The topographical position of Kapisa and Gandhāra, through which ran important routes connecting Indian subcontinent with outside world, has considerable bearing upon the social history of these areas. From very ancient times, these countries became the centre of amalgamation and assimilation of different races and nationalities like Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Yueh-chih, Hūnas, Turks etc., who passed through these regions on their way into the interior of India. They came as conquerors, but soon settled in its different parts and most of the pre-Islamic invaders adopted Indian religion, dress, customs, and manners. Though, these foreign settlers and invaders were absorbed within the Indian social structure by degrees, they contributed on their part certain trends in dress, customs and manners which influenced the social and cultural life of these areas in a great way.

Thus, the regions concerned, witnessed in the pre-Christian and post-Christian centuries changing patterns in the society due to presence of various tribes in these territories.

In the Vedic period, Gandhāra and its neighbouring countries formed an integral part of Brahmaputra, and was a centre of Vedic learning and culture. This sphere of Vedic culture is shifted further towards east in the Epic Age which
presents a different picture. Already in that period, the inhabitants of Gandhāra and Kāmboja, a contagious state to the former, which possibly included a part of Kapiśa, were looked down upon by that of Mid-India for their disgusting practices and customs.

This very same idea is continued to be held by the people of Mid-India in the following centuries. They were branded as mlechchhas and were placed in the north or north-western India. According to Aśokan inscriptions, the countries of Gandhāra, Kāmboja belong to the frontier. The Amarakoṣa makes mention of the frontier kingdoms as the abode of the mlechchhas. Varāhamihira refers to rude mlechchhas of the north and the west while discussing influences of certain constellation of stars.

The "Life" preserves the same trend of thought and specifically mentions that the lands lying to the north of Lan-Po (Laghman) which includes Kapiśa as mi-li-kieu i.e. mlechchha lands. It is further stated in the "Life" that the people of these territories being residents of frontier countries, differ in case of language, dress and manners from that of Mid-India. The Āryamañjuśrī-Milakalpa refers to the people of these areas as "mlechchha-taskara jīvīnāḥ", i.e. the people whose livelihood was theft or robbery.

The term 'mlechchha' is frequently used in later Indian literature to denote a tribe or people of north, north-western borderlands of India having a few peculiar customs and practices
of their own. We can surmise from the above references that rudeness is one of the characteristics of these tribes which antagonised the people of Mid-India. In this case it is not unlikely that by the term "taskara-jivinah", looting of caravans by frontier tribesmen is indicated. Looting of caravans is not uncommon here. Hsüan-tsang himself faced robbers and brigands in this area, once on his way to the shadow cave and another time in the border of Takka country and Gandhara.

According to Al-bārūnī, mlechchha means impure and the term is applied to indicate all foreigners including Muslims at his time, who kill men and slaughter animals and eat the flesh of cows.

Therefore, it appears from above references, and evidences of coins and inscriptions of earlier period, and the period concerned that foreign element was ever present in the society of this area since the invasion of the Persians and the Greeks. Possibly, due to this reason the people of the area under survey has been branded as mlechchhas.

Moreover, Hsüan-tsang specifically described the nature of the people of Kapisa, Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra, Varana, Tsao-kuta, etc. In his opinion, the inhabitants of Kapisa "were of rude violent disposition, used a coarse vulgar language and married in a miscellaneous manner. The written language was very like that of Tokhara, but the colloquial
idiom and social institutions were different. For their inner clothing, they wore woolen clothes and for their outer garments skins and serge.\(^{21}\)

The very same characteristics characterise\(^{2}\) the people of this area till today. They are simple folk with a simple code of conduct, but become suddenly excited and resort to violence on finding a fault.

So far, the Chinese pilgrim includes Lan-po within India, but his description of those who lived in Lan-Po as "very musical, ugly, ill-mannered and deceitful and pusillanimous", shows it otherwise.

As stated above, Lan-po has been identified with Lamghan of present day.\(^{23}\) The Mahabharata's reference to Lampaka, seems to suggest that they were a rude mountain tribe like the Daradas and Pulindas.\(^{24}\) They are again, referred to in the lists of peoples of the M̄ärkandeya and the Matsya Purāṇas along with Kaśerukas, Śulakāras, Gulikas, Jāguḍas, Gandhāra, Paraṇa, Pahlava, Yavana, Śaka, Tuṣāra, Darada, Khasa, and others.

As stated earlier, Ṛājaśekhara in his Kavya-mimamsā assigns lampaka with a host of tribes such as Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkāna, Hūna, Vanāyuja, Bālhika, Vātadhamāna, Kuluta, Kīra, Taṅgana, Turushka, and others to the Uttarāpatha division of India (North India), which is situated to the north of Prithudaka or modern Pehoa in Rājasthaṇ. Ṛājaśekhara,
moreover adds a bit to the information already culled from Hsüan-tsang. The Chinese pilgrim mentioned that Lampakas chiefly wore cotton dresses and they dressed well. According to Rājaśekhara, women of Limpāka were noted for their coiffure and hairdos. He further tells us that the inhabitants of northern India had a fair complexion and they spoke Sanskrit with a nasal sound. As Limpāka has been placed in Northern India by Rājaśekhara, the above-mentioned statement may be equally applicable to that state. Moreover, the Limpāka people's fondness and skill in music as narrated earlier, recalls Gandhāra's fame in music. The people of Gandhāra are referred to as expert musicians in early as well as later literature. Gandhāra is one of the seven svaras of Indian music. The Rāmāyana uses the term Gandharva vishaya to mean to Gandhāra with its two capital cities Takṣaśilā and Pushkalāvatī situated to the east and west of the Indus, as stated earlier. The Rāmāyana also makes mention of the term Gandharva in the sense of the music. In the days of Vāyu Purāṇa Gandharva means music. Sculptural representation of a number of musical scenes suggest their liking and fondness of music and dancing. Though, Hsüan-tsang's Gandhāra lay to the east of Lan-po, according to Indian notion Gandhāra was a much larger tract which included regions lying to the east and west of Indus. It is not unlikely that Lan-po may be a part of this Gandhāra.

Both Hemāchandra and Yādava-Prakāśa give the synonym of Lampāka as murunḍa. "Saka-Murunḍa" (i.e. Saka lord) is
referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of "Samudragupta," among the foreign potentates along with "Daivaputrašāhi-shāhānushāhi" (i.e. the little Kushanas who adopted these titles), who came of their own accord to pay allegiance to that king. That is, from the above references we can infer that the population of Lan-po contained a greater portion of foreign elements, possibly Scythians.

Hsüan-tsang praises the residents of Nagara country. According to him, "they were of good character, courageous and they slighted wealth and esteemed learning." About Gandhāra, he said, that "the towns and villages were desolate and the inhabitants were very few; in one corner of the royal city there were above 1000 families. The people were faint-hearted and fond of practical arts; the majority adhered to other systems of religion, a few being Buddhists."

The town of Pushkalāvati was well populated and different wards of it were connected by passages. In this town many monasteries and deva temples were existed. It was the home town of famous scholars like Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta etc. The inhabitants of Udakhaṇḍa (Und) were in a flourishing condition and in it were collected valuable rarities from various regions. The people of Takṣaśīlā were plucky and courageous and were adherent of Buddhism.

The residents of Fa-la-na and Tsao-kuta were again of rude violent disposition.
As stated above, Nagara has been identified with Jelalabad. According to the Ghoshrawa inscription of Viradeva, Nagarahara was one of the best countries of the world (bhutabhumi-desottaññā).

As stated earlier, the people of Gandhāra were well-known in Indian literature. Taxila, which was one of the two capitals of Gandhāra in the earlier period, was once a famous education centre of this area, and imparted education in medicine, archery etc. besides secular literature and scriptures. As stated above, Gandhāra was celebrated in Indian literature for their music and also for their woolen goods etc. as early as the time of the Rigveda. It is not unlikely that Hsuan-tsang's practical arts may mean these above mentioned subjects which were still prevalent among the people of this area.

The Purāṇas present a different picture. The Matsya Purāṇa speaks of the countries of Bālhika, Vatadhāna, Ābhira, Savira, Madraka, Śaka, Druhya (possibly Gandhāra which according to tradition, is colonised by the descendants of Anu and Druhya, two sons of Yayāti), Pulinda, Pārada, Hāramurtaka, Ramatha, Kantakāra, Kaikesya, Daśānāmaka, Prasthala, Sampaka (Lampaka), Talagana, Sainika, Jāngala as the habitat of Brahmānas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas of Bharadvāja gotra.

According to the Purāṇas, the countries of Gandhāra, Yavana, Sindhu-Sauvira, and others were colonies of Brahmana,
Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas and Śūdras. Medhāktīthi on Manu even prescribed that if a mlechchha country was conquered by an Ārya king of excellent conduct, he might establish there the society based on four castes and assign to the mlechchhas a position similar to that of Chaṇḍāla in the Āryavarta. That is inspite of their turbulent nature and outlandish mode of living the people of the region under consideration followed the social order and norms of the contemporary India.

The fragmentary inscriptions show that the society is based on four castes. Ghoshrawa epigraph gives the impression that the rude mlechchhas, so far looked down upon by the people of Mid-India, lost some of their bad qualities. The impact of Indian culture was deeply felt in the life of the people. Again, in Al-būrūnī's opinion "in the mountaineous western frontier of India there lived tribes of Hindus or people near akin to them who are rebellious savage races". Utbi refers to Afghanā and Khaljis to be recruited into the army of Sultan Mahmud from the Laghman Peshawar region. These references suggest that due to repeated invasions of the Muslims, the settled order of the previous century becomes topsy turvy and the qualities so far held in check by different social norms and precepts comes to the forefront. Therefore, we can conclude that the people of Kapiśa, Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra, Fa-la-na (Varana), etc. incorporated foreign as well as Indian elements in different phases of its growth. However, culturally they were heavily influenced by
Indian custom since they adopted Indian religion. Nevertheless Kapiśa, Lan-po, Fa-la-na, might have retained costume and customs which might not be strictly of Indian origin.

As stated above, the society was based on caste system or four hereditary clan distinctions such as Brahmanas, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra like any other parts of India.

Hsüan-tsang like others understood the term Brahmana meaning those who had chaste continent habit of life. Therefore, he called them "purely living". The information so far gathered from his Hsi-yü-čhi, Indian sources, Al-bıruni, give the impression that the Brahmanas of these territories occupied themselves with religion, study and teaching of different subjects like Veda, Grammar, arithmetic, etc. However, they took up the vocation of other castes whenever necessary. Hsüan-tsang himself, noticed several Brahmana, Vaishya and Sudra kings in North and Western India. Sometimes Brahmanas acted as the guards of the stupa and temple which contained relics of the Buddha and collected fees from the visitors. In another place, the Chinese pilgrim found that one Brahmana was engaged in tilling the land in the south of Taxila nearing the borders of Takka country.

The Shahi dynasty of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, who ruled in this area from about A.D. 870 was called 'Brahmana Shahis' by
Al-bīrūnī. We know from Ghoshrāwā inscription of Viradeva, that his father Indragupta, a Brahmana, was a friend and chief minister of the king of Nagarāhāra. So the mention of different types of occupations adopted by the Brahmanas of these countries point to the fact that they do not strictly follow the rules prescribed for them. This idea persisted in other parts of India from the age of the Mahābhārata upto the period under consideration. For that very reason the Brahmanas of Kapiṣa and Gandhāra, did not find favour among the orthodox Brahmanas of Mid-India.

Hsüan-tsang confirms the second notion that the second social order is that of the Kṣatriyas or race of kings. As stated earlier, one important Kṣatriya ruler was holding sway over Kapiṣa, Gandhāra, and at least ten of the neighbouring states at the time of his visit. This king not only received him kindly but also provided him with every possible help. He equally showered honour and presents on the Chinese pilgrim.

Muslim chroniclers corroborated the views held by the Chinese pilgrim. Moreover, Sulaiman adds that kingship is hereditary. Ibn Khurdat Beh draws distinct line between Sabukṣāfri or race of kings and Kataria, the ordinary members of this class. Although, their remarks show the social structure of India in general at that time, as a part of India, it is equally applicable to the regions concerned.

During this period, a new term Rajput was coined to
indicate in general the members of the Kshatriya caste. The Muslims chroniclers applied this term Rajput to mean the people of Gandhāra, Ghazni and Kabul valley who defended their motherland against the onrush of the Muslims.

The third order is consisted of the Vaishyas or class of traders who barter their own commodities far and near. The Chinese pilgrim's reference to them as the trading caste is of some interest. It conveys the particular idea about trade prevalent in those days. In I-tsing's account of India, trade is mentioned as the faultless occupation, because it does not cause any injury to life. According to him, traders were held in much esteem than the farmers. The Samaricbā kahā, refers to Vaishya sārthavāha of Gandhāra who went to Broach with horses for trade.

Although vocations prescribed for Vaishya were both trade and agriculture, cultivation of cereals now became the means of livelihood of the Śūdras. The Chinese pilgrim refers to them as expert in sowing and reaping of various cereals. But Śūdras of these areas often took up the occupation of other castes. In Kuvalayamālā, we find a detail reference to a Śūdra sārthavāha of Gandhāra. He along with other traders the leadership of Dhanapati went to Surpāraka, an well-known trading mart of Western India to sell horses and other commodities.

Thus, we find that caste system was in existence in the lands of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Although the people of these
parts concerned themselves with vocations prescribed for them in the caste system, they did not follow any hard and fast rule in this regard, and often changed it. So, they incurred the displeasure of the people of Mid-India who tried to adhere to the rules rather strictly.

Besides, we find from the Tang-Shu, that a number of people like those of Chi-pin, Ghazni and Turks lived in the country of Chi-pin i.e. Kapiša. The Hudud Al 'Alam, mentions Khūrasani and Muslim merchants as residents of the different cities of these areas upto Hund in those days, side by side with native population. These references suggest that besides the four castes, foreigners especially Muslims have a place of their own in the society of the regions concerned. At the later part of the period under review, the society of these area came face to face with an element which they could not absorb within them. The Turks and Muslims maintained their separate entity till the end of the period under survey. At the present state of our knowledge we cannot say anything definite about their status in the society.

Marriage, the most important social function of one's life apparently formed an important part in one's life in our region. Our information on the system practiced here is practically nothing. The only source about this important
ceremony is Hsüan-tsang's statement that the people of Kapiśa "married in a miscellaneous manner". As no light is forthcoming in this regard, it is not unlikely that eight forms of marriage, current among the four castes of North India were prevalent here. Presence of foreign settlers in the society of the areas concerned indicates the use of the marriage ceremony of foreigners as well. The Chinese pilgrim mentioned that the Indians married within the same caste. Contemporary law books inform us that marriage is performed between members of the same caste, but not with sva-gotra and sva-piṇḍa.

Though the custom of marrying within one's own caste was followed in general inter-caste marriage was also known during this period. The Brahmaṇa Shahi king Bhima gave his daughter in marriage to the Khasa chief of Lohara. This king in his turn bestowed his daughter Diddā on Kshatriya Kṣemagupta, a king of Kāśmīra. Diddā was one of the famous queen of Kāśmīra, who issued joint coinage with her husband and also acted as regent during her son and grandson's reign. She held sway over Kāśmīra after the death of her grandson. The Shahis of Kapiśa and Gandhāra had matrimonial relations with the nobles of Kāśmīra. Tūṅga, chief minister of Kāśmīra, during queen Diddā's reign, a low born Khasa, married his son to a Shahi prince who entered into fire as a sati after his husband's death. Vasantalekha, a Shahi princess married to the royal family of Kāśmīra, committed sati on her husband's funeral pyre.
All these data tend to show that inter-caste marriage was in vogue among the people of North India and specially in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Ibn Khurdad Beh describes anulome forms of marriage while Al-biruni observes in course of narrating theoretical rules that in his time Brahmanas did not avail themselves of this liberty and married women of their own caste. So, it is fair to conclude that such inter-caste marriages were of exceptional nature and did not conform to the prevalent social custom.

Our information on the position of women of Gandhara and Kapiśa during the period concerned are even less than the data in the system of marriage followed there. In India of this age the position of the women was generally that of dependence on the male member of the society. The birth of girl was considered inauspicious in the family. The marriagable age for girls vary between eight to twelve years. The law-givers of this age laid emphasis on the observance of chastity by the wife.

The only source which illuminated this field, was the Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva. It is stated in the epigraph that Rajjikā, mother of Vīradeva, was well-known for her womanly virtues. She was specifically referred to as 'pativrata' i.e. devoted to her husband. Hence she was highly esteemed by the people of Nagarahāra.
It should, however, be admitted that the superiority of mother over every member of the family is also extolled in this period. To a son, the position of mother is even above father and therefore she must be maintained at all costs.

Recently an inscription has been published by G. Tucci, in the East and West of 1970. This epigraph informs us that a matha was founded by a lady called Ratnamañjarī in year 120 in the reign of Vijayapālandeṣa. This above reference suggests that women in general were connected with religious activities and even recorded building of religious foundations in their own name. The inscription of Queen Kāmeśvarī shows that the queens of this area issued epigraphs in their own name like their counterparts in India.

Sometimes women rose to fame and eminence. During this period poetess Rusā's work was translated into Arabic language in the court of Abbasid Caliphs.

It is interesting to note that no veil obscured the person of queen from the view of the people thereby showing that no purdah system was in vogue.

With the arrival of the Arab invaders forcible capture or abduction of women and men took place who were sold as slaves. This perhaps necessitates further changes in the position of women of these areas.
Cereals form an important part of the food stuff of the people of Kapisā and Gandhāra. Among various cereals, wheat and barley occupy a prominent place in the regions concerned from ancient times. This is continued to be same in the period under consideration.

The Chinese pilgrim noticed the cultivation of spring wheat in Kapisā. In the Ārya-mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa, it is expressly stated that the inhabitants of 'Kapisā Siddhiksetra' are consumers of barley and wheat ('Yava-Godhuma bhojina'). Wheat is mentioned as the 'food of the Yavanas' in Dhanvantari's Nighantu. The same term is used to denote it in later literature.

The above references points to wheat's unpopularity among the people of North-west India in those days, though a few preparations were known.

With the advent of Muslim, a slight change is noticeable in this field. Wheat is now more favoured by the people of North India. Various preparations such as Kasāra, suhāli, Pāhalikā, Polikās were added to the list of known preparations.

Besides upland rice produced in Lanpo constitutes one of the items of staple food of this valley. Although we have very little evidence about milk and milk products, pulses, vegetables, these articles may be in use among the population of this area like any other parts of India.
Meat was in general use among the people of the regions concerned and its neighbouring countries from ancient period. Flesh of sheep was very popular. Garlic, onion, black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, saffron are some of the ingredients for the cooking of meat. Different preparations were known. Al-Biruni gave a list of lawful meat. But the people of the regions concerned did not take beef. According to Al-Biruni, the Isphabad of Kabul after his defeat at the hands of the Muslims promised to be converted to Islam on condition that he would not take beef.

In the list of spices and condiments, mention may be made of garlic, onion, ginger, black pepper, along with saffron and asafoetida. Dried ginger's synonym is 'Nagara', i.e. produced in Nagara country or city. It is possible that this Nagara may mean the Nagara of Hsüan-tsong. Garlic and onion are again and again referred to as 'food of the Yavanas' in the Indian literature. This repeated references suggests that people of other parts of India does not like them. Actually, use of garlic and onion are prohibited to the Brahmanas of India by the law-givers.

Long use of onion and garlic in these territories proved their medicinal value. Later on, even the milk of a cow was prescribed for a twice born who was ill.

The juice of sugar-cane, guda, phānīta, crystal sugar were in use among the inhabitants of Kapīśa and Gandhāra.
Hsün-tsang records that fruits are in abundance in Kapisa and Nagara, Gandhára. Among them, mention may be made of grapes, plums, peaches, apples, apricots, water-melons, sweet oranges, myrobolans etc. Fresh and dried myrobolans had been received by Caliph Al-Mamun after his conquest of Kabul in A.D. 815-16 when trade was resumed. This indicates that fresh and dried fruits not only forms an important item of the foodstuffs of the area under review but also suggests its export to different countries. Even the 19th century travellers noticed the abundance of fresh and dried fruits in the bazars of Kabul, Laghman and Jalalabad, etc.

The inhabitants of these areas are referred to in the ancient and contemporary Indian literature as very fond of drinking wine. Finds of various types of goblets, wine cups, flasks etc. bore witness to the fact. Many sculptures of Kapisa and Gandhára while illustrating the Buddhist theme depicts drinking scenes. This is one of the most common scene of these regions in the earlier part of the period.

Moreover, Kapisa was the producer of famous Kapisayana wine. Some of its names are 'kalya' (i.e. Kábisam madyam or a kind of liquor made in Kapisa), 'Parisrutanmadhu', (i.e. distilled spirit), 'Devasriṣṭa', (i.e. made by the gods), and mādhvikam, an intoxicating drink. The above mentioned references suggest that grape wine is prepared in Kapisa not only for its home consumption but also for its export to India.
Drinking of wine was again and again condemned by the Law-givers of India. For this reason, the people of these frontier countries were looked down upon by those of Mid-India.

Thus the food habits of the people of Kapiša and Gandhāra differs from that of Mid-India proper. Although, it is the same in its essentials, the dietary of the residents of these countries contain such elements which are condemned and prohibited by the Law-givers of ancient India. Eating from the same plate or utensil is one of the customs of these areas which again attracted censor of the Law-givers. It is specifically stated in the Dharma śāstras and Purāṇas that one should not take their meal before public and not with others. Some of them prescribed that one should take meal with one’s brother and other relative in a row in a secluded place. In case of function, food may be taken in a row. But each caste must sit in separate for themselves. Besides separate plates must be used. From Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya it appears that Śakas and Yavanas are allowed to take their meals in the utensils of the three high castes without making them permanently unclean. Already in the days of Al-biruni this mode of eating from the same plate is considered bad. In his opinion, a few Brahmanas allow their relatives to eat from the same dish, but most of them disapprove of this. He further tells us that any connection with a foreigner, be it by sitting, eating or drinking, is forbidden. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner.
Owing to the climatic condition, two types of dress materials were used by the people of Kapisa and Gandhāra. Kapisa being colder, the inhabitants of it use woolen clothes for their inner clothing and their outer garments consisted of skins and serge. The countries of Lan-po and Gandhāra belong to a warmer climate and therefore, the people of these two states wear chiefly cotton dresses. As stated earlier, Hsuan-tsang specifically stated that the people of Lan-po are well-dressed.

In Hsuan-tsang's opinion, "close fitting jackets like that of Tartars were worn in extreme north of India where the climate was very cold." The sculptures of these areas under review depict two kinds of costumes with a few varieties. The first type is made of full sleeved close-fitting tunics which reaches up to knee and close-fitting trousers with high boots and various kinds of head-dresses with jewels, flowing ribbons etc. Short sleeved tunic and baggy trousers, another variety of the first type, are also known. The apparels of women generally follow those of men. But the use of ghāgri, orni, and choli strikes a new note in this field. A Grecian flowing garment closely fitted to the waist and having graceful folds up to the feet is also known.

The second mode of wearing costumes and dresses made of cotton most probably belongs to Lan-po, Nagara and Gandhāra. In the opinion of Hsuan-tsang, "the inner clothing and the
attire of the people of India have no tailoring. Among colours a fresh white is esteemed and motly is of no account.

The contemporary sculptures of gods and devotees of the regions concerned represent this mode of wearing dresses. Deities, sometimes devotees also are depicted as wearing dhoti and uttariya, with a simple cap or turban. The apparels of the goddesses comprise of sari, kamchuli, ornii, crown, other ornaments. Flowers in some cases adorn their hair also.

The latter part of the period under review saw further changes. One Muslim historian noticed the presence of two types of dresses and the two ways of wearing them in the zone and the period concerned. Muslims used kurtā, close-fitting trousers and head dresses and non-Muslims followed the dresses of the Persians. And the kings of these countries were dressed in Indian fashion.

Menfolk of these territories generally wear their hair long which hangs in loose curls over their shoulders. Their long hair is further dressed in different fashions and is decorated with top-knots, crowns, jewels, simple caps, turbans, crest-jewels, ribbons. They keep their beards long and have moustaches also. Women has long hair, which is plaited and arranged into bun, and in many types of coiffures. These hair-dos are adorned with jewels and as already stated, with flowers.

Many types of ornaments in vogue among the male and female members of the society. Bangles, armlets, ear-rings,
finger-rings, necklaces, crest-jewels, tiaras, are the fashions of this period. Especially, the simple necklaces of pearls or precious stones, round-shaped ear-rings (found in the Huna coins and on the gods of this period), bangles, armlets are very popular. The sculptures of the zone and the period and also of earlier time exhibits intricately carved ornaments set with gems and pearls.

The early medieval Muslim annalists refer to the popularity of ornaments among the kings of the countries concerned. Necklaces of Shahi Jayapala and his kith and kin were taken away by Sultan Mahmud. The famous pearl necklace of Jayapala fetched a very high price.

Flowers play an important part in this field along with ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones. Gandhara is referred to produce a number of flowers according to Hsuan-tsang. Its use as garland and singly on the hair are found in the sculptures of the period and regions concerned.

The spoken language of Kapisa and its adjoining countries differed from that of Mid-India in the days of Hsuan-tsang. According to him, the inhabitants of Kapisa spoke "a coarse vulgar language" and their written language was like that of Tokhara. While describing the people of Tokharistan, he made mention of the fact that its written
language was consisted of 25 letters.

The latter reference to Tokharian script of 25 letters, may point to the use of the Greek cursive script of 25 letters which prevailed in the countries of Tokharistan, Bactria, Ghazni and Kapiša, with its neighbours in the earlier centuries and in the first two centuries of our time. A number of coins, inscriptions in this character are recovered from these areas by the 19th century scholars. Humback deciphered one such inscription identified it with Greek cursive script. Coins of Spalapatideva proves that the script was used up to his time.

The spoken language referred to above may be derived from the form of a Prakrit which was prevalent in those areas in the first few centuries of the Christian era. It is likely that a few more words were added to that tongue by every passing invaders. As we know from the T'ang annals, the Turks also constituted a part of the population of Kapiša and Gandhāra in the period concerned, the language of Kapiša may contain an admixture of Turkish words, along with other loan words from different tongues. Researches of Humback on Tochi valley inscription points to this fact as well. This charter uses the Greek cursive script and its language is an admixture of Turkish and Iranian words. Al-biruni noted the presence of a neglected vernacular as the language of the common people along with classical Sanskrit.

In Gandhāra and its nearby areas this neglected vernacular may mean a kind of Prakrit strongly influenced by Sanskrit and enriched by Turkish and Iranian words.
Persian language and Pahlavi characters existed here side by side with the Greek cursive up to the first decade of 8th century A.D. These two serve the purpose of official language in the earlier part of the ages concerned as already mentioned above.

Hindu Shahi's adoption of Sanskrit language and Sarada script ousted them from this field from the middle of 9th century. A centre of Vedic Culture in the earlier period, the study of Sanskrit (in Brahmi script) never stopped here. Already in the period of Yāska, the language varied from the Vedic tongue. Inscriptional evidence proves its existence in the ages beginning from Christian era up to the rule of Toramana. According to Bühler, Toramana's Kyura epigraph from Punjab is written in Gāthā form of Sanskrit. In other words Sanskrit is heavily influenced by Gāthācrit. In the opinion of Hsüan-tsang, "the people of Mid-India are pre-eminently explicitly correct in speech, their expression being harmonious and elegant like those of the devas and their intonations clear and distinct serving as rule and pattern for others. The people of neighbouring territories and foreign countries repeating errors until these became norm and emulous for vulgarities, have lost their pure style."

This is equally true in the case of the regions of Kapisa and Gandhāra at a later date. The Bakshali Manuscript
dated in A.D. 800 reveals this sort of Sanskrit which is full of irregularities. As already stated above, the Kyura inscription of Toramāṇa Shahi shows this sort of Sanskrit, it is possible that this is the same in the case of the language of Bakhshali manuscript also. The inscriptions preserve a few Sanskrit poetry of this nature. But specimen of good sanskrit poetry is also known.

In the 7th century mainly two types of education systems prevailed in North India such as (1) the Buddhististic monastic system of education and (2) the Brahmanical Gurukula system of instruction. In the former, monasteries become the centres of learning where studies are carried on both in religious scriptures and secular sciences. In the latter the preceptor's house serves that purpose.

Hsüan-tsang observed the existence of a large number of monasteries in the countries of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Most of the Vihāras of Lan-po, Gandhāra were deserted and in ruins, but the remaining other played an important part in this regard. The Chinese pilgrim specifically mentioned the Hostages monastery and Mahayanist's convent at the capital city of Kapiśa as two of the most important among the thousand monasteries of Kapiśa. He not only mentioned this, but also gave a detailed list of distinguished teachers of this vihāra. Manojñāghosha, Āryavarma of the Sarvāstivādin sect, Guṇabhadra, of Mahisasakas, and others were some reputed chiefs of this convent. He met them in a religious assembly, held by the
king of Kapisa who was fond of religious conferences and
discussions. These teachers are found to be masters in
their respective fields. As their knowledge of the scriptures
could not embrace all the branches of Hinayana and Mahayananist
schools, so Hsuan-tsang's erudition on all these subjects was
honoured and he was accorded the place of victor in this
religious assembly.

About Lan-po, he said, that it consisted of ten
sangharamas and a few brethren. We know that this district
produced at least one distinguished Sanskrit scholar in the
past. This pious and learned scholar visited China and assisted
in the translation of a celebrated treatise of magical invoca-
tions from Sanskrit into Chinese: in A.D. 700.

The Chinese pilgrim mentioned that the people of Nagara
reverenced Buddha and esteemed learning very much. Nagara-
hara retained its fame upto 9th century A.D. In that age we
find Viradeva, a noted scholar, who was resident of Nagarahara
and an alumni of Kanishka Mahavihara and also the president of
Nalanda in the time of Devapala.

As already stated Gandhara was once a famous centre of
learning. Takshasila, one of its capital at the earlier days,
which sometimes formed a part of Gandhara in the period
concerned, was far-famed in the history for its different
schools of learning from an earlier period. Takshasila,
was perhaps not in a flourishing state in our period, and a
system of education not altogether lacking in Gandhāra. According to Hsuan-tsang, among the past Buddhist Masters (who wrote treatises on Buddhist religion and philosophy), Shih-ch'in-P'usa (Vasuvandhu), Dharmatrāta, Vasumitra, Manoratha, venerable Pārśva Nārāyanadeva, Wu-chao-Pusa (Āsāṅga), Ḣiva belonged to this country.

Kanishka Mahāvihāra, one of the foremost monasteries of this region was situated near Peshawar. It was founded in the first or second century A.D. by Kanishka. According to Hsuan-tsang, this monastic complex consisted of a great stupa and a number of small topes with a saṅghārāma. This old monastery had a number of storyed buildings, terraces, and vaulted chambers. The "upper storeys and many terraces were connected by passages to invite eminent Brethren and give distinction to illustrious merit". According to the Chinese pilgrim, "from the time it was built it had yielded occasionally extraordinary men, and arhats and sāstramekaras" like Pārśva, Manoratha, Āsāṅga, Vasuvandhu and others who were "by their pure conduct and excellent virtue were still an active influence." During Hsuan-tsang's visit, this monastery, however, was not in a very flourishing condition. Nevertheless, a number of monks and scholars lived in this convent and carried on their work.

This Buddhist establishment was able to maintain its existence up to the middle of the 9th century A.D. Vīradeva of Nagarahāra, after finishing his Vedic studies in an early
age joined this Mahāvihāra and accepted ordination under the preceptor Sarvajña-sānti. After completing the courses here, he went to Vajrāsana at Bodhgaya to pay homage to that sacred spot. Next he visited the Brethren of his country at Yasovarmapura-vihāra. Then he went to Nalanda. He was treated with reverence by the Pāla king Devapāla. He was elected by the Sangha of Nalanda to be its president for his scholarship and learning. This indicates the high status enjoyed by the alumni of the Kanishka Mahāvihāra in the rest of India. It also perhaps suggests the practice of exchange of scholars between these different centres of learning.

The cities of Pushkalāvatī and Po-lu-sha also produced learned men of eminence in the past. The former was visited by a number of well-known scholars and preachers of Mid-India. The town of Pushkalāvatī had to its credit two scholars Vasumitra and Dharmatrāta as referred to above, who composed two famous treatises on Buddhism. Isvaradeva of Po-lu-sha wrote another such work.

So, we find that though many of the monasteries were in ruins and deserted, but the remaining others played an important role in the field of education.

Hsüan-tsang described in detail the Buddhist and Brahmanical way of instruction while discussing the education system of India. As the greater part of the regions under
consideration fall within Hsüan-tsang's India, the Indian education system described by the Chinese pilgrim is equally applicable to the system of education prevalent in the territories of Kapiśa and Gandhāra also.

Hsüan-tsang holds that in the beginning of their education, children learns "twelve chapters", which is the child's primer ABC and headed by the word Siddham. "When the child is seven years old, the treatise of the Five sciences are gradually communicated to them. The first science is grammar which teaches and explains words and classifies their distinction. The second is that of the skilled professions (concerned with) the principles of the mechanical arts, the dual process of astrology. The third is the science of medicine (embracing) exercising charms, medicinal use of stone, the needle, moxa. The fourth is the science of reasoning by which the orthodox and heterodox are ascertained and the true or false are thoroughly sought out (Nyāya). The fifth is the science of internal which investigates and teaches the five degrees of religious attainments (lit. five vehicles) and the subtle doctrine of Karma (Adhyātmavidya)." The fifth science of the present passage, as the context shows and as we learn from other authorities, mean Buddhism. The son of a Buddhist parents went through a course of secular instruction like other boys, and he also studies the books of his religion including metaphysical and argumentative treatises of the great Doctors of Abhidharma.
In these he learned all about the Five degrees or Five vehicles, the five fold gradation of moral beings. These progressive stages are given as lay believer (or inferior degree), ordained disciple, Pratyeka Buddha, Bodhisattva, Buddha. They are also said to be man, devas, ordained disciples, Pratyeka Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and there is further difference of opinion as to the classes of beings which form the successive groups. In the Buddhist śāstras, moreover, the student found the doctrine of Karma stated, defended and illustrated with a subtlety of intellect and boldness of imagination almost matchless. All the five groups of learning here enumerated were apparently comprised in the training of an Indian Buddhist, and no one could be a leader in the church or an authority on dogma, who did not show himself a proficient in these departments of learning. We are told of Kumāra-jīva that he studied the śāstras of five sciences and of Guṇabhadra, it is recorded that in his youth he learned all the śāstras of Five sciences, astronomy, arithmetic medicine, exorcisms.

Thus, these Five sciences formed the basic ground for further study.

"The religious training in the Tripiṭaka was, according to some a separate affair." According to Hsüan-tsang, several assemblies were held by this monastery to judge the scholarship and learning of its brethren. Very little is known about the Brahmanical system of education prevalent in
our region. It was practised in places like Nagarāhāra, Sālatura, the birth place of Pāṇini and possibly in Taxila. These places were of some importance. In the Nagarāhāra Vedic studies were continued up to the middle of the 9th century A.D. which was apparent from the Ghoṣhrāwa inscription of Vīradeva. Vīradeva studied the Vedas and other connected subjects in that city. Sālatura was known for its grammatical studies. Hsüan-tsang noted that the Brahmanas of this city were studious scholars and great investigators and studied the work of Pāṇini with great care. The whole treatise of Pāṇini was transmitted orally from master to disciple. Ugrabhūti, preceptor of Ānandapāla, wrote Śishya-hita-vṛitti, a grammar. He may belong to this centre.

The oral method of instruction was followed by both the Buddhist and Brahmanas alike. In the former system the students lived in the preceptor’s house and was dependant on their teacher for their every need. The Brahmana student receive like their counterpart first instruction at the age of seven or five years. After mastering the primer on A.B.C. the child was gradually introduced to Five sciences. After completing this course they studied the three Vedas, the Rik, Sāma and Yaju. Hsüan-tsang included within the four vedas Āyurveda or medicine also. Apparently it is a mistake because the system of medicine as a profession belonged to the Vaidyakas only.
In his opinion, "the teacher must have a wide and thorough and minute knowledge of these, with an exhaustive comprehension of all that is abstruse in them." These teachers "explain the general meaning to their disciples and teach them to minute; they arouse them to actively and skilfully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull when the disciple, intelligent and acute are addicted to idle shirking, the teacher doggedly preserve repeating the instruction until their training is finished, they go into office and the first thing they do is to reward their kindness of their teacher."

The Indianised society of Kapiša and Gandhāra faced a serious crisis with the arrival of Islam. The people of these territories, came into contact with Muslims from a comparatively earlier period than any other parts of India except Sind. This relationship continued for 400 years there by deeply influencing its society and culture. At least three phases of impact of Islam can be noticed in the society of the zone of our age.

The first phase began with the first Muslim invasion of the Kabul valley by Ab-dar Rahman Ibn Samurah and the attack on Nezak, ruler of Badghis region in A.D. 667, as stated above. As mentioned above, Ab-dar Ibn Samurah marched to Kabul directly from Seistan and conquered it
after few months seize and preached Islam. He took many captives. Taking the advantage of Ibn Samurah's preoccupation in Zabulistan, the inhabitants of Kabul revolted and drove out the Muslims from their city and returned to their forefather's faith. Ibn Samurah had to reconquer it. But the Muslim authority could not hold it for long with the withdrawal of Ibn Samurah's forces, Kabul again declared independence and drove out the Muslims. This sort of incidents occurred here again and again.

As already stated above, Nizak was the ruler of Badghis region in the fifties as well as sixties of the 7th century. He had to face repeated invasions of his territory by the Muslims. He retreated to Baghlan after his conflict with the Muslims in A.D. 664 and tried to recover his country with the assistance of allies between that period and A.D. 709. He did not succeed in this attempt and was captured with his associates and was killed in the same year.

But his successor was found to be ruling over Kapisa in 709 A.D. This indicates that the Nezak dynasty had to fall back on Kapisa beyond Hindukush as a result of this defeat.

Next to Nezak dynasty, we find Shahi Tigrin who conquered Khurasan from Muslims between 720 to 735 A.D. In 736 Balkh was recaptured by the Muslims and made the capital of Khurasan. From this time onwards Muslim hold over Khurasan became stronger day by day. And the Shahi kings were compelled
to expand their kingdom south and eastwards. The above mentioned incidents show the first impact of Islam on the society of these areas. Islam came to these regions with fire and sword.

Although people were compelled to embrace Islam, the repeated inroads, large scale destruction of people and property and looting of wealth and taking of large number of captives, suggest that these attacks are in the form of mere raids for gain. Society's initial reaction to these raids were total rejection of foreigners and their faith. This phase come to an end in A.D. 815, when Kabul Shah submitted to Al-Mamun and professed Islam. This was a decisive victory for the Muslims. Kabul Shah's acceptance of Islam possibly led the people to accept this religion. The whole territory from Khurasan up to frontiers of Kasmir opened to the Muslims as its result. Muslims were permitted to reside in the cities of this area.

As early as 857 A.D. the record of a Muslim settler Hayy son of 'Amar has been found in Tochi Agency, west of Bannu in N.W.F.P., Pakistan. Though a little outside of our region it refers to the construction of a tank there. Muslim geographers record the presence of Muslim traders in different towns and cities of this area. The Hudud-Al-Alam, preserves the names of Laghman, Kabul, Saul, Dynpur, Waihand where Muslims and Hindus lived side by side. Even the local chief of Laghman is referred to as Muslim, but its residents as admixture of Hindu and Muslims.
So, we find that the Kapisa, Gandhara's social structure tried to adjust it after its recovery from the initial shock. The presence of Muslims in the society was accepted and the age-old policy of toleration was followed towards them. Both of these religionists tried to learn each other's language. Under the able leadership of Abbasid Caliphate many valuable works on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, etc. were translated into Arabic and Persian from Sanskrit original. Even poetress Rusā's poems were translated. Al-biruni's scholarship is the proof of this exchange. Rājaśekhara stated that a poet can translate or take back the summary of a book or original works written in 'mlechchha languages'. This indicates that this type of translation was also known to Indians as well. This phase is further characterised by liberal laws which were prescribed by Atri and Devala. In the opinion of Devala, an inhabitant of Sind in 8th century A.D., reconversion was possible in case of a mlechchha-nita. According to him, in the case of forcible capture and conversion of women reconversion was also possible. Political history reveals a number of instances between A.D. 880-815 A.D. where all the people of different cities apostatized as soon as possible. Thus by prescribing these liberal laws Devala accepted the actual practices.

Constant warfare with the Muslims had its effect in this field. With rise of Ghaznavid power this relationship was changed altogether. In this last stage, the sole
reference to a case of reconversion is known from the account of Utbi. He referred to Nawsah Shah, a son of Ānandapāla. He was converted to Islam in Khurasan. Sultan Mahmud left him as his protégée to govern a portion of the former dominions of Ānandapāla. Taking advantage of Sultan Mahmud’s preoccupation with the Turks Nawsah Shah declared independence and he held talks with Brahmanas for reconversion. Hearing this news Sultan Mahmud promptly came back and inflicted a crushing defeat on him and kept him as a lifelong prisoner.

This incident shows that a change is already appearing in this regard. Al-bīrūnī noticed further deterioration in this field. According to him, repeated attacks on the Shahi land, large scale massacre, forcible capture and conversion of people closed the door against the admission from outside, even for those who stayed out of it by force choice and accident. In his opinion "all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them against all foreigners. They call them mlechchha, i.e. impure and forbid having any connection with them, be it marriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted. They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it or was inclined to their religion. This two render any connection with them impossible and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."
This statement of Al-bīrūnī points to the introduction of rigid laws in this period. Thus we find that the Indian law-givers at first tried to absorb the foreigners within the social structure like any other invaders. But their attempt failed in this regard. This process of assimilation came to a halt with the advance of Islam. Here Indian society came face to face with such an element which protected its separate identity and as such could not be absorbed into Indian social structure. To tackle this problem the law-givers of this period prescribed rigid laws and enforced strict use of these laws and condemned everything connected with a mlechohha as impure, which was mirrored in Al-bīrūnī's account.
Notes and References

1. See Chapter on Economic Condition. R.V. I. 74, 2; V. 10. 3; 44, 7; VI. 2, 8; A.V., VI. 3. 3; 64, 1; Vāj. Sam. XXVII. 3. Chhāndogya Upanishad, VI. 14; I. 2; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, II. K. I. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa IV. I. Kubhā-R.V. V. 53. 9; X. 75. 6.

1a. Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, Book I, Ch. I, Persepolis Inscription of Darayavahush (= Darius), pp. 6-8; Naqshi-Rustam Inscription (a) of Darayavahush (= Darius), pp. 9-11; Persepolis Inscription /h_7 of Khshayarsha (= Xerxes, c. 486-65 B.C.), pp. 11-15.

1b. Ibid., Book II, Ch. I, Basenagar Caruda Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhagabhadra — Regnal year 14, pp. 90-91; Shinkot Steatite casket Inscription of the time of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.) — Regnal years 4 and 5, pp. 102-104; C.I.I., Vol. II, pt. I; A Swat Relic Vase Inscription of Merīdārkh Theodoros, pp. 1-4; Taxila C.P. Inscription of a Meridarikh, pp. 4-6.

1c. Ibid., Shahdaur Inscription of Damijada, pp. 13-146; Taxila C.P. Inscription of Patika, The year 78; pp. 23-32.

1d. Ibid., Mathura Lion Capital Inscription, pp. 30-49; The so-called Takht-i-Bahi Inscription of the year 103, pp. 57-63.

1e. Ibid., Panjtar Inscription of the year 122, pp. 67-70; Taxila Silver scroll of the year 136, pp. 70-77; Khalatise Inscription of the year 187, pp. 79-81; Sui Vihar C.P. Inscription of the year 11, pp. 138-141; Select Inscriptions, Vol. I(II), Sarnath Buddhist Image
Inscriptions of Kanishka, pp. 132-134; Manikiyala Stone
Inscription of Kanishka I - year 18 (A.D. 96?), pp. 138-
139; Sanchi Buddhist Image Inscription of Vāśishka -
year 28 (= A.D. 106?), pp. 144-145; Mathura Stone Ins-
cription of Huvishka, pp. 146-147; Mathura Image Ins-
cription of Vāsudeva, p. 156.
1f. G. Bühler, The New Inscription of Toramāṇa Sāhā, E.I.,
Vol. I, Article No. 29, pp. 238-41; Later Indo-Scythians,
pp. 276-93, pl. VII, VIII, IX, X.
1g. Ibid., pp. 297-291; pl. IX, 18-24, pl. X, 2, 9.
2. As on 1, 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1g.
4. Aitareya Brāh. VII. 34; Śatapatha Brāh. VIII. 14, 10.
5. Mbh., Udyoga Parvan, Ch. 165, 1-3; Bhīma Parvan, Ch.
17, 26-27; Ch. 20, 8; Ch. 45, 66-68; Ch. 46, 51; Ch. 71,
90, 13-17; Ch. 56, 7; Ch. 75, 7. 17; Droṇa Parvan, Ch.
20. 20-27; Ch. 92, 61-75.
6. Mbh., Karna Parvan, Ch.44. 46; Ch. 45. 8; Anusāsanika
Parvan, Ch. 207. 43-44; Bhuridatta Jātaka VI. 208;
Cowell's Jātaka VI. 110; Baud. Dh. S., I. 1. 31.
8. Amara. 2, p.71; Br. Sam., XIV. 20-21; Sukranitisāra,
I. 3. 87-88 (p. 530).
Thirteenth Rock Edict : Shahbaligarhi, pp. 66-70.
10. Amara, 2, p. 71.
11. Dr. Sam. XIV. 21; V. 29, 33, 54, 79; XVI. 9-10.
14. MMK, Vol. II, Ch. 24, p. 274. "Yeh pi Pratyanta-vāsi-nyo-
mlechchha taskara jivinah".
16. Life, Book II, pp. 60-61, 73.
17. Sachau, Ch. I, pp. 19-20; II, LXIV, p. 137. "All other
men except the Cāndāla, as far as not Hindus, are called
mlechchha, i.e. all those who kill men and slaughter,
animals and eat flesh of the cows."
18. See note 1a to 1g.
19. Ibid.
23. See Chapter on Geographical Background.
27. Kāv. 17. 10, p. 94.
28. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 17. 25.
32. This particular quality of the tribal population drew
derogatory comments from Karna and others. Amara, 6.1,
AA, 141, 5; Bhasha, 24, 8; 24, 12; Rām., p. 46; Mbh. VIII, 44, 3; VIII. 2051, Hill tribes of N.W.F.P. of Pakistan (Hazaras) still retains
contd...

33. Mbh., Āsvamedhik Parva, 53/58.
33a. See Chapter on Geographical Background, Notes 102 and 103.
33b. Rāmāyāna, 1. 4. 8-10; 7.94 4-11; 28. 36-37.
33c. Vāyu, Ch. 86, V. 35-46, Ch. 87.
33d. The Gandhara Art in Pakistan, pl. 3, 36, 39 a-b, 365.
34. As on note 33a.
35. Abhidhāna, III. V. 24, p. 144.
36. Vāji, p. 15.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., Vol.I, p.221.
43. Ibid., p.240.
44. Ibid., Vol.II, pp. 262, 265.
45. See Chapter on Geographical Background, pp. 8-9.
46. Ghoshrawa Praśasti of Viśadeva, Gaudalekhamālā, pp. 4ff.
47. See Chapter on Geographical Background, pp.
49. See note 32 and Bharata, Ch. II, V. 483-484 (K.S.S.),
Ramayana I. 4, 8-10; Vayu, P. Tarkaratna, Calcutta,
Vangavda 1317, Ch. 86, v. 35-46.
50. R.V., i. 126. 7.
52. See Chapter on Geographical Background, F.N. 105 and 106.
53. Medhātithi on Manu, II. 23. "If a Kṣhatriya king of
excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlechchhas,
establish the system of four varnas (in the mlechchha
country) and assign to mlechchas a position similar to
that of Cāndālas in Āryavarta, even that mlechcha
country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices
since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes
impure through contact of impure persons or things."
XXII, 1933-34, pp. 97-98; K.V. Ramesh, A Fragmentary
Śarada Inscription from Hund, El, Vol. XXXVIII, Part
II, 1969, pp. 97-98; D.R. Sahni, Six Inscriptions in
55. As on note 46. Abdur Rahman, op. cit.
57. Sharma, op. cit., p. 51.
58. See notes 46 and 54; Watters, I, p. 123; Abdur Rahman,
op. cit.
61. See note 51 and 52.
62. Sachau, Vol.II, Ch.XLIX, p.13, Ch.LXIII, pp. 130-135;
Ibid., Vol.I, Ch. XIII, p. 185.
Three kings of Wu-she-yen-na (Ujayana), Chih-chi-t'o (Jajhoti) and Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-la (Mahesvarapura) are Brahmana by birth. King of Sind belongs to Ėudra caste.

64. Life, Book II, p. 59.
65. Ibid., Book II, pp. 73-74.
67. See note 46.
68. Mbh., Śāntiparvan, 65, 14; Anusāsanikaparvan, 207, 43-44; see notes 5 and 6 above.
69. As on note 59.
70. As on note 21.
71. Life, Book II, pp. 54, 56-57, 60; Book V, 192-193.
72. HIED, Vol. I, pp. 6, 16, 20, 76; Sachau, Vol.I, Ch. IX, pp. 101, 103-104. Idrisi also differentiates between royal families and ordinary members of Kshatriya caste.
74. Ibid., p. 16.
75. HIED, Vol.I, p.22. "Kandahar (Gandhāra) is called the country of the Bahbut (Rajput?)."
76. As on note 59.
77. Ibid.
78. I-tsing, Ch. XXXV, p. 189.
79. Ibid.
80. Samaricch Kaha, pp. 45ff.
vel, p. 168.
83. Kuvalayamāla, p. 32.
84. Documents, p. 61 — Tang Shu ch, 221b, p. 5a.
86. As on note 21.
87. See note 59.
88. KHDS II. 1. 438-45.
89. Rāj. VI. v. 176-177.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., v. 176-232
92. Ibid., v. 232f.
93. Ibid., VII. v. 103, 946-1470.
94. Ibid., VII. v. 103.
95. Ibid., VII. v. 1550-1571.
98. Kāt. v.v. 835-37; Vedavyāsa II. 12. 19; Mts., 210-18; Vedavyāsa II. 15. I-tsing, p. 81. "They (nuns) can be pure like a precious stone lying in the mud or a lotus flower in water, and thus their life, though called a low one, is in reality, a life of wisdom that is equal to that of an exalted person."
101. See note 67.
102. Ibid.
103. As on note 99 above.
104a. Ibid.
106a. Ibid., Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III, p. 24, Ch. IV, p. 38, 53.
111. Ibid., p. 123; Ast. Sam., VII, 14-16, 22.
113. Dhanvantari's Nighantu, Ch. 6, p. 227.
114. Bhavi, XII. 3; I-tsing, pp. 43-45.
116. Piggot, Prehistoric India, p. 155; Marshall, Mahenjodaro and Indus Civilisation, Vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 37, R.V., 29, 7, 7, 29, 8; VI. 17, 11, 13; VII, 12, 8; V. 91, 14; Mait. Sam. III, 14; Vāj. Sam. XIII, 47-51; Tait. Sam. IV. 2. 10. 1-4; Sachau, Vol. II, LXXVIII, pp. 181-52; Gopatha Brahma, III, 18 and also see Note 5 and 6 above.
116. Mbh. VIII. 34. 96.
Animals the killing of which is allowed are sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceroses, the buffaloes, fish, water and land birds, as sparrows, ring doves, francolins, doves, peacocks, and other animals which are not loathsome to man or noxious.

That which is forbidden are cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame, poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales, all kinds of eggs and wine.

Five vegetables are forbidden to them by the religious code: - onions, garlic, a kind of gourd, a plant like the carrot called kren and another vegetables which grows round their tanks called nali.
129. As on note 5, 6, 7 and 8.
130. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. III, Pottery, Pl. 129, 9, No. 89; 91; Copper, bronze and lead objects, pl. 183, i = No. 273; Silver ware, No. 187, No. 5a, 5b; No. 2, Begram No. 2, pl. IV, Figs. 7, 8; VII, 11, Pl. VII, 13, 14, Pl. X. 23; Pl. XI, 27; XII. 29, 30, XIII. 31, 32; XV, 35, 36; XVIII, 42.
132b. Ibid.
134. Ibid., as on note 5, 6 and 7 above.
135a. Ibid.
137. Ibid.
140. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
144. Ibid., p. 123.
145. Ibid., p. 181.
146. See note 29.
148. Sculptures recovered from Taxila and from other sites of N.W.F.P. described by Sir J. Marshall in Buddhist Art of Gandhara and other discovered from Shotorak, Paitava Fendukistan amply demonstrate this fact, Taxila, Sculptures, Vol. III, p. 139, No. 189; Shotorak, Pl. XVII, 54, pl. XVIII, 58, pl. XX, 63; XXIII, 72; Pl. XXIX, 90; Pl. XXX, 98, 95; XXXIII, 109. Hallade, op. cit., pl. 6, 21, 32, p. 67, fig. 9, pl. 81, 93.
149. Shotorak, Pl. XVII, 56; Hallade, op. cit., Pl. 32, p. 41; Buddhist Art of Gandhara, pl. 29, fig. 46.
153. Ibid.
155. Ibid.
156. D. Barrett, op. cit., figs. 9, 10, 11; ASIAR, 1906-07, XXXII, Kuvera and Hariti; Hallade, op. cit., pl. 4, 46, 47, p. 59.
157. ASIAR, 1906-07, XXXII, Fig. 11; M. Hallade, op. cit., p. 80, pl. 48-51.

158. Ibid., fig. 9; M. Hallade, op. cit., p. 60, pl. 45-47; Ingholt, op. cit., pl. 298, 299, 340. "The lower classes wear the Persian costume, but the princes wear tunics and allow their beard to grow long like the princes of India."

159. HIED, Vol. I, p. 29; Ch. VIII, p. 76f.

160. Ibid.

161. Ibid. As illustrated by finds of different sculptures from Shotorak, pl. XXXIII, 107; Taxila, III, pl. 224, No. 141 - devotees.


163. M. Hallade, op. cit., pl. 177, p. 226, fig. a, b, c, f, g, h.

164. As on note 162.

165. As illustrated by the numerous sculptures found in Paitava, Shotorak, Fondukistan, etc.

166. D. Barrett, op. cit. fig. 3, 4, 9, 10, 12.


168. Ibid.; M. Hallade, op. cit., XVII, pl. 177.

169. Ibid.; HIED, Vol. I, p. 11, Vol. II, p. 36; Later Indo-Scythians, pl. VIII, fig. 10; pl. X, fig. 3; see note 166.
170. As on note 169. Stucco figures from Hadda, and terracotta of Fondukistan as well as stone and terracotta figures of Taxila, Sahr-i-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi, etc. will illustrate this point.


173. *Ibid*.

174. As on note 154.


176. As shown by the sculpture of pot-stone Parvati in the British Museum and British Museum terracottas, see note 156.


178. *Ibid*.


184. As on note 84.

185. See note 181.

186. *Ibid*.

188. Pahlavi script was introduced here by Darius who conquered the territories of Hindu and Gadar (at that time Gandhara). Sasanians continued to use this script here when they subdued the Little Kushanas, along with Pahlavi, mm. Coins of Shahi Tigin, Vakhudev, and Vahi shows its presence in this area upto the 8th century A.D. Later Indo-Scythians, p.290, pl. x, 7, 8; p. 219; pl. x, 9; p. 292, pl. x, 10.

189. Ibid.

190. Coins of Medieval India, pp. 62-65, pl. VII. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; See note 54; ASI AR, 1923-24, p.69; D.R. Shahni, op. cit.; Abdur Rahman, op. cit.

191. As on note 1, 3 & 4, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1f, 1g.

192. Yāsaka II. 1, 3, 4.

193. See note 191.

194. As on 1f, 1g.


198. See note 54 above.
199. Ibid.; Abdur Rahman, op. cit.
202. As on note 200.
205. Ibid., pp. 181, 202.
207. Ibid., pp. 54-58.
208. Ibid.
209. Ibid.
210. Ibid.
212. Ibid., p. 182.
213. Ibid., p. 183.
214. As on note 67.
218. Ibid.
219. See note 217.
221. Ibid.
222. Ibid., pp. 208-214.
223. Ibid., pp. 208ff.
224. As on note 46 above.
225. Ibid.
226. Ibid.
227. Ibid.
228. Ibid.
229. Ibid.
231. Ibid.
232. Ibid., p. 217.
233. Ibid., pp. 154-161.
234. Ibid., p. 154.
235. Ibid., pp. 154-55.
236. Ibid., pp. 158-59.
237. Ibid., p. 159.
238. Ibid., pp. 162, 208; Life, p. 56ff.
239. As on note 224 above; Watters, Vol. I, pp. 221-22.
240. Ibid.
241. As on note 239.
242. Ibid.
244. Ibid.
245. Ibid.
249. Ibid., pp. 154-55.
250. Ibid., p. 159.
251. Ibid.
252. Ibid.
253. Ibid., p. 160.
254. See Chapter on Political Background.
255. Ibid.
257. Baladhuri, pp. 146-147.
258. Ibid.
259. Ibid.
260. Ibid.
261. See Chapter on Political Background.
262. See chapter on Political Background.
263. Ibid.
264. See chapter on Political Background, Note
265. As illustrated by the Coin legends of Shahi Tigin, Later Indo-Scythians, pp. 291-292, pl. X. 9; Rev. legend: Sri Shahi Tigin Devaja. Taqi Khorasan Malka - See Chapter on Political Background.
266. As on note 261.
267. See note 128.
268. Ibid.
269. As on note 185.
270. Ibid.
271. Mînorsky, § 10, 50, 55, 56; § 24, 20.

272. Ibid.


274. Sachau, Ch. XII, XIII, XIV reveals Al-bârûni’s intimate knowledge of the four vedas, puranas, smritis, Patañjali’s Mahabhâsya, Mahâbhârata, Harivamsa, Pañchâtantra, A Grammar with its eight schools, metrical literature, astronomy, astrology and medicine.

According to him Caraka has been translated into Arabic for the princes of the house of Barmecides (p. 159).

Sachau, Vol.II, Ch.4, pp. 156ff. — "First two translators of astronomy were Al fazri and Yakub Ibn Tarikh who acquired information about star cycles from a Hindu who came to Baghdad as a member of the political mission which Sindh sent to Khalif Almansur, A.H. 154 (= A.D. 771). Muhammad Ibn Ishakhs of tried to correct the mistake among this canon."

275. As on note 105 above.

276. Kâv., Ch. 11, p. 94; "Mlechchit-a-kopani-vandhana-mulamidamityeva-madibhih (: Karaneieh "sabadharano(?)-rthâharano Vâbhiramati ityabânti sundarâ.""

277. Atri. 197-98; Devala: 48-49.

278. Ibid.

279. Ibid.; see The Classical Age, p. 569.
280. Baladhuri, II, Ch. XVIII, 143, 144, 145.
281. Sharma, op. cit., Ch. III, p. 24; Ch. IV, pp. 43-44.
282. Ibid., Ch. IV, pp. 43-44.
283. Ibid.
284. Ibid.
285. Ibid.
286. Ibid.
287. Ibid.
289. Ibid., pp. 21-22.