Chapter- 8

Standard of Living

The most significant feature of the Hindu society is the varṇāśraṃdharma; the classes (varṇas) and four stages of life (Āśramas) in which the life of a man has been divide by the law books. This was not merely conceived the conglomeration of four castes but was a social synthesis. This unique system of the four varnas and the four stages of life was the keynote of the whole system of social life.

The earliest reference to the four fold division of the society is found in the Puruṣa Sūkta of the Rgveda, where it is said that the mouth of the puruṣa became the brāhmaṇa, his arms became the rājanya, his thighs became the vaiśya and the śūdra was born from his feet. This varṇāśraṃdharma system, having its genesis in the Vedas was considered by the law givers such as Manu and Yājñavalkya as the basis of the social order. Manu makes it the duty of the king to prevent the confusion of the castes. Each caste was assigned certain duties to perform. The duties of brāhmaṇa were studying, teaching, sacrificing, assisting others to sacrifice, giving alms and receiving alms etc. The ksatriyas were assigned the duties of studying, sacrificing, giving alms, using weapons and protecting life and wealth of people. The vaiśyas were assigned the duties of cultivating, trading, and tending of cattle and the śūdras were to perform servile duties. Although they had to perform their assigned duties yet on certain occasions brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas were permitted to perform the duties of a vaiśya.

The Buddhist and Jain literary works talk of a heterogeneous society. They refer to the traditional four varṇas and some other low tribes and low trades (hīna jātiyo and hīna sippāni) below the śūdras. The Suttavibhaṅga- Pāchittiya mentions five low trades as different from five low castes. These include mālākārasippam (basket maker), kumbhakārasippam (potter), pesakārasippam (tuntuvāya or weaver), cammakārasippam (cobbler), nahapitasippam (barber) etc. The first five low castes were candālajāti, venajāti, neśādajāti, pakkusajāti and hīnanāmajāti etc. The Lalitavistara include the flute makers (veṇukāra) and
wheelwrights (pukkusa) in the list of hínajáti. The lawgivers such as Gautama and Manu etc. refer to the mixed castes such as ambashta, niṣāda, pārsava, ugra, apasada, sīta, Māgadhī, Vaideha, āyogava, kṣattri, cāndāla etc. which according to them is the result of anulomā and pratilomā marriages.

The persons excluded from the four fold caste system due to some fault are also included in the mixed castes. Abhisastas and vrātyas etc. are such castes which our law givers include in the realm of the mixed castes. Gautama states that he, who had slain a man belonging to the two first castes, i.e., brahmāṇa and kṣatariya, who had studied the Veda, or had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice becomes a abhisasta. Manu, regarding the vrātyas says that those whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who not fulfilling their sacred duties, are excluded from the Śāvitrī, one must designate by the appellation vrātyas. The vrātyas, thus by Manu were described as degraded twice-born men and were relegated to the same status as that of the mixed castes. A study of the mixed castes might have led Megasthenes to talk of seven castes. These comprise the philosopher, husbandmen, herdsmen and hunters, traders, fighting men, overseers and the assessors and councilors of the king. This categorization however appears to be economic rather than social. We get references to such categories from the Jātakas.

In the early centuries of the Common Era, India got exposed to the invasions of the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kuśāṇas etc. These invaders created confusion in the Indian society. This state of confusion is recorded in many literary sources. In the Mahābhārata, the Yavanas and Kambojas are described as barbarians having the nature of śvapakas and vultures. The Ābhīras are said to be sinful and greedy. The Madraka and Vāhikā people, both men and women are mentioned as immoral as they were in close contact with the foreigners. The state of confusion appears in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa when it talks of Kali Age. It states that the people did not often like to observe the rules of castes and to carry into execution the duties enjoined by the Rgveda, the Śāmaṇveda and the Yajurveda. Men of all degree pretended to be equal with the brahmāṇas and defined their authority. The vaiśyas gave up their trade.
and agriculture and earned their livelihood by servitude or exercise of mechanical arts.  

We get some epigraphic evidences referring to different occupations adopted by different castes such as a Kanheri Buddhist Cave inscription refers to the merchant (vanjaka) who were the kṣatriyas by varṇa another inscription from the Amravati Buddhist Cave mentions a person named Vidhika, who deals in leather work (cammakāra) and is a son of a brāhmaṇa.  

Vāyu Purāṇa, Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and Matsya Purāṇa etc. agree that in the Kali Age the twice born people shall neither study the Vedas nor worship by yajñas. Men shall be annihilated, the kṣatriyas and the vaiśyas in due order. The śūdras will be the kings.  

The Nasik Cave inscription of the Sātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pulumāyi also indicates this state of confusion. The epigraph refers to the four varṇas. The king claims that he crushed down the pride and conceit of the kṣatriyas and destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas and stopped the contamination of the four varṇas. Kṣatriyas, he specifically mentions because this varna had been swelled by the incorporation of Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas into the Indian society as degraded kṣatriyas as recognized by Manu. The rise of Bhakti-cult also contributed to the upliftment of the śūdras who had earlier been deprived of any access to varnāśramadharma. The Bhagvad Gītā, for example states that even women and śūdras can attain emancipation through their devotion to Kṛṣṇa Nārāyaṇa- Vāsudeva.  

These invaders were later admitted to the fold of brāhmānical society. Manu states that certain tribes who were originally kṣatriyas have sunk to the condition of the śūdras owing to their omission of the sacred rites and not consulting the brāhmaṇas. Thus it appears to be an attempt to amalgamate foreign tribes in the fold of brāhmānical caste system. Gautama states that the Yavanas are the offspring of a kṣatriya father and a śūdra mother. According to Patañjali, the Śakas and Yavanas, living in Āryan villages and hamlets outside Āryāvarta were not ostracized and they enjoyed the privilege of using a plate
without polluting it. This also indicates that the foreigners were being gradually assimilated in Indian society. They adopted Indian names such as Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Viṣṇudata, the Śākanika, the daughter of the Śaka king Agnivarman etc. Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of king Nahapāna, made donations to the Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas. An inscription from Kanheri refers to the queen of Vāsiśṭhiputra Śri Sātakarnī, to be born of the race of the Kārdamaka kings, daughter of mahāKsatrapa whose name is obliterated whom Rapson suggests as Rudra and identifies him with Rudradāman. Another inscription from Nāgārjuniṇoṣṭā refers to a lady Rudrabhartarīkā, most probably was consort of Vīrapuruṣadatta, the king of Ikhāku dynasty. She is mentioned as the princess of the Śaka king of Ujjayini.

The Kuśānas after entering the Indian subcontinent adopted the Indian religion in order to Indianise themselves. Vima Kadphises was a devotee of Śiva. The reverse of his coins bear the image of Śiva, holding trident in hand and behind him stands a bull. The legend on the reverse of his coins is mahārājasa rājādhīrājasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kathphīṣasa tradasa. Mahēśvara is an epithet of Śiva. Hence if Vima is using that epithet, he probably was a Śaivite. The coins of Kaniṣka- I bear the images of Śiva and Buddha. The earlier coins of Kaniṣka- I bear the images of Śiva but the later coins bear the image of the Buddha. It appears that he later adopted Buddhism. It was during his reign that the fourth Buddhist council was convened at Kundalvana to settle the dispute of Buddhist Canon. The Mahāyāna school of Buddhism became popular and got royal patronage. Huviṣka built a monastery at Mathurā which indicates that he was also a Buddhist. The last king of the Kuśāna was probably Vāsudeva II. His name suggests his Indianisation. His coins bear the figure of Śiva and bull (Nandin) which shows that he adopted Śaivism.

It was the time when Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were popular religions. Numerous inscriptions from Mathurā most on the pedestals of the images of Jain Tīrthaṇkaras show that it was a quite popular religion during the Kuśānas. Numerous Buddhist monuments and various inscriptions prove the general prevalence of Buddhism in Kashmir. Afghanistan, Mathurā and other
places of Northern India. Both, the Buddhism and Jainism did not believe in caste distinctions and varṇāśramadharma. The only thing they agreed was the stage of life known as sanyāsa. Vaiṣṇavism appears to be popular among people. Patañjali mentions ‘Vāsudeva-Vargyah’ and regards Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva as a divine being. He also talks about Śiva- Bhāgavatās, devotees of Śiva.  

An inscription from Mathurā belonging to year 15 records dedication of a fourfold image of Bhāgavat by Kumāramittrā, wife of a Śreṣṭhīn. The Īsāpur yūpa inscription, belonging to the time of Vasišṭha, of the year 24 records the installation of the sacrificial post and the performance of the Vedic sacrifice by a brāhmaṇa named Drona, son of Rudrila. This epigraph refers to a brāhmaṇa with his gotra and the Veda (Saṁa Veda), he followed. This indicates the influence of brāhmaṇism on the society around Mathurā.

The supremacy of the brāhmaṇism may also be attested by the Mathurā inscription of the year 28 belonging to the period of Huviśka which records a perpetual endowment of 550 purāṇas for feeding a hundred a hundred brāhmaṇas in the puṇyaśāla or a sort of open hall. Another inscription from Mathurā records the construction of a temple (devakula), a garden (ārāma), tank (pushkarini) and a well (udapāna). This epigraph contains the name of king Kuśānaputra (Śāhi Vamataksha) masya most probably Vima Kadphises. The term ‘Devakula’ in this inscription indicates a temple of brāhmaṇal gods.

These heretical religious movements in the early centuries of the Common Era allowed more freedom to the Śūdras and more particularly to women. Earlier Manu had kept her under the protection of father, husband and sons. Various restrictions were put on them. Buddhism attracted the women and many women renounced the world and became bhikṣūnis. Women were also allowed to join the order by the Śvetāmbara Jains as it is evident from their frequent mention as lay-worshippers in many Mathurā inscriptions. These heretical religions contributed towards the loosening the barriers and restrictions on the duties based upon the caste system. The Aṅgavijja, a work roughly of the Kuśāṇa period refer to the exchange of the duties and occupations between different varṇas leading towards the admixture of castes. It for example
refers to bambha- khatta (brāhmaṇa- kṣatriya), khatta- bambha (kṣatriya-brāhmaṇa), vessa- bambha (vaiśya- brāhmaṇa), bambha- sudda (brāhmaṇa-śādra), sudda- bambha (śādra- brāhmaṇa), khatta- vessa (kṣatriya- vaiśya), vessa- khatta (vaiśya- kṣatriya), khatta- sudda (kṣatriya-śādra), sudda- khatta (śādra- kṣatriya), vessa- sudda (vaiśya- śādras), sudda- vessa (śādra- vaiśya).

Manu also states that in the time of distress a brāhmaṇa should adopt the occupation of a kṣatriya or a vaiśya, a kṣatriya should follow the occupation of a vaiśya and a vaiśya may maintain himself by a śādra’s mode of life but not vice-versa. A śādra in times of distress is advised to maintain himself by handicrafts, mechanical occupations and other many practical arts. It was the period when India had its commercial relations with outside world particularly with Rome, China and South-East Asian countries. Literary works such as the Periplus, the Mahāvastu, the Milindapañho, the Saundarananda and the Buddhacarita, some inscriptions of Āndhra- Kṣatrapa period and the Kuśāṇa inscriptions contain numerous references to the trade and commercial activities.

The mercantile community flourished with the development of trade and commerce during the Kuśāṇa period. Various professions which were not assigned to any particular caste by our law givers were practiced by people. Various inscriptions of the Kuśāṇas and their contemporaries provide valuable information of such professions such as banker (śreṣṭha, viṇi), ironmonger (lohavāṇya), jeweller (manikāra), carvan-leader (sārtavāha), perfumer (gandhika), dyer (rayaginī), worker in metal (lohikākāra), actor (śailālaka), goldsmith (sovanika or suvānakāra), dancer (nātaka), architect (navakamika), musician (vānīka), weaver (sotika), worker in ivory (daṇṭakāra), artisan (āvesin), carpenter (vaḍhākina), worker in stone (sela-vaḍhākin), polisher (mithika), blacksmith (kanāras, karmāras), physician (veja), gardner (mālākara), arrow-maker, sculptor (rūpakāraka), ploughman (hālākīya), fisherman (dasaka), potter (kulārika), worker fabricating hydraulic engines (odayāṅṭka), oil miller (tailapiṣṭaka), bamboo worker (vasakārās), etc. and many more were the professional castes. These, earlier may be said as casteless professions but later,
in the course of time were either included in the list of mixed castes or were
classed as śūdras adding further complexity in the societal structure.

The discussion till now indicates changes in various spheres in the society
during the early centuries of Common Era. The rise of heretical religions like
Buddhism, Jainism, Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata etc. directly or indirectly challenged
the supremacy of the brāhmaṇas and also challenged the varṇaśraṇamadharma.
There is improvement in the condition of the śūdras as they were now not merely
a serving class to all the three upper varṇas. They were now engaged in some
independent professions as stated earlier. The political power had gone into the
hands of the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and the Kuśānas, who later got Indianised
and were brought into the Āryan fold by granting them the right to sacrifice and
other Vedic rites.  They were now playing very
significant role in the society, economy and even in the administration.

Various literary sources of our period of study such as the Jātakas,76 the
Arthaśāstra,77 the Mahāvastu,78 the Milindapañho,79 the Aṣṭādhyāyī,80 the
Angavijja 81 etc. and of the later period such as the Daśakumāra-carita,82 the
Abhijañana Śākuntalam 83 and the Mricchakatikā 84 etc. and various epigraphic
records of the Kuśāna 85 and later period testify their significance.86

The changes discussed so far and their impacts were felt more in the urban
centers rather in the villages. The rural society was largely self governing. It was
aloof from the political vicissitudes of the central government and was protected
by strong traditions from the destruction of war. The size of the ancient Indian
village varied from around two hundred families to as many as eight hundred.
Priest, craftsmen, farmers and cultivators comprised the component of the
population of the village.

The village was the smallest and primary unit of administration. They
were grouped in ten, twenty, one hundred, and one thousand for the sake of
administration. The control of the central and provincial governments on them
was usually limited and of a very general nature. Grāmiṇī was the head of village supported by some other local officials. The actual administration was performed by the committees of the village assembly. The village assembly was an important political organization. It carried on the duty of settling disputes, collecting land revenue, maintaining religious institutions and supervising the use of waste lands. It also dealt with the public works such as the construction, administration and repair of roads, reservoirs, hospitals and accommodation of travellers. Measures to alleviate famine were also taken. It also served as banker, trustee and organized recreational and educational facilities. Thus the rural society was made almost closed and indifferent to the political changes outside the villages by its self-government and self-sufficient economy. The villages yielded a surplus production to support a king.87

The towns and cities were exposed to the foreign invasions and political changes. These were the centers of administration, trade and commerce, education and religious institutions. These were administered by a mayor known as nagaradhyakṣa.88 The state officials too established their adhīsthānas, provincial or district headquarters in towns which served as centers of revenue administration.89 The economy of these urban centers was based on trade and industry. The artisans, traders and merchants played significant role in the urban economy. These people had organized themselves into guilds which were guided by their own rules and regulations with minimum state interference. These comprised the wealthy class of the society who patronized the religion and art and made donations, particularly religious.90

Thus A. N. Bose appears to be right in saying that the villages were the productive units of the country given to tillage and handicrafts. The towns were centers for distribution and exchange of big business and industrial combines where besides their own wealth, the wealth of the country accumulated and attracted learning and culture as well as luxuries and parasite professions like stage-acting, dancing, singing, buffoonery, gambling, tavern keeping and prostitution in its turn.91
All these political, social and economic developments definitely affected the day to day life of the people. Impression of the foreign elements and their Indianised forms can be seen in the literary and archaeological sources belonging to our period of study.

**Town Planning: Fortification**

Our literary sources have discussed certain aspects of town planning. The first step towards this was the selection of an appropriate site. Kautilya, in this regards states that water and mountain fortifications are best rather than the desert and forest fortifications as far as the natural protection of the city or the populous centre is concerned. Manu too goes for the mountain fortification. The next criteria for the settlement was the fertility of land so that the population face no problem of food grains. Hence the fertile agricultural land was a necessity for the existence of the towns. It also affected the craft and craft activities which depended upon the abundance or surplus of food grains. There lived many craftsmen belonging to various crafts with in a city as is reflected in the Jâtaka stories.

Appropriate measurement and demarcation of areas were reserved for various purposes such as palaces, temples, residential houses, alms houses, guest houses, taverns, brothels, tanks, wells, ponds, streets, roads, lanes, shops etc. It has been stated in the *Milindapañho* that the architect of a city, when he wants to build one, he searches out a pleasant spot of ground, with which no fault can be found, first he clears the site of the town, and then proceeds to get rid of all the stumps and thorny brakes, and thus makes it level, and only then does he measures the land into suitable quarters, with trenches and ramparts thrown up around it, with strong gateways, watch- towers, with wide squares and open places and junctions, lay out the streets and squares, cross- roads and market places with regular lines of open shops, well provided with parks, gardens lakes, lotus- ponds and wells etc and thus he builds the city.

The city ought to be protected before construction of the above mentioned structures. For this the city was fortified. Many literary sources refer to such
fortifications. The Mahā- Ummagga- Jātaka points out that Vedeha, the king of Mithilā, caused a great rampart to be built for the city. Along the rampart were watch-towers at the gates and between the watch-towers, he dug three moats- a water moat, a mud moat and a dry moat. Within the city, he caused all the old houses to be restored, large banks were dug and made reservoirs for water, all the store houses were filled with corn. All the confidential priests had to bring down from Himavat mud and edible lily seeds. The water conduits were cleaned out and the old houses outside were also restored. This was done as a defense against future dangers. Kauṭilya suggests the construction of a fort, circular, rectangular or square in form, surrounded with an artificial canal of water and connected with both land and water paths. The Milinda-panho talks about the trenches, ramparts, strong gateways, watch-towers etc. The Mahāvastu also makes the same references to the city of Dipavati. The Jain texts too refer to the moats (phalihā), rampart (pāgāra), gates (dāra) and arches (toraṇa) etc.

Apart from the literary sources, the excavations of various sites have revealed the evidences of such structures. Here we shall discuss a few sites with fortifications which were under the Kuśāna occupation. Čārsada, the ancient Puškalāvati, now in Pakistan, once under the Kuśānas appears to be a city with fortification walls. The site of Sirkap built in the second century B.C. had a fortification wall. Sirsukh, built by the Kuśānas, also has exposed fortifications. Sanghol in Panjab has exposed a rampart and three moats, one outside the rampart and two inside it. Kauśāmbī is yet another example of a strong fortification. The rampart strengthened by a series of guard-rooms flanked by towers, designed to ward off attack, connected with the base of the rampart with long parallel walls provided the key to the entire defense system. The excavations at Śrāvaṇṭī have also revealed the evidences of the massive fortifications.

Megasthenes and Kauṭilya have mentioned the fortification walls and big towers and moats etc. in the city of Pāṭaliputra. Waddell, while excavating Pāṭaliputra refers to have come across a long wall of bricks and wooden pillars.
etc. Marshall during his excavation claimed to have found a short stretch of a massive wall which according to him appeared to be part of the main rampart.

Houses, Cities and Palaces

After the fortification having been completed, the construction of other structures such as residential buildings, secular structures, roads, streets, drainage system, tanks gardens etc. was taken up. Various literary sources have thrown light on such constructions. The Jātakas contain information regarding the houses, different structures within the houses and some other structures in abundance. Tandulndli- Jātaka and Kumbhakāra- Jātaka contain the references of windows and countryyards, Bhojājāniya- Jātaka refers to the stalls for horses, Mahilāmukha- Jātaka and Āṭthasadda- Jātaka mention the elephant stables, Amba- Jātaka talks of bath houses, Paduma- Jātaka of lotus tanks, Kūtisudaka- Jātaka of heating chambers, Sussondā- Jātaka of dice chambers, Manoja- Jātaka and Kumbhakāra- Jātaka of hathing and water tanks, Mahānāradakassapa- Jātaka of weighing houses and sleeping rooms, Bhaddasāla- Jātaka, Kusanāli- Jātaka and Ayakūta- Jātaka refer to columns, pillars and dome of a house.

The houses varied from single to multiple storeys. Andabhūta- Jātaka, Khadirāngāra- Jātaka, mention as many as seven storey and Bhojājāniya- Jātaka talks of upper chambers of houses which indicate the house of more than single storey.

The Arthaśāstra has given a very detailed account of the houses. It states that houses, fields, gardens, buildings of any kind (setubandha), lakes and tanks are each called vāstu. The fastening of the roots of a house to the transverse beam by means of iron bolts is called setu (karna- kītyasasambandhongrham setuh). In conformity to the stability of the setu, houses shall be constructed. No encroaching upon what belongs to others, foundation (pade bandha) shall be laid at a distance of 2 aratis or 3 padas from the wall of neighbouring house. Except in the case of the temporary structures, all permanent houses shall be provided with a dung hill (avaskara), water course (bhrama) and a well (udapānam). From
each house a water course of sufficient slope at a distance of 3 padas or 1½ artanis from the neighbouring site shall be constructed that water shall either flow from it in a continuous line or fall from it into the drain.128

Regarding the distance between the houses, Kautilya states that between any two houses or between the extended portion of any two houses, the intervening space shall be 4 padas or 3 padas. The roofs of adjoining houses may either be 4 aṅgulas apart, or one of them may cover the other. The front door (ānidvāram) shall measure a kisku. There shall be no impediment inside the house for opening one or the other of the folds of the door. The upper storey shall be provided with a small but high window. The owners of the houses may construct their houses in any other way they collectively like, but they shall avoid whatever is injurious.129 Kautilya also has given a great detail of the buildings within the fort. He has very specifically mentioned the dimensions and directions of the roads, gates, royal buildings, the houses of all the four castes, the government buildings, market areas, gardens, pasture grounds, military stations, cremation grounds, religious buildings and the places for professionals etc.130

The Milindapañha gives a detailed account of a perfect city. It states that a city should have trenches, ramparts, strong gateways, watch-towers, cross-ways, clean and even high roads, regular lines of open shops, parks, gardens, lakes, lotus ponds, wells and temples.131 The city of Sāgala has been described as having various strong towers and ramparts, superb gates and entrances, royal citadel in the middle of the city, deep moats, well laid out streets, cross-roads and market places in the Milindapañha.132 The city of Campā is also said to have been built solidly. It was having a strong fortification, deep moats, gates, bastions etc.133 The city of Kapilvastu has been described as well constructed, well managed and prosperous city in the Mahāvastu.134 The Saundarananda describes the city of Kapilvastu with a moat as broad as a river, with a straight and magnificent main street and with ramparts almost as big as mountains like another Girivarāja. The city was having a fair front of white upper storeys and well laid out bazaars and encompassed by a row of palaces, like a valley of the Himalayas having fine
peaks like white watch-towers and manifold interior wealth and encompassed by uplands like palaces.\textsuperscript{135}

The \textit{Acar\=\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{
appears to be in use, particularly for upper floors, roof-tops, verandas, doors etc. The roofs of the houses appear to be flat and covered with a thick mud-layer. Another very significant finding is the so called royal palace, centrally situated on the cross way of two chief streets. Important structures within the palace are ‘Court of Private Audience’, the ‘Court of the Guard’, the ‘Court and Hall of Public Audience’, royal chambers, banquet hall, bathroom, lavatory, retiring rooms, offices, women’s apartments and a private chapel etc.139

Apart from the structural remains, various domestic vessels and other household objects have been unearthed from Taxila. Pottery objects such as storage jars, oil and wine vessels, large and small water pots, water bottles, cooking pots, flat bottom jars of medium and small size, bell-shaped and carinated vessels, spouted pots, handled jugs, drinking cups, beakers and goblets, bowls and saucers, pans dishes and frying pans, basins and pans, mugs, perforated vessels, water condensers, lamps, ink pots, miniature vessels such as hāndis, gharas, lotas, beakers etc. vases in human shape, miscellaneous vessels and other objects such as casket, funnels or tun dishes, rhytons- probably used as incense burners, ladles- in the form of handled bowls, potter’s konoras, used along with the thatwā or dabber for thinning out the walls of vessels; 140 metal objects such as worker’s portable furnace, crucibles, plummets and finial etc.; 141 iron objects such as cooking pots or cauldrons, tripod stands for cauldrons or cooking pots, bowls, dishes and saucers, frying and baking pans, spoons and ladles, sieve, scale pans, lamps, incense- burner, wheeled braziers; 142 copper objects such as cooking pots and cauldrons akin to the modern hāndī and deg, handled jugs and ewers, standards drinking cups, goblets or beakers, small flask-like vases with flat bottom and flared mouths, bowls and cups, dishes ans saucers, frying pans, mixing pans and basins, ladles, spoons, incense- burners, standard incense bowls, ink pots, pens and stili etc.; bronze objects such as goblets or beakers, bowls and cups, frying pans etc.; and lead objects such as dishes etc.143

The excavations conducted at Raja- Karna- Ka- Quila at Kurukshetra in Haryana have revealed remains of residences of the Kuṣāṇa period. Generally burnt bricks measuring 37x 23x 7 cm. were used in the construction of houses.144
The excavations at Sanghol in Panjab have exposed several structures of mud bricks and baked bricks, brick paved floors, verandas, rooms and drains etc. The structures were made of mud bricks at the lowest level and of burnt bricks in all upper phases. The size of the bricks here is 33 x 24 x 6 cm. A palatial complex has been exposed on the northern and eastern sides. The open hall (courtyard?) characterized mainly by burnt brick floors and also by the brick built pathway etc.

The nucleus part of the palatial structure was a ‘Public Audience Hall’ with spacious rectangular brick floor. The bricks used for the floor of the house are of two sizes (32 x 21 x 5 cm and 35x24x5 cm). On the eastern side was found an extensive brick floored verandah, separated from the complex. On the western side, twenty four rooms of various sizes have been traced. The largest room measured 6.40 x 2.30 m and the smallest room measured 2.00mx1.90m. The floors of these were made of lime kankar mixed with sand. The building was perhaps meant for administrative- cum- official purpose. The ‘Assembly Hall’ measuring 18.25x15.50m was built in three successive structural phases commencing from early to the late Kusana time. A house complex consisting of a kitchen, living room, bath room, verandah and platform (chabutara) has been exposed. The Kusana house in general is represented by kitchen, two or three small rooms, storage bins, round hearths and mud brick steps etc. The household items such as bowls, storage jars, sprinklers, basins and miniature vases etc were found.145

Extensive habitational activities have been exposed at Sunet in district Ludhiana of Panjab. Houses made of mud and burnt bricks have been excavated. One house was noticed having a living and a storage room, a kitchen with a cullah and paved floor of sun dried bricks measuring 38x23x6 cm. Excavations at Ranika- Bagh revealed seven structural phases. In period IV, a complete house plan was unearthed. This included a deori towards north- east, a compound in the middle, stairs, two living rooms on the back side, a kitchen having a fire altar, bathroom with a small water tank and a storage room for grain. The house was made of backed bricks measuring 33x21x5 cm.146 The excavations at Bras in district Patiala have yielded Kuśāṇa structures of burnt bricks measuring 32x23x5
At Sugh in Yamuna Nagar district of Haryana, the houses made of sun
dried mud bricks and burnt- bricks with a size of 36x23x8 cm. have been
evacuated. Structures built of bricks measuring 37x23x6 cm. and 36x 22x7
have been unearthed from Harsh- Ka- Tila, in Kurukshetra. The excavations at
Khokhrakot, in district Rohtak have yielded structures of burnt bricks belonging
to the Kuśāṇa period. At Harnol in district Gurgaon, the structures belonging to
the Kuśāṇa period containing typical Kuśāṇa bricks measuring 36x22x25x5 to 6
cm. have been found. Various structures of the Kuśāṇa period were exposed at
Muhammad Nagar in district Gurgaon. The structures in the form of house
complexes with various size at least five rooms were noticed here on either side
of a narrow lane. Size of the rooms were found 1.70x1.90 m., 1.75x1.84 m.
1.27x1.22 m. Typical Kuśāṇa bricks measuring 42x26x6 cm. and 36x22 to 24x5
to 6 cm. were found to be used in construction of rooms. From the exposed
southern section of the damaged part of the mound, several huge structures were
noticed. The other important finds include bowls, basins, vases, lids, lamps and
four Kuśāṇa copper coins etc.

The excavations at various sites in the Gangetic valley particularly in Uttar
Pradesh have yielded Kuśāṇa structural complexes in abundance. Sankisa in
district Farrukhabad in Uttar Pradesh has yielded the Kuśāṇa structure complexes.
The site contains material belonging to the Kuśāṇa period in abundance. The
structural remains of the Śūṅga- Kuśāṇa period have been revealed from Bharat
Mandir in Dehra Dun. A complete house having rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom
was discovered. Various residential buildings of varying dimensions were
traced at Khairadīh in district Ballia. The bricks measured 42 x 22 x 6 cm.
Residential areas have been exposed at Siswania in Bastī district. The building
activity increased to a great extent during the Kuśāṇas. The structures were built
of burnt bricks. At Hulashkera in district Lucknow, we have found various
Kuśāṇa structures built of kiln burnt bricks (36 x 22 x 5 cm.) and mud mortar.
Residential complexes of a specific pattern of the Kuśāṇa period were found
constructed. The houses were built of kiln burnt bricks. The houses generally consisted two or three rooms measuring 3.00 x 1.70 m., 3.30 x 1.20 m. and 4.10 x 3.50 m. Some of the rooms were paved with burnt brick floors, while the others have mud floors.\textsuperscript{157}

The excavations at Śringaverapura in district Allahabad have revealed structures belonging to the Kuśāṇa period. A prominent residential complex has been excavated in the southern area. On plan it revealed entrances, rooms, a corridor and a \textit{cullah} of bricks. The material can be dated to the late Kuśāṇa period. The complex revealed two units separated by a corridor, having soling with brickbats and both the units were found connected through an open courtyard paved with brickbats on the eastern side. The southern unit of the complex was provided with five rooms having four small interconnecting doors. The sizes of the rooms were 2.40 x 2.05 m., 4.25 x 2.05 m., 3.35 x 3.35 m. and 3.35 x 2.55 m. The northern unit of the house complex also consisted of five rooms of various sizes, i.e., 2.40 x 1.95 m., 4.15 x 2.25 m., 3.00 x 3.75 m., 3.20 x 3.20 m. etc.\textsuperscript{158}

Architectural complexes of burnt bricks have been excavated from several sites of at Mathurā. We have come across the remains of seven houses, built around an open area from the earliest phase of level 16, brick structure having fine and strong floors of rammed bricks beside large mud platform from Sonkh. The excavations have also revealed various types of household objects such as sprinklers, incense burner, basin, bowls, jar with plain and decorated spouts, pots with plain and decorated exterior showing painted and stamped designs etc. which belong to the Kuśāṇa period.\textsuperscript{159}

At Hastināpura, the houses during this period were all made of burnt bricks, the size of which averaged 4\frac{1}{2} x 9 x 2\frac{1}{2} inch. The houses were on the either side of a structure ranging in length. The red pottery has been found. Amongst the important types mention may be made of bowls with incurved rims, spouted basins, button- knobbed lids, lids like ink- pot, bottle- necked sprinklers and \textit{handā}- shaped miniature vases.\textsuperscript{160} The excavations at Ahicchatra have revealed several blocks of single contiguous chambers made of fine brick work.
generally having a bed of rammed concrete have been noticed. Burnt bricks in mud mortar were employed in the construction of houses. The excavations conducted here have revealed the rooms measuring 3x 2.50 m and the bricks used for construction measured 43.7 x 26.67 x 5.08cm, 41.6 x 22.67 x 5.71cm, 44.97 x 25.4 x 6.35 cm and 25.4 x 25.4 x 6.35 cm. We get bowls and jars of different sizes belonging to the Kusāṇa period.161

At Atranjikhera; two big rooms of a house complex measuring 6.42 x 3.38 m., and 6.6 x 2.3 m. have been excavated. The structures encountered in the Kusāṇa level were made of bricks measuring 33 x 22 x 6 cm. Apart from this we have got wheel turned pots including the dish, bowl, hāndī etc. belonging to the Kushāṇ period.162

The excavations at Kauśāmbī have revealed a strong fortification wall. A well planned city having brick built residences; moat, roads, bye- lanes etc. have been excavated. A palace complex has been exposed. A few rooms were excavated inside the palace. The structures shows a systematic planning, for example, a structural complex, opposite the central tower, comprised a hall, flanked on two of its sides by a room having lime flooring. The walls were covered throughout with lime plaster of uniform thickness. Each room was provided with three shelves and the central hall with a flight of steps leading to the tower. Burnt bricks in mud mortar were freely employed in the construction of houses. The excavations have yielded a rich variety of pottery belonging to the Kusāṇa period. The mention may be made of bowls, dishes, pans (karāhis), lids, beakers, dish- on- stand, basins, vessels, hāndīs (cooking vessels), sprinklers, ink pot lid, pins, beads, coils, antimony-rods, rings, pendant etc.163 Śrāvastī has also yielded house complexes with many rooms. Houses during the period of the Kuśāṇas were built of burnt bricks measuring 44 x 24 x 8-5 cm. and 41 x 23 x 8-5 cm. Various types of bowls, bowls- cum- lids of red ware, vases, various jars, basins, dishes or pans, handīs etc. have been found.164 The excavations at Masaon in Ghazipur district has also yielded structures belonging to the Kuśāṇa period. Three rooms of baked bricks, a brick built floor and drain, a common passage, a house with four rooms, a road etc. were found in the excavations.165
Apart from the references to the city, palaces and other residential buildings in the literary sources and the remains from the excavated sites, we get their depiction in the sculptures of that period. As far as the cities are concerned, the most conspicuous constituents of the city as depicted in the sculptures are: the ramparts or the walls (pākāra or prakāra), the moat (parikhā) filled with water, gates (dvāra, gopura) and gate houses (dvāra- koṭṭhaka), high defence towers (dvāra- atṭālaka), king’s palace (rāja- nivesana, pāsāda, harmya etc.) and other mansions, houses of the citizens (geha, grha), different places of worship such as vajrāsana, cankrama, caitya- vrksa, caitya- stamba, stūpa etc., granaries (koṭṭhaka), wells (udapāna), ponds (taṭaka, pokkhariṇi) and such other reservoirs of water, gardens, parks, pastures etc. There were highways (rāja- magga, rāja- mārga) which led to the city gate. The cities of Rājagṛha, Śrāvasti and Kuśinagara etc. have been depicted in the sculptures having these features.

The palaces, in general were composed of outer walls (pākāra, prakāra), outer gates (bahidvāra koṭṭhaka), courtyard (rājaṅgaṇa) and palace proper (rāja- nivesans, antepura, pāsāda etc.) In the sculptures of Gandhāra and Sānci, we find the depictions of the palaces and the other residential buildings. The lowest storey or the ground floor of a palace was usually a pillared structure (sthūnavabandha). These pillars, resting on strong brick platforms, supported the upper structure (uparipāsāda). The weight of each storey was supported by pillars. The uppermost storey (uttamāgṛha) was a brick structure and did not support any weight. The palaces could be of single or multiple storeys (bhūmi, tala, niyyūha). The palace of single storey was known as eka- bhūmika, that of double storey as dvi- bhūmika and of three storeys as tri- bhūmika etc. The three floors were known as ādi- tala (ground floor), ardha- tala (mezzanine floor) and tri- tala (third floor). The uppermost storey had big roofed halls with open space in front and sometimes had roofed halls on three sides and open quadrangle in the centre. The upper storeys had railed balconies.

The sculptures at Gandhāra depict the interior of the palaces such as the court halls, king’s private chambers (antepura), royal bed rooms (śayangāra), dressing rooms and royal bathrooms etc. The buildings having more than one
storey were provided with staircases as is depicted in a sculpture at Mathurā.\textsuperscript{170} The houses of common people were usually one storeyed buildings provided with either barrel-shaped or angular roofs with or without finials. In those houses small ventilators are often seen. They had doors both of simple and decorated types. Some of the houses had high plinths and were provided with foot steps to reach the entrance porch. The latter, which was sometimes used for dancing or musical performances, had tiled roof supported on pillars. These houses were built on three sides on an open courtyard, which accommodated a common granary as shown in the illustration of Sasa, Kapota and Gahāpati- Jātaka at Bharhut.\textsuperscript{171}

Huts are also depicted in the sculptured panels which might have been the residences of the poor people. These were usually made of bamboo trellis with domed roofs often covered with grass or leaves and surmounted with finials. They do not appear to have been provided with windows.\textsuperscript{172} In the Gandhāra sculptures the huts with domical roof, resemble those carved in the reliefs of Bharhut and Sāncī. The palm leaves seem to have been used to make roofs and the walls of split bamboos arranged horizontally and vertically. The domical roof is depicted having a finial at top. Doors are absent.\textsuperscript{173} These depictions appear to be of single cell. It appears that the houses of poor people were simple wattle and daub hut with thatched roof and walls of trees and grass as are depicted in the sculptures at Mathurā.\textsuperscript{174}

**Religious structures**

A large number of religious structures of the Kuśāṇa period have been found. At Taxila alone many stūpas and monasteries have been excavated such as the Dharmanājīka stūpa, the Kunala stūpa, the stūpas and monasteries at Mohrā Morādu, Pippala, Jaulian, Bādalpur, Jaṇḍial etc.\textsuperscript{175} Four Buddhist saṅgharāmas, situated a little to the south-east of the Dharmanājīkā, forming roughly, a square of 400-500 yards along each side have been excavated. The purpose of these, according to Marshall is not clear but these are of great interest as they were built when the diaper type of masonry was in vogue and show us how the
quadrangular monastery was being evolved under the early Kuṣāṇa kings. Such saṅghārāma has also been excavated at Giri.177

A Buddhist Stūpa at Sanghol, in district Ludhiana in Panjab has been found.178 Religious structures such as the Buddhist stūpas, vihāras, Jain temples, a Vaiśāṃsa temple, a nāga shrine and the famous devakula of the Kuṣāṇa period have been found from different sites such as Māta, Sonkh, Kaṅkālī Tīlā around Mathurā.179 The material remains of a temple and a stūpa have been found at Moradhwaj in district Bijnor in Uttar Pradesh.180 The excavations at Kauśāmbī have revealed the religious structures such as the Ghoshitarama monastery, a massive stūpa, a number of smaller stūpas and a shrine of Hariti etc.181 The excavations at Sārnāth too has exposed the remains of numerous religious structures such as stūpas, monasteries and temples of Buddhists and Jains belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period.182 The structural remains of the stūpa and monasteries have been unearthed at Kapilvastu.183 A monastic complex at Orjhar in district Balrampur in Uttar Pradesh, has been revealed having brick- paved floors.184 The excavations at Pātaliputra have revealed the remains of monasteries (vihāras). A caitya having a stūpa in the centre was also found which belonged to the Kuṣāṇa period. A seal bearing the legend śrī-Ārogyayihāre Bhikṣusanghasya has been discovered which also indicates towards the vihāra of the Bhikshus.185

The stūpa structure has been depicted on several sculptures. The stūpa consists of the drum (vedikā), the dome (aṇḍa) surmounting the vedika, the harmikā, the chatra, the railing etc. which too have been portrayed in the sculptures.186 In one panel in Gandhāra sculpture Buddha is shown seated within a small domed shrine. He is depicted preaching on inverted lotus throne.187 The best example of fire temple is at Sāñcī. The structure rests on four pillars. A doomed roof with a finial on the top, a railing on all sides and a cornice are depicted. An arched window (mahāvātapatāra) is seen at each side of the dome through which flames are seen coming out.188 The Fire Temples are also depicted in the Gandhāra sculptures. A panel has illustrated Buddha in the Fire Temple at Uruvela.189
The excavations conducted in different parts of country particularly in the northern India have yielded structures, whether religious or non-religious, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period as the material used in construction of them, particularly the bricks belonged to the period of the Kuṣāṇas. This indicates that these cities, towns or villages were either built during the Kuṣāṇa period or they were rebuilt or extended. Apart from the sites discussed above, there are numerous small as well as big sites which were under occupation during the Kuṣāṇa age of Indian history. The construction activities on such a large extent throughout India and particularly northern India indicate good overall economic condition of people during the Kuṣāṇa period.

**Food**

Food and drinks are very significant parts of human life. It is because of this that these have been given a great importance in our literary works. The *Vinaya Texts* refer to the food and drinks of people such as rice, beans, *tila* seeds, fresh honey, honey-lumps, congey, curries, salt, molasses, oil, pot-herbs, fruits, fish, meat and the five products of the cow, viz. milk, curd, ghee, buttermilk and butter etc. Among the drinks, there were grape juice, honey, syrups made from various fruits (such as mango, *jambu*, plantain), edible roots (water-lily) and juice of fruits. Drinks from various kinds of pot-herbs and flowers were also prepared.\(^{190}\) Kuṭṭāliya refers to grains, oil, sugar, salt, cooked rice, fruits, vegetables and liquor etc.\(^{191}\) The *Mahāvastu* refers to rice, beans, sesamum, *kodrava* (a species of grain), *ṣyāmaka* (a type of edible grain), millet, hemp, green vegetable, butter, milk, honey, sugar, salt and meat of various types such as the flesh of boars, fishes, pheasants, quails, francelin partridges and antelopes etc.\(^{192}\)

The *Milindapañjho* provides a detail of the foods and drinks such as it refers to rice, paddy, barley, beans, molasses, oil seeds, edible seeds of all kinds, peas, oil, ghee, butter, sugar, honey, milk, buttermilk, curd, fish curry etc.\(^{193}\)

The *Saddharma- Pundarīka* mentions hard and soft food, meat, drinks, sugar, ghee, curd and milk etc.\(^{194}\) The *Saundarananda* refers to barley (*yāvā*), rice and *soma*.\(^{195}\)
Patañjali has given an exhaustive list of the foods and drinks. A detailed list of vegetarian, non-vegetarian foods, fruits and drinks etc. has been given. The vegetarian food was known as sākabhojā, which consisted the grains and vegetables. Rice (odana, bhakta), barley (yāvā), pulses such as mugda, rājanāśha and māsha, curd (dadhi), ground sesamum, sīpa- pulse juice, sāka- vegetables, mālaka and alābū, the fruit of the bottle ground (placed in the list of vegetables in the Arthaśāstra and the Kāmasūtra), molasses, oil, ghee, salt, honey, milk, clarified butter, spices etc. were the vegetarian items. The non-vegetarian items included the meat of wild boar, wild cock, deer, sheep, śāraṅga bird, fish etc. onion was also included in the list of non-vegetarian food. Only a few fruits such as bimba, dālima (pomegranate) mridvikā (red grapes) and kuvalī (fruit of jujube tree) etc. have been mentioned by him. Alcoholic drinks such as surā (distilled from molasses), prasannā, śundā and āsuti (the spirituous liquors) etc. are also mentioned by him.196

Vātsyāyana, though belonging to a late period, provides a valuable information regarding the eating habits of people. He refers to three kinds of hard and soft food and drinks (bhakṣya, bhojya, peya). He mentions the articles of diet as rice, wheat, barley, pulses, a large number of vegetables, n.ilk and its preparations including ghee, meat and sweets besides salt and oil. Molasses (guda), sugar (sarkara) and sweet meats (khaṇḍa- khādyāṇi) were the sweets. Fish is not mentioned as article of diet. Not to eat meat was considered the act of merit. He has mentioned various types of drinks such as milk, water, fresh juice probably of various kinds of palm, extracts of meat, congey (or rice gruel), sherbets, juice of fruits such as mangoes and citrons mixed with sugar etc. The wines like surā, madhu, maireya and āsava were also consumed as drinks.197

Our law givers have also mentioned the food and drinks which were consumed by people. Manu talks of molasses, sour milk, sweet milk, butter-milk, clarified butter, boiled rice, every kind of cooked food, meat, fish, birds, husked grain, vegetables, roots, fruits, sugarcane, oil, honey and spirituous liquor etc.198 Narada mentions barley, rice, boiled rice, sesamum, milk, butter, clarified butter, meat, honey, vegetables, green roots, molasses, salt, oil, curd, fried grains, sugar
and soma juice and other spirituous liquors etc. Bṛhaspati refers to rice, oil, butter, salt, sugar-cane, sugar, fruits, five products of a cow and spirituous liquor etc.

The Jain literary sources have provided a great detail of the items of consumption. Four kinds of food articles are mentioned such as food (asaṅga), drink (pāṇa), eatable (khāma) and relishable (sāma). Milk, curd, butter, ghee, oil, honey, molasses, meat, cooked or dressed food (ogāhinā pakvāna), sakkalī (luci), inspissated juice of sugar-cane (phānya), a meal of parched wheat (pūga) and a meal of curd and sugar with spices (sihariṇī) etc. were the main articles of food. Various types of salt are mentioned such as sochal salt (sovaccala), rock salt (sindhava), ordinary salt (loṇa), mine salt (roma), sea-salt (samudda), earth-salt (panṣukhāra or bila-loṇa) and black salt (kāḷa-loṇa or vida) etc. Eighteen kinds of seasoned food (vyanjana) are also mentioned such as sūpa (soup), odana (rice), java (boiled-barley), three kinds of meat, cow milk, jūsa (water of boiled pulse), bhakka (khandakhādyā or sweet in which candy was used in plenty), gulalāvaṇīyā (golpāṇḍī), mūlaphala (bread-fruit), hariyaga (cumin), sāga (vegetable), rasālu (majjikā, a royal preparation made of the mixture of two palas of ghee, one paia of honey, half an ādhaka of curds, twenty pepper corns and ten palas of candied sugar), pāṇa (wine), pāṇiya (water), pāṇaga (drink made of grapes), and sāga (a preparation seasoned with butter-milk) etc.

Usually, a Jain, whether a layman or a monk was strictly prohibited from eating non-vegetarian food but in times when no other food except meat was available, Jain monks under extreme conditions were obliged to take it rather than starving themselves to death. An inscription, belonging to year 28, of the time of Huviśka, mentions the food articles such as barley, flour, green vegetables, salt etc.

Dress and ornaments

The dresses of the people indicate their status, taste and economic condition. During the period of our study, there was a growth in the industries as we have seen earlier, which expanded the production of textiles particularly in the
fields of cotton, woolen and silken fabrics. The literary sources belonging to the period of our study as well as the sculptural depictions make us acquainted with the dresses and fashions in the Kuśāṇa period. The Arthśāstra refers to the cloths (vastra) of fibers (ksāma), cotton (dukula), silk (krimitāna), wool (urṇa), hemp (śaṇa) and flax (ksāma) etc. It further states that the superintendent of weaving shall employ qualified persons to Manufacture threads (sutra), coats (varna), cloths (vastra) and ropes (rajjn) etc.204 The Milindapañho refers to the shops where Benares muslin, kotumbara stuffs and other cloths of various kinds are sold.205 The Mahāvastu too talks about the fine varieties of cloths.206 The Saundrananda mentions the cloths suited for love making, perfumed cloths, cloths of mournful colours and shawl to cover the shoulder etc.207 The Divyavadāna talks of the dress which consisted two pieces i.e., yamālī and another type of garment known as tuṇḍicēla.208 The Lalivistara refers to a high quality cloth like that of the fine cotton silk of Kāśi.209 The Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka mentions cloak and the other soft clean and gorgeous costumes.210 Patanjali states that the clothes were used to cover the body (śaṭakāṇ ācchādayāmaḥ). The lower garment was called upasaṁvyāṇa, the modern dhoti-loin cloth- generally white in colour (ṣuklastra). The upper cloth for covering shoulders was called pāṭa. it too was generally white in colour. Turban was used to cover head. Cotton (kārpāsa) and wool (urṇa) are mentioned by him. He also refers to leather shoes (upāṇāḥ) as well as wooden sandals (upāṇahdāru).211 Vātsyāyana refers to two garments, a vāsas or vastra and an uttariya or a wrap for the upper part of the body.212

Apart from the literary sources, we find depiction of the dresses in the sculptured panels from Gandhāra and Mathurā. The Gandhāra sculptures for example depict the costumes of the kings, queens, princes, princesses and common man. The king in the Gandhāra relief is shown wearing an antariya or the lower garment and an uttarīya or the upper garment. The king Śuddhodhana is depicted in a panel wearing a long dhoti falling to the ankle in graceful folds. An uttarīya passing over the shoulders rolls round the left arm.213
The dress of the queen is also depicted in the Gandhāra relief. Queen Māyā is depicted wearing a sārī in a panel illustrating the birth of Siddhārtha and the seven steps. In another panel she is depicted wearing the lower garment only and the upper portion is completely bare.214

Prince Siddhārtha is depicted in a dhoti as the lower garment. The uttariya or the upper garment is rolled round the left arm or is covering the both hands. In another instance he is wearing a long tunic with a belt around and a pyjama which appears to be very much like a Partho-Scythian nomadic dress.215

Princess Yaśodhara has been depicted wearing an Ionian chiton which was an under skirt worn by the Greek, corresponding to the Roman tunic. It is shown long reaching to the feet in many folds. Chitons were usually of two types, the short Doric chiton of wool and the long Ionic tunic of linen. Over the chiton was worn a himation, an oblong piece of drapery, one end of which was thrown over the left shoulder.216

The women are also depicted wearing sleeved tunic over sārī or else tying their breasts with the upper hem of the sārī. Sārī in a male style with a short uttariya draped around the shoulders and hanging free at the sides is also depicted in a relief.217

The dress of the male guard is a lower garment, adhovastra. Except of this he is shown completely bare. He is shown wearing a long dhoti.218 The female guards are sometimes depicted with Ionic chiton and himation and sometimes in the Pārthian dress wearing a loose baggy trouser and a tunic with a waste-band around the waist.219 The umbrella wearer is shown wearing a dhoti.220 The male musicians are seen wearing short and long dhotis and the female musicians are depicted with full sleeved tunic over a chiton or with a himation over chiton.221 The cart driver is depicted wearing dhoti, long and short. The upper portion of the body was bare. Their masters, the merchants, who were wealthy people, wore uttariya on dhoti.222 The depiction of the farmer, grass-cutter, male servants, wearing only short dhoti represent the dress of the common man.223 The brāhmaṇas, however are depicted as wearing dhoti and uttariya.224 A school
teacher too is depicted as wearing the same dress as that of a brāhmaṇa. Visvāmitra, in a panel illustrating ‘Siddhārtha in school’ is depicted wearing a long dhoti and an uttariṇya which covers partially his left shoulder.225

The sculptures from Mathurā have also represented the different types of dresses. The Indian males are generally depicted as wearing dhoti, one part of which is tucked in at the back and another or major part is folded and tucked in generally on the left side forming a loop. They also wear a dupattā passing over both the shoulders and falling on the elbows and a paṭkā or decorative piece of cloth tucked to the dhoti fold near the navel and falling in between the knees. Sometimes the men, especially of higher social status kept their dhotis in place by a kamarband tied in a bow- shaped knot with one tasseled end falling in between the legs. They also wear a dupattā, one of which was passed over the left shoulder and then passing across the back and covering the right knee it is looped and supported by the wrist of the left hand.226

Women in Mathurā sculptures were generally a sārī reaching to the ankles and held to the waist by elaborate girdles and a folded dupattā covering both shoulders with its both ends falling down but sometimes dupattā is not worn. The twisted kamarband tied over the waist so as to form loops on the both sides gave a rich foil to the sārī. Sometimes the long end of the kamarband is tied round the waist leaving the small tasseled end dangling in front and then the bigger end is passed through the folds of the kamarband and allowed to fall on the left side. Sometimes the kamarband is doubled up and the middle part tucked in the sārī fold near the navel and both the ends left free.227 Skirt was known in the Kuśāṇa period. The women of Mathurā, at least as represented in sculpture, did not wear a tunic or bodice except in a few sculptures of the Bacchanalian groups. They wear tunics filling tightly at the waist and ending in pleated skirts. The women depicted on a pedestal from Mathurā dated 79 in the Kuśāṇa era also wear tunics. They also wear sārīs.228

The common dress of the people as depicted in the sculptures was the traditional dress of the region which consisted the dhoti for the lower portion of the body and the uttarīṇya for the upper part of the body for the males and sārī, a
long raiment which covers the body from its upper parts to the ankles with its one extreme or ancala employed for specific purposes for the ladies.\textsuperscript{22} A. S. Altekar notices that in the period of Kuṣāṇa supremacy (c. 50 A. D. to c. 300 A. D.), women begin to appear in blouses and frocks. In one bas-relief at Mathurā, he points out that even Saptā-Mātrkās are seen wearing frocks. He gives examples of Hariti wearing a blouse of long sleeves, a nāginī in human form also seen doing the same, Māyādevī is also wearing a frock over her sārī.\textsuperscript{23} Whitehead refers to a coin of the Scythian ruler Azilises where goddess Lakṣmī standing on a lotus is represented as wearing a blouse and a trouser.\textsuperscript{24} Vogel notices a female figure wearing a short petticoat and a loose garment hanging down her left arm.\textsuperscript{25} In another instance he observes a statuette of a female (Nāgī), who besides the usual ornaments wears a short petticoat and a scarf thrown over the left shoulder.\textsuperscript{26} the variation is also recorded in the male dresses.

In a standing image discovered from Govindnagar, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, Buddha has been shown wearing a dhotī. As far as the upper portion of the body is concerned, the garment covers the left shoulder only. Another statue seated in meditation from Govindnagar is shown wearing shutter type thick sanghātī. This too belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period and shows a Gandhāra impact.\textsuperscript{27} Vogel points out a male figure wearing a dhotī held to the loins with a girdle and a shawl tied round the legs.\textsuperscript{28}

With the coming of the Kuṣāṇas, the contact with the outsiders, particularly with the Persians resulted in adoption of the new dresses. The audīchyaṃveśa or the so called northerner’s dress is the example of this dress. The long coat or tunic, according to the weather, trouser, boots and kulha cap were the main components of the audīchyaṃveśa. Kaniṣka’s statue, as pointed out by Rosenfield is a perfect example of the northerner’s dress from Mathurā. The lower border of the open coat or the stiff mantle of Kaniṣka is stitched; the stitching marks are evident even on stone. The coat is more of an overcoat than a mantle without buttons.\textsuperscript{29}

Regarding the dress pattern of the Kuṣāṇas, Rosenfield states that the Kuṣāṇas and the Arsacids retained their ancestral costumes long after they had
abandoned a nomadic way of life. In the art of Mathura and Gandhāra, the Indo-Scythian costume shows considerable variety, but some elements remain constant and characteristic. A tunic of varying length may be either coat like or sheathlike. Pantaloons are full and bloused or tight fitting with Jodhpurs. The shoes or boots, in which the pantaloons are tucked, are sturdy and at times padded. Finally, a wide waist belt is worn outside the tunic.

The Kuśāṇas had their own mode of headdress, but on a few occasions they were shown wearing turbans. The costume, according to him was a variant of Central Asian dress which has remained remarkably unchanged from its representation in Achaemenian and in Greco-Roman art to the present, largely because of its practicability in an equestrian society and in the climatic extremes of the steppes. During the first century CE it seems to have been a standard male costume throughout much of the Iranized parts of Western Asia as well as North India and Afghanistan reflecting the political supremacy and influence of the Kuśāṇas and the Arsacids. The portrait of Vima Kadphises at Mathurā, having a number of large, flat, round plates on the surface of the topcoat, each held with a cloth or leather tab is another example of this dress.237

Not only are Kaniska and Vima Kadphises shown wearing long coat, trousers and boots but Surya images also depict the Sun God wearing a tunic, trousers and plump boots.238 Vogel also points out to such a dress when he describes a figure of a male, standing, clad in Indo-Scythian dress: tunic, trousers and boots.239 The coins of the Kuśāṇa kings also depict the same dress.240 Vogel points out to an illustration in a Bacchanalian Group found at Mathurā which he describes thus: “A female figure is clad in a long sleeved jacket and a skirt falling down on the feet which are shown with plump shoes.”241 Ghurye is of the opinion that during the Kuśāṇa period, the females used to cover themselves with sārīs of more than ordinary length and arranged them in heavy folds and in a few instances there appears a scarf also which is gathered together and thrown over the left shoulder.242

In the sculptures of Barhut and Sāñcī too, we find that the dress of the males consisted the dhoti, uttarāṇya, turban and waist band etc.243 The foreigners
are depicted wearing tunics, dhoti, trousers and various types of head gears etc.244
The females used to wear sārī and uttarīya or scarf.245 In the sculptures from Sāncī, we find the depiction of the foreigners, men and women and boys. Men and boys are shown wearing boots, breeches and long tunics with belts of the typical Kuśāna type. The women are depicted wearing sāris and bodices.246 The foot wear of the people consisted chappals and boots, sandals etc as is evident from the sculptures from Gandhāra, Mathurā, Barhut and Sāncī.247

People, as today, were very particular regarding their hair styles and hair dresses since very early times. In the Vedic literature, we find various terms like opaśa, kaparda, kumba, kurīra, keśa, śikhaṇḍa, śikhā, sīman, pulasti, stūka etc. which connote the coiffures.248 Pāṇinī mentions the term keśa-veśa which means stylistic coiffure.249 Patañjali has specifically referred to hair arrangements such as with a parting line in the middle sīmanta and the mass of hair gathering together at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls hanging down as low as the waist, or twisted and tied into a large knot at the back (keśānāṁ samāhāras cuḍasya keśacūdaḥ). The references of shaven heads (mūnda) are also these along with twisted hair (jaṭi) or keeping a tuft a lock of hair on the crown of the head (śikhī). The cutting of hair (keśāṃvapati) and shaving of moustache was also known. The ladies with delicate hair or ‘keeping bob- wig’ are mentioned by him. Men generally kept long hair tied in a top knot around which the folds of the turban were arranged.250

The Jātakas talk of different types of hair styles and head dresses such as curly hair, matted hair, loose hair, long hair, hair with top knot and having turbans etc.251 The Divyāvadāna refers to the dressing (prasaḍhyati) of the hair and the beard (keśaṃśru).252 The Milinda Pañño mentions that the treatment of hair or hair dressing requires a regular procedure. It included putting oil upon the hair, shampooing them, placing garlands around them, using scents and unguents, tying ribbons, combing and dressing them. It also talks of shaving off hair and beards.253 The dressing of hair, according to the Lalitvistara, was done before a perfect mirror.254
The sculptures from Gandhāra, Mathurā, Barhut and Sānci etc. provide us an appropriate knowledge of the hair styles and dress of people. The hair style of the males in Gandhāra sculptures comprise the long hair,\textsuperscript{255} curly hair with wig like appearance,\textsuperscript{256} long hair combed from the forehead either backwards or sideward,\textsuperscript{257} long hair with bow- knot on the top of the head,\textsuperscript{258} hair dressed in an egg- shaped ball (sikhani),\textsuperscript{259} matted hair (jaṭābhāra) and sikhani or egg- shaped ball, modes comined,\textsuperscript{260} clean shaven head \textsuperscript{261} and bald head,\textsuperscript{262} etc. and those of the female comprised coiffure comprising hair with or without plait and allowed to dangle,\textsuperscript{263} hair simply combed back and allowed to fall on the occiput, hair gathered into a bundle or a roundish bun, hair arrangement in the shape of spiral on the top of the head or in top knot,\textsuperscript{264} hair with top knot and curled side-locks, hair with a top knot and a close or loose knot on the occiput,\textsuperscript{265} hair simply allowed to fall on the forehead,\textsuperscript{266} and hair combed back but having a few locks on the forehead.\textsuperscript{267}

The hair style of the males in Mathurā sculpture include hair simply combed back without any parting line, hair simply combed back with a knot on the forehead,\textsuperscript{268} hair combed upward and converging them on the forehead,\textsuperscript{269} curly hair,\textsuperscript{270} curly hair with protruded knot on the forehead,\textsuperscript{271} matted hair twisted in receding tiers on the top of the head. The female hair styles comprised simple hair with a parting line (sīmānta or keśavithi), long hair with protruded knot on the forehead, hair combed into a roundish bun with close knot on the back of the back of the head, hair tied into double bun, hair gathered in a bag, hair rolled up and decorated with net of pearls, hair plated in a single pig tail and allowed to fall on the back, hair dressed in a fan- shaped projection,\textsuperscript{272} hair in a net, hair twisted into spirals in receding tiers, hair looped and knotted,\textsuperscript{273} loose hair tied into loop and knotted, hair with a domical knot over the head, hair arranged in a pony tail etc.\textsuperscript{274}

From Barhut we get an idea of the hair styles of people. In the sculptures many types of the styles are depicted such as the hair styles of the male are: simple hair parted in the middle and allowed to fall back, hair dressed in a peacock plume mode over the head, hair arranged in a spherical knot over the
head, matted hair in receding tiers on the top of the head. The female hair style included hair combed backwards and secured in a roundish bun with a knot close to the head, hair looped and knotted loosely, hair combed back and allowed to sling on the back and jatābhāra and sikhāṇḍa modes combined.275

The sculptures from Sāñcī also give us an idea of the hair styles of the people. The hair styles of male mainly depicted are the curly hair, long hair combed back from the forehead and allowed to dangle on the nape, long hair combed back from the forehead into the upward twisted curls, sikhāṇḍa type, jatābhāra and sikhāṇḍa modes combined, hair gathered upward into conical shape, peacock plume style etc.276 The hair styles of the females mainly consisted long hair combed back with kesāvithi and allowed to fall on the shoulders, hair combed side wards and secured in a roundish bun with knot close to the nape, hair in the peacock plume mode, hair in fan-shaped tiaras, hair plaited and allowed to sling down from the nape, sikhāṇḍa type and hair combed back without parting line and terminating into a tuft at the back of the head and a loop-shaped locks tucked into it.277

Head dresses appear to be an interesting feature of personal dress. In the sculptures, people appear usually with some sort of head dress. A huge variety of head dresses are visible in the sculptures which range from a most simple headdress, comprising only a group of fillets to the most complex turbans, decorated with jewels and other various devices. Males generally had three types of headdresses which include, (1) a readymade turban, resembling the pagri like that of a modern brāhmaṇa, (2) a turban made by winding round the head a long rolled scarf so as to cover the hair wholly or partly and (3) a cap which, however, is to be found in a very few cases. Women too sometimes wear a turban similar to that worn by men. Sometimes they used thin piece of cloth which covered the hair and hair-knot, over which sometimes is tied a fillet on the forehead and a band round the hair knot etc.

In the Gandhāra sculptures, we find that the head-dresses of women are generally decorated by fixing various devices like discs, flowers, leaves, presumably made of metal or of string of beads, gems or pearls in them.278
In the sculptures from Mathurā we find that a turban or usṣīṣa was generally worn by men. Often it is made of long strip of simple cloth tied round the hair knot at the top of the head. The turbans made of rich materials are surmounted with arched metallic plaques from whose central aperture ends of the turbans are passed out are worn by rich people. Sometimes a clasp and an overlaid plaque are also worn over a turban. Often a round plaque attached to a metallic band decorated with rosettes is worn over the turban. An overlaid plaque with an attachment which appears to have been a plume is also worn over the turban. The women of Mathurā, as depicted in the sculpture, generally did not cover their heads. But there are certain examples where the women are depicted wearing veils falling down the back. In one place a woman is depicted wearing knobbled turban and at another instance a spiral turban. A lady in a railing pillar found from Jamālpur mound, Mathurā is depicted wearing a close fitting cap.

From the sculptures of Śāncī and Barhut, we find that the turbans of various types were worn by the males. The common type of turban consisted of a long piece of cloth wrapped round the head in various styles, usually having projections on the left, the right, or on both the sides, and in front a globular core. This was often elongated in shape. The foreign dress was introduced by the Kuśānas. During the Kuśāna period, a fillet or diadem tied round the head with ends fluttering behind, a close fitting round cap with or without a piece of cloth suspending behind or attached like a crest, cap with crenellated pattern, a high conical cap, seen in various styles, often embroidered and bearing monograms etc. appear to have been in use as is depicted in the sculptures. We also get the depiction of the head dresses of the females. A beautiful piece of cloth was wrapped round the head, the ends of which sometimes hung behind. There is depicted a woman probably of Śuṅga period shown wearing a male turban in a relief from Barhut. From the Śāncī sculptures we find that the hair were made in a crest like top knot. Around this knot appears a turban- cloth covering the head in different fashions. The head was covered with a veil.

The typical Kuśāna dress comprised a conical cap generally noticed in the figure of the Kuśāna kings, soldiers and house holders. This cap was known as...
*kulaha* in Sanskrit and *kulehī* in Hindi. This was also found in the royal portraits from Hatra. Domical shaped and knobbed top type of caps formed other type of Kuśāṇa caps. Such types of caps are found on the head of a Kuśāṇa prince from Khalchayan with a small projection on the forehead. Round caps with flat high top and round and low flat- topped caps are the other varieties of the caps.

Rosenfield has pointed out different varieties of helmets worn by the Kuśāṇa princes as shown on their coins. These are: tall domed cylindrical helmet with strange forward protruding bill has wavelike raised insignia on sides and a noteworthy crest ornament, low cap with jeweled brim. Wavelike design on side crest ornament, low cap with pointed top, similar in shape to Phrygian type except that it seems to be rigid circular ornament on side, crest ornament on top, narrow helmet, symmetrically rounded at crest, basically similar to Parthian helmet of Mithradates II, has, however, insignia at forehead, made apparently of feather and jewel. Pearled ornament around crest, circular object (lunar design?) on side, tall pointed cap with angular protrusion to rear, has straight horn like that of ibex, coming from above forehead and pointing back and up. Quadrangular side flaps connected under chin, without horn, narrow helmet, symmetrically rounded at crest, having triangular pointed flaps on each side which join under chin. Forehead device perfectly circular, may have been wheel like design with jeweled hub, has crest ornament, pearls distributed over the sides and as fringe at forehead and side flaps, rounded helmet, having two pronged device at forehead instead of bill, has what seems to be open circular design on side; also a crest ornament and a pearled band or diadem.

In a Khalchayan figure, we find that women used to deck themselves with a diadem. The women in many Gandhāra reliefs are depicted with ornamented fillets like cobwebs.

Thus it appears that the people during the Kuśāṇa period were following their traditional styles as well as the new styles introduced by the foreigners, particularly the Kuśāṇas.
As far as the cosmetics are concerned, it has been customary with human beings in all ages and times to use cosmetics and to decorate themselves. In India, it has been practiced since Vedic and Indus age.

We come across ample evidences of the cosmetics during the Kuṣāṇa period. Both, men and women were fond of this practice. Women of this age with their natural desire to make themselves attractive surpassed men in their toilet. The royal ladies, their attendants, all used to decorate their persons according to their means at their disposal. Turmeric (haridrā), saffron (kumkuma), red lead (sindūra) and collyrium (kajjala) was used by them to decorate their persons. Men too not only used perfumes, pastes, ointments, but also applied collyrium to their eyes and lac- dye to their lips. Both, men and women used fresh and fragrant flowers and besides applying pastes and perfumes, they painted beautiful designs on their cheeks.²⁹² Besides the routine of the daily toilet, the special toilet preparations were done according to the seasons. In winters, for example, oil, saffron, musk and aloe wood smoke were used and in the summers, a paste from camphor, sandal, aloe wood and saffron was prepared.²⁹³

The Angavijja refers to the use of perfumes, perfumed powders, sandalwood, applying cinnabar, collyrium etc. It also refers to the profession of toilet making (pasādhaka).²⁹⁴

The Saundrananda refers to the body paint consisting of unadulterated earthly particles in soft grains and yellowish with sprinkling of saffron.²⁹⁵ Sundari is described as putting her mirror in her lover’s hand saying ‘just hold this up in front of me, while I paint myself.’ She is mentioned as painting her face with the paint, rubbing the stick of paint she was using up and down on the face of her lover (husband). Her arms are covered with sandal paste.²⁹⁶ The whole process of preparing and applying appears to be a long one which required more than one person. A verse in the Saundrananda says that one woman was pounding ointment, other perfuming clothes, another preparing to bath and other weaving sweet-smelling garlands.²⁹⁷
The Silppadikāram, presenting to us the south Indian society and its customs, costumes and cosmetics, refers to paste of musk deer, white sandalwood, various scents and mirror etc. All classes, both of men and women, applied oil to their hair. The women frequently used scents in dressing it and ornamented it with a variety of flowers and jewellery. Both sexes perfumed their persons with different kinds of fragrant oils and adorned their skin with a variety of powders, of a red or a yellow colour. The women painted their eyelids with a black pigment. In the houses of higher orders, incense of Benjamin and other odoriferous gums was generally burnt.

The Mahāvastu refers to powders of sandalwood, tamāla leaves, aloewood, keśara, powder of coral tree etc.

The Lalitavistara mentions scented waters of various kinds, perfumed oils and fragrant powders of sandal, flowers or other sweet smelling things.

Vātsyāyana too mentions the fragrant ointment made of the sandalwood paste or of preparations of a variety of sweet-smelling substances. A citizen (nāgraka), according to him, applies a suitable quantity of this ointment to his person. Then he scents his clothes in the sweet smelling smoke of incense (dhūpa), he wears a garland on his head, applies collyrium made of various substances to his eyes, applies a red dye made of lac (alaktaka) to his lips already reddened by the betel he chewed and then rubs them over with wax to dye fast. Then he looks himself in a glass. Vātsyāyana talks about the plentiful use of perfumes (sugandhikas).

The references from the literary works of the period of our study may be corroborated with other sources. There is a scene in a sculpture panel in Mathurā in which a lady is placing the mirror in her lover’s hand to hold it up while she applies cosmetics to her face. This appears to be the depiction of the scene of the Saundrananda which has been discussed earlier.

Vogel has pointed out many scenes in the sculptures from Mathurā such as a woman is depicted with mirror, a female in the act of adjusting a pendant to her right ear with the aid of a mirror in her right hand has been depicted in a
railing pillar in Mathurā. In another instance, a female figure, standing under a
tree of which she clasps a branch with her left hand looking in a mirror which she
holds in her right hand, has been carved on a railing pillar.

V. S. Agrawala has also pointed out to a pillar which is carved with two
 toileting scenes. In the upper one, the woman is looking in the mirror held in her
right hand and is arranging her frontal hair with the left, her husband is standing
behind her and dressing her long braid falling on the back and interweaving with
a garland. The female attendant is carrying a garland in a tray. In the lower panel,
the woman has completed her toilet and is looking in a mirror.

The excavations at Taxila have revealed several articles of dress and toilet
such as trays and caskets used for cosmetics, combs, hair pins, mirrors, fresh
rubbers, ivory- chests etc.

In the earlier chapters, we have referred to many inscriptions belonging to
the Kuśāṇa period which mention the people dealing in perfumes and garland
making etc. which also suggest their use in cosmetics.

The rise and growth of the industries increase in trade, development and
growth of cities resulted in the prosperity all around. In this scenario, many
centers developed into craft centers of jeweller’s art. Mathurā and Vārāṇasi are
the classic examples of this. Women and men had always been fond of ornaments
and jewellery since very early period. The literary sources corresponding to our
period of study contain a useful data regarding the jewellery and ornaments of the
people. Kauṭilya refers to the diamonds, precious stones, pearls etc. He also
talks about the jewellery of gold and silver.

The Milindapañño contain various references to the gold, silver, gems, jewels and
pearls etc. The Mahāvastu mentions the ornaments like bracelets, armlets,
anklets, necklace, ear-rings, finger-rings, rings on toes, signet-rings, jewels,
gems, precious stones, tiaras and girdles etc.

The Saundrananda too mentions pearls and ornaments. The Buddhacarita
refers to gems, pearls, jewels, ear-rings, bracelets, anklets, necklaces etc.
The Ahgavijja has given a long list of ornaments used from head to feet. The ornaments used for head, it states, are: ochulaka, nandinaddhaka, apalokanika and sīsopaka; for the ears, talapaṭṭaka, kannapilaka, for the neck, vaṇṇasutta, tipisāchaka, vijādhīraka, asimālikā, hāra, addhahāra, pučchālaka, āvalikā, matisomāṅgaka, atthamaṅgala, pechukā, vāyumattā, vuppasutta, paṭisarā- kh碰撞, kaṭhevaṭṭaka; for arms, āngaja; for hands, hattakaḍāga, kadeka, rucaga, sācīka; for fingers, aṅguleyaka, muddeyaka, ventaka; for the waist kaṅci- kalāpaka and mekhālā; for legs, gandupayaka, niḍura and pariheraka; for the feet khāṅkhāṅika, khattiyadhāmaka and pādumuddika etc. The other Jain sources mention fourteen strings of pearls (hāra), a chain of nine strings of pearls (addhahāra), a single string of multi-coloured pearls (egāvali), a necklace of gold and gems (kanagaśvali), a necklace of jewels (rayanāvali), a necklace of pearls (mattāvali), an armlet for upper arm (keśra), a bracelet (kaḍaya), an armlet (tuḍiya), finger-rings (muddī), ear-rings (kuṇḍala), a chain round the chest (urasutta), crest-jewels (cūḍāmāṇi) and ornaments worn between the eyebrows on the forehead (tilaṇa) etc.

Patañjali too refers to the ornaments used by women and men such as necklace (ṛuṣka), bracelet (kaṭaka), ear-rings (kuṇḍala), armlets, finger-rings, anklets, crest jewels, pendants etc.

The Śīlapadikārāni mentions various ornaments such as necklace, ear-rings, bracelets, armlets, bangles, finger-rings, girdles of pearls etc. Even the men in the south India wore anklets, a belt of golden coins round his waist. On his head, he used to wear a triple cord of pearls and golden beads.

Megalæthenes has also recorded the love of the Indian people for ornaments of gold and precious stones.

The later literary works such as the Nāradasmrtyi and the Bṛhaspatismrtyi, too have mentioned ornaments, jewels and goldsmiths many times. Vatsyāyana also talks of many ornaments for ladies such as for neck, ears and head etc.

The archaeological excavations at various sites, occupied by the Kuśānas, have yielded different types of ornaments. Taxila has yielded a large number of
ornaments of copper, bronze, lead, ivory, gold and silver etc. Bracelets, bangles, armlets, ear-rings, pendants, brooches, buckles, clasps etc. of copper, bronze and lead, ear-pendants, ear-rings, necklaces, girdles, bracelets, belts, amulets, pendants, brooches, hair-pins, bangles, bracelets, anklets etc. of gold and silver and bangles, ear-reels, beads, pendants etc. of bone, ivory and shell have been found in the excavations. Terracotta and ivory bangles and various types of beads have been discovered from Sunet.

Hastināpura has yielded bangles of terracotta, glass, ivory, shell, agate, copper; copper and gold rings; beads of carnelian, agate, quartz, chalcedony, onyx, amethyst, jasper, faience, glass and copper etc.

Excavations at Ahicchatra have exposed pins, beads, rings and a pendant of copper; terracotta bangles and beads of terracotta and semi-precious stones.

Mathurā, one of the most significant centers of Kuśānas in India has yielded beads of crystal, agate, carnelian, lapis-lazuli, faience, jasper and shell etc. The site of Śrāvastī possessed beads of agate, amethyst, quartz, carnelian, lapis-lazuli, jasper, glass, shell, bone, copper and terracotta, bangles, ear ornaments and pendants of copper etc.

Some figurines wearing ornaments have been reported from Kauśāmbī. Kumrahara has yielded bangles, bracelets, ear-rings, finger-rings, ear pendants of copper and bronze, bangles of chalcedony, glass, ivory, bone and terracotta, a talisman of gold and beads of glass, crystal, agate, chalcedony, amethyst, carnelian, jasper, quartz and copper etc.

The study of the sculptures from Gandhāra and Mathurā further enhance our knowledge regarding the ornaments used by the people. The Gandhāra sculptures depict males and females, wearing ornaments such as the head ornaments, forehead ornaments, ear-rings of different shapes, necklaces, armlets, bangles, wristlets, finger-rings, waist ornaments or girdles, anklets etc. The sculptures from Mathurā too depict almost all types of ornaments. We find ear pendants, ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces, breast jewels, bangles, armlets, wrist-lets, anklets and crown etc. etc.
Thus the references to the dresses, cosmetics and ornaments etc. in the literary sources compiled during or around our period of study, their depiction on the sculptural reliefs in northern and north-western parts of India and the abundance of the material remains yielded in the excavations appears quite sufficient to conclude that the people were in a position to afford these which is an indication of economically well settled society.

**Education**

Education and learning in India through the ages had been prized and pursued for the sake of intellectual and moral growth. It was sought as the mean of self-realization. The central conception of education right from the Vedic Age downwards has been that it is a source of illumination leading us correctly in various spheres of life. It leads us to our salvation in the spiritual sphere and in the mundane sphere it leads us to all-round progress and prosperity. Infusion of spirit of a piety and religiousness, formation of character, development of personality, inculcation of civic and social duties, promotion of social efficiency and preservation and spread of national culture were the chief aims of education in ancient India.340

The education system in India was of personal nature rather than institutional. It was personal because it depended upon the individual attention and treatment to be given to the student by his teacher. Here the personal touch, the living relationship between the student and teacher make education. The students belonged to the teacher not to the institution. The process of sharing the experiences with his guru prevents the tendency to repression in the pupil. As a result of which the inner life grows in a normal manner in this system.341 The student was turned into intellectually and socially a complete man who could after completing his education serve the society in the background of his academic qualifications.

As far as the initiation of the student is concerned, according to the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra, the upanayana ceremony is to be performed in the eighth year of a brāhmaṇa, in the eleventh year of a kṣatriya and in the twelfth
year of a vaisya. The Gautama Dharmaśātra also recommends the same age for the initiation. The ceremony on certain occasions could be postponed up to 16, 22 and 24 respectively for the three castes. The Gautama Dharmaśātra, however recommends that the ceremony could be postponed up to 16, 20 and 22 respectively for the three castes. The Milinda-pañha, however suggests that the age of initiation of a brāhmaṇa boy was seven which indicates the age of initiation during the Kuśāna period.

Regarding the robes to be worn by a pupil, Asvalāyana Grhya-Śūtra states that the boy who wears ornaments, whose (hair on the) head is arranged properly, who wears a garment that has not been washed (i.e., a new garment) or an antelope’s skin if he is a brāhmaṇa, the skin of a spotted dear if he is a kṣatriya, or a goat’s skin if he is a vaisya. In case of wearing garments, the garments must be dyed. A brāhmaṇa shall wear reddish yellow one, a kṣatriya a light reddish one and the vaisya shall wear a yellow one. One made of muñja grass was to be used as mekhalā (girdle) by a brāhmaṇa, one made of bow-string by a kṣatriya and one made of wool by a vaisya. Stick made of Palāśa was to be used by a brāhmaṇa, one made of udumbara tree by a kṣatriya and one made of bilva tree by a vaisya. Even the length of the stick was clearly specified. Brāhmaṇa, for example, used a stick that reached up to tuft of hair for a brāhmaṇa, one reaching up to the forehead for a kṣatriya, one reaching up to the heart for a vaisya.

It was optional for students to shave their heads, to wear the hair tied in a braid or to keep merely a lock on the crown of the head tied in a braid shaving the other portions of the head.

Upādhyāya and Ācārya appear to be the two classes of teachers. Upādhyāya took teaching as a profession for his livelihood and taught only a portion of the Veda or Vedāṅga and Ācārya taught the Veda with its Kalpaśūtras and Upaniśads without charging fees.

The gurukulas or hermitages and the Buddhist vihāras were two places where students used to go for getting education. A hermitage was a place where
the teacher used to live with his family. He used to stay there till the completion of his education. The teacher was fully responsible for the moral, mental, intellectual and physical development of the child. He made arrangements for the lodging and food of his students. The students helped the teacher in the activities of gurukula and the state or the government did not interfere in the activities of a gurukula.349

The vihāras were centres where Buddhist education was provided. The duties of the teachers and the students were almost same in both systems. The main difference between them lies in the character of educational institution. The gurukula system was based upon the individual relationship of the teacher and student. The number of the students was limited so that a teacher could instruct them easily and also take care of them. In the Buddhist system, education was given in the vihāra or the monastery, built up as a self- sufficient colony having its own agriculture and dairy farming which it gets as gifts. The system of a monastery gave scope to a collective life and spirit of brotherhood and democracy among the many resident monks, who came under a common discipline and instruction.350

Regarding the subjects of study, Manu has mentioned the smṛtis, iihāsa (history) and Purānas etc. as the main subjects of study besides the Vedic literature.351 He has referred to three sciences: the triple Veda, vārtā (agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade) and dandanitī (science of government) etc. and has referred to the science of ānvikṣakī as a special branch of Vedas.352 Kautilya, however mentions that there are four sciences or the branches of learning and knowledge. These are: ānvikṣakī, comprising the philosophy of Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata; the triple Vedas, comprising the three Vedas, i.e., Ṛig, Sāma and Yajur; vārtā, comprising agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade and dandanitī, i.e., the science of government.353

The Milindaapañho has given a list of the subjects taught at that time. It has included the following: the four Vedas, iihāsa, Purānas, lexicography, prosody, phonology, verses, grammar, etymology, astrology, astronomy, the six Vedāṅgas, interpretation of omens, dreams and signs, prognostications to be drawn from the
flight of comets, thunder, junction of planets, fall of meteors, earthquakes, conflagrations and signs in the heaven and earth, study of eclipses of the sun and moon, of arithmetic, casuistry, of the interpretation of omens to be drawn from dogs, deer and rats, mixture of liquids, sounds and cries of birds etc. were the subjects to be studied by the brāhmaṇas. The special knowledge of the ksatriyas was to include knowledge of all about elephants, horses, chariots, bows, rapiers, documents and the law of property. Some additional subjects are added to the list when the learning of king Milinda is described. These are: the Sāńkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy, music, medicine, magic, causation, spells, the art of war, poetry, conveyance etc. The text also talks about training in archery. Husbandry, merchandise and cattle-rearing were the subjects to be studied by the vaiśyas.

Manu, regarding the education of the vaiśyas, states that a vaiśya must know the respective value of gems, pearls, corals, metals, clothes made of thread, perfumes and of condiment. He must be acquainted with the sowing of seeds and of the good and bad qualities of fields and he must perfectly know all weights and measures, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of different countries, the probable profit and loss on merchandise and the means of properly rearing cattle and he must be acquainted with the proper wages of the servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods and the rules of sale and purchase.

Regarding the subjects of the study, Patañjali says that some of the subjects were particularly meant for the brāhmaṇas, a few for the ksatriyas, but others could be studied universally by the dvijas. A brāhmaṇa boy was expected to study and read Dharma, six Arūgas and Vedas without any special occasion, but the principal subject was grammar. He refers to ancient custom amongst brāhmaṇas of studying grammar after the time of “the sacrament of the holy thread.” A study of the Vedas included all the four Vedas with six Arūgas and their mystical treatises, sākhās of the Yajurveda, the Sāmaaveda with its thousand paths, the sacred traditions of the Bāhuvichas, the Atharvaveda with nine branches, treatise on dialogues, or the science of logic (vākovākyam), Epics, historical
legends (itihāsas), Purāṇas and the science of medicine (vaiḍyākam). In another reference he refers to texts, handed down by repetition from the Atharvaveda (atharvaṇa āṃśāyah). There are also references to a work called Saṅgīraha, Metrics and Dharmaśāstra. The study of Astrology was made with measurements and there are references to kāla- time and muhūrta- a particular division of time.

A comparative study of all doctrines (sarvatāntra) is also mentioned. Besides popular studies including narratives (ākhyāyika), histocal legends, Purāṇas and tales like those of Yava- kṛta, Priyāngu, Yayāti. Vāsavadattā and Sunanottarā, there was, probably, some training in other subjects, like Vaiṣyavidyā- the science of augury from observing crows, chiromancy (aṅgavidyā) etc. and the science of animals (golakṣaṇa- aśvokṣaṇa). Kṣūtra vidyā, Dhārmavidyā, Juristic studies and Traividyā were not neglected.

Patañjali also refers to training given in archery (dhamuṣi śikṣhate). It is interesting to learn that a person belonging to a higher caste, even though degraded, was entitled to the study of the Vedas. Despite the study of other subjects, the importance of grammar (vaiyākaraṇa) was immense. The fact is also evident from the growth of grammatical literature between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali. The latter refers to four land marks in the history of grammar, represented by the schools of the four Ācāryas: Āpiśala, Pāṇini, Vyādi and Gautama, probably in chronological order. He also mentions the grammarians of the following schools- Bhāradvāja, Saunaha, Kuṇaravāda and Sauryabhāgavata. All these schools lay emphasise on grammatical studies preceding initiation into the Vedas.\textsuperscript{359}

The Divyāvedāna too refers to a list of subjects which were more practical in nature such as instructions in writing (līpyāṁ), arithmetic (sāṅkhya-yāṁ), accounting (gaṇanāṁ), counting by figures (muḍāyāṁ), rules relating to the debts (udhāra), deposits (nvāsa), trusts (nikṣeṇa), examination of things (vastupriksāyāṁ), of jewels (ratna- parikhāyāṇa), inspection and testing of elephants (hastipariksāyāṁ), horses (aśva), wood (dāru), cloth (vastra), men (puruṣa), women (sṛti) and merchandise of all sorts (nānāpanya) etc. Apart from this study, the martial training including that of elephants (hasti- śikṣyāṁ), riding

\textsuperscript{359}
The Lalitavistara also refers to some additional subjects such as knowledge of ceremonies (kriyākalpa), political economy (artha-vidyā), poetry (kāvyā), panthomine (rūpa), art of decoration (rūpakarmani), playing on viṇā (viṇāyām vādyā), dancing (nṛtya), reciting songs (gīta) drama (nātya) etc. Apart from the above mentioned subjects, education was also provided in many industrial and vocational subjects. Many Sanskrit, Buddhist and Jain works contain references to the Ancient Indian arts and crafts the number of which goes up to 64. Music, singing, dancing, painting, astronomy, economics, architecture, sculpture, agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, medicine, magic, amusement, the art of combining and isolating minerals, art of wrestling, different arts of war etc. and many other such activities were included in these arts and crafts. Nārada refers to the industrial education when he gives a detail of rules regarding the apprenticeship and admission to an industrial school. Medicine and surgery was another very significant subject in which the education was imparted. The frequent references to medicines, surgery and surgeons in the Saundrananda, the Milindaṇa, the Angaviṣṇu, the Mahābhāṣya, the Mahāvastu and the Ācārāṅga Sūtra etc. make us to believe that this branch of study had got immense significance in this period.

Besides the students residing in the gurukulas and in the vihāras, we get references of day scholars and householders as students. The strength of the class were sometimes as big as of 500 students. Education was imparted through the oral lesion. The teacher used to pronounce stanzas which the student was asked to recite with exact intonation and accent. Much emphasis was laid on pronunciation and recitation. Those reading clearly were called sadhvadhyāyin, but others who were rather slow were known as vilambitadhyāyin.
The teaching room was known as *lipiśāla*. This indicates towards the prevalence of writing as an important part of study. A tablet (*lipiḥalak[a]*) made of *ugraśara candana*, pen (*tirkaṇa*) and ink (*māśī pinya*) were materials for writing. The *Mahāvastu* talks of many kinds of scripts such as the Brāhmī, the Puskarasāri, the Kharoṣṭhī, the Greek, the Brahmavāṇī, the Puspā, the Kutā, the Śaktinā, the Vyatyastā, the Lekhā, the Mudrā, the style of Uttarakuru, of Magadha, of the Dardas (Dardistan in Kashmir), of the Chinese, of the Huṇas, of the Abhiras, of the Vaṅgas, the Sīpahata style, the Dravidian, the Dardura (a mountain in south India), the Rāmāṭha (people in the west), the Bhayā, the Vaicchetukā, the Gulmalā, the Hastāda, the Kasūlā, the Ketukā, the Kusuvā, the Talikā, the Jajarideṣu and the Akṣarabaddha etc. The *Lalitavistara*, however, refers to sixty four kinds of scripts. Birch bark was the stuff used for writing as is suggested by the *Mahāvastu*. The *Milinda Pañha* refers to the writing-master and his skills in writing. There is also a reference to the writing of a letter in the text.

The relations between the teacher and the students were direct rather than institutional. The student usually lived either under the roof of the teacher or under his direct supervision. The student naturally lived as a number of the household work if necessary. The relation between the two were cordial and intimate. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions that a teacher should teach even the secret knowledge to whom who is known to him or to one dwelling with him as a pupil for a year. The *Praśna Upaniṣad* says that the teacher should not conceal anything from his pupil. Yājñavalkya prescribes certain qualities in a student who should be taught according to *Dharma* such as he should be grateful, non-hating, intelligent, kindred and should either impart knowledge or make a present of money.

In the same way the twenty five virtues of a teacher are referred to in the *Milinda Pañha* such as he should keep guard over his pupil, let him know what to cultivate and what to avoid, where to be earnest and what to neglect, proper
instructions for sleeping and to keep himself healthy, food, company, to boost his morale, make him not to fear, not to be zealous, he should not keep anything secret, teach impartially, not to keep anything back, not to indulge in foolish talks with him, pardon him when noticing any defect, bring his student forward and make him strong etc. The teacher was to love his students, not to desert him in necessity and befriend him so far as he could rightly do.385

Thus the mutual relations between the teacher and the students were based on confidence, sincerity, obedience and affection.

Regarding the education of the females, we get ample evidences of their education during the Vedic Age. They had the privilege to get educated in Vedic literature and perform sacrifices etc. We get references to many educated ladies of the period. Visvavārā, Sikatā, Nivāvari, Ghoṣā, Romaśā, Lopāmuṇḍā, Apālā, Urvaśī, Ātreyī, Sulabhā, Vadavā, Prathiteyī, Maitreyī, and Gārgī were some female scholars who have made contribution to the advancement of knowledge. *Atharvaveda* refers to the initiation ceremony for girls.386 The *Anguttara Nikāya* refers to the ladies whom Buddha regarded as his chief disciples. Among them there were several who entered the order and were known as therīs. Buddha has mentioned thirteen such therīs who were known for their merit. Dhammadinna, Anupamā, Subhā, Sumedhā, Khemā, Cāpā, Kisā Gotamī, Sundarī, Sujātā etc. are the ladies who find mention in Buddhist literature who left their house for the sake of knowledge.387

In the later period Manu has prohibited the sacramental rite for women.388 He was followed by Yājñavalkya who also advocated the prohibition.389 This may be due to the lowering of the age of the marriage of a girl to 12 from 16 or 17 in earlier period.390 Now they were not educated in the Vedic literature but were provided education in domestic and culinary arts such as dancing, music, painting, garland making etc. Vātsyāyana suggests that the girls should be trained in all sixty four arts.391 The *Mahāvastu*, however, refers to some educated ladies. Amarā, an artisan’s daughter is referred to as having clever wit and literary talent.392 A banker’s daughter is also referred to as educated in religious subjects by an ascetic.393
The epigraphic records in Brāhmī as well as in Kharoṣṭhī, belonging to the Kusāṇa period contain the references to the education during that period. An inscription in Brāhmī, from Kosam, near Allahabad, belonging to year 2 records the installation of the image of a Bodhisattva by the nun Buddhamitra who was well versed in the Tripitaka.394 Two inscriptions from Sārnāth, belonging to year 3, records the gift of the image of Bodhisattva and an umbrella with a post erected at Bārāṇasi (Vārāṇasi) by a bhiksu named Bala, a master of the Tripitaka.395 Two other inscriptions, belonging to the time of Kaniṣka-1, referring to the setting up of the image of a Bodhisattva with umbrella and post (or staff) by the monk Bala, well versed in the Tripitakas, mention the teachers (ācārya) of the school of the Sarvāstivādins.396 The date of the inscriptions is entirely obliterated. Some epigraphic records belonging to the period of king Vāsudeva of the year 64 or 67 and 74, refer to the teachers (ācāryas) of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas and an inscription of the year 31, belonging to the period of Huviṣka refers to upādhyāya and āchāryas.397 The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions belonging to year 11 of Kaniṣka-1, year 20 of Vājheṣka and of the year 51 of Huviṣka also refer to teachers (acharyas).398 The Junāgarh Rock Inscription speaks of the qualifications of Rudradaman. It says that he was proficient in grammar, politics, music, logic and military skills which reflected in the successful conduct of war with horses and elephants etc.399

Kaniṣka-1 was a great patron of learning. Not only the Buddhist scholars Aśvaghosa, Pārśva and Vasumitra enjoyed his favour or patronage but another learned man named Saṅgharākṣa is known to have been his chaplain. Nāgārjuna, the great exponent of the Mahāyāna doctrine, as well as the celebrated physician Caraka probably flourished at Kaniṣka’s court. Māṭhara, a politician of great intelligence, was a minister of Kaniṣka-1. Kaniṣka-1 is said to have convened the Buddhist Cooucnil in Kashmir where a large number of scholars gathered which once again indicates the state of education during the Kusāṇa period and the patronage provided by the Kuṣāṇas to education and learning.

There were certain centres of learning where the students from various places used to come for learning. Taxila or Takṣaśilā was the most famous centre
of learning. Scholars from distant and different parts of the country used to come to Takshashila for study. In the Jātaka stories, we find references to the students coming from Benares, Rājagṛha, Mithilā, Ujjēnī, Kośala, central region, Śivi, and Kuru etc. to Takṣaśilā for education. Next to Takṣaśilā was Benares as a seat of learning. It is said that it was established by the ex- students of Takṣaśilā. In the course of time it also became very famous as has been mentioned in Kosiya and Tittiri Jātakas.

**Sanitation, medical and health facilities**

History of medicine and health in India is so old that it is very difficult to trace its beginning. Caraka, in this context, rightly states that life always existed, and so people knew about life and medicines and acted according to the principles of the Āyurveda. As there is continuity of life so there is continuity of medical science; there is no beginning to the Āyurveda, the Indian medical tradition. There is beginning only to its systematization.

Suṣruta also makes it clear that the Āyurvedic material in the beginning was of a floating nature, a mere tradition that was not systematized. This takes the history of medicine even before the creation of mankind. Thus the abundant material bearing on disease and medicine in the Vedic Sanhītas must not be taken as a surprise thing but as a continuation of the unbroken tradition of the science of Indian medicine.

The Āyurveda is connected with the Vedas. Sometimes it is regarded as an upaveda of the Rigveda and sometimes upānga of the Atharvaveda. Āranyaka calls it the upaveda of the Rigveda but Vāgbhaṭṭa refers to it as the upaveda of the Atharvanas. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, while mentioning the upaveda, does not count Āyurveda among them. The Brahmandaivarta Purāṇa calls it as the fifth Veda.

Caraka associates it with Atharvaveda. He, in this connection says that a physician should be particularly attached to the Atharvaveda as it deals with the treatment of diseases (cikīṣā) by advising propitiatory rites (svastya-yana) offerings (bali), auspicious oblations (maṅgala homa), penances (niyama),
purificatory rites (prāyascitta), fasting (upavāsa) and incantations. He further states that the Ayurveda was revealed by Brahma to Dakṣa Prajāpati, who handed it over to Aśvins and they passed it to Indra from whom the worldly sages such as Atri, Bhardvāja etc. brought it down to earth.

Suśruta too refers to it as the upōnga of the Atharvaveda. He states that the knowledge of Ayurveda was handed down from Indra to Dhanavantri. The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, however, opines that instead of Indra, Bhāskara (sun) learnt Ayurveda from Dakṣa Prajāpati and taught it to sixteen disciples including Dhanavantri.

Along with Aśvins, Indra and sun, Rudra, Agni, Varuṇa and Maruts are also described as custodians of health of man in the Vedic literature.

The Epic and the Paurāṇika literature also contain references to the science of medicine. In the age of the Rāmāyaṇa, there is emergence of Dhanavantri as personified Ayurveda and the Vedic Aśvins represented the fragmentation of the Ayurveda in specialties themselves symbolizing the two chief specialists of medicine and surgery whereas Dhanavantari assimilated all the knowledge in one. Suśena is referred to as a physician-surgeon in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Mahābhārata; Aśvins are more frequently referred to for their medical and surgical skills. Ātreya (kṛṣṇātreya), Divodāsa and Nagnajit are mentioned in the Mahābhārata. It may be noted in this context that Agniveśa and Bhela were two of six disciples of Ātreya. Suśruta was the disciple of Divodasa and Nagnajit was the king of Gandhāra, who patronized Bhela.

Various Purāṇas such as Padma Purāṇa, Matsya Purāṇa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vāyu Purāṇa, Agni Purāṇa, Garaḍa Purāṇa etc. contain numerous references to the emergence of Dhanavantari, his contribution to the field of medicine, the origin of Aśvins, various diseases, their treatment and the medicinal plants.

The Jātaka tales also contain references to the medical science. It has been considered as one of the twenty one unlawful ways of earning a livelihood in the Satadhamma-Jātaka. In the Jātakas, physicians, surgeons and nurses
are mentioned with their respective skills. We find references to many specialists such as eye specialist, specialist in curing snake bite, specialist in curing various diseases such as dysentery, leprosy and jaundice etc. Various medicinal plants and even divine medicines curing all diseases are also mentioned. The physicians and the surgeons used to charge fees for their services.

Apart from the physicians of human being, there are references to the physicians for elephants and horses etc.

Pāṇini has mentioned Āyurveda as one of the branches of knowledge in the Uktiḥadi and Kathadiganas.

We find references to various diseases such as indigestion, epilepsy, piles, intestinal toxemia, epidemic disease, eczema, itching, ulcers, fever, leprosy, dysentery, gout, diabetes mellitus, cholera, asthma etc. in different Buddhist works. Surgery was also in developed stage. The Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Pitaka contains medico-surgical achievements of Akasagotta and Jivaka, the two eminent surgeons of the period.

Kauṭilya has used the term ‘cikitsaka’ for physician and surgeon. Physicians were treated as members of the privileged class and had the right to have land free from taxes with having no right to sale or mortgage the land. He mentions that to look after the pregnant queen with regard to gestation or antenatal care (garbha- bharmai) and delivery (prasave) is the duty of pediatrician (kaumarabhrtya). A toxicologist (expert physician capable of detecting the poison termed as jāngalivid) had always to attend upon the king. He has also mentioned veterinary surgeon who used to take care horses (asvānām cikitsakāh). Very much importance has been given to military medicine and military surgeons. The references to general wards (vyādhi- saṁsthā), maternity wards (garbha- saṁsthā) and emergency wards (pratyākhyāta- saṁsthā) suggest that there was probably the hospital system during the Mauryan period.
Asoka in his Second Rock Edict of Girnar talks about two kinds of medical treatment, i.e., medical treatment for men and animals which were caused to be established by Aṣoka.

Bhadrabahu has mentioned 40 medicinal plants in the Kalpasutra. Patañjali has referred to the three humours of the body; vāta (wind or air), pitta (the bilious humour secreted between the stomach and the bowels) and śleshma, caused by phlegum or mucus. He also mentions certain diseases such as itch (pāman), scrofula (gaḍa), an exerescence on the head (gaḍu śiras), and leprosy (dadru) etc. along with a few specific remedies. Manu pays respect to Dhanvantari as after Agni and Soma, he is offered cooked food meant for Vaiśvadeva in the sacred domestic fire. The social status of a physician does not appear quite satisfactory during the Smṛti period. Manu, for example states that brāhmaṇa, who are professional physicians or live by worshipping divine images, or are meat- seller, or carry on any kind of trade, should be avoided on the occasion of a śrāddha, offered to the manes, or to the deities. The physicians were liable to punishment if found guilty of making wrong medical treatment. They were to pay fine of the first or lowest amercement in case (sāhasa) of animals and of the middling amercement in case of the human beings.

The foreigners who visited India have also referred to the diseases and their cure. Megasthenese, for example, says that the Greek physicians were not able to cure the bite of the Indian snakes. The Indian physicians, according to him could cure it. They were also able to cure other diseases and body pains. Diodorus mentions Indian physicians who were appointed even to take care of the health of the foreigners. Strabo mentions some medicinal plants of India in his accounts. Arrian has given the references to the practice in the veterinary medicines.

The further development in the medieval science during the Kuśāṇa period is reflected in the literary works of the period. Kaniska- I was a great patron of learning. Many great scholars of the time such as Aśvaghoṣa, Pārśva, Vāsumitra, Nāgārjuna and most probably Caraka flourished during his time period and...
enjoyed his favour. The literary works such as the Milindapañho, the Buddhcarita, the Saundarananda, the Divyāvadāna, the Lalitavistara, the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka and the Aṅgavijaya etc. were composed during this period.

The Milindapañho contains valuable information regarding the field of medicine. Medicine was one of the nineteen subjects taught to a student at that time which king Milinda had learnt. Various internal and external organs and components of body such as hair, nails, the teeth, the skin, the flesh, the nerves, the bones, the marrow, the heart, the liver, the abdomen, the spleen, the lungs, the larger intestine, the stomach, the faeces, the bile, the phlegm, the pus, the blood, the sweat, the fat, the tears, the serum, the saliva, the muscus, the oil that lubricates the joints, the urine and the brain etc. have been mentioned.

The text refers to eight causes of the disease such as vāta (wind), pitta (bile), kapha (śleṣma, phlegum), samipāta (abdominal swelling caused by all three doṣas), variation in temperature due to various seasons, irregular diet, improper treatment and past deeds (karma) etc. It further states that a physician treats a sick man with five kinds of drugs made from medicinal roots (pañcamāla bhessajjāṇi) by grinding them up and giving to the sick man drink. By doing so the sickness passes away. A good physician, according to the text, is that who is a true follower of the sages of old age, who carries in his memory the traditions and verses, who is a practical man skilled in diagnosis and master of an efficacious and lasting system of treatment, who had collected from medicinal herbs a medicine able to cure every disease. There is a reference to a preparation of a mixture of ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses which is said to be useful in case of poisoning. The treatment of wound was done with anointing it with salve (paste, ălepa), application of oil (taitamraksana) and proper dressing (colapattaparivestana).

The text also talks about surgery. At one instance, it talks about treating a wound full of matter and blood and having inflammation. A surgeon, it says will anoint the wound with a rough, sharp, bitter, stinging ointment to the end that the inflammation should be allayed. After the inflammation had gone down and the wound had become sweet, he then cut into it with a lancet and burn it with caustic
and prescribe an alkaline wash and anoint it with some drug to the end that the
wound might heal up and the sick man recovers his health.460

In order to become a surgeon, the *Milinda* states that a fellow willing
to become surgeon first procure a teacher for himself, either by payment of a fee
or by the performance of a service and then thoroughly trains himself in holding
the lancet, in cutting, marking or piercing with it, in extracting darts, in cleansing
wounds, in causing them dry up, in the application of ointments, in the
administration of emetics and purges and city enemas etc. Thus by going through
training, serving his apprenticeship, he makes himself skillful.461

The *Buddhacarita* regards Ātreya, the wise son of Atri, as an expounding
authority on medicine (*cikitsita*).462 This Ātreya may be identified with Ātreya
Punarvasu, the son of Atri and the expounder of the *Agniśa Samhitā*, later known
as the *Caraka Samhitā*. The sickness in the *Buddhacarita* has been characterized
by a swollen belly with shaking frame as if one pants his arms and shoulders
hanging loose, having pale and thin body, uttering plaintively the word ‘mother’,
when embracing a stranger. This sickness, according to the text is being caused
by the inflammation of the three humors or the imbalance of the three dhātu
namely vāta, pitta and kapha (*ślesma*).463

The text further states that it is the duty of a physician (*vaidya*) to advise
appropriate medicine to the patient and to take it at the appropriate time is the
responsibility of the patient.464 The medicines, to remove the diseases, were to be
given to the patient considering his physical state.465 The patient should also
follow the instructions of the physician as he cannot get rid of the disease by
merely looking at the physician.466 It has also laid stress on the eating habits.
Buddha, according to the *Buddhacarita*, in this context states that food, like the
dose of medicine should be taken in such quantity as could relieve hunger and is
sufficient to nourish the body.467

The *Saundrananda* too talks about the disease and medicines. It says that a
physician compels a patient to take medicine though it is disagreeable to taste as it
is conducive to his good and is for his benefit.468 It is very rare that a medicine is
effective and tastes sweet. It gives various useful advices regarding the dietetics. According to the Saundrananda, food, taken in excessive quantities impedes the intake and outflow of the breath, induces lassitude and drowsiness and destroys enterprise and eating too little also is harmful as it leads to loss of capacity. Deficiency of food drains away the substance of the body with its brilliance, energy, activity and strength.

In the text the four Ārya- truths are equated with suffering as disease, the faults as the cause of the disease, the destruction of suffering as good health and lastly the faith as a medicine. The person who understands disease correctly as disease, its cause and its cure, he quickly regains sound health. The disease or the ailment is defined as two fold as it originates in the mind or in the body and so there are mentioned two kinds of physicians for it; those skilled in the methods of the sacred lore and those expert in medical treatment. If the ailment is of the body, it ought to be explained to the physician in a detail, holding nothing back, for the sick man who conceals his illness falls into a worse calamity. The diseases of mind are treated by the psychiatrist known as adhyātmavid. The snake bite was treated with mantra- therapy (chanting of hymns) and antidotes (agadas) both. We get the references to surgery in the Saundrananda when it mentions the jaws of forceps helping the surgeons (śalya) to pull out sharp splinter lodged in delicate portions of the body causing great pain. Secondly there is a reference to the healing of the wounds by the salve (ointment) prescribed by the surgeon.

The Saddharma-Pundarīka also talks of four types of diseases such as rheumatical (vāṭika), cholerical (paittika), phlegmatical (ślaśmika) and that caused by a complication of the corrupted humors (sānnipātika). To cure these diseases four types of herbs, found in the Himalayas were used. These are: first one called possessed- of- all- sorts- of colours- and- flavours (sarva-varnarasasthānānugata); second, delivering- from- all- diseases (sarva-vyādhipramocani); third, delivering- from- all- poisons (sarva- visanāsini); fourth, procuring- happiness- to those- standing- in the- right- place (yathāsthānasthitī- sukhaprada). The work further explains the modes of
administration of the drugs. It says that the drug, after propitiation, should be administered having been pounded by teeth (dantaiḥ kṣoditāṁ krtyā) or having been cooked with another substance (anya- dravya- saṁyojitam pācayitvā) or raw material (aṁa- dravyasanyojitam krtyā) or having been pierced or penetrated the part of body through rod or syringe (śalākyā śarīrasṭhānam viddhvā) or having burnt with fire (agnind parkldhyd) or mixed with each other (anyonyadravyammyuktam) and through drinks and food etc.

Like the Saddharma-Pundarika, the Lalitavistara too describes diseases classified as vāta, pitta, ślesma and sannipāta. Besides these we also notice many other diseases mentioned in it such as the diseases of eye (cakṣur- roga), ear (śrottra- roga), nose (ghrāṇa- roga), tongue (jihvā- roga), lips (ōṣṭha- roga), teeth (danta- roga), throat (kaṇṭha- roga), goiter (gala- ganda), boil (ganda- roga), leprosy (kuṣṭha- roga), leucoderma (kṣilāsa- roga), phthisis (sοṣa- roga), insomnia (ūmmāda- roga), epilepsy (apasmāra), fever (jvara), furuncles (pitaka), erysipelas (visarpa) and eczema (vicarukā) etc.

We find references to various drugs in the Divyavadāna such as powders of piper nigrum (marica), the powders of piper congrum (pippali) and zingibre officinale (śuṣṭhi) and juice of onion (plāndi) etc. These are referred to have been used to cure an advanced type of intestinal obstruction caused by round worm. There is also the reference to surgery. Various types of diseases such as disease of gastro-intestinal tract and eyes, fever, asthma and throat diseases, goiter, boil, pain in thoracic region, diarrhea, scabies, epidemic diseases, cough etc.

The Aṅgavijjā has mentioned various classes of doctors such as physicians (vejjia), healers of the body (kāyātegicchaga), surgeon (sallakatta), eye-surgeon (sālākṛi), wīch doctor (bhūtavijjika), physician for children (komārabhhichecha) and poison doctor (visatitthika) etc.

Apart from the Aṅgavijjā, various other Jain literary sources have mentioned many diseases such as boils (gaṇḍi), leprosy (kuṭṭha) of eighteen kinds, consumption (rāyamsī), epilepsy (avamāriya), blindness (kāṇiya), stiffness (jhiṣiya), lameness (kuniya), humpback (kuṭṭiya), dropsy (udari), dumbness
The causes of these diseases are mentioned too. These are: over-eating, eating unwholesome food, over-sleeping, over-walking, obstruction of excrement and urine, travelling, irregularity of food etc. Physicians are mentioned to treat these diseases according to the nature of the disease. Surgery also appears to be in a quite advanced stage as we find references to the surgeons carrying their bags of surgical instruments (satthakosa).  

India was a centre of attraction for other countries of the ancient world. It was due to the intellectual development and achievements of her people. The great progress in every sphere of learning made the scholars of distant countries to come here to get the desired knowledge. Medicine was one of the many branches of knowledge in which India was leading the world and Śuśruta was one such great and distinguished surgeon who contributed immensely in the sphere and brought fame and honour to the country. We know about the medical and surgical achievements of Śuśruta but not much is known about him. The Śuśruta-Saṁhitā mentions that Śuśruta was the son of sage Viśvāmitra. He is said to have learnt the science of medicine (Āyurveda) from Divodāsa, the king of Kāśi (Kāśīrāja). The Garuḍa Purāṇa also mentions him as the son of Viśvāmitra and the Agni Purāṇa mentions that he learnt human medicine (Narāyurveda) and medicine of horses (Asvāyurveda) from Divodāsa, the king of Kāśi. The Mahābhārata also mentions him as one of the sons of the sage Viśvāmitra, the teacher of Rāma and Laksmanā but does not refer to learning Āyurveda from Divodāsa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the same views regarding the counting of bones as are expressed by Śuśruta. Pāṇini, the great grammarian gives derivation of the term ‘Śauśruta’ and also mentions the kingdom of Kāśi and city of Vārāṇasi.

On the basis of the above data the lowest limit of Śuśruta’s period should be 5th or 6th century B. C.

Dalhaṇa, the celebrated commentator, who lived in the eleventh or the twelfth century C. E. and wrote a commentary on the Śuśruta Saṁhitā, says that
Nāgārjuna is a reviser of the Śuśruta Samhita. It is generally believed that the supplement Uttara-tantra was added to this samhita by Nāgārjuna. It is however difficult to say whether he is the same Nāgārjuna who expounded the Mahāyāna philosophy and was contemporary of Kaniska-1 or he is Siddha Nāgārjuna, the professor in the University of Nalanda during the fourth or the fifth century CE. Some scholars consider him the contemporary of Kaniska-1 and others with that Nāgārjuna who flourished in the fourth or fifth century CE. The date of Suśruta is still a debatable issue.

The Śuśruta Samhita, in its present form contains six sections (sthānas). The first section- sutrasthāna consists 46 chapters dealing with basic doctrines, description of seasonal regimen, surgical instruments, procedures of surgical and allied therapies, training methods, duties of army surgeons, evolution, classifications and prognostics of diseases, properties of food materials and drugs etc. The second section- nidānasthāna has 16 chapters dealing with aetiology, symptomatology, pathogenesis, prognosis etc. of some major diseases requiring surgical treatment. The third section- śarirasthāna has 10 chapters dealing with evolution of the universe, human embryology and anatomy with special emphasis on tissues and organs of surgical importance, physical and psychological constituents of man etc. The fourth section- cikitsasthāna with 40 chapters deals with the treatment of surgical diseases, prevention of diseases, rejuvenation (rasāyana), virilification (vāj ikarma) and other therapies like oelation (snēhana), sudation (svedana), emesis (vamana), purgation (virecana), enema (basti), inhalation (dhūma), nasal medication (nāśya), mouth gargles (kavak- gaṇḍāśa) etc. The fifth section- kalpasthāna with 8 chapters deals mainly with toxicology (agadatantra). It mentions food poisoning, vegetable poisons, bite of poisonous animals especially snake, rabbit, dog, fox, scorpion, spider, rat, insects etc. The sixth and the last section uttaratantra is the largest section with 66 chapters devoted to the other four branches of the Ayurveda, 26 for śalākya-tantra (ophthalmology and oto-rhino-laryngology), 12 for bālacikitsā and grahacikitsā (paediatrics), 24 for kāyācikitsā (general medicine) and 4 for miscellaneous subjects including (tantrayukti). Among the chapters of śalākya-tantra, 19 deal with netraroga (ophthalmology), 2 with karnaroga (otology), 3 with nāsāroga
(rhinology) and 2 deal with dantaraoga (dentista), galaroga (laryngology) and širaroga (diseases of the head) etc.471

Thus the Śuśruta Samhitā deals with all the eight branches of Āyurveda. The greater portion of this is devoted to surgery (śalyatantra). He was the first to clearly recognize the six stages of evolution of the diseases (vriyākala) and describes them in detail. Many commentaries such as those of Jejjota (8th-9th century CE), Mādhava (9th century CE), Gayadāsa (10th century CE), Brammadeva (10th century CE), Cakrapāṇidatta (11th century CE), Bhāskara (12th century CE) etc. have been written on Śuśruta Samhitā.492

Caraka is another great name in the history of Indian medicine. There too are many controversies regarding his name and age. It is not easy to answer that who was Caraka? A branch of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda was known as Caraka. Carakas were disciples of Vaiśampāyana who himself was known Caraka. Paninī has mentioned the same sect. Caraka might have belonged to this sect. Yet another school regarded him as a member of a nearest clan which propagated a rescension of the Atharvaveda called Cārana Vidya. Attempts also have been made to identify him with Patañjali who composed the Mahābhāṣya and the Yogasūtra.493 There are also some other scholars who associate Caraka with the Kuśāna king Kaniska-1. Sylvain Levi, on the basis of the translation of the Buddhist text the Samyukta-ratna-pitaka-sūtra has suggested that the famous physician Caraka attended Kaniska-1 along with his two eminent ministers, Devadharma and Māṭhara and Aśvaghoṣa, Kaniska’s spiritual counselor.494 Julius Jolly,495 S. N. Dasgupta,496 M. S. Valiathan,497 D. P. Chattopadhyaya,498 and J. Takakusu,499 etc. have also associated Caraka with king Kaniska.

The Bower Manuscript is also useful in this context. It was found in 1890 at Kuchār in Chinese Turkestan by Lt. H. Bower. This Manuscript was written on birch bark in Gupta script and is palaeographically assigned to the 4th century C. E. It was deciphered and transcribed by A. F. R. Hoernle. The Manuscript is a collection of seven Manuscripts. Part I, II, III, IV, V and VII are larger and part VI is a smaller Manuscript. Part I-III deals with medicines, parts IV and V with divination and part VI with charm against snake bite. Part II of this Manuscript is
called Nāvanītaka which according to Hoernle is much earlier than the writing of the Bower Manuscript is a large medical treatise. It contains various formulae from Ātreya Sanhitā, Bhela Sanhitā and Saśrūta Sanhitā along with numerous formulae from the cikitsāsthāna of Caraka’s compendium. Hoernle believes that Nāvanītaka was composed much earlier than that of the writings of the Bower Manuscript which means it is definitely before fourth century CE and is roughly put around second century CE. Hence Caraka should be before second century CE. 500

Patañjali has nowhere mentioned Caraka and Caraka Sanhitā. Āśvaghosa however has borrowed many things from Caraka.501 The Buddhacarita, in its early legendry history lauds Ātreya, the son of Atri, regarding him as an expounding authority on medicine (cikitsitā). This Ātrya is identical with Ātreya Punarvasu, the son of Atri and the original expounder of the Agniveśa- tantra later known as Caraka Sanhitā.502 The Milindapañho shows many things similar to those in the Caraka Sanhitā. The vedanas, for example, which find mention in the Caraka Sanhitā, have been described in great detail in the Milindapañho. The perception of rasa in contact with gustatory sense organ has been mentioned as the method suggested by Caraka.503 Thus Caraka may be put after Patañjali and before c. 200 CE.

As we have mentioned earlier that the Caraka Sanhitā is a revised edition of the already existing Agniveśa tantra. This may be supported from the fact that the Buddhacarita mentions Ātreya and Nāvanītaka, which has quoted the formulae from the Caraka Sanhitā mentions the name of Agniveśa and not of Caraka. Caraka is said to have revised the Agniveśa- tantra which was henceforth called the Caraka Sanhitā.504 Caraka did not complete the whole Caraka Sanhitā. Drdhbala, later in the 8th or 9th century CE, is said to have added to it 17 chapters of cikitsāsthāna along with entire kalpa and siddhistānas.505

Caraka Sanhitā, comprising twelve thousand verses, has been arranged in one hundred and twenty chapters which cover a wide field of therapy and medicine. It has been divided into eight sections (sthānas). The first section sūtrasthāna lays down the duties of a doctor, remedies and vital foods. There are
thirty chapters in it. Section two, *cikitsasthana* comprise special therapy in thirty chapters. Third section, *nidanasthana* describes eight chief diseases in eight chapters. Section four, *vimanasthana* consists pathological and medical studies in eight chapters. Fifth section, *sarirasthana* deals with anatomy and embryology in eight chapters. The next section, *indriyasthana* covers diagnosis and prognosis in twelve chapters. The seventh section *kalpashthana* and the last section *siddhisthana* are devoted to general therapy.506 The *Caraka Samhitā* may be called a science of medicine and medical therapies ranging from embryology to osteology. The *Caraka Samhitā* contains references to many diseases and their treatment such as fever (*jvara*),507 pitta, including bleeding disorders (*rakta- pitta*),508 gaseous and hemorrhagic lumps of the abdomen (*gulma*),509 polyuria (*prameha*),510 skin disorders including leprosy (*kushta*),511 phthisis (*soṣa*),512 insanity (*umāda*),513 epilepsy (*apasmāra*),514 chest injuries and their sequelae (*kṣata kṣīna*),515 swelling (*śvayathu*),516 abdominal diseases with distension (*udara*),517 piles (*arśa*),518 digestion and digestive disorders (*grahani*),519 disorders of pallor (*pāṇḍuroga*) (anemia),520 hiccup, shortage of breath (*hikka, śvāsa*),521 cough (*kṣaṇa*),522 diarrhea (*atīsāra*),523 vomiting (*cardi*),524 cellulites (*visarapa*),525 thirst (*trṣṇā*),526 poisoning (*viṣa*),527 alcohol disorders (*madātyaya*),528 sores and injuries (*vraṇa*),529 three regional disorders (*basti, hrdaya* and *śiras*),530 numb and immobile thighs (*urustambha*),531 disorders of perturbed *vāta* (*vātavyādhi*),532 disorders of perturbed *vāta* and blood (*vātaśoṇita*),533 and disorders of the reproductive system.534

The *Caraka Saṃhitā* mentions hospitals for treatment of diseases and maternity wards for safe delivery. Caraka says that the hospitals (*āturālaya*) should be of solid masonry having a large space with windows in which the fresh air enters from sides instead from the front. The rooms should be spacious and free from smoke, dust, rain and excessive heat and noise etc. The sun rays must enter the room. There should be a proper arrangement of necessary commodities and tools of daily use, a lavatory, bathroom and cooking place. The staff of the hospital included the doctors, the cook (*pācaka*), the bath attendant (*snāpaka*), message attendant (*samvāhaka*), ward boy (*utthāpaka*), roll attendant (*samveṣaka*), compounder (*auṣandhapesaka*) and male nurse (*paricāraka*).
artists who are expert in vocal and instrumental music, recitors of ballads and poetry, narrators of ancient lore and associates who can relate to the patient, time and place. The patient was to follow the instructions before undergoing the treatment and during the recovery period.\textsuperscript{535}

Caraka also refers to the maternity room. He says that a proper dwelling should be put up on land that celebrates the sweet smell, look and taste of good earth. It should be free from rocks, bones and broken earth ware. The structure should be made with wood of \textit{bilva}, \textit{tinduka}, \textit{bhallītaka} and other trees suggested by \textit{brāhmaṇa} learned in the \textit{Atharvaveda}. A good architect should design the house with spacious rooms, good quality plaster and roofs, door shutters, altars for fire, store for water, provision for wooden mortar, lavatory, bathroom and kitchen. It should be suitable for all seasons and should be provided with adequate supplies of drugs and wines, furniture and necessary equipments. The house should accommodate many multiparous women who are friendly and affectionate with unflappable temperament and good manners. Proper care and attention should be taken during the delivery and after the delivery.\textsuperscript{536}

Marshall, while excavating Taxila, has found some surgical instruments belonging to the Parthian and later periods. These are: decapitators, possibly used for obstetric operations; spatulas, used for a variety of surgical purposes, particularly for mixing and spreading of ointments etc.; scale-pans, possibly used for the weighing of medicines and the needles etc. All the instruments were made of copper.\textsuperscript{537} From Kumrahara; we have found a seal which belongs to a little bit late period, possibly the Gupta period. The seal is of terracotta and has legend ‘\textit{Śrī- Āryavahāre Bhikṣusanghasya}’ which means seal of the monastic community in sanatorium-monastery. The Buddhist monasteries are known to have maintained hospitals or sanatoriums, but this is the first seal to be discovered of a monastery-cum-sanatorium. Another seal bearing the legend ‘\textit{Bhiṣaka-Vihāratheraśa Bhikṣusaghaśa}’ has been discovered from Rājghāt which also indicate the hospital or sanatorium.\textsuperscript{538}
Thus the field of medicine and surgery, which had a long history in the ancient India, appears to have further developed during the period of the Kuśāṇas particularly during the reign of Kuśaṅka-1.

The impact of the Kuśāṇa rule can be witnessed in each and every sphere of the Indian society during their time. The traditional four caste system faced some problems when the Kuśāṇas entered India as they were the foreigners and it was very problematic to incorporate them into the fourfold division of the Indian society but later the Kuśāṇas adopted Indian culture and became a part of it. The economy of the northern India became very strong during their rule as is evident from their currency system. They were the first rulers to issue gold coins in a very large scale for the first time in India. The strong economic condition of the period is also reflected in various fields such as the literary works compiled during the age of the Kuśāṇas talk of various rich and prosperous towns and cities, industries, various professions and trade etc. Excavations conducted in different parts of the country have revealed constructional activities on a large scale throughout the northern India and other material which suggest strong economic condition of people. Kuśāṇas introduced new dresses in the Indian society which they brought from their native land. Education system was quite advanced as the literary works of the period throw a welcome light on the subjects taught in the educational institutions. Aśvaghoṣa, Pārśva, Vasumitra and Caraka are examples of advanced learning during the Kuśaṅa period. We may say that the society witnessed the impact of healthy and strong economy of India in each and every sphere during the period of the Kuśāṇas.
Notes and References

2. *Manusmṛti*, I, 87; II, 6
3. Yājñavalkyasūtra, I, 7
4. *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 172
5. Ibid, I, 88-91; *Mahābhārata*, III, 206.20; VI, 42.48
6. Āpastamba *Dharmasūtra*, II, 5, 10, 4; *Manusmṛti*, X, 83, 112; *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, X, 5
7. Mukherjee, S. (1976), p. 21
8. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, IV, 16-22; *Manusmṛti*, X, 8-19
13. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 207.43-45
14. Ibid, XVI, 7.47-49
15. Ibid, VIII, 40.20-44; 44. 6-44; 5.38
16. Vīṣṇu *Purāṇa*, VI, 1
17. Lüder, H (1973) no. 987, p. 102
18. Ibid, no. 1273, p. 151-152
19. Vāyu *Purāṇa*, 58.38
20. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, II, 31
21. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 144
23. *El*, vol. VIII, p. 60-61
24. Bhagvat Gītā, IX, 32
25. *Manusmṛti*, X, 43-44
26. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, IV, 21
27. Puri, B. N. (1968), p. 84
28. *El*, vol. VIII, p. 95
31. *EI*, vol. XX, p. 3- 4
34. Chattopadhyay, B. (1975), p. 186- 188
35. *EI*, vol. I, p. 382
37. *EI*, vol. XXI, p. 55- 61
38. *ASI-AR*, 1911- 12, p. 124- 125
39. Manusmṛti, IX, 3
40. *Ibid*, IX, 4- 20
   p. 149- 156; *ASIR*, vol. III, p. 29- 37.
42. *Angavijja* (1957), (edited), p. 102, Introduction by Motichandra, p. 43
43. *Manusmṛti*, X, 81- 100
44. Mukherjee, S. (1976), p. 48- 54
45. *IA* vol. VII, p. 256
46. *EI*, vol. I, p. 383
   8, 137, 141
53. *EI*, vol. I, p.397; Lüders, H., *ibid*, no. 85, 986, 1177, p. 18, 102, 135; *IA*, 1877,
   vol. VI, p.35
55. Lüders, H., *ibid*, no.154, p. 25
56. *Ibid*, no 280, p. 36; *EI*, vol. II, p. 375
   139- 140

480
62. *Ibid*.
63. *Ibid*, 1032, p. 108
68. *Ibid*, 1121, p. 122
69. *Ibid*, no. 1129, p. 129; *El*, vol. VIII, p. 76
74. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 65.13-32
75. *Manusmrīti*, X, 43-44
77. *Arthaśāstra*, II, XXXV, 4, 9, 10; IV, II
86. *El*, vol. XV, p. 129-145
88. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 87.10; *Arthaśāstra*, II, XXXVI, 1-2; *Manusmrīti*, VII, 121
92. *Arthasastra*, II, III, 1
93. *Manusmrti*, VII, 70-71
96. *The Jātakas* (1973), vol. VI, p. 197
97. *Arthasastra*, II, III, 2
103. *ASIAR*, vol. II, p. 121
118. *Ibid*, p. 124
119. *Ibid*, P. 199
120. *Ibid*, p. 232
121. *Ibid*, vol. VI, p. 119
122. *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 96
126. Ibid, p. 100
127. Ibid, p. 61
128. Arthaśāstra, III, VIII, 2-6, 9
129. Ibid, III, VIII, 13-18
130. Ibid, II, IV
132. Ibid, vol. XXXV, p. 2
135. Saundarananda, I, 42-42
137. Arigavijjā (1957), p.82
   184-185, 214-215; ASI-AR, 1912-13, p. 23-25
141. Ibid, p. 430-438
142. Ibid, p. 540-543
143. Ibid, p. 588-597
144. IAR, 1970-1971, p. 16
146. IAR, 1983-1984, p. 69
149. IAR, 1988-1989, p. 24
150. IAR, 1986-1987, p. 35
151. IAR, 1997-1998, P. 32
152. Ibid, p. 44, 54

483
156. *Ibid*, p. 118, 122, 135
160. *A I*, no. 10, 11, p. 17, 63-70
161. *A I*, no. 1, p. 39, 46
166. Murthy, K. K. (1977), p. 8
170. Vogel, J. Ph. (1971), pl. 20
172. Joshi, N. P. *ibid*
176. *Ibid*, p. 315
177. *Ibid*, p. 345
178. IAR, 1984-1985, p. 66
181. IAR, 1953-1954, p. 16; 1955-1956, p. 20
184. IAR, 1999-2000, p. 171
189. Ingholt, H. (1957), p. 84
191. Arthaśāstra, II, XXII, 7, 11-12
193. Milindapañho (1963), vol. XXXV, p. 161, 249
195. Saundarananda, I, 12, 15; XIII, 15
198. Manusmṛti, VIII, 326-329, 331, 341
199. Nāradasyāsmṛti, I, 61, 62; IV, 7; XIV, 15; Jolly, J. J. (1977), pt. I, p. 226 (23, 24); 229 (43, 44); 251 (VI, 19); 263 (VII, 4).
200. Brāhmaṇasyaśāstra, X, 4, 10, 26, 31; XI, 14-16, 51, 53
202. Ibid, p. 169-172
204. Arthaśāstra, II, XXIII, 1, 2, 6,
207. *Sāndhraṇanda*, IV, 26, 38; V, 7, 53; VIII, 48, 59
209. *Ibid*
211. Puri, B. N. (1968), p. 95
214. Ingholt, H. (1957), pl. 13, 15
217. Ingholt, (1957), pl. 359, 360, 362, 412-413
218. *Ibid*, pl. 3, 151
219. *Ibid*, pl. 2, 39 a; Marshall, J. (1960), pl. 41, fig. 64
220. Ingholt, H. (1957), pl. 51
221. *Ibid*, pl. 365
222. *Ibid*, pl. 53
224. Ingholt, H., *ibid*, pl. 429
227. *Ibid*, p. 40-41, fig. 72 a, b, 73-76
228. *Ibid*, p. 41, fig. 78, 79 a, b, 80
231. Whitehead, R. B. (1971), pl. XIII, no. 332
236. J. M. Rosenfield, J. M. (1967), pl. 2
241. Vogel, J. Ph (1971), p. 84
242. Ghurye, C. B. (1951), fig. 85, 89, 93
244. Barua, B. M., ibid, fig. 16, 71; Marshall, J. and Foucher, A., ibid, pl. 15, 24, 36, 43, 91 / 88 b, 97
245. Barua, B. M., ibid, fig. 23, 32, 72, 74, 78; Marshall, J and Foucher, A., ibid, pl. 11
249. Ibid, p. 12; Aṣṭādhyaś, IV, 1.42
251. The Jātakas (1973), vol. I, p. 31; vol. IV, p. 228; vol. V, p. 97, 105; vol. VI, p. 49, 75
252. Puri, B. N. (1965), p. 95
253. Milindapañho (1963), vol. XXXV, p. 19
256. Marshall, J. (1960), pl. 60, fig. 87, pl. 51, fig. 75, pl. 69, fig. 98
257. Ibid, pl. 38, fig. 61, pl. 44, fig. 68; Murthy, K. K. (1977), p. 49
258. Ibid
259. Marshall, J. (1960), pl.66, fig. 95
260. Ibid, pl. 42, fig. 66, pl. 73, fig. 106; Murthy, K. K. (1977), p. 51
261. Marshall, J. ibid, pl. 44, fig. 68, pl. 45, fig. 69, pl. 46, fig. 70, pl. 48, fig. 72
263. Ingholt, H. (1957), pl. 353
265. Marshall, J. (1960), pl. 41, fig. 64, pl. 65, fig. 94
268. Smith, V. A. (1901), pl. VI, XCIX
269. Agrawala, V. S. (1965), fig. VIII, p. 19
270. Smith, V. A. (1901), pl. LXXXVII
271. Agrawala, V. S. (1965), fig. VII, p. 19
272. Smith, V. A. (1901), pl. VI, VII, VIII, XIV, XVIII, XX, XXVIII, LXI, LXIII
273. Murthy, K. K. (1982), fig. XIX, 7; fig. XXI, 18, 21-24
274. Agrawala, V. S. (1965), fig. IX, p. 21, 22; fig. XI, p. 22, 23
275. Barua, B. M. (1979), vol. III, fig. 10 a, 16, 21-24, 34, 47, 104, 113, 125
276. Murthy, K. K. (1982), fig. IV, 1-4, 10-12, 14, 15, 17, 20; fig. V, 5, 13, 16, 21-23
278. Murthy, K. K. (1977), p. 56, 60
279. Motichandra, (1973), p. 39, fig. 56-60
280. Ibid, p. 41-42, fig. 76, 81
281. Ibid, p. 39, fig. 57
282. Barua, B. M. (1979), vol. III, fig. 71
284. Barua, B. M. (1979), vol. III, fig. 23, 34, 74
287. Chattopadhyay, D. P. (1970), pl. 1
289. Rosenfield, J. M., ibid, p. 67-69, fig. 6
291. Ingholt, H. (1957), pl. 14, 15, 41
292. Motichandra, (1973), p. 204
293. Ibid
295. \textit{Saundrananda}, I, 7
296. \textit{Ibid}, IV, 13, 14, 16, 38
297. \textit{Ibid}, IV, 26
304. \textit{Ibid}, p. 156, J. 64
305. Agrawala, V. S. (1965), p. 228
307. \textit{Arthasastra}, II, XII, 27
308. \textit{Ibid}, II, XIII, 1
309. \textit{Milindapañho} (1963), vol. XXXV, p. 177; vol. XXXVI, p. 56-59, 90-91, 101-102, 210, 224, 244
311. \textit{Saundarananda}, IV, 19; VI, 25-28, 32
312. \textit{Buddhacarita}, II, 4, 21; III, 18; IV, 101, V, 50-60, VIII, 22
313. \textit{Aṅgsvijñā} (1957), p. 48, 162-163
319. \textit{Nāradasmṛti}, I, 274; XII, 66, 68; \textit{Brhaspatismṛti}, I, 19; XII, 15; XIV, 28; XXIII, 6

489
323. *AI*, no. 10-11, p. 90-95
324. *IAR*, 1963-1964, p. 44
325. *IAR*, 1954-1955, p. 16
331. *Ibid.*, p. 31-35, fig. VI, 8-12; VII, 13-22
343. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, I, 5-11
345. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, I, 12-14
348. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, I, 27
350. Majumdar, R. C., *ibid*, p. 590-591
351. *Manusmṛti*, II, 10; III, 232

490
352. Ibid, VII, 43
353. Arthaśāstra, I, 2, 1; I, 2, 10; I, 3, 2
355. Ibid, p. 6
357. Ibid, vol. XXXV, p. 248
358. Manusmṛti, IX, 329-332
361. Ibid, p. 127
363. Nāradasmṛti, V, 16-21
364. Saundrananda, XVIII, 7
366. Angavijjā (1957), p. 48
375. Ibid.
379. Milindapañho (1963), vol. XXXVI, p. 247
382. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I, I, 26-27
383. Praśna Upaniṣad, VI, 1

491
384. *Yajnavalkyasmrî*, I, 28
385. *Milindaipâñho* (1963), vol. XXXV, p. 142-143
388. *Matsyasmrî*, IX, 18
389. *Yajñavalkyasmrî*, I, 13
393. Puri, B. N. (1968), p. 133
395. *El*, vol. VIII, p. 176
399. *El*, vol. VIII, p. 48
401. *Caraka Samhitâ*, I, 30. 27
402. *Suśruta Samhitâ*, I, 1. 6
404. *Gopatha Brâhmaña*, I, 10
405. *Brahmandaivarta Purâna*, I, 16. 9-10
406. *Caraka Samhitâ*, I, 30. 20-21
408. *Suśruta Samhitâ*, I, 1. 5
410. *Ibid*
412. *Ibid*, p. 90
413. *Padma Purâña*, I, 4. 56-57; 7. 75; 8. 28; 28. 23-31; II, 66. 119
414. *Matsya Purâña*, 251. 1
415. *Visnu Purāṇa*, I, 6. 21- 26; 9. 98- 99; III, 2. 2- 7; 6. 29
416. *Bhagavata Purāṇa*, I. 3. 17; II. 7. 21
417. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, II, 22. 78; 30. 9- 26
418. *Agni Purāṇa*, 3. 11; 106. 12
419. *Garuda Purāṇa*, I, 215. 15- 21
424. *Ibid*, vol. VI, p. 42
433. *Aṣṭhādhyaṇī*, IV, II, 60
434. *Mahāvagga*, I, 31. 89; 42.100; 62. 119; 68. 126; IV, 2. 9; VI, 2. 5; 2.8; 2.9;
   5, 15; 7, 19; VIII, 22. 40; *Cullavagga*, X, X, 22; *Pācittiya*, V, 2. 15; 31.
   224;
   *Visuddhimagga*, I, 117. 120; XI, 21; *Aṅguttara- Nikāya*, X, 6. 60;
   *Majjhima-
   Nikāya*, I, 429; II, 216;
435. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 2. 5; 3. 3; 4. 7; 6. 9; 7. 11
436. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 36, 10
437. *Ibid*, II, I, 7
439. *Ibid*, I, XXI, 9- 10
440. *Ibid*, II, XXX, 43
441. Ibid, X, III, 47
442. Ibid, I, XX, 10
443. Hultzsch, E. (1925), p. 2- 4
444. Kalpasūtra, I, 42
446. Manusmṛti, III, 85
447. Ibid, III, 152
448. Ibid, IX, 284; Yājñavalkyasmrī, II, 245
450. Ibid, p. 238
451. Ibid, p. 96
452. Ibid, p. 228
453. Milindapañño (1963), vol. XXXV, p. 6
454. Ibid, p. 42
455. Ibid, p. 191- 192
456. Ibid, p. 68- 69
457. Ibid, vol. XXXVI, p. 67
458. Ibid, vol. XXXV, P. 94- 95
459. Ibid, P. 115
460. Ibid, P. 168
462. Buddhacarita, I, 48
463. Ibid, III, 41- 42
464. Ibid, XXVI, 73
465. Ibid, XXIII, 55
466. Ibid, XXV, 78
467. Ibid, XXVI, 39
468. Saundarananda, V, 48
469. Ibid, XI, 16
470. Ibid, XIV, 2- 10, 14- 15, 19
471. Ibid, XVI, 41
472. Ibid, XVI, 40

494
473. Ibid, VIII, 3–5
474. Ibid, X, 55
475. Ibid, XVIII, 7
476. Ibid, XIV, 11
480. Ibid, p. 342-344
483. Cikitsāsthāna, II, 2
484. Sūtrasthāna, I, 3
485. Garuḍa Purāṇa, 139, 8-11; Agni Purāṇa, chs. 279-292
486. Mahābhārata, XIII, 4, 54-55
488. Aṣṭādhya, IV, II, 97, 116; VI, II, 37
492. Sharma, P. V. (1993), p. 201
493. Ibid, p. 180-181
494. IA, 1903, vol. XXXII, p. 382
495. Joly, J. (1951), p. 16
502. Buddhacarita, I, 48


506. Sengupta, N. N. and Sengupta, B. C. (1933), 3 volumes.

507. *Nidānāsthāna*, I, 3-12; 17-29; 32-33; *Cīkītsāsthāna*, III, 32-46; 50-128; 134-176; 179-206; 210-267; 286-344

508. *Nidānāsthāna*, II, 4-7; *Cīkītsāsthāna*, IV, 11-22, 25-30, 36-51, 54-109

509. *Nidānāsthāna*, III, 5-14; *Cīkītsāsthāna*, V, 8-17, 20-35, 42-45, 48-56, 60-182

510. *Nidānāsthāna*, IV, 4-49; *Cīkītsāsthāna*, VI, 15-54, 57-58


512. *Nidānāsthāna*, VI, 4, 6-14; *Cīkītsāsthāna*, VIII, 38-189

513. *Nidānāsthāna*, VII, 4-6, 8, 10-14, 19-23; *Cīkītsāsthāna*, IX, 16-21, 24-97

514. *Nidānāsthāna*, VIII, 4-5, 7, 16-30, 33-39; *Cīkītsāsthāna*, X, 14-63

515. *Cīkītsāsthāna*, XI, 4-77, 93-94

516. *Ibid*, XII, 16-100; *Sūtrasṭhāna*, XVIII, 4-6, 19-36, 44, 48-53

517. *Cīkītsāsthāna*, XIII, 9-11, 20-140, 146-194

518. *Ibid*, XIV, 5-20, 26-61, 76-95, 113-242

519. *Ibid*, XV, 3-193, 201-210, 217-234

520. *Ibid*, XVI, 4-137

521. *Ibid*, XVII, 7-150

522. *Ibid*, XVIII, 5-30, 35-190

523. *Ibid*, XIX, 4-120

524. *Ibid*, XX, 7-44

525. *Ibid*, XXI, 3-136
526. *Ibid*, XXII, 4- 22, 25- 62
527. *Ibid*, XXIII, 6- 249
529. *Ibid*, XXV, 5- 16, 20- 119
530. *Ibid*, XXVI, 5- 95, 100- 110, 112- 116, 120- 125, 151- 186, 199- 287
533. *Ibid*, XXIX, 3- 18, 35- 41, 49- 155
534. *Ibid*, XXX, 3- 125, 133- 190, 196- 287, 294- 333
535. Sūrasṭhāna, XV, 5- 7, 9- 14
536. *Ibid*, VIII, 33- 50