I. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

1. Affluence and Indigence existing side by side.

It is known to us that Kujula Kadphises, founder of the Kusana empire issued only copper coins, while his successors issued gold coinage in abundance. This points to the general prosperity during this period.

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1. See Supra p. 46 ff.
In an excavation carried out at Taxila, gold ornaments such as ear-rings, finger-rings, chains, necklaces, beads etc. were discovered. A necklace of cornelian, garnet, calcadony, crystal, malachite, lapis lazuli and pearl beads have also been recovered from that city. The Kusānas seemed to be very fond of artistic jewellery. The imperial cap of king Kaniska was studded with precious stones.

The images of both men and women bearing Kusāna inscriptions are portrayed wearing ornaments. On the inscription of the year 10 a man wearing a necklace has been portrayed. Namane Dheli inscription of year 89 has depicted persons wearing similar ornaments. From the ruins of Sirsukh a handle of an iron mirror has been found. Various kinds of scents, in use, were obtained from aromatic plants.

1. GT pp. 79-81
2. ibid
3. SR chap 6 vide IA for 1903 p. 385
5. JRAS for 1931 p. 31
6. GT p. 98
7. EI p. 204
Contemporary literature describes the use by women of face paint by means of sticks of paint, mirrors, costly couches, many coloured rugs, beryls and diamonds, ear-rings, anklets and necklaces of pearls. Their use in the Kusāna period is confirmed by the portrayal of toilet scenes on the ivory-boxes discovered at Begram and the discovery of some of these articles in the debris of Taxila.

Side by side with affluence there was visible poverty also in an appreciable degree. Mathura inscription of the year 18 mentions perpetual endowments with the interest accruing from which Brahmins were to be fed and

1. Saundarananda IV, 16 p.21 ; 20 p.22
2. ibid IV, 20 p.22
3. ibid VI, 31 p.23
4. ibid
5. ibid
6. ibid IV, 19 p.22
7. ibid IV, 17 p.21
8. ibid IV, 19 p.22
9. PI last plate (No. Y)
10. GT pp 78-81, 98
11. FI Vol XXI pp.55-61
powdered fried corn, salt and vegetables were to be distributed among the indigent in Mathura. It is clear that in big cities like Mathura, there were people who led miserable lives. The rich performed these charitable acts in order to earn merit and divine blessings.

2. **Occupations**

In *Milindapanho* it is mentioned that agriculture was one of the occupations of that time. It further mentions that irrigation canals were constructed for this purpose. Cereals, sugar-cane, oil-seeds, cotton and medicinal and aromatic plants were grown by the farmers. Besides fruit trees were also grown in abundance. The people residing near the Indus had to suffer on account of floods and frequent changes in the course of the river. Besides people were engaged in other occupations. Some of these are described

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1. p.345-6
2. *ibid* p.416
3. *ibid* p.204
4. *AICL* p.122
5. *ibid* p.204
6. Strabo Geography BK XV, vide *AICL* pp. 25-26
7. *AICL* p.123
8. *ibid* pp 119-20
9. *AICL* p.23
Architects (Navakarmika)

The Shah Ji Ki Dheri inscription of the year 1 of Kaniska mentions a religious gift made by Agisala, an architect. The hidda inscription of the year 2 also records a deposit of relics by Sanghamitra, an architect. The Taillia copper plate inscription of the time of Patika records construction and establishment of a Sangharama under the supervision of Rohimitra, an architect.

The three above records mention different types of architects. Agisala, mentioned in the Shah Ji Ki Dheri inscription of the year 1, styles himself as a dasa which is hardly possible in case of a state officer. Therefore, we may put Agisala in the class of architects, who constructed viharas and temples etc. The head of this class personally directed and supervised the construction work. Therefore,

1. C 11 Vol II Pt I pp 135-37
2. ibid p.158
3. ibid pp. 22
4. ibid pp 135-37
5. SKT-Grey Dictionary p. 530
he may be called an architect who combined in himself the
functions of an overseer also. From the accounts in the
texts of Gautama, Vasistha, Narada Purana, and Vishnu Purana,
that the architects belonged to Sudra Class of Hindu,
we come to know society. Therefore, it is natural that we
find an architect styling himself as a dāsa. Manikāla
inscription of the year 18 records a name Purita as repairing
architect (Vihāra-Kamakhacena) which is, perhaps, different
from architects. Purita may have been doing repairing and
patch work.

11) Iron-smiths (Lokakara or Lohavamakara):

Māthūra base image inscription of the year 14 and
Māthūra Join Image inscription of the year 5a mention

1. CI Vol VI p.421-22
2. XVII, 17
3. III. 3; XIV, 2,3
4. I , 178
5. XXXVII , 22
6. CI Vol VI p.422
8. CI Vol VI p.422
9. VI Vol I pp. 391-92
10. VI Vol II pp. 203-04
Lobarakāra or worker in iron i.e. an iron smith. First of these records a dedication of a statue of the goddess Saraswati by a smith Gova by name. The other records a dedication made by Gottika, an iron smith.

In the Jātakas we find a list of professions. The profession of Ironsmiths has been considered equal to that of Carpenters, Masons and Painters.

iii) Lapidaries (Manikāra):

Mathura Jain pedestal inscription of the year 20 records the gift of Vittā, wife of Haggudeva (Phalgudeva) and daughter of Jayabutti, the Manikāra of Abottānātta, contemporary Greek records refers to the liking of Indian gems and diamonds in the west. This points towards the good business of Manikāras in those days.

1. EI Vol I pp. 391-92
2. EI Vol II pp. 203-04
3. Jātakas IV, 427
4. EI Vol I p.383
5. Pliny FL 37
iv) **Caravan Leaders (Sārthavāhāma):**

Mathura inscription of the year 22 records the gift of an image by Dhammasoma, the wife of a Caravan-leader. It is not known whether a sārthavāhāma was selected by the group of traders or the position was hereditary.

2. The Jātakas have mentioned about an organisation of a Caravan under the leadership of a Jethaka.

The leader of the Caravan was expected to be well acquainted with the routes and capable of dealing with the perils of the journey. There were times when the highways were infested with robbers in addition to wild beasts.

v) **Perfumers (Gandhika):**

The inscriptions of the Kusāna period mention donors belonging to the fraternity of perfumers. Such were Jitāmitra of Mathura Jain image inscription of the year 32; Kumārabhāti of Mathura Jain image inscription of the year 35 and Jināsāsi of Mathura Jain image inscription of the year 83.

1. El Vol I p. 395
2. Jātakas Vol I, 368; Vol II, 295
3. El Vol I p. 203
4. El Vol I pp 385-86
5. CMM p. 66 No. B.3
They supplied sandal wood, camphor oil and rose water etc.

vi) Goldsmiths (Hiranvakra): 

The rich people were very fond of jewellery. The goldsmith's was, therefore, lucrative trade. Nāthura jain image inscription of the year 93 records a dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Devā, daughter of a goldsmith.

vii) Barber (Kāpita):

Hair-dressing and massaging was the occupation of barbers. Some of these assume the high-sounding appellation of nājanāpitas i.e. royal barbers. Jātakas mention this profession. In the maddhavīkṣa, a Pāli treatise, barber is known as a kinasippa, i.e. a lowly trade.

There is only one record available. The finding place is not known.

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1. El Vol II p.205
2. Buddhist India p.94
3. M.II, 152
4. JUP 5 July 1937 p.3 ff No. III.
viii) Wheal grinders (Sammakavas):

In Mathura stone slab inscription of the year 28, the trade of wheat flour makers is mentioned. It was considered to be a noble profession. Persons engaged in this guild also served as bankers for religious and pious deposits.

ix) Dyers and Washermen (Rajaka):

Dyers and Washermen also find mention in inscriptions. Mathura Jain inscription of the year 25 records a gift of a washerwoman.

1. Trade and Commerce

1) Nature of trade:

It is stated in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea that India exported bdellium, costus, spikenard, lycium, nard, articles of luxury including silk, muslin, cotton, fabrics, precious stones, pearls and minerals etc.

1. EI Vol XXI pp 55-61
2. EI Vol I p.384
3. Periplus, 37 pp. 36-37
4. ibid, 39 pp. 37-38
To this Dr. Majumdar adds the following on the authority of certain other classical accounts: pepper, ginger, onyx, wheat, and rice.

The things imported in exchange, according to the Periplus, included coral, gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, vessels of glass, frankincense, sweet dover, fine linen, topaz storax, singing boys and beautiful maidens etc.

Hippalus after observation noted that etesian winds regularly blew across the Indian ocean. Therefore, the Greek merchants sailed to India in the month of July and reached Muziris in 40 days. After a stay of three months they returned to Greece.

Mostly the trade was in the hands of the Alexandrians and Palmyrans. But Indian traders, too, plied on this route. Dion Chrysostom described, "For I see not only Greeks, Italians etc. in the midst of you (Alexandrians) but also Baktrians and Skythians and Persians and some of the Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with you on all occasions."

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1. Classical Accounts of India p. 290
2. Periplus, 39 pp 37-38
3. ibid
4. ibid
5. Orat. XXXII p. 672; AICL p. 215
11) **Foreign Trade**

The trade between India and Rome grew from about 30 B.C. and reaching its peak dried up about A.D. 550. Pliny described India as a store house of precious stones and pearls etc., which were exported to Rome. Romans were very fond of luxurious articles in exchange of which, for want of any suitable commodity, they had to pay in Roman gold. According to the Periplus, Roman currency became so cheap in course of time that the exporting countries refused to accept it. Keeping in view this export of gold, in A.D. 3 the Emperor Teberius wrote a letter to the Roman Senate:

"If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin? And how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient times?--- How shall we reform the taste for dress? --- How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of feminine vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drains the empire of its wealth, and sends, in exchange for baubles, the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations and even to the enemies of Rome."

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1. Bombay Gazetteer I (1) p.49  
2. Pliny HK XXXVIII chap.6(21); Maerindle's Ancient India, p.130  
3. Periplus pp. 219-20  
4. ibid p.219; Tacitus, Annals iii, 53
Pliny condemned his countrymen for this addiction to luxuries for which Rome had to pay a very high cost. He says, "The subject is one well worthy of our notice, seeing that in no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 sesterces (§22,000,000) giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully 100 times their first cost."

In Wen-Han-Chou we find the following statement,
"They (the Romans) traffic by sea with An-hsi (Parthia) and Tien-Chu (India) the profit of which trade is ten-fold. They are honest in their transactions."

The gold imported from Rome was reminted by the Kusana rulers with their own legends. The Kusanas adopted the Roman standard weight for their coins. Oldenberg states, "For the second Kadphises, we have to take into account the approximation of his gold coinage to that of the Roman aurei first minted in any considerable numbers under Augustus."

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1. Periplus, p.219
2. Sesterces = 25 Sesterces
3. BMC chap 38 vide Periplus, p.276
4. Quispert I, p.20
5. BMC p.Lii; Luq for 1929, p.75.
iii) Transport and Communications

Communication facilities were also available on the trade routes. Sravasti was linked by road with Sopara and Takṣasila with Kālī.

The Avadānesaṭaka records that the traders used to go to the south from Madhyadeśa. Utkal and Kalinga were also trade centres. Internal line of communications covered Balkh and Khotan along with the whole of India. These were link routes for China and Rome for silk trade.

The Milinda-pañho speaks of sārathis who drove the chariots of traders. Numerous references occur in ancient literature of trading parties (sārthavāhas) sailing with goods to distant countries across high seas in their ships.

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1. Divyāvadāna p.42
2. Milinda pāñho iii p.442
3. LXXXVIII II. p.106
4. Milinda-pañho iii p.303
5. ibid p.361
6. EI Vol XXI p.55
7. p.36
8. Saundarananda IV.44
iv. Trade routes

a) Land routes:

Strabo described that merchandise was conveyed from Leuke Rome on the east side of the Red Sea to Petra, thence to Ruinooru (El-Arish) and thence to other nations. The greater part was brought down from Arabia and India to Myos Hormos thence it was conveyed on camels to Coptus of the Thebais situated on a canal of the Nile and thence to Alexandria. He saw one hundred and twenty ships sailing from Myos Hormos to India.

The main transit station between India and Rome was Ctesiphon on the Tigris. One route led to Bobotana.

1. It was a Greco-Roman port on the east coast of the Red Sea just south of Wajh, Saudi Arabia.
2. It was the capital of the Nabateans in had, Jordan.
3. It is situated on the north coast of Egypt.
4. It was a Greco-Roman port on the west side of the Gulf of Suez opposite Tor, Egypt.
5. It was at a distance of one mile from the right bank of the Nile in lat. 26° N.
6. Strabo-Geography, XVI, iv, 24 vide AICL p. 101
7. ibid
8. It is situated near Baghdad in Iraq.
Ieleompylos in the east and others to Antioch, Palmyra, Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Sidon and Petra.

Isidore of Charax has described a land route from Antioch to Alexandropolis. Supply stations on this route were maintained by the Parthians for providing facilities to the merchants. The route which started from Antioch further crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma and went to

1. Modern Damghan in Persia.
2. Modern Damghan in Persia.
3. Modern Antakya in South Turkey.
4. It is situated in Syria
5. ibid
6. A Mediterranean port in Egypt
7. Modern Saida, a port in Lebanon
8. ibid, VI, 28.144
9. P. IO pp 8-9
11. A Greek city on the right bank of the Euphrates opposite Direcik in Turkey.
Seleucid on Tigris. This distance between Zeugma and Seleucia was about 171 schoeni or 555.4 miles. From Seleucia to Ecbatana, where a treasury and a temple had been built and then passing through Rhage, the Caspian Gates and Phra reached Alexandropolis.

Ptolemy has mentioned a land route from Rome to India and China. After crossing the Euphrates at Hierapolis it went to Ecbatana and Caspian Gates and through Parthia to Hecatompylos, further to the capital of the Hyrkania and further to Antiokhara Margiana, and through Areia to

1. A Greek city immediately opposite Ctesiphon in Iraq.
2. One schoeni = 3.4 miles
3. Its site is now occupied by modern Tehran in Persia
5. Modern Farah in West Afghanistan
6. Modern Kandahar
7. Ptolemy BK I chap 12, 5-10 vide AIP p.261
8. It can be identified with Jerablus.
9. AICL p.261
10. It can be identified with Mary (Merv) in Turkmenistan in U.S.S.R.
11. Modern Herat in West Afghanistan
Bactra and thence to Stone Tower, a great centre for trade with China. The city of Stone Tower has been identified with Tashkent in U.S.S.R., because it has precisely the same meaning in the language of the Turkomans. According to Rawlinson the city of Stone Tower was the city of Tashkurghan. But from the description given by Ptolemy it is justified that Tashkent represents the city then known as Stone Tower.

From Stone Tower a route led to Kasia in Sinkiang province of China. From Kasia there were two routes to China. One led to the southern fringes of the Tarim basin. On the way were the stations of Yarkand (Socha), Khotan (Ho-tien), Niya and other small colonies, such as Endere, Donglik and Tun-Hwang. The second route went due north.

2. Now the capital of Uzbekistan (U.S.S.R.)
3. AIP p.12 note 9
4. In Sinkiang
5. AIP pp 298, 303-04
6. They are situated in Sinkiang in China
7. IAC pp 12-16
Enroute lay the cities of Uch-Turfan, Kucha, Karashahr (Yen Ki) and Turfan.

In course of time these trade centres developed into famous centres of religion and Buddhist culture. They are dotted with numerous remains of Buddhist temples and Sangharamas.

The southern and northern routes converged as A.D. and thence led to Yu-men and the metropolis of Sera. The journey from Stone Tower to Sera via northern route took about seven months.

From Baktra one route led north to Marakanda, Tashkent and China. The second led to East India passing through Ortopane Purusapura, Taxila, Modoura and Palimbothra.

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1. They are situated in Sinkiang in China.
2. ICC pp 12-16; RESE pp 69-70
3. AIP p.300
4. AIP p.15
5. Modern Samarkand, OGP XI, 9 vide AIP p.269
7. Modern Kabul
8. Modern Mathura
9. Modern Patna or Pataliputra, AIP p.167-69
There was a third route to Sind passing through Alexandria, 1
Rhambacia and Barbarricum. Rhambacia was an inland city at
a distance of seven days' journey from the sea coast.

From Mathura there was a land route to south Ozene 4
and another one to the port of Barygaza.

These routes passed through extensive desert lands,
where blowing sand-storms frequently covered them with sand
and completely wiped out all traces of the beaten tracks.
Consequently the trade caravans preferred to travel at night
guided by stars. Curtius describes the region in the words:-

"The nature of the Bactrian territory is varied, 7
and presents striking contrasts. In one place, it is well-
wooded, and bears vines which yield grapes of great size and
sweetness. The soil is rich and well watered _____ and

1. It was situated in Gedrosia (Modern Baluchistan in West
Pakistan)
2. FGHS 37-39 pp 36-38
3. ibid 37 , p.37
4. Modern Ujjain
5. Modern Broach, FGHS, 43 p.42
6. Curtius C.IV vide AIP pp.270-71
7. History IX XXIII vide AIP pp.323-24
where such a genial soil is found corn is grown, while lands with an inferior soil are used for the pasturage of cattle. To this fertile tract succeeds another much more extensive, which is nothing but a wild waste of sand parched with drought, alike without inhabitant and without herbage. The winds, moreover, which blow hither from the Pantic Sea, sweep before them the sand that covers the plain, and this, when it gathers into heaps, looks, when seen from a distance, like a collection of great hills; whereby all traces of the road that formerly existed are completely obliterated. Those, therefore, who cross these plains, watch the stars by night as sailors do at sea, and direct their course by their guidance. In fact they almost see better under the shadow of night than in the glare of sunshine. They are, consequently, unable to find their way in the day-time, since there is no track visible which they can follow, for the brightness of the luminaries above is shrouded in darkness. Should now the wind which rises from the sea overtake them, the sands with which it is laden would completely overwhelm them. Nevertheless in all the more favoured localities the number of men and of horses that are there generated is exceedingly great."

Ptolemy states that the travellers going from the Stone Tower to China had to suffer violent storms on their way.
Disturbed political conditions in the countries enroute also created great hazards for the traders. Parthia remained at war with Rome; and in the last quarter of first century A.D., and was torn by strife among Parthian princes. Periplus of the Erythraean Sea records that there were far more of the products carried by the overland route to Barygaza than to those coming to Barbaricon, at the mouth of the Indus.

(b) Sea Routes

The trade was carried on by sea with Arabia, ports on the Persian Gulf and the Roman empire. Strabo claims to have counted 120 merchant-men sailed to India from the harbour of Myos Hormos. Evidently there was a heavy exchange of goods between the two countries. Trajan records that from the month of Euphrates ships were spreading sails for a voyage to India. Miza was the first port in the Red

Allegedly

1. GEP 11 I Chap. 11.6 vide AIP p.14
2. LPS pp 56-74
3. ibid p.37
4. ibid p.270
5. Strabo-Geography ii, 12 vide AICL p.98
6. History of Rome LXVII, 18 vide AICL p.213
7. Modern Mocha, port on the coast of Ye-men; vide p.30
Sea enroute to India. From there the ships were sent direct to the port of Barygaza. After Naza there was a port Okelis, from where ships provisioned themselves with water and foodstuffs for the long voyage. From this place the ships bound for India went to the sea, past Dioscoria. For other countries the ships sailed upto the coast of frankincense. Moscha was an important port at the coast of frankincense. Leaving this port the traders reached Persian Gulf.

We learn from the Periplus that sea trade, too, was not free from hazards. We are told that the Gulf of Birinon (Rann of Kutch) was shallow with shifting sand banks, and ships often ran aground. Tides also created difficulties for the ships in approaching and landing. The approach to Barygaza port was full of risks. Large rescue ships were kept ready at the port for all eventualities.

1. A port in South Arabia, *ibid* No. 43 p. 40
2. Modern Socotra an island in the Indian Ocean, *ibid* No. 39 p. 31
3. It was a famous product of Arabia.
4. A port in South Arabia.
5. *ibid* No. 40 p. 38
6. *ibid* No. 43 p. 40
7. *ibid* No. 44 p. 40
(v) Exports and Imports

Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and Ptolemy's Geography mention the names of the important commercial towns and ports on the sea-coast from the mouths of Indus to those of the Ganges. These are Syrastrine (Surat), Ariaka, Soupara, Muziris, Baraca and other small cities.

Barygaza was an important sea port on the Western coast of India. The Periplus lists onyx, stones, porcelain, fine muslin, cotton, spikenard, perfumes, ivory and silk, which were exported from this port. From Oraea, a small market town and a port in Gedrosia, wheat, wine, rice and dates were exported. These things were brought from Rambacia and its hinterland. From the port of Barbericum

1. ibid p.176
2. ibid p. 39
3. ibid p.197
4. ibid p.205
5. ibid p.194
6. ibid p.42
7. ibid p.180
8. ibid 37 p.36-37
bdellium, lyclum, nerol, turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloths, silk yarn and indigo were exported. Silk yarn and silk cloth were brought from China by land route and exported. Cotton was produced in the Deccan. Some of the perfumes came from the North India. Muslin was manufactured at Musulipattam and the adjoining countryside. Arikamedu was an Indo-Roman trading station, situated on the Bay of Bengal, two miles south of Pondicherry.

Among the commodities imported were wine, copper, tin, lead, coral, thin clothing and inferior sort of all kinds of cloth, storax, flint glasses, salzer, gold and silver etc. From Apologus at the mouth of Euphrates timber was imported into the port of Barygaza. At the port of Barbaricum topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold were imported.

1. Costus (K. Kustha) was considered to be the best of aromatic roots.
2. It was shrub used in the preparation of a yellow dyes and medicine.
3. An aromatic plant.
4. *Pak*., 65 p.48
5. *Pak*., pp. 48-50
7. *Pak*., 62; AICL p.48
8. Red sulphide of arsenic used as an antiseptic
9. A used for ointment and eye-tinctures
II. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

1. Liberal outlook of Kusāna Kings.

The Kusānas held liberal views on religion. They gave complete freedom of worship to their subjects. Their attitude can very well be judged from the deities, they depicted on their coins and the images dedicated during their period. Whatever the religious preference of a Kusāna ruler, he did not confine his choice of gods for depiction on his coins to the pantheon recognized by his own religion. We find on Kusāna coins Puranic gods side by side with the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas and also local gods worshipped outside India proper on the Central Asian fringes of their empire.

Kujula Kadphises was a Buddhist. He adopted patently Buddhist titles, Dharmasthida and Sachchārāsththā, on his coins.

1. EK p.109
2. IMC p.33 No.1 pl VI, 14; BMC pl XXV, 3-4
3. BMC pl XXV, 5
The Chinese annals tell us,

"In the year 2 B.C. (the first year of the period Youan-tcheou of ‘1-ti’), a Chinese official had learnt to know Buddhist sutras by oral transmission through the agency of an ambassador of the king of the Yue-chi."

1. Panthier and Specht suggest that the Yue-chi

1. Panthier translates the passage, "The first year of Youan-tcheou of ‘1-ti’ of the Han (two years before the Christian era), King-lou, disciple of a learned scholar, received from the king of the great Yue-chi an envoy named I-tsun-keou; he received at the same time a Buddhist book which said, "He who shall be established again, it is the man," I for 1903 pp. 419-20; for 1904 pp. 114-15.

2. Specht translates the passage, "(In Central Asia, there was a holy man called Che-lin-si). In the first of the years Youan-Tcheou of ‘1-ti’ of the Han (two years before the Christian era), King-lou, disciple of the teacher, received from the king of the Great Yue-chi an envoy named I-tsun-keou and gave him a Buddhist book which said, "In the kingdom he who shall be raised again (upon the throne), it is thus said." JA Jan.-June for 1890 pp. 180-85.
received the Buddhist book from Indian king Lou. But in a Chinese work Koang-houang-Mingtsi of Tao-Suien (595-667 B.C.) we find the following statement:

"In the year Youan-Tcheou of Ai-ti (i.e. 2 B.C.), King-Lieu was sent into the kingdom of the Great Yue-chi, i.e. why having learnt by heart the sacred books of the Buddha, he returned to China."

Two other Buddhist works namely Tsu-cham-pou-ing-kai-su-tang-chen by Yun-Tsoung and Fa-iuen-tchoulin by Tao-Chen have also contain similar accounts. Thus we are certain that Kujula Kadphises was a Buddhist. But he showed equal respect to the Paurânya religion by depicting Siva and his bull; and the monogram Nandipâda on his coins.

Wema Kadphises calls himself Nâheswara or the devotee of Siva. He portrayed Siva on his coins. Kaniska depicted various deities of Indian, Greek and Iranian origin.

1. IA for 1903 pp 419-20; for 1904 p.116
2. ibid
3. IA for 1904 p.115
4. IMC p.67 No.17 pl XI, 4
5. Supra p. 11 f.
on his coins. Kuviska also portrayed various deities including Śiva, Pārvatī, and their son under his various names, namely, Skanda, Kumāra, Visākha and Mahāsena. Vasudeva portrayed Śiva and Nānāra on his coins.

2. Religion, a great influence.

The priests were held in great esteem. They served as spiritual advisors and teachers. Rich people performed acts of charity to earn religious merit. Images of deities were set up and wells were sunk for the public use. A large number of dedicatory inscriptions of this period have been discovered.

1. Supra p. 234
2. Supra p. 342
3. Supra p. 412
4. EJ Vol XXI pp 55-61
5. EJ Vol VIII pp.173-81
3. **Dominant faiths**

1) **Paurâṇika**

The inscriptions point towards the prevalence of Vedic sacrificial cult and the Paurâṇika worship of images. **Isapur Yūpa inscription of the year 24, Badwa (Kotah)**

Yūpas, **Allahabad Museum Yūpa inscription of the year 23** of unspecified era and an inscription from Nandasa refer to the setting up of the Yūpas and the performance of Vedic sacrifice (Yajñas). Two undated records from Bijaygam and Nagan also refer to the setting up of the Yūpas. **Mahāvastu** records an invitation from Samudrapattana to a Brähman priest for performing sacrificial rites.

In addition to these sacrificial rites in which the Brähman priests were given gifts in terms of cash and kind.

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1. CAM No.13
2. EI Vol XXIII pp.245
4. IA Vol LVIII p.53
5. ASI(R) for 1906-07 pp.59 ff
6. ibid 1904-05 p.120
7. II p.91
other provisions were also made for feeding them in alm-
houses. Mathura stone slab inscription of the year 28 of the
time of Huviska refer to such provisions.

Mat inscription of the time of Huviska records
about entrusting a devakula to the Brahmans. The Brahmans
were given annual grants. Nasika inscription of the time
of Uccavadāta records the donation of sixteen villages to
the gods and Brahmans and arrangement for feeding one hundred
Brahmans throughout the year. Divyavadāna also refers
to the presentation of gifts to the Brahmans.

Among the Paurandja deities Siva was the most
popular. Most of the Kuśāna rulers depicted Siva on their
coins in diverse forms. Coins of Huviska also bear the
figure of Kārttikeya. He is described in the legends as
Skanda, Kumāra, Vīśakha or Mahāsena. Some times the same
coins bear divine figures on obverse as well as the reverse,
the legend with each figure bearing a different name. This
indicates that Skanda, Kumāra, Vīśakha and Mahāsena were

1. EI Vol XXI pp. 55-61
2. JRAS for 1924 p. 401 No. 3
3. p. 620, 14
4. supra pp. 71, 45, 2 34, 66, 3 42, 66
5. Supra p. 35 6 f.
treated as four distinct gods, as Dr. D.R. Shandakar believes.

Terracotta sealings of the Kushan period bearing figures of Śaṅkara, Nārāyaṇa or Sthānu have been discovered from Sunet, near Ludhiana. Śiva's representation is both human and symbolic i.e. in linga form. Śūrya was also worshipped.

Images discovered of this period from Mathura are of Brahmā, Indra, Agni with halo of flames, Pārabā with right hand raised and a cup in the left, Karttikeya with an inscription bearing the date as 11th year, Ganesa, and Śiva as ūrṇāgranīvara or in the company of his consort. Śiva images also are in Mukhalinga and eka linga forms.

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1. Candidaal lectures p.23
2. Annual progress report of the Superintendent Hindu and Buddhist monuments North circle for 1917 p.7
3. CBIMA pp vii-ix
4. ibid p. xi
5. CAOM p.98 No.D.22
6. ibid p.110 No.D.24
7. ibid p.99 No.D.24
8. ibid p.102 No.D.36
10. ibid p.138 No.1064
11. ibid p.128 No.652
11.) Buddhist.

The Buddhist religion spread during the rule of the Tanganae. Buddhist missions were sent to central Asia. The Buddhists turned their residences into centres of learning. The Kandhara school of art depicted Buddha's life in statues and helped in spreading this religion.

Missionaries from Kshmir and the north west went to settle in central Asia. Some colonies, namely, 1 3
Kshuki, Kshter, Ning-lu, Hao-Cheng, etc., existed 5
near the states of Shule or Shen-fu and Tun-Tuange.

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1. EK. p. 195 b. n. 2
2. Ibid., 3
3. Ibid., 4
4. Ibid., 5
5. Gafurov - Essays of a Soviet Orientalist for 1969 p. 8
6. IAC. pp. 12-16
(a) Buddhist Society

Buddhist Society was divided into two main sections of mendicants and laity. The former renounced the world and lived a life of celibacy devoting themselves wholly to the study of the scriptures and propagation of their religion. Both sexes could join the order and become bhikṣus and bhikṣunīs. The ordinary house-holders having faith in Buddhism were known as Upāsakas and Upāsikās.

The women were admitted to Buddhist order with a great reluctance. However, some of bhikṣunīs attained high positions in the monastic order. Some of the Buddhist nuns took major part in setting up Buddhist images. We learn from Mathura Buddhist image inscription of the year 33 that Buddhamitra was well versed in Tripitakas and was the female pupil of the famous monkBhāra, who was an authority in the Tripitakas. Kosam Buddhist inscription of the year 2 records

1. EI Vol viii pp.173-181
2. EI Vol xxiv pp.210-12
3. AIE p.466
4. GII Vol II Pt I pp 138-41
5. AIE p.463
6. EI Vol VIII pp.181-82
7. EI Vol XXIV pp.210-12
that Buddhamitra set up an image at Kosam. Mathura Buddhist image inscription of the year 33 records that Dhanavati, the daughter of Buddhamitra’s sister established a Bodhisattva image at Mathura.

(b) Different schools:

From the inscriptions of the Kusana period we come to know about two schools of Buddhism, namely, Sarvastivadins and Mahasanghikas. According to Dr. P.V. Bapat the total number of Buddhist schools was eighteen.

b1) Sarvastivadin School:

According to Dr. P.V. Bapat the followers of this school believe in permanent reality of all things. It was more popular. The Kharosthi records e.g. Kalawan inscription of the year 124 of the period of Wema Kadphises, Shah-Ji-Mi-Dheri inscription of the year 1, Zeda inscription of the year 11, and Kurram inscription of the year 20.

1. El Vol VIII pp. 181-82
2. Y.B. p.156
3. ibid p.106
6. ibid pp.142 ff
7. ibid pp.155 ff.
refer to the dedications made by the followers of Sarvāstivādin school. Saranath inscriptions of the year 3 record a dedication made by Friar Bala, Anyor Bodhisattva image inscription also records the name of this school. The last two inscriptions are in Brāhma.

Nāthura Buddhist image inscription refers to another school, namely, that of Dharmaguptikas. The school was closely related to the Sarvāstivādins.

bii) Mahāsāṃghikas:

The followers of this school believed in the Lokottara existence of the Buddhas.

Wardak inscription of the year 51 records an establishment of the relics of Lord Sakyamuni in a stupa in the Vagramarega vihāra which was the acceptance of the Mahāsāṃghika teachers. The British Museum image of the year 6 10, Palikhera stone bowl inscription and Palikhera Buddhist inscription of the year 67 records the name of this school.

1. CAMM p.63 No.A 66
2. CJl Vol II Pt I pp.165 ff
3. JyPUs July 1939 p.24 No.XIV
4. ibid July 1939 p. 23 No.XIII
5. ibid p. 22 No.XI
6. ibid p.23 NoXII
7. PQHHC for 1941 p.161 iii ; HI Vol xxx p.180
iii) Jainism:

Jaina statues have not been found from Punjab and northern province of the Kusāṇa empire. It was perhaps due to the fact that the Jaina canon debarred monks and nuns to move beyond Thanesar. Brihatkalpa-Vyavahara Miśītha-Sūtra ordains: "The monks and nuns may wander towards the west as far as Thura (Present Thanesar)."

Jaina society, including both the monks and laity of both the sexes, was organised in Ganas and Sākhās. Mathura has thrown up most of the jaina antiquities, including shrines, images and inscriptions. It was, no doubt, the most important centre of jainism in Kusāṇa empire. Inscriptions found here record the dedication of the images, of Lord Mahāvīra and the Tīrthaṅkaras, Āntinātha, Sambhavaṅātha, Kīṣāṇātha and Nandīvrata. The earliest image of the

1. 1-50; Miśītha Miśaya p.111; L IJC p.250
2. Ki Vol I pp 335-36 No. VII
3. ibid p.333 No. III
4. ibid Vol X p.112
5. ibid Vol I p.389, No.XIV; p.386 No. VIII
6. ibid Vol II p.204 No. XX
Timathankara Vardhamana is dated in the year 5 and the
image dedicated by the followers of Kottiya gana and
Brahmadasiika kula. Two other images, bearing the inscriptions
dated in the years 20 and 35, were set up for the welfare
of Kottiya gana and Sthaniva kula. Three records
respectively of the years 22, 29, and 50 record the
setting up of image of Vardhamana by a member of Varena
gana and Petiyamika and Pusyamitriya kulas. Dedication of
the images of their respective Timathankaras by other ganas
are also recorded. But the allegiance of donors was not
confined to one single gana and its Timathankara. We find
the same donor setting up images of more than one Timathankara.
Delta (Datilla?) dedicated an image of Amat Nandivrata in
the year 49 at the request of Vridhahasti, a follower
of Kottiya gana and Vaire Sakha and another image of

1. EI Vol I p.381 No. 1
2. EI Vol I p.395 No. 27
3. ibid p.385 No. 7
4. ibid p.391 No. 20
5. ibid p. 385 No. 4
6. ibid Vol II p.209 No.36
7. ibid Vol I p.386 No.8
Rājhanātha in the year 60. Kumāramitra also dedicated an image of standing Jina in the year 15 at the request of Vasulā. The daughter of Dāsa dedicated a Jaina image in the year 86 at the request of Vasulā. Mitra, wife of Phalgudeva, dedicated a large jaina image in the year 20 at the request of Sīha or Simha.

A large number of undated records refer to setting up of images of Jaina Amats without naming them.

Like Buddhists, jains also built stūpas over ashes of their Amats.

Broadmindedness of the Jains is reflected in the setting of an image of the Parvati goddess, Sarasvatī, by a smith at the instance of a preacher named Aiyadeva of the Kottiya gama of the Sthāniya kula.

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1. HI Vol II p.204 No.20
2. ibid p.202 No.13
3. ibid Vol I p.388 No.12
4. ibid p.391 No.4 (147)
5. ibid p.204 No.20; Smith, The Jaina stūpa p.Lxxi
6. ibid p.399 No.21
Women played an equally distinguished role in religious affairs and Kusūramitra, Khudā, Datta, and Vasūla were famous.

iv) Serpent worship:

Worship of snakes was also prevalent. Mathura Naga image inscription of the year 8 bears a figure of a Naga canopied with sevenfold hood and attended by two nagas of small size. Mathura inscription of the year 47 refers to a shrine of Dāchikārpa, the lord of snakes. Ghārgaon inscription of the year 40 records the dedication of a Naga image. Another naga statue bearing an inscription dated in the 52 is dressed like that of a Bodhisattva. The tanks and gardens were also dedicated to the nagas.

The worshippers of nagas were different from the Naga families of Pādmavati and Mathura.

1. El Vol I pp. 385-86 No. VII
2. ibid pp. 381-82 No. I
3. ibid Vol II pp. 204 No. XXI
4. ibid Vol I pp. 382 No. I
5. ibid Vol XVII pp. 10-12
6. IA Vol XXXII pp. 102-103
7. CAMK p. 88 No. C. 13
8. ibid p. 90 No. C. 16
III. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

1. Social life

Social life was, at that time, richer in contents and comprehensive in outlook. The sculptures from Mathura indicate the vivacious side of life full of bustle and activity. Division of the society into broader groups was based on fundamental differences in disposition for greater and closer contacts amongst their members. The different aspects of social life provide the following interesting data.

2. Social Divisions

*Milinda-pañha* describes four social divisions, namely, Brahmans, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras. Mathura stone slab inscription of the year 28 mentions that special provisions were made for the feeding of one hundred Brahmans in the open hall.

3. Family life

The contemporary inscriptions presume family as the unit of society. People had deep family and clan loyalties.

1. p. 178, 115 ff.

2. EI Vol XXI pp. 55-61
Whenever performing charities, they sought the merit for all members of their families and even for people related to them by other than family ties. Mathura jaina pedestal inscription of the year 19 records a dedication made by the wife of Archila, at the request of a preacher; Mathura jaina image inscription of the year 20 mentions a dedication of an image of Vardhamana by the female lay-hearer Digna, the wife of Matila and the mother of Jayabala; Mathura Buddhist image inscription of the year 45 records the installation of an image by Khvasicha for the gift of health to herself.

1) Marriage

Marriages were normally contracted within the caste. But there are instances of intercaste marriages. Mathura jain pedestal inscription of the year 20 mentions that Mitra was the daughter-in-law of an iron-smith, Vadhar by name, and she was the daughter of Jayabhatti, a mandika.

1. EI Vol I p.383 No.3
2. ibid p. 395 No.38
3. JEBRAS Vol 20 No.57 pp 269-302
4. EI Vol I pp 383-84 No.IV.
4. **Social amusements**

According to Apollonius of Tyana, who visited Taxila in 43-44 A.D., the people were fond of singing and dancing. From the Taxila gambling dice were discovered. It indicates their interest in gambling. Aelian on the evidence of his work *On the Peculiarities of Animals* states that chariot races were a popular sport. The chariots were pulled by oxen. Other sports were bull fights and elephant fights. Elephants were caught at a tender age and were trained for such sports.

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IV. **FOOD, CLOTHING AND ARTICLES OF HOUSEHOLD USE.**

According to Strabo and the Periplus, rice, barley, wheat were the normal diet of the people.

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1. ITAT p.6
2. ASIAR FOR 1923-24 p.74
3. OPA BK XV.C.XXIV; AICL p.146
4. ibid BK XV C.XV; AICL p.145
5. ibid BK IV C. XXIV p.137
6. Strabo: Geography BK XV,18; AICL p.24
7. ibid; NH BK XVIII, C.13; AICL p.127
8. Mass.; 37 pp.36-37
Mathura stone slab inscription of the year 28 records powdered fried corn as one of the articles given daily in charity. Milk and ghee were liked by the people. Salt, sugar, molasses, and oils were also included in the Indian food.

Saddharma-pundrika records two types of food hard and soft.

Many types of dresses made of cotton and silk were in fashion in different parts of the empire. According to G.S. Ghurye, the women generally wore close-fitting whole-length frocks, or skirts with scarfs, or a costume looking like a thick Sari.

1. El Vol XXI pp.55-61
2. ibid
3. Mahayagga VI , 34,21
4. ibid; Mi IX XXXI, C.7(39); AICL p.128
5. Strabo : Geography BK.XV, C; AICL p.26 Nii,C(17); AICL p.122
6. MaIV, BK.XVIII, C.10(22); ICL p.127
7. 1-36
8. El Vol I pp.383-84 No.IV
9. Indian costume pp.84-86
Some of the household articles used were excavated by Sir John Marshall, from Sirsukh, Popar and other places. These articles include drinking bowls, iron utensils, earthenware, jars of the type employed for the storage of grain, oil and water, keys, lamps, spoons etc.

V. ADMINISTRATION

The Kusanas ruled the vast empire through hereditary viceroys, designated as Ksatrapas and Mahaksatrapas. Ksatrapa Vanaspara and Mahaksatrapa Khampellana figure in the inscription of the year 3 discovered from Saranath. Manikiala stone inscription of the year 18 refers to a Ksatrapa Vespa. Bronze casket inscription discovered from Manikiala mentions without naming a Ksatrapa of Kapisa, the son of Ksatrapa Granavhrayaka. Zeda inscription of the year 11 records Liaka as a Ksatrapa.

1. GT pp. 79-81, 98
2. Ttr Vol. VIII pp 173-181
4. ibid pp. 150 f
5. ibid pp. 148-45
Though the inscriptions do not indicate the jurisdiction of the *Ksatrapas* and *Mahākṣatrapas* referred to, we can assume that the old administrative divisions, such as Vahilika with capital at Wūhīka (mod. Balkh), Kapisā with capital Kāpisi, Gandhāra with capital at Takṣasila continued as *Satrapies*. Mathura and Varanasi were perhaps other seats of *Ksatrapas* or *Mahākṣatrapas*. Kashmir must have been another unit. The vast empire must have had other *Satrapies* whose seats of government we cannot conjecture at our present state of knowledge.

1. Manikiala inscription of the year 18, Mathura
2. Jain image inscription of the year 84, and Mat inscription of the time of Huviska refer to certain other officers designated as *danda nayaka* and *Mahādandaṇḍayakas*.

A Vahanpati and a Grāmika are also referred to in the inscriptions of Mathura. Stone slab inscription of the year 18, Mat inscription of the time of Huviska and Mathura inscription of the year 40.

1. CII Vol II Pt I pp. 145 ff
2. JPASSB (NS) Vol V, p. 276 f.
3. JRAS for 1924 pp 401-403
4. XI Vol XXI pp 55-61
5. JRAS for 1924 pp. 401-403
6. XI Vol I p. 387 No. 11
We are not sure about the exact functions of these dignitaries. Scholars have hazarded various suggestions.

Dr. Ghoshal translates the term Mahādandānayaka as commander-in-chief. Fleet also thinks the meaning of this term as Leader of four forces. Prinsep translates it as 'administrator of Punishment or criminal magistrate.' Aurel Stein also takes the meaning 'Perfect of Police.'

On the ancient Indian inscriptions a Dandanāyaka is distinguished from a Senāni or a general from a Dandapādía or Police Chief. Hence some scholars believe that a dandanāyaka was not a commander of forces. But they forgets that an army needs commanders of several ranks. Dandanāyaka literally means a leader of forces. And hence we cannot doubt that he was a military officer. In addition he may have some administrative duties.

1. PIllC, Allgeme p.90 ; III E pp 177-79

2. C 11 Vol III p.16

3. Prinsep Essays Vol I p.3

4. R& Vol I. VIII, 975 p.344

5. EI Vol XV p.283

6. ibid
VI. Education and Literature

1. Education of various sections of society.

Education, both of personal and practical nature was imparted. It was personal in the sense that the preceptor and his hermitage served as academic institutions, and the relations between the pupil and his teacher were exclusively personal. The practical aspect of education was also important. Elementary course and general education was followed by specialisation and higher education varying with the castes and tastes of the pupils. The personal touch between the teacher and the taught ensured full utilisation of the academic resources, and the availing of proper opportunities for the development of his personality. The pupil, after completing his studies, returned to his house. The literature of the Kusana period, namely, Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Saddharma-Pundarīka, Divyavadāna, Milinda-pañha and vādaṇasatāka throw light on different aspects of education.

1) Education of a Brāhmaṇa

According to Milinda-panha the education of a Brāhmaṇa started at the age of seven. According to

1. 9.29 ff.

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A learned Brahman taught the three Vedas along with allied subjects. **Divyavadana** records that the syllabus of studies included reading, writing, arithmetic, accounts, rules of exchange etc. and in due course of the four Vedas.

11) **Education of a Ksatriya**

In **Milinda panho** the course of study prescribed for a Ksatriya included various systems of philosophy, arithmetic, music, Puranas, Itihasa, astronomy, magic, causation, poetry and religious traditional laws and particularly the art of warfare. Archery was to be taught to by an expert. **Divyavadana** gives a long list of subjects to be taught to a Ksatriya, namely, writing, arithmetic, accounting, rules relating to debts, deposits, trusts, testing the things, Ayavidya, Gejasatra, inspection of men, women and merchandise of all sorts. Accomplishment in all sciences, in all arts, and specialisation in the cries of all creatures. **Martial training which consisted**

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1. Vol II p.19
2. p.485
3. p.3
4. p.232
5. p.100
of elephant riding, charioteering, use of weapons and numerous other things. Lalitavistara enjoins military, physical, literary, practical and vocational studies for a Ksatriya.

iii) Education of a Vaisya

Mahāvagga describes the course of study prescribed for a Vaisya as accounts, counting and āma. According to Milinda-pañha, a Vaisya's syllabus of study included; writing, arithmetic, accounts, different types of money in use in commerce and exchange, laws and rules relating to debts, deposits and trusts and eight types of tests. Only the names of two tests kātu-parikṣā and ratn-parikṣā have been mentioned.

iv) Buddhist Education

Milinda-pañha states that Buddhist hymns were taught to a student who entered the Buddhist order. The course consisted of discourses on general subjects and later on deeper things of the Faith (Abhidharma).

1. XII p.156-59

2. SBE Vol XIII p.201

3. p.3

4. p.12
It is strange to find that those who learnt Buddhist hymns left the order after completing the studies.

1. Avadāna-sataka refers to the study of the three Pitakas also.

v) Female education

2. Mahāvastu refers to literary accomplishments of ladies. The daughter of an artisan was endowed with clever wit and literary talents. It also refers to a Banker's daughter who was taught religious subjects by an ascetic. She was able to discuss Sastras defeated her in philosophical discussion and as a result won her hand in marriage.

The terms Śrāvika, Sraddhāchari and Mūlakṣaṇī have been used for ladies in Brahm records from Mathura. This points to the fact that women were not debarred from education or from entering the religious orders.

2. Vocational Education

Medical science had acquired special favour with Brahmins. Adbhūta mentions in his Saundarananda skilful

1. II p. 80
2. II p. 383
3. III p. 39
4. XVII. 7
surgeons, who could perform delicate operations in extracting splinters lodged near the heart. Strabo also mentions that this profession was practised on a scientific basis.

It is stated in Susruta Samhita that students possessing the following qualities were admitted to the medical courses: a high caste, a respectable family, tender age, cool temper, purity, modesty, capacity, strength, good character, conduct, pleasant speech and pains-taking nature. Physical appearance was also considered for the purpose.

Susruta Samhita records that a Sudra of good character was also eligible for this training. But the upanayana ceremony in which Veda mantras are recited, was not performed in his case.

Brahmans, Ksatriyas as well as Vaisyas could adopt the teaching profession, but they were allowed to teach only the pupils of their own or lower castes.

According to the Milinda-panha, a teacher was expected to possess the following qualifications:

1. XVI, 1.34
2. II.3
3. II.5
4. ibid
5. p.94
guard over the pupil; to tell him what to cultivate and what to avoid, where to be earnest and what to be neglected; to give proper instructions relating to bed, food and company, to encourage the pupil not to fear, to teach without partiality, not to keep anything secret, not to indulge in foolish tracks, to pardon his pupil when noticing any defect etc. The duties of the pupil are: to feel alike pain and joy, not to run after any other teacher, to keep guard over himself in thought and deed, to be willing to part according to his capacity, to hold right views etc.

3. Institutions and educational tools

The monasteries and vihāras served as centres of learning. The monks living in them were either teachers or pupils. These centres were aided financially by the rulers and the rich people. Many of these centres earned great fame. Divyāvadāna mentions that day scholars returned to their houses for meals. But the wards bhikṣu and bhikṣunī which literally means 'alms-collectors' indicate that the inmates of these monasteries were duty-bound to go out daily for bhikṣā or alms. And this method of food-gathering finds frequent mention in the literature of this as well as the earlier period.

1. CYCT Vol I p.208
The classroom where instruction in writing was given was called Lekha-sala or Lipi-sala. Writing was done on a tablet made of Chandana with a pen. The Mamane Bheri inscription of the year 89 records the material used for writing purpose. The early manuscripts were found on palm leaves, birch bark, wooden boards, leather, stone, earthenware, metals like gold, silver and copper etc. Inscriptions incised on bones have also been found in Afghanistan.

1. Divyavadana p.171-4
2. Lalitavistara chap. X.p.234-16
3. ibid p.125
4. JRAS for 1931 pp.131-33
5. OYCT Vol I pp 167-68
6. Khotanese MSS
7. SACI p.46
8. Stein Preliminary report on the journey in Chinese Turkestan pp 42-52
9. FI Vol XXI pp 55-61
10. ASI Vol II p 59
11. FI Vol XIV pp 235-95
12. C 11 Vol II Pt I pp.138-41
13. ibid pp 151-52
14. FK App IV
4. Languages and scripts

Prakrit is the language of almost all the inscriptions and of at least one face of all the coins issued during Kusāna rule. On one face of some coins defective Greek legends appear, indicating that some section of the population was of Greek origin. The outlying possessions of the Kusānas, like Bactria, Khorezm and Sogd etc. must have had dialects of their own.

Sanskrit was the language of sophistication. Asvaghosa, the philosopher and poet, wrote his works in Sanskrit.

A number of inscriptions of the period are in defective Sanskrit or what is described as Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit. Obviously they were attempts by semi-educated people.

Lalitavistara records sixty four scripts while

1. KSI p.47
2. R.C. Bhandarkar (IA Vol XII p.146) and Müller (EI Vol 1 p.377) concluded that origin of mixed
dialect was the result of the efforts of half educated people to express themselves.
3. Ibid
4. p.125
Mahāvastu refers to the twelve scripts. The most popular scripts were Kharosthi and Brāhmi. Kharosthi was in use in the north-western parts of the Kuśāṇa empire and Brāhmi in the eastern and central parts of India. Greek was also understood. Aramaic script was also used in Soghd and Khorezm.

5. Literature

The literature produced during Kuśāṇa rule was mainly Buddhist. The aim was to popularise the new faith. The lives of the Buddha and his associates received considerable attention.

Kaniṣka patronized art and literature. Among his courtiers Asvaghosa and Charak were famous.

1) Asvaghosa

We do not know much about the life of the famous Buddhist poet and philosopher Asvaghosa. Yuan Chwang states that Asvaghosa was the son of Avanpaksi of Sāket. Some

1. Vol I p.135
2. EK p.8 f.n.1; p.9 f.n.12
3. KSU pp 47-48
4. CYCT Vol II pp 103-04
5. ibid p.104
scholars believe that it was Pārśva who after defeating him in debate converted Āśvaghoṣa to Buddhism. But Yaun Chwang gives this credit to the monk, Pu-na-shē i.e. Punyayaśa.

The Chinese annals tell us that Kaniska acquired Āśvaghoṣa as a part of war indemnity from Pataliputra. Āśvaghoṣa expounded the law of Buddha to Kaniska and converted him in Buddhism. He rose in such esteem of Kaniska that he treated him as one of his three intimate friends.

Āśvaghoṣa is usually identified with Mātricēta the author of the Mahābhārata Loka. But the verse indicates that the Kanika of the latter work was different from the great Kusāna king. And I-ťsing treats Āśvaghoṣa

1. CYCT ; Saunadarananda XVIII, 64 p.117
2. CYCT Vol II p.104
3. Supra p. 129
4. Supra p. 129
5. Supra p. 134
6. IA Vol XXXIV pp 346-60
7. According to this verse king Kaniska was a descendant of solar dynasty - a designation never used by Kaniska.
8. IA Vol XXXII p.345
and Matriceta as two different persons. A king Asvaghosa is also known from Saṃath Pillar inscription of the year 140. But he was different from the poet laureate of Kaniska.

Sir A. Stein discovered from Turfan in central Asia two epics of Asvaghosa, namely the Buddha-Charita and Saundarananda. He also discovered fragments of three plays tied together. The best preserved of these is Sārīputra-Prakarana whose colophon names its author as Asvaghosa. No colophon of the other two plays is preserved and hence there is no indication of their titles and authorship. But since they were found attached to Asvaghosa's Sārīputra-Prakarana and since they bear Buddhist themes and have similarity in language and treatment of subjects, scholars generally accept them as the works of Asvaghosa. The dramatic personae of one of the two are abstract philosophical concepts. According to the Chinese annals Asvaghosa also wrote Sūtraalankāra. But another Sanskrit work Kalpanamanditika indicates that Sūtraalankāra was written by Kumāralātā, not by Asvaghosa. The Mahāyāna Saṃdhīpada Sāstra is also attributed to a certain śvaghosa. Only Chinese translation of the work is available. The concept of Bhuta Tathata concept embodied in this work seems to have originated in a

1. El Vol VIII pp.171-72
2. IA for 1903 p.382
3. HSLW p.624
later period. Therefore, this Asvaghosa cannot be identical with the famous poet.

ii) Charaka

Charaka was another intimate friend of Kaniska. He was his court physician. Many stories are told about him in Buddhist works. It should be noted that the great author of the Charaka-Samhitā flourished much earlier and was distinct from Kaniska's physician, since the 2nd century. Grammarian Patanjali quoted from the Charaka-Samhitā.

iii) Sanskrit Buddhist Literature

(a) Mahāvastu

It is according to colophon is based on the text of the Lokottara-Vadins of the Mahāsāṃghika school. The language of the work is mixed sanskrit. This deals with the period between the first and third century A.D.

1. Hinayana and Mahayana pp 41, 84 ; CPB p.79 ; HSLW p.361
2. T PTK vide IA for 1903 pp 387-88
3. IA Vol I pp 299-302 ; XV pp.80-84 ; XVI pp.156, 172
4. History of Indian literature Vol II pp 239 ff.
5. ZDMG ; 52 p.633
Winternitz places the work from first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.

(b) **Lalitavistara**

It is regarded as one of the earliest and most sacred Mahāyāna texts. Winternitz suggests that the period of the development of the Gāndhāra art, i.e., the first two centuries of the Christian era, was also the period of the early Mahāyāna texts, which deal with the Buddha legend.

(c) **Avadānasataka**

It was translated into Chinese in the first half of the third century A.D. It mentions a term *Dīnāra*. This coin was first issued by the Roman Emperor Augustus (27 B.C. to 14 A.D.) Indians may have become familiar with it late in the first century A.D. We may, therefore, assign this composition to the late first century A.D. or early second century A.D. or thereafter.

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1. A.B. Keith in his foreword to Laws of the Mahavastu, *A Study of the Mahavastu supplement*
3. Ibid. p. 255
4. Ibid. p. 279 ff
5. LXXVII Vol I p. 77; LXXXVIII p. 102
(1) *Divyavadana*  

It is a later collection than the *Avadāna-satāka*. The narrative begins and ends exactly in the same way as in the *Avadāna-satāka*. It is regarded to be the work of a succession of authors, and must have taken shape gradually over a few centuries. According to Sylvain Lévi, the date of its completion is the second century A.D. while Przyhiski thinks that *Aśokā-vadāna* began to take shape about 150-100 B.C. Winternitz thinks that the work was completed after the 4th century A.D. The major portion of the text might have been composed in the second century A.D.

*Saddharma-Pundarīka* deals with an advanced form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, when it had developed into a cult of relics and image worship, and was characterised with the erection of stupas and vihāras. The *Saddharma-Pundarīka* was translated in 223 A.D. but the first available Chinese translation is that of Dharmakṣa (286 A.D.). Therefore, the date of its composition may be fixed in the early part

2. History of Sanskrit literature p. 66
3. IUK p. 177
4. History of Indian literature Vol II p. 304
5. History of Indian literature Vol II p. 304
of the second century A.D., though Poussin thinks that some portions might have been written rather earlier.

(c) Milinda-panha

According to Winternitz the Milinda-panha was composed in the first century A.D. Rhys Davids considers its date between 100 and 200 A.D. The original text was lost completely. The present Pali text was reconstructed.

VII. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Art-

Under the patronage of the Kusāṇas the two schools of art made notable contributions. These schools had nothing common except the theme. Gandhāra school of art is purely Buddhist, while Mathurā school met the requirements of all the three dominant religions e.g. Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism.

1. IUK p.179
2. BAE II p.259 ff.
3. History of Indian literature Vol II p.173
4. BAE VIII pp 63 ff.
5. SBE vol XXXV, intro. p. xi
1. **Gāndhāra School**

   This school of art flourished in the Gāndhāra region which included modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts and some adjacent country.

   Percy Brown calls this school of art as Graeco-Bactrian since it displays an admixture of Greek and Indian Buddhist elements. Marshall supports the views of Percy Brown. Coomaraswami suggests that this was a local phase of Hellenistic art. It had grown out the art of the Indo-Greek period in Afghanistan and the Punjab but was applied to purely Indian themes. But this suggestion stands on a very weak ground since not a single sculpture of Indo-Greek period has been discovered anywhere. All that the Indo-Greeks left by way of art are their coin portraits, which could be but poor models for the highly refined three-dimensional Gāndhāra art. Rowland opined that it was the eastern-most appearance of the art of Roman empire, especially in its late and provincial manifestations. Buchthal supports Rowland and concludes that the first Buddha sculpture...

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1. IAH p.38
2. GT pp.30-32
3. HIIA p.32
4. AAIBJ p.72
5. JRAS for 1946 p.121
repeats the type of an early imperial Tōga sculpture and that it was a conscious imitation of a statue of Augustus. V.A. Smith takes this school of art as Greco-Roman art.

In fact the Gandhāra region was the meeting place of India, Persian, Greek and Roman cultures; and all these cultures must have influenced the Gandhāra school of art which led scholars to regard it as a special type of art. It is impossible to divide Gandhāra art into local subclasses. The available specimens from various localities do not show any marked variation in style. In fact, the general style over the whole region is uniform. All the sculptures carved in Gandhāra art were those of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. The pieces of Buddhist sculptures are found scattered all over Gandhāra.

1) The Buddha Images

Scholars hold diverse views regarding the origin of the Buddha images. According to Foucher the art of the Buddha images originated in the Gandhāra school alone.

1. EII p.241
2. HIIA pp.53-55
Coomaraswamy thinks this art to have originated independently in both the Gandhara and Mathura schools of art, with each school exerting some influence over the other. Soper suggests the influence of Roman worship of Hadrian period on this art. Tarn concludes that the figure of the Buddha first of all appeared on the coins of Mauakes. But according to Coomaraswamy and Bachhofer this figure was that of a seated king. Lchuizen-De-Leew suggests that Gandhara art was not older than that of Mathura.

According to some scholars Kaniska was the founder of Gandhara art while according to Marshall it originated during the Saka occupation of Gandhara in the first century B.C. A large number of undated sculptures belonging to this school of art make it difficult to fix its date of origin.

1. JCS for 1926 pp.165-76
3. GHI p.396 ff.
4. IUN p.2 CE f.n.6
5. SP p.98
6. AARAJ p.72
7. JRAS for 1947 p.12; CGG Vol II p.496
It seems that worship of the Buddha was common even before the accession of Kaniska. Fragments of sculptures belonging to Saka period were discovered in Taxila. Marshall, Goenarswami and Rowland suggest that the reign of Kaniska was the golden period of Gândhāra art. On the other hand Vogel suggests that this school of art was on the decline during the reign of Kaniska. It is difficult to accept this view since it is based on a single example of inferior art. We have numerous sculptures of very high standard manufactured during and after his reign. Images of the fasting Buddha, Manane Dheri sculpture of year 89 etc. point to the high excellence of the art of that period. Such is the Buddha image on the reliquary of Kaniska, recently discovered near Peshawar. The figures of the Buddha depicted on the coins of Kaniska also are of superior workmanship. Dr. B.N. Puri suggests that the standing and seated figures of the Buddha originated under the Kusānas.

1. El Vol XIV pp. 285-95
2. G T pp. 79-81
3. IRAS for 1946 p. 119
4. HIIA p. 52
5. AAIHJ p. 71
6. BAV p. 71
7. C 11 Vol II Pt I pp. 171-72
8. Gandhara art in Pakistan p. 25 pl. III Nos. 5-8
ii) Bodhisattvas

Siddhartha has been depicted as an Indian prince. He has been depicted either standing or seated in meditation or in abhayamudra in the company of worshippers. Bodhisattva Maitreya has also been portrayed in diverse poses: as standing or in meditation, or seated in abhayamudra or preaching. Women worshippers are depicted in their Characteristic dresses and ornaments.

iii) Buddha's Life and Jataka stories

The life of Buddha from conception to renunciation has been portrayed in Gandhara art. Notable is the sculpture depicting the scene of the Buddha's birth. It is sculpted in

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1. Gandhara art in Pakistan Fig. No.278
2. ibid 279, 281-82
3. ibid, 284, 287
4. ibid, 285
5. ibid, 289
6. ibid, 302
7. ibid 306 and 308
8. ibid 303, 305
9. ibid, 301
various other poses such as reclining on a couch or riding a horse, or reduced to almost a skeleton after austerities. The Buddhas lives in previous births as narrated in the Jātaka stories provided popular subjects to the artists for depiction in stone.

iv) Architecture

The architects of Gāndhāra school built stūpas and vihāras ornamented with floral human and animal designs. Kanishka's stūpa built near Peshawar was the earliest known monument of the Kusāṇa period. Though it has now completely disappeared yet small miniatures of stūpas have been discovered in Taxila. Corinthian columns, pilasters and capitals have been modified in Gāndhāra art. Introduction of the figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas in foliage marks Indianization of the architectural designs. Images in Gāndhāra art have been depicted on grey schist. Use of

1. ibid, A and B
2. ibid, 40
3. ibid, 52
4. ibid, 39
5. Marshall, Taxila Vol Fig. 97
6. MASI 13 No. VII
stucco or lime plaster was not so common during that period. Images were not carved out in round. Their backs were kept unfinished as they were to be installed in Buddhist temples. They were polished with gold leaf or paints.

2. Mathura School

Another distinct school of art flourished under the Kusāapas in Mathura. Cunningham was of the view that this school was the result of Bactrian artists who were employed among the wealthy persons at Mathura. Rejecting his view Growse concludes that this school presented the art based on Indigenous traditions. The subject matter is Indian. The character is more clearly expressed in carved railings with the female figures. Vogel considers from the style of carving the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, that it was not derived from any known class of images in Gāndhāra art. Rather it was a result of native schools and

1. ASI R) Vol I pp 431-44
3. ASI (R) for 1909-10 p. 66
4. III p.57
5. CAMM No. A.1; A.2; M.1; J 24
related to the Indigenous tradition. Images of the Buddha were carved independently to meet religious desires and requirements of the followers of Buddhism. Coomaraswami has catalogued the important statues of the Buddha, Bodhisattva and Jain type.

The images of Bodhisattva in seated or standing poses, Buddha statues, and a colossal standing Bodhisattva figure dedicated by Priar Bala and a headless figure are available in the Mathura school of art. Colossal standing image Bodhisattva found at Saheth-Maheth and Kosam are very good structural pieces.

Lohuizen-De-Leeuw suggests that Buddhist art in Mathura school developed in several stages Dr. Vogel

1. IIA p.57
2. GAMM No.A.1; A.2; No. I; J 24
3. ibid , J 18
4. ASII(A) for 1912-13 p.26
5. Catalogue of Sarnath Hisaira No.13(a) pl viii; EI Vol VIII pp 177-79
6. History of Fine Arts fig 94
7. EI VIII pp 180-81
8. ibid XXIV pp 210-12
9. p.329
10. IIA p.60
suggests that in carving the seated Buddhas this school made no distinction between the Gautama the Buddha and Gautama the Bodhisattva.

It inherited the old Indian art traditions of Deccan and Shambh, and developed a new iconography in which the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Brahmanical deities, Jain Tirthankaras, Kubera, Yakṣas etc. were carved out.

The figures of the Buddha have been depicted on stone as a shaven monk offering protection to the world with his dignified personality. As has been depicted as a human being. All aspects of his life have been portrayed in bas-reliefs e.g. the birth, renunciation, enlightenment, descent from heaven, first sermon in the deer park and parinirvāṇa.

The Buddha often appears surrounded by beautiful women. According to some scholars, they represent the transitory life of pleasure outside the peace of the world of

1. CAI № 1,2, p.125 ff.
2. Ibid № 6 No.2 (b)
3. Ibid No.2 (f)
4. Ibid № 7 №.2(c)
5. Ibid № 7,8,9 and No.2(a)
the Buddha. Others think that they emphasise the desirability of sexual union.

As these female figures have been depicted on religious statues with Jātaka stories on their back, the second explanation appears to be incorrect. In fact such scenes allude to the famous story of Mara-Vijaya or the conquest of the god of love by the Buddha. He is depicted surrounded by heavenly pleasures to emphasise the tranquility of mind and control over sex instinct that the Buddha had achieved. Toilet scenes of mortal women are also there.

Mathura school of art includes the statues of Jain Tirathankaras. Both dated and undated sculptures have come down to us. The following images of the Jain Tirathankaras bear dates: i) a headless Tirathanka image; ii) One is in Lucknow Museum; iii) the broken image of Rishbantha; iv) the Vardhamana image dated in the year 35. Seven dated

1. *AS* II p.89
2. *IIA* p.65
3. *ibid* p.186
4. JUPHS Vol XXXIII for 1950 B.4 p.39
5. LII No. IX; SP p.56
Jina images, in भयानाम्निद्रा have been considered by Lohuizen-de Leeuw. The heads and nimbi of six of them are missing. One of these dated in the year 15 was dedicated by Kumaṇḍītra and the another dated in the year 22 was dedicated by Sthira.

The image of Neminātha of this school has come down to us.

In contrast to the uniformly draped Buddhist images the Jina artists portrayed their Tirthankaras stark naked or अग्निबर्म in jain terminology. Some of the jains images are four-faced. The rich variety and number of jaina sculptures points to a prosperous community of patrons.

Brahmanical statues carved in the Mathura school are mostly undated. Their depiction on the Kusāṇa coins can only be the basis from which the period of their style may be estimated. The deities depicted on the coins of Kaniska and Huviska have sometimes two arms and sometimes four.

1. SP p.219
2. LRI No.XXIV ; EI Vol V p.39
3. EI Vol II p.209 f.n.37
4. JUPBS Vol XXIII No.2502 p.50
5. SK SK App.I Pt B.5 Nos. 16, 48 and 54
6. Supra pp. 243, 365
Siva in some cases is portrayed with three heads. Siva with his consort figures on some issues. One fragment found in Kankali mound, probably of the Kusåna period, represented Siva and Pårvatii. The deity Nana portrayed on coins has been identified with Indian deity Uma. Visåkha or Mahåsena has also been depicted on the coins of Huviska. Some of the Brahmanical images bear the dates.

Nagas or serpent gods are represented in human form with a snake like hood rising above the head. The Chhargaon Naga statue bears the inscription dated in the year 40.

The Main Features of Hathara Art

1) The images are round in shape and the heads of the Bodhisattvas are shaven.

2) They have neither moustaches nor Uma or brow.

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1. BMC pl XXVIII, 15
2. ibid p.197 fig.135 pl XVIII ?
3. CAMM No. D. 13 p. 97
4. JRAS for 1897 p. 34
5. PMC p. 07 pl XII, XIII
6. EI Vol I p. 390; JRAS for 1910 p. 1311-15
7. CAMM No. C. 13 p. 88
8. SK p. 187 F. N. 40
3. Right hand is raised in abhavamudra and the left rests on the thigh.

4. Chests and shoulders are broad as a mark of physical strength.

VIII. CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONTACTS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Kuśāṇa rulers patronized art and culture. Goändhāra and Mathura schools of art were at their zenith during this period.

Kuśāṇas rapidly imbibed Indian culture after coming to this country. In fact they had adopted Buddhism even before entering India proper. The coins and inscriptions of early Kuśāṇa rulers show their deep faith in Buddhism and Buddhist Indian way of life. Thus the Kuśāṇa culture is basically Indian. However, we also find traces of Iranian, Greek and Roman influences. On their early coin legends in Greek script appear side by side with Kharosthī, though these defective Greek legends make it clear that the knowledge of Greek in Kuśāṇa court was perfunctory. Greek and Iranian divinities also figure on their coins along with the Buddha and

1. Supra pp. 46 ff., 71 ff.
Siva and other Indian gods. They had imported some native gods, like Ardokṣa, from their original home in Central Asia. They brought with them new modes of dress into this country.

A Chinese hostage was welcomed at the court of Kaniska. He introduced peaches and pears in India. According to Hsüan-Tsang, these fruits were called Chinani and China-rajaputra.

The Kusānas sent an embassy to Trajan (A.D. 98-117), the Roman emperor. Dion Cassius has given the account:

"And to Trajan after he had arrived in Rome there came a great many embassies from barbarian courts, and especially from the Indians and he offered shows in which wild beasts without number were slaughtered, because Trajan made the deputies who came from the kings sit in the seats of the senators when reviewing the show."

1. Supra p. 9 f.
2. The king was Kaniska II Supra pp. 261 f.
3. OYCT Vol I pp 292-93
4. AICL p. 13. IIAT p. 125
Bawlin-son and other scholars suggest that another Indian embassy was sent, to Roman emperor Augustus, by Kusāṇa rulers. Strabo also mentions about an embassy, about which Nikolaos Damaškeomos claimed that at Antioch he met the Indian ambassadors, three in number, with Zaranoc(h)egas as the head of the embassy. The embassy carried a letter written in Greek script by a king named Poros. Zaranoc(h)egas was an Indian from Bargosa. Strabo further states that the emperor Poros was the ruler of 600 kings. Florus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius confirm Strabo's statement, and gives the date of arrival of the embassy as B.C. 21. According to Florus it took four years to reach Rome from India. Therefore, the embassy started its journey in about 25 B.C.

Bawlin-son suggests that it was Kujula Kadphises who sent the embassy. But he is evidently wrong because the

1. Bawlin-son
2. Author of Universal History
3. Strabo, Geography BK XV chap 1,73 vide AICL pp 77-78
4. Historie Rome IV.12 vide AICL p.78 f.n.
5. Ibid
6. AICL p.79 f.n.
7. Bawlin-son
king who sent the embassy was ruling over a vast country, while Kujula Kadphises was the ruler of a comparatively small kingdom in B.C. 25. Nor was he ruling over Baragosa from where the ambassador failed?

Therefore we have assumed that Strabo and Dion Cassius were speaking of one and the same embassy which the Kusanas sent to the court of Trajan.