development of classes with exclusive religious and social privileges. Individual isolation of tribes and politics and their inclusion without absorption in larger administrative units. Deliberate economic and administrative policies. Exploration by a highly intelligent but by no means entirely altruistic hierarchy which had evolved a religious philosophy too subtle for the mass of the people.

Even in this inclusive list, however, it is difficult to feel at all same that all the more important factors contributing to the emergence of that unique social phenomenon, the caste system, have been concluded. 1

1. J.H. Hutton, Caste in India, pp. 190-191
Xerxes had requisitioned the Indian soldiers to fight his battles in Greece. The Indian contingent that fought for the first time on the soil of Europe was formed by the people called Hydrakai. Herodotus gives a vivid account of these Indian soldiers covered in cotton uniforms going to give battle. In the absence of any precise evidence it cannot be said that these Hydrakai were the same people who have been called Kshudrakas by the Historians of Alexander the Great or whether they were the people of low origin and recruited to fight after crossing the sea as the sea voyage might have been considered against the religious practice of the Kshatriyas. But this cannot be conclusively proved though immediately after the reign of Darius III, the Kshudrakas and Brahmanas have been known to live in separate territories—the Kshudras on both the sides of the Indus and Jhelum confluence and the Brahmanas in the upper delta of the Sindhu. Whether the separate territories for the two casts came to be occupied in the interregnum of the Achaemenien period, is not possible to say. But the force in the argument that the Indian contingent that fought in Greece was formed of the Hydrakai people who were most probably the Sudras of the Indian Society cannot be denied.

1. A. T. H., p. 51
Cousin Marriages

As a result of Achaemenid conquests, the Magic or Maga people migrated from Persia and settled in India. They are said to have introduced two changes in this country viz. (a) the system of cousin marriages (b) a form of Sun worship i.e. Sun image worship.

As regards the first change regarding cousin marriages, it may be said that such kind of marriages were not unknown in the pre-Achaemenian India. We find a reference in the Mahabharat about the marriage of Arjun with Subhadra – the sister of Balaram. Both Arjun and Subhadra who were united in wedlock were cousins. Subhadra was the daughter of Vasudeva and Arjun was the son of Kunti, the sister of Vasudeva. Therefore, Subhadra was a cousin of Arjun. Therefore, the claim regarding the introduction of such marriages as a result of Achaemenian contact cannot be accepted. It may be true that since this cousin marriage was a normal custom of the Magas, they might have made the system more popular in that part of India where they had settled after migrating from the Achaemenia Persia. (Sun image worship has already been discussed above).

Drinks

In the matter of drinks, some evidence is available to prove that India's sacred Soma was and the practice of offering it to Gods might have come from Aryanled Iran. The scholars believe that the Persian 'Haoma' like India's Soma engendered in its addicts not excitement and anger, but righteousness and piety.

1. S. Chattopadhyaya, Achaemenids in India, p. 59
Cyrus, according to Herodotus served wine to his army though manufacture of various kinds of liquor prior to Mauryans was a State policy, yet there is no evidence that any King had served liquor to his troops.

THE DRESS OF THE PEOPLE

The Persians considered it indecent to reveal more than the face, clothing covered them from turban, fill it or cap to sandals or leather shoes Triple drawers a white under garment of linen, a double tunic with sleeves hiding the hands and a girdle at the waist, kept the population warm in the winter and hot in summer. The dress of the women differed from that of the men only in a slit at breast. The men wore long beards and long hair in curls or later covered it with wigs. If the Persian dress and costumes influenced cotton growing India, it should cause no surprise. Even today the men and women of the Punjab wear almost similar dress that has been described above. The dress of the people of Saurashtra, which has only Arabian sea in between, resembles so much with the dress of Persians. Unfortunately no one kept a record how these customs moved from one country to another.

Vinay texts describe the dress of Indian men and women. The combined testimony of the Epics and Arthashastra throws more light on the subject. The silk, linen, woolen were in great demand. The Indians used two garments and a cloth was fastened at the waist by a girdle and many varieties of girdles are mentioned in Vinay Texts. The difference between the male and female was much less marked as in case of Persia. Similarly both used head dress to

2. Will Durant, 0.0.H., p. 356.
4. Carl Kohler, History of Costume, p. 75-76.

Vinaya Pitaka, p. 29 2.
cover the head. In the wealthier days of the empire, men as well as women made much use of cosmetics, creams were employed to improve the complexion and colouring matter was applied to the eye lids to increase the apparent size and brilliance of the eyes.

The Vinay texts inform that scents, perfumes and garlands were used and faces rubbed with ointment and painted. To keep long hair seems to have been the fashion.

If viewed from the point of view of the movement of human tribes, from the west to the east, it can be suggested that some of the above named customs might have come to India from Persia, the probability is that they came to India after Achaemenian contacts.

G. EDUCATION

It has been mentioned above that the Persians themselves were not very much interested in Education. A common Iranian was illiterate and was busy in his livelihood. This means that education and literacy might be confined to the upper and aristocratic class. Such a country could not have made much impact on an educated and progressive society of India.

Herodotus informs that boys of the unpretentious classes were not spoiled with letters, but were taught only three things to ride a horse, to use the bow and to speak the truth. (Herodotus- I, p. 156). Higher education extended to the age of twenty or twenty four among the sons of aristocracy and some were especially prepared for public office or provincial administration. All were trained in the art of war. Some of these features resemble

1. Will Durant, C. H., p. 376
well with the ancient Indian education system where the sons of
'Dvija' class got education up to the age of 25 and those of
Kshatriyas learned the art of war whereas the Brahman's sons
were educated in the religious scriptures and taught to speak
the truth. The only difference between the two systems was
that while in India the lower 'Shudra' class was denied educa-
tion whereas there was no such class in Persia.

PERSSIAN INFLUENCE ON ASOKAN EDICTS

The Asokan practice of engraving some ethical disserta-
tion on rocks for guidance of the general people as the
King's proclamations might have been prompted by the similar
practice of the Achaemenian Kings. Certain resemblances
between the old inscriptions of the Persians Kings and those
of Mauryan King Asoka can be pointed out. The style of writing,
arrangement of titles and the text of the proclamations are very
much alike.

Srikanta Sastri has opined that the very idea of recording
royal orders and directions on such permanent material as rocks
seem to have been inspired by Achaemenian practice. In respect
of the form of Asokan inscriptions, Senart, long ago pointed
out their strong resemblance with that of the inscriptions
of the Achaemenian Kings. Many of the Asokan inscriptions
commence with the formula - "Devanam priya, Piyyasasi, Raja evam

1. V. Smith, I.A. Vol. XXIV, p. 202
3. K.A.N. Sastri, Age of the Nandas, Mauryas, p. 359
"Thus saith the King. Darius"

In both the cases the form of address commences with a

third person phrase in the third person. What is further worth

noticing and important is that this phrase in third persons

is immediately succeeded by the use of the first person in

both the cases. If the first similarity is accidental, the

second cannot be surely so. It might be that the Indian

had adopted this Persian protocol and this adoption was due

to the Achaemenian conquest and administration of North-West

India.

Historians suggest that the title 'Devanampiya -

beloved of the Gods - is reminiscent of the age of Hammurabi

of Babylonia. This again might have reached India through Persia.

PERSIAN INFLUENCE

Tushaspha, Asoka's governor ruling in the western part

of his dominion, is known as having as a Persian name. This

Tushaspha is called in the inscription of Aukridesan (150 A.D.)

"The Yavana King" and we know that he had built a conduit
to a reservoir near Girnar on the Roman or Persian lines. He

has been called "Yavan" - a term came to apply to all Semitic

persons and not only for Ionians or Greeks. He is

1. D.R. Bhandarkar, Asoka, p. 7
2. K.M. Sastri, Age of Nandas and Mauryas, p. 359
3. H.C. Ray Chaudhuri, PHAI, p. 326
designated 'Yavana - Raja meaning either (i) a Greek King or (ii) a King ruling over the Yavana region. As Tushaspa bore a Persian name, his designation should better be taken in the second sense (vide interpretation of Junagadh Rock inscription of Andradaman). Sircar takes him as a Greek King (Select Inscriptions No 5 p. 171.

There is, therefore, no wonder that the very word 'Yavana' meaning the Greeks used for the first time in the records of Darius I was borrowed by the Indians without any modification (e.g. Mahabharat XII 207. 43.). The earliest use of the Sanskritised form 'Yavana' can be traced in the Ashtadhyayi of Panini (C. Fifth Cent. B.C.) and that of Prakrit 'Yona' in the inscriptions of Ashoka.

It can be said that the rise of the Achaemenian empire in Persia, broke the barriers that might have isolated India at least politically from the western world. Greek mercenary, Scylax of Maryanda who explored the Indus delta must have increased the knowledge of the Indians about the areas covered by him during his explorations. It is said that when the Indian soldiers fought in Greece for Darius, they came in contact with the Greek for the first time and perhaps due to this contact an Indian philosopher visited Socrates before 400 B.C.

1. R.G. Majumdar (Ed), A.I.U. p. 102
2. Indian Art and Letters, p. 54 (London)
ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Breasted has aptly remarked about how the Persians themselves developed their art and architecture in order to be able to give it to the Indians. The Persian builders had to learn architecture from the old oriental peoples now subject to Persia. The enormous terraces on which the Persian palaces stood were initiated from Babylonia. The winged bulls at the palace gates and the magnificent stairways leading up to them were copied from those of Assyria. The vast colonnades stretching along the front and filling the enormous halls - the earliest of colonnades of Asia - had grown up over thousand years earlier on the Nile. Likewise the gorgeously coloured palace walls of enameled bricks reached Persia from the West. Thus the great civilization over which the Persian emperors ruled was merged together in the life of the empire.

The excavations at Pataliputra and Persipoles yield reliable evidence of the Persian influence on Indian architecture. Pataliputra (Modern Patna in Bihar) was the capital of Magadha, built after the Persian conquests of India. Therefore, it was the Achamenida influence on Mauryan India rather than the other way round. Recent finds at Kusarhar (Patna) have revealed the remains of a great hall with stone pillars.

1. J.H. Breasted, Conquest of Civilization, p. 231
2. Breasted, p. 251
3. Udaya, son of Ajayasatru found Kusumpur (Pataliputra) in the fourth year of his reign C. 458 B.C. Parishastsaparvan, Jacobi, p. 42; Gargasambhita VI, p. 34 and Vayu Purana inform us about the new capital (A.I.U., p. 38)
which seems to have been planned on the model related to that
of the pillared hall of the Achaemenid Kings at Persopolis.
Sandstone capitals with acanthus ornament have also been found.
This view of Dr. Spooner has, however, been, unacceptable to
some scholars, but the fact of similarity cannot altogether
be denied, though they might not necessarily have been copied
from Persia.

The art of Asoka's times as seen in his pillars and
capitals is a mature art, and in some respects more mature than
the Greek art of the time, in the opinion of Percy Gardner.
The sudden introduction of stone on a large scale as a medium
was due to Greco-Persian influence. Like the hall of
Pataliputra, these columns owed much to Achaemenid models. As
pointed out, Achaemenid art was itself a choice blend of
characteristics drawn from several sources—Assyria, Babylonia,
Egypt and Ionian. As in the works of the contemporary Seleucids,
the sculptured Hellenism which underlines the sculpture of Asoka
owes much directly to these sources. Prof K. A. N. Sastri feels
that this definite district school of sculpture is to a large
extent un-Indian, quite distinct from all other Indian work
before or after. In spite of the highly stylized character of
these sculptures, they are marked by a striking naturalism seldom
rivalled in Indian art.

1. A. Ghosh, Archaeology in India, p. 58
2. K. A. N. Sastri, Achaemenid Art, p. 90
3. K. A. N. Sastri, Indo-Greek Art, p. 89
archaeological Survey of India Annual Report 1982-83
A remarkable Persian influence on India lies in the field of architecture. Almost an exact prototype of the Hall of a Hundred columns of Darius Hystaspes at Persepolis is the square hall excavated at Patanliputra where two multiple rows of pillars formed square ways. The Archaeological Survey of India had revealed that the spacing of the columns in the Mauryan palace was made on the same principle that was followed at Persepolis. Makante Sastri says that the arrangement of pillars in square ways of the Mauryan palace over the entire floor of the hall and their finely polished surface were traced by Dr. Spooner to the example of the Achaemenian Hall of a Hundred columns and there is a good reason to believe that Asoka consciously adopted a plan of the Achaemenian Hall of public audience to proclaim the glory of his empire to his subjects, lying to the south of the 'pillared hall'. It was found seven wooden platforms, each 30 feet long, 6 feet wide and 4½ feet high and each with stamps of upright wooden posts at intervals, overtopping the actual platforms. The purpose of these platforms and their connexion with the 'hall' were difficult to determine.

In conclusion as the available evidence from the excavations was, Dr. Spooner tried to establish an exact parallelism, down to minute details, between the Persepolis and the postulated Patanliputra palaces and make it the basis for many etical and linguistic speculations. His conclusion cannot be accepted without question. The problems encountered at Kusumahar were unique and are well worth further investigation.

2. KAN Sastri, A Compendium of India, p. 39
3. A. Gosh, (ed.), Archaeology of India, p. 53
The Mauryan Hall, according to Percy Brown, was reared in three stories on a high stylobate and contained fifteen rows of fifteen pillars each, colossal stone caryatid figures supported the ceiling of one of the stories and polished stone was used for a variety of purposes in the structure; the single shaft that has survived in some twenty inches in diameter tapers like a pine trunk no sign of base or capital but the capitals also might have been of Achaemenian type, as one excavated in 1896, had the Persian appearance and bears a mason's mark similar to a symbol used at Behistian in Persia. The polish of the pillars seems clearly to have been a Persian technique as Persian masonry had developed the art of shining Polish. Yet in another field of architecture the historians think that the idea of excavating Rock-hewn Viharas may have been suggested by the tombs of the Achaemenian Kings?

FOREIGN ARCHITECTS

Percy Brown has suggested that the mason's mark on a pillar seems to confirm the fact that the Persians or Medes were employed in some of the works. Moreland opines that the workmanship and sculpture on Asokan columns are of a very high quality and are recognised by experts undoubtedly displaying a combination of Persian Hellenic influences so it is safe to infer that some at least of his stone workers were imported from North-West probably from Bactria, when the establishment of Greek rule would have facilitated such a combination but roots were embedded into this period.

2. E.Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East, p. 321
3. H.C. Rawlinson, India, A Short Cultural History, p.37
5. Moreland and Chatterjee, ASHI, p. 56.
Asoka conceived the project of erecting his imperishable and symbolic monuments to the Buddhist faith and instinctively turned to the descendents of the work-men who had already shown such proficiency in their construction of the stately palaces of Persian Kings.

The Persian influence, as mentioned above and as would be seen later, is evident even in the diction used by Asoka, 'Devanam Piyadasi Raja Avam Aha.' So says King Priyadarshi beloved of Gods' and that of Darius I "Thatiya Darayavansh Kahayathiya". (Thus says the King, Darius).

**ASOKAN EDICTS; A DIFFERENT AIM**

The Mauryan Emperor Asoka left a record inscribed on stone not as a monument to himself or to commemorate his exploits, but as a record of moral law, of the experience which led him to promulgate and the meditations which yield his interpretation and instructions. Moreland says that in their simple and earned language, marked by endless repetitions, there is no difficulty in recognising the man. Asoka was the champion of life rather than a faith. His records have endured and survived. They did not, however, serve as a guide to Asoka's successors since the Mauryan dynasty ended about fifty years after his death, nor did they serve as a guide to conduct, since they became unreadable when the Brahmin script underwent radical changes.

In striking contrast to the inscriptions of Darius the edicts of Asoka were intended not to convey to posterity the record of conquests or of the extent of the mighty empire, but to further the temporal and spiritual welfare of his subjects.

There are indications that India as represented by the Mauryan dynasty was beginning to look even at this early date to the more progressive civilization beyond its western boundaries for architectural inspirations. For the hypostyle hall had long been a feature of the palaces of the Persians. Polybius (X.24) remarks that the columns at the courts of Ecbatana were of cedar and cypress.

As regards the shapes and decorative forms, Percy Brown says that such exotic forms are not difficult to identify as some of them are clearly Greek, others of Persian and a few perhaps of Egyptian extraction. This development of the art of working in stone, therefore, which Asoka introduced into the country represents an Indian offshoot of the forceful Greco-Persian Culture which flourished with such vigour in western Asia, some centuries before the Christian era.

To attain his object of erecting symbolic monuments to the Buddhist faith, the Mauryan Monarch adopted the common practice of royal art patrons and brought into the service a group of experienced foreign artists of a sufficiently adaptable nature to put into effect his progressive idea. A Historical instances of such a procedure are numerous but some of these which account for the particular character of Achaemenian art of eastern Persia in course of time of that of the Asokan School, have a direct bearing on the style which afterwards appeared in Buddhist India.

ASOKAN PILLARS AND CAPITALS

In Asokan days, the dominant foreign influence may be designated Persian, traceable clearly in his monolithic columns, in the pillars of structural buildings: in architectural decorations.

1 Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, p. 38.
Capitals crowned by recumbent bulls or other animals are found at Bharhut Sanchi and elsewhere, in the Gandhara reliefs and at Hasan in Central India, but these do not very exactly correspond with the true Achaemenian type. The capitals of the monolithic columns, likewise with their seated and standing animals, although distinctly reminiscent of Persia differ widely from Persian models and artistically are far superior to anything produced in Achaemenian times.  

Percy Brown explains that some of these motifs may not be in exact accordance with the most approved classical models, but any deviation from the original pattern is no doubt due to their long journey from the Aegean starting point.

There may be some symbolic connection between the compani from capital and the bell (ghanta) as this is a conventional form and was used early in Indian decoration. It also figured prominently in the temple ritual. Percy Brown holds that the bodily marked fluting of the section of which is unmistakable, has an undoubted foreign origin exactly similar fluting being not uncommon in Persia, Greek Pillars, as may be seen on the basis of those at the palace of Artaxerxes II (B.C. 404 - 358) at Susa and on the capitals of the temples of Apollo at Mardikatis and Diana at Ephesus, both of which were built about 560 B.C. Above the Asokan capital is a circular abacus having its borders of a special character.

1. V. Smith, The History of Fine Arts, p. 69
2. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, p. 9
3. Correct word would be an inverted Lotus Flower with petals rather a bell (ghanta)
PILIARS AND COLUMNS

It has been repeatedly suggested, not without reason, that this extraneous impetus and inspiration came from Iran of the Achaemenid emperors, since it has been suggested that Mauryan columns are but Indian adaptations of the Achaemenid prototype. Milanta Saxi points out that the independent Mauryan columns have no base at all. The bell form that is used as supporting base in Persian columns serves as capital in Mauryan ones and makes altogether a different aesthetic effect.¹

The Mauryan columns seem to reveal clearly the debt they owe to Achaemenid art as well as Hellenistic art as far as the crowning number of the columns and part of the general effect are concerned.

According to Goswaramany the forms referred to appear in Indian art for the first time in the Mauryan king periods and that there is good evidence of Achaemenid influence at this time, it has not been unusual to assume that the whole group of western, Asiatic and Persian motifs came into India in the Mauryan period.²

TECHNIQUE OF SHINING POLISH

The art of giving lustrous polish to the stone the Mauryan artists learnt evidently from the Achaemenids and once they practised it in large scale and made it current it is only in the nature of things that the practice would continue for sometime at least in stray instances even when the power and authority of the Mauryan court had vanished.² It is also contended that the art of giving lustrous polish to the stone was learnt by the Indians from the

¹ K.A. GASTRI, The Age of Nandas & Mauryans, p. 267
² A.K. GOSWARAMANY, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 13
Percy Brown describes the technique of polishing the stones vividly. He says that the lustrous finish of the crystal was obtained by the laborious application of an agate burnish and somewhat the same process was adopted in the pillars and other sandstone objects. In completing their handy work with this glazed effect the Asokan artificers were following the procedure of all early stone workers as the aim for instance of the 18th dynasty Egyptian masons was a "glossy surface", while the ideal stone work of the Greeks is described in the Homeric poems as "polished shining glittering". Whether the creations of any of these great building nations one could compare in this particular respect with the brilliant enamel-like finish obtained by the Mauryan craftsmen is not mine so striking is its appearance that in the 6th Century it excited the administration of the observant Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien accustomed as he must have been to the famous polished lapidary of his own country men for he writes that it was shining as glass. And even in spite of over 2000 years of most destructive climatic conditions, these monuments retain a much of their highly glazed surface at the present day. 

THE ASOKAN CAPITAL OF SARNATH

Another Achaemenian feature is the bell shaped inverted lotus as a lower part of the capital which is encountered on the Asokan capital at Sarnath (c. 245 B.C.). A close analysis has revealed

1. Kall Sastri, "Age of the Maenas and Mauryas", p. 360
2. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, "Achaeminds in India", p. 65
that the Mauryan capital has the same type of petals as the Persian base; the resemblance extending to the short leaves occupying between festoons at their lower end. This Sarnath capital proves the view of Smith of "being far superior to any thing produced in Achaemenian times."

According to Percy Brown, there may be some symbolic connection between the comaniform capital and the bell as this was used early in Indian decoration, but the boldly marked fluting as an undisputed foreign origin, exactly similar fluting being not un-common on Persian and Greek Pillar as may be seen on the bases of those at the palace of Artaxerxes I (B.C. 404-358).

The pose of the limbs (of these lions) and these muscular anatomy are the mark of an accomplished hand. These lions are manifestly a Hellenic attribution, their mastik and flowing flowing menes recalling the lion headed spouts on the Greek and also Roman buildings.

The bell shaped capital of the monolithic pillars was frequently reproduced under varying condition but always identifiable as of the Persepolis order.

1. R.M. Maccullo, Ancient India, No. 4 (1947-8) p. 98
3. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, p. 11
   vide plate X fig. 2.3.66
H. IMPACT ON INDIAN ECONOMY

Heredotus, quotes Will Durant, has mentioned that Darius received every year 480 talents of gold-dust as a tribute from his Indian Satrapy, a tribute utterly out of proportion to that paid in silver or in kind by any other Satrapy. Either the amount is exaggerated or it must have ruined the Indian possession economically by such a heavy taxation. However, Ray Choudhry quoting the same source says the Indian paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest - 360 talents of gold-dust equivalent to £1,290,000 of the pre-war period. How came it then that the Greek found no gold worth mentioning in India and that Darius sent his Tax Collectors to distant Satrapies of Sardis and Bactria to get gold for his Apadana instead of using the great amount which reached Susa every year from India? Whether India was drained of gold by such excessive exaction through taxation can only be surmised. It is also possible that India only contributed in ivory and Gandhara Yaka and Wood as is mentioned in the Susa place inscription of Darius I in the royal palace. This is another aspect of the issue but India might certainly have been compelled huge amount of gold as tribute.

The exactions had swelled the central revenue to such a point that when Alexander captured the Persian capitals after one hundred and fifty years of Persian extravagance, after a hundred expensive revolts and wars, and after Darius III had carried off 8000 talents with him in flight, he found 120,000 talents left in the royal treasuries - some £2,700,000,000.

1. Will Durant, O.O.H., P. 358
2. H.C. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, P. 241
3. One Talent = 50 Attic = 6000 drachmas. In modern terms
4. Select Inscriptions, p. 6-7
5. Rawlinson - Monarchs of the A East, III, p. 427

* One talent = 58 Attic = 6000 drachmas. In modern sense
  a talent would weigh 84 lbs in British weight unit.
The Persians had abandoned commerce to the foreigners - Babylonians, Phoenicians and Jews. They despised trade and looked upon a market place as a breeding ground of lies. This might have given trading opportunities to other foreigners such as Indians as they were the other nearest neighbours. The wealthy men took pride in supplying most of their wants directly from their own fields and shops, not contaminating their fingers with either buying or selling. Payments, loans were first in the form of goods especially cattle and grain, both were in abundance in Punjab and Sindh valley. This might have prompted Cyrus to conquer the Indus Valley and Darius, the Punjab. They might certainly have drained away these economic assets from their subject people, thus making these Indian area economically poorer. From this wealth probably Darius could issue his gold coinage.

Darius issued gold and silver Darics stamped with his features and valued at a gold to silver ratio of 1 to 13.5. This was the origin of the bi-metallic ratio in modern currencies. That way it introduced the same exchange ratio in India, also particularly in the territories ruled by him.

**ECONOMIC IMPACT**

The Achaemenism conquest made the contact between Persia and India more intimate with the important result in the domain of culture and economy. As pointed out earlier the Persian conquerers did much to promote

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1. Will Durant, O.O.H. p. 358
2. M.N. Dhaval, Zoroastrian Civilization, p. 218
did much to promote geographical exploration and commercial activity. The intercourse between India and Semitic nations was mostly carried on by sea. The journey from the defiles of the Hindukush to the Mediterranean ports was long and dangerous.

The mountains, the deserts and many wild tribes which lay in the path, presented an almost insurmountable barrier. The Persian Highway joining provincial capitals from Susa to Sardis largely met the above difficulties and did much to improve communications and trade. Rawlinson says "No doubt, the Caravans travelled from immemorial times to the great emporium of Baktra where reads from India, China and the West converged. Then the Cargoes were shipped on to rafts and floated down the Oxus to the Caspian and then partly by land partly by river to the Euxine".

The various types of commodities and merchandise moving from India to Persia must have made great economic changes in both countries. The increasing volume of trade must have prompted the traders from Persian Empire to come to India as there appears to have been a settlement of Babylonians traders at the frontier town at Taxila in India.

The Persian administration is known to have maintained itineraries containing descriptions of roads in the empire with a record of distances and halts, besides a reliable census of the town and villages, their inhabitants and resources as an aid to taxation and preparation for war. This shows an advanced stage of Persian economy which must have surely influenced the Mauryan economic system of India.

The whole of eastern Afghanistan was included in India and the geographical knowledge of the Hindus extended to Oxus and sometimes Trans Oxus countries.

1. H.G. Rawlinson, India and the Western World, p. 8
2. H.G. Rawlinson, Indian Historical Studies, p. 199
3. EAN, Sastri & A Comprehensive History of India, p. 57
4. Dr. Motichand, Upayana Parva, p. 10.
The Achaemenides had always paid great attention to the maintenance and development of irrigation, a thing inculcated by the Zoroastrian religion and parts of Iran which otherwise would have been useless were kept in cultivation by a system of underground channels which brought water down from the hills (called Karazes). The Greeks continued the Persian policy of development of agriculture and two of the most important of the Greek inscriptions from Susa allude to the restoration or amelioration of irrigation channels on its territory.

Similarity may be noted in the construction of a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea and building conduit to a reservoir named Sudarsan lake by the Yavana, the Tushaspha during the reign of Asoka. It is also possible that the Indian irrigation system had developed independently. Agriculture in India must have been as old as in Persia.

The Zend Avesta exalted agriculture as the basic and the noblest occupation of mankind, pleasing above all other labours to Ahur Mazda, the Supreme God. Some of the land was tilled by peasant proprietors who occasionally joined several families in agricultural co-operative to work extensive area together. Oxen pulled a plough of wood armed with a metal point as in India. Artificial irrigation drew water from the mountains to the fields. Barley and Wheat were the staple crops as they were Indias.

The economy of both the countries was based on agriculture but Persia used to depend upon trade and tributes to sustain her slender population of two million inhabitants.

2. Rawlinson, Five Great Monarchs III, p. 422.
Money was first coined in Lydia, a country in Asia Minor and conquered in 546 B.C. by Cyrus the Great. It was in imitation of this metallic coinage that Darius I coined money, his gold coins being known as "Darics" after his name, this silver coins were known as 'Sigloi' a corruption of the Hebrew word "Shekel".

According to Dr. Dhall there were no other gold coins then in the world except those minted by Darius I. Historian J.H. Illiffe maintains that the Persian coins had influenced the punch marked silver coins of India.

The standard gold coin of ancient Persia - the 'daric' bore upon the obverse a figure of the great King hastening through his dominions armed with bow and spear, upon the reverse an irregular oblong incuse. It weighed about 130 grains (8.42 grammes) and first minted by Darius Hystaspas - the monarch who was responsible for adding the valley of the Indus to the Persian empire. Daric was current in India but being of gold was not abundantly available.

The corresponding silver coinage consisted of Sigloi, Shekels 20 of which were equivalent to a daric. They had a maximum weight of 86.45 grains and frequently offered for sale by Indian dealers. They were in active circulation in India but the proof of Indian punch mark on them is lacking. 1

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1. E.J. Rapson, CHN I, p. 308

*This is a controversial point. Some scholars believe that money was coined in India at least a century before Lydia or China thought of it (Coins p. 7)*
B.C. Sircar is of the view that the Persian rulers had circulated their silver money Sigloi and gold coins Daric in the Indian provinces of their empire.

It is a curious fact that though the Mauryas developed a regular coinage of their own, 

and Persian Daries were freely circulated. The Persian and Greek coins were found in the Indian trade centres.

The only indigenous Indian coins known to us were very crude. They were usually square in shape, the silver ones being cut from the strips and the copper ones from bars. They were then stamped by means of a punch with marks showing their value and the mint from which they were issued.

The ancient Indians did follow their own weight standards for coins. They were based on 'ratas'.

BLANKET INDUSTRY

It was as a result of the Achaemenian conquest that a new industry of blanket making developed in the Indian borderland. The blankets manufactured by the Kamboja people are referred to even in the Mahabharata.

The King of Kamboja sent to Yudhisthira blankets of excellent texture. We don't know whether the Achaemenian King encouraged the blanket making industry as a state policy in order to get good supply of blankets and woolens for their soldiers who had to operate in the colder climates, but the possibility is that they were purchasing Indian blankets in bulk as was the case with Indian Ivory and teak wood.

1. D.C. Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins, p. 9
2. H.G. Rawlinson, Ancient India, p. 71
5. Motichandra, Upanayana Sarva, 47, 3

Now this view is being challenged and refuted by some scholars.
Strabo tells us that at the time of festival processions Chandra Gupta Maurya had his attendants carrying various objects including goblets of gold, vessels, lavers, many of them resembling in shape with the Persian articles that Alexander gave in gift to Amba of Taxila. These Persian nobilities had come in possession of Alexander as spoils of war. Later Chandra Gupta might have arranged similar things for his ceremonial processions.

Some archaeologists have found gold bangles with ends of lions like Achaemenid gold arm-lets in the Bhir mound at Taxila in the excavation. This shows the Persian fashions might have been adopted by the women of Taxila.

It has been pointed out that the ancient metric system of India is imbued with elements borrowed from Persia based on the Achaemenid monetary measure of a talent. As a result measurement of roads and linear measurements, weights and other measurements are all identical to those introduced in to Egypt under Persian domination. Therefore, there is a reason to believe that the Achaemenids had also introduced the similar practices in India, particularly in the area in which they were ruling. This also shows that the relationship in the field of trade and commerce between India and Persia was very intimate. This view cannot be sustained as no traces of metric system have been found in monetary or linear measurement in ancient India.

1. Rufus, History of Alexander, the Great, Chap. XII
2. John Marshall, Excavations at Taxila, p. 111
   (gold bangles with ends terminating in lions heads were found)
It has been stated above that the evidence from the Iranian side regarding their influence upon India is much stronger than that for the reverse influence of India over Persia. From the Iranian side archaeological and epigraphical evidence is forthcoming to suggest Persian influence over India, on the other side (here is only literacy and traditional evidence in favour of India's influence over ancient Persia. When both the countries came into contact with each other politically, it was natural that each would influence the other more or less socially, economically and culturally.

**Kharosthi Influence on Persia**

Much has been said about Kharosthi which originated in India and was used in the territories ruled by the Achaemenians, but its sister script Brahmi was also in vogue in the Persian areas. Bhandarkar writes "the other script was called 'Brahmi' because it is believed to have emanated from the God Brahma it was written from left to right and was in vogue all over India comprising even the regions where Kharoshthi was written." The view of Sirca that Kharoshthi continued to be used in the said area of Chinese Turkistan till the seventh century A.D. side by side with Brahmi which seems to have been introduced in Central Asia during the Gupta Age can be equally true in case of the Persian areas. Therefore the Indian Kharoshthi script had influenced the Persian culture.

The road system which was improved in India during the Mauryan Age must have increased the contacts to a large extent. The introduction of Indian chicken to Persia and then to Europe has already been mentioned. The Indian Blankets made in Gandhara must have been in use in the distant parts of the Persian empire, but we have no evidence to prove the point.

If we examine the amount of tribute paid by India we would feel that on the one side 360 talents of gold dust must have made India economically poorer and on the other hand Persia quite prosperous. It is not probable that the huge riches taken from India had made Persians lethargic and therefore they lost their empire? These very Indian riches horded by the Achaemenian Kings became spoils of war for Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. If we take the vedic traditions of Chakravartin Kings into consideration, it would appear that the Persians emperors actually put a vedic concept into practice rather than the other way round as mentioned by some scholars. It is possible that this vedic concept must have reached them through the vedic influence on Avesta, but this cannot be substantiated by any evidence.

James Darmesteter has rightly noticed the Indian Cultural influence in the Eastern Iran in all respect. He regards the language of the Rig Veda as indicating that Hindu civilization prevailed in two parts, which in fact in two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India (i.e. the eastern parts of Persia as distinct from India politically and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Muslim conquests.1 This is how the two cultures of India and Persia interacted for about four centuries or so.