YONAS AND YAVANAS
IN INDIAN LITERATURE
YONAS AND YAVANAS 
IN INDIAN LITERATURE

KLAUS KARTTUNEN
Yonas and Yavanas in Indian Literature
Klaus Karttunen

Studia Orientalia, vol. 116
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ISSN 0039-3282
Juvenes Print – Suomen Yliopistopaino Oy
Tampere 2015
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In years bygone, I have written two books dealing with India in classical literature1 (and a third one is presently under preparation). Now I have taken the other side: Greeks and Romans in Indian sources (including other meanings and occurrences of the words yavana/yona/joṇa). Without attempting an exhaustive study, some related words such as alasanda and roma(ka) are also taken into account. The task involved some frustration. The words written more than 80 years ago by the great French Indologist still hold true: “We have before us an enormous stock of old and mediaeval literature, Sanskrit and Prakrit; we may read through thousands and lakhs of pages in search of information about foreign nations and countries; all that we find amounts practically to nothing” (Lévi 1928, 170 f.). At the beginning of his career, this same scholar, Sylvain Lévi (1890a), was my first predecessor in this study.

The corpus of ancient Indian texts forming the basis of this book was collected from many libraries. In addition to Helsinki, I visited Freiburg (institute and university libraries), Leiden (Kern Institute), and London (SOAS), and also briefly Bonn and Vienna (institute libraries). More recently, the Internet has provided access to many early editions. An early summary of the subject was presented at the International Sanskrit Conference in Melbourne and at the Indological Institute of the Russian Academy of Science in Saint Petersburg, both in 1995, as well as more recently at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society in Boston in March 2012.

I do not take up here the old question of real or supposed Western influences in Indian culture (except when directly connected with Yavanas). I shall return to this in my forthcoming book India and the Roman West.

The Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung Foundation, the Finnish Academy, the University of Helsinki, and the Kone Foundation have made the research and writing involved in this study financially possible, for which I here express my sincere gratitude. The Finnish Oriental Society has again kindly agreed to publish my work.

Thanks are also especially due to Rahul Peter Das (references from Ayurveda concordance and copies of rare editions), Madhav Deshpande (unpublished article), Cristiano Dognini (offprints), Oskar von Hinüber (rare Pāli books), Petteri Koskikallio (Jaiminibhārata), Mika Kajava (Greek astronomical terms),

Dmitriy N. Lielukhine (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription), Asko Parpola (borrowed books), Dieter Schlingloff (identification of a yavanī guard in a painting of Ajanta), Lidia Sudyka (Gaṅgādevī’s Madhurāvijaya), and Peter Vyclich (help during my visit at the Indological Institute Library in Bonn). Albion M. Butters has not only read and corrected my English with great care, but also made a number of valuable comments. As always, my family has unhesitatingly supported my work.

Klaus Karttunen
PART I

REFERENCES IN TEXTS
A. EPIC AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

1. EPICS

Mahābhārata

(Of his own express wishes, KMG is not mentioned on the title page where only the name of the publisher, his friend Protap Chandra Roy, is given.)

Mbh 1, 80, 26
Ancestry of the Yavanas. Mahābhārata 1, 80, 26 (Calcutta 3533; Bombay 85, 34):
26. yados tu yādavā jātās turvasor yavanāḥ sutāh /
druhyor api sutā bhojā anos tu mlecchajātayaḥ //

van Buitenen: From Yadu sprang the Yādavas; Turvaśu’s [sic] sons are known as the Yavanas; Druhyu’s sons became the Bhojas; Anu’s, the tribes of the Barbarians.
Quoted in MP 34, 30.

Mbh 1, 165, 35
Viśvāmitra, while still a king, tries to take the sage Vasiṣṭha’s cow Kāmadhenu; creation of the Yavanas. Mahābhārata 1, 165, 35 (Calcutta 6684; Bombay 175, 36):
35. asṛjat pahlavān pucchāc chakṛtaḥ šabarān śakān /
mutrataś cāṣṭrac cāpi yavanān krodhamūrctaita //
36. puṇḍrān kirātān dramiḍān siṁhalān barbarāṁs tathā /
tathaiva daradān mlecchān phenataḥ sā sasarja ha //
37. tair visṛṣṭair mahatsainyaṁ nānāmlecchaganaṁs tathā /
nānāvaraṇasaṁchannair nānāyudhadaṁs tathā /
avākāryata samrādhair viśvāmitrasya paṣyataḥ //
[After 35ab), the MSS Ñ, V, Dn and S insert one verse:
1768* yonidesāc ca yavanāṁ chakṛdeśāc chakrīs tathā //

van Buitenen: From her [the cow’s] arse she created the Pahlavas; the Śabaras and Śakas from her dung; from her urine she created the Yavanas, as she well-high swooned with rage. From her foam she brought forth the Puṇḍras, Kirātas, Dramiḍas, Siṁhalas,
Barbaras, Daradas, and Mlecchas. And when she had brought forth these manifold hosts of Barbarians clad in their manifold armor and brandishing arms, she scattered with her furious troops that large enemy before Viśvāmitra’s eyes.

Mbh 2, 4, 20 & 22
Yudhiṣṭhira receives seers and princes in his new assembly hall.⁠¹ Mahābhārata 2, 4, 20 ff. (Calcutta 117, 120; Bombay 4, 23, 25):

... kāmbojarājaḥ kamalaḥ kampanaś ca mahābalaḥ /
20. satataṁ kampayām āsa yavanān eka eva yah /
yathāsurān kālakeyān devo vajradharas tathā //
21. jaṭāsuḥ madrakāntaś ca rāja /
kuntiḥ kūṇindaś ca kirātarājaḥ /
tathāṅgavaṅgau saha puṇḍrakeṇa /
pāṇḍyo drājājaḥ saha cāṇḍhrakeṇa //
22. kirātarājaḥ sumanā yavanādhipatis tathā /
cāṇūra devarātaś ca bhojo bhūmarathaḥ ca yah //
[After 20ab, the MSS V, B, D, T, and G insert one verse:
46* balapauruṣasaṁpannān kṛtāstrān amitaujasaḥ /]

van Buitenen: King Kamala of Kamboja, and the mighty Kampana, who by himself continued to terrify the Greeks, as the Thunderbolt-wielder terrifies the Kālakeya Asuras;...Sumanas, king of Kirātas, Cāṇūra, overlord of the Greeks, Devarata, Bhoja and Bhūmaratha.

Mbh 2, 13, 13
Yudhiṣṭhira plans to perform the Rājasūya ritual, and Kṛṣṇa explains that he must therefore conquer King Jarāsandha. He proceeds to count some allies of Jarāsandha.
Mahābhārata 2, 13, 13 (Calcutta 578; Bombay 14, 14):

... mūrdhnā divyaṁ maṇिṁ bibhrad yaṁ taṁ bhūtamaṇिṁ viduḥ /
13. muraṁ ca narakaṁ caiva śāsti yo yavanādhipau /
aparyantabalo rājā pratīcyāṁ varuṇo tathā //
14. bhagadatto mahārāja vṛddhas tava pituḥ sakḥā /
sa vācā praṇatas tasya karmanā caiva bhārata //
15. snehabandhas tu pītyarvamanasā bhaktimāṁis tvayi / ... 
Obs. in 13b, we read -pau according to the critical text, but the MSS K, V, B, D and G, read -pāḥ! In the critical text, Bhagadatta is no longer a king of the Yavanas, but, on the contrary, their foe. See also Mbh 1, 177, 12 (quoted in the additional note below).

¹ The word sabhā is taken as ‘palace’.
van Buitenen: The king who wears on his head the divine stone that is known as the amulet of the creation, who punished the two Greek kings Mura and Naraka and rules in the West like Varuṇa with limitless power – he, Bhagadatta, old friend of your father’s, great king Bhārata, bows for him in word and deed; but, tied by his affections, he is in his heart loyal to you like a father.

[Mbh 2, 23, 12–19]

Digvijayaparvan: Arjuna conquers the North-west. The text is quoted here from the beginning, although the Yavanas are not mentioned in it. Mahābhārata 2, 23, 12–19 (Calcutta 995 ff.; Bombay 26, 2 ff.):

12. dhanaṁjayasya vakṣyāmi vijayaṁ pūrvam eva te / yaugapadyena pārthair hi vijiteyaṁ vasuṅḍharā //
13. pūrvaṁ kunjindaviṣaye vaśe cakre mahīpatin / dhanaṁjayo mahābāhur nātītivrena karmanā //
14. ānartān kālakūṭāṁś ca kunjindāṁś ca vijitya saḥ / sumandalam pāpa jitaṁ krivān anusainikānaṁ //
15. sa tēna sahito rājan savyasācā paramātapaḥ / vijīgī sakalain diviṇī prativindhyāṁ ca pārthivaṁ //
16. sakaladvipavāsāṁś ca sa pārdvive ca ye nr̥pāḥ / arjunasya ca saṁyānāṁ vīgrahas tumulo ‘bhavat //ū
tān api mahesvāso vijītya bharataraśabhā /
17. tair eva sahitaṁ sarvaiḥ prāgijotiṁ upādravat //
18. tatra rājā mahān āsīd bhagadatto viśāṁ pate /
19. sa kirātaṁ ca cīnaiṁ ca vr̥taiḥ prāgijotiśo ’bhavat /

van Buitenen: I shall tell you first of Dhananijaya’s conquest, for the Pārthas conquered the earth simultaneously. First he conquered, the strong-armed Dhananijaya, the kings in the land of Kuṇinda, with great severity. After conquering the Ānarta, the Kālakūṭa, and the Kuṇinda, he made Sumandala vanquisher of the evil, his rearguard. Together with him, O king, the left-handed archer, scourge of his enemies, conquered the island of Śakala* and defeated King Prativindhya, the lords of the island of Śakala, and the princes of the Seven Islands – the battle between Arjuna and their armies was a tumultuous one. After defeating them, bull of the Bharatas, the great archer stormed with all of them on Prāgijotiṣa. There was a great king there, Bhagadatta, O lord of the people, and with him the great-spirited Pāṇḍava fought a great battle. Prāgijotiṣa was surrounded by mountain-men and Chinese and many other warriors who live close to the Ocean beaches. The battle went on eight days, and then Bhagadatta gave up and became an ally of Arjuna.

* See van Buitenen’s note on p. 813: “Śakala: present Sialkot in Kashmir; the ‘islands’ probably refer to Kashmir, which has many lakes. Prāgijotiṣa: Assam.”

But Śakala (unfortunately all MSS read sakala!) is in the Pañjāb, and the islands might refer to various Doabs of the Pañjāb. Prāgijotiṣa, too, is another place with the same name, situated in the North-west. See Johnston 1939, 220 f. and Rönnow 1936.
Arjuna continued his northern conquests by subjugating the mountain-dwellers, the Kulus, Dasyus and Bāhlīkas (in 2, 24, 21). A little earlier we encounter a name known from the histories of Alexander (2, 24, 18): *abhisārīṁ* tato ranyāṁ viṣīgya kurunandanaḥ (V.B. *The scion of the Kuru went on to conquer the lovely town of Abhisārī*). Proceeding onwards, he subjugated the Daradas and Kāmbojas (2, 24, 22) and many others, and he collected many kinds of horses. In Chapter 25, he conquers the Hāṭaka country governed by the Guhyakas and Lake Mānasa, etc. all the way to the country of Uttarakuru.

**Mbh 2, 28, 49**
Digvijayaparvan: Sahadeva’s conquests in the South.
Mahābhārata 2, 28, 49 (Calcutta 1175; Bombay 31, 72):

48. *pāṇḍyāṁś ca draviḍāṁś caiva sahitāṁś ca oṣtrakarnikāṁ //
andhrāṁs talavanāṁś caiva kaliṅgān oṣtrakarnikān //*

49. *antākbhīṁ caiva rōmanāṁ ca yavanānāṁ puram tathā //
dūtair eva vaśe cakre karaṁ cainān adāpayat //*

50. *bharukaccharāṁ gato dhīmān ...

Note that *antākbhīṁ* ‘Antioch’ is an emendation by Edgerton (see Edgerton 1938 and Gurner 1956). The most common MS variant is *aṭavīṁ*, while for *romāṁ* some MSS read *rāmaṁ* or *rāmāṁ*. See the note in the Addenda to the critical Mbh, p. 502.

van Buitenen: *Likewise by means of envoys he subjugated and made tributary the Pāṇḍyas and Tamils along with the Coḍras* and Keralas, the Āndhras and Tala-vanas, the Kaliṅgas and Uṣṭrakarṇikas, Antioch and Rome, and the city of the Greeks.

* See van Buitenen’s note on p. 813 “Coḍras: Coḷas”, but one would like to read ca-uḍra as ‘Orissans’. This disagrees somewhat with the geography, but the geography does not seem too exact, and soon after this we have the Kaliṅgas, too.

**[Mbh 2, 29, 15]**
Digvijayaparvan: Nakula conquers the West. In the critical text, Yavanas are not found.
Mahābhārata 2, 29, 15 (Calcutta 1199; Bombay 32, 16):

9. *śūdrābhīragaṇāṁ caiva ye caśritya sarasvatīṁ /
vartayanti ca ye matsyair ye ca parvatavāsinaḥ //*

... 13. tataḥ *sākalam* abhetya madrāṇaṁ puṣṭabhedanāṁ /

... 15. tataḥ sāgarakukṣisthān mlecchān paramadāruṇān /
pahlavān barbarāṁś caiva tāṁ sarvāṁ anayad vaśaṁ //

Some MSS read Pallava instead of Pahlava (here Dn, and M.). In 15d), (Ś.), K1-5, V, Dn and Dc read kirātān yavanāṇ anayad vaśaṁ, but all others more or less follow the accepted reading. Therefore, the Yavanas are not included.

van Buitenen: *The oligarchies of the Śūdras and Ābhīras, who dwell on the Sarasvatī river, the folk who live on fish* and those who live in the hills... *Thereupon he marched to Śākala, the capital city of*
the Madras...Śalya was won over without a battle. Then: He took into his power the highly dangerous Barbarians who live by the Gulf, the Pahlavas and the Barbarians, all of them.

*As the geography is not very exact, here we might have the Ichthyophagi or Fish-Eaters of Gedrosia (Makran) mentioned in classical sources. See Karttunen 1997, 43 f.

**Mbh 2, 47, 12**

Treasures are brought to Yudhiṣṭhira.

Mahābhārata 2, 47, 12 (Calcutta 1834; Bombay 51, 14):

12. prāgjyotiṣādhipaḥ śūro mlecchānām adhipo balī /
    yavanaiḥ sahito rājā bhagadatto mahārathaḥ //
13. ājāneyān hayān śīghrān ādāyānlarārātrasahāv /
    baliṅ ca kṛtsnam ādāya dvāri tiṣṭhati vāritaḥ //
14. aśmasāramayāṁ bhāṅḍaṁ śuddhadantatsarūnasīn /
    prāgjyotiṣo 'tha tad datvā bhagadatto 'vrajet tadā //

van Buitenen: The great warrior king Bhagadatta, gallant ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa, strong overlord of Barbarians, came with the Greeks with purebred horses, fast as the wind; and with all his tribute he was denied admission and stood at the gate. Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa went away after presenting a jade vase and swords with hilts of pure ivory.

For Bhagadatta, see the additional note on Mbh 1, 177, 12; for Prāgjyotiṣa, see the note on Mbh 2, 23, 12 ff. The rest of the chapter is also of great interest. It contains a number of fabulous north-western peoples, including:

15. dvyaḵṣāṁs tryaḵṣārāl lalāṭākṣān ... puruṣādakān
16. ekapādāṁs (with horses, described in 17–18)
19. cīnān hūṇān hūṇaṁ kṛṣṇagrīvān māhākāyān rāsabhān (black-throated, big-bodied asses)
21. tribute from kṛṣṇagrīvān māhākāyān rāsabhān (black-throated, big-bodied asses)
26. śakā tukhārāḥ kaṅkāś ca romaśaḥ śṛṅgiṇo narāḥ ...
    The MSS B1, D1, G1.4-6 & M read romakāḥ (and G, rāmaga)!

Before our selection, one finds (in 2, 47, 3) the Kāmbojas arriving with a tribute of fine wool and furs and horses. See also 2, 47, 7 f.

7. śataṁ dāsīsahasrāṇāṁ kārpāśikānim rinasīnānām /
    yāmās tanvyo dirghakeṣyo hemābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ //
8. śūdrā ... baliṅ ca kṛtsnam ādāya bharukacchanivāsināṁ //

van Buitenen: The Šūdras of Bharukaccha brought as their full tribute a hundred thousand slave girls from Kārpāśika, dark, slender, and long-haired, decked with golden ornaments.

Note the importing of Western slave girls to Bharukaccha, mentioned in the Periplus (Karttunen 1997, 90 f.).
Arjuna lauds the past exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

Mbh 3, 13, 29

Mahābhārata 3, 13, 29 (Calcutta 491; Bombay 12, 32):

29. indradyumno hataḥ kopāḥ yavanaś ca kaśerumān / 
    hataḥ saubhapatiḥ śālvas tvāyā saubhaṁ ca pātitam //

van Buitenen: Indradyumma has been killed in anger, and so has the Yāvana [sic] Kaśerumata; you have slain Śālva, lord of Saubha, and razed Saubha itself.

Subjugated kings participate in Yudhiṣṭhira’s Rājasūya.

Mbh 3, 48, 20

Mahābhārata 3, 48, 20 (Calcutta 1990; Bombay 51, 24):

19. ... simhālān barbarān mlecchān ye ca jāṅgalavāsinaḥ / 
20. paścimāni ca rājyāni śataśaḥ sāgarāntikān / 
    pahlavān daradān sarvān kīrātān yavanāṁ śakān // 
21. hārahūṇāṁs ca cīnāṁś ca tukhārān saindhavāṁs tathā / 
    jāguḍān ramaṭhān muṇḍān strīrājyān atha taṅgaṇān //

van Buitenen: Simhalese, Barbaras, Mlecchas, and other jungle folk, the western kingdoms by the hundreds from as far as the ocean, all the Pahlavas and Daradas, Kirātas, Yavanas, Śakas, Robber Huns, Chinese, Tocharians, Saindhavas, Jaguḍas, Ramathas, Muṇḍas, queen-ruled tribes, Tanganas...

The sage Mārkaṇḍeya prophesies to Yudhiṣṭhira about the sad future of the Kali age.

Mbh 3, 186, 30

Mahābhārata 3, 186, 30 (Calcutta 12, 839; Bombay 188, 35):

29. bahavo mleccharājānaḥ pṛthivyāṁ manujādhipa / 
    mithyānuśāsinaḥ pāpā mṛṣāvādaparāyanāḥ //
30. āndhrāḥ śakāḥ pulindāś ca yavanāṁ ca narādhipāḥ / 
    kāmbojā aurṣikāḥ südrās tathābhīra narottama //

van Buitenen: Many barbarian kings, O overlord of men, will rule the earth with false policies, being given to evil and lies. Āndhras will be kings then, Scythians, Pulindas, Greeks, Kambojas, Aurnikas, serfs, and Åbhīras, best of men.

And thus castes will be mixed, religion discarded, the countryside emptied, security lost, etc.

List of the allies of the Kauravas.

Mbh 5, 19, 21

Mahābhārata 5, 19, 14 ff. (Calcutta 584 ff.; Bombay 19, 21):
14. tathaiva dhārtarāṣṭrasya harṣaṁ samabhīvardhayan / 
   bhagadatto mahīpālaḥ senām akṣauhiṇīṁ dadau //
15. tasya cīnaiḥ kirātais ca kāñcanair īva sarīrvā, / 
   babhau balamanadhīravyaṁ karaṇikāravānaṁ yathā //
...
19. jayadrathamukhāś cānye sindhusauvīravāsinaḥ / 
   ājagmuḥ prthivipālāḥ kampayanta ivācalān //
20. teśām akṣauhiṇī senā bahulā vibabhau tadā / 
   vidhūyamānā vātena bahurūpā ivāmbhadāḥ //
21. sudakṣiṇaś ca kāmbojo yavanaś ca śakais tathā / 
   upājagāma kauravyam akṣauhinyā viśāṁ pate //

van Buitenen: No less joy did king Bhagadatta bring to the Dhārtarāṣṭra, whom he gave a whole grand-army. His unassailable force, made up of Chinese and Mountain Men, shone as a forest of karṇikāras shines with golden kañcana trees.

Note V.B.’s remark on p. 541: “The image suggests yellow-complexioned peoples.” I doubt this, as a golden hue is often mentioned in ancient Indian literature as an ideal colour (for example, see Rām 3, 50, 28 and 5, 14, 21 on Sītā, as well as Dīghanikāya 3, p. 144 on a mahāpurisa).

The kings that dwelled by the Sindhu and in Suvīra came led by Jayadratha, shaking the mountains. Their multitudinous grand army appeared like many-coloured rain-clouds swept by the wind. Sudakṣiṇa the Kāmboja joined the Kauravya with a grand army, along with the Greeks and Scythians, O lord of the people.

Mbh 5, 196, 7
Kaurava forces are described on their march towards Kurukṣetra.
Mahābhārata 5, 196, 7 (Calcutta 7609, Bombay 195, 7):

6. aśvatthāma śāṁtanavaḥ saindhavo ’tha jayadratha / 
   dākṣiṇātyāḥ pratīcyāś ca pārvatiyāḥ ca ye rathāḥ //
7. gāndhārarājaḥ śakuniḥ prācyodīcyāḥ ca sarvāḥ / 
   śakāḥ kirātā yavanaś śibayo ’tha vasātayaḥ //

van Buitenen: Aśvatthāman, Śāṁtanava, Jayadratha of Sindhu, the southerners, westerners, and the mountain warriors, the Gāndhāra prince Śakuni, all the easterners and northerners, Śakas, Yavanas, Śibis, Vasātis.

Mbh 6, 10, 54
Saṅjaya recounts to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the countries and peoples of the Bhāratavarṣa.
Mahābhārata 6, 10, 54 (Calcutta 363; Bombay 9, 56):

54. vadhrāḥ kariṣakāś caiva kulindopatyakas tathā / 
   vānāyano daśāpārśvāḥ romāṇaḥ kuśabindavaḥ //
The context here includes Kāśmīra, Sindhusauvīra, Gāndhāra, Ābhīra, etc. in śloka 52 and Kaccha, Lāṅgala, Kirāta, etc. in 55. For these mere names, translation is unnecessary.

Mbh 6, 10, 64
Sañjaya recounts to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the countries and peoples of the Bhāratavarṣa.
Mahābhārata 6, 10, 64 (Calcutta 373; Bombay 9, 65):

63. … uttaraś cāpare mlecchā janā bharatasattama //
64. yavanāś ca sa kāmbojā dāruṇā mlecchaśātayāh /
   saksadruhāḥ kunterāḥ ca hūṇāḥ paratakaḥ saha //
   a) MSS B₄, Dn, D₂.8 read yavanāś cīnakāmbojā, while D₁ reads yavanāḥ śakakāmbojā.
   c) K₄, B₄, Da₂, Dn₂, D₁₃,₅ sakṛdgrāhāḥ, B₂₃, Da, sakṛdvahāḥ (B₁ varhāḥ).
   d) K₅, D₁, pāravakaiḥ; K₄, B, Da, Dn₂, D₁₃,₅ pārasikaiḥ; K₄, D₁, pāradakaiḥ; T₁, G₁, M yavanāḥ pārataiḥ saha; T₁, yavanāḥ pādavaḥ saha; G₁, yavanāḥ pārakaḥ saha.

65. tathaiva maradhāś cīnās tathaiva daśamālikāḥ /
   kṣatriyopaniveśāḥ ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca //

This is a close parallel to PP 3, 6 (Kirfel, Kosm. 79) and was discussed by Wilson (1840, 194) in his ViP translation, which is therefore often mentioned by the older references.

...and other northern and western barbarians, O best of Bharatas, Yavanas and Kāmbojas; the dreadful barbarian tribes, Sakṣadruhas, Kuntalas and Huns with Paratākas, also Maradhas, as well as Cīnas and Daśamālikas; the Kṣatriya settlement and tribes of Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

Mbh 6, 20, 13
The Bhagavadgītāparva provides an enumeration of the Kaurava forces.
Mahābhārata 6, 20, 13 (Calcutta 753; Bombay 20, 13):

13. śāradvataś cottaśādhūr mahātmā
   maheśvāso gautaśā citrayodhī /
   sakraḥ kirātaḥ yavanaḥ pahlavaiḥ ca
   sārdhaṁ camūm uttarato 'bhipāti //
In c), the MSS Ś and K₀.2 read ca bāhlikaiḥ, while D₁ reads bāhlikaiḥ ca.

...and the great-souled Uttaradhū, the son of Śāradvata and grandson of Gautama, the great archer, fighting in many ways, together with Śakas, Kirātas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, protects the army from the North.

Mbh 6, 47, 7
Enumeration of the Kaurava forces (short list).
Mahābhārata 6, 47, 7 (Calcutta 2097; Bombay 51, 7):
7. saṁsthānāḥ śūrasenāś ca veṅikāḥ kukurās tathā /
   ārevakās trigartāś ca madrakā yavanāś tathā //
This is just a list of names.

Mbh 6, 71, 20
The battle array of the Kaurava forces (in the form of a crane).
Mahābhārata 6, 71, 20 (Calcutta 3297; Bombay 75, 21):

20. tuṣārā yavanāś caiva śakāś ca saha cucūpaiḥ /
    dakṣiṇaṁ pakšam āśritya sthitā vyūhasya bhārata //
Just before this, in verse 18, the Prāgjyotiṣas (of the West!) and the Madrasauvīrakekayas were situated in the “breast” (urasi).

Tuṣāras, Yavanas and Śakas stood together with Cucūpapas on the right flank of the battle array, O Bhārata.

Mbh 6, 83, 10
The battle array of the Kaurava forces is described at the beginning of a new day of battle.
Mahābhārata 6, 83, 10 (Calcutta 3856; Bombay 87, 10):

8. droṇād anantaraṁ yatto bhagadattaḥ pratāpavān /
   māgadhaiś ca kaliṅgaiś ca piśācaś ca viśāṁ pate //
9. prāgjyotiṣād anu nṛpaḥ kausalyo ‘tha bṛhadbalaḥ /
   mekalais tripuraiś caiva cicchillaiś ca samanvitaḥ //
10. bṛhadbalāt tataḥ sūras trigartaḥ prasthalādhipaḥ /
    kāmbojair bahubhiḥ sārdhaṁ yavanaiś ca sahasrāsaḥ //
Just after Droṇa was mighty Bhagadatta with Māgadhas and Kaliṅgas and Piśācas, O lord of peoples; then after (this) king of Prāgjyotiṣa (was) King Bṛhadbala of Kosala with Mekalas and Tripuras and Cicchillas; then after Bṛhadbala (was) valiant Trigarta, the ruler of Prasthala, together with many Kāmbojas and thousands of Yavanas.

Mbh 7, 6, 5
A new battle formation of the Kaurava forces is made by Droṇa. A description is given of those on the left flank.
Mahābhārata 7, 6, 5 (Calcutta 182; Bombay 7, 5):

4. kṛpaś ca kṛtavarmā ca citraseno viviṁśatiḥ /
    duḥśāsanamukhā yattāḥ savyamā pārśvaṁ apālayan //
5. teṣāṁ prapakṣāḥ kāmbojāḥ sudakaśnapuraḥ sarāḥ /
    yayur aśvaiḥ mahāvegaiḥ śakāś ca yavanaiḥ saha //
For the Kāmboja King Sudakaśiṇa, see 5, 19, 21 above.
The left flank was guarded by Kṛpa, Kṛtavarman and Citrasena Viviṁśati, led by Duḥśāsana. At their side marched Kāmbojas, led by Sudaksiṇa, on their swift horses together with Śakas and Yavanas.

Mbh 7, 10, 18
King Dhṛtarāṣṭra lauds the past deeds of Kṛṣṇa (inter alia, the peoples he has conquered).
Mahābhārata 7, 10, 18 (Calcutta 399; Bombay 11, 18):

18. nānādigbhyaś ca saṁprāptān vratān aśvaśakān prati /
   jitavān puṇḍarikākṣo yavanāṁs ca sahānugān //
   One may refer to S.K. De's critical note on p. 1144 f.: “Aśvaśaka – ŚBr appears to use this word to signify 'excrement of a horse'! Here it seems to mean a particular (disgusting?) tribe of Śakas who were horse-riders (cf. aśvapuruṣa in 6, 1, 7).”

The lotus-eyed (Kṛṣṇa) has conquered the Vratas and Horse-Śakas (?) coming from various directions and the Yavanas with their allies.

Mbh 7, 19, 7
Droṇa arranges the Kaurava army into the Garuḍa formation.
Mahābhārata 7, 19, 7 (Calcutta 798; Bombay 20, 7):

6. ... bhūtavarmā kṣemaśarmā karakarṣaś ca vīryavān /
7. kaliṅgāḥ simhalāḥ prācyāḥ śūrābhīrā daśerakāḥ /
   śakā yavanakāmbojaś tathā haṁsapadāś ca ye //
8. grīvāyāṁ śūrasenāś ca daradā madrakekayāḥ /
   gaṁgarathapattyauḥ gajāśva ratha pattyaughās stathuḥ šatasahasraśaḥ //

In the neck (of this eagle formation) remained Bhūtavarman, Kṣemaśarman and valiant Karakarṣa, Kaliṅgas, Simhalas, Easterners, Śūras and Abhīras, Daśerakas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas and Haṁsapadas, as well as Śūrasenas, Daradas, Madras and Kekayas (with their) numerous elephants, horses, chariots and infantry in the hundreds of thousands.

Mbh 7, 68, 41
The Kaurava forces attack Arjuna.
Mahābhārata 7, 68, 41 (Calcutta 3379; Bombay 93, 41):

41. vidanty asuramāyāṁ ye sughorā ghoracaksuṣaḥ /
    yavanāḥ pāradāś caiva śakāḥ ca sunikaḥ saha //
42. goyoniprabhavā mlecchāḥ kālakalpāḥ prahāriṇaḥ /
    dārvābhīsārā daradāḥ puṇḍrāś ca saha bāḥlikāḥ //
Note here the origin of North-western peoples from a cow’s yoni (cf. Rāmāyaṇa 1, 54, 3 below). For ghoracakṣus, translated by Ganguli as ‘of fierce eyes’, see the ‘valiant-eyed’ Yavanas mentioned in Tamil sources (Paṭṭuppāṭṭu).

Those who knew asura magic (were) very cruel, cruel-eyed Yavanas, Pāradas and Śakas with Sunikas, the barbarians originating from a cow’s vulva, deadly champions, as well as Dārvābhisāras, Daradas and Puṇḍras with Bāhlikas.

Mbh 7, 95, 12 ff.
Sātyaki’s battle against the North-Westerners and other barbarians in the Kaurava army.

Mahābhārata 7, 95, 12 ff. (Calcutta c.4715 ff.; Bombay 119, c.14 ff.):

12. daṁśitāḥ krūrakarmāṇaḥ kāmbojā yuddhadurmadāḥ /
arubāṇāsanadharā yavanāś ca prahārīṇaḥ //

13. śakāḥ kirātā daradā barbarās tāmraliptakās /
anye ca bahave mlechā vividhāyudhapānayaḥ /
mām evābhimukhāḥ sarve tiṣṭhanti samarārthinaḥ //

Sūta’s answer follows. The MSS Ś, K 1-3.5, Dn 1, D 5.7.8 have 12a–13d only after śloka 17ab), and K4, B1, D repeat the same there. It is curious to meet Tāmraliptaka in connection with the North-west.

(Sātyaki speaks to his charioteer: “Bring me there...where) mailed Kambojas of cruel deeds, fierce in battle, and Yavana warriors holding arrows and bows, Śakas, Kirātas, Daradas, Barbaras, Tāmraliptakās and many other barbarians with weapons in hand turned towards me, disposed to fight.

From verse 20 onwards, Sātyaki continues his speech, urging the Sūta to bring him into the fray so that he could vanquish the barbarian hosts. Note the repeated mention of shaven heads.

20. muṇḍān etān haniṣyāmi dānavān iva vāsavaḥ /
pratijñāṁ pārayiṣyāmi kāmbojān eva mā vaha /
adyaśāṁ kadaṇāṁ kṛtvā kṣipram yāsyāmi pāṇḍavaṁ //

21. adya drakṣyanti me viryaṁ kauravāḥ susuyodhanāḥ /
uṣṭhāntike hate sūta ...

I shall kill these baldheads just as Vāsava killed demons and thus fulfill my promise. Bring me to the Kāmbojas! Having today achieved their slaughter, I shall hurry to Pāṇḍava. Today the Kauravas with Suyodhana shall see my courage when I have slain the baldheads, O charioteer.

From verse 30 onwards, Sañjaya continues his account of the battle.
Addressed thus, the charioteer vigorously urged the well-trained, well-conveyed, moon-like horses. As if drinking the space, those excellent steeds rapidly carried Yuyudhāna to the Yavanas, with the speed of thought or wind. Approaching Sātyaki, who did not turn away from battle, those numerous, light-handed (very strong Yavanas, all saying “keba!” [?]) rained down on him showers of arrows. But Sātyaki swiftly cut off their arrows and weapons with his arrows, O king, and those arrows did not hit him. With his gold-shafted, well-sharpened, vulture-feathered, straight-going (arrows) he fiercely cut off the heads and arms of Yavanas. Piercing iron or brass armour, (proceeding) all the way through their bodies, the arrows went into the earth. Struck down in battle by the courageous Sātyaki, those barbarians fell there by the hundreds, lifeless on the ground. His arrows, continuously dispatched from a fully stretched bow, slew Yavanas five, six, seven and eight at a time.

...
Having dispatched the invincible Kāmboja army in the battle, O Bhārata, and the army of Yavanas and the great force of Śakas, this man-tiger Sātyaki, the real hero, glad of his victory over your (forces), urged on his charioteer, (saying) "Proceed!"

Mbh 7, 96, 1
A brief mention of the battle described above.
Mahābhārata 7, 96, 1 (Calcutta 4758; Bombay 120, 6):

1. jitvā yavanakāmbojān yuyudhānas tato 'rjunam / jagāma tava sainyasya madhyena rathināṁ varaḥ //
Here tava refers to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Yuyudhāna to Sātyaki.

Having conquered the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, Yuyudhāna went then to Arjuna through the centre of your army, the best among the chariot warriors.

Mbh 7, 97, 13
The same battle is described further.
Mahābhārata 7, 97, 13 (Calcutta 4818; Bombay 121, 13):

13. trīṇi sādisahasrāṇi duryodhanapurogamāḥ / śakāḥ kāmbojabāhlīkā yavanāḥ pāradās tathā //
14. kuṇindās taṅgaṇāmbaṣṭhāḥ paiśācas ca samandarāḥ / abhyadravanta śaineyāṁ śalabhāḥ pāvakaṁ yathā //
13cd) is somewhat corrupt, but the same names (albeit sometimes in a different order) appear in most MSS.

Three hundred warriors, with Duryodhana at their head, as well as Śakas, Kāmbojas, Bāhlīkas, Yavanas and Pāradas, Kuṇindas, Taṅgas, Ambaṣṭhas and Paiśācas with Mandarās, ran towards Śaineya like moths towards a fire.
Mbh 8, 30, 80
In the last part of this famous episode, Karṇa rebukes Śalya and his Pañjabi people. Mahābhārata 8, 30, 80 (Calcutta 2107; Bombay 45, 37):

80. sarvajñā yanavā rājaṁ śūrāḥ caiva viśeṣataḥ / mlecchāḥ svamājñāniyātā nānukta itaro janaḥ //

Ganguli: The Yavanas, O king, are omniscient, the Suras are particularly so. The Mlecchas are wedded to the creations of their own fancy. Other peoples cannot understand. Ganguli's note: “A high compliment to the Yavanas and Suras, probably the Greeks. Nilakantha makes a desperate attempt to explain away the force of the passage, but fails miserably.” Still I am not so sure that Karṇa was not using irony. I suppose that the Yavanas here are the same as the Mlecchas or barbarians, and their wisdom is clearly not valued as being great. Instead of taking śūrāḥ as an ethnonym, I propose instead the following translation: “are omniscient and special heroes, these barbarians are”. It is only their own fancy that makes them omniscient and heroes in their own eyes, something that others cannot understand.

Mbh 8, 31, 15 f.
Karṇa’s battle array for the Kaurava army is described, in particular the left flank. Mahābhārata 8, 31, 15 f. (Calcutta 2137; Bombay 46, 15):

15. samuccitās tava sutaiḥ kṛṣṇārjunajighāṁsavaḥ / teṣāṁ prapakṣaḥ kāmbojāḥ śakāḥ ca yanavaiḥ saha //
16. nidesāt sūtaputrasya sarathāḥ sāśvapattayaḥ / āhvayanto ‘rjunāṁ tasthuḥ keśavaṁ ca mahābalam //

Note that the North-Westerners have no elephants. (Warriors) united with your sons, willing to kill Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. On their outer flank were stationed Kāmbojas and Śakas with Yavanas, challenging Arjuna and mighty Keśava, following the command of the charioteer’s son with their chariots, horses and infantry.

Mbh 8, 40, 108
Arjuna attacks the left flank of the Kaurava army. Mahābhārata 8, 40, 108 (Calcutta 2807; Bombay 56, 115):

108. eteṣv āvarjitaṁ aśvaiḥ kāmbojair yanavaiḥ śakaiḥ / śoṇitāktaṁ tadā raktaiṁ sarvaraiṁ āśāṁ viśāṁ pate //

Everything was then red with broken and blood-smeared horses, Kāmbojas, Yavanas and Śakas, O lord of peoples.

Mbh 8, 51, 18
Kṛṣṇa describes the Kaurava forces to Arjuna. Mahābhārata 8, 51, 18 (Calcutta 3652; Bombay 73, 19):
18. ugrāś ca krūrakarmāṇas tukhārā yavanāḥ khaśāḥ /
dārvābhisārā daradāḥ šakā ramaṭhataṅganāḥ //
K₃, V₃, Dₙ₃ Dₙ₄,7 read tuṣārā; Southern rec. šakāḥ.

The fierce, cruel-deeded Tukhāras, Yavanas, Khaśas, Dārvas, Abhisāras, Daradas, Śakas, Ramaṭhas and Aṅganas (etc.).

Mbh 8, 64, 16
The North-Westerners attack Arjuna.
Mahābhārata 8, 64, 16 (Calcutta 4505; Bombay 88, 16):
16. athābhyadhāvaṁs tvaritāḥ śataṁ rathāḥ
śataṁ ca nāgārjunam ātatāyinaḥ /
šakās tukhārā yavanāś ca sādinaḥ
sahaiva kāmbojavarair jighāṁsavaḥ //

Ganguli: Then a hundred cars, a hundred elephants, and a number of Saka and Tukhara and Yavana horsemen, accompanied by some of the foremost combatants among the Kamvojas, quickly rushed against Arjuna from desire of slaying him.

Mbh 9, 1, 26
Saṁjaya laments to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the fall of Kaurava warriors and forces.
Mahābhārata 9, 1, 26 (Calcutta 27; Bombay 1, 27):
26. saṁśaptakā hatāḥ sarve kāmbojāś ca śakaiḥ saha /
melecchāś ca pārvatīyāś ca yavanāś ca nipātitāḥ //

All Saṁśaptakas are dead and Kāmbojas with Śakas and barbarians and mountain tribes and Yavanas are fallen.

Mbh 9, 2, 18
Dhṛtarāṣṭra laments the defeat and enumerates slain allies.
Mahābhārata 9, 2, 18 (Calcutta 74; Bombay 2, 18):
18. mlecchāś ca bahusāhasrāḥ śakāś ca yavanāḥ saha /
sudakṣiṇaś ca kāmbojas trigartādhipatis tathā //

(There were) many thousands of barbarians and Śakas with Yavanas, and Sudakṣiṇa, the king of the Kāmbojas, and the overlord of the Trigartas.

Mbh 9, 7, 24
King Śalya of the Madras leads the Kaurava army into battle.
Mahābhārata 9, 7, 24 (Calcutta 393; Bombay 8, 25):
24. savyo ’bhūt kṛṭavarmā ca trigartaiḥ parivāritaḥ /
gautamo dakṣiṇe pārśve śakaiś ca yavanaiḥ saha //
On the left was Kṛtarman, surrounded by Trigartas. On the right was Gautama (Kṛpa) with Śakas and Yavanas. In the rear was Aśvatthāman, surrounded by Kambojas.

**Mbh 11, 22, 11**

Gāndhārī’s laments the slain soldiers, including Jayadratha, the late king of Sindh. Mahābhārata 11, 22, 11 (Calcutta 627; Bombay 22, 11):

11. tam etāḥ paryupāsante raksamāṇaḥ mahābhujam / sīndhusauvīragāndhārakāmbojavyanastriyāḥ //

These Sindhusauvīra, Gāndhāra, Kāmboja and Yavana women sit around guarding their mighty-armed (lord).

**Mbh 12, 65, 13**

Śāntiparvan: Rājadharma. Discourse between Indra and King Māndhātṛ. Indra has just explained the duties of the Kṣatriya varṇa. Mahābhārata 12, 65, 13 (Calcutta 2429; Bombay 65, 13):

Māndhātovāca

13. yavanāḥ kirātā gāndhārāś cīnāḥ sābarabarbarāḥ / sakās tuṣārāḥ kuhlās ca pahlavās cāndhramadrapāḥ //
14. oḍrāḥ pulindā ramaṭhāḥ kācā mlecchāḥ ca sarvasaḥ / brahmakṣatraprasūtāḥ ca vaisyāḥ suāś ca mānavāḥ //
15. kathaṁ dharmam careyus te sarve viṣayavāsinaḥ // …

Note that 13a is hypermetric.

Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Cīnas, Śabarabharas and Barbaras, Śakas, Tuṣāras and Kuhlas and Pahlavas, Āndras, Madrakas, Oḍras, Pulindas, Ramaṭhas, Kācas and all kinds of barbarians, those born of Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras – being descendants of Manu – how should all these inhabitants of (such) countries follow (their) dharma?

In his answer (17–22), Indra explains that even the bandit tribes should honour the Vedas and Brahmins and follow all holy duties (including such ceremonies as the pākayajñas). In response to Māndhātṛ’s next question (23), he explains (24–31) that in the cursed Kali age such people will be living among the Aryans and all kinds of sectarians will appear. However, a good king can force them to follow traditional duties and religion.

**Mbh 12, 102, 5**

Śāntiparvan: Rājadharma. Bhīṣma explains the various arts and rules of battle. Mahābhārata 12, 102, 5 (Calcutta 3737; Bombay 101, 5):
5. tathā yavānakāmbojā mathurām abhitaś ca ye /
   ete niyuddhakuśāla dākṣiṇātyāsicarmiṇaḥ //
6. sarvatra śūrā jāyante mahāsattvā mahābālāḥ / ...
   Note the double sandhi in 5d).

Ganguli: The Yavanas, the Kamvojas, and those that dwell around Matura [sic] are well skilled in fighting with bare arms. The Southerners are skilled in fighting sword in hand. It is well known that persons possessed of great strength and great courage are born in almost every country.

Note 4cd) further below: prācyā mātaṅgayuddheṣu kuśālaḥ śaṭhayodhinaḥ //

Ganguli: The Easterners are skilled in fighting from the backs of elephants and are conversant with all the ways of unfair fight.

Mahābhārata 12, 200, 40
Śāntiparvan: Mokṣadharmā. Bhīṣma explains all kinds of creations, including a small list of peoples.

39. dakṣiṇāpathajanmānaḥ sarve talavarāndhrakāḥ /
   utsāḥ pulindāḥ śabarāś cūcupā maṇḍapāḥ saha //
40. uttarāpathajanmānaḥ kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api /
   yauṇākāmbojagāndhārāḥ kirāṭa barbaraiḥ saha //
41. ete pāpakṛtas tāta caranti prāśhīvim imām /
   vakākalagṛdhrāṇāṁ sadharmaṇo narādhipa //
42. naite kṛtayuge tāta caranti prāśhīvim imām /
   tretāprabhṛti varṭante te janā bharatarṣabha //

Ś & K, šavarāndhrakāḥ; K6,7, Bo6-9, Da4, Dn1, Ds, D 2.3.5.6.8 naravarāndhrakāḥ (D5 -dha-).

39b) Š & K, šavarāndhrakāḥ; K6,7 V1, Bo9, Da9, a4, Dn1, Ds1, D 2.3.6.8 gahāḥ; M1.5-7
40c) K6, Dn1, Ds1, D 2.3.6.8 gahāḥ; Bo9 -odrāḥ (V1, Bo odrāḥ, B9 odrāḥ); Das udhrāḥ, D3.7, M3.7 auḍhrāḥ, M, udhrāḥ.
400) K, šaya-; K, D4.9 -šakāḥ; V1, Bo9, Da9, a4 -paura-; D, paurāḥ; D6 nara-, D6, T, G1 3.6 ye tu; M, ye na; M, hūna-; M5 ye ca, M, hūnāḥ.
41c) K6, Bo9, Dn1, a4 Ds3.4 -svapākabala; D6, T6, G1 3.7 -svakākaálna; D7, T6, G1 3.8 bakaś ca kāka-

Ganguli: Those men, O king, are born in the southern region and are called Andrakas, Guhas, Pulindas, Cavaras, Chuchukas, Madrakas. Those that are born in the northern region, I shall also mention. They are Yaunas, Kamvojas, Gandharas, Kiratas and Barbaras [sic] All of them, O sire, are sinful, and move on this Earth, characterised by practices similar to those of Chandalas (=śvapāka) and ravens and vultures. In the Krita age, O sire, they were nowhere on Earth. It is from Treta that they have had their origin and began to multiply, O chief of Bharata’s race.
According to Belvalkar’s critical note (p. 2166): “bala is the optional spelling of baḍa. The word denotes a species of carnivorous bird. In the present passage, which appears to be a late addition, no MS gives the spelling baḍa, which has been generally accepted in the Crit. Ed.”

For yauna there are quite many different readings in the MSS. But if I have understood the situation correctly (it is regrettable that the MSS occurrences of the accepted reading are not given in the apparatus criticus), the reading yauna is attested in several recensions, and especially in the archaic Śāradā as well as in the Southern (from both no variants are quoted). In addition, among quoted variants, paura and paurāḥ can easily be understood as corruptions of yauna. For the rest, the majority of variants contain commonly known North-Western peoples (like śaka and hūṇa), which might have been easily substituted in a seemingly corrupt locus. Therefore, yauna seems to be a well-founded reading (a lectio difficilior), which should not be seriously doubted.

Mbh 12, 326, 88
Kṛṣṇa slays Kālayavana.
Mahābhārata 12, 326, 88 (Calcutta 12958; Bombay 349, 26?):

88. yaḥ kālayavanah khyāto gargatejobhisaṁvṛtah /
    bhavisyati vadhas tasya matta eva dvijottama //

He who is called Kālayavana and (is) surrounded by Garga’s fire, I shall cause his death!

Mbh 13, 33, 19
Bhīṣma lauds Brahmins.
Mahābhārata 13, 33, 19 (Calcutta 2103; Bombay 33, 20):

19. śakā yavana kāmbojās tāstāḥ kṣatriyajātayaḥ /
    vṛṣalatvaṁ parigatā brāhmaṇānām adarśaṇāt //

See the next excerpt.

Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas and other Kṣatriya tribes have attained the state of Śūdras because of not having contact with Brahmins.

The list goes on to include Southerners and South-Easterners.

Mbh 13, 35, 18
One finds a continuation of the same.
Mahābhārata 13, 35, 18 (Calcutta 2159; Bombay 35, 18):

17. mekalā dramīḍaḥ kāśāḥ pauṇḍrāḥ kollagirās tathā /
    aunḍikā darādā darvās caurāḥ śabarabarbarāḥ //
18. kirātā yavanāś caiva tāstāḥ kṣatriyajātayaḥ /
    vṛṣalatvaṁ anuprāptā brāhmaṇānām adarśaṇāt //

Verse 13, 35, 18 is thus nearly identical with 13, 33, 19 (above), only listing more names. Here even Śabaras, Barbaras and Kirātas seem to have Kṣatriya ancestry. A further parallel is found in the MDh 10, 42 f. (43 f.).
Mbh: Additions rejected in the Critical Edition

Mbh Add. 1, 178, 1824*

There appears a list of guests at Draupādi’s svayāṁvara. A second list of the svayāṁvara guests is not included in the critical edition, but attested in the MSS K₄, N, V, B and D.

Mahābhārata 1, 178, 1824* (after 1, 178, 15ab: Calcutta 7020; Bombay 187, 16):

sakaraṇa-duṣyodhana-śālva-śalya-duṣyodana-krāṭha-sunītha-vakrāḥ /
kalinda-vāṅgāḍhipa-pāṇḍya-pauṇḍrā videharājo yavanādhipaḥ ca //
anye ca nānā nṛpapuraputra ... 

[Among the guests were included] Karṇa, Duryodhana, Śālva, Droṇa’s son Śalya, Krāṭha, Sunītha and Vakra, the rulers of the Kaliṅgas and Vaṅgas, Pāṇḍyas and Pauṇḍras, the king of Videha, and the ruler of the Yavanas, as well as many kinds of sons and grandsons of kings...

Mbh Add. 1, add. ch. 80

On the might of Arjuna and his brothers, who conquered Western peoples (inter alia). Attested in the MSS N, V, B, Dn, D₂, and further in K₄, D₄, and S.

Mahābhārata 1, additional passage 80, lines 41 ff. (Calcutta 5535, Bombay 139; Ganguli 141):

trivarṣakṛtayajñas tu gandharvāṇām upaplave /
[40] arjunapramukhaiḥ pāṭhaḥ sauvīraḥ samare hataḥ /
na 'śāka vaśe kartum yaṁ pāṇḍur api vīryavān /
so 'ṛjunena vaśe nīto rājāsīd yavanādhipaḥ /
atiśa balasarpanaḥ sadā māñi kurūn prati /
vittalo* nāma Sauvīraḥ sastaḥ pārthena dhīmața /
[45] Dattāmitram* iti khyātaṁ saṁgrāmakṛtaniścayam /
sumitraṁ nāma sauvīram arjuno ’damayac charniḥ //
vittalo with variants (e.g. vipulo).
dattāmitram (with ā) only in Nīlakaṇṭha (Dn)

Ganguli: Indeed, Arjuna and the other Pandava princes became so powerful that they slew in battle the great Sauvīra who had performed a sacrifice extending over three years, undaunted by the raids of the Gandharvas. And the king of the Yavanas himself whom the powerful Pandu even had failed to bring under subjection was brought by Arjuna under control. Then again Vipula, the king of the Sauviras, endued with great power, who had always shown a disregard for the Kurus, was made by the intelligent Arjuna to feel the edge of his power. And Arjuna also repressed by means of his arrows...
(the pride of) king Sumitra of Sauvira, also known by the name of Dattamitra who had resolutely sought an encounter with him.

**Mbh Add. 3, add. ch. 24**
The digvijaya of Karṇa, a list of his conquests.
Mahābhārata 3, additional passage 24, after 3, 241, 15ab. (Calcutta 15 257; Bombay 254, 8), lines 63 ff.: Attested in the MSS K₄, D (except D₄) and G₃.

\[
vāruṇiṁ diśam āgamya yāvanāṁ barbarāṁs tathā / [obs. yāvana!]
nṛpān paścimbhūmiśṭhān dāpayām āsa vai karān /
\]

... śakān yavanāṁ caiva vijigye sūtanandanaḥ /
[70] nagnajitpramukhaṁś caiva gaṇāṁ jītvā mahārathāṁ /

Approaching in the direction of Varuṇa, he forced Yavanas and Barbaras, the kings of the western country, to pay tribute...having conquered Śakas and Yavanas, O joy of the charioteer, and the troops of great chariot warriors with Nagnajit (the king of Gandhāra) being foremost.

**Mbh Add. 7, 95, 673*–675*\)
In the description of the battle of Sātyaki against the North-Westerners, insertions 673*, 674*, and 675* are given in square brackets in connection to the text itself.

**Additional notes to the Mbh**
Mbh 1, 177, 12 – List of the guests arriving at Draupādi’s svayāṁvara (for a second list, see Mbh Add 1). This includes King Bhagadatta (in 1, 177, 12 = 6992 Calc. = 186, 12 Bo), who was sometimes identified as Indo-Greek King Apollodotus, but according to Johnson (1939, 219 ff.) he has nothing to do with the Greeks and therefore has been left out of the collection (see also note on 2, 13 above). However, the text is given here.

12. paunḍrako vāsudevaś ca bhagadattāś ca vīryavān /
kaliṅgas tāmraliptaś ca pātānādhipatiś tathā //

13. madrarājas tathā śalyāḥ mahaputro mahārathāḥ /
...

van Buitenen: Pauṇḍra and Vāsudeva and the heroic Bhagadatta; Kaliṅga, Tāmralipta, and the ruler of Pattana; the great warrior (!) Śalya and his warrior sons...

See Mbh 2, 13, 14 above for the continuation of the passage.

Mbh 2, 28, 49 – Insertions omitted in the critical text contain further southern conquests. In 309*, after 48ab) in MSS S, one reads Simhaladvīpa with its Rākṣasas, by envoys; in 311*, after 49) in MSS T, and Gₑ₂₀, Kānanadvīpa and Tāmraparnī.
Lévi also refers to Mbh. 2, 1068, which I have as yet been unable to identify. Somewhat later, in the list of princes arriving at Yudhiṣṭhira’s consecration, we find some North-Westerners mentioned in 2, 31, 9 f. (1269 f. Calc. = 2, 34, 9 f. Bo.):

9. yajñasaṇaḥ saputraś ca śālvaś ca vasudhādhipaḥ / prāgjyotiṣaś ca nrpatīr bhagadatto mahāyaśaḥ //
10. saha sarvais tathā mlecchaḥ sāgārānūpavāsibhiḥ / pārvatīyāś ca rājāno rājā caita bṛhadbalaiḥ //

van Buitenen: Yajñasaṇa was there with his son, and so were the lord of the land Śālva, the glorious Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa, with all his barbarians who live down by the ocean, the mountain kings and king Bṛhadbala.

For Bhagadatta, see the additional note on Mbh 1, 177, 12 above (where he is also mentioned together with Śālva); for Prāgjyotiṣa, see the note on Mbh 2, 23, 12 ff. above. After this follow, inter alia, puṇḍra, vaṅga, kaliṅga, ākarṣa, kuntala and andreha (11), draviḍa, sinihala, kāśmīra, kuntibhoja and suhma (12), bāhūlika, etc.

Mbh 2, 25, 24 – A reference to the Aśvamedhikaparvan is referred to by the apparatus criticus in the critical edition on Mbh 13, 353, 18. The passage – Mbh 14, 72, 24 (Calcutta 2136; Bombay 73) – is in connection with the wanderings of the sacrificial horse, followed by Arjuna, who fights all who dare to oppose it.

24. kirātā vikṛtā rājan bahavo ’sidhanurdharāḥ / mlecchāś cānye bahuvidhāḥ pūrvaṁ vinikṛtā raṇe //

In 24a), for vikṛtā, the MSS. MSS. K, B, D read yavana, but S and S (i.e. the Šaradā [together with the most of K = Kāśmīrī Devanāgarī MSS and the Southern recension) do not accept this vulgate reading.

Mbh Add – As these additions must be relatively late, here Yavana probably should be understood as Arabian, if not just a vague name of a north-western people.

**Concordance of early references to the Mbh**

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* Unidentified references to Calcutta 12, 7735 and 13, 3735 seem to be errors and should actually refer to this passage.

For this list, all the references given by Sørensen have been checked.

**Rāmāyaṇa**


Rām 1, 53, 20 f.

Origin of the Yavanas. Viśvāmitra — still a king — covets Vasiṣṭha’s Kāmadhenu and tries to seize it. In order to defend herself, on Vasiṣṭha’s advice the cow creates several north-western peoples. Continued in the next chapter.

Rāmāyaṇa 1, 53, 20 f. (Gorresio 1, 55, 20; Bombay 1, 54, 20; Lahore 1, 49, 20):

18. tasyā humbhāravotsṛṣṭāḥ pahlavāḥ śataśo nṛpa / nāsyaṃti balaṃ sarvaṃ Viśvāmitryasya paśyataḥ //

[The MSS Ś, and D1,3,5,8,14 insert here 1077*: yanvānāś ca sakānboja vālhiḍa dāradās tathā //]

19. sa rājā paramakruddhāḥ krodhāvishphāritekanāḥ / pahlavān nāsāyām āśa sāstrair ucāvarcār api //

20. Viśvāmitrārdritān drṣṭvā pahlavān śataśas tadā / bhūya evāśjad ghorāṇi śakān yavanaṃśritān //

21. tair āśit saṃvṛtā bhūmiḥ śakair yavanaṃśritāiḥ / prabhāvadbhir mahāvyānair hemakīnājdkasamniśhibhaiḥ //

22. dirghāśiṣṭīṣadharair hemavānṃbarśvviṃśtaiḥ /

[The MSS Ś, B4, and D1,3,5,8,14 insert here 1078*: tair mlecchair vikṛtākāra bhīma veṣpapatīr api //]

23. nirdagdhaṃ tadbalaṃ sarvam pradiptaṃ iva pāvakaḥ //

[The MSS Ś, V, B, and D10,13 insert here 1079*: dahyamānāṃ balaṃ drṣṭvā sambrāntaś calindhriyaiḥ //]

24. tato 'strāṇi mahātejā Viśvāmitro mumoca ha // [a half-’śloka!]

[The MSS Ś, (after 1081*), V, and D1,3,5,8,14 insert here 1080*: yeśāṃ visṛjyamānāmānānānān trasyed api śatkratuḥ /

The MSS Ś, (marg.), Dt, and D4,6,8,9,14, and S insert here 1081*: tais te yavanaṃśkāmboja pahlavās cākūṭakṛtāḥ //]

In 1081* pahlava is, of course, a variant for pahlava.

Goldman: *The protector of men, she gave a roar, “humbha”, from which were born hundreds and hundreds of Pāblavas who destroyed Viśvamitra’s army before his*
very eyes. The king was furiously angry, and his eyes wide with rage, he destroyed those Páhlavas with all manner of weapons. Seeing the Páhlavas struck down in their hundreds by Vishva-mitra, the cow created a new, mixed force of dreadful Shakas and Yávanas. This mixed force of Shakas and Yávanas covered the earth. Splendid and immensely powerful, they shone like so many golden filaments of flowers. Carrying long swords and sharp-edged lances and clad in golden garments, they consumed the entire army of the king like blazing fires. Then mighty Vishva-mitra fired his weapons.

Rām 1, 54, 3
Origin of the Yavanas (continued).
Rāmāyaṇa 1, 54, 3 (Gorresio 1, 56, 3; Bombay 1, 55, 3; Lahore 1, 50, 3):

1. tatas tan ākulān dṛṣṭvā viśvāmitrāstramohitān /
   vasiṣṭhaś codayām āsa kāmadhuk sr̥ja yogataḥ //
2. tasyā humbhāravāj jātāh kāmbojā ravisarṇāṁbhaḥ /
   ūrdhvasas tv atha sarṣiṁātaḥ pahlavāḥ śāstrapāṇayāḥ //
3. yonideśāc ca yavanāḥ śakṛddevāc chakās tathā /
   romakūpeṣu mlecchāś ca hārītāḥ sakirātakāḥ //
4. tais tan niṣūditaṁ sainyaṁ viśvāmitrasya tatkaśanāt /
   sapadātigajāṁ sāśvarṁ sarathaṁ raghunandana //

After 2cd), the MSS D, insert three lines = 1082*.

Goldman: Seeing her host stunned and overwhelmed by Vishva-mitra’s weapons, Vasíshtha commanded, “Wish-fulfilling cow, create more troops though your yogic power.” From her bellow, “humbha”, were produced Kambójas bright as the sun, while from her udders came Páhlavas, weapons in hand. From her vulva came Yávanas, from her anus, Shakas, and from the pores of her skin, Mlecchas, Harítas and Kirátas. Within an instant, delight of the Raghus, Vishva-mitra’s entire army was destroyed, with its infantry, elephants, horses and chariots.

Next Viśvāmitra sends his sons to attack, but they are all consumed by Vasiṣṭha’s yogic fire. Now Viśvāmitra realizes how meagre his kingly might is in comparison to the seer’s, and he decides to himself become a sage (ṛṣi).

Rām 4, 42, 11
The search for Sītā in the North.
Rāmāyaṇa 4, 42, 11 (Gorresio 4, 44, 13; Bombay 4, 43, 11; Lahore 4, 36, 153):

10. tatra mlecchān pulindāṁś ca śūrasenāṁś tathaiva ca /
    prasthalāṁ bharaṭāṁś ca saha madrakāṁ //
11. kāmbojān yavanāṁś ca śakān āraṭṭakān api /
    bāhlīkāṁ ṛṣikāṁś caiva paurāṅvaṁ atha taṅkaṇān //
12. cīnān paramacīnāṁś ca nīhārāṁś ca punaḥ punaḥ / 
anviṣya daradāṁś caiva himavantaṁ vicinvatha //

Lefeber: When you have searched repeatedly through the countries of the Mlecchas, the Pulindas, and the Śūrasenas; the Prasthalas, the Bharatas, the Kuruś, and Madrakas; the Kāmbojas, the Yavanās, the Śakas, the Āraṭṭakas, the Bāhlīkas, the Ṛṣikas, the Pauravas, and the Ṭāṅkanas; the Cīnas, the Paramacīnas, the Nīhāras, and the Daradas, you must scour the Himalayas.

Rām: Additions Rejected in the Critical Edition

Rām Add. 4, 41, 867*
The search for Sītā in the West.

Rāmāyaṇa 4, 41, additional passage 867, line 4 (included in the text in all earlier editions). A passage of 17 lines inserted after 4, 41, 15 contains some Indus tīrthas. It is somewhat out of place here, as the Indus had already been crossed some verses earlier.

It is attested in the MSS Ś, Ś, V, B, D,1,4,7,12,13.

Line numbers are given in square brackets.

[4] strīlokāḥ pahlavasthānaṁ dattāmitrām arundhatī m / 
purāṇi yavanānāṁ ca vicinvatu vanaukaśaḥ /

... [10] tatas takṣaśilāṁ ramyāṁ śākalaṁ puṣkarāvatīṁ /

The countries of women, the place of Pahlavas, Dattāmitrā, Arundhatī and the towns of Yavanās...then the delightful Takṣaśilā, Śākala, Puṣkarāvatī.

Harivaṁśa


Hv 10, 23 ff.
The Purāṇic story of the origin of the Yavanās et al. as fallen Kṣatriyas, explained as a punishment conferred upon them by Sagara after his victory and as vengeance for his father.

Harivaṁśa 10, 31, 38, 42 & 44 with insertion 10, 207* (Calcutta 760 [=207*], 768, 776 & 780; Bombay 1, 13 f.):
23. hariścandrasya tu suto rohito nāma viśrutaḥ 
rehitasya vṛkaḥ putraḥ vṛkād bāhus tu jajñivān //
[Insertion 207* in the MSS K, Ñ, V, D, T, G.]
akair yavanakāmbbojaiḥ pāradañc pahlavaiḥ saha /]
24. hehayās tālajaṅgāś ca nirasyanti smo taṁ nṛpam /
nātyarthaṁ dhārmikas tātā sa hi dharmayuge 'bhavat //
25. sagaras tu suto bāhor jajñē saha gareṇa vai /
aurvasyāśramam āsādyā bhārgavēnabhārakṣitaḥ //
26. āgneyam astrāṁ labdhvā ca bhārgavēg sagaroṁ nṛpaḥ /
jīgāya prthivīṁ hatvā tālajaṅgān sahehayān //
27. sakānāṁ pahlavānāṁ ca dharmāṁ nirasad acyutaḥ /
kṣatriyānāṁ kuruśreṣṭhā pārdaṇāṁ ca dharmavit //
Janamejaya uvāca
28. kathāṁ ca gareṇaiva sahācyutāḥ /
kimarthāṁ ca sakādīnaṁ kṣatriyāṁ māhuaiṣām //
29. dharmāṁ kulocitaṁ kruddho rājā nirasad acyutaḥ /
etan me sarvam ācakṣya vistareṇa tapodhana //
Vaiśampāyana uvāca
30. bāhor vyasaninas tātā hṛtāṁ rājyam abhūt kila /
hehayais tālajaṅghais ca sakaiḥ sārdhaṁ viśāṁ pate//
31. yavanāḥ pāradañc caiva kāmbbojaiḥ pahlavaiḥ khaśāḥ /
ete hy api gaṇāṁ paṅca hehayairthe parākraman //
b. Most of the MSS (i.e. N (except Dn, Ds), T, G, V, T, G, V) read tathā.
c. Obs. paṅca!
32. hṛtarājyas tadā rājā sa vai bāhor vanarīn yayau /
patmyā cānugato duḥkhī vane prāṇāṁ avāṣrjat //
33. patnī tu yādavī tasya sagarbhā prṛṣṭhato 'nvagōt /
apatmyā ca garas tathā dattāṁ pūrvam abhūt kila //
34. sā tu bhartiś citāṁ kṛtvā vane tām adhyarohata /
aurvās tāṁ bhārgavas tātā kārunyāṁ samavārayat //
35. tasyāśrame ca taṁ garbhaṁ gareṇaiva sahācyutam /
vajāyata mahābhūṁ sagraṁ nāma pārthivam //
36. aurvās tu jātakarmādī tasya kṛtvā mahātmmanāḥ /
adhyāpya vedaśāstrāṁ tato 'straṁ pratypādayat /
āgneyāṁ taṁ mahābhāgam amaraṁ api duḷṣahah //
37. sa tenāśtrabalenājau balena ca samanvītāḥ /
hehayān niṣaghānāśu kruddho rudraḥ paśūn iva / [sic]
ājahāra ca lokeṣu kīrtiṁ kīrtimatāṁ varaḥ //
38. tataḥ śakān sayavanāṁ kāmbojān pāradāṁs tathā / pahlavāṁś caiva niḥśeṣāṁ karturī vyavaśīto nṛpaḥ //
39. te vadhyamānā vireṇa sagareṇa mahātmānaḥ / vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā prāṇipetur maniṣṭaṁ //
40. vasiṣṭhaṁ tv atha tān drśtvā samayena mahādyutiḥ / sagaraṁ vārayāṁ āsa teṣāṁ dattvābhayaṁ tadā //
41. sagaraṁ svāṁ pratijāmaṁ ca guror vākyāṁ niśamya ca / dharmanī jaghāna teṣāṁ vai veśāyatvāṁ cakāra ha //
42. dharmanī śakānāṁ śīrā muṇḍayitvā vyasarjat / yavanāṁ śīrā sarvāṁ kāmbojānāṁ tathaiva ca //
43. pāradā muktakeśāṁ tu pahlavāṁ śmaśrudyarhīnaḥ / niḥsvādhyāyavaṣṭkāraḥ kṛtāṁya tena mahātmānaḥ //
44. śakā yavanākāmbojāḥ pāradās ca viśāṁ pate / kolisarpā mahiṣikā darvās colāḥ sakeralāḥ //
45. sarve te kṣatriyāṁ tāta dharmanī nirākṛtāḥ / vasiṣṭāvahanād rājaṁ sagareṇa mahātmānaḥ //

Dutt: Harishchandra had a powerful son Rohita...Ruruka who was...Ruruka’s son was Vṛka and of him was born Vāhu. Haihaya, Talajangha and other Kshatriya clans accompanied by Shaka, Javana, Kāmvoja, Pārada, Palhava and other clans discomfitted that king for he was not greatly virtuous even in the golden age. Vāhu’s son was born with poison and therefore he was called Sagara. Coming to the hermitage of Aurva he was protected by Bhārgava. O foremost of Kurus, having obtained a fiery weapon from Bhārgava the pious king Sagara, endued with great strength, slew all the Haihayas and Talajanghas, conquered all the world and put down the religious practices of Shaka, Palhava and Pārada Kshatriyas.

The text used by Dutt adds three additional generations between Hariścandra’s son Ruruка (13, 26) and Vṛka’s father, who is called Ruruka (13, 29). The story is here continued in Chapter 14:

Dutt: Janamejaya said: Why was the powerful king Sagara born with poison? And why did he, worked up with anger, put down the religious practices of Shakas and other highly powerful Kshatriya clans as laid down by their respective orders? And why was he not injured by poison? Describe all this at length, O great ascetic.

Vaishampayana said: O king, when Vāhu grew addicted to vice, Haihaya, with Tālajanghas and Shakas spoliated his territories. Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbhojas, Palhavas and Shakas — these five classes (of Mlecchas) displayed their prowess for Haihaya. Deprived of his kingdom the king Vāhu retired into a forest life. Followed by

2 Note that Dutt’s text often differs from the critical edition.
his wife he gave up his life there in great misery. His wife of the Yadu race was (at that
time) encénté and she followed her husband whose other wife had administered poison
unto her before (her departure). When she, making a funeral phyre for her husband
in that forest, got upon it Aurva, born in the family of Brighu, out of compassion,
prevented her. In his hermitage she gave birth to the highly powerful and mighty-armed
king Sagara together with poison. Having performed all the rites consequent upon the
birth of that high-souled (king) Aurva taught him the Vedas and then gave him at last
the fiery weapon which even the immortals cannot withstand. Gifted with great strength
he, by dint of the prowess of that weapon, in no time destroyed the Haihayas like unto
enraged Rudra slaying the beasts. That foremost of the illustrious (kings) spread his
own fame in the world. Thereupon he made up his mind for extirpating the race of the
Shakas, Kāmbhojas and Palhavas. When about to be slain by the high-souled hero,
they, seeking refuge with the intelligent Vasishtha, bowed unto him. Seeing them arrived
in proper time the highly effulgent Vasishtha promised them security and prevented
Sagara. Considering his own promise and the words of his preceptor Sagara violated
their religious practices and made them change their dress. Having made the Shakas to
shave half of their heads he dismissed them. He made the Yavanas and Kāmbhojas shave
their entire head. Pāradas used to have their hairs dishevelled and Palhavas kept beards.
They were prohibited from studying the Vedas, and offering oblation to fire by the high-
souled (Sagara). O my child, Shakas, Yavanas, Kāmbhojas, Pāradas, Kolasapāyas,
Mahishas, Dārvas, Cholas and Keralas were all Kshatriyas. O king, at the words of
Vasishtha their religious practices were put down by the high-souled Sagara.

N.B. Irregularities in the transcription of names, the error in French, etc. are faithfully
copied from the original.

Hv 25, 11 f.

Krṣṇa slays Kālayavana.

Harivaṁśa 25, 11 f. (Calcutta 1962 f.; Bombay ??; Kirfel 1927, 4 E I):

10. gopālī tv apsarās tasya gopastrīveṣadhārini śa
dhārayām āsa gārgyasya garbhaṁ dhārayām acyutam //

11. mānuṣyāṁ gārgyabhāryāṁ niyogāc chūlapāṁśinaḥ /
   sa kālayavano nāma jaiṁe rājā mahābalaḥ /
   vṛṣṇyandhakakāyāṁ tam avahaṁ vājīna raṇe //

12. aputrasya sa rājāṁ tu vavṛdhe 'nteḥpure śiśuḥ /
   yavanasya mahārāja sa kālayavano 'bhavat //

13. sa yuddhakāmo nṛpatiḥ paryapṛcchad dvījottamāṁ /
   vṛṣṇyandhakakulaṁ tasya nārādo 'kathayad vibhūḥ //

14. aksauhinīyā tu saṁyasya mathurāṁ abhyayaṁ tadā /
   dūtaṁ ca prēṣayāṁ āsa vṛṣṇyandhakaniyeśane //
15. tato vrṣṇyandhakāḥ kṛṣṇaṁ puraskṛtya mahāmatim /
   sametā mantrayām āsur jarāsaṁdhabhayena ca //
16. kṛtvā ca niścayaṁ sarve palāyanam arocayan /
   vihāya mathurāṁ ramyāṁ mānayantaḥ pinākinam /
   kuśasthalīṁ dvāravatīṁ niveśayitum īpsavaḥ //
17. iti kṛṣṇasta janmedaṁ yaḥ śucir niyatendriyaḥ /
   parvasu śrāvayed vidvān nirṛṣṭaḥ sa sukhi bhavet //

Dutt (36, 14 ff.): A nymph, by name Gopāli, came to him [Gārgya] in this guise [of a cow-herd’s daughter]. By the command of Shulapāni [Śiva] Gārgya made his human wife conceive, the embryo whereof was irrepressible and never to die. She gave birth to a highly powerful king by name Kālayavana. Horses, having their heads like those of bulls, used to carry him in battle. O king, that child grew up in the city of the king of Yavanas who had no issue. And accordingly he was named Kālayavana. Growing desirous of entering into a battle that king questioned the twice born ones. Thereat the omniscient Nārada asked him to fight with the members of Vrishni and Andhaka families. Thereupon starting for Mathurā with one Akshouhini [army] soldiers Kālayavana sent his messengers to the house of Vrishnis and Andhakas. Thereupon being united the Vrishnis and Andhakas, making the highly intelligent Krishna their president, held a conference in fear of Kālayavana. Then honoring Pināki [Śiva] they resolved upon flying away from the charming city of Mathurā and thought of settling down in Kushasthali Dwarkā. He, who being pure and self-controlled, listens to the story of Krishna’s birth, becomes learned, happy and freed from debts.

Hv 31, 146
Numerous exploits of Kṛṣṇa are briefly related.
Harivaṁśa 31, 146 (Calcutta 2362; Bombay 1, 41):

145. … daityaṁ mānuśadehasthān südayāṁ āsa víryavān //
146. chinnaṁ bāhusahasraṁ ca bāṇasyādbhutakarmaṇaḥ /
    narakaṁ ca hatāḥ samkhyaṁ yavanaṁ ca mahābalaḥ //
147. hṛtā尼 ca mahīpānāṁ sarvaraktāni tejasā /

Dutt: In this incarnation the powerful lord slew…and other demons in human forms. By Him of wonderful deeds the thousand arms of Vāna were chopped off. The Asura Naraka and highly powerful Yavana were slain by him in battle. He carried away by force all the jewels of the kings…

It is not clear whether the Yavana slain by Kṛṣṇa here refers to Yavana Kaśerumant (cf. Mbh 3, 13, 29) or to Kālayavana. The latter, the son of an unnamed Yavana king (according to the
Brahmapur.), is mentioned as having been slain by Kṛṣṇa in several Purāṇas (BhāgP 2, 7, 34; 10, 37, 17; 10, 51, 6 ff. & 44 ff.; BṇḍP 2, 3, 73, 102; VāyuP 2, 36, 101 [= 98, 101]).

**Hv 52, 41 & 44**

End of a list of kings allied with Jarāsandha in his battle against Kṛṣṇa.

Harivaṁśa 80, 15 (Calcutta 4969; Bombay 2, 34):

41. etat manujātāṅgārāṅgarathasaṅkāte /
    sa kālayavano yuddhe niruddho vasudevajaiḥ //
42. teśāṁ yasya ca saṅgṛāmo yaśaḥsaṅgrahakāriṇāṁ /
    anyonyākṣepivākyânāṁ pravrtyto vārtasaṅkatham //
43. channā tena kumāraṇāṁ śirobhī rudhirāruṇaiḥ /
    cakranārācanirbhinnaiḥ paṅkajair iva bhūr abhūt //
44. sāraṇena kumāreṇa sa kālayavano ruṣā /
    nītaḥ khadgapraḥsreṇa kālasya sadanāṁ cirāt //

*In the battle crowded by men, elephants, horses and chariots, Vasudeva’s sons restrained Kālayavana. The fight started between him and those striving for honour and throwing orders to each other, a practical story. Covered by princes’ blood-red heads that he had cut off with discs and iron arrows, the earth was as if covered with lotuses. Raging, Prince Sāraṇa quickly sent Kālayavana to Death’s abode with a stroke of his sword.*

**Hv 80, 15**

End of a list of kings allied with Jarāsandha in his battle against Kṛṣṇa.

Harivaṁśa 80, 15 (Calcutta 4969; Bombay 2, 34):

14. madrarājaś ca balavāṁs trigartānāṁ atheśvarah /
    sålvarājaś ca vikrānto daradaś ca mahābalaḥ //
15. yavanādhipatiś caiva bhagadattaś ca víryavān /
    sauvīrarājaḥ śaibyaś ca pāṇḍyaś ca balināṁ varaḥ /
    gāndhārarājaḥ subalo nagnajit ca mahābalaḥ //
16. ete cānye ca rājāno balavanto mahārathah /
    tam anvayur jarāsandhaṁ vidviṣanto janārddanam //

Dutt (ch. 89): *...the powerful king of Madra, the lord of Trigarta, the king of Shālwa endued with prowess, the highly powerful Darada, the energetic Bhagadatta the lord of Yavanas, Saiṭya the king of Shouvira, Pāṇḍya the foremost of the strong, Suvala, the king of Gāndhāra, Mahāvala, Nagnajit...these and other highly powerful kings, mighty car-warriors, followed Jarāsandha, out of jealousy towards Janārddana.*

The enemies Yavanarāja and Bhagadatta (see note on Mbh 2, 13, 13) are here fighting side by side together with other North-Westerners. According to Dutt, the older, uncritical editions made it possible to identify them with each other. It is curious to note that Dutt twice correctly renders mahābala as ‘mighty powerful’, but once takes it as a proper name.
Kṛṣṇa slays Kālayavana (beginning).
Harivaṁśa 84, 12 ff. (Calcutta 6397 ff.; Bombay ?, ??):

12. etasminn antare rājā sa kālayavano mahān /  
sainyena tadvidhenaiva mathurām abhyupāgamat //
13. tato jarāsaṁdhabalaṁ durnivāryaṁ mahat tadā /  
te kālayavanāṁ caiva śrutvaivaṁ pratipedire //
14. keśavah punar evāha yādavān satyasamgaṁarān /  
adyaiva divasaḥ punyo niryāma sapadānugāḥ //
15. niścakramus te yadavah sarve keśavaśāsanāt /  
oghā iva samudrasya balaphraptivāraṇāḥ //
16. saṁgrhaya te kalaṭrāṇi vasudevapurogamāṁ /  
susamiddhair gajair mattai rathair aśvaiś ca daṁśitaïḥ //
17. āhatya duṁdubhīn sarve sadhanajñātibāndhavāḥ /  
niryayur yādavāḥ sarve mathurām apahāya vai //
18. syandanaṁ kāñcanāpiṇḍair mattaiś ca varavāraṁaiḥ /  
ṣṟṭaputaiś ca turagaiḥ kaśāpakṣṇipracoditaïḥ //
19. svāni svāni balāgrāṇi śobhayantaḥ prakarṣinaḥ /  
pratyuṣmukhā yayur hṛṣṭa vrṣṇayō bharatarṣabhā //
20. tato mukhyātamāḥ sarve yādava raṇasobhinaḥ /  
anikāgrāni karṣanto vāsudevapurogamāḥ //
21. te sma nānālatacitraṁ nārikelavanāyutam /  
kīpāṁ nāgavanaiḥ kāntaiḥ ketakīṣḍaṇḍaṁśi /  
[The place of Dvārāvatī is discovered and the town founded...]
35. kṛṣṇa 'pi kālayavanāṁ jñātvā keśiniṣūdanaḥ /  
jarāsaṁdhabhayāc cāpi purūṁ dvārāvaṭīṁ yayau //

Dutt (ch. 113): At that time, O king, the emperor Jarāsandha, along with Kālayavana was proceeding towards Mathurā with his army. Having heard of the approach of Jarāsandha and Kālayavana with that highly irrepressible huge army the Yādavas thought of retreating as mentioned before. The truthful Krishna again said to the Yādavas: “Today is an auspicious day. So we shall, even this very day, issue out of Mathurā along with our army and followers.”

In the following verses (15–21), the exodus of the whole people from Mathurā with all their possessions is described. Eventually the head of the column reaches the shore of the ocean. The region is described and the new city of Dvārāvatī is founded on the place selected by Kṛṣṇa (22–34).
Thus informed of the approach of Kālayavana Krishna, the slayer of Keshi, set out for the city of Dwāravati, in fear of Jarāsāndha.

Hv 85, 4 ff.

Kṛṣṇa slays Kālayavana (continued).
Harivaṁśa 85, 4 ff. (Calcutta 6425 ff.; Bombay ?, ??):

janamejaya uvāca

1. bhagavaṇ śrotum icchāmi vistareṇa mahātmanah /
caritaṁ vāsudevasya yaduśreṣṭhasya dhīmataḥ //
2. kimarthaiṁ ca parityajya mathurāṁ madhusūdananāḥ /
madhyaḍeśasya kakudaiṁ dhāma lakṣmyāś ca kevalam //
3. śṛṅgaṁ prthivyāḥ svālakṣyaṁ prabhūtadhanaḥdīnayavat /
āryāḍhyajanabhūyīṣṭham adhiṣṭhānavarottamatam /
ayuddhaiva dāśārhas tyaktvān dvijasattam //
4. sa kālayavanaś cāpi kṛṣṇo kiṁ pratyapadyata //
5. dvārakāṁ ca samāsrita vāridgāṁ janārdanaḥ /
kiṁ cakāra mahābāhur mahāyogī mahāmanāḥ //
6. kiṁ vīryaḥ kālayavanaḥ kena jātaś ca vīryavān /
yamasahyāṁ samālakṣyāṁ vyapayāto janārdanaḥ //

vaiśampāyana uvāca

7. kṛṣṇiṇāṁ andhakānāṁ ca gurur gārgyo mahātapāḥ /
brahmacārī purā bhūtvā na sma dārāṁ sa vindati //
8. tathaḥ hi vartamaṇāṁ tam ūrdhvareṇam avyayam /
syālo "bhiṣaptavān gārgyaṁ apumāṇ iti bhūpayate //
9. so "bhiṣaptas tadā rājan nagare tvamitaṁ jaye /
lipsuḥ putraṁ tato gatvā tapas tepe sudāruṇam //
10. tato dvādaśa varṣaṁi so 'yaścūrṇaṁ abhakṣayat /
ārādhayaṁ mahādevam acintyaṁ śūlapāṇinam //
11. rudras tam āṭhāni prādh samarthaiṁ yudhi nigraye /
vrṣṇiṇāṁ andhakānāṁ ca sarvatejomayaṁ sūtaman //
12. tataḥ suṣrāva taṁ rājā yavanādhipatir varam /
putraprasatraṁ dānqm putraḥ putroṣṭuṁkaḥ //
13. tam upānāya sa nṛpaṁ śāntvayitvā dvijottama /
gopamadhye yavanarāḍ goṣṭipūruḥ samutsrēt //
14. gopālī tv apsarāṁ tatra gopālmadhāriṁ /
dhārayāṁ āśa gārgyaṁ garbhāṁ dūrdharaṁ acyutam //
15. mānuṣyāṁ gārgyabhārtyāṁ niyogaṁ chūlapāṇināḥ /
sa kālayavanaṁ nāma jaiṁ śūrpur mahābalaṁ /
aputrasyātha rājñaṁ tu vivṛdhṛ 'ntaparte śisūḥ //
16. tasminn uparate rājan sa kālayavano nṛpaḥ / yuddhābhikāmō rājā tu paryapṛcchad dvijottamam / vrṣṇyandhakakulaṁ tasya nārdo vai nyavedayat //
17. jñātā tu varadānaṁ taṁ nāradān madhusūdānaḥ / upapraikṣata tejasvī vardhantair yavantam tām //
18. sa vivṛddho yadā rājā yavanānāṁ mahābalaḥ / tata enaṁ nṛpā mlecchāḥ saṁśrityānuyayus tādā //
19. śakās tuṣārā daradāḥ pāradās taṅgaṇāḥ khaṣāḥ / pahlavāḥ ārṣaṁ cānye mlecchāḥ haimavatāś tathā //
20. sa taṁ parivṛto rājā dasyubhiḥ śalabhair iva / nānāvēṣadharair bhīmair mathurāṁ abhyavartata //
21. gajavājikaroṣṭrāṇāṁ sahasraṁ ātmasaṁyujayātm / prthiviṁ kampayām āsa sainyena mahatā tādā //
22. reṇunā sūryamārgaṁ tu samavachchāyaḥ pārthivāḥ / mūtreṇa śakrta caiva sainyena saṣṭe nādām //
23. aśvoṣṭrāśakṛto rāṣer niḥṣṛṇeti janādhipa / tato 'śvasakṛto iṣṭe vaṁ nāma nadyā babhūva ha //
24. tattasainyaṁ mahad ayād vai śrutvā vrṣṇyandhakāgraṇiḥ / vāsudevaḥ samānāyya jñātīn idam uvāca ha //
25. idaṁ samutthitaṁ ghoraṁ vrṣṇyandhakabhayaṁ mahat / avadhyaś cāpi naḥ satrur varadānāt pinākinaḥ //
26. sāmādayo bhyupāyaś ca nihitās tasya sarvaāṁ / matto madanalabhyaṁ ca yuddham eva cikīṛṣati / etānān iha vāsaḥ ca kathito nāradena me //
27. jarāśaṁdhaḥ ca no rājā nityam eva na mṛṣyate / tathānaye prthivipāla vrṣṇiçakrapratāpitāḥ //
28. kecit karisavadhāc cāpi viraktās tādāt nṛpāḥ / saṁśrityā jārāśardham āsām iṣe vā dāhitum //
29. bahavo jñātayaś caiva yadunāṁ nihatā nṛpaḥ / vivardhiṁ tu sa śaksyāṁ pure 'smīn iti keśavaḥ / apayāne matiṁ kṛtva dūtaṁ dūtaṁ tasmāi nṛpāḥ //
30. tataḥ kumbhe mahāsarpaṁ bhinnānacayopamam / ghoram āśiśiṣeṛ kṛṣṇiṁ kṛṣṇaḥ pārakṣepayat tādā //
31. tatas taṁ mudrayitvā tu svena dūteṇa hārayat / nidrāśaṁrāthāṁ goiva bhūṣayānaś ca taṁ nṛpaḥ / sa dūtaḥ kālayavanāṁ darṣayām āsa taṁ ghaṭam //
32. kālasaprampāṁ kṛṣṇa ity uktvā bharatārṣaṇaḥ / tatākālayavano buddhva trāsanaṁ yādavyāḥ kṛtam / pipilikanāṁ caṇḍānāṁ pūrayāṁ āsa taṁ ghaṭam //
33. sa sarpo bahubhiś tīkṣṇaiḥ sarvatas tainḥ pipīlikaiḥ / bhakṣyamāṇaḥ kilāṅgeṣu bhasmībhūto 'bhavat tudā //
34. taṁ mudrayitvātha ghaṭaṁ tathaiya yavanādhipaḥ / presayām āsa kṛṣṇāya bāhulyam upavariṣyan /
35. vāsudevas tu taṁ śrītvā yoganī vihitam ātmanah / utsṛjya mathurāṃ āśu dvārakāṃ abhijagmivān //
36. vairasyāntaṅ sa dhītsaṅ tu vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ / niveśya dvārakāṁ rājan vṛṣṇiṁ āśvāya caiva ha //
37. padātiḥ puruṣavyāghro bāhupraharaṇas tadā / ājagāma mahāyogi mathurāṁ madhusūdānaḥ //
38. taṁ śrītvā nirayau hrīṣṭaḥ sa kaḷāyaṇava ruṣā / prekṣāpūrvam ca kṛṣṇo 'pi niścakrāma mahābalaḥ //
39. athānvagacchad govindaṁ jighṛkṣur yovanāśvarah / na cainam asaṅkaṅ rāja graḥītuṁ yogadharmināṃ //
40. māndhātutu ṣuto suto rājā muciṅkundo mahāyaśāḥ / purā devāśa yuddhe kṛtakarmā mahābalaḥ //
41. vareṇa chandito devair nir∂ū eva grhītavān / rāntasya tasya vāg evarī tadā prādur abhūt kila //
42. prasuptaṁ bodhayed yo māṁ taṁ daheyaṁ ahaṁ suraḥ / cākṣuṣā krodhādiptaṇa evam āha punaḥ punaḥ //
43. evam astv iti sākraṁ tam uvāca tridaśaḥ saha / sa suraṁ abhyanujñaṅtā lokāṁ mānuṣam āgamat //
44. sa parvataguhāṁ kāṁcit praviṣya śramakarśitaḥ / suśvāpa kālam etaṁ vai yāvat kṛṣṇasya darśanam //
45. tatasvarāṁ vaśudavesya nāradena niveditam / varadāṁ ca devēbhya tejas taṁsa ca bhūpateḥ //
46. anugamamānāḥ kṛṣṇaḥ ca tena mlecchena śatruṇā / taṁ guhaṁ muciṅkundasya praviśeṣa virūtavat //
47. śrīrājaṁ tu rājaṅ rājāṁ muciṅkoaśaṁ keśavaḥ / saṁdarśanapathairāṁ tyaktvā tathau buddhimaṭāṁ vairā //
48. anupraviṣya yogaṁ tattvaḥ prthivipatim / prasvapantaṁ kṛtāṁ bham āsāda sudurmaṭiḥ //
49. vāsudevanī tu taṁ matvā ghaṭtayāṁ āsa pārthivam / pādenāṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaṁśaं
52. dadāha pāvakas taṁ tu śuṣkaṁ vṛkṣam ivāśaniḥ / 
    kṣaṇena kālayavanam netratejo vinirgataḥ // 
53. taṁ vāsudevaḥ śrīmantaṁ cirasuptaṁ narādhipaṁ / 
    kṛtakāryo 'bravīd dhīmān idaṁ vacanam uttamam // 

Dutt (ch. 114): Janamejaya said: O reverend sir, I wish to listen at length to the history 
of the high-souled and intelligent Vāsudeva, the foremost of Yadus. O foremost of 
the twice-born, why did Janārdana, without fighting, leave Mathurā the only abode 
of Lakshmi, the hump (the most elevated) of Central India, the very summit of the 
earth, abounding in profuse corns, ealth and beautiful houses, and consisting of many 
worshipful Aryans? How did Kālayavana behave towards Krishna? Having obtained 
the watery fortress Dwarkā what did the great Yogin of hard penances the mighty-
armed Janārdana do? Whose son was Kālayavana and how powerful was he? Do 
theu describe all this to me. 

Vaishampayana said: The high-minded Gārgya was the preceptor of both the 
Andhaka and Vrishni races. He always observed the vow of celibacy; and although he 
had a wife he did not know her. While the eternal Gārgya, who was a master of passions, 
was thus spending his days this brother-in-law described him as impotent before the king. 
O king, having been thus dishonored in the city of Ajitanjaya and giving up his desire of 
being united with his wife out of anger for his brother-in-law, Gārgya engaged in hard 
penances for obtaining a son. And living on pounded iron for twelve years he worshipped 
Mahādeva, the holder of trident. For this Rudra conferred on him a boon that he would 
obtain an all powerful son who would be able to discomfit in battle the descendants of 
the Vrishni and Andhaka races (1–10). The king of Yavanas had no son. Hearing 
of the boon of having a son conferred upon Gārgya, the foremost of the twice-born by 
Mahādeva, the king brought him over to his own kingdom. And having consoled him 
he engaged the milk-women to attend him in their own settlement. Having assumed the 
guise of a milk-woman, an Apsarā, Gopāli by name, conceived that dreadful and unde-
caying embryo through Gārgya. Thus by the command of the holder of trident, Gārgya 
begat on the Apsarā, assuming the form of a woman and living by him like a wife, the 
highly powerful hero Kālayavana. And he was brought up in the inner apartment, like 
his son, of the king [of] Yavanas who had no issue. O king, after the demise of the lord 
of Yavanas Kālayavana became king. And being desirous of fighting when he ques-
tioned the leading twice-born ones about his antagonist Nārada pointed out the heroes 
of the Vrishni and Andhaka races. Krishna, the powerful slayer of Madhu, took no 
notice of Kālayavana, although he grew up in the midst of the Yavanas because he had 
heard from Nārada the story of his obtaining the boon. When the king of Yavanas grew 
exceedingly powerful, Shaka, Tukhāra, Darava, Pārava, Tangana, Khasha, Panhava 
and hundreds of Mlechcha kings, living near Himavan, took shelter under him.
Encircled by those Dasyu kings resembling a swarm of locusts, assuming various dresses and holding various weapons, the king of Yavanas set out for Mathurā. He agitated the surface of the earth with innumerable horses, elephants, asses, camels and a huge army. The path of the sun was covered with the dust raised by the soldiers. By the urine and excreta of the soldiers a river was created. And because that river issued from the excreta of the horses and camels it passed by the name of Aswasakrit (11–24 = 11–23). Hearing of the approach of this huge army Vāsudeva, the leader of the Vrishnis and Andhākas, addressed his kinsmen, saying: “Great is the calamity that has befallen the descendants of the Vrishni and Andhaka races. For this enemy is unsayable by us on account of the boon conferred on him by the holder of the trident. I employed all other means as conciliation etc. to win him over. But he wishes for battle worked up with pride. ‘I am to live here,’ this Nārada said to me; I too tell you this. The emperor Jarāsandha is not forgiving towards us; and the other kings too, assailed by the Vrishni discus and on account of the destruction of Kansa, have been displeased with us and sought refuge with the Magadha king. Under the protections of Jarāsandha they want to obstruct us: and many kinsmen of the Yādavas have been slain by them. What more we will never acquire prosperity if we live in this city.” Saying this and desirous of retreating Keshava sent an envoy to the king of Yavanas. In order to terrorize him (the king of Yavanas) the highly intelligent Mādhava put a highly dreadful black serpent, resembling a collection of collyrium, into a jar and sealed it up. He then sent it to the king of Yavanas through his own emissary. O foremost of Bharatas, having said “Krishna is like a deadly serpent” that emissary showed the jar to Kālayavana. Thereupon understanding that the Yādavas had sent it to terrorize him Kālayavana filled that jar with dreadful ants. Thereat that serpent was eaten up by the innumerable ants having sharp beaks and was reduced to ashes. Thereupon sealing up that jar, Kālayavana sent it with a profuse description to Krishna. Observing his own expedient baffled Vāsudeva soon left the city of Mathurā and went to Dwarkā. O king, after that in order to put an end to hostilities, that highly illustrious and powerful hero, Vāsudeva settled all the heroes in Dwarkā and having consoled them, set out on foot for Mathurā with only his own arm for his weapon. Kālayavana was pleased at seeing him and confronted him with rage. The highly powerful Krishna too attracted him of his own accord. In order to get hold of Govinda the lord of Yavanas pursued him, but could not catch the Yogin (25–42 = 24–39).

On account of his being succesful in the war between gods and demons the former offered a boon to the highly powerful and illustrious king Muchukunda, the son of Māndhāta who prayed for sleep. O king, because he was tired in battle, he repeatedly said: “O gods, I will, with my eyes burning with anger, consume him who will arouse me from my sleep.” The deities along with their king said “so be it”. Having been thus ordered by the gods, that king, worn out with fatigue, first came to the king of mountains. And then entering into a cave he was asleep till he was seen by Krishna. Nārada commu-
nicated to Krishna the boon obtained by Muchukunda and his power. And therefore when pursued by his Mlechcha enemy he humbly entered into Muchukunda’s cave. In order to avoid the look of the royal saint Keshava, the foremost of the intelligent, sat near his head. Following Vāsudeva, the wicked-minded Yavana king entered into the cave and saw that king there. And like an insect falling into fire he kicked that king with his foot for his own destruction. With the touch of the foot the royal saint Muchukunda awoke and was highly enraged on account of the break of his sleep. Thereupon recollecting the boon that was conferred by Indra he looked at the Yavana king with angry eyes. As soon as he was eyed, the king of Yavanas was all ablate. O king, as a lightning consumes a dried tree so the fire, engendered by the energy of Muchukunda’s eyes, in no time reduced Kālayavana to ashes. Having thus acquired victory by virtue of his own intellect Vāsudeva went to the emperor Muchukunda, who was engaged in sleep for a long time and addressed to him the following most excellent words (43–56 = 40–53).

Kṛṣṇa addresses Muchukunda and explains to him briefly what has happened during his long sleep. Discontented with the degraded state of the world, Muchukunda becomes an ascetic and attains heaven.

Hv 105, 19
The slaying of Kālayavana, listed among the feats of Kṛṣṇa.
Harivaṁśa 105, 19 (Calcutta 9801; Bombay ?):

19. mokṣitaś ca mahātejā nṛgaḥ śāpāt sudāruṇāt /
   yavanaś ca hataḥ saṁkhye kāla ity abhiviśrutaḥ //

Nṛga of great brilliance was liberated from the very severe curse and the Yavana renowned as Kāla was killed in battle.

Hv Add 20, 718, 729 & 779
Kṛṣṇa slays Kālayavana.
Harivaṁśa insertion 20 (= Calcutta 5800–6385, Bombay ?)
This epyllion elaborates on the story of Kālayavana given above. As it is not part of the original Hv, the full translation (Dutt’s Chapters 109–111) of this long passage is not given.

tava putro mahāprājñāḥ sarvaśastrārthattvavit /
vidītvā devam īśānaṁ na yodhayati keśavam //
asti tasya raṇe jetā yavanādhipatir nṛpaḥ /
sa kālayavano nāma avadhyaḥ keśavasya ha //
apptvā sudāruṇaṁ ghorairi tapaḥ paramaduścaram /
rudram ārādhayām āsa dvādaśābdānyayośinaḥ //
putakāmena muninā tasya rudrāt suto vṛtaḥ /
māthurāṇām avadhyaḥ ‘yain bhaved iti ca śaṅkarāt /
After the svayāṃvara of Rukmiṇī and the defeat of his brother Rukmin, the assembled kings discuss the situation with Bhīṣmaka, the pair’s father. Śalya explains that it was impossible for Rukmin to defeat Kṛṣṇa, but there is one who can do it (717). He is the Yavana king named Kālayavana, the son of the sage Gārgya, born with Rudra’s boon that no king of Mathurā will be capable of slaying him. Therefore, an envoy should be sent to the town of the Yavana king. The kings applaud this.

In a long speech (734–753), Jarāsandha comments on the situation and suggests that in order to not be threatened by Kṛṣṇa, the messenger should be sent in an aerial car to the Yavanas to explain the situation to their king (last śloka):

\[
yavanendro yathābhyeti narendrāṇāṁ samāgamam
vacanaṁ ca yathāsmābbhir daughtyena kṛṣṇavigrhe
vaśaṁpyāya uvcā:
\]

yavanendro yathābhyeti yathā kṛṣṇaṁ vijeyati
yathā vayaṁ ca tuṣyāmas tathā nītir vidhīyatām

Śalya gives his advice to the messenger (King Saubha), asking him to entice the Yavana king to attack Kṛṣṇa. The kings depart and Rukmiṇī swears her love to Kṛṣṇa (758–770). Here ends Dutt’s Chapter 109.

A conventional account of how the Yavana King Kālayavana rules his people righteously and piously. One day he was sitting in the midst of his ministers and learned and wise Yavanas,
discussing heavenly things. There follows the arrival of the envoy of the kings (781–794). The Yavana king welcomes him, offering a ceremonial drink (arghya):

uvāca yavanendro vai mitraṁ pravadatāṁ varah //
tatrotthāya mahābāhuḥ svayam eva nrpaśanāt //
pratyudnanyārgham ādāya rathāvaratape shtitaḥ //
salvo ʿpi sumahāteja drṣṭvā rājānam āgatam //
mudā paramayā yuktāḥ śakrapratimatejasam //
avatirya suvisrabdha eka eva rathottamāt //

Welcomed by Kālayavana and asked about his reason for coming (800–819), Sālva explains his commission:

yathā vadati rājendra magadhādhipatis tava //

tathāhaṁ saṁpravakṣyāmi śrūyatāṁ yavanādhipa //

He quotes Jarāsandha’s long speech about his war against Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and how the king, facing defeat, now turns with his allies to Kālayavana for help (822–889). With Sālva’s concluding remark (890–893) ends Dutt’s Chapter 110.

evaṁ kathayamānaṁ taṁ sālvarājaṁ nrpaśnayā //

Well pleased, the king shares his willingness to fulfil the request. After receiving presents and conducting rituals, Sālva takes leave and departs:

yavanendraṁ pariṣvajya jagāma svapuraṁ nrpaḥ //

After this follows a long account (914–1164), forming Dutt’s Chapters 112–113, of the foundation of Dvārakā. After that comes Hv 85, quoted above.
2. GRAMMAR

Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali


P 4, 1, 49

Pāṇini on the feminine form of *yavana*, Kātyāyana on Yavana script.

Pāṇini 4, 1, 49 with Kātyāyana, varttika 3 ad. loc. and Patañjali

P. 4, 1, 49 indra-varuṇa-bhava-śarva-rudra-mṛd-ahimāraṇya-yava-yavana-mātulācārya-ṇaṁ ānuk //

*The feminine of the aforementioned words is formed with the formative ānuk (e.g. indrāṇī, varuṇānī...yavanānī).*

Kāty. v. 3 ad loc. *yavanāl lipyām* //

(This feminine formed with ānuk is used) of the word *yavana in reference to the script.*

Pat. ad loc. *yavanāl lipyām iti vaktavyam / yavanānī līpiḥ //*

Pat. commentaries: Śivarāmendra Sarasvatī, Ratnaprakāśa:

*yavanānī līpir iti / anyā tu yavanasya yavanīti bhāvaḥ /*

*The feminine *yavanānī is used for the script. It should be understood that another (and more regular feminine of the word) yavana is yavanī.*

As a standard form used by canonized classical grammarians, this is repeated in many later texts. Thus for instance:

Kāśikāvṛtti (Pāṇini commentary, ref. below) ad loc.:

“*Yavanāl lipyām” / yavanānāṁ līpir yavanānī //*
This is quoted as n. 1364 by Varadaraja (Ballantyne). The word *yavana* was already quoted by Weber (1849, 144 & 1852, 202). It also appears in Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣīta 505 and in śKDr s.v. *yavanāṇī*: ...

**Patañjali includes Yavanas among those Śūdras who are not considered impure.**

Patañjali on Pāṇini 2, 4, 10.

P. 2, 4, 10 śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām //

Vasu: A dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of śūdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes is singular.

Pat. ad loc. aniravasitānām ity ucyate kuto 'niravasitānām / āryāvartād aniravasitānām / kaḥ punar āryāvartaḥ / prāg-ādarsāt pratyak-kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam uttareṇa pāriyātram / yady evaṁ kiṣkindhagandikāṁ śakayavanaṁ śauryakrauṇcām iti na sidhyati // evaṁ tarhy āryanivāsād aniravasitānām / kaḥ punar āryanivāsāḥ / grāmo ghoṣo nagaraṁ saṁvāha iti / evaṁ api ya ete mahāntaḥ saṁstṛyāḥ teśv abhyantarāś caṇḍālaṁ mṛtapaś ca vasanti tatra caṇḍālamṛtapaś iti na sidhyanti // evaṁ tarhi yājñāt karmaṇo 'niravasitānām / evam api takṣāyaskārāṁ rajakantantuvāyaṁ iti na sidhyati // evaṁ tarhi pāṭrād aniravasitānām / yair bhukte pātraṁ saṁskāreṇāpi śudhyati te 'niravasitāḥ / yair bhukte pātraṁ saṁskāreṇāpi na śudhyati te niravasitāḥ //

*When it is said “not excluded”, not excluded from what (is meant)? Not excluded from Āryāvarta? What is then Āryāvarta? To the east from Ādaṛśa, to the west of Kālakavana, south of the Himalayas, north of Pāriyātra. If (it were) so, then (compounds such as) kiṣkindhagandikā, śakayavana and śauryakrauṇcā would not be valid. Then (if it is) like this: not excluded from Āryan dwellings? What is then an Āryan dwelling? Village, herdsmen station, town, market-place. But inside those there are also large habitations where outcasts and undertakers live. Then (compounds such as) caṇḍālamṛtapaś would not be valid. Then (if it is) like this: not excluded from sacrifices and ceremonies? But then even (compounds such as) takṣāyaskārā (a carpenter and a blacksmith) and rajakantantuvāya (a washerman and a weaver) would not be valid. Then (if it is) like this: not excluded on the basis of dishes. Those with whom after eating one ceremonially cleanses the dish, they are not excluded. Those with whom after eating one does not ceremonially cleanse the dish (but throws it away), they are excluded.*

Kāśikā is not relevant here.

**Pat. on P 3, 2, 111**

Patañjali gives historical examples for the use of the past tense.
Patañjali on Pāṇini 3, 2, 111.

P. 3, 2, 111 anadyatane laṅ //

The imperfect tense is used for (the past) before the current day (though it can still be seen by the speaker).

Kātyāyana, Vārttika 2 ad loc. parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye //

Pat. ad loc. parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye laṅ vaktavyah / aruṇad yavanaḥ sāketam / aruṇad yavanaḥ mādhyamikām iti /

Kāśikāvṛtti (Pāṇini commentary, ref. below) ad loc. quotes Patañjali’s words with the variants saketam and mādhyamikān. See Kielhorn 1878.

Other works

Jayāditya & Vāmana: Kāśikāvṛtti (on Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī)


Kāś. on P 3, 2, 126

Yavanas eating in an example of the use of participle.

Kāśikā on Pāṇini 3, 2, 126.

P. 3, 2, 126 lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ /

Kātyāyana and Patañjali contain nothing of interest for the present purpose.

Kāśikā ad loc. lakṣyate cihnyate yena tal lakṣaṇam / janako hetuh / dhātvartva-viśeṣaṇaṁ caitat / lakṣaṇe hetau cārthe varttamāṇāddhatoḥ parasya laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv ādeśau bhavataḥ, tau cel lakṣaṇahetū kriyāviṣayau bhavataḥ / lakṣaṇe — śāyānā bhuñjate yavanaḥ, tiṣṭhanto ‘nuśāsati gaṇakāḥ / hetau — arjayan vasati, adhiyāno vasati / ...

...The Yavanas eat lying down.

Kāś. on P 4, 1, 175

Yavana included among ethnic names, which can be used as the name of a king.

Kāśikā on Pāṇini 4, 1, 175.

P. 4, 1, 175 kambojāl luk //

Vasu: After the word ‘Kamboja’, there is elision by ‘luk’ of the Tadrāja affix.

Thus kambojāḥ [means] ‘the King of the Kambojas’.

Kātyāyana, Vārttika 1 ad loc. kambojādibhyo lugvacanaṁ coḍādyartham /

The Southerners like Coḷas added to the list (different geographical perspective).
Patañjali ad loc. kambojadibhyo lugvaktavyāḥ / kīṁ prayojanam / coḍādyartham / coḍaḥ kaḍeraḥ keralāḥ //</p>


Kāś. on P 2, 4, 10 & 4, 1, 40
Quoted above under Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

Pāṇini: Gaṇapāṭha

Gaṇapāṭha, text as an appendix to O.N. Böhtlingk: Pāṇini’s Grammatik. Lp. 1887, 95*–145*.

Gaṇa 128 on P 3, 1, 134
Yavana explained as verbal derivation.
Gaṇa 128 (nandyādayaḥ) on Pāṇini 3, 1, 134 (nandigrahapādibhyo lyu-ṇiny-acaḥ).


Instead of yavanaḥ, MS K reads pavanaḥ. The passage was noted as early as Weber 1849, 144.

Gaṇa 178 on P 2, 1, 72
Bald heads of the Yavanas in a list of tatpuruṣa compounds.
Gaṇa 178 (mayūravyāṁsakādayaḥ) on Pāṇini 2, 1, 72 (mayūravyaṁsakādayaś ca).

Gaṇa 178: (1) mayūravyaṁsaka (2) chāttravyaṁsaka (3) kambojāmunḍa (4) yavana munḍa (5) chandasi hastegṛhya (6) padeṛgṛhya ... (71) pacadrakūṭa //</p>

The MS K has some further compounds (72–76). It is an akhstan with further additions.

Candragomin: Cāndravyākaraṇa


Cāndravy. 2, 3, 54
Yavana writing, from Pāṇinean tradition (P 4, 1, 49).
Cāndravyākaraṇa 2, 3, 54.
yavanāl lipyām
Vṛtti: yavanāt striyāṁ ūṣ bhavaty ānuk ca, lipyām abhidheyāyām / yavanāṁ lipiḥ /

Śākaṭāyana: Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa

Śākaṭāyana-Vyākaranam of Acarya Śākaṭāyana, with the Svopajña Commentary, Amoghavṛtti.

A 9th-century work.

Śaṅk 1, 3, 56
Yavana writing. Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa 1, 3, 56, with author’s commentary.

yavanayavāl lipiduṣte
Translation: From the words yavana ‘Greek’ and yava ‘barley’, (feminines are used in the sense of) writing and inferior quality.

Auto commentary: yavana yava ity etābhyāṁ yathākramaṁ lipau duṣṭe cārthe striyāṁ vartamānābhyāmān pratyayo bhavati / yavanānam lipir yavanāṁ / yavanānymā / duṣṭo yavo yavāṁ/ yavānyā /
According to Lévi, the commentary of Yakṣavarman follows Patañjali.

Varadarāja: Laghukaumudī


Laghukaum. n. 972 on P 2, 4, 84
Yavana in an avyayībhāva compound.
Laghukaumudi 972 on Pāṇini 2, 4, 84 (trīyāsaptamor bahulam).

upakṛṣṇam / upakṛṣṇena / madrāṇāṁ suvṛddhiḥ sumadram / yavanānāṁ vyṛddhir duryavanam / māṣikāṇāṁ abhāvo nirmāṣikam / ...

Ballantyne: Near to Krishna, well (or prosperous) with the Madras, ill with the Yavanas, free from flies...

Laghukaum. n. 1364 on P 4, 1, 49
Quoted above under Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali.
**Ujjvaladatta: Commentary on the Uṇādisūtras**

Compiled between 1111 and 1431 CE.

**Ujjvaladatta on Uṇ. 2, 74**

Yavanas as a kind of barbarian whose name is derived from the verbal root yu-.

Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 2, 74 (su-yu-ru-vṛño yuc).

ṣuñ abhiṣave / yu miśraṇe / ru śabde / vṛñ varaṇe // ebhyo yuc / savanas candramāḥ // yavano mlecchaviśeṣaḥ // ravaṇah kokilaḥ / ravaṇah śabdano nāndivādī nāndikaraḥ samāv ity Amaraḥ // varaṇo varuṇo vṛkṣabhedaś ca / ṭāp / varaṇā nadi //

Yavana, a kind of barbarian.

**Vopadeva: Mugdhabodha**


13th century.

**Mugdhabodha 4, 26**

Yavānī and yavanānī as feminines.

Mugdhabodha 4, 26 (p. 65).

nārī sakhī yavānī yavanānī himāny aranyānī manāvī pativatty antarvvatnī patnī ... According to the ŚKDr, the commentator Durgādāsa refers here to yavanānī as lipi.
3. LEXICOGRAPHY

**Amarakośa**


**AK 2, 6, 128 (2, 7, 1330)**

Yāvana listed among incenses.

Amarakośa 2, 6, 128 (2, 7, 1330) Manuṣyavarga.

128. bahurūpo ’py
   atha vr̥kadhūpakṛtrimadhūpakau / (1329)
   turuṣkāḥ pīṇḍakāḥ sīhla yāvano ’py
   atha pāyasaḥ // (1330)

This was quoted as a Yavana passage as early as Weber 1852, 202.

Commentaries:

Bhānuji Dīkṣita: lovāna iti khyātasya

Haragovinda Śāstrī: turuṣka, pīṇḍaka, sīhla (silha), yāvana – lohabān ke nām haiṁ /

NSP: turuṣkaḥ, pīṇḍakaḥ, sīhlaḥ, yāvanaḥ, iti 4 sīhlaḥkhyāyānandhadhravyasa

Pādacandrikā, Vol. 2 on 2, 6, 128 (here verse 386): yavanadēṣajātvād ‘yavanah’ /
antarsthādi / yāvyaṭe dravyāṇtāreṇa miśrīkriyate / yu miśrāne / nyantāt “kṛtalyuṭo bahulam” (Pā. 3, 3, 113) iti lyuṭi va // catvāri sīhlaḥkhyasugandhidhravyasya //

Amarapadavirṭī: yavanadēṣe turuṣkadeśe bhavo yāvanaḥ / sallakīvadgādīna saṁpāditāsa dhūpasya nāmāni //

Amarapadapārijātā: yavanadēṣyadhūpadhravyanāmāni / [āndhrabhāṣayā] cillamaḍḍi /

The word in brackets, ‘in Telugu language’, is found in one MS only.
**Rājanighaṇṭu–dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu**


[DhN 1, 8, 29;] RN 9, 44

The word yavaneṣṭa (?) 'liked by Yavanas' as a name for nimba (Azadiractha indica).

DhN Varga 1 (guḍūcyādih) n. 8 nimbaḥ ‘Azadiractha indica’, p. 13.

29. nimbo niyamano netā picumandaḥ sutiktaḥ / ariṣṭaḥ sarvatobhadraḥ prabhadrakaḥ //
30. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau prabhadrādir navamo vargaḥ:

43. atha nigaditaḥ prabhadrakaḥ picumandaḥ / kākaphalaḥ kīreṣṭo netā ‘riṣṭaś ca sarvatobhadraḥ //
44. dhamano viśīrpaparnationo pavaneṣṭaḥ pītasārakaḥ śītaḥ / varatikto ‘riṣṭaphalo jyeṣṭhāmālakaś ca hiṅguniryāsah //
45. ... (guṇāḥ)

In RN 44ab, pavaneṣṭaḥ could be an error for yavaneṣṭaḥ. Thus it is quoted from a RN MS by Roth in the *pw* as RN 9, 8 and in the ŚKDr. In any case, in a script of the Devanāgarī type it is often impossible to say whether the scribe intended a *pa* or a *ya*.

DhN 2, 35, 88; RN 6, 135

The word yavaneṣṭa ‘liked by Yavanas’ as a name for pepper.

DhN Varga 2 (śatapuṣpādika) n. 35 maricam ‘pepper’, p. 87f.

88. maricaṁ palitaṁ śyāmaṁ pallījaṁ kṛṣṇamuṣanam / yavaneṣṭaṁ sirovrṛttaṁ kolakaṁ dharmapattanam //
89. maricaṁ kaṭu tiktoṣṇaṁ pittakṛc chleṣmanāśanam / guṇāḥ vāyuṁ nivārayaty eva jantusaṁtśanāśanam //

Rājanighaṇṭau pippalyādi śaśtho vargaḥ:

135. maricaṁ palitaṁ śyāmaṁ kolaṁ vallījaṁ ūṣanam / yavaneṣṭaṁ vṛttyaphalaṁ śakāṅgaṁ dharmapattanam //
136.−137. ...

The reference in the *pw* (by Roth, referring to a RN MS) under yavaneṣṭa 3) n. c) ‘Pfeffer’ to RN 13, 24 is probably a misprint, as the same reference is also (and correctly) given a bit earlier under yavaneṣṭa 3) n. a) ‘Blei’ (see below).

RN 6, 138 f. n. 36 yavānī (dīpyakam) is a derivation from yava ‘barley’ and therefore not relevant here.
The word yāvana ‘of Yavanas’ as a name for olibanum (frankincense).

DhN Varga 3 (candanādīḥ) n. 7 turuskaḥ ‘olibanum’, p. 98.

22. turusko yāvanaḥ kalkaḥ piṇyākah piṇḍitaḥ kapiḥ / kapijaḥ kṛtrimo dhūmro dhūmravarṇaḥ ca sihlakah //

23. sugandhiḥ kṛtakaḥ caiva yuktīyuktaḥ ca piṇḍakah / kapitailam iti khyātaṁ tathā piṅgalanāmakaṁ //

24. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau candanādi dvādaśo vargaḥ:

36. turusko yāvanaḥ dhūmro dhūmravarṇaḥ sugandhikaḥ / sihlakah sihlamāraś ca pītasārah kapis tathā //

37. piṇyāphaḥ kapijah kalkaḥ piṇḍitaḥ piṇḍatailakah / karevarah kṛtrimako lepano munimūhvayaḥ //

38. ... (guṇāḥ)

This is referred to by Roth in the "pw as 12, 105 of his RN MS.

The word yavanadviṣṭa ‘hated by Yavanas’ as a name for bdellium.

DhN Varga 3 (candanādīḥ) n. 41 gugguluḥ ‘bdellium’, p. 120.

127. gugguluh kālaniryāso jaṭāyuḥ kauśikaḥ purah / naktārīcarah śivo durgo mahiṣākṣaḥ palaṁkaṣā //

128.–131ab. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau candanādi dvādaśo vargaḥ:

183. guggulur yavanadvisto bhavābhīṣto niśāṭakah / jaṭālaḥ kālaniryāṣaḥ puro bhūtaharaḥ śivaḥ //

184.–185. ...

The locus RN 12, 183 is quoted by Roth from a MS in the "pw as 12, 108.

Deb in the ŠKDr explains yavanadvista (guggulu) from its “hindupriyatvā”.

The word yāvanīpriya ‘dear to Yāvanīs’ as a name for betel leaf (Piper betle).

DhN Varga 3, Vargetarāṇi (editor’s note: caturdaśasaṁkhyāmitapūgīphalasaṁbadhvatvād atra vargānte bahulāyāḥ saṁgrahaḥ) n. 1 bahulā, 1 ff. p. 131.

1. bahulā ca balā ’nantā bhadrā pātālavāsinī / mukharāgakah saubhyā amṛtā tv amṛtodbhavā //

2. kāmadā kāmajananī jīvantī yāvanīpriyā / āmodajananī hṛdāyā devānāṁ dānavaprīyā //

3. tāmbūlavallī tāmlūli ... (4.–5.)
Rājanighaṇṭau āmrādir ekādaśo vargaḥ:
6.–8. No yavanas mentioned.

[DhN 4, 9 (10), 37]; RN 7, 55
The word yavaneṣṭa ‘liked by Yavanas’ as a name for a kind of onion (garlic?).
DhN Varga 4 (karavīrādiḥ) n. 9 mūlakam ‘radish, root’, subn. 10. grñjanam (āṭavimūlakam) ‘kind of onion or garlic’, p. 141.

37.  tṛtīyaṁ mūlakam cānyan nirdiṣṭām tac ca grñjanam /
     pitakaṁ madhuraṁ svādu tac ca nāradakandakam //
38.  ... (guṇāḥ)
Rājanighaṇṭau mūlakādi saptamo vargaḥ:
55.  grñjanaṁ śikhimūlaṁ ca yavaneṣṭaṁ ca vartulam /
     granthimūlaṁ śikhākandraṁ kandaṁ śīndiśrāmādakam //
56.  ... (guṇāḥ)
    Roth in the pw gives from his RN MS three references to yavaneṣṭa as ‘onion’ (3, 31; 7, 51; 7, 58). See also the next passage.

DhN 4, 22, 71; RN 7, 103
The word yavaneṣṭa ‘liked by Yavanas’ as a name for onion.

71.  palāṇḍur yavaneṣṭaś ca sukando mukhadūṣaṇah /
     harito ‘nyah palāṇḍus ca latārko dudrumah īśtaḥ //
72.  ... (guṇāḥ)
Rājanighaṇṭau mūlakādiḥ saptamo vargaḥ:
100.–101. no yavanas, but śūdraptiyaḥ in 100.
102.  ... (guṇāḥ)
103.  anyo rājapalāṇḍuḥ syād yavaneṣṭo nṛpāhvayaḥ /
     rājapriyo mahākando dīrghapatraś ca rocakaḥ //
104.  nṛpeṣṭo ... nṛpapriyaḥ ... rājeṣṭo ...
105.  (guṇāḥ)
    See preceding passage for a note on Roth and the pw.

[DhN 5, 13, 53]; RN 11, 65
The word yavaneṣṭa ‘liked by Yavanas’ as a name for wild date tree.
DhN Varga 5 (āmrādiḥ) n. 13 kharjūrī (kharjūram) ‘wild date tree’, p. 178.

53.  kharjūrī tu xharaskandhā kaśāyā madhurāgraṇā /
     duspradhārṣa durārohā niḥśreṇi svādumastakā //
54.  ... (guṇāḥ)
Rājanighaṇṭau āmrādir ekādaśo vargaḥ:
65. kharjūrī tu kharaskandhā duśpradhārśa durāruhā /
    niḥśreṇī ca kaṣāyā ca yavaneṣṭa haripriyā //
66. ... (guṇāḥ)
    This is referred to by Roth in the *pw* as 11, 56 of his RN MS.

DhN 6, 6, 21; RN 13, 20
The word yavaneṣṭa 'liked by Yavanas' as a name for lead.
DhN Varga 6 (suvarṇādiḥ) n. 6 sīsakam 'lead', p. 209 f.
21. sīsakaṁ nāgam uragaṁ krṣṇorabhujaṁgamāḥ /
    yavaneṣṭam viśiṣṭaṁ ca yogiṣṭhaṁ činapiṣṭakam //
22. ... (guṇāḥ)
    Rājanighaṇṭau suvarṇādis trayodaśo vargah:
20. sīsakaṁ tu jaḍaṁ sīsaṁ yavaneṣṭaṁ bhujaṁgamam /
    yogiṣṭhaṁ nāgapuragaṁ kuvaṅgaṁ parapiṣṭakam //
21. ... činapiṣṭaṁ ca ...
22.–23. ... (guṇāḥ)
    This is referred to by Roth in the *pw* as 13, 24 of his RN MS.

[DhN 6, 27, 97;] RN 16, 151
The word yavana as a name for wheat.
DhN Varga 6 (suvarṇādiḥ) n. 27 godhūmaḥ 'wheat', p. 227.
97. godhūmo yavakaśraiva huḍambo mlecchabhojanaḥ /
    girijā satīnāmā ca rasikaḥ ca prakīrtitah //
98. ... (guṇāḥ)
    Rājanighaṇṭau śalyādiḥ ṣoḍaśo vargaḥ:
151. godhūmo bahudugdhaḥ syād apūpo mlecchabhojanaḥ /
    yavana nistuṣaḥ kṣīrī rasāhaḥ sumanaḥ ca saḥ //
    This is referred to by Roth in the *pw* as 16, 30 of his RN MS.
    Here yavana can also be related to yava 'barley' (and not to the Yavanas). As wheat is also
    called mlecchabhojana, however, this is not certain.

Concordance of RN passages quoted above under DhN

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For Roth’s different MS references, see notes on individual passages.
The Rājanighaṭuparāśīṭa (p. 319 ff. of the RN-DhN edition) contains no instances of Yavana.

Other works

Hemacandra: Abhidhānacintāmaṇi


Abhidh.c. 3, 84 (420 B.-R.)
The word yavanapriya ‘dear to Yavanas’ as a name for pepper.
Abhidh.c. 3 (Martyakāṇḍa) 84 (B.-R. 420)

83. … 7. marīcaṁ kṛṣṇam ūṣaṇam //
84. kolakaṁ vellakaṁ dhārmapattanaṁ yavanapriyam /
  8. śuṇṭhī mahauṣadhaṁ viśvā nāgaraṁ viśvabheṣajam //
Instead of vellakaṁ B.–R., read vellajaṁ.

7. Seven names of black pepper, then 8. five names of dried ginger.

Abhidh.c. 4, 107 (1041 B.-R.)
The word yavaneṣṭa ‘liked by Yavanas’ as a name for lead.
Abhidh.c. 4 (Tiryakkāṇḍa) 107 (B.-R. 1041)

106. … 2. sīsān tu sīsapatrakam //
107. nāgaṁ gāṇḍūpadabhavaṁ vapraṁ sindhūrakāraṇam /
  vardhrarī svarnāriyogeṣte yavaneṣṭaṁ suvarṇakam //

2. Eleven names for lead.

Abhidh.c. Scholia on 3, 312 (648 B.-R.)
The word yāvana ‘of Yavanas’ as a name for frankincense.
Abhidh.c. 3, 312 (B.-R. 648)
5. Five names of frankincense; 6. four names of resin of the Pinus longifolia (so B.-R.).

Scholia in Böhtlingk & Rieu: turuṣko yavanadeśājāḥ / yāvano 'pi

Vaijayantī of Yādavaparakāśa

11th century.

Vaijay. 3, 1, 24
Yavanas with other north-western peoples in a geographical account (bhūmakṣe deśādhyāya).
Vaijay. 3, 1, 24.

23. āryāvarte brahmavedir madhyamā vindrhyāhimāgayoḥ /
athodicya janapadās tatra cināḥ kharabhiṣṭhāḥ //
24. gārindhārās tu dihaṇḍās syur yavanās tu huruṣkarāḥ /
saṁbhālāḥ syuṣ śūrasenā api te śūrasenayāḥ //
25. madhye tu śūrasenānāṁ madhurā nāma vai purī /
lampākās tu muruṇḍāḥ syus tokṣārās tu yugālikāḥ //

In Āryāvarta, the (country called) Brahma’s Altar lies between Vindhya and the Hima mountains, then the northern janapadas, where there are Cinas, Kharambharas, and further Gandhārans, Dihaṇḍas, Greeks, Huruṣkaras (Turuṣkas), Sambhālas, Śūrasenas and Śūrasenis – in the middle of the Śūrasenas is the town called Mathurā – and further still Lampākas, Muruṇḍas, Tokṣāras and Yugālikas.

Toḍaramalla: Toḍarānanda, section Āyurveda Saukhya, Chapter Nighaṇṭu


16th century CE.

3 Yavāni as a name for the medicinal plant Trachyspermum ammi Sprague is found in Toḍara. 2, 112, p. 41 and 32 (91), 15f, p. 500. This word, however, seems to be derived from yava ‘barley’ and is therefore irrelevant here. It is also mentioned in other Kośas (e.g. the Rājanighaṇṭa), but those passages have not been included here.
The word yavānī/yāvanī as a name for olibanum (?). Toḍara. 31 (90), 155

Dash & Kashyap: Khurāsānī yavānī: yavānī, yāvanī, āvāc, turuṣka and mada kāriṇī - these are synonymous. Khasakhasa: tīvra bheda, khasa tila, śukra puṣpa and latatphala - these are the synonyms of khasakhasa.

In the Index (p. 655), yavānī is left unexplained. Perhaps it is olibanum (= turuṣka in Amarakośa and Hemacandra).

The word yavaneṣṭa as a name for garlic and onion.

Dash & Kashyap: The flower of śighru is sweet and constipative. It aggravates vāyu and cures vitiated kapha and oedema. Laśuna: Laśuna, ugra gandha, yavaneṣṭa and rasonaka - these are synonymous. Another variety of it is called gṛñjana, mahā kanda, jarjjara and dīrgha patraka. Palāṇḍu: Palāṇḍu, yavaneṣṭa, durgandha and mukhadūṣaka - these are synonymous. Kṣīra palāṇḍu: Palāṇḍu having a milky juice which tastes like honey is called kṣīra palāṇḍu.

Index, p. 667 śighru ‘Moringa pterygosperma Gaertn.’
  p. 656 laśuna ‘unidentified’ [not garlic! – KK]
  p. 662 palāṇḍu ‘Allium cepa Linn.’
  p. 656 kṣīrapalāṇḍu ‘unidentified’
  p. 67? gṛñjana ‘unidentified’

Soḍhalanighaṇtu (Nāmasaṅgraha and Guṇasaṅgraha) of Vaidyācārya Soḍhala

Medical glossary composed in Gujarat by Soḍhala, probably in the 12th century CE (certainly not earlier). His work was then used by several 14th century scholars, which provides a t.a.q.
Soḍhalan. 1, 1, 119
The word yavaneṣṭa 'liked by Yavanas' as a name for nimba (*Azadiractha indica*).
Soḍhalan. Bhāga 1 (Nāmasaṁgrahaḥ) n. 1 Guḍūcyādivargaḥ, 118 f., p. 96 ff.
nimba (nīṁba) 'Azadiractha indica'

118. nimbo niyamano netā picumandaḥ sutiktakaḥ /
      arīṣṭāḥ sarvatobhadraḥ subhadraḥ pāribhadrakaḥ //
119. śukapriyaś čīrṇaparṇo yavaneṣṭo varatvacah /
      chardano hiṅguniryāśaḥ pītasāro ravipriyaḥ //

118. is a quotation (with subhadra instead of prabhadra) from the DhN 1, 29 (above).

Soḍhalan. 1, 2, 341
The word yavaneṣṭa 'liked by Yavanas' as a name for marica 'pepper'.
marica (miraca) 'pepper'

341. marice palitaṁ śyāmaṁ vellajaṁ kṛṣṇabhūṣaṇam /
      yavaneṣṭaṁ śirovṛttaṁ kolakaṁ varmapaṭṭakam //

342. yāvanī yāvanyāṁ dīpyako dīpyo yavasahro yavānakaḥ //
...

Soḍhalan. 1, 3, 376
The word yāvana 'of Yavanas' as a name for turuṣka 'olibanum'.
Soḍhalan. Bhāga 1 (Nāmasaṁgrahaḥ) n. 3 Candanādivargaḥ, 376, p. 356 ff.
turuṣka (turaṣkadavalu) 'olibanum'

376. turuṣke yāvanaḥ kalkaḥ pinyaḥ piṇḍitaḥ kapiḥ /
      silhaka (silhārusa)
      kapije silhako dhūmo dhūmravarṇaś ca lepanaḥ //

Soḍhalan. 1, 4, 519
The word yavaneṣṭa 'liked by Yavanas' as a name for palāṇḍu 'kind of onion'.
Soḍhalan. Bhāga 1 (Nāmasaṁgrahaḥ) n. 4 Karavīrādivargaḥ, 519, p. 483 ff.

519. ... palāṇḍu (ḍūṅgalī) 'kind of onion'
      palāṇḍau yavaneṣṭaś ca sukando sukhagandhakaḥ //
520. śudrapriyo dipaniyāḥ kṛmighno sukhagandhakaḥ /
      kṣīrapalāṇḍu
...

Śāradīyākhya-nāmamālā of Harṣakīrti


A Jaina work of the 16th century.

Harṣak., ŚN. 3, 38
Yavanās in a list of foreigners.
Harṣak. ŚN 3, 38 Rājavargaḥ, line 737 f. of the edition.
38. turuṣkā yavanā mlecchāḥ pārasīkāḥ śakās tathā / 
praṣṭānā mudgalāś caiva sa sāhis teṣu yo ’dhipaḥ //

Turks, Yavanās, barbarians, Persians and Sakas, Praṣṭānas (?), Mudgalas and those who have Sāhi as their king.

Trikāndaśeṣa of Puruṣottamadeva


A supplement to the Amarakośa. Undated, but probably rather early (perhaps 13th/14th century).

Trik. 1, 1, 31
Yavanārī as a name of Kṛṣṇa.
Trik. 1, 1, 31 (p. 8. of the edition).
31. rantidevaśivākīrtaṇau tripātomasindhur api rāhumūrḍhachit / 
kālanemijyavanārīpāṇḍavābhīhasindhuvṛkṣakṛṣṇakesīnaḥ //

Rantideva and Śivākīrtaṇa, Tripāt and Somasindhu, Rāhumūrḍhachit, Kālanemi, Yavanārī, Pāṇḍava, Abbila, Sindhuvṛkṣa, Kṛṣṇa, Keśin.

Śivakoṣa of Śivadatta Miśra


A homonymous Āyurvedic lexicon of the 17th century.

Śivakoṣa 138 & 139
The word yavaneṣṭa ‘liked by Yavanas’ as a name for nimba, onion, wild date, pepper and lead.
Śivakoṣa 138f.
138. gopaghoṇṭaḥ pūgaphale vikaṅkatamahīruhe /
    yavaneṣṭaḥ pāribhadre laśune vṛttamūlake //
139. kharjūryāṁ marice cātho yavaneṣṭam ca sīsake /
    viṣamuṣṭir mahānimbe kṣudramuṣṭiḥ kapilunī //

Author’s Vyākhyā ad loc.
gopaghoṇṭa iti ... yavaneṣṭa iti ... kharjūrī durārohā / maricam uśaṇaṁ / sīsakaṁ trapu / ...

*Nānārthaśabdakośa or Medinīkośa of Medinīkara*

*Nānārthaśabdakośa or Medini Kośa of Šrī Medinikara*. Ed. with an introduction, index, etc.,

Med. 20, 109.
The word yavana as the name of a country.
Medinīkośa 20, 109 (p. 90).

109. yamanam bandhane coparatī (-tau?) klībaṁ yame pumān /
    yavano deśabhede nā vegivegādhikāsvayoḥ //
110. yavāny auṣadhibhede strī vācyavad vegini śmrtaḥ /
    yāpanam ...

Nānārthaśabdakośa or Medinīkośa of Medinīkara
4. DHARMAŚĀASTRA

_Gautamadharmsūtra_


GDh 4, 21
Children of a Kṣatriya and a Śūdra woman are Yavanas.

_Gautamadharmsūtra_ 4, 21.

21. _pāraśava yavana karanaśūdrāñ chūdrety eke _

Olivelle: _From the same men [of four varṇas] a Śūdra woman gives birth respectively to Pāraśavas, Yavanas, Karaṇas, and Śūdras. This is the opinion of some_.

The children of a Śūdra woman with a Brāhmaṇa become Pāraśavas, with a Kṣatriya Yavanas, with a Vaiśya Karaṇas, and with a Śūdra Śūdras.

_Mānavadharmsūstra_


MDh 10, 44
The Yavanas are Kṣatriyas who have fallen to the level of Śūdras.

_Mānavadharmsūstra_ 10, 43 f.

43. _śanakais tu kriyālopād imāḥ kṣatriyajātayaḥ _

Olivelle: _By neglecting rites and by failing to visit Brahmans, however, these men of Kṣatriya birth have gradually reached in the world the level of Śūdras – Puṇḍrakas,_
Cōdas, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, and Daradas.

Bühler’s notes:

"43. Medh. and Gov. read brāhmaṇātikramenāa ‘by disrespect towards Brāhmaṇas’, instead of brāhmaṇādarśanena ‘by not consulting Brāhmaṇas’ (Kull., Nār., Nand., Rāgh., K.)."

"44. Instead of Pauṇḍrakas (Kull.), Medh., Nār., Nand., and K. read Puṇḍrakas, and Gov. Pauṇḍrakas. My reading Cōdas is a correction of Corindra, which is found in some MSS. of Medh. and in K. We plainly have Cola in Nand., while some MSS. of Medh. and Gov. read Cāṁdra or Cāṁḍra, and the editions give Cauḍra. Sir W. Jones’ opinion that cauḍra stands for ca Oḍra is improbable, because the particle ‘and’ is clearly not wanted after the first word. Instead of Pahlava, some MSS. of Medh. and some editions read Pahnava. Gov. gives Pallava. The editions give the Khasas after the Daradas. But Medh., Gov., Nand., and K. have tathā at the end of the verse. The commentators state that the names enumerated in the first instance denote countries, and next, particular races living in them."

The commentators referred to by Bühler are Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Rāghavānanda, and Nandanācārya, as well as an anonymous Ṭippaṇa contained in a Kashmiri MS (K.).

In a note on page cxiv of the Introduction, Bühler remarks that early attempts to draw chronological conclusions from the occurrence of the Cīnas were shown to be untenable by Gutschmid (ZDMG 34, 202–208) and Max Müller (India, what can it teach us?, p. 131, and Rig-Veda, vol. IV, p. li). See also Bühlers’s discussion on p. cxiv–cxvii.

A parallel to this MDh passage is found in Mbh 13, 35, 18 (further 13, 33, 19).

Medhātithi: ... naiteṣu deśeṣu bāhulyena cāturvarṇyam astīty etad ālambanaṁ vrṣalatvavacanam /

**Atrismṛti (Ātreyadharmaśāstra)**

Aṅgiraḥ prabhṛti-Baudhāyanāntānāṁ saptaviṁśatisaṁkhyāmitānāṁ smṛtīnāṁ samuccayaḥ.


Ātreyadh 7, 2

The Yavanas in a list of low castes and foreign peoples. Atrismṛti 7, 2.

2. naṭa-nartaka-gāyana-gāndharvika-śvapāka-kāruka-viṣotkaṭa-viṇāśāstra-sa(sa)ka-yavana-kāmboja-bāhhīka-khaśa-draviḍa-vaṅga-pāraśava-bilvātādīnāṁ bhuktvā pratigṛhya ca strīgamane sahabhojane rahasye rahasyāni prakāśe prakāśyāni varet //

3. yāvat tu tiṣṭhed apsu vimajjya taratsamandīṁ trir āvartya śudhyet //

In the case of having eaten with or having accepted women for intercourse from actors, dancers, singers, musicians, dog-eaters, artisans, viṣotkaṭas [?], lute-players [?], Śakas,
Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Bactrians, Khaśas, Draviḍas, Vaṅgas, Persians, Bilvātas and others, one should keep the secret ones secret and the public ones public.

3. Gives the expiatory bath.

Nāgojībhaṭṭa: Prāyaścitenduśekhara (Prāyaścittatattva)

No edition available, quoted from dictionaries.

Prāyaścitenduś. 20a2 in the PW. Yavanas are included among the barbarians.

gomāṁsakhādako yaś ca viruddhaṁ bahu bhāṣate /
sarvācāravihīnaś ca mleccha ity abhidhīyate //
sa eva yavanadesodbhavo yāvanaḥ /

This is also quoted in the ŚKDr with the variant dharmācāra instead of sarvācāra. Note the close parallel in the Jātimālā (quoted below).

The eaters of beef and those who frequently talk untruth, as well as those who have abandoned all (good) conduct, are taught as being barbarians — and thus also is the Yāvana who is born in the Yavana land.

Prātaścittenduś. 57a1 in the PW. Yavanas belong among the barbarians with whom one should not eat.

_yavanamlecchayāvanānāṁ_ annabhojane /

Jātimālā

Jātimālā of the Rudrayāmala.

“The Rudrayāmala is perhaps the most mysterious of all Yāmalas. It is encountered everywhere, yet always vanishes after closer inspection. It is even uncertain if an original R. ever existed, despite the fact that the title figures in all old lists of Yāmalas. More than fifty texts adorn themselves with this generic designation beside their own title (type: ‘text x from the R.’), but a ‘R.’ without more is not found or clearly apocryphal. The practice must have set in early” (Goudriaan & Gupta 1981, 47).

Such an apocryphal section of the Rudrayāmala is apparently also the “Jātimālā of Rudrayāmala”, a late treatise on castes quoted by H.T. Colebrooke in his Essay “Enumeration of Indian classes”. The essay is republished in Colebrooke 1873 and the passage in question is found on page 164.⁴

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⁴ Page 184 of vol. 2. in the first edition (1837).
“According to the Rudra-yámalá, the domestic priests of twenty of these tribes [i.e. of abject mixed castes] are degraded. Avoid, says the tantra, the touch of the Chándála, and other abject classes; and of those who eat the flesh of kine, often utter forbidden words, and perform none of the prescribed ceremonies; they are alluded Mlechha, and going to the region of Yavanas, have been named Yávanas.” (Italics mine).

The Yávanas are here easily understood as Muslims/Arabs/Persians. Note the parallel with the Práyaścittendu-şekhara quoted above.
5. ARTHA- AND NĪTIŚĀTRA, KĀMASĀTRA

Kauṭalīya-arthaśāstra


KA 2, 11, 42
Red coral of Alexandria. Arthaśāstra 2, 11, 42.

42. pravālakam ālasandakam vaivarṇikaṁ ca, raktam padmarāgaṁ ca karatagarhiniḥkāvarjam iti //

Kangle: The coral from Alakanda and from Vivarṇa, red and of the colour of the lotus (is excellent), with the exception of that which is eaten by insects and which is bulging in the middle.

Commentaries of the Arthaśāstra:

Cj (fragment of a Sanskrit commentary, probably the Cāṇakaṭīkā by Bhikṣu Prabhamaṭi, ed. G. Harihara Sastri in the JOR, now also in Pohlus 143) reads alatsāndradesābhavam ālatsāndrakaṁ raktam, vivalguke bhavaṁ vaivalgukeṁ.

Cp (Pratipadapāṅcikā by Bhaṭṭasvāmin, a fragment of the Sanskrit commentary, ed. K.P. Jayaswal & A. Banerji-Sastri: “Bhaṭṭa-Svāmin’s Commentary on Kauṭilya’s Artha-Śāstra”, JBORS 11:2, 1925) reads ālakandaka and explains vaivarṇika as derived from Vivarṇa in the Yavanadvīpa:

pravālakam dvivyoniṁ dvivarṇaṁ dvidoṣaṁ cāha pravālakam ityādi / tatrālakam dvyoniṁ dvivarṇaṁ dvidoṣaṁ cāha pravālakam ityādi / ālakandakaṁ raktavarnakami, yavanadvīpe vivarṇo nāma samudraikadesaṁ tatrabhavaṁ vaivarṇikaṁ, tat padmarāgam padnavarnaṁ, cakārād raktam ca bhavati, karatāṁ kṛmibhir upabhakṣitaṁ, garhiniṁkā madhyesthūlayaṣṭir iti / itiśabdo ratnaparīkṣaparīsamāpyarthāḥ /

Cb (the Old Malayālam Commentary Bhāṣāvyākhyāna, of which the part containing the second adhikaraṇa is ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, Trivandrum 1938) explains ālasāndrakam as “ālasāndra, a country in the sea off the coast of the land of Pappar”. Could this perhaps be the land of Barbara?

A parallel to this is found in the GarP 1, 80, 2.
[Kāmandakīya Nītisāra]


[KāmNS 1, 14]

[Paijavana. Kāmandakīya Nītisāra 1, 14 (1, 16 in the Ānandāśrama edition).]

14. (16.) dharmād vaijavano rājā cirāya bubhuje mahīm / adharmāc caiva Nahuṣaḥ pratipede rasātalam //

Following the paths of rectitude, King Vaijavana governed this earth for a long period, while King Nahuṣa, treading evil ways, was condemned to dwell in the nether regions (hell).

In some editions one finds Yavana. The PW refers to s.v. yavana: "4. M. 7, 41 und Kām. Nītis. 1, 14 fehlerhaft für Paijavana." Kane 1946, 97: "Kāmandaka 1, 14 stated that the Yavana king ruled over the earth for a long time because he ruled according to the dictates of dharma."

The pious Śūdra Paijavana is mentioned in the Mbh 12, 60, 39, and his legend is elaborately told in the Skandap. Nāgarakha., Chapters 243–260. He has nothing to do with the Yavanas. On him, see Bhattacharya 1984.

Śukranīti


An apocryphal work of the 19th century CE.

Śukran. 4, 3, 29 (56)

The Yavana theory (i.e. Islam; see next passage) in the list of 32 vidyās. Śukraniti 4, 3, 29 (56 in the SBH translation).

28. (55.) mīmāṁsātarkasāṁkhyāni vedānto yoga eva ca / itihāsāḥ purāṇāni smṛtayo nāstikāraṁ matam //

29. (56.) arthaśāstraṁ kāmāśāstraṁ tathā śilpam alaṅkārāḥ / kāvyāni deśabhāṣā ‘vasaroktir yāvanaṁ matam //

30. (57.) deśādidharmā dvātrinīśad etā vidyābhisarōjītāḥ / ...

Sarkar: The Mīmāṁsās, Tarka, Samkhya, Vedānta, Yoga, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, theory of Sceptics, Artha Śāstra, Kāma Śāstra, Alankāra (Rhetoric), Kāvyas, language of the folk (vernacular), the art of speaking properly, the theory of Yavanas, and manners and customs of countries and nations – these are the thirty-two Vidyās.
Śukran. 4, 3, 63 (125f.)
The 32 vidyās defined, including the Yavana theory (apparently Islam).
Śukranīti 4, 3, 63 (125f. in the SBH translation).

62. ... (125.) īśvaraḥ kāraṇaṁ yatrādṛśyo 'sti jagataḥ sadā //</ndn>
63. śrutismṛti vinā dharmādharmauṁtas tac ca yāvanam // [?]
(126.) śrutyādibhinadharma 'sti yatrad yāvanain matam //</ndn>

Sarkar: **Yavana philosophy is that which recognises God as the invisible creator of this universe, and recognises virtue and vice without reference to Śruti and Smṛti, and which believes that Śruti contains a separate religious system.**

Śukran. 4, 4, 37 (75)
The Yavana society described.
Śukranīti 4, 4, 37 ff. (75 f. in the SBH translation).

37. ... (75.) sasaṅkaracaturvarṇā ekatraikatra yāvanāḥ //</ndn>
38. vedabhinnapramāṇās te pratyuguttaravāsināḥ / (76.) tadācāryaiś ca tucchāstraṁ nirmitaṁ taddhitārthakam //</ndn>
39. vyavahārāya yā nītir ubhayor avivādinī //</ndn>
(77.) ...

Sarkar: **The Yavanas have all the four castes mixed together. They recognise authority other than that of the Vedas and live in the north and west. Their Śāstras have been framed for their welfare by their own masters. But the rules followed for ordinary purposes are the same in the two cases.**

A note here indicates that although the Varṇāśramadharma is unknown to them, their rules of ordinary business morality, vyavahārānīti and the standards of daily life are the same.

**Mānasollāsa of Someśvara**


Mānas 2, 3, 573
On Yavanodbhūta horses.
Mānasollāsa 2, 3, 573 (see vol. 1, Preface p. XV).

saindhavair yavanodbhūtair kāmbojaprabhavair api /
śikṣitair bahubhir vāhaiṁ saṁyuktaṁ balam uttamam //</ndn>

*With many well-trained Saindhava horses, combined with those hailing from Yavana and originating from Kāmboja, (one forms) an excellent army.*
Mānas 4, 2, 206
Elephants trained in battles against Yavanas. Mānasollāsa 4, 2, 206.

saṅgrāmārtham śramas teṣāṁ kāryo yavana yodhane / madahīnā na dhāvanti na yudhyante mataṅgajāh //

For the army's sake they must be trained for war against Yavanas, as elephants missing rut neither run nor fight.

Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana


The original Kāmasūtra does not mention Yavanas, and neither does Yaśodhara’s commentary, but Yavana women are mentioned by the late scholiast Bhāskara Nṛsiṁha. To illustrate this, and at the same time to include some rather interesting notes about north-western peoples, a long extract has been included here.

[KS 2, 5, 25 ff.]
Sexual customs of North-Westerners.
Kāmasūtra 2, 5, 25 ff.

25. sindhuṣaṣṭhānāṁ ca nadinām antarāliyā aupariṣṭakasātmyāḥ //
Yaśodhara: sindhuṣaṣṭhānāṁ ceti / Sindhunadalā ṣaṣṭho yāsāṁ nadinām / tadyathā – Vipāṭ Śatadrur Irāvatī Candrabhāgā Vitastā ceti pañcanadyaḥ / tāsām antarāleṣu bhavāḥ / aupariṣṭakasātmyā iti / saty api pariṣvaṅgacumbānādau mukhe jaghanakarmāṇāḥ / kharavegāḥ priyanta ityarthaḥ /


In the Aupariṣṭaka Chapter (2, 9), it is stated that the practice of fellatio (which is strongly condemned by Vātsyāyana) is found among the people of Sāketa (2, 9, 30) and Śurasena (2, 9, 31; according to Yaśodhara, this is the Kauśāmbi region). Here the Paṅjab is not mentioned.

26. caṇḍavegā mandaśītkṛtā āparāntikā lātyāś ca //

5 I know that the so-called musth of elephants is not strictly speaking rut, but in earlier times it was commonly interpreted thus by both Indians and Europeans.
Schmidt: Die Bewohner des äussersten Westens und von Lāṭa sind feurig und machen leise sit.
Schmidt seems to err here. Aparānta is in Gujarat, not in the far West.

27. dṛḍhaprahaṇayoginah kharavegā eva, apadravyapradhānāh strīrājye kośalāyāṁ ca //
Yaśodhara: strīrājya iti / vajravantadeśit paścimena strīrājyaṁ tatra ...

Schmidt: Die Frauen in Strīrājya und Kośala verlangen harte Schläge, sind eben heissblütig und benutzen vielfach künstliche Vorrichtungen. – …westlich von dem Lande Vajravanta liegt Strīrājya...

Then follow 28. āndhra; 29. mahārāṣṭra; 30. nagara [= Pāṭaliputra]; 31. draviḍa; and 32. madhyamegāḥ sarvarisahāḥ svāṅgapracchādinyāḥ parāngahāsinyāḥ kutsitāśīla-paruṣaparīhārīṇyo vānavāsikāḥ //

Schmidt: Die Frauen von Vanavāsīa sind mässig feurig, ertragen alles, verhüllen den eigenen Leib, spotten über den anderer und vermeiden Tadelwürdiges, Unanständiges und Grobes.

This passage corresponds with Aufrecht’s reference in Oxford MSS. 1864, p. 217 (b2of. MS number 517): “Vātsyāyana, Kāmasūtra, with Bhāskara Nṛsiṁha’s commentary (anno 1788). Medio in libro...regionum vero nomina memoratur:...

2, 5, 22 vānavāsikāḥ strīyas
schol. ad loc. yavanyah”

For his 2, 5, 17 (our 27), he quotes schol. kāmarūpe for Strīrājya; for 2, 5, 15 (our 29), the explanation is vāhlīkadeśyaḥ strīyaḥ.

The late scholiast apparently errs in explaining the Vanavāsinīs as Yavanīs. Vātsyāyana and Yaśodhara do not mention any Yavanīs and, of course, Vanavāsī in North Karnataka had nothing to do with them.
The digvijaya of Raghu. Raghuvaṁśa 4, 60 ff.

60. pārasīkāṁs tato jetuṁ pratasthe sthalavartmanā /
   indriyākhyān iva ripūṁs tattvajñānena saṁyamī //
61. yavanīmukhapadmānāṁ sehe madhumadaṁ na saḥ /
   bālātapam ivābājanāṁ akālajaladodayaḥ //
62. saṅgrāmas tumulas tasya pāścāttair aśvasādhanaḥ /
   rūgakūjitavijñeyapratiyodhe rajasy abhūt //
63. bhallāpavarjitaṁ teṣāṁ śirobhīṁ śmasrulair mahīṁ /
   tastāra saraghāvyāptaṁ sa kṣaudrapaṭalair iva //
64. apanītaśirastraṇāḥ śeṣāṁ taṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ /
   pranītapratikāraṁ saṁrāmbo hi mahātmānām //
65. vinayante sma tadyodhā madhubhir vijayasramam /
   āstīrṇaṁ ratnasu drākṣavālayabhūmiṣu //

Nandargikar: (60) There he set out by an inland route to conquer the Persians, as proceeds an ascetic to conquer, by the knowledge of truth the enemies called senses. (61) He could not bear the flush caused by wine in the lotus-faces of the Yavana-women, just as the gathering of unspeakable clouds (does not bear) the young sun, (the friend) of the water-lotuses. (62) Fierce was the battle that took place between him and the inhabitants of the western coast, with their cavalry for an army, in the midst of dust in which the contending combatants on both sides could recognise each other only by the twangs of their bows. (63) He covered the earth with their bearded heads, severed by his bhalla-arrows, as with fly-covered heaps of honey-combs. (64) The survivors, putting off their helmets, sought his protection, for submission is the only remedy to assuage the wrath of the magnanimous. (65) His warriors removed the fatigue of victory by means of wine in vineyards, where the choicest of deerskin were laid.
Mallinātha on the same:

(60) … pārasīkān rājño jetuṁ sthalavartmanā pratasthe na tu nirdiṣṭenāpi jala-pathena / samudrayānasya niṣīdhvatvād iti bhāvaḥ (61) sa Raghr yavanīnāṁ yavanastrīṇām / “jāter astrīviṣayādayopadhāt” iti niṣ / mukhāni padmānīva mukhapadmāni / upamitasamāsaḥ / teṣāṁ madhunā madhena yo mado madarāgaḥ / kāryakāraṇabhāvayor abhedena nirdeśaḥ / taṁ na sehe / kam iva / ...

Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa


HC 6


yathā nāgakulajanmanaḥ plāvitamantrasyasāṁ (v.l. śārikāśrāvitamantrasya) nāśo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyāṁ / śukaśrutarahasyasya ca śrir aśiryata Śruta-varmanāḥ Śrāvastām / svapnāyamānasya ca mantraprāthvede 'bhuṁ mṛtyyave Mrṛtikāvatyāṁ Suvarṇacūḍasya / cūḍamaṇilagnalekprasārīvācicitäk-šārā ca cārūcāmikaracāmaraagāhiniḥ yamatām yayau Yavanesvarasya / lobha-bahulaṁ ca bahulaniśi nighānam utkhanantam utkāthakadgāprāmāṇāhīni mamamtha Māthuraṁ Vṛhadrathayām Vidurathavartthiḥ / nāgavanavihāra-śilaiṁ ca māyāmātāṅgaṁ nirgatā Mahāsenasainikā Vastapatīṁ nyayarṇiṣuḥ / (p. 269) atidayitalāśasya ca śailuṣamadhyamadhyāsyā mūrdhānām aslataiyā mṛṇālam ivāluṇād Agnimitrātmajasya Sumitrasya Mitradevaḥ / priyatantri-vādasya (v)ālābhūbhuyantarartusūsira(suṣira)nihitiṣitataravārayo gāndharvacchātrastrīcānāś cicchidur Āsmakesvarasya Śarabhasya śiro ripupuruṣaḥ / prajñādurbalaṁ ca baladarśanayapadeśadarśitasēṣasainyāṁ senāṁ nirān aranyo Mauryaṁ Bṛhadraṁ pīpeṣa Puṣyamitraḥ svāminam (ca) / kāryakutūhāli (v.l. āścaryakut.) ca (Kane adds Čandātipatir) ānḍoplanatayavananirmitena

6 This is further stated to be pages 221 ff. in the Bombay edition of 1892, p. 420 in the Calcutta edition of 1883 (referred to in the PW), and p. 173 in Isvaracandra Vidyasagara’s Calcutta edition of 1883 (referred to by Lévi 1890, 35).
nabhastalayāyinā yantrayānenānīyata kvāpi / Kākavarṇaḥ Śaiśunārīr (-riś ca) nagaropakaṇṭhe kaṇṭhe nicakṛte nistriṁśena /

Cowell & Thomas: Of disasters due to mistaken carelessness frequent reports come daily to your majesty's hearing. In Padmāvatī there was the fall of Nāgasena, heir to the Nāga house, whose policy was published by a śārikā bird. In Śrāvastī faded the glory of Śrutavarman, whose secret a parrot heard. In Myśrikāvataḥ a disclosure of counsel in sleep was the death of Suvarṇacūḍā. The fate of a Yavana king was encompassed by the bolder of his golden chowrie, who read the letters of a document reflected in his crest jewel. By slashes of drawn swords Vidūratha’s army minced the avaricious Māthura king Bṛhadṛatha while he was digging treasure at dead of night. Vatsapati, who was wont to take his pleasure in elephant forests, was imprisoned by Mahāsenā’s soldiers issuing from the belly of a sham elephant. Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, being overfond of the drama, was attacked by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, and with a scimitar shorn, like a lotus stalk, off his head. Śarabha, the Aśmaka king, being attached to string music, his enemy’s emissaries, disguised as students of music, cut off his head with sharp knives hidden in the space between the vīṇā and its gourd. A base-born general, Puṣpamitra, pounded his foolish Maurya master Bṛhadṛatha, having displayed his whole army on the pretext of manifesting his power. Kākavarṇa, being curious of marvels, was carried away no one knows whither on an artificial aerial car made by a Yavana condemned to death. The son of Śiśunāga had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city.

The second Yavana incident apparently refers to the story of Kokkāsa; see the Vasudevahinīḍi and Alsdorf 1935, note on p. 308.

Śaṅkara’s commentary on the two Yavana incidents:

... yavanaśvarah kenacīc chaturāśādāya vyāpāditum īṣṭaḥ svasuhrṇaḥ śatrudrohaṁ lekhena bodhito lekhaḥprṣṭhe ca tena likhitam svayaṁ vácaityavyo lekha iti / tato yavanaśvarasya svayaṁ vācayatācudāmaṇi pratibimbitān aykṣaraṇi vācaityvā tatprahitā cāmaragrāhīṁ prabhāvavedya tāṁ jaghāneti / anena sūkṣmo ‘pi rahasyābhedahetū rakṣanīya ityuktaṁ / ...

... kākavarṇo yavanaṅ vijīvita taṁśa svapuruṣānupāyanikṛtya yantrayānais tadvatattaiḥ parādārādin gacchan yavanaṅ ātmadeśaṁ prāpapaṁ [sic] nihata iti /

7 Śaṅkara (and Cowell & Thomas) connect K. with the Yavana incident. We have here followed Kane.

8 The text followed by the translators must be different here. See Kane’s note on p. 533 and Bhandarkar 1935, 17.
Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin


DKC Pūrvapiṭhikā 1

The story of a shipwreck on the way from the country of Kālayavana to India. Daśakumāracarita Pūrvapiṭhikā ucchvāsa 1, p. 17 K.

M: In the island called Kālayavana there lives an eminent merchant, of great opulence, Kālagupta by name. A handsome merchant called Ratnodbhava, the son of a minister of the King of Magadha, who had come from this island, who was the abode of (all) amiable qualities, and who had wandered over the circle of the earth, married his daughter, named Suvṛttā, who gave joy to the eyes (of all), and was honoured with an abundance of rich presents by his father-in-law. In course of time his wife became pregnant; the Ratnodbhava, with a desire to see his brother, somehow prevailed upon his father-in-law, and having got on board a ship with this (young lady) of tremulous eyes, set off for Pushpapura; the boat, lashed by a series of angry breakers, sank in the ocean...
Then are told the vicissitudes of Suvṛttā, who escaped on the Indian coast with a nurse. The story is continued in Ucchvāsa 4 of the Pūrvaṇīthikā.

**DKC Pūrvaṇīthikā 4**  
The story of the shipwrecked merchant, continued from Ucchvāsa 1.  
Daśakumāracarita Pūrvaṇīthikā ucchvāsa 4, p. 35 f. K.

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magadhādhināthāmātyasya padmodbhavasyātmāsaṁbhavo ratnodbhavo nāmāham / vāṇijyarūpeṇa kālayavanaadvipam upetya kām api vānikkanyakāṁ pariṇīya tayā saha pratyāgacchann ambudhau tirasyānatidūre eva pravahaṇasya bhagnatayā sarveṣu nimagnēsu kathāṁ katham api daivānukūlyena tirabhūmim abhigamyā ... putra, kālayavanaadvīpe kālaguptanāmno vānijāḥ kasyacid ēśa sūrttā nāma ...
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M: *I am the son of Padmodbhava, the minister of the King of Magadha; my name is Ratnodbhava. I went as a merchant to Kālayavana island, where I married a merchant’s daughter. I was returning with her, when our ship sank in the sea not far from the shore, and all were drowned except myself, who reached land with great difficulty, fate being favourable to me...*  

Grieving the supposed death of his wife, Ratnodbhava spent there 16 years. In the end, he meets his son. Immediately thereafter, the son also finds his mother, who is on the verge of suicide, and saves her without knowing her identity. The nurse tells their story:  

*Son, this is Suvṛttā, the daughter of a certain merchant named Kālagupta of Kālayavana island...*  

Everybody tells their adventures, they recognize each other, and everything is well.

**DKC 3**  
A Yavana merchant dealing in jewels.  
Daśakumāracarita ucchvāsa 3, p. 111 W, 250 B (ch. 22), 164 NSP, 150 M, 120 K, 258 D. Text according to NSP (others more or less identical).

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pauravṛddhaś ca Pāñcālikaḥ Paritrātaś ca sārthavāhaḥ Kanatināmno yavanād vajram ekaṁ vasundharāmūlyaṁ laghīyasārghena labhyam iti mamaiṁante 'mantrayetām /
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M: *Panchapalika, the old man of the city, and Paritrata the banker told me in secret that a gem equal in value to the entire earth is available for a low price from Khanati, the Arab.*  

D: *Der Burgälteste Pañcālika und Paritrāta, der Karawanenherr, haben mir im Geheimen geraten: “Von einem Yavana, namens Khanati, könnte man einen Diamanten, der so viel wert ist wie die Erde, um einen Spottpreis bekommen.”*  

Note in K: *“Khanati may be a Persian or an Arabic trader. The name, however, sounds strange.”*
Commentaries:

Padacandrikā by Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī (in NSP, also in M): vajraṁ hīrakaṁ / vasundhārāmūlyaṁ pṛthivīmūlyaṁ / ...

Bhūṣaṇā by Śivarāma and Laghudīpikā (both in NSP) have no comment on the locus. Bālabodhinī by Tārācaraṇa Bhaṭṭācārya (in B): khanatināmnaḥ Khanatir iti nāma yasya tasmāt / vajraṁ hīrakaṁ / ...

DKC 6


ahaṁ tu nirālambano bhujābhyaṁ itas tataḥ spandamānaḥ kim api kāṣṭhaṁ daivadattam urasopaśīya tāvad aploṣi, yāvad apāsaradvāsāraḥ śarvaṁ ca sarvā / prayuṣasya adṛśyata kim api vahitram / amutrāsan yavanāḥ / te mām uddhṛtya Rāmeṣu-namne nāvikanāyakāya kathitavantaḥ – ko 'py ayam iyasanigadabaddha eva jale labdhaṁ puruṣaṁ / so 'py ami siṁcet sahasraṁ drākṣāṁ kṣaṇenaikena iti / asminn eva kṣaṇe naikānaukāparivṛṭaḥ ko 'pimadgurabhyaḥ / abihayur yavanāḥ / tāvad atijāyayā naukāḥ śvaṇā iva varāham asmatpotārāṁ paryarutsata / prāvarata sarīphāraḥ / parāyiṣata yavanāḥ / tān akamagatin avaśīdatāṁ samāśāvaśālaśīpam – apanayata me nigadabhandhanam / ayam aham avasādayāmi vaḥ sapatnāṁ iti / (ch. 17 B) amī tathā 'kurvan / sarvanāṁ ca tān pratibhatāṁ bhullavāsināḥ bhimatāṁ kṛtena śārṅgeṇa lavalavikṛtāṅgān akāraṁ / avaputya hatavidhvastayodham asmat asmatpotasamsaktapotam amutra nāvikanāyakam anabhisāram abhipatya jīvagrhām agrāhīṣam / asau cāśīt sa eva Bāhmadhanvā / taṁ cāham avavādhyā jātvā MODULES abramāvī / tāta / kiṁ drṣṭāṁ kṛtāntavasāṣiṣitaṁ iti / (ch. 18 B) te tu saṁyātrikā madhyenaiva śrīnkhalena tam atigāḍhaṁ baddhāv hasāvalikālilāravām avakuraṁ māṁ cāñāyajya / durvāvā tu sā naḥ ananukālavāśāntanāḥ dūrām abhipatya kam api dvipaṁ nibidam āśliṣṭatvāti / tatra ca svādu pāṇiyaṁ viśāhīṁ saṁyātavān kāmarāgānāṁ avatāmagānāṁ avatārāma / ...

M: Holding to a certain god-sent staff and with no other prop I was floating till that whole day and night passed. On the next morning was seen a ship boarded by Ionians. They dragged me up, stationed me before their captain Ramesu and said, “Here is a certain person bound by iron-fetters. Within a moment he can water a thousand vine creepers.” Just within an instant a warship along with many boats came in pursuit. The Ionians got frightened. The very fast boats surrounded our ship as hounds surround a pig. A great battle raged. The Ionians were defeated. They had no way to escape and were perishing. I consoled them and said, “Remove my fetters. I will destroy your enemies.” They did so. Then I terribly sounded the string of my bow, rained missiles and cut the...
bodies of our enemies into pieces. Their ship, with all its troops killed and destroyed, was just beside ours. I jumped on to it, fell on its helpless captain and captured him alive. He was none other than Prince Bhimadhanvan himself. He felt ashamed. Recognizing him, I asked, “Sir, have you noticed the pranks of fate?” Then the sea-traders bound him tight with my own fetters, shouted with joy, and honoured me. Then by unfavourable winds that ship was irresistibly driven towards a very distant island and there it got fixed fast. In order to get from that island drinking water, fuel, bulbous roots and fruits, we cast anchor and descended…

Now Mitragupta climbs a mountain, meets there a Brahmarākṣasa, and briefly relates to him his adventures:

(p. 217 NSP, ch. 19 B) … saumya / so 'ham asmi dvijnāmā / śatruhastād arṇavam arṇavād yavanānāvam yavanānāvaś citragrāvāṇam enaṁ parватapravaraṁ gataḥ /

M: Good sir, I am a brahmin. I fell first into the hands of my enemies, then into the sea. Thereafter I got into the Ionian ship, from it I got to this great mountain…”

He succeeds to win the favour of the Brahmarākṣasa, is released, and sails with the same ship to Tāmralipti.

Notes in W: “By Yavanas we are here probably to understand Arabs, who we know were at this period the chief traders and navigators in the Indian and China seas. – For ‘grapes’ the usual sense of Drákshá, it may be allowable to substitute ‘raisins’, which are articles of import into India from the Persian and Arabian gulphs.”


Notes in K: “The name Rāmeshu seems to be an Indian name; the Yavanas, therefore, were under the command of an Indian navigator. So it appears the Yavanas mentioned here were some settlers from Arabia on the sea-coast near the Suhma country and mixed up with the Indian fishermen there…It seems that it was their trade to capture men and sell them as slaves to work in large fields of grape-plants or vineyards…”


Commentaries explain difficult words, as seen with M. above. N.B. Bālavibodhinī (in B):
yavanā mlecchāḥ / te yavanāḥ /
Avantisundarīkathā of Daṇḍin

Avantisundarīkathā ??
According to Nagaswamy 1995, 100, it is stated in this text that the sculptor architect Lalithaya (i.e. Lalitālaya), working in the Pallava court in Kāñcipuram, excelled even the Yavanas in his skill. The story of Lalitālaya is told in the beginning of the work, but unfortunately I do not have the text at hand.

Daśāvatāracarita of Kṣemendra


DAC 10, 34
Yavanas spread in the Kali Age.
Daśāvatāracarita 10, 34

34. daratturuṣkayavanāva(phaga)gaṇaśakanandanaīh /
    samkocam eṣyati mahī kuṣṭhain iṣa visarpibhīn //
Variant yavanagaṇa

Through the Dards, Turks, Yavanas, Afghans, Śakas and Nandanās the earth will shrink, like through the spread of leprosy.
See Warder 1992, § 5085.

Śiśupālavadha of Māgha


Śiśup 2, 98
Śiśupāla’s allies against Kṛṣṇa. Śiśupālavadha 2, 98.

98. ye cānye kālayavanasālvarukmidrumādayaṅ /
    tamaḥsvabhāvās te ṣty enam pradoṣaṁ anuyāyinaṅ //
And those others — Kālayavana, Śālva, Rukmin, Druma, etc. — those of dark nature are followers of that wicked (king).
[Vāsavadattā of Subandhu]


Apparently there are no Yavanas in the Vāsavadattā. Reference is occasionally made to Hall’s edition, page 53; this refers to the introduction, where the above-quoted passage of the Harṣacarita is cited. This was important before the Harṣacarita became easily available to scholars. Another passage of the Harṣacarita (quoted ibid. p. 12 as yavana-prokta-purāṇa) is in fact pavana or pavamāna (i.e. Vāyu) (as shown by Lévi 1890a, 55).

[Naiṣadhacarita of Śrīharṣa]


Naiṣadhacarita of Śrīharṣa. For the first time translated into English with critical Notes...by Krishna Kanta Handiqui. Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series 33. Poona 1965.

[Naiṣadhacarita 1, 65]

A passage sometimes translated as having “swift Yavana horses”.
Naiṣadhacarita 1, 64 f.]

64. sa sindhujaṁ śītahsaṁhassadodaram haṁtan uccaiḥśravasah śriyaṁ hayam / jītākhilakṣmābhṛd analpalocanas tam āruroha kṣitipākaśāsanaṁ //
65. nijā mayūkhā iva tīkṣṇadīdhitiṁ sphuṭāravindāṅkitapāṇipaṅkajam / tam aśvavārā javanāśvayāyinaṁ prakāśarūpaṁ manujeśam anvayuḥ //

[Handiqui: The large-eyed Nala, the Indra of the earth, who had conquered all kings, mounted that horse born in the land of Sindhu, white as the moon and finer than the horse of Indra.
Just as the solar rays follow the sun, similarly bright-looking horsemen followed the king, who rode that swift horse, and whose lotus hand was distinctly marked by figures of lotus blossoms.]

Praise for this horse, which begins in verse 57, goes on for several more verses. Verse 65 has been connected with Yavanas in the ŠKDṛ, but instead of Yavanas the text and Handiqui’s translation have javana ‘swift’.
Śaurikathodaya of Vāsudeva


Śaurikathodaya 4, 29–41.
Kālayavana.

29. atha mahadasuro dhūmān yadūn prati sacā kaścid asuro dhūmān /
   kālayavanānām yaṁ manuṣyaloko bhayād avanānāmāyam //
30. sa tvarito yavanānām balānī kampitasamudratoyavanānām /
    ānayad ūṇāntāni krudddhānānā vāyāpade yadūnāṁ tāni //
31. sainyam itaṁ svavalepi krauryaṁ krśṇaṁ pradarśayan svabale ’pi /
    prati ripum āsarpantaṁ ghatagaṁ prajīgāya samāhīma sarpāṁ tam //
32. ahim asitaṁ ghatayātaṁ prahitaṁ ten ca pipilīkāghatayaṁ tam /
    drśtvā tatrāsādyāṁ srayam aikṣata tadbalaṁ ca tatrāsādyā //
33. yavana upāyātitaṁ punar esyati māgadho ’py upāyātitaḥ /
    sukhadā nāvastheyanti tato janenānāyato ’munāvastheyam //
34. itthaṁ tāvad dhyāyan nātho jagatāṁ dhiyā gatāvadhyaṁ /
    aparasmudrams ayaśād yatra purāpi svayaṁ samud ramayāsīt //
35. śatrusanudrekanāṁ paramapūrī paścime samudre kāntā /
    krśṇena dvāravatī nāṃ nirāmāyī kāścanadvāravatī //
36. tasyāṁ apratimāyāṁ tanvatyāṁ asurapāṅkāṁ apratimāyāṁ /
    nītvā yādavalokāṁ sa kālayavanasya punar ayād avalokam //
37. bhuvi vividhāvadhyantarāṁ viśyāṁ vihur adhāvad ayudhāvadhyāṁ tam /
    surasattamanud rutavān sa kālayavano ’pi taṁ driftam anudrutavān //
38. nidhanāṁ param asurebhyāṁ pradāya labdhvārāḥ varaṁ ca paramasurebhyaḥ /
    yā mucukundenāṁ svaptumī prāk sā guhāh sukhadā nāvastheyaṁ tato janenānāyato ’munāvastheyam //
39. so ’titapaś cātyantarā muukunduh ṣeta yatra pāścātyam tam /
    tatra sa bhāgāṁ ghatvā drutaṁ sthitām avāpa vinayabhāgh āṅgatvāt //
40. satvaram etya padaiva svayaṁ eva hari ripum mamety apadaivaḥ /
    rājne sa svāpa aprāptryai tādanam adāc ca sasvāpaṭa //
41. īkṣitamāṭras tena prabudhaya sa nṛpeṇa sambhramāt trastena /
    dadhad api sāraṁ bhama prapatati bhūtvāsubheṣu sārambhah sma //

Suneson: Then a certain sage ‘asura’ called Kālayavana, who destroyed the lives of the great and before whom the (whole) world of humanity bowed down out of fear, advanced against the Yadus. In order to destroy the Yadus, he (Kālayavana) with wrathful mind brought quickly innumerable troops of the Yavanas – (the Yavanas) who had shaken the oceans, the waters, and the forests. Though seeing the fierceness of his own army, the glorious Kṛṣṇa sent a snake in a jar to the advancing enemy (Kālayavana) who was
very proud and had formed an army. Seeing the snake in the jar eaten up by a multitude of ants — the snake sent (back) by him (Kālayavana) — the Primeval One (Krṣṇa) became frightened as he himself (also) saw his (Kālayavana’s) army arriving. “The Yavana (Kālayavana) approaches. The king of Magadha, who has passed beyond (his) means, will also come here again. This place does not extend comfort. Therefore the people here should abide elsewhere.” Thus thinking, his mind having reached the limit (of its power), the Lord of the world (Krṣṇa) went to the western ocean where he himself had earlier been happily together with Ramā (Śrī). A beautiful (and) excellent city called Dvāravaṭī was built by Krṣṇa in the western ocean — (a city) which put an end to the abundance of its enemies and which possessed golden doors. Having brought the Yadu people to that incomparable (city) which made the numerous ‘asuras’ without (any) counter-‘māyā’, he (Krṣṇa) went to Kālayavana again. Krṣṇa ran away, seeing him (Kālayavana) who could not get hurt by (any) weapon and who had destroyed many laws of propriety in the world and Kālayavana also, the tormenter of the best of the gods, shouting ran quickly after him (Krṣṇa). Mukunda (Krṣṇa) also arrived at the cave which Mucukunda earlier had come to in order to sleep — (Mucukunda) who had obtained a boon from the best of the gods after having brought harsh death to the ‘asuras’. He (Krṣṇa), possessing proper conduct on account of a state of subordination, walked quickly to the back part (of the cave) and remained standing where Mucukunda, who practiced severe austerities, was sleeping heavily. He (Kālayavana), the unfortunate one, having come with haste thinking: “It is Hari, my enemy”, himself struck the sleeping king (Mucukunda) with (his) foot in order to accomplish his destruction. Hardly had he (Kālayavana), who possessed much energy, been seen by the frightened king (Mucukunda), who had hurriedly woken up, before he (Kālayavana) was reduced to ashes and fell down among those who had committed evil deeds.

Vīracarita of Ananta

Vīracarita of Ananta, see H. Jacobi, “Ueber das Vīracaritam”, ISṭ 14, 1876, 97–160 (A collection of stories with Śālivāhana as the hero, in ślokas).

Vīracarita 4, 79
Śālivāhana during his digvijaya chases the Yavanas away from India.

Vīracarita 4, 77–81 quoted by Jacobi, p. 104 in a footnote.

77. ā samudraṁ nṛpāṁś cakre karadaṁ kirīkaṁ api /
udīcyān dakṣiṇātyāṁś ca paścimodadhivāsinaḥ //

78. śakān nihatya tarasa koṭiśaḥ Śālavāhanaḥ /
cāturvarṇyaṁ svadharme ca sthāpayitvā ‘ṇṛṇāḥ prajāḥ //
79. vidhāya daivajñavaraṅṅ śakam caṅke mahīpatiḥ /
    āgarbhāṁ nihatā tena yavanā mūlavāsināḥ //

80. tyaktvā te pṛthivīṁ kṛtsnām udadhim paścimāṁ gatāḥ /
    yavanādhīpātiḥ kaścit paṅcaviṁśatikoṭiḥ / /

81. mlechānāṁ nihatas tena śakakartte 'ty udāhṛtaḥ /
    akānāṁ kartaṇād rājā śakakarttā 'bhidhiyate //

82. jyotiḥśāstre prasiddhe 'yam niruktīḥ ...

Jacobi’s text, p. 103 f. “Çālavāhana zieht erobernd über die Erde, erschlägt (104) die Çaka, setzt darnach die Çaka-Aera ein, und vertreibt die Yavana aus Indien.”


Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgādevī


Madhurāvijaya 8

The poor condition of Tamil Nadu under Muslim rule.

Madhurāvijaya sarga 8 (as only part of the stanzas are preserved, they are therefore left unnumbered; reference provided by Lidia Sudyka, translation mine).

na tathā kaṭughūtkṛtāt vyathā me hṛdi jīṛṇopavaneṣu ghūkalokāt /
pariśīlitapārasīkavāgbhyo yavanānāṁ bhavane yathā śukebhyah //

The fierce hooting of owls in old groves did not pain my heart so much as the Persian words of the Yavanas (Muslims), used by parrots in the house.

Jonarāja: Commentary on Jayānaka’s Pṛthvīrājavijaya

Commentary on Pṛthvīrājavijaya 6, 7

The text says that some (of the barbarians slain in battle) were given a fitting end by the wind, a saṃskāra that covered them with the sand of the desert as they rolled on the earth. Jonarāja comments that this is a customary funeral rite for Yavanas. In stanza 6, 3 Jayānaka calls them by the more correct name Turuṣkas. Quoted according to Warder 2004, 380.
Śaṅkaracetovilāsa

An encomium in four cantos of Cetasinha, King of Vārāṇasī (“Cheyt Sing, Zamindar of Benares”, 1770–81 CE) by Śaṅkara, son of Bālakṛṣṇa. Quoted from an Oxford MS by Aufrecht 1864.

Śaṅkaracetovilāsa 1

Yavanas (Muslims) in Indian history.

Śaṅkaracetovilāsa 1, summarized by Aufrecht 1864, 121 B1 & 122 A5 (MS no. 214).

1. 38–47 Vārāṇasie laudes
   48–63 qua in urbe Yavanārī regnavit
   64 Eius in aulam Kṛṣṇamiśra advenit
   65–83 Huius (Kṛṣṇamiśri) stemma traditus
   84–109 Yavanārī, cum Gorī, Yavanarum rege, congressus, occiditur.

“38–47 encomium of Vārāṇasī. 48–63 Yavanārī was the king of this city. 64 Kṛṣṇamiśra came to his court. 65–83 His (Kṛṣṇamiśra’s) lineage is explained. 84–109 Yavanārī is killed fighting with Gorī, the king of the Yavanas.” Yavanārī seems to be the last Gahaḍavāda king of Kanauj, who also ruled Bengal and was slain by Muḥammad Ghorī, the king of the Yavanas (i.e. Muslims). Kṛṣṇamiśra was Yavanārī’s successor and Cetasiṁha’s ancestor.

Subhāṣita

Apte, Practical Sanskrit–English Dictionary, s.v. yavana, gives a quotation “from Subhāṣita”. It seems to not be included in the collections of Böhtlingk and Sternbach, but it is found in the BhavP 3, 28, 53 (q.v.).

na vaded yāvanīṁ bhāṣāṁ prāṇaiḥ kaṇṭhagatair api /

He should not speak the Yāvanī language, even when his breath is caught in his throat.

Cāṇakyanīti


Vṛddha-Cāṇakya 8, 5

Yavanas as low-castes.

Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, textus ornatior 8, 5 (Indische Sprüche 2273).

5.  cāṇḍālānāṁ sahasre ca sūribhis tattvadarśibhiḥ /
   eko hi yavanah prokto na nico yavanāt paraḥ //
Among a thousand Cāṇḍālas, only one is proclaimed as Yavana by sages understanding truth: there is no one lower than a Yavama.

This is also quoted as VC 8, 5 in the PW, where the emendation sahasraṁ for the MS sahasraiś ca is suggested. Böhtlingk emends it to sahasre. Furthermore, the same is given as No. 370 (also with sahasre) in Sternbach, Cāṇakya-nīti text tradition. Vol. II, Part 2. Cāṇakya’s Six Versions of Maxims. An attempt to reconstruct the Ur-Text. V. I. Series 29a. Hoshiarpur 1967, p. 235.

Subhāṣitaratnakośa of Vidyākara


SRK 943

The rising moon compared to the flushed cheek of a wine-drinking yavanī girl. Also quoted in Śrīdharadāsa’s Saduktikārṇāmṛta.

943. analasajavāpuṣpādacchavi prathamaṁ tataḥ
samadayavanigandacchāyaṁ punar madhupiṅgalam /
tadana ca navasvārśardāśprabhaṁ śaśinas tatas
taruṇatagarākārāṁ bimbaṁ vibhāti nabhaṁtale //

Ingalls: At first as red as fresh dye from the China rose, then honey-red like a Greek girl’s cheek that is flushed with wine; later, the color of a new gold mirror; and now, the moon’s disc shines in heaven like a tagara flower.
7. DRAMAS

Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa


Kd.: Mālav. Act 5, 14+

Vasumitra fights Yavanas on the right bank of the Indus.

Mālavikāgnimitra Act 4, 14+ (according to Tawney’s edition).

svasti yajñāśaraṇāt senāpatiḥ Puṣpamītraḥ Vaidiśāṣṭhāṁ putram āyuṣmantam Agnimitratm snehāt pariṣvajyedam anudarśayati / viditam astu – yo ’sau rājayajñādikṣitena mayā rājaputraśaparivṛttam Vasumitraṁ gopāram ādiśya saṅvatsarpavartaṇīyō nirargalas turaṅgo visṛṣṭah, sa Sindhor dākṣiṇarodhati carann āsvāṅikena yavānāṁ prārthitaḥ / tata ubhayoḥ senayor mahān āsīt saṁmardah / ...

tataḥ parān parājitya Vasumitraṇa dhanvinā / prasahya hriyamāne me vājiraṇo nivartitaḥ // 15 // ...

Karmarkar: line 2 omisit idam; rājasuśyayajñā-; line 4 dākṣiṇe rodhasi

Tawney: May it be well with thee! From the sacrificial enclosure the commander-in-chief Pushpamitra sends this message to his son Agnimitra, who is in the territory of Vidiśā, affectionately embracing him. Be it known unto thee that I, having been consecrated for the Rājasūya sacrifice, let loose free from all check or curb a horse which was to be brought back after a year, appointing Vasumitra as its defender, girt with a guard of a hundred Rājpūts. This very horse wandering on the right bank of the Indus was claimed by a cavalry squadron of the Yavanas. Then there was a fierce struggle between the two hosts. ...

Then Vasumitra, the mighty bowman, having overcome his foes, rescued my excellent horse, which they were endeavouring to carry off by force.

...Accordingly, I will now sacrifice, having had my horse brought back to me by my grand-son, even as Aṁśumat brought back the horse to Sagara...
Šakuntalā of Kālidāsa


The Abhijñānaśākuntalam of Kālidāsa, with the Commentary of Rāghavabhatta, various Readings, Introduction, literal Translation, exhaustive Notes and Appendices ed. M.R. Kale, with some Supplementary Notes by Suresh Upadhya. 9th edn Bombay 1961 (1st edn 1898).


Kd.: Śak. 2, Prelude (DR)

Speech of the Vidūṣaka (Greek attendants only mentioned in the Devanāgarī recension).

Śakuntalā Act 2, Prelude (Devanāgarī Recension, Kale p. 56 f.; corresponding to the Bengali recension, Pischel p. 17, Emeneau p. 18).

eso bāṇāsaṇahatthāhiṁ javanīhiṁ vaṇapupphamālādhāriṇīhiṁ paḍibudo ido evva āacchadi piavasso (chāyā: eṣa bāṇāsanahastābhir yavanībhīr vaṇapuṣpamālādhārīnibhiḥ pariṣṭita eva eva evacchati priyavayasyaḥ) /

[Bengal Rec. in Pischel: eso bāṇāasahatthovviañhidaṇḍaṇaṇapoṇapupphamālādhārī ido jevva āacchadi piavasso]

Kale: My friend is coming even hither, surrounded by his female Yavana attendants, wearing garlands of wild flowers and carrying bows in their hands.

[Emeneau: Here's my dear friend coming just this way, bow in hand and girl in heart, wearing a wreath of woodland flowers.]

Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s vyākhyā ad loc. (in Kale): eṣa bāṇāsanānī dhanur haste yāśām / tābhīr vaṇapuṣpamālādhārīnibhir iti mṛgayāveśasūcanam / priyavayasyaḥ priyasakhaḥ / atha ya-vamyaś nama saṁcārikāparyāyāḥ / tallakṣanaṁ mātrguptācāryair uktair – “ghhakakṣāvicārinyas tathopavanasamārāh / yāmeṣu ca niyuktānāṁ yām asuddhiviśāradāḥ / saṁcārikās tu tā jñeyā yavanyo ’pi matāḥ kvacī” / iti / yathānirdśataparivāraḥ / yavanīvṛta ity arthaḥ /

To this belongs also the reference in the PW to scholia on the Śak. 20, 16 (i.e. a note on p. 20 l. 16 in Böhtlingk’s [1842] edition), for which the dictionary quotes two explanations: kirātī cāmaraḥdārīr yavanī sastradhāriṇī “the kirāt woman holds the royal fly-whisk and the yavanī holds arms” and yavanī yuddhakāle rājñyo `strānī dadāti “at the time of battle, yavanī gives to the
king his weapon”. Both are also quoted by Lévi 1890b, p. 20 of the notes section (on p. 126), ascribing the first to Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the second to Kaṭavema. For the first, see BhN 34, 41f. below.

Kd.: Śak. Act 6, 31+ (BR; 26+ DR)
An invisible “enemy” attacks the Vidūṣaka and the King must help his friend.
Śakuntalā Act 6, 31+ (Bengal Recension, Pischel p. 90, Emeneau p. 89, Devanāgarī Recension 6, 26+, Kale p. 246).

Kd.: Śak. Act 6, 31+ (BR; 26+ DR)
An invisible “enemy” attacks the Vidūṣaka and the King must help his friend.
Śakuntalā Act 6, 31+ (Bengal Recension, Pischel p. 90, Emeneau p. 89, Devanāgarī Recension 6, 26+, Kale p. 246).

Rājā (sadṛṣṭivikṣepam): dhanur dhanus tāvat /
(praviśati dhanurhastā) Yavanī: bhaṭṭā! edaṁ sasaraṁ sarāsaṇam itthāvāo a /

Devanāgarī Recension (Kale):
... (śārṅgahastā) Yavanī: bhaṭṭā edaṁ hatthāvāvasahidaṁ sarāsanaṁ (chāyā: bhartaḥ etad dhistāvāpasahitaṁ sarāsanam) /

Emeneau: King (casting his glance about): Just give me a bow!
Greek girl (entering with bow in hand): Your majesty! Here are a bow with arrows and a handguard.

Kale: ...(Enters with a bow, Yavanī)
Yavanī: Here is your bow, my Lord, with gloves.

Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa


Kd.: Vikr. Act 5, beginning
King Purūravas wants to kill a vulture that has stolen a jewel. He needs a bow and it is brought to him by a Yavanī. Almost identical with Śak. 6, 31+ above.

Vikramorvaśīya Act 5, beginning (Velankar p. 94).

Yavanī (praviśya cāpahastā): bhaṭṭā, edaṁ hatthāvāvasahidaṁ sarāsaṇam /

Gitomer: Greek bow-bearer (entering with a bow in her hand): Master, here are your bow and hand-guard.

See Keith 1924, 146 for an argument about Greek astronomy possibly alluded to by Kālidāsa in the Vikr. and other works.
**Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta**


**Mudr. Act 2, 12+**

Candragupta, allied with the Yavanas and other barbarians, conquers Pāṭaliputra. Mudrārākṣasa Act 2, 12+ (p. 147).

Virādhagupta: eṣa kathayāmi / asti tāvac chakayavana/kirātakambojapārasikāvāhī kaprabhṛtī Cāṇakyam atiparigṛhītaiś Candraguptaparvateśvarabalair udadhibhir iva pralayoccalitasilaiḥ samantād uparuddhaṁ Kusumapuram /

Chakravarti: Spy: So I begin. The capital was blockaded on all sides by the troops of the present king and the lord of the mountains consisting of the barbarians of the several nationalities guided by the counsel of Chanakya, like the oceans with swollen waters at the time of the destruction of the world.

To this must correspond the reference to Telang’s edition, p. 86.

**Mudr. Act 5, 11**

Rākṣasa describes the army of Malayaketu and himself, opposing Candragupta. Mudrārākṣasa Act 5, 11 (p. 381 f.).

prasthātavyaṁ purastāt khaśamagadhagaṇair mām anu vyūhya sainye gāndhārair madhyayāne sayavanapatibhiḥ saṁvidheyaḥ prayatnaḥ / paścāt tiṣṭhantu vīrāḥ śakanarapatayaḥ saṁbhṛtāś cīnahūṇaiḥ kīlūtaḥ cyraḥ pathi vṛṇuyād rājalokāḥ kumāram // 11 //

In 11d, kīlūtā is perhaps a wrong reading for kulūta or kulota.

Chakravarti: Forming a battle array behind me, let the bands of the Khasas and the Magadhas march in the van. Let the Gandharas with the barbarian kings try to march in the centre. In the rear, let the heroic Scythian kings assisted by the Chinese and the Huns pass on. Let the remaining kings Kulota and others keep on all sides of the king throughout the whole way.

To this must correspond the reference to Telang’s edition, p. 207.

**Pādatādiṭaka of Śyāmilaka**


Pādat. 24
The Yavanas, among other people, come to Pāṭaliputra.
Pādatāḍitaka 24 (Ghosh, p. 79).
śaka
yavana
tuṣārapārasīkair magadhakirātakalīṅgavaṁgakaṁgaiḥ
nagaram atimudāyutaṁ samantām mahiṣakalakapāṇḍyakeralaiś ca // 24 //
variant in b varigakāśaiḥ
Schokker & Worsley: The Śakas, the Greeks, the Tocharas, the Persians, the Magadhas, the Kirātas, the Kaliṅgas, the Vaṅgas, the inhabitants of Kāśi, the Mahiṣakas, the Colakas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas have created great joy everywhere in the city.

In a note, Ghosh points out that the absence of the Hūṇas could here support his extremely early date for the Caturbhāṇī. But the Tuṣāras and the Pārasīkas are also too late for Mauryan India. An additional note on Tuṣāra in p. 181 only reveals his ignorance of the problems involved, and further comments in the Introduction (p. xxiv ff.) add nothing.

Pādat. 110+–111+
A Yavana courtesan met at night on a street of Pāṭaliputra.
(parikramya) iyam aparā kā / (vicārya) iyaṁ hi sā tatrabhavataḥ sugṛhitānaṁ
Śārdūlavarmakṣaḥ putrasya naḥ priyavayasyasya Varāhadāsasya priyatamā
yavanī Karpūratuṣārā nāma praticandābhāmukhaṁ madhunaḥ kāṁsyam
āmguṭhirveyaḥ dhāravyaṁ karolakāśaṅkavimbaṁ avalambya kunḍalaiṁ
kiraṇaiṁ prāṇekkoliṁtaṁ apiśadesɛ śaśinam ivodvahantī yaiṣā
ca koracurokṣaṁśa madhuni vikṣaṁsaṁ mukhaṁ
vīkṣaṁ yavanī nakhair alakavallaṁ āyatāṁ /
madhukṣakumāvadātasukumārayor gaṇḍayoḥ
pramāṛṣṭimadarāgam utthitaṁ alaktakāsāṅkayā // 111 //
apī ca yavanī gaṅkikā, vānarī, nartakī, mālavāḥ kāmuko gardabho gāyaka iti guṇata
sādāḥāṃaḥ avagacchami / sarvathā sadṛśasāṃyogesu nipuṇaḥ khalu Prajāpatīḥ
/ tathā hi
khaḍiratarum ātmaguptaḥ paṭolavallī samāsritā nimbam /
liṣṭo vata saṁyogo yidi yavanī mālave saktā // 112 //
tat kāmam iyam api me sakhī / na tv enām abhibhāṣyē / ko hi nāma tāṁ
vānarinikṣuṭipamāṁ cīkārahūpyuṣṭhāṁ apratybhhijneyavayaṁjanīṁ kiṁcit
kareṇāntaṁ pradeśinilālanam trasūcītāṁ svayaṁ veṣyavanī kathitāṁ śroṣyati
/ tad alam anayā /
Isn’t this the Greek girl called Karpūraturiṣṭā* who is deeply loved by our dear friend Varāhadāsa, the son of the honourable Śārdūlavarman, whose name is blessed? She holds a goblet with three fingers which is turned to the mock moon (her face), and, by holding up her earring, its reflection dancing across the surface of her cheek, she is, as it were, carrying on her shoulder the moon swinging to and fro with its beams.

After spreading out the long tresses with her nails* that Greek girl contemplates her face in the drink, her eyes glancing sideways, resembling those of the Cakora bird. As though it were lacquer she tries to remove the colour of love, which had risen to both her cheeks, which are white and very delicate, like the blooms of the Bassia Latifolia.

Moreover, as regards to their qualities, I consider a Greek prostitute to be the same as a lover from Mālava and a dancing female ape to be the same as a singing ass. Prajāpati, you know, is in every respect adept in suitable combinations. For similarly

The Ātmaguptā plant is attached to the Khadira tree, the Paṭola liana to the Nimba; the bond is truly strong when a Greek girl is attached to a Mālava.

*So though she be my friend I shall even so not address her. For who will listen of his own accord to the conversation of a Greek girl from the district of prostitutes? For it sounds like the screeching of a female ape, consisting for the greater part of the sīt sound. Its consonants are unrecognizable, yet it is pregnant with some meaning as it is only indicated by a caress with the index finger.* So enough of her!

On the passages I have marked with an asterisk (*), Ghosh has the following notes:

“The name Karpūra-turiṣṭā probably refers to the extremely fair complexion of a Greek woman (yavanī)” (in text, p. 109).

“Was it a fashion among the Greek girls to wear their nails long?” (in translation, p. 156)

“This shows that even without learning properly the local language the Greek courtezans could attract clients: this was very natural” (in text, p. 110).

“It is very strange that the Greek courtezans were so disliked by the author. It is possible that they did not learn the language of the country and used a mixed language interspersed with Greek words, more or less in their original pronunciation” (in translation, p. 157).

Yavanīpariṇaya of Prabhākara

A late drama mentioned by Krishnamachariar (1974, 1041, in index):

“On the marriage of Sampatkumāra of Melkote, Mysore, with the Mughal Emperor’s daughter.” I have found no edition of this late piece.
8. NARRATIVE AND HISTORICAL LITERATURE

Kathā

Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha of Budhasvāmin


From the 8th or 9th century (Lacôte and Renou), hardly from the 5th century (V.S. Agrawala).

BKŚŚ 5, 194 ff.

Yavana engineers know the art of constructing aerial cars.

Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha 5, 194–270.

As the queen has a craving (dohada) of going through the air, and therefore an aerial car is needed, all of the artisans are summoned by the king and urged to make such a car.

196. Rumaṇvatā tu takṣāṇaḥ sarinipātya pracoditāḥ / yantram ākāśasaṁcāri tvaritāṁ kriyatāṁ iti //
197. athotkramya ciraṁ sarve mantrayitvā ca śilpinaḥ / Rūmaṇvantam abhāṣanta saṁtrāsapraskhaladgirāḥ //
198. caturvidhāni janīmo vayaṁ yantrāṇi tad yathā / jalāśmapaṁśuyantrāṇi kāṇḍarāśikṛtāni ca //
199. ākāśayantrāṇi punar Yavanaḥ kilā jānate / asmākaṁ tu na yātāni gocarāṁ cakṣuṣām iti //

Poddar: Rumaṇvān having assembled the artisans urged them to make an aerial car at their earliest. Having stepped out (from the court), they consulted among themselves for long and then said to Rumaṇvān in a voice shaking with fear, “We know of four kind of machines, viz. water-machines, stone-machines and dust or sand-machines and again those made with heaps of reeds or bamboos. The sky-machines are perhaps known to the Greeks. We have not even seen them.”
In reply to this, a Brahman then tells a story (200). There was in Ujjayinī a carpenter named Pukvasaka. His son-in-law was an extremely skilled artisan named Viśvila, the son of Maya from Saurāṣṭra (surāṣṭraviṣaya) (201–220). Now Pukvasaka’s sons were angry, because Viśvila was living in their house and eating their food (221–223).

Poddar: Having heard this Viśvila went to the forest and cut some woods [sic] and made instruments in the Greek style. He also made cooking implements conducive to health and long life out of the limbs of the trees as pointed out in the science dealing with the medicinal values of trees. Selling these at thousandfold prices he offered that wealth to his father-in-law who gladly accepted it.

All was now well, but then the cruel king of Vārāṇasī sent for Pukvasaka, who was supposed to construct a temple for him. Offering himself instead of his father-in-law, Viśvila went to Vārāṇasī (227–234). During his absence, Pukvasaka and his wife started to wonder about their daughter, who was always jolly and showing no sign of sadness at the separation. To their shock, then, the girl became pregnant (235–245). The king of Udyāna knew the truth, however, and explained it to them as he heard it from his own men, who had accompanied Viśvila on the road (246–247).

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9 According to the MDh 10, 18, a Pukvasa is the offspring of a Niṣāda and a Śūdrī.
253. nindite vandanīye 'smīna āstāṁ tāvac ca pātakam / 
   dṛṣṭa eva mahān doṣo jīvanasyāpahāraṇam //
254. ahaṁ hi bhāryayā sārdham uṣītvā rajanī divā / 
   kurvan narapater ajñāṁ neṣyāmi divasaṁ iti //

Poddar: *This Viśvīla right from the first day of the journey went somewhere (at night) in a cock-machine. When one quarter of the night remained he alighted on some hill and then slept in his bed without telling anybody. Once he came back when the messengers were awake. Dejected in countenance he fell down at their feet and humbly begged – “This should not be told to anybody, artisan or no-artisan. The science of sky-machines is hardly conceivable to non-Greeks. If it is popularised like the science of making cots, it will be slighted because people’s interests are fleeting. This praiseworthy (art) being disparaged, let there be this much of fault. But it being seen by all there is great fault which may even take away one’s life. Having spent the night with my wife, I carry out the king’s orders during day-time and thus spend my days.”*

The building of the temple having been concluded, Viśvīla returned home, bringing his huge salary to his father-in-law (255–257). Viśvīla came home by his aerial car (ākāśayantram āsthāya) (258).

259. atīte māsaṁatra ca Viśvīlaṁ Pukvaso 'bravīt / 
   adya mām āha nṛpatiḥ śanair utsārya sasmitam //
260. ākāśayantravijñānaṁ jāmātre kathitaṁ tvayā / 
   yan mahyam api tat sarvam arthine kathyatāṁ iti //
261. mayā tu kathitaṁ tasmāi na tasmāi kathitaṁ mayā / 
   tasmāi tu kathitaṁ prītaiḥ śilpibhir yavanair iti //

Poddar: *Hardly one month had elapsed when Pukvasaka said to Viśvīla, “Today the king having dispersed all, smiled at me and said in a soft voice, – ‘You have taught your son-in-law the science of sky-machines. I too want to know it. Tell me all about it.’ I said, ‘I have not taught him. The Greek artisans were pleased to teach him this art.’”*

Because of this answer the king became angry, and so Pukvasaka asked Viśvīla to reveal to him the art. Viśvīla did not believe in the story, and during the night he fled with his wife in his sky-machine (262–272).

Now we come back to the main story. When a stranger appears and promises to make the needed machine, a machine resembling Garuḍa is soon ready (273–279). That engineer took the king and the queen on board and flew all over the world so that they could see many places (280–287). In the end, they visited Ujjayinī and returned home, where the engineer was richly rewarded (288–297).

N.B. The rare name Viśvīla is encountered much earlier as that of the royal kinsman (ἀναγκαῖος) mentioned in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in the Bajaur casket.
For parallels, see Kṣemendra 4, 46 [and KSS 4, 2 (22), 9–13].

**BKŚS 17, 53**

Women in Campā addressing each other.

Brhatkathālokaśāṃgraha 17, 53.

53. \[\text{ayi māgadhi vaidehi malayāvati yāvani /} \]
    \[\text{yakṣīkāmukaṁ āyātaṁ sakhyaḥ paśyata dhāvata }// \]

Laclôte C āyātuṁ

Poddar: O Māgadhī, O Vaidehī, o Malayāvatī, o Yāvanī, friends, hurry up, see Yakṣī’s lover, he is here.

**BKŚS 18, 277 & 283**

A girl with Yavana relatives tells the history of her family.

Brhatkathālokaśāṃgraha 18, 276 ff.

276. \[\text{sādhuḥdharmaṁ arthasarvārthaṁ sārthaṁ 'sti Sāgaraḥ /} \]
    \[\text{rājarājūkṛtakāragṛhe Rājagṛhe pure }// \]

277. \[\text{Yāvanī-ṇāmikā yasya jāyā yavanadeśajā} / \]
    \[\text{yā prakṛṣṭe ’pi saubhāgye patiṁ devam ivārcati }// \]

278. \[\text{tayoḥ Sāgaradinnāḥyāḥ putraḥ pitṛor guṇaiḥ sāmāḥ /} \]
    \[\text{yēṣṭhāḥ Samudradinnaḥ ca tatsamānā ca kanyākā }// \]

279. \[\text{Campābhūśanabhūtasya satpater Mitravarmanāḥ /} \]
    \[\text{sutāya Sānudāsāya sā ca pitrā pratīṣrūtā }// \]

280. \[\text{Sānudāsaś ca rūpeṇa Smareṇa sadṛṣṭaḥ kila /} \]
    \[\text{sakalaiṁ ca kalājālaṁ jālaṁ vedeti jagati śrutiḥ }// [unmetric] \]

281. \[\text{athavā na kalājālaṁ jālaṁ veda sa kevalaiṁ /} \]
    \[\text{ko hi nāma kalāśāli karma sādṛṣṭaṃ ācāret }// \]

282. \[\text{sa hi veśyāḥṛtāḥśeṣaḥgunadraviṇasaṁcayāḥ /} \]
    \[\text{samabrāhmaṇacaṇḍālaiś cauraiḥ sārthavadhe hataḥ }// \]

283. \[\text{tac ca vaiśasam ākarnya Sānudāsasya duḥṣravam /} \]
    \[\text{sāgarasya kuṭumbaiṁ tat prarthitaiṁ yavanaṁ prati }// \]

284. \[\text{yānapātravipattau ca vipannaṁ lavoṁbhāsi /} \]
    \[\text{medinīmaṇḍaladhvarinī jantūnām iva maṇḍalaṁ }// \]

Poddar: In the city of Rājagrha, where the houses are like the houses of an emperor, there is a merchant named Sāgara for whom all his wealth is for saints and for the cause of religion. His wife, born in Yavana, and named Yāvanī, worships her husband like a god, though she is extremely lucky herself. They have an elder son called Sāgaradinna who has all the good qualities of his father. Their second son’s name is Samudradinna and their daughter is called Samudradinnā. Her father has betrothed her to Sānudāsa,
the son of the able administrator, Mitravarmā, the jewel of Campā. It is known throughout the world that Sānudāsa is like Kāmadeva in looks and is well-versed in all arts. But the fact is that he did not know any art, he only knew the art of trickery and fraud. Otherwise, why should any cultured person do what he did? All his qualities and riches were lost for the sake of a prostitute. After that, thieves, who counted Caṇḍālas and Brāhmaṇas as one and the same, killed him also while destroying a caravan. After hearing this tragic story of Sānudāsa, the Sāgara family left for the country of yavana. The family was destroyed by drowning in the salty seas owing to a ship-wreck, just as human life is destroyed on the destruction of the earth.

Samudradinnā, however, did not drown, but reached an island where she met a young man. Telling him her story, it came to light that the young man was no other than Sānudāsa himself. He had set sail from Tāmralipti, and after a ship-wreck he had been carried by sea to this same island. Then came a merchant-ship, which rescued them, but soon this ship, too, sank in a storm. Sānudāsa was again carried away by the sea, and he reached land near Madurai in Pāṇḍya country.

This story has no parallels in Kṣemendra and the KSS.

**BKŚS 18, 663 & 668**
The story of Samudradinnā and her brothers resumed (from 18, 652). Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha 18, 663 ff.

663. vaiśasaṁ duḥśravaṁ śrutvā tat sūnor Mitravarmanoḥ / 
nispratyāśaṁ kuṭumbaṁ naḥ prasthitam yavanāṁ prati //
664. attha bohittham āsthāya pūjitadvijadevatāḥ / 
saṁbhāvyasyanadhravpaṇśaṁ samagāhāma sāgaram //
665. tataṁ prajavinam potaṁ taṁ pracandaṁ prabhāṇjanam / 
mṛgendra iva nāgendraṁ prasphurantaṁ prabhinnavān //
666. vayaṁ tu karmasāmārthīyāt taraṅgaiḥ śarāgavaraivaḥ / 
āruḍhāḥ paṭṭapṛṣṭhāni prāpitā jaladheṣṭamaṁ //
667. vadhūs tv ekāraṇavāmbhodhaub lolakallolasanikule / 
bhrāntamegha ivodbhṛantā vyomni sārasakanyakā //
668. muktvā Samudradinnāśāṁ arthāśaṁ ca mahāśrubhiḥ / 
yavanastham agacchāma mātāmahagṛhaṁ tataḥ //
669. tatrāsmākaṁ kuṭumbaṁ tad dūrād utsukam āgamam / 
samṛddhe sarasivāṣūśāṁ ṛṣṭpataṁ haṁsakadambakam //
670. atha yāte kvacit kāle pitā vāṁ ittham ādiṣṭā / 
āśāte kim udāśināu bhavantu sthavirāv ivā //
671. tārunau sakalau svasthau vārttāvidyāviśāradau / 
svajanānnena jīvantau kim ucyetē janair yuvām //
672. tasmān muktāpravālādi sāram sāgarasāṁbhavam /
gṛhītvā yānapātreṇa sindhur uttāryatām iti //

Poddar: Hearing of that unbearable tragedy concerning the son of Mitra-vārmā, and feeling disappointed, we left for Greece with the family. After saluting elders and gods, we boarded a ship and left on a sea-voyage to forget our sorrows. Then, just as a running elephant is grabbed by a lion, our speeding ship too, was caught by a terrific storm and destroyed. We, according to our abilities, climbed on to broken planks, and were carried to the shore by the waves, speeding as fast as arrows. Like a bird lost in the sky filled with circling clouds the bride Samudradinnā too, was lost in the agitated ocean, which seemed like the flood of Doomsday. Forgetting all hopes of Samudradinnā and our wealth, we went to the house of our maternal grandfather in Greece. Our family there was as satisfied as a flock of swans which is quenched of thirst, on reaching a rich pond (full of water and lotuses) after it has returned eagerly from a distance. After some time had elapsed, father spoke thus to us, “Why are you sitting gravely like old folks? You are both young, complete in every limb, qualified in the art of trade. If you continue living like this, on the money of relatives, what will people say of you? Therefore, go on a sea-voyage, with pearls, corals and other valuable articles.”

Note that coral is a Western product.

The young men did as asked and, in the middle of the ocean, they rescued their sister Samudradinnā, who was adrift on a plank. They all returned happily to Tāmralipti.

This story has no parallels in Kṣemendra and the KSS.

[BKŚS 23, 107]
[There is a reference to the BKŚS 23, 107 Lacôte, where the Yavana art of cooking should be mentioned, but I have been unable to find it in either edition. The story involves two master chefs, but their art seems to be completely Indian.]

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra


[BKM 4, 46]
[BKM 4, 46 is a parallel to BKŚS 5, 194ff. (see above), but it has no Yavanas. Instead flying is presented as a Vidyādhāra art, as often is the case in later literature.]

BKM 10, 285f.
King Vikramāditya killed barbarians, taking a burden from the earth.
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 10, 285f.
Then Lord Vikramaditya easily conquered (all) the barbarians without exception, Kāmbojas and Yavanas, the lowly Huns with Barbaras, Tuṣāras (Turks) and Persians, (all) who have abandoned good conduct and are unrestrained. Having slain them in the twinkling of an eye, he took a burden off of the earth.

[Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva]

This is following Brockhaus, but the Indian edition reads dṛṣṭabahula in a and Pavanenasākyo in c. According to Lévi 1890, 16, this is also the reading of the NSP edition of 1889. Therefore, it seems likely that the reading Yavanasaṇākyo cannot be preserved. Thus, Yavanas are lost from the KSS.

Translation: Then that man, who had endured many hardships, answered her: “Fair one, I am a merchant’s son of Mathurā named Yavanasaṇā.”

This man had been sailing on a merchantman to Suvaṇṇabhūmi and was shipwrecked onto a lonely island. His further adventures include two cases of adultery, the second of which leads to his death.

Lacôte 1908, 74 points out that in the KSS tar. 19, Udayana slays the Mlecchas. Their list includes no Yavanas, but instead some later peoples, such as Huns and Turuṣkas. It seems that Somadeva was thinking more of his own times than old traditions.

Kathārṇava of Śivadāsa

Kathārṇava of Śivadāsa (no text available).

Kathārṇava 30

A merchant coming from the Yavana land.
Oxford manuscript quoted by Aufrecht 1864, 154 b 9 (ms. no. 328):

“Narratio 30 f° 63a Mercator quidam, e Yavanadesa Lavaṇapuram profectus, bona a Bhaṭṭa (vaiśyarataḥ kṣatriyas) mutuum sumta, dolo recuperat.”

**History**

**Rājatāraṅginī of Kalhaṇa**

Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatāraṅginī* or *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, ed. M.A. Stein. Bombay 1892.


[Rājat 1, 107]

Supposed reference to a Greek attack.

Rājatāraṅginī 1, 107.

107. mlecchāḥ sāṁcchādite deśe sa taducchittaye nṛpaḥ /
tapaḥ saṁtoṣitāl lebhe bhūteśāt sukṛtī sutam //

Stein: *As the country was overrun by Mlecchas, the pious king obtained from Śiva Bhūteśa, whom he had pleased by his austerities, a son in order to exterminate them.*

Greeks were here suggested by Lassen (*IAlt* 2, 285), but there are many kinds of Mlecchas. The king is Aśoka (1, 101c athāvahad aśokākyaḥ satyasandho vasuṃdharām), while his son Jalauka is named as his successor in the next verse (1, 108: so 'tha bhūbhṛj jalauko 'bhūd ...). He is said to be the founder of the famous Bhūteśa temple in Kaśmir.

[Rājat 8, 2264]

Muhammadans in the army of King Jayasiṁha (1128–1149 CE).

Rājatāraṅginī 8, 2264.

2264. sañjapāle yavanakaiḥ skandhāvāraṁ nibadhnati /
anucakrur dviṣospandān nivātas timitāṁs tarūn //

Stein: *When Sañjayapāla went into camp with the Yavanas, the enemy became motionless, as trees keeping still in a calm.*

Sañjayapāla is Jayasiṁha’s general and the enemy is the rebellious minister Koṣṭhaka with his army. Muhammadans were earlier mentioned as Turuṣkas in the Rājat under King Harṣa (1089–1101 CE). According to Rājat 7, 1149: sa turuṣkaśatādhiśan aniśaṁ poṣayan dhanaīḥ / nidhanāv adhi durbuddhir bubhuje grāmyasūkarān // While continually supporting the Turuška captains of hundreds with money, this perverse-minded [king] ate domesticated pigs until his death.
Rājataraṅginī of Jonarāja


Rājat (Jonarāja) 571
Muhammadans serve King Sikandar (1389–1413 CE).
Rājataraṅginī of Jonarāja 571.

571. aneke yavanā dānaprasiddhaṁ tam athāśrayan /
vihāyāparabhumīlān puṣpāṇivālayo dvipam //
Leaving other rulers, some Yavanas resorted then to (this) perfection of generosity like bees leave flowers for an elephant.

Rājat (Jonarāja) 652 f.
Muhammadans persecute Brahmins during the reigns of Kings Sikandar (1389–1413 CE) and Ali Shah (1413–19 CE), urged by the minister Sūha Bhaṭṭa.
Rājataraṅginī of Jonarāja 652 f.

652. dvijātipiḍane tena prerito 'pi muhur muhuh /
śrīsikandharabhūpālau karuṇākomaṁśayaḥ //
653. yavanābdhimahāvelāṁ yām akārṣīt kathañcana /
ullanghitā dvijātīnāṁ tena daṇḍasthitis tataḥ //
He (Sūha Bhaṭṭa) urged King Śrīsikandhara (Sikandar), the pleasant seat of compassion, to repeatedly persecute the twice-born. Having drawn up the high tide of the ocean of Yavanas, he then violently gave punishment to the twice-born.

Note that the name Jonarāja can be interpreted as the Sanskrit Yavanarāja.

Rājataraṅginī of Śrīvara


Rājat (Śrīvara) 1, 7, 173
The Muhammadan fast.
Rājataraṅginī of Śrīvara 1, 7, 173.

173. yavanavratam ahotsāptau tyaktamāṁśaṁ naṁ rpaḥ /
saṁdadhyau ca kupturo 'yaṁ yair ānūto digantarāt /
taili svātmarakṣibhiḥ sarvari rājyaṁ me bata nāśitam //
Abstaining from meat-eating for seven days, this king with an evil son meditated on that vow of Yavanas; he had been brought from a foreign country by those self-restraining ones who, alas, have caused the destruction of my entire country.

N.B. A perusal of the Rājatarāṅginī continuations by Jonarāja, Śrīvara, and Śuka would probably bring many further passages where *yavana* is used for Muslims. Here only these three passages found in the indices are given as examples.

**Nilamatapurāṇa**


Nilamatapurāṇa 943.

**List of names of the Nāgas (881–946).**

943. Kambhāṭāś ca Subhāṭaś ca Bahuputro Niśācaraḥ / Mayūraḥ Kokilas Trātā Malayo Yavanapriyaḥ // v.l. yauvanapriyaḥ

_The Vaiśāvalīs of Orissa_

The Vaiśāvalīs of Orissa, according to the résumé of Stirling:

A. Stirling, “An Account, geographical, statistical, historical, of Orissa Proper or Cuttack”, _As. Res._ 15, 1825, 163–338 (Ch. 2. Chronology and history, 254–305).

On p. 256, Stirling lists his sources as: 1) Vaiśāvalī in Sanskrit, 3–4 centuries old [in 1825]; 2) a second palm-leaf of Vaiśāvalī in Sanskrit; 3) Rāj charitra, the second Chapter of the Mandala Panji, or records maintained in Oriya in the Jagannath temple of Puri. 10

Stirling p. 258 ff. “After these celebrated heroes of Indian antiquity [i.e. after Janamejaya], we have a list of other Princes, whose names I have nowhere else met, viz. eight Rajas who reign for the moderate space of 1636 years! Many of them are obviously merely Rajas of the province, but in relating the succession of reigns, no distinction is drawn between those personages who were local or dependant princes, and those whom it is intended to represent as the monarchs of a large part of India. Goutama Deo, the second in succession from Janamejaya is said to have added the country from the Mahendra Mali hills in Ganjam, as far as the Godaweri, to his dominions. Mahendra Deo, his son, founds Raj Mahendri or Rajamundry. Shewak Deo, a very religious Prince is assiduous in his devotion at the temple of Jagannath. In the reign of

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10 On these chronicles of Orissa, see Warder 1971, 134 ff.
Bajranath Deo, the Yavanas [italics mine, here and in similar instances of the name below] are said to invade the country in great numbers from Babul Des, explained to mean Iran and Cabul, but they are finally driven back. Then follows an incomprehensible story, involving some strange anachronism, about Imarút or Himarut Khan, who comes from Delhi with a large army and fights the Raja. His successor, Sarsankh Deo, a warlike Prince, is attacked by another Khan, whose name is variously written, and always so incorrectly spelt, that it is impossible to unravel it. The Raja defeats the invader and emboldened by his success, advances upon Delhi, and reduces a great part of the country. In the reign of Hans or Hangsha Deo, the Yavanas again invade the country in great force from Cashmir, and many bloody battles ensue.

Respecting these Yavanas, who are so often mentioned in the legendary (p. 259) portion of Orissan history, I should observe that the word in all the original Uria accounts is written Jabar, and the natives whom I have employed to translate both these and the Sanscrit Vansavallis, always render it Mogul. Who they really were, if they ever entered the country at all, may be plausibly guessed in some instances from their being said to come from Babul Des and Cashmir, by which the Hindus understand generally Persia, Afghanistan, and part of Tartary. Nothing however can exceed the looseness and confusion of my authorities, in speaking of countries and nations beyond their own immediate frontier. They often bring the Yavanas from Delhi, by which appellation they seem to point to some great monarchy or monarchies lying to the northward and westward, of which they have preserved an indistinct notion, rather than to the particular city so named. Dr. Buchanan has remarked a similar degree of confusion on this same point in the historical recollections of the brahmins of the southern countries of India. He observes, vol. iii. page 113, Chapter XV. 'Who were these Yavanas? The word properly signifies an European, but as the Hindus speak with great confusion concerning the northern and western nations, it is often confounded with the Mlecchas and Turks, Arabs or Tartars, and all these terms are frequently applied to the Mussulman.'

Next in the series of kings, comes Raja Bhoja, who is made to reign 127 years, that is from about B.C. 180 to B.C. 53. He was, according to the Orissan Chronicles, a brave, liberal, just and merciful Prince. He conquered the whole of India and took tribute from all the Rajas of it. His Court was adorned by the presence of 750 eminent poets, the chief of whom was Calidas, author of the 752 Ashloks called the Chanak or Chataka, and Maha Nataka. Raja Bhoja invented boats, the weaver’s loom, and wheeled carriages, or at least in his time the use of them first became common. In this reign the Yavanas from Sindhu Des invaded the country in great force, (p. 260) but Bhoja discomfited and destroyed them, and afterwards captured many of their possessions and cities.

Sri Bickermajit or Vicramaditya, (whom some call brother, and others son of Bhoj Raja, whilst other accounts state no connection,) succeeded to the throne and reigned 135 years. He was master of all sciences and a great magician...Through fear of his power, the Yavanas all left the country. At last came Sālivāhana from the Deccan, who attacked and conquered Vicramaditya, put him to death, and assumed the reins of empire...”

11 Stirling has a footnote here: “The section before quoted from the 10th Chapter of the Institutes of Menu, distinctly classes Yavanas as one of the degraded races of Cshatriyas or Hindus.”
12 I have skipped over the passage in which Stirling, with the completely insufficient knowledge of Indian history of his time, discusses the identity of Sālivāhana.
(p. 261) “The author of the Vansavali states, ‘With the assistance (or at the instigation) of the Yavanas, a person named Nri [sic] Nikas Śálváhana Saca Hara fought many battles with the Raja, and deposited him from the throne of Delhi. From that period begins the era called the Sacábda.’ (p. 262) The æra of Śálváhana, which dates its commencement from AD 77 in Orissa, is used in all the accounts.”

(p. 263) In 318 CE: “A Yavana, or foreigner, named Rakta Bahu, (the Red-Armed,) having assembled a large army with the intention of invading Orissa, embarked his troops on vessels with numerous horses and elephants, and having made the coast, anchored at a distance from the khetr of Jagannáth, hoping to take Púri by surprise. The dung, straw, &c. of the horses and elephants, happening however to float ashore in quantities, attracted the notice of some of the people of the town. They immediately reported the unusual appearance to the Raja, who guessed that some powerful enemy was coming to attack him. Seized with a panic, he took the image of Sri Jeo or Jagannáth out of the temple, lodged it in a covered cart with all its jewels and utensils, and fled away to Sonepur Gopalli, the most remote town on his western frontier. The Yavanas landed, and not finding the prince, plundered the town and temple and committed great excesses everywhere. The Raja's alarms increased on receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the invaders: He now buried the image under the ground, planted a ber tree over it, and himself fled further into the jungles. The Yavanas, unable to understand how he had escaped them, began to institute enquiries on the subject, when some of the low people of the coast informed them of the way in which their approach had been discovered. Enraged with the ocean for disclosing his secret, Rakta Bahu drew out his armies to chastise its waters. The sea, on observing such formidable preparations, retreated for nearly a cos – the infatuated Yavanas rushed on – when the tide (p. 264) suddenly returning with tremendous noise and fury, swallowed up a great portion of the army and inundated the whole country to a frightful extent...

The Raja died shortly afterwards in the jungles. His son Indra Deo succeeded to the title, but was captured and murdered by the invaders. A Yavana dynasty then ruled Orissa for the space of 146 years. Thus were completed years 396 of the Sacábda.”
9. TANTRA AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

Māyātantra

The Māyātantra, according to Goudriaan & Gupta 1981, 98:
“A Tantra devoted to Bhuvaneśvarī.”
“A special mantra of three syllables destined for the Yavanas ‘who delight in impure food and evil conduct’ (7, 35 f.; probably the Moslims are meant)...”
The text is quoted according to the MS in Bengal Asiatic Society’s Library (Goudriaan and Gupta note (n.59) “No edition is known to me.”).

Kāśyapasamhitā of the Vaikhānasas

In Gode (p. 255), Romaka is mentioned in Chapter 12 of the text (edition p. 15) in connection with Āsuradesa:
pāṣaṇḍa-romaka-dhūrta-kirāta-...-ākīrṇaṁ
pāṣaṇḍa ‘sectarian’ (Aśoka’s pāsaṁḍa).

Sātvatatantra

Sātvatatantra, text of A. Phadke’s edition, Benares: Chowkhamba 1934, Gretil version by Oliver Hellwig.

Sātvatatantra 2, 54.
Kṛṣṇa’s feats listed, including Kālayavana’s death.

54. sāṁdīpanaṁ mṛtasutaṁ gurudakṣiṇārthī dattvā jārāsūtabalaṁ yavanāṁ ca
   hatvā /
   śrīrūkminiṁprabhṛtīṛaśataṁ vivāhya tābhyaḥ sutān daśasaṁjanisyati
   sma //

Wanting to pay the guru’s fee, he delivered the dead son brought back (to life). Having slain the army of Jarāsandha and Yavana, and having married a hundred wives, beginning with Rukmini, he will beget ten thousand sons with them.

13 On the Jātimālā of the Rudrayāmalatantra, see Dharma.
Sātvatatantra 6, 154.
Kṛṣṇa’s feats listed, including Kālayavana’s death.

54. yavanāsurasarīhātā muccundesṭasādhakāḥ/
    rukmiṇīdvijasārīmantraraṭhākagatakuṇḍinaḥ //
Destroyer of the demon Yavana, fuller of Mucukunda’s wish, and advised by the twice-born, having gone alone in a chariot to Kuṇḍina for Rukmiṇī...

Jaiminibhārata


For a long time, this text was known mainly through A. Weber, “Über eine Episode im Jaimini Bhārata (entsprechend einer Sage von Kaiser Heinrich III und dem ‘Gang nach Eisenhammer’”, Monatsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akademie der Wiss. zu Berlin a.d. Jahre 1869, Berlin 1870, 10–48 & 377f. I owe the quotation from the above-mentioned early Indian edition to my Finnish colleague Mr. Petteri Koskikallio, Lic.Phil. Before this text, however, we quote the well-known passage by Weber:


Jaiminibhārata 17, 129–132.
Harīsaketu of Campā and his Yavana guard.

Jaiminibhārata 17, 126–136.

126. tāvad raṇe Harīsaketur balādyakṣam uvāca ha /
    sarve vīrā ihāyātāḥ śrutvā nādarṇ ca duṇḍubheḥ //
Hāṁsadhvaja uvāca

127. Sudhanvānaṁ na paśyāmi raṇamadhye samāgataṁ /
    mamājñāṁ kiṁ na jānāti kaṭāho vismṛtaḥ kathāṁ //
King Hamsaketu said to his commander in the battlefield. 'Commander, all the warriors have come to the battlefield on hearing the beat of the war-drums. But I don’t see Sudhanva present in the field. Doesn’t he know my orders? How could he have forgotten the cauldron? How could my son have ignored the drum announcing the departure? My horses have reached the sacrificial horse and the elephants in rut have gone near Dhananjaya. What despicable work is Sudhanva doing by remaining behind? Let some strong Yavana soldiers go to him armed with clubs and bring that wicked fellow who shuns Krishna to the cauldron by dragging him by the hair on the ground.' Jaimini said: O king, on receiving his orders, the swiftly responding Yavanas reached that lovely bejewelled palace of Sudhanva. They saw the fully satiated prince coming. Then they described the stern order of the master which fell like a thunderbolt. The Yavanas said: ‘O strong-armed one, we have come to arrest you. Lord, why have you disobeyed the orders of the king? You have certainly lost everything by staying behind. Your father has sent us all to take you by force, laggard, to the battlefield by dragging you on the ground. Get up and come to the king who, surrounded by veteran warriors, has taken shelter in the lotus-formation to stop Partha’s army.’ Jaimini said: He came to know about his
mighty father’s anger from their words. Sitting on his chariot he proceeded ahead with them towards the army.

Jaiminibhārata 27, 30
Unorthodox Yavanas (in the speech of Lakṣmaṇa).

30. mlecchapūjyair ardhamuṇḍair yavanair dūṣyate śrutiḥ /
sā kiṁ tyājyādvijavair iti Rāma vicāraya //

Sen: Rama, please consider, if the half-shaven Yavanas whom Mlecchas worship denounce the Shruti, then should it be abandoned by the best of Brahmans?
10. DRAMATURGY AND AESTHETICS

*Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra*


*Nāṭyaśāstra* (English Transl. with Critical Notes) by Dr. Adya Rangacharya. Bangalore 1968.

**Bhn 13, 39.**

Yavanas among Southern peoples.

*Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra* 13, 39 (Nagar & Joshi).

39. kosalās tośalāś caiva kaliṅgā yavanaḥ khasāḥ /

   draviḍāndhramāhārāṣṭrā vaiṣṇā vai vānavāsajāḥ //

   This corresponds to 14, 38 in Ghosh, but there the reading seems to be Tosala instead of Yavana. In any case Yavanas are very badly suited to this context.\(^{14}\)

**Bhn 23, 105.**

Makeup for different characters, including Northern peoples like the Yavanas.

*Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra* 23, 105 f. (Ghosh).

104. ...

105. pulindā dākṣiṇātyāś ca prāyeṇa tvasitā smṛtāḥ /

   śakāś ca yavaṅāś caiva pahlavā vāḥlikādayaḥ //

106. prāyeṇa gaurāḥ kartavyā uttarāṁ ye śritā diśam /

   ...

Rangacharya: *...Puliṇḍa-s and Southerners should normally be a-sita, i.e. not fair. Those of the North like Śaka-s, Yavana-s, Paḥlava-s and Bāhlīka-s should be normally of pale red complexion.*

   In the following verses, the Easterners are described as being dark blue. Of the varṇas, the Brahmans and Kṣatriyas are pale red and Vaiśyas and Śūdras dark blue.

   N.B. This is the same passage as the ref. BhN 21, 62 ff. quoted by Keith 1924, 366. Keith translates *asita* as ‘black’ and *gaura* as ‘reddish yellow’. As a parallel (with Yavanas?), Keith

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\(^{14}\) Unfortunately I found this passage only during the final revision of my text, when I had only Nagar & Joshi’s edition and Ghosh’s translation at hand.
refers to Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyamīmāṃsā, p. 96 f. The passage was already quoted from a manuscript by Lévi 1890a, 8 (see also note 69 on p. 388).

[Bhn 34, 41 f.
Royal Yavanī guards (saṁcārikā).
Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra 34, 41 f. is referred to by Lévi 1890b, 126: saṁcārikā yavanī. The G.O.S. edition contains a different recension and the contents of adhy. 34 are not pertaining. In Rangacharya, adhy. 34 discusses “types of character”, which appears relevant; however, although different female court servants are discussed in verses 54 ff., Yavanas are not mentioned. In Ghosh 34, 57–59, we have bell-tolling of yāma-hours (called saṁcārikās) as “maids in constant move”; apparently this has caused a misunderstanding or MS variant. See also Śakuntalā’s commentary quoted above.]

Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara

Kāvyam 17.
The Yavanas in a list of Janapadas.
Kāvyamīmāṃsā Adhyāya 17 Deśakalavibhāvaḥ.

devasabhāyaḥ parataḥ paścāddevaṇaḥ / tatra devasabha-surāṣṭra-daśeraka-
travaṇa-bhrugukaccha-kacchīyā- ‘narta- ’rbuda-brāhmaṇavāha- yavana- prabhrītyo
janapadāḥ / govardhana-girinagara-devasabha-mālyasikharā- ’rbudādayaḥ ca parvatāḥ / sarasvatī-svabhavati-vārtaghnī-mahāhiḍimbādyā nadyaḥ / karīra-
pīlu-guggulu-kharjūra-karabhādinām utpādaḥ / (p. 28? f.)

Beyond Devasabha are the Western countries. There Devasabha, Surāṣṭra, Daśeraka, Travaṇa, Bhrugukaccha, Cutch, Anarta, Arbuda, Brāhmaṇavāha, Yavana, etc. are countries, Govardhana, Girinagara, Devasabha, Mālyasikha, Arbuda, etc. are mountains and Sarasvatī, Svabhavati, Vārtaghnī, Mahāhiḍimbā, etc. are rivers. The products are camel-fodder (?), pīlu tree, bdellium, camels, etc.

Awasthi 1976, 37: Kāvyamīmāṃsā 17, p. 94 f. (ed. C.D. Dalal, Baroda 1934) has Brāhmaṇavāha (Brahmanabad in Sind) along with the country of Yavanas in Western India. According to V.S. Agrawal (JUPHS 16:1, 29 f.), Pāṇini’s (5, 2, 81) Brāhmaṇaka and Patañjali’s (2, 208) Brāhmaṇakā nāma janapadaḥ correspond to the Brachmanoi of the historians who accompanied Alexander, identified as Brahmanabad in Sind by Cunningham (Anc. Geogr. 310, q.v.). In Skanda Purāṇa 1, 2, 39, 136 it is Varibhaṇaāhāka.
**Rasārṇavasudhākara of King Siṁhabhūpāla**


A treatise on dramaturgy in three chapters, written around 1400 (Krishnamachariar 1974, § 879).

**Siṁhabhūpāla: Rasārṇavasudhākara 3, 310.**
The language spoken by the Yavanas on stage.

Siṁhabhūpāla: Rasārṇavasudhākara 3, 309 f. (Trivandrum ed. 3, 301 f.).

309. adhame madhyame cāpi śaurasenī prayuṣyate / dhīvarādy-atiṅceṣu māgadhī ca niyuṣyate // (3.530)

310. rakṣaḥ-piśāca-nīceṣu paiśācī-dvitayaṁ bhavet / apabhraṁśas tu canḍāla-yavanādiṣu yuṣyate // (3.531)

*The low and middle (characters) use Śaurasenī and the rogues and other very low (characters) resort to Māgadhī. Paiśācī is another (language) for Rākṣasas, Piśācas and low (characters), but Caṇḍālas and Yavanas use Apabhraṁśa.*

Keith 1924, 336, notes: The Rasārṇavasudhākara “assigns Apabhranśa to Caṇḍālas, Ya- vanas, etc., but admits that others give Māgadhī”.

**Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa on Kāvyaprakāśa**

Ācāryamammatapraṇītāḥ Kāvyaprakāśāḥ Bhaṭṭakamalākarapraṇītāḥ Kamalākarīvyākhyāyā 

‘nugataḥ prastāvanā-pāṭhāntara.ṭippaṇyanukramaṇikādibhiḥ samanvītāḥ, sampādakaḥ 


Around 1600.

**Kamalākara on Kāvyaprakāśa 4.**

Yavani in an example.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa 4, p. 115.

*yavanī navanītakomalāṅgī śayanīye yadi niyate kadācit / avanītalām eva sādhu manye na vanī māghavanī vilāsahetuḥ //

*If a Yavani with charming smooth limbs sometimes leads to the couch, I find the surface of the Earth a good deal better than Indra’s grove for amorous sport.*
Tantravārttika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa


Tantravārtika on MS 1, 3, 6, 10.
On Yavana language.
Tantravārtika on Mīmāṁsāsūtra Adhyāya 1, Pāda 3, Adhikaraṇa 6, Sūtra 10.

Sūtra 10. coditaṁ tu pratīyetāvirodhāt pramāṇena /

Jhā: (The word used by the Mlecchas) should be recognised as sanctioned by the Veda, because there is no contradiction of any authority.

Summary: The Sūtra is followed by a discussion of whether the meaning given by Mlecchas for a Vedic word should be accepted or whether the meaning based on etymology or grammar should preferred to that, as well as the semantic value of etymology and grammatical analysis in general.

Pūrvapakṣa: Etymology and grammatical analysis offer greater authority, as the Mlecchas have no authority when it comes to the Vedas.

anantamlecchadeśāṁ ca kaḥ sarvo 'nūpalapsyate /

Jhā: The countries inhabited by the Mlecchas being innumerable, how could one succeed in getting at all their usages?

Any interpretation would thus always be liable to change if a new Mlecha meaning happened to emerge. But if we reject Mlecha meanings, we can restrict our search for meanings in Āryāvarta. And being without dharma, the Mlecchas
may have distorted the meanings, just as they have distorted the forms, being never correct (saṁskṛta).

As an example, take the Drāviḍa language. They have the word cor ‘rice’, which an Ārya would recognize as cora ‘thief’. Other such homonyms are mentioned, and popular etymologies through Sanskrit meanings are attempted: for example, pāp ‘snake’ from pāpa ‘evil’, because a snake is an evil animal (tathā pāp-śabdāṁ pakārāntaṁ sarpavacanam akārāntaṁ kalpayitvā satyaṁ pāpa evāsāv iti vadanti).

Here Kumārila arrives at our passage:

tadyadā draviḍādibhāṣāyām īdṛśī svacchandakalpanā tadā pārasīka-barbara-
yavana-raumakā dibhāṣāsu kiṁ vikalpya kiṁ pratipatsyanta iti na vidmaḥ /

Jhā: Thus then, when the Ārya stands in need of such groundless assumptions, even in the case of the words current among the Dravidas (who inhabit a part of the Āryāvarta itself), – how could we ever reasonably deduce saṁskṛta words from those current among such distant peoples as the Parsis, the Barbaras (Barbarians), the Yavanas (Greeks), the Raumakas (Romans), and the like.

In the Siddhānta section, Kumārila objects to this and allows even the Mleccha meanings some degree of authority.

12. MEDICINE

Suśrutasaṁhitā


NSP The Suśruta-Saṁhitā of Suśruta, with various readings, notes and appendix, etc., edited with the co-operation of Vaidya Jādavji Trikumji Ēchārya by Nārāyaṇ Rām Ēchārya “Kāvyatīrth”. Bombay (NSP) 1945.

Gh Suśruta-Saṁhitā, bhūmikā lekhak Śrībhāskar Govind Ghānekar, višeṣ mantavya Lālācandra Vaidya. 5th edn. Dillī 1975 (text with Hindi commentary).


H The Suçruta-Saṁhitā or The Hindu System of Medicine according to Suçruta, tr. from the original Sanskrit by A.F.R. Hoernle. 1. Adhy. 1–3. B.I. Calcutta 1897.

Bh Suśruta-Saṁhitā, tr. by Bhishagratna (this translation contains a different numbering of verses than the edition; all references follow the edition).

Suśruta 1, 13, 13.
Non-poisonous Yavana leeches.
Suśruta 1 (Sūtrasthāna), 13, 13 (NSP, Gh, Bh) = 3, 8 (H).

9. jalam āsām āyur iti jalāyukāḥ, jalam āsām oka iti jalaukasaḥ /
10. tā dvādaśa, tāsāṁ saviṣāḥ šat tāvatya eva nirviṣāḥ /
11. tatra saviṣāḥ ... /
12. atha nirviṣāḥ ... ityetā aviṣā vyākhyātāḥ /
13. tāsāṁ yavana pāṇḍyasyahayapautanādīni kṣetrāṇi; teṣu mahāśarīrā balavatyaḥ śīghrapāyinyo mahāśaṅā nirviṣāś ca višeṣaṇa bhavanti /

H. The leeches are called jal-āyuka because jala or ‘water’ is their āyyuḥ or ‘food’; and they are called jal-aukasa because water is their okas or ‘dwelling place’.

They are of twelve kinds: six of these are poisonous and just as many are non-poisonous. The poisonous ones are (the following):... 

...Such is the description of the non-poisonous (leeches). The countries in which they occur are the Yavana, Pāṇḍya, Sāhya, Pautana and others. The leeches found in these countries are large bodied, and strong, suck (blood) quickly and eat much, and are specially free from poison.

15 For medical glossaries, see Lexicography.
Dalhaṇa on 1, 13, 13 (D): nirviṣāṇāṁ praśastāni kṣetrāny āha, – tāsām ityādi / yavanaḥ turuskadesaḥ, pāṇḍyaḥ daksinadigvibhāge yo deśaḥ, (“kāmbojād daksabhaṅgo tu indrapraṣṭhaḥc ca paścime / pāṇḍyadeśo maheśāni mahāśūratvākāraḥ” – iti śaktisamāgamantre saptamaḥ paṭalaḥ /) sahyāḥ narmadāyāḥ pāre parvataviśeṣaḥ, pautanaḥ mathurāpрадesāḥ / yavanādikṣetraštu kidrṣā jalākā bhavantity āha, – teṣāḥ ityādi / kecid yavanādīni kṣetrāṇi na paṭhanti / kutaḥ? saviṣāṇāṁ saviṣakīṭādikothakṣetratvān nirviṣāṇāṁ tu padmopalādikothasya kṣetratvād ayuktaṁ yavanādikṣetrakathanam iti vedanti //

Hoernle’s note ad locum: “According to Dallaṇa, by Yauvana [sic; probably a misprint] is meant the country of the Turuṣka (i.e. the trans-Indus country); by Pāṇḍya, the Dekkan or Southern India, by Sahya, the country about the Narbadā or Central India, and by Pautana, the country about Mathurā or Western India. Both Dallaṇa and Cakrapāṇidatta state that some commentators reject this passage; but in that case they would have to read, in the following sentence, tāsu instead of teṣu, in order to make it applicable to the feminine jalaṅkā ‘a leech’. The neuter teṣu refers to kṣetrāṇi and clearly presupposes the existence of the passage in question.”

Carakasaṁhitā


Carakasaṁhitā 6, 30, 316,
Yavanas as meat-eaters, wheat-eaters, wine-drinkers and warriors.
Carakasaṁhitā 6 (Cikitsitasthāna), 30, 316.

316. bāhlīkāḥ pahnavāś cīnāḥ śūlīkā yavanāḥ śakāḥ / māṁsagodhūmamādhvīkaśastravaiśvānarocitāḥ //

The Bāhlīkas, Pahnavas (Pahlavas), Cīnas, Śūlīkas, Yavanas and Śakas are commonly said to be used to meat and wheat (as food), to wine, fire and weapons.
Cf. Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha 1, 7, 19, 230 below.

Kāśyapasaṁhitā


Kāśyapasaṁhitā: Kalpaśāṇā: Revatikalpa 68
Barbarian and low-caste women infect women with Childsnatcher (miscarriage).
Kāśyapa-sāṁhitā: Kalpasthāna: Revatīkalpa passage 68 p. 195

sūta-māgadha-vena-pukkasāṁbasṭha-prācyaka-caṇḍāla-muṣṭīka-meta(ma)
ḍaunba-davāka-drumiḍa-siṁhaloḍra-khaśa-śaka-yaṇana-pahlava-tukhā(śa)
ra-kambojāvanty-anemakābhīrakuhūṇa-pāraśava-kulinda-kirāta-savara-
śambarajā jātahāriṇyo bhavanti / tām evaināṁ (nā)stika-niṣāda-prabhrītīnāṁ
varṇasaṁkarāṇāṁ vā yā striyo jātahāriṇyā ‘viśa-grhaṇyus tāḥ striḥ pratypaśītate,
abhivādayate, abhinandayate, saṁvavaharatī, saṁvadati, saṁspṛśati, saṁbhūṅkte
‘bhihantyaśroṣati, upāsate padam ṛtunirmālyaṁ vā solāṅkāram ati vā tulyāḥ etā
varṇasaṁkarājā jātahāriṇyo bhavanti /

D. Wujastyk, The Roots of Ayurveda. Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings. New Delhi 1998, 223 f.: These are the different kinds of Childsnatchers: Sūtas, Māgadhas, Venas, Pukkasas, Ambaṣṭhas, Prācyas, Caṇḍālas, Muṣṭikas, Metas, Ďaunbas, Ďavākas, Drumiḍas, Siṁhalas, Uḍras, Kaśas, Śakas, Yaṇanas, Pahlavas, Tukhāras, Kambojas, Avantīs, Anemakas, Ābhīrakas, Hūṇas, Pāraśas, Vakulindas,16 Kirātas, Šavaras, and Šambaras. And they say that a woman may come face to face with one of these women belonging to a mixed caste such as atheists or tribal hunters, who has been possessed by Childsnatcher, and has come to the home. If she greets her, has dealings with her, talks with her, touches her, eats with her, shouts at her, lies beside her, or treads on her foot, on her menstrual blood, on her leftover clothes or ornaments, then these mixed-caste women’s Childsnatchers become hers.

Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha of Vāgbhaṭa


[Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha 1, 7, 56, 152.

Yavānī as a kind of drug.

Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha 1 (Sūtrasthāna), 7, 56 (450), 152 (Rao 156).

16 As both Pāraśava and Kulinda are common ethnic names I cannot accept Wujastyk’s division here.

tatra annasvarūpa-vijñānīyaḥ saptamo ’dhyāyāḥ
According to MW, this is the plant Ptychotis ajowan DC. (also known as Carum copticum Benth.), a kind of lovage, whose seeds are used as a medicine against colic (as the names in—dicate). There are actually numerous references to this plant in the medical literature, but as the name is probably not related to the ethnonym yavana, but rather with yava ‘barley’, I have taken only this one as an example.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha 1, 7, 19, 230.

Yavanas as meat- and wheat-eaters and wine-drinkers.

Suitable foods according to countries are yoghurt, milk and the kaṭir plant for desert dwellers, piquant food for Easterners, but fish for Saindhavas, oil and tamarind for Āśmakas, tubers and roots in Malaya, rice gruel for Northerners, and wheat in the land of Avanti. The Bālhīkas, Bālhavas (Pahlavas), Cīnas, Śūlikas, Yavanas and Śakas are commonly said to be used to meat and wheat (as food), to wine and weapons.

Cf. Carakasaṁhitā 6, 30, 313 above.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha Uttara, 49, 438.

Iron pyrite found in Yavana country.
Murti: Tāpya, born from Suvarṇaśaila, is a golden coloured liquor, created by Lord Viṣṇu, in Tāpī, Kirāta, Cīna and Yavana countries.

This is quoted in the Rasaratnasamuccaya (2, 73 in the Gretil text based on the Kalikata 1927 edition) with the variant tāpyāṁ in the third pada.

**Bhāvaprakāśa**

Bhāvaprakāśa, old Calcutta edition quoted in the pu.


*Bhpr 1, 2, 1, 217.*

Yavaneṣṭa = garlic.

Bhāvaprakāśa 1, 2, 1, 217 (Nighaṇṭubhāga Harītakyādivarga; Calcutta ed. 1, p. 179).

217. laśunas tu rasonaḥ syād ugra<ga>ndho mahauşadham /
    ariṣṭo mlecchakandaś ca yavaneṣṭo rasonakaḥ //

*Garlic is (also called) rasona; an evil-smelling, great herb; ariṣṭa; barbarian tuber; (the herb) liked by Yavanas; and rasonaka.*

According to MW, rasona(ka) is shallot, not garlic.

*Bhpr 1, 2, 2, 52.*

Yavanadeśaja = olibanum or frankincense.

Bhāvaprakāśa 1, 2, 2, 52 (Nighaṇṭubhāga Karpūrādivarga; Calcutta, ed. 1, p. 187).

52. sihlakas tu turuṣkaḥ syād yato yavanadeśajaḥ /
    kapitailaś ca saṁkhyātas tathā ca kapināmakaḥ //

*Olibanum is (also called) Turkish and therefore (also called the herb born) in the Yavana country, and as it is called ‘monkey oil’ it has the name ‘monkey’.*

**Siddhayoga of Vṛnda**

Siddhayoga of Vṛnda (no edition available).

9th century

Quoted for pāraśīka yavāni or ’the henbane’ (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.) by P.V. Sharma, “Drugs as landmarks of the history of Indian medicine”, *Actes du XXIXe Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris Juillet 1973*. Section: Inde ancienne. Paris 1976, 463–472. On page 468, he states that the name pāraśīka yavāni or ’henbane’ is attested for the first time in the Siddhayoga. On p. 465, he gives turuṣka as a synonym for pāraśīka yavāni ‘henbane’ and for śilārasa ‘storax’, noting that Dallana on Suśrutas. 1, 13 (see above) glossed yavana by turuṣka. (He further identifies
the *romaka* salt, which "perhaps came from Rome", but this can as well refer to Mt. Rumā in India or just to ‘rock-salt’ in general.)

**Aśvaśāstra of Nakula**


Aśvaśāstra: Kulalakṣaṇādhyāya 15, 41 f. (p. 75 Gopalan).

15. *yavanāḥ*

41. cārunayanakopolās tanuhanuvakrās turaṅgamāḥ śastāḥ /
    *yavanās* turāgā vipulāḥ prthughanavakṣolātaṇayanāḥ syuḥ //
42. dirghāḥ sukuṣṭhikāḥ sukhurā laghukramāḥ śastāḥ /
    priyadarśanāḥ suvarṇāḥ spaṣṭāyatatanumahākāyāḥ /
    tejaḥsattvopetāḥ tanutvacaś cāpi sūkṣmaromāṇaḥ //

*The praised horses with lovely eyes and cheeks, bodies, jaws and mouths are Yavana (Arab) horses, large, with a broad and dark chest, forehead and eyes. (They are) praised as long, well-spurred, fine-hooved, light-stepped, agreeable-looking, and good-coloured, with clearly elongated and large bodies, endowed with the nature of fire, thin-skinned and also fine-haired.*
13. ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, MATHEMATICS, AND MINOR SCIENCES

Yavana

Pingree 1994, 325–330 mentions a number of authors known as “Yavana” (or “Yavanācārya”), some of whom are also described in his introductions to the Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja. This name is used to reference an early authority on astrology by Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta et al. (see examples below, under these respective authors). In terms of its later meaning of Muslim, Yavana is also often used to describe authorities in Tājika and Ramala astrology. There are also several extant works, often unedited, ascribed to authors named Yavana. Pingree mentions the Kapotaśānti by Yavanācārya, the Kujavārajasvalāśānti by Yavanācārya, the Candrabhaṇaḥorā or Yavanahorā by Yavana (in more than 103 adhyāyas), the northern recension of the same (or another work with the same name), several Tājika works (such as the Tājikaśāstra, the Yavanakoṣṭhaka, the Tājikapraśna, the Muddādāśāphala, the Yavanatājika, etc.), the Dvādaśarāśiphala jointly written by Yavanācārya and Romakācārya, the Nakṣatrāṇīḍāmaṇi by Yavana, the Bṛhadāvatā jātaka (for the edited version, see Pingree 1994, 327), the Bhūpatibhāgyaratnāvali or Yavanajātakasaṁhitā, the small Yavanajātaka (often edited), the Yavanajyotiṣaśāstra, the Yavanapārijātaka, the Yavanasaṁhitā (on omens), the Yavanarāja (Yavanācāryaśāstra), the Yavanācāryasiddhānta, several Ramala works listed by Pingree 1994, 329, the Lagnacandrikā by Yavana, the Strījātaka, and the Strīsāmudrikalakṣaṇa.

Early works

Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja


This is the versified version of the astrological work Yavanajātaka, which Yavaneśvara had translated from Greek into Sanskrit c. 150 CE. This lost work (there is a modern forgery and some genuine quotations) was the source that Yavanarāja (Yavanācārya) Sphujidhvaja put in the metrical form around 270

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18 By a lucky turn of fortune, I do have a copy of this text (the Kalyāṇa-Muṁbaī edition of Saṁ. 1981 = 1924 CE), which contains 38 pages (text only, without commentary). However, in the present context it seems unnecessary to give any details of the contents of these late astrological works. According to Pingree 1994, 327f., there may be several different Yavanajātaka manuscripts.
ce. This work is preserved at least in one manuscript in Nepal, on the basis of which it has been edited by Pingree. Another work in the same tradition is Mīnarāja’s Vṛddhayavanajātaka (below).

In the same article, Pingree also points out that the title Yavanarāja, used by both Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja, is also attested twice in epigraphy: for Yavanarāja Tuṣāspa in Rudradāman’s inscription and for a Yavanarāja of Sañjayapuri in a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the early fourth century ce.

**Sph:YJ 1, 48–50**

Yavanajātaka 1, 48 ff. Greek terms.

48. horeti yat prāgbhavanaṁ vilagnaṁ tatac caturthāṁ hipakākhyam āhuḥ / rasātalaṁ tadvijalaṁ ca vindyād grhārṣrayāṁ vṛddhipadaṁ tadeva //

49. lagnād grhaṁ saptamām astagaṁ nū jāmitrasaṁjñaṁ yavanebhidhānān / vilagnabhāvat tu nabhaltalasthaṁ me[śūra]gākhyam daśamaṁ vadanti //

50. etac caturlagnaṁ udāharanti horāvido lagnacatuṣṭayaṁ ca / sthāanāṁ tu candrasya catuṣṭayākhyāṁ menyaiva saṁjñaṁ yavaneṣu vindyāt //

Pingree: (48) The ascendent, which is the first sign, they call horā (ὥρα), the fourth from it hipaka (ὑπόγειον); one also finds it called rasātala (hell), the place of water, the place of the house, and the place of increase. (49) The seventh place from the ascendent, the descendent, is called jāmitra (διάμετρος) in the language of the Greeks; the tenth from the ascendent, the mid-heaven, they say, is the meṣūraṇa (μεσουράνημα). (50) Those who are experts in horoscopy call these (four signs) the caturlagna (“four-fold ascendent”) or the lagnacatuṣṭaya (“square of the ascendent”). One finds that the place of the Moon and its square are called menyaiva (μηνιαῖος) among the Greeks.

Pingree 1978, 219 lists a number of later works, using these and other Greek terms.

**Sph:YJ 1, 123**

Yavanajātaka 1, 123. Yavaneśvara mentioned as Yavanendra.

**Sph:YJ 2, 50**

Yavanajātaka 2, 50. Reference to Greek authorities.

50. etās tu horā yavanair niruktāṁ cintāsasamudbhūtigunṣrayārthāḥ / sarūpalīṅgābharaṇānubhandhair nidarśanair eva yathāṭhastasamjñāḥ //

Pingree: These Horās whose purpose resides in (the determination of) the thoughts, places of origin, and qualities (of natives), are described by the Greeks by means of illustrations wherein their forms, insignia, and ornaments are successively given. They have names in accordance with their natures.

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19 Pingree 1963.
Sph:YJ 3, 1
Yavanajātaka 3, 1. Greek term used.

1. ṣaṭ ṣaḍguṇā rāśitṛyabhäga drekāṇasārśijnā yavanākhyayā ye / nānāvidhacchādanacitrarūpās tān sarvaliṅgādiguṇair vidhāsyey //

Pingree: Thirty-six are the thirds of the zodiacal signs which are called Drekāṇas (dēkāvoc) by the Greeks. They have various clothes, forms and colors; I will describe them with all their qualities beginning with their characteristic signs.

Sph:YJ 3, 38
Yavanajātaka 3, 38. Reference to Greek authorities.

38. ete niruktā yavanair mahadbhir horārthadaḥharmaśrṇ[t]i vidbhir ādyaiḥ / drekkābhidhānaḥ bhavanatribhāgaḥ cintāśrayaiḥ svaprakṛ[ta]nuvandhaiḥ //

Pingree: These thirds of the signs which are called Drekkās together with the natures that accompany each, to which much thought has been given, have been thus described by the great Greek masters who know the meanings, properties, and traditions of horoscopy.

Greek authorities are also referred to in 1, 61 (yavanair niruktāḥ); 1, 63 (id.); 1, 92 (yavanopadeśāt); 8, 23 (yavanair niruktāḥ); 36, 44 (yavanair itīme); 38, 10 (yavanair niruktāḥ); 77, 9 (see below); 78, 3 (yavanā nirūcuḥ); and 79, 1 (yavanopadeśāt) & 3 (see below). In his commentary on 1, 61, Pingree points out that this often refers to Yavaneśvara.

Sph:YJ 8, 23
Yavanajātaka 8, 23. On Greek prognostication.

23. vargottamāṁśe 'pi vilagnasaṁsthe tasyādhipa ca pratipūrṇīrveya / īṣṭair grahais triprabhṛti pradrṣte rājñāṁ prasūtir yavanair niruktā //

Pingree: If vargottamāṁśa is in the ascendent and its lord, in full strength, is aspected by three or more benefic planets, the Greeks proclaim the birth of kings.

Sph:YJ 29, 1
Yavanajātaka 29, 1. Greek term used.

1. rāśitribhāgaṁ yavanākhyayā yāṁ drekkāṇam ādyāḥ pravadanti sarvam / ṣaṭ ṣaḍguṇān janmasamāśrayāṁs tān gṛhātmakair ātmaguṇais ca vakṣye //

Pingree: The authorities say that every third of a sign is called a Drekkāṇa (dēkāvoc) in the language of the Greeks; I shall describe the thirty-six (of them) as they pertain to nativities because of their own qualities and those of their signs.

In other passages often drekāṇa (drekāṇa also, e.g. in 42, 1). Further Greek terms are mentioned in several passages without mentioning the language.
Pingree: These yogas (conjunctions of planets) with series of the qualities of the signs, beginning with the ascendent or with that occupied by the Moon at the births of creatures, are said by the ancient Greeks to be formed in the likeness of shapes.

Pingree: These are the yogas of images (described) by the Greeks or those which are said to be undistinguishable (from them) at birth; now I will describe the other yogas which give results through numbers and relate to places.

Pingree: If a navāṁśa of Pisces (is in the ascendent), the Greeks predict that he is thinking of immovable (property), friends, his wife, or foreign travels. A Decan causes the same sort of thoughts as does the navāṁśa.

Pingree: The rule concerning the actions of people which was described by the foremost (astrologers) of the Greeks with respect to the planetary week-days is to be established in a similar rule with respect to the hours (horā) which pass through the day.
Epic and Classical Sanskrit Texts

Pingree: The wise say that the observed course of the planets is the supreme eye of the entire body of the rules of horoscopy. I shall explain it concisely according to the instructions of the Greeks.

Sph:YJ 79, 3
Yavanajātaka 79, 3. Greek opinion given.

1. muner vaśiṣṭha<sya>matānuvṛttyā keṣāṁcid iṣṭaṁ vidhitatparāṇām / yavanottamānāṁ ṣaṣṭiḥ śataṁ pančayutaṁ samānām //

Pingree: Some who are students of the laws (of astronomy) find that it is good to follow the opinion of the sage Vasiṣṭha; (but according to) the best of the Greeks (the yuga) should consist of 165 years.

Sph:YJ 79, 60 f.
Yavanajātaka 79, 60 f. Mention of the work by Yavaneśvara.

60. iti svabhāṣāracanābhiguptāṁ viṣṇugraha ... kṣe / mahīpamukhyair anuddaṣṭatattvāṁ horārhatratnākapāranāin samānām //
61. sūryaprasāḍa[g]atattvavadyāya vacobhir ādyaiḥ / idaṁ babhāse niravadyavākya horārthaśāstraṁ yavaneśvarah prāk //

Pingree: Previously Yavaneśvara (the lord of the Greeks), whose vision of the truth came by favor of the Sun and whose language is flawless, translated this ocean of words, this jewel-mine of horoscopy, which was guarded by its being written in his tongue (i.e. Greek), but the truth of which was seen by the foremost of the kings...(in the year) 71; (he translated) this science of genethlialogy for the instruction of the world by means of excellent words.

Vṛddhayavanajātaka of Mīnarāja


The lost work of Yavaneśvara (see above under Sphujidhvaja) and another originally Greek text translated into Sanskrit sometime in the 2nd century were used by Satya in the third century for an astrological work. Although it is also lost (there is a modern forgery and some genuine quotations), together with Sphujidhvaja’s Yavanajātaka this was used in the early fourth century by Mīnarāja for his extant Vṛddhayavanajātaka.20 This is a large work in 71 chapters, and it seemed too laborious a task to read it through for a number of references

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20 Pingree 1963.
that are probably similar to those of Sphujidhvaja and would contribute very little new information.

**Mr:VYJ 67, 1**


1. prāg brahmaṇā proktam anekarūpaṁ yac chākunaṁ pūrvajakarmasākṣam /
   tan mīnarājo yavanādhirājaḥ samāsataḥ sārataraṁ cakāra //

*The many-sided science of auguries, formerly proclaimed by Brahmā, making clear the karma originating in the past – Minarāja the Yavana ruler has exposed this succinctly and lucidly.*

**Gargasamhitā: Yugapurāṇa**


Part of the unedited prognosticative digest, the Gargasamhitā, with its famous passage about Indo-Greek history known and discussed since Kern 1865. History is presented in the Purāṇic fashion as prophecy.

After the vicious [Maurya] King Śāliśūka:

47. tataḥ Sāketam ākramya Pañcālā Māthuras tathā /
    yavanā yuddhavikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam //
48. tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite /
    ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ //

Mitchiner: *Then, having approached Sāketa together with the Pañcālas and Māthuras, the Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) – valiant in battle – will reach Kusumadhvaja [Pāṭaliputra]. Then, once Puṣpapura has been reached (and) its celebrated mud(-walls) cast down, all the realms will be in disorder – there is no doubt.*

This is followed by an account of confusion of the varṇas: how Śūdras will usurp the position of Brahmans and arrange rituals.

56. Yavanā jñāpayiṣyanti nagare yaṁ ca pārthivāḥ /
    Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddhadurmadāḥ //
57. teśāṁ anyonyasaṁbhāva bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ /
    ātmacakraṭthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddhaṁ paramadāruṇaṁ //
58. tato yugavaśāt teśāṁ yavanāṁ parikṣaye /
    Śākete sapta rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ //
Mitchiner: And in the city the Yavanas, the princes, will make this (people) acquainted with them: (but) the Yavanas, infatuated by war, will not remain in Madhyadeśa. There will be mutual agreements among them (to leave), (due to) a terrible and dreadful war broken out in their own realm — there is no doubt. Then, at the disappearance of those Yavanas due to the power of the Yuga, there will be seven mighty kings in Sāketa. The Yavanas disappear and are never mentioned again in our text.

Gargasainhītā

Quoted by H. Kern in VM:BS edition.

Gargasainhītā

The skill of the Yavanas in astrology.

Gargasainhītā quoted by Kern 1865, 35.

mlecchā hi yavanas teṣu samyak chāstram idaṁ sthitam /
ṛṣivat te 'pi pūjyante kimpunār daivavid dvijaḥ //

Kern: The Greeks are Mlecchas, but amongst them this science is duly established; therefore even they (although Mlecchas) are honoured as Ṛshis; how much more then an astrologer who is a Brāhman.

Cf. VM:BS 2, 15 Kern = 2, 32 Bhat, quoted below.

Atharvapariśiṣṭa


Avpś 50 Candraprātipadika 2, 4

People affected by the moon in human form.

Atharvapariśiṣṭa 50, Candraprātipadika 2, 4.

3. etāj janapadān hanti yadā syād daksinonnataḥ
   puruṣaḥ strīnṛpaṁ hanti aparānto vinaśyati
4. bālhikān yavana kāmbojāṁ chālvān madrān uśīnarān /
... 6. āstropajīvikuḍyāṁś ca brāhmaṇā yodhinaś ca ye
    etān janapadān hanti somaḥ puruṣalakṣaṇaḥ //
Thus it slays these countries when it has risen from the South. The man kills women and king, and the Westerner perishes. Bālhikas, Yavanas and Kāmbojas, Śālvas, Madras, Uśīnaras [and 13 other names], those living by weapons and Brāhmaṇ warriors — the moon in human form slays these countries.

**AVPś 51 Grahayuddha 1, 3**
Relation between planets and lands: the Moon is born among the Yavanas.

Athravaparāśiṣṭa 51, Grahayuddha 1, 1 ff.

1. kecid grahā nāgarān āśrayante, kecid grahā jyotiṣi saṅgраhe ca / 
   graho graheṇaiva hataḥ kathāṃ syād vijnāya tat tvam bhagavān bravītu //
2. evaṃ sa prśto munibhir mahātma poviṣca Gargo grahayuddhatantram / 
   parājayaṁ caiva jayaṁ ca teṣāṁ subhāsubhāṁ caiva jagaddhitāya //
3. arko jātaḥ kaliṅgeṣu, yavanesu ca candraṃaḥ / 
   anāṅgarakas tv avantyāyāṁ, magadhāyāṁ budhas tathā //
4. bṛhaspatih saindhaveṣu, mahārāṣṭre tu bhārgavaḥ / 
   śanaiścaraḥ surāṣṭrāyāṁ, rāhus tu giriśṛṅgaḥ //
   ketur malayake jāta ity etad grahājātakaṁ //
5. yasmin deśe tu yo jātaḥ sa grahaḥ pīḍyate yadā / 
   taṁ deśaṁ ghātitaṁ vidyād durbhikṣeṇa bhayena vā //

Which planets are in opposition and which planets are in conjunction with the stars, and how is a planet slain by a planet? Knowing this, tell (us), Lord. Thus asked by the Munis, high-souled Garga proclaimed the science of planetary war (grahayuddha) and (planets') conquest and victory and useful and harmful (influence) for the benefit of the world: the Sun is born in Kaliṅga, the Moon among Yavanas, Mars in Avantī, Mercury in Magadhā, Jupiter among the Sindhus, Venus in Maharashtra, Saturn in Surashtra, Rāhu in Giriśṛṅga and Ketu in Malaya — this is the birth of planets. But the country in which each planet is born, (that planet) also oppresses (it). One should know that this country is slain through famine or fear.

Cf. Varāhamihira, Yogayātrā 3, 19 f.

**AVPś 51 Grahayuddha 3, 3**
Relation between planets and lands: the Sun is dangerous to North-Westerners.

Athravaparāśiṣṭa 51, Grahayuddha 3, 3.

3. dhanakanakarajatasarāṃcayāś ca sarve śamadamantraparāś ca ye manusyāḥ / 
   šakayavanatukhārabālhikāś ca kṣayam upayānti divākarasya ghāte //

All who collect treasures, gold and silver; people who hold tranquility, self-subduing and the holy word as the highest thing; and Śakas, Yavanas, Tukhāras and Bālhikas — they are destroyed, slain by the Sun.
AVpś 56 Kūrmavibhāga 1, 5
Yavanas included in a list of southern peoples.
Athravapariśiṣṭa 56, Kūrmavibhāga 1, 5.

5. āvantyakā vidarbhā matsyā cakorabhīma[gaṁ]rathā yavana
valayakāntisirīnhalal
āikāpurī caiva draviḍā barbaratīrā dakṣiṇapārśve hate 'bhīhanyāt /

AVpś 57 Maṇḍalāni 2, 5
Yavanas included in the circle of Vāyu with other North-Westerners.
Athravapariśiṣṭa 57, Maṇḍalāni 2, 5.

5. madrakā yavanāś caiva śakāḥ kāmbojabālhīkāḥ /
gāndhārāś ca vinaśyanti etaiḥ sārdhaṁ tathā kila //</

Varāhamihira

Bṛhajjātaka


VM:BJ 1, 8
The signs of the zodiac listed with their Greek names.
Bṛhajjātaka 1, 8.

1. kriya-tāvuri-jituma-kulīra-leya-pāthona-jūka-kaurpyākhyāḥ /
tauṣṭika ākokero ḫṛdrogaś cāntyabhaṁ cettham //

A number of other Greek terms from the BJ are quoted in the study.

VM:BJ 7, 1
Yavanācārya and Manetho as authorities on the length of life of a child.
Bṛhajjātaka 7, 1 (Puṣpitāgra).

1. ma[ya]yavana maṇitya śaktipūrvair divasakarādiṣu vatsaraḥ pradiṣṭāḥ /
    navatithiṣayāsīvibhūtarudradasāsahitā daśabhīḥ svatuṅgabheṣu //

[ya] missing in the text added here

Swami Vijayananda: The maximum number of years ordained to an individual by the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, when they are in their exalted degrees, are respectively, nineteen, twenty-five, twelve, fifteen, twenty-one, and twenty, as stated by Maya, Yavana, Maniṭṭha [sic], Śaktipūrva and other Âchāryas on Astrology.
VM:BJ 8, 9
Yavanas as authorities on Daśās and Antardāsās.
Bṛhajjātaka 8, 9 (śārdūlavikrīḍita).

9. ekaṁ dvau navaviṁśatir dhṛtikṛti pañcāsad eṣāṁ kramāc
candrārendujaśukrajivadinakṛddaiavākarīṇāṁ samāḥ /
svaiḥ svaiḥ puṣṭaphalāni sargajanitaiḥ paktir daśāyāḥ kramād
ante lagnadaśā śubhetai yavanā necchanti kecit tathā //

Swami Vijayananda: Now the natural Daśās or life periods of the planets are being stated. The first year after birth belong to the Moon; next two years belong to Mars; next nine years to Mercury; next twenty years belong to Venus; next eighteen years to Jupiter; next twenty years to the Sun; and next fifty years to Saturn. Thus one hundred and twenty years are the sum total of the natural Daśās of the several planets. If the planetary periods or Daśās as determined in the preceding chapter (!) coincide with these natural Daśās regularly, then the period gets full advantages and becomes prosperous. The closing period and that over 120 years belong to the Ascendant's natural Daśā and it is auspicious; this is the opinion of Yavanāchārya. Other authors do not like this.

VM:BJ 11, 1
Yavanas as authorities on Rājayogādhāya or the birth of kings.
Bṛhajjātaka 11, 1 (Vaitāliya).

1. prāhur yavanāḥ svatuṅgakaiḥ krūraiḥ krūramatī mahīpatīḥ /
krūrais tu na jīvaśarmaneṇaḥ pakṣe kṣityadhippaḥ prajāyate //

Swami Vijayananda: Yavanāchārya and others are of opinion that when three or more malefic planets are in their own respective exalted houses, then the cruel and tyrannical kings are born. But according to Jīvaśarman, no kings at all are born by such malefic planets.

VM:BJ 12, 1
Yavanas as authorities on Nābhasayoga, a particular heavenly constellation.
Bṛhajjātaka 12, 1 (Aupacchandasika).

1. navadigvasavstrikaññivedair gunitā dvitirvrikalpajaiḥ syuh /
yavanais triguṇā hi śaṭṭatī sā kathitā vistarato ‘tra tatsamāḥ syuh //

Swami Vijayananda: The numbers nine, ten and eight, multiplied respectively by three, three and four, give rise to the numbers (i.e. 27, 30, 32) indicating the sums of the first two, first three and the first four combinations. Yavanāchārya and others treat extensively of 1800 varieties of various such combinations. What is described in this treatise is a summary of them.
Epic and Classical Sanskrit Texts

VM:B} 21, 3
Yavanas as authorities on Āṣrayayoga or the planets and the several vargas. Bṛhajjātaka 21, 3 (Upajātikā).

3. na kumbhalagnaṁ śubham āha satyō na bhāgabhedād yavanā vadanti / kasyāṁśabheda na tathāsti rāser atiprasaṅgas tv iti viṣṇuguptaḥ //

Swami Vijayananda: Satyāchārya does not consider the Kumbha (Aquarius) Lagna (the rising sign) to be auspicious; but Yavanāchārya is of opinion that when the Aquarius is the rising Dvādaśāṁśa, then it is not auspicious, the whole Kumbha Lagna is not inauspicious. Against this Yavanāvihārya’s opinion Viṣṇugupta says which sign has not got such subdivisions as Aquarius Dvādaśāṁsas? Therefore the remarks of Yavanāchārya are not at all warranted.

VM:B} 27, 2, 19, 21
Yavanas as authorities on the Decanates of the zodiac (Drekkāṇa, here personified). Bṛhajjātaka 27, 2 (Indravajrā), 19 (va.ti.) & 21 (Varṇāṣṭha).

2. raktāmbarā bhūṣaṇabhakṣyacintā kumbhākṛtir vājimukhī trṣārttá / ekena pādena ca measamadhye dreskāṇārūpaṁ yvanopaditam //

Swami Vijayananda: The second Decanate of the sign Aries is a woman wearing a red coloured cloth, intent on food and ornaments, of a water-jar appearance, having the face of a horse, thirsty and one-legged. Thus says Yavanāchārya.

Bhaṭṭotpala ad loc. yavanācāryaiḥ kathitam (Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, 2nd ed. 3, 1873, 321).

19. vīthyantarāpaṇagataḥ puruṣas tulāvān unmānamān kuśalaḥ pratimāna hastāḥ / bhāṇḍaṁ vicintayati tasya ca mūlyam etadrūpaṁ vadanti yavanāḥ prathamāṁ tulāyāḥ //

Swami Vijayananda: The first Decanate of the sign Tulā is a man seated in a shop that he has opened in a market or on the way to market. He holds a balance in one hand and is skilled in weighing and measuring. He has got articles in his hand to be weighed or measured and is thinking that such would be their price. Thus say Yavanāchārya and other astrologers.

21. vibhīṣayaṁs tiṣṭhati ratnacitrito vane mṛgān kāñcanatūṇavarmabhṛt / phalāmiṣam vānararūpabhṛn naras tulāvasāne yavanair udāhṛtaḥ //

Swami Vijayananda: The third Decanate of the sign Tulā is a man with the appearance of a monkey adorned with gems, terrifying animals in the forest. He carries a golden quiver and wears a dress of armour. He carries also fruits and meat.
Swami Vijayananda here omits the words “as is said by Yavanâchârya and others”.
Bhaṭṭotpala ad loc. purâṇayavanaiḥ (Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, 2nd ed. 3, 1873, 323).

Bṛḥatsaṁhitā

VM:BS 2, 32
Canons for an astrologer.
Bṛḥatsaṁhitā 2, 32.
32. mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu samyak śāstraṁ idaṁ sthitam /
ṛṣivat te 'pi pūjyante kiṁ punar daivavid dvijaḥ //

Bhat: The Yavanas are, no doubt, non-Aryan in origin. Still this Science has found a stable position in them. When even they are honoured as Sages, how much more should a Brahmin astrologer be?
Quoted from the Gargasamhitā; see above.

VM:BS 4, 22
On the transit of the Moon.
Bṛḥatsaṁhitā 4, 22.
22. bhinnaḥ sitena magadhān yavanān pulindān
nepālabhrṅgimarukacchasurāṣṭramadrān /
pāṅcālakaikayakulūtakapuruṣādakān
hanyād uśinarajanān api saptamāsān //

Bhat: When the lunar orb is cut asunder by Venus, the people of Magadha, the Yavanas, Pulindas, the Nepalese, the Bhrṅgis, the Marwaris, the people of Cutch, Surat, and Madra, the Pāṅcālas, the Kekayas, the Kulūtakas (people of Kulu valley?), the cannibals and the people of Uśinara (Kandabar) will have great suffering, for seven months.

VM:BS 5, 78, 80
On Rāhu’s course.
Bṛḥatsaṁhitā 5, 78–80.
78. kāśmirān sapulindaçināyavanān hanyāt kurukṣetrajān
gāndhārān api madhyadesahitān dṛṣṭo śrāvaṇe /
kāmbojaikaśaphaṁ ca śāradam api tyaktvā yathoktān imān
anyatra pracurāṇanṛṣṭamanuṣaiṁ dhārtrīṁ karoty āvṛtām //

79. kaliṅgavaṅgān magadhān surāṣṭrān mlecchān suvīrān daradāsmaṁ kāmbojaiṁ ca /
strīṁ ca garbhān asuro nihanti subhikṣatrd bhādraśu 'bhupetaṁ //
80. kāmbojacīnayavanāḥ saha śalyāhṛdbhir vāhlīkasindūrōvāsijanāṁ ca /
hanyāt /
ānartapauṇḍrabhiṣajaś ca tathā kāmbojakātān drṣṭo 'suro 'śvayuji bhūri /
subhikṣatrc ca //

Bhat: An eclipse occurring in the month of Śrāvaṇa will harm the following: the people of Kashmir, the Pulindas, the Chinese, the Yavanas, people of Kurukṣetra, Gāndhāra, the Central Region, and Kāmboja as well as the animals with uncloven hoofs and autumnal grains. All the rest and other places will enjoy happiness and prosperity.

If the eclipse occurs in the month of Bhādraśu, it will destroy the people of Kaliṅga, Bengal, Magadha and Surāṣṭra, the Mlecchas, the Suvīras, the Daradas, the Āśmakas, and children in the womb. However, there will be plenty food in the land.

When the eclipse takes place in the month of Āśvina, the people of Kāmboja, China, the Yavanas, the Vāhlīkas, surgeons, people living on the banks of the Indus, in the Ānarta country, the Pauṇḍras, physicians and the Kirātas will come to grief. But there will be plenty of food and happiness.

VM:BS 9, 21
On the course of Venus.
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 9, 21.

21. atrārohec chūlikagāndhāravantayaḥ prapīḍyante /
vaidehavadham pratyunta yavana śakadāsakādāśparivarādṛddhiḥ //

Bhat: If Venus is attacked here by another planet, the Śūlikas and the people of Gāndhāra and Avanti will be tormented; and people of Videha will be killed; but cavemen, Yavanas, Sakas and slaves will prosper.

VM:BS 9, 35
On the course of Venus.
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 9, 35.

35. āhirbudhnye phalamūlatāpakṛdyāyināṁ ca revatyām /
aśvinyāṁ hayapānāṁ yāmye tu kirātayavanānāṁ //

Bhat: While tenanting the star Uttarabhādrapada Venus will destroy roots and fruits; Revati, travellers and marching troops; Aśvinī, keepers of horses; and Bharaṇi, Kirātas and Yavanas.
VM:BS 10, 6
On the course of Saturn.
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 10, 6.

6. āditye pāñcanadapratyantasurāṣṭrasindhusauvīrāḥ /
puṣye ghāṇṭikaghauṣikayavanaṇāṃkkitavakusumāṇi //

Bhat: *When Saturn passes through the star Punarvasu, the people of the Punjab, Saurāṣṭra, Sind and Sauvīra as well as cave-dwellers are harmed; and when he sojourns in the star Puṣya, persons engaged in ringing bells, those who make loud announcements (or those who live in hamlets), Yavanas, Kirātas (traders), gamblers and flowers are destroyed.*

See Bhat's note: “The commentator [i.e. Utpala] construes Vaṇik as Kirātas.” We prefer traders.

VM:BS 10, 15
On the course of Saturn.
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 10, 15.

15. viśveśvare 'rkaputraś caran daśārṇān nihanti yavanāṁś ca /
ujjayinīṁ śabarān pāriyātrikān kuntibhojāṁś ca //

Bhat: *When Saturn moves through the star Uttarāṣāḍha, he destroys the people of the Daśārṇa, the Yavanas, Ujjayinī, the Śabaras, those who live on the Pāriyātra mountains, and the Kuntibhojas.*

VM:BS 10, 18
On the course of Saturn.
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 10, 18.

18. revatyāṁ rājabhṛtāḥ krauñcadvīpāśritāḥ śaratsasyam /
abarāś ca nipīḍyante yavanāś ca śanaiścare carati //

Bhat: *When Saturn moves in Revatī, king's proteges, inhabitants of the Krauñcadvīpa, autumnal crops, the Śabaras and Yavanas come to have difficult times.*

VM:BS 13, 9
On the course of the Seven Sages (Ursa Major).
Bṛhatsaṁhitā 13, 9.

9. śakayavanaṇadaradapāratakāmbojāṁś tāpasān vanopetān /
hanti vasiṣṭho 'bhihato viwṛddhido raśmisampannaḥ //

Bhat: *Vasiṣṭha, when hurt, proves harmful to the Śakas, Yavanas, Daradas, Pāratas, Kāmbojas, hermits and those living in forests; when radiant, he bestows prosperity.*
Vasiṣṭha is here included as one of the Seven Sages.

On the basis of a commentary (probably from Utpala), Bhat here quotes a verse from Vṛddhagarga:

\[
yavanāḥ pāratāś caiva kāmbojā daradāḥ śakāḥ /
\]
\[
vasiṣṭhasya vinirdiśtas tāpasā vanam āsritāḥ //
\]

**VM:BS 14, 18**

On the south-western division.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā 14, 17f.

17. nairṛtyāṁ diśi deśāḥ pahlavakāmbojasindhusauvīrāḥ /
vaḍavāmukhāravāmbaṣṭhaskapilānārīmukhāntāḥ //

18. pheṇagiriyavanamārīgakarṇaprāveyapāraśavasūdrāḥ /
barbarakīrātakhanḍakavyādābhīracaṅcūkāḥ //

Bhat: *In the south-west are situated the following countries: Those of the Pahlavas, Kāmbojas, Sindhu-Sauvīras, Vaḍavāmukhas, Aravas, Ambaṣṭhas, Kapilas, Nārīmukhas, Ānartas (Northern Gujarat), the Pheṇagiri, Yavanas, Mārgaras, Karṇaprāveyas, Pāraśavas, Śūdras, Barbaras, Kīrātas, Khāṇḍas, Kṛavyādas (eaters of raw meat), Ābhīras, Caṅcūkas...*

The corresponding passage in the MkP (55, 31) reads drāvaṇa instead of yavana, but has Yavanas in the North-East, where BS (14, 31) reads vasudhana and Parāśara (according to Ut- pala) leaves the name out. See Kirfel 1920, 86 & 90. VM:BS 14, 18 is also quoted by al-Bīrūnī, Chapter 29 (p. 302 in Sachau’s translation).

**VM:BS 16, 1**


Bṛhatsaṁhitā 16, 1.

1. prāṅnarmadārddhaśoṇḍravaṅgasuhmāḥ kaliṅgabāhlīkāḥ /
akayavanamagadhaśabaraprāgyotisacīnakāmbojāḥ //

... (4.) ity ... (5.) Bhāskaraḥ svāmī

Bhat: *The sun presides over the eastern half of the Narmadā district, the Sone, Orissa, Vaṅga, Subha, Kaliṅga, Balkh, Śakas, Yavanas, Magadha, Šabaras, Prāgyotiṣa, Cīna, Kamboja...*

**VM:BS 16, 6**

On planetary rulership: the Moon.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā 16, 6.

6. girisaliladurgakosalabharukacchasamudraromakatuṣārāḥ /
vanavāsiṭaṅgaṇahalastrīrājyamahārṇavavādviṣāḥ //
... (8.) ... yajñavidāṁ cādhipaś candraḥ //

Bhat: The Moon presides over mountain-fortresses, natural water-barriers, Kosala, Bharukaccha, the ocean, Romans, Tocharians, Vanavāsins (forest-dwellers or people of Banavāsi), Taṅgaṇa, Hala, Strīrājya, the islands of the great ocean...

Bhat points out that in the corresponding list, Kāśyapa omits the Romans.

VM:BS 18, 6
Conjunction of the Moon with Planets.

Bṛhatsaṁhitā 18, 6.

6. ravijasya śaśī pradakṣiṇaṁ kuryāc cet parabhūbhṛtāṁ jayaḥ /
    śakabāhlikasindhupahlavā mudbhājo yavanaḥ samanvitāḥ //

Bhat: Should the Moon traverse to the north of Saturn, kings defending a town would win victory, and the Scythians, Bāhlīkas, people of Sindhu, Pahlavas and Yavanas would be happy.

Pañcasiddhāntikā


VM:PS 1, 3 f.
Introduction of the Five Siddhāntas.

Pañcasiddhāntikā 1, 3 ff.

3. Pauliśa-Romaka-Vāsiṣṭha-Saura-Paitāmahās tu siddhāntāḥ /
    pañcabhyo dvāv ādyau vyākhyaṭau Lāṭadevena //

4. Pauliśas tv atha sphuṭo 'sau tasyāsannas tu Romaka-proktaḥ /
    spaṣṭatarāḥ Sāvitraḥ pariśeṣau dūravibhraṣṭau //

Pingree & Neugebauer: 3. The Siddhāntas are the Pauliśa, the Romaka, the Vāsiṣṭha, the Saura, and the Paitāmaha; of these five the first two were commented by Lāṭadeva. 4. The Pauliśa is accurate; that which was pronounced by Romaka is near it; the Sāvitra (i.e. the Śūryasiddhānta) is more accurate; the remaining two have strayed far away (from truth).

The Romakasiddhānta is further referred to in VM:PS 1, 10; 1, 15; 3, 35; and 8, 1. The Pauliśasiddhānta in mentioned in VM:PS 1, 11 and 7, 1 ff.
VM:PS 1, 8.
Yavanapura in the Romakasiddhānta.
Pañcasiddhāntikā 1, 8.

8.  saptāśvivedasaṅkhyāṁ śakakālam apāsyā caitraśukladau /
    ardhāstam ite bhānau Yavanapure bhaumadivasādye //
    Note: d. bhauma Dikshit, soma Utpala (i.e. Monday), MSS. saumya, bhaumya.

Pingree & Neugebauer: Substract the Śaka year 427 (from the given Śaka-year), at
the beginning of the first half-month (suklapakṣa) of Chaitra, which begins a Tuesday,
when the Sun has half-set at Yavanapura.

VM:PS 3, 13.
Yavanapura in the Pauliśasiddhānta.
Pañcasiddhāntikā 3, 13.

13.  yavanāntarajā nādyāḥ saptavatyaṁ tribhāgaśasanyuktāḥ /
     vārāṇasyāṁ trikṛtiḥ sādhanam anyatra vakṣyāmi //
Pingree & Neugebauer: There are 7 1/3 nāḍīs arising from the (longitudinal) distance
between Yavana(pura) and Avanti; nine (between Yavanapura and) Vārānasī. I will
explain the calculation for other places.

Thibaut’s note: Yavanapura (i.e. undoubtedly Alexandria).
Cf. VM:PS 1, 8; 15, 19; 15, 25.

VM:PS 15, 18–25.
Alexandria (Yavanapura) and Rome in the teaching of Lāṭācārya.
Pañcasiddhāntikā 15, 18–25.

18.  dyugaṇād dinavārāptir dyuguṇo ‘pi hi desakālasaṁbandhaḥ /
     Lāṭācāryenokto Yavanapure ‘rdhāstage sūrye //
19.  ravyudaye Laṅkāyāṁ Siṁhācāryeṇa dinagaṇo ‘bhihitaḥ /
     yavanāṁ niśi daśabhir gatair mūhūrtaiś ca tadguruṇā //
20.–22. ...
23.  udayo yo Laṅkāyāṁ so ‘stamayaḥ savitur eva Siddhapure /
     madhyāhno Yamakoṭyāṁ Romakaviṣaye ‘rdharātraḥ saḥ //
24.  ...
25.  anyad Romakaviṣayād desāntaram anyad eva Yavanapurāt /
     Laṅkārdharātrasamayād anyat sūryodayāc caiva //

Pingree & Neugebauer: 18. The week-day is obtained from the ahargaṇa; but the
ahargaṇa is a combination of time and place. It is said by Lāṭācārya (to begin) when
the Sun is half-set at Yavanapura; 19. the ahargaṇa is said by Siṁhācārya (to begin) at
sunrise at Laṅkā; for the Yavanas (it is said) by their guru (to begin) at night when 10 mūhūrtas have passed...

23. Sunrise at Lankā is sunset at Siddhapura, noon at Yamakoṭi, and midnight in the territory of the Romakas...

25. There is one longitudinal difference from the territory of the Romakas, another from Yavanapura; there is one (time) from midnight at Lankā, another from sunrise.

N.B. VM:PS 15, 23 = Āryabhaṭīya 4 (= Golādhyāya), 13. The same is also quoted from the Pauliśasiddhānta by al-Bīrūnī (Ch. 26, p. 267 and Ch. 29, p. 303 of Sachau’s translation).

Yogayātrā


VM:YY 3, 19.
Connection between planets and countries.
Yogayātrā 3, 19 f.

19. aṅgeṣu sūryo yavaneṣu candro bhaumo hy avantyāṁ magadheṣu saumyaḥ / sindhau gurur bhojakaṭeṣu śukraḥ sauraḥ surāṣṭre viṣaye babhūva //
20. mleccheṣu ketuś ca tamaḥ kaliṅge jāto yato ‘taḥ paripūḍitās te / svajanmadesān paripūḍayaṃti te ‘to ‘bhiyojyāḥ kṣitipena deśāḥ //

Variants from Mishra: 19cd. kaṭe ca; 20ab. yāto; paripūḍayaṃti; 20cd. tato.


Utpala on Varāhamibira

Utpala on Bṛhajjātaka


21 Whish quotes the BJ under the name of Horāśāstra and adds some extracts from its commentary, which seems to be that of Utpala (see Lassen in ZKM 4, 1842, 331). I have seen no edition
Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ 7, 1
Yavaneśvara as a barbarian king and astrologer.
Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ. 7, 1 in Whish 317, with Lassen’s note.

yavano mlecchānām adhipaḥ so ‘pi horāśāstravettā yavanaḥ /
Yavana is the ruler of barbarians and also an expert of astrology.

Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ 11, 1
Yavana masters described as authorities in astrology.
Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ. 11, 1 in Whish 325.

prāhur yavanāḥ iti yavanācāryā vadanti
Proclaimed the Yavanas — that is, the Yavana teachers say.

Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ 27, 1
A Yavana master described as an authority in astrology.
Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ. 27, 1, quoted by Colebrooke 1873, 3:321.

yavanopadiṣṭāṁ iti yavanācāryāḥ kathitam /
Taught by a Yavana — that is, told by a Yavana teacher.

Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ 27, 21
Ancient Yavanas cited as authorities in astrology.
Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ. 27, 21, quoted by Colebrooke 1873, 3:323.

yavanair udāhṛtaḥ purāṇayavanaḥ /
Said by Yavanas — that is, by ancient Yavanas.

Bhaṭṭotpala on VM:BJ
Yavana authorities quoted by name.
Aufrecht 1864 (Oxford MSS.), 329a, MS no. 780:

Among authorities, Utpala refers to
2, 5 Yavaneśvara
6, 1 Yavanavṛddha
7, 9 Sphujidhvaja (Yavaneśvara)
12, 1 Sphujidhvaja

of this commentary, but it seems unlikely that it would have offered anything important for the present study.

22 Perhaps this should be BJ 1, 5. Lassen quotes that passage from Utpala in Sanskrit and German translation, giving 12 verses on the zodiac ascribed to Yavaneśvara, as an appendix to Whish’s aforementioned article in ZKM 4, 1842, 342–348.
In addition (according to Colebrooke, Misc. Essay 3, 2nd ed., 1873, 321), Utpala explains BJ 27, 2 (see above) as yavanācāryaiḥ kathitam.

**Utpala on Brhatsamhitā**


Numerous quotations given in M. Ramakrishna Bhat's edition of the BS.

**Utpala on VM:BS 2, 14 (2, 32 Bhat)**

Yavanas lauded as Astrologers.

Utpala on Brhatasaṁhitā 2, 14 (2, 32 Bhat).

14. mlecchā hi ... (above)

hi yasmād yavanas kila mlecchajātayas teṣu yavaneṣu idaṁ jyotiḥśāstraṁ samyak sphaṭataram āgamataḥ sthitaṁ yataḥ pūrvācāryebhyas taiḥ prāptam / tathā ca yad dānavendrāya Mayāya Sūryah śāstraṁ dadau sampraṇatāya pūrvam / Viṣṇor Vasiṣṭhaś ca maharṣimukhyo jñānānṛtaṁ yat paramāsasāda //

Parāśaraś cāpy adhigamyuḥ Somād guhyaṁ purāṇāṁ [sic] paramādbhutaṁ yat / prakāśayāṁ cakruḥ anukramaṇaḥ mahardhimanto yavaneṣu ta te – iti //

te 'pi ṛṣivan munivat pūjyante abhyarcyante kim punar yo dvijo brāhmaṇo daivavid daivajña iti //

The verse is quoted and translated by Bhat: What divine Sun had imparted to the humble Maya, king of the Dānavas, in days of yore, the supreme nectarious knowledge that the great Sage Vasiṣṭha got from Lord Viṣṇu, and the wonderful secret knowledge of the Gods that Parāśara obtained from Soma, were all brought to light in course of time by these illustrious ones, and are now found with the Yavanas.

**Utpala on VM:BS 4, 22**

On the transit of the Moon.

Utpala on Brhatasaṁhitā 4, 22.

22. bhinnaḥ sitena ... (above)

sitena śukreṇa yadā bhinnaḥ candro madhyād vidāritas tadā magadhān janān / yavanān / pulindān / etān sarvān janān / ... etān sarvān pākakālād anantaraṁ sapta māsān yāvan nihanyāt ghātayet /

**Utpala on VM:BS 5, 78**

On Rāhu’s course.

Utpala on Brhatasaṁhitā 5, 78.
22. kāṣmīrān sapulindačīnayavanāṁ ... (above)
śrāvaṇe māsi graho grahaṇāṁ dhṛṣṭāḥ kāṣmīrān janān sapulindacīnayavanān
pulindacīnajā janā yavanās taiḥ sahitān / ... etān api hanti / ...

Utpala on VM:BS 9, 21
On the course of Venus.
Utpala on Bṛhatsaṁhitā 9, 21.

21. ... pratyuntayavanāśakadāsaparivrddhiḥ //
pratyantā gahvaravāsinaḥ / yavanāḥ / śakāḥ / dāsāḥ karmakaraḥ / eteṣāṁ
parivrddhir bhavati //

Utpala on VM:BS 9, 35
On the course of Venus.
Utpala on Bṛhatsaṁhitā 9, 35.

35. ... aśvinyāṁ hayapānāṁ yāmye tu kirātayavanānāṁ //
aśvinyāṁ hayapānāṁ aśvapatināṁ tāpakṛt / yāmye bharanyāṁ kirātānāṁ
yavanānāṁ janānāṁ ca tāpakṛt tāpakaraḥ //
There follows a quotation of ten ślokas from Kāśyapa, which briefly discuss all Nakṣatras.
The Yavanas are not mentioned, and at the end Bharaṇī is said to torment farmers (aśvinyāṁ
hayapidākṛd bharanyāṁ kṛṣijīvināṁ). There follows another quotation, but from Parāśara,
again without any mention of Yavanas. Here Venus in Bharaṇī causes rain.

Utpala on VM:BS 10, 6
On the course of Saturn.
Utpala on Bṛhatsaṁhitā 10, 6.

6. ... puṣye ghāṇṭikaghauṣika yavanānaṁ vaṇikkitavakusumāni //
puṣye sthite saure ghāṇṭikā ghaṇṭāvedanaṁ śilpaṁ asyeti ghāṇṭikāḥ / ghoṣāḥ
śabdoccāraṇāṁ śilpaṁ asyeti ghaṇṭikāḥ śrāvatāḥ ityarthāḥ / athavā ghoṣe gahvare
nivasanti te ghaṇṭikāḥ / yavanā janāḥ / vaṇijāḥ kirātāḥ3 / kusumāni puṣpāni /
etāni pīḍyante /

Utpala on VM:BS 10, 15
On the course of Saturn.
Utpala on Bṛhatsaṁhitā 10, 15.

15. viśveśvare ṭkaputraś caran daśāṛṇāṁ nihanti yavanāṁś ca /
viśveśvare uttarāṣāḍhāyām arkaputraḥ śanaścaraś caranīś tiṣṭhan daśāṛṇāṁ janān
yavanāṁś ca nihanti nāśayati / caśabdaḥ samuccaye / ...

23 The editor refers here to his ṭippāṇī 1 on page 141. Unfortunately the edition is no longer on
hand for checking.
Utpala on VM:BS 13, 9
On the course of the Seven Sages.
Utpala on Brāhatsaṁhitā 13, 9.

9. śakayavanadaradapāratakāmbojaṁs tāpasān vanopetān / śakayavaneti / śakā janāḥ / yavanāḥ / daradāḥ / pāratāḥ / kāmbojāḥ / tāpasāḥ taponiratāḥ / vanopetā vanasthāḥ / etān Vasiṣṭho 'bhihata upatapto hanti / raśmisampanno nirupahato vivṛddhido vṛddhipradaḥ /

After 13, 11 there follows a quotation of five and a half ślokas from Vṛddhagarga:

devadānavagandharvāḥ siddhapannagarākṣasāḥ / nāgā vidyādharā sarve maricēḥ parikīrtitāḥ // yavanāḥ pāratāś caiva kāmbojā daradāḥ śakāḥ / vasiṣṭhasya vinirdīstās tāpasā vanam āśritāḥ // dhīmanto brāhmaṇā ye ca jñānavijñānapāragāḥ /

Utpala on VM:BS 16, 1
Utpala on Brāhatsaṁhitā 16, 1.

1. ... śakayavanamagadhāsabarapragyotiṣacīnakāmbojāḥ // ... śakāḥ / yavanāḥ / magadhāḥ / sabarāḥ / pragyoyiṣāḥ / cīnāḥ / kāmbojāḥ //

Utpala on VM:BS 16, 6
On planetary rulership: the Moon.
Utpala on Brāhatsaṁhitā 16, 6.

6. girisaliladurgakosalabhurukacchasamudra_DEFINITION: romakatūṣārāḥ / giridurgāṁ parvatadurgam / saliladurgāṁ jadalurgam / kośalā janāḥ / bharukacchāḥ / samudrāḥ sāgarāḥ / romakāḥ / tuṣārāḥ / ...}

Utpala on VM:BS 18, 6
On the conjunction of the Moon with planets.
Utpala on Brāhatsaṁhitā 18, 6.

6. ... śakabāhlikasindhupahlavā mudbhājo yavanaiḥ samanvitāḥ // raviyāsa šanaiścarasya šaši candraḥ pradakṣiṇam uttragamanāṁ ced yadi kuryāt tadā purabhūḥ brhatām puranivāśināṁ rājñāṁ jayo bhavati / tathā śakā janāḥ / bāhlikāḥ / saṁdhaṁ / pahlavāḥ / ete sarve yavanaiḥ samanvitāḥ mudbhājo bhavanti / madaṁ harṣarāṁ bhajante sevante / prahṛṣṭā bhavantītyarthāḥ //

Quotations from Yavanēśvara are found in several passages:
Utpala on VM:BS 19, 1–3 (twice); 19, 4–6; 19, 7–9; 19, 10–12; 19, 13–15; 19, 16–18; and 19, 19–21 (Ch. 19 on planetary years and effects) — one verse each.
Again one verse in Utpala on VM:BS 98, 16 (17 of Bhat), on planets and asterisms.
Utpala on VM:BS 103, 7 (104, 7 of Bhat), on transits of planets, contains a longer quotation of six and a half verses. On VM:BS 103, 10 (104, 10 of Bhat), Utpala gives another six verses, and then comments further on 103, 18 (again six verses); 103, 24 (six verses); 103, 31 (six verses); 103, 38 (six verses); 103, 45 (six verses); 103, 53 (only one verse); 103, 61a (one verse); 103, 61b (one verse); 103, 61c (one verse); 103, 62a (one verse); 103, 62b (one verse); and 103, 63 (one verse).

According to Bhat, there is also a long extract of 32 verses in Utpala on VM:BS 98, 12–13 on Akṣarakośa. Without the edition, however, I cannot check the passage.

**Utpala on Laghujātaka**

**Utpala on VM:Laghujātaka 2, 9**

Yavanas lauded as astrologers.

Utpala on Brhatsaṁhitā 2, 9.

9. keśāṁcid ‘according to some teachers’, explained by Utpala as yavanamanittādināṁ (Weber 1853b, 285).

**Mathematicians**

Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa


Āryabhaṭīya 4, 13 (Golādhyāya)

The four cardinal cities.

Āryabhaṭīya 4 (Golādhyāya), 13.

13. udayo yo Laṅkāyāṁ so ‘stamayaḥ savitur eva Siddhapure / madhyāḥno Yavakoṭyāṁ Romakaviṣaye ’ṛdhārātraḥ saḥ //

Sarma: When it is sunrise in Laṅkā, it is sunset at Siddhapura, midday at Yavakoṭi, and midnight at Romaka.

The same verse is also found in VM:PS 15, 23. In his introduction to the VM:BS edition (Kern 1865, 57), Kern claims that it is also quoted by Sāyana in his Ṛgveda Commentary, but as he confesses, he has “forgotten exactly where”.

The commentaries of Bhāskara I, Someśvara and Sūryadeva Yajvan contain nothing relevant for the present survey.

Laṅkā

Romakaviṣaye — O — Yavakoṭi (VM Yamakoṭi)

Siddhapura
Golādhyāya of the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara


Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya 17
The four cardinal cities.
Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara, Golādhyāya 17.

17. laṅkā kumadhye yamakoṭir asyāḥ prāk paścime romakapattanaṁ ca / adhas tataḥ siddhapuraṁ sumeruḥ saumyo 'thath yāmye vaḍavānaśa ca //

N.B. The verse is quoted from Vidyabhushana (1906, 2) and I have not checked it in the edition.

Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya 44
The four cardinal cities.
Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara, Golādhyāya 44.

44. laṅkāpure 'rkasya yadodayaḥ sāt [sic] tada dinārdhaṁ yamakoṭipurāyam / aghas tada siddhapure 'stakālaḥ syād romake rātridalaṁ tadaiva //

N.B. The verse is quoted from Vidyabhushana (1906, 2) and I have not checked it in the edition.

Sāṁjñādhyāya of the Brāhma-sphuṭasiddhānta of Brahmagupta


Brāhma-sphuṭasiddhānta: Sāṁjñādhyāya 24
Pulīša, Romaka and Yavana mentioned as authorities.
Brāhma-sphuṭasiddhānta of Brahmagupta, Sāṁjñādhyāya 24, 1–3, also quoted by Weber 1886, 297 (Nr. 1733).

yasmāt sampratipattinaṁ na saṁjñayā saṁjñino vinā tasmāt / lokaprasiddhasaṁjñā rūpādīnāṁ āśāṁkādyāḥ // 1 //

... ayaṁ eva kṛtaḥ sūryendupuliśaromakavāsiṣṭhayanādyaiḥ / yasmāt tasmād ekaḥ siddhānto viracito nānyaḥ // 3 //
Late works on astrology, etc.

Yavana, Vṛddhayavana and Yavaneśvara are often referred to and quoted as authorities in astrological texts, even in the late period. For the present purpose it is not necessary to dig out all of them. A few examples are given below, and after them, some other relevant passages from late sources:

Svapnacintāmaṇi of Jagaddeva


A work on oneiromancy, written around 1177 CE (Pingree 1981, 77).

A Yavana is quoted as an authority twice in verses, both of which were deemed to be interpolations by the editor, who further notes on the first passage that “unter Yavana ist wohl der Verfasser eines astrologischen Lehrbuchs zu verstehen”.

2, 49b tāḍṛk striyaṁ yo vinihanti martyrāḥ svapne gajaṁ pāpaṁdi (?) śūkaraṁ vā / sa mucyate mrtyubhayair vikārair nīrogadehāḥ satataṁ sukhī syāt // [iti] 
Yavanaḥ //

Negelein: Wenn ein solcher Mann eine Frau, einen Elefanten oder einen Eber im Traume niederschlägt, bleibt er von lebensgefährlichen Erkrankungen frei, dürfte einen gesunden Leib behalten und immer glücklich sein [sagt Yavana].

2, 78a yas tāḍyate vastravivarjitāṅgaiḥ svapne naro yo ‘sitavastrakair vā / sa jīvabhāgī munibhiḥ pradiṣṭaḥ saṁjāyate viṁśati vāsarāṇi //
iti Yavanaḥ //

Negelein: Wer im Traume von nackten oder schwarz gekleideten Leuten geschlagen wird, der wird, wie die alten Weisen verkünden, 20 jahre länger leben [sagt Yavana].

Hāyanaratna of Balabhadra

Hāyanaratna of Balabhadra (1777 CE) was discussed by Weber (1853b, 245 ff.), according to a manuscript in Berlin.

Weber 1853b, 247 f.: Among the sources listed in the beginning, Yavanācārya’s Tājīka (Islamic astrology), written in Persian, is often mentioned. To defend using such a source, Balabhadra remarks that although it is forbidden to read yavanabhāṣā (the original language of Yavanācārya, though the immediate version here was in pārasībhāṣā), according to the Śmṛti (cf. VāsiṣṭhaDh

24 Words in square brackets here and in the next translation added by me.
6. (41 na mlecchabhāṣāṁ āśeṣat), this restriction is only applied in frivolous situations; for useful purposes, it is allowed.

Weber 1853b, 247: Among other authorities quoted by Balabhadra are Lomaśa (Weber suggests Romaka, but this can hardly be right), Pauliśa and Yavana.

Weber 1853b, 248: From a very corrupt passage, Weber got the impression that the author was claiming that Yavanācārya was born as a Yavana because of a divine curse and was living in the city of Romakapura. Weber gives the text:

keśāviṣṇumukhanirgataśāpān mlecchatādhigatatigmamarīce romakena puri ladham (labdham?) āśeṣaṁ ta(d)dvijādibhir ato ’dh(y)ayanīyam iti / puri romakapatitane yakṣyatu tad eva prameyam /

Weber 1853b, 250: Romaka and Romakatājika are also mentioned in ff. 27b, 30b, 68a, 69a, 76a, 150a, 170a (as mleccha), and 217a.

Weber 1853b, 251: In f. 39b one finds the atipračinācārya Manipitha (the ancient master Manetho), who (f. 40a) refers to yavanāḥ purāṇāḥ, the ancient Yavanas.

Weber 1853b, 252: atha pravakṣye yavanāḥ purāṇāḥ, quoted from the Jātakapadmakośa (f. 119a) and Yavaneśvara, quoted from the Jīrṇatājika (f. 133b).

Weber 1853b, 258: proktā yavanācārāsūribhiḥ, quoted in the Chapter dealing with the zodiac.

Weber 1853b, 263: Ya(va)na quoted on f. 24 for the drṣṭis or aspectus planetarum:

mukārinā* syād aikarkše saptame syān mukāvillā* /

taravī* dṛk caturthe tu tisraḥ proktā bhayapradāḥ //

trîtyaikādaśe drṣṭis tasdrī* proktā mahottamā /

navapaṅcamotor drṣṭis tashī* proktā mahāśubhā // iti

Weber was able to identify the terms here marked by * as Arabic: muqārinat, muqābilat, tarbī', tasdrīs, and tathlīth.

Weber 1853b, 274: In adhyāya 4 (Sahamādhikāra), Hillāja- and Romakatājika are cited among the principal authorities.

Ramalavidyā of Muni Bhojasāgara

Ramalavidyā of Muni Bhojasāgara, a Jaina author of the 18th century, quoted by Jain (1981).

Jain 1981, 150: "Ramala or Pāśakavidyā or the science of foretelling events by casting dice: In his Ramalavidyā Muni Bhojasāgara (18th cent. CE) has stated that the science of Ramala was brought from the country of Yavana (Iran) by ācārya Kālaka. The work remains unpublished." See Jain sāhiya kā hybhad itihās 5, 219f.

Prakaṭārthadīpikā of Govindasvāmin

This apparently unpublished work is discussed by Pingree (1981, 88f.), who dates it to around 850 CE. The author lived in Kerala.

Among authorities referred to in this work, Pingree (1981, 89) mentions Cirantana Yavana, Yavaneśvara Sphujidhvaja and another Yavaneśvara.
Romakasiddhānta

The Romakasiddhānta\textsuperscript{25} is discussed by Aufrecht (1864, 338b–340b, MS 796), according to a manuscript in Oxford. In addition, see Eggeling, \textit{India Office Catalogue} 1061 & Bendall, \textit{British Museum Catalogue} 210. Aufrecht: “Romakasiddhāntae pars Śrīṣavāyaṇa inscripta, tractatum astrologicum continens, e sermone Persico Hindustanice et in tertio demum loco ineunte saeculo [XVIII] superiore Sanscritice versum” and further “res vero ipsas e variis fontibus Indicis sumtas puto”.

Incipit: Dhūmraputraṁ prati Romakācāryo vadati /

In an ethnic list: …Samarakanda, Tuṣāra, Sarājima, Uṭerijā, Uḍidṛṣatāla, Roma, Grhadroma (l. Brhadroma), Andulīsa, Ajūma, …

At the beginning of another list, one finds: Udayagiri, Sōnanadu, Kaliṅgadeśa, Śakadeśa, Yavana, Magadha, Cīna, Mahācīna, Bhoṭa, Mahābhoṭa, …Hindusthāna, Āraba – all these are ādityavibhāge. By contrast, Košala, Kacchadesa, Romaka, Tuṣāra, Turaṣkasthāna, Tagara, …– these are candravibhāge (eteśāṁ candro ‘dhipaḥ).

It is unnecessary to quote all of these. However, we may note \textit{inter alia} that Pipīlika is included among those as budhavibhāge, and Kamboja and Tāmālīta are dhanurāśivibhāge. Mithunavibhāge contains again some very interesting names: Aramīka, Ipāhana [Esfahan], Kīramāṇa [Kerman], Gušī, Romakapattana, Antākṣī, Balanga, Tisanga, Tabirasāna, Kāsmīra, Cīna, Hūngarasthāna, Maphira, Halūṇa, Paścimadeśa, Pārāśa, Samarakanda [Samarkand], Mugalasthāna, Barbarasthāna, Adimalabāra, Vṛhadromapattana, Prabhāsakṣetra, Kurukṣetra …

atha karkaṭaṇaṭaḥ, i.al. … Strīrājya, Vanavāsa, Sucīmukha, Aśvamukha, Śvamukha, Kīrmūnakukha, Nimbasāra … (This is pure Indian material, showing that the original translation has been revised.)

Aufrecht further notes that in addition to many references to the Near East, the text even refers to Śrī Iśena janma and to Marīyamiputro yonisaṁbhavo jātaḥ.

There is an (unchecked) article on this by Balkrishna Dikshit in \textit{IA} 1890.

Tithyāditattva

Quoted in the ŚKDr, not mentioned in Pingree 1981.

Tithyāditattva quoted in the ŚKDr on a Yavana being a muni (muniviśeṣa).

jātaṁ dinaṁ dūṣayate vasiṣṭhaś cāṣṭau ca gargo yavana daśāham /
janmākhyaṁsaroṁ kila bhāguriś ca vratae vivāhe kṣurakarṇavedhe //</ref>
Viśvanātha’s Commentary on the Keśavajātaka

Viśvanātha’s commentary on the Keśavajātaka, a late work on genethlialogy, was discussed by Aufrecht (1864, 338a, MS 794), according to a manuscript in Oxford. f° 62b refers to Yavaneśvara and quotes the following line from the Sārāvalī: śuklapratipad-daśake madhyabalaḥ kīrtyate yavanavṛddhaiḥ / f° 85ª quotes a śloka from Yavana: kecaro jāyater yo ’rddhām amśayor apahārakaḥ / āyuṣaḥ sa hared arddha amśaḥ śukraśanaiścarāv // iti Yavanaḥ

Other works

Aufrecht 1864, 332 f. Tājakasārasudhānidhi of Nārāyaṇa 1, 4: tasmāl labdhavaraḥ paropakṛṣṭaye nārāyaṇo hāṁ bruve tārīyaikaśudhānidhiṁ gaṇitavittuṣṭyai camatkāritam / śrīmat-Khindhika-Romakādi-racitāt saṅgrhyā sāraṁ paraṁ, yasya jñānalavena mukhyapadavīṁ prāṇīto nīḥaṁśāyam // Khindhika is the Arabic scholar al-Kindī (c.801–873), here mentioned together with Romans. Aufrecht 1864, 336: Keśavārka in the Vivāhavṛndāvanam 26 4, 10 refers to Yavaneśvara. Pingree 1981, 109: In his Vidyāmādhiya commentary, Viṣṇuśarman (1365 CE) refers, among many others, to Yavaneśvara (who is neither Sphujidhvaja nor Mīnarāja). Pingree 1981, 98: An apocryph is Varṣaphala by Maṇittha (Manetho), a genethlialogical text (73 verses) with influences from Islamic astrology. The earliest MS is dated 1475 CE. Weber 1853b, 247: In the Nāradasaṁhitā, a Yavana is referred to as an authority. Weber 1886, 309, Nr. 1741: The Ārambhasiddhi by Udayadesasūri (1458 CE), an astrological work, 27 mentions Yavanācārya as an authority in vimarśa 2. Vidyabhushana (1906) provides a number of references for the word romaka in late Siddhāntas. As the article itself is easily available (as opposed to the works themselves) and as these passages contribute little to our present investigation, I have deemed it unnecessary to quote them here. Instead, I only give references according to Vidyabhushana: Vaśiṣṭha-Siddhānta p. 5 (ed. V.P. Dube, Benares) verse 35; p. 11, verse 4; Brahma-Siddhānta (according to Pingree 1981, 26, this is

26 A text on the astrology of marriage; see Pingree 1981, 109. 27 Pingree (1981, 102) calls the author Udayaprabha Sūri and also gives the work an alternative name, Pañcavimarśa.
a late work, allegedly a part of a Śākalyasaṁhitā), Chapter 1, 13; Sūrya-Siddhānta (around 800 CE), Bhūgolādhyāya p. 285 f. in the edition of Hari Sankar, Benares, verses 38–40. All these mention _romaka_.

Special mention can also be made of the Jyotirvidābharaṇa of Pseudo-Kālidāsa, a work on muhūrta, with some notes on omens. It is not earlier than 1242 CE and is perhaps later; the oldest manuscript is dated 1658. Verse 35 is quoted by Vidyabhushana (1906, 7):

35. yo rūmadeśādhipatiṁ Śakeśvaraṁ jitvā grhītvoyalinīṁ mahāhave /
   anīya sarībhṛmya mu taṁ tva ho śrīvikramārkaṁ samasahyaviṁrapaṁ //

Vidyabhushana rightly notes that this must be Rūma < Perso-Arabic Rūm (< Rome) ‘Byzantium’.

**Minor sciences**

Vāgbhaṭa: _Rasaratnasamuccaya_

Vāgbhaṭa: Rasaratnasamuccaya, Adhyayas 1-18.29ab. With commentaries: Gretel text based on the edn Kālikata 1927, input by Oliver Hellwig.

**Rasaratnasamuccaya 2, 73**

Origin of iron pyrite (māksika/tāpya).

73. suvarṇāsailaprabhavo viṣṇunā kāñcano rasaḥ /
   tāpyaṁ kirātacīneṣu yavaneṣu ca nirmitaḥ /
   tāpyaḥ sūryāṁśusumṛptto mādhave māsī dṛṣyate //

*Originating from the golden mountain the golden mineral was formed by Viṣṇu into pyrite among Kirātas, Cīnas and Yavanas. Well heated by the sun pyrite is seen in April-May.*

Buddhabhaṭṭa: _Ratnaparīkṣā_


**Ratnaparīkṣā 221**

Where chrysoberyl is found.

Buddhabhaṭṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā 221, Finot p. 49.

221. vāyur nakhān daityapater grhītvā
cikṣepa samyag javanaḥ hṛṣṭaṁ /
tataḥ prasūtaṁ javanopapannyaṁ
karketanaṁ pūjyatamaṁ prthivyāṁ //

**Ratnaparīkṣā 246**
Where rock crystal is found.
Buddhabhaṭṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā 246, Finot p. 56.

246. kāverīvindhya-yavana-cīna-panphala-bhūmiṣu/  
lāṅgalī vyakiran medo dānava-vyayyena prayatnataḥ //

Finot: Dans le Kāverī, le Vindhya, chez les Yavanas, en Chine, au Népal, Balarāma sema avec soin la graisse du Dānava.

**Ratnaparīkṣā 250**
Types of good coral.
Buddhabhaṭṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā 250, Finot p. 57.

250. tatra pradhānaṁ śaśalohitābhaṁ  
   guñjājavāpuṣpanibhaṁ prāṣastam /  
   sāṅlasakaṁ devaka-romake ca  
   sthānāni yeṣu prathitaṁ surāgam //

Romake is Finot’s emendation, the mss. read rāmake.

Finot: Le plus beau est celui qui a la couleur du sang du lièvre; on vante aussi ceux qui ont la couleur de la guñjā et de la rose de Chine. Samlāsaka (?), Devaka (?), Romaka sont les lieux où se trouve un corail renommé, d’un très beau rouge.
14. PURĀNAS

**Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa**


Kirfel 1927, 2 IB, 29 & 37 & 45 & 49

The story of Sagara.


**Transcription:**


29. Haihayās Tālajaṅgās ca / Haihayais Tālajaṅghaiś ca nirasyanti sma taṁ nṛpaṁ / nirastō vyasanī nṛpaḥ /
   tatpatnī garbhām ādāya / Śakair Yavana-Kāmbojaih
   Aurvasyāśramam āviśāt // Pāradih pahlavaih saha //

30. nātyarthaṁ dhārmikaś caiva / nātyarthaṁ dhārmikō 'bhūt sa sa hi dharmayuge 'bhavat /
   dharmaṁ sa dharmyuge tathā / sagaras tu suto Bāhor jaiṁe sahagareṇa vai //

   LP ends here.

31. Aurvasyāśramam āsādya Bhārgavenābhirakṣitaḥ / āgneyam astraṁ labdhvā ca Bhārgavāt Sagaro nṛpaḥ //

32. jīgāya prthīvinīḥ hatva Tālajaṅghān sa-Haihayān / akānāṁ Pahlavānāṁ ca dharmāṁ nirasad acyutaḥ //

33. kṣatriyāṇāṁ tathā teṣāṁ Pāradānāṁ ca dharmavit / ṛṣaya ūcuḥ:

34. kathāṁ sa Sagaro jāto gareṇāiva sahācyutah / kimarthāṁ ca Śakādīnāṁ kṣatriyānāṁ mahaujgasām //

35. dharmān kulocitān kruddho rājā nirasad acyutaḥ / BP, Hv, ŚivadhP i etan naṁ sa rvaṁ ākāśva vistareṇa mahātmate // süta (Lomaharṣaṇa) uvāca:

**Translation Notes:**

28 Translations are given in connection to individual Purāṇas (and some lesser and late versions are left untranslated).

29 The abbreviations are mine, not those of Kirfel. In the AITMS version of LP, the passage in question contains only two verses.
36. Bāhor vyasaninaḥ pūrvaṁ hṛtaṁ rājyam abhūt kila / Haihayais Tālajaṅgghaiś ca Śakaiḥ sārdhaṁ samāgataiḥ //
ete hy api gaṇāḥ pañca Haihatyārthaṁ parākrāntā / Haihatyārthe parākraman // ete pañca gaṇās tadā //

In 38–44, an account of the birth and youth of Sagara is given. The story is then continued in BP, Hv, ŚivadhP and VāP:

44. Haihayān vijaghānāśu kruddho Rudraḥ paśūn iva / Missing in VāP: ī ājahāra ca lokeṣu kīrtiṁ kīrtimatāṁ varaḥ //
45. tatāḥ Śakān sa-Yavanān Kāmbojān Pāradāṁs tathā / Pahlavāṁś caiva niḥsheśan kartuṁ vyavasito nṛpaḥ //
46. te vadhyamānā vireṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā / Vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā pranipetur maniṣinam //
47. Vasiṣṭhas tv atha tāṁ drṣṭvā samayena mahādyutiḥ / Sagaraṁ vārayām āsa teṣāṁ datvābhayaṁ tadā //
48. Sagaraḥ svāṁ pratijñāṁ ca guror vākyaṁ niśamya ca / dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ vai veśānyatvāṁ cakāra ha //
49. ardhaṁ Śakānāṁ śiraso muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat / Yavanānāṁ śiraḥ sarvaṁ Kāmbojānāṁ tathaiva ca //
50. Pāradā muktakeśāś ca Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇāḥ / niḥsvādhyāyavaṣṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā /
51. Śakā Yavana-Kāmbojāḥ Pāradāḥ Pahlavās tathā / BP, Hv BṇḍP, VāP 
52. sarve te kṣatriyaganāṁ dharmas teṣāṁ nirākṛtaḥ / Vasiṣṭhavacanād rājān Sagareṇa mahātmanā //

Kirfel 1927, 4 E I, 70-6 & 70-9
The story of Kālayavana.

1. jijñāsāmi puruṣaṁ ca kāke, na caskande ca puruṣaṁ / krṣṇāyasasamaprahyo varṣe dvādaśame tathā //
2. mithyābhāṣato Gārgyas tu manyunābhāṣamūrintah / gopakanyām upādyāya mainthunāyopacakrame //
3. gopāli tv āparāśa tasya gopapraśvādārīṇī / dhārayāṁ āsa Gārgyasya garbhaṁ dūrdharam acyutaṁ //
4. मानुष्याः गार्ग्याभार्यायाः नियोगाः चूलापानिनाः / sa Kalayavano नामा जाँचे राज महाबलाः //
5. व्रषपुर्ववर्क्षस्तयाः तम अवाहन वस्त्रीज्ञ रान / अपुत्रस्या सा राज्यस्तु वायृधेः नताह्पुरे शिस्व //
6. Yavanasya मुनिश्रेष्ठेः sa Kalayavano 'भवत / yuddhaकामो नरपतिः परिप्रेक्ष्ठद द्विजोत्तमाः //
7. Vṛṣṇy-Andhakakulaस्य tasya Nārado 'कथयद्विन्दुः / अक्षुहिन्या स्यां साविनयस्य Mathurāम abhyayत तदा //
8. dūtarति सामप्रेषयायाः एशा Vṛṣṇy-Andhaka-niveśana / tato Vṛṣṇy-Andhakaḥ Kṛṣṇaṁ puraskṛtya mahāमतिम //
9. sametā mantrayāः अशु Yavanasya bhayत तदा / kṛtva ca niścayaण्य सर्वे palāyanam arocय //
10. vihāya Mathurāर रामयाः मानयांतः Pinākinam / Kuśasthaliः Dvāravatiः नवेशयितम ीपसवह //

Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 88
Deeds of Kṛṣṇa.
88. chinnaम बाहुसहस्रस्य ता Bāṇasyādbhutaकर्माणाः / Narakaस तातह सारिक्ष्ये Yavanaस ca mahāबलाः //

Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 92-2
Deeds of Kalkī.
1. nātyarthaण धार्मिको ये ca ये ca dharmadviśा kvaçit / udīcyāं madhyadeśाणा ca ताथा Vindhyāपरांतिका //
2. taithāiva Dākṣināत्याण्य स ca Dravīḍan Śīnhaलाः saha / Gāndhā्रan Pāradān स्यां ca Pahlāvān Yavānāन Śākān //
3. Tuṣāराण Chabarāण्य caiva Pulindān Daradān Khasān / Lampakān Andhrakān Puṇḍrān Kāriṇाण्य caiva sa prabhुह //
4. pravṛttacakrā balāvān Mlecchāन्य antakrद bāli / adṛśyāḥ sarvabhūtāनम प्रविठियां विचारियति.

Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6
Janapada list.
The same passage is also given in Kirfel's Bhāratavarṣa (Stuttgart 1931).
6. pūrve kirātā yasya syuः paścime yavanāḥ sthitाः / andrā dakṣinato, Rudra, turus्काः tv api cotti //
7. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye śūdrāś ca bhāgaśaḥ /

Kirfel 1954, 3 II, 9 & 40
Janapada list.
9. dvīpo hy upaniviṣṭo 'yaṁ Mlecchair anteṣu sarvasaḥ /
    pūrve Kirātā hy asyānte, paścime Yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ //
10. ab = 7ab above

39. Bāhlīkā Vātadhānāś ca Ābhīrāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ /
    Aparāntāś ca śūdrāś ca Pallavāś cārmaḥkhaṇḍikāḥ //
40. Gāndhārā Yavanāś caiva Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ /
    akā Druhāḥ Kulindāś ca Pāradā Hāramūrtikāḥ //
41. Ramāṭhāḥ Kantakāraś ca Kekeyā Daśamālīkāḥ /
    kṣatriyopaniveśāś ca vaiśyasūdrakulāni ca //
41. BṇḍP, VāP:
    Kāmbojā Daradāś caiva Barbarā Aṅgalaukikāḥ /
    Cīnāś caiva Tuṣārāś ca Pahlavā Bahyatodarāḥ //
42. Ātreyaś ca Bharadvājāḥ Prasthalāś ca Daserakāḥ /
    Lampakāś Talagānāś ca Sainikāḥ saha Jángalaiḥ //
42. BṇḍP, VāP:
    Apagāś c-Alimadrāś ca Kirātānāṁ ca jātayaḥ /
    Tomarā Haṁsamārgāś ca Kāśmirās Taṅganāṁ tathā //
43. Cūlikāś Cāhukāś caiva Hūṇa-Darvāś tathāvai ca /
    ete deśā udīcyās tu, prācyān deśān nibodhata //

Kirfel 1954, 5 II, 43
List of rivers.
42. gānādesān plāvayanto Mlecchapṛāyāṁś ca sarvaśaḥ /
    BṇḍP, VāP:
    upagacchanti tāḥ sarvā, yato varṣati Vāsavaḥ //
    MP BṇḍP, VāP
    saśailān Kukurān Raudhrān Sirīndhvān Kuntalāṁś Cīnān
    Barbarān Yavanān Khasān / Barbarān Yavanān Druhān /
    Pulindāṁś ca Kulindāṁś ca, Aṅgalokavarāś ca ye //
Individual Purāṇas

Agnipurāṇa


Śrīmadvaipāyanamunipraṇītam agnipurāṇam (tattadadhyāgatavijeyān uktam asanātīkṛtam)
etat pustakam ānandāśramasya paṇḍitaḥ saṁśodhitam / tac ca rāvabahādūre ity
eipaṭadadhabhībhī – gaṅgīdhara bāpūrāva kāle, jē. pī. ity etaib punyākhyapattane śrīmān
'mahādevacāmaṇḍājīpate'iyyabhidbejamahābhāgopratiṣṭhāpiteānandāśramamudrājālaye
āyāsākṣarair mudrayitvā prakāśitaḥ. Ānandāśramasaṁskṛtagranthāvaliḥ granthāṅkaḥ
44. Śālivāhanasākābdāḥ 1879, khrisṭābdāḥ 1957 (originally publ. Poona 1900).


AP 12, 34
Krṣṇa killed Kālayavana
Agnipurāṇa 12, 34.

34. jītvā paṇcācājananām daityam yamena ca supūjitah /
avadhīt kālayavanānām mucukundena pūjitah //

Gangadharan: After conquering the demon Paṇcācājana and well-worshipped by Yama
he killed Kālayavana and was worshipped by Mucukunda.

AP 118, 6
Yavanas in the Bhāratavarṣavarṇana.

3. vindhyās ca pāriyātraś ca saptātra kulaparvataḥ /
indradvīpaḥ kaseruś ca tāmravarṇo bhagastimān //
4. nāgadvīpas tathā saumyo gāndharvas tathā vāruṇaḥ /
ayaṁ tu navamas teśāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgarasarāṅvṛtaḥ //
5. yojanāṁ sahasrāṇi dvīpo 'yaṁ daksinottarāt /
navabheda bhāratasya madhyabhede 'tha pūrvataḥ //
6. kirātā yavanāś cāpi brāhmaṇādyāś ca madhyataḥ /
vedasmṛtimukhā nadyāḥ pāriyātrodbhavās tathā //

4b ĀnSS tv atha; obvious misprints of the ĀnSS (e.g. natgadvīpas in 4a) were not included.

Gangadharan: Vindhya and Pāriyātra are the seven principal mountains here.
Indrabhoja, Kāseru, Tāmravarṇa, Gābdimār, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva,
Varuṇa and Bhārata are the nine territories here surrounded by the ocean. The continent extends to one thousand yojanas from north to south. There are nine divisions of the Bhārata lying around the central part. The Kirātas (hunting tribe) (are) in the east. The Yavanas (the foreigners) (are in the west). The brahmīns and others devoted to the Vedas and smṛtis are in the central part. The rivers rise from the Pāriyātra (mountains)...

_Bhāgavatapurāṇa_


_BhāgP 2, 4, 18_

Laud of Kṛṣṇa.

_Bhāgavatapurāṇa 2, 4, 18._

6. kirātahūṇāndhrapulindapulkasā ābhīrakaṅkā yavanāḥ khasādayaḥ / ye 'nye ca pāpā yad apāśrayāśrayāḥ śuddhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave
namaḥ //

Tagare: The Kirātas, the Hūṇas, the Āndhras, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Ābhīras, Kakas (Sakas), Yavanas, Khasas and other (sinful) tribes and other sinners are purged of their sins even by taking refuge in those who depend on him. To that Almighty Lord, we offer our greetings.

_BhāgP 2, 7, 34_

Prophesy of the deeds of the Avatāras.

_Bhāgavatapurāṇa 2, 7, 34 ff._

34. ye ca pralambakharadurakeśyariṣṭa- mallebhaṁsyaśavasvayyau kujapauṇḍrakādyāḥ /anye ya śālvapibalvaladantavaktra- saptokṣaśambaravidaṁratharukmimukhyāḥ //

35. ye ca mṛdhe samitiśālina āttacāpāḥ kāmbojamatsyaśaikayasyaṣṭijayādyāḥ / yāsyanty adarśanamalaṁ balapārthahhiṁ- vyajāhvyayena hariṇā nilayam tadiyāṁ //

Tagare: And other evil persons such as Pralamba, Khara, Dhenuka, Dardura, Kesī, Arioṣa, the mallas (athletes) like Cāṇūra, the elephant Kuvalayāpīda, Kaṁsī, Kālayavana, Narakaśura and Pauṇḍraka and others of whom Śālīva, Kapi, Balvala, Dantavaktra and the Daityas in the form of seven bulls (of Nagnajit), Śambarasura, Vidūratha, Rukmi and those kings who boastfully take up bows on the battlefield such as Kāmboja, Matsya, Kuru, Kaikaya, Śrījaya and others, would be
killed by Hari in the form and names of Balarāma, Arjuna and Bhīma, and will go to his holy abode (Vaikuṇṭha), which is beyond the sight of men.

**BhāgP 3, 3, 10**
Kālayavana among enemies slain by Kṛṣṇa with the help of others.
Bhāgavatapurāṇa 3, 3, 10.

10. *kālamāgadhaśālvādīn anīkai rundhataḥ puram /\ ajīghanat svayaṁ divyaṁ svapuṁsāṁ teja ādiśat //*

Tagare: *He commissioned his great prowess and glory in his men (devotees like Mucukunda and Bhīma) and through them he got killed Kālayavana, Jarāsandha, Śālva and others who, with their armies, laid siege to him.*

**BhāgP 4, 27, 19 ff.**
The story of Kālakanyā (Old Age personified) seeking for husband, as told by Nārada.
Bhāgavatapurāṇa 4, 27, 19 ff.

The long story is not quoted here at length, but as a synopsis of the Yavana passage:

The black girl (Kālakanyā, who is explained to be the personification of old age) proposed marriage to Nārada. Being a celibate, however, he declined (19–22). Thus advised by Nārada, the girl went to the Yavana lord Bhaya (or 'Fright'), personifying death, and courted him (23–26). Instead of marrying her, the king promised to help her find a suitable husband and adopted her as his sister (27–28). With his brother Prajvāra (or 'Fever') and his army, they would be invincible (29–30).

23. *tato vihatasaṅkalpā kanyakā yavanēśvaram /\ mayopadiṣṭam āsādya vavre nāmnā bhayaṁ patiṁ //*
24. *ṛṣabhaṁ yavanāṁ tvāṁ vṛṇe vīrepsitaṁ patiṁ /\ saṅkalpas tvayi bhūtānāṁ kṛtaḥ kila na riṣyati //*

Tagare: *The girl whose desire [to marry Nārada] was so frustrated then followed my advice and approached the king of Yavanas, by name Bhaya (Fear or Death), and courted him as a husband. “O brave warrior! I woo you, the leader of the Yavanas, as my coveted husband. The hope entertained by the creatures in you is never falsified.”

Tagare’s note: “VC takes bhūta as ‘the devotee of god’ and interprets: ‘The purpose of the devotees of the Lord is never frustrated.’ Nārada intended that the ‘Fear’ (Bhaya) should grow old and weak by the marriage of Kāla-kanyā with him. His purpose should be achieved by my marrying you. (II) As Bhaya means Kāla (Death or Time) VD adopts the second meaning ‘Time’ and explains: A plan or determination made at the opportune (auspicious) time always bears fruit. I court you as you are the giver of fruit (success in undertaking) to all.”*
27. kālakanyoditavaco niśamya yavaneśvarah / 
cikīrṣur devaguhyaṁ ca sasmitaṁ tāṁ abhāṣata //

Tagare: Having heard the speech uttered by Kāla-kanyā, the lord of Yavanas, who desired to carry out 
the secret work of gods (viz. to bring about the death of living beings) spoke to her with a smile.

4. 28. The army proceeded with Kālakanyā and Prajvāra (1) and conquered the 
royal city of King Purañjana (2–4). Purañjana himself became the bridegroom 
of Kālakanyā and consequently became old (5–10). Prajvāra burnt down the city 
and Purañjana wept (11–15), which is explained as undue attachment to material 
things (16–17). His laments are cited (18–21). When Bhaya arrived in person, his 
Yavanas arrested Purañjana (22–26), who then died (27). The story continues 
with his next rebirth.

4. tayopabhujyamānāṁ vai yavaneś varah sarvato diśam / 
dvārbhiḥ praviśya subhrśaṁ prārdayan sakalāṁ purīm //

Tagare: The Yavanas (i.e. diseases) entered the city through all the gates from all direc-
tions and excessively ravished it, while it was being enjoyed by her (the body of the jīva is 
battered by repeated attacks of various diseases).

6. kanyopagūḍho naṣṭaśrīḥ kṛpaṇo viṣayātmakaḥ / 
naṣṭaprajño hṛtaśvaryo gandharvayavanair balāt //

Tagare: Clasped in the arms of the daughter of Kāla, bereft of his splendour and affluence, the wretch-
ed Purañjana, whose mind was engrossed in sense-pleasure, lost his power of judgment and was force-
bly deprived of his powers (viz. of making physical movements) by Gandharvas and Yavanas.

10. gandharvayavanākrāntāṁ kālakanyopanarditām / 
hātuṁ pracakrame rājā tāṁ purīm anikāmataḥ //

Tagare: Very reluctantly did the king proceed to abandon the city which was over-run by Gandharvas 
and Yavanas and was ravaged by the daughter of Kāla.

13. yavano paruddhāyatano grastāyāṁ kālakanyayā / 
puryāṁ prajvārasaṁsaṁṣṭaṁ purapālo 'nvatapyata //

Tagare: When the city was occupied by the daughter of Kāla and his own home was surrounded by 
Yavanas, the guard of the city was greatly distressed when he was attacked by Prajvāra (when the aged 
man is about to die, his body is in grip of diseases and the jīva is tormented every moment).

15. śithilāvayavo yarhi gandharvair hṛtapauruṣaḥ / 
yavanair aribhi rājann uparuddho ruroda ha //

Tagare: Oh King! When his limbs became weak and disabled and his prowess was thwarted by Gan-
dharvas and he was surrounded by the inimical Yavanas, he verily wept bitterly.
23. paśuvad yavanaīs eṣa niyamānaḥ svakāṁ kṣayam / anvadravam anupathāḥ śocanto bhṛśam ātuvāḥ //
Tagare: When he was being dragged like a beast to his (destined) place by the Yavanas, his followers being extremely grieved, over-anxious and afflicted ran after him.
Tagare's note: "When the jīva is being taken to his next birth predetermined by his karmas, his subtle-senses etc. follow him – ŚR, VR."

25. vikṛṣyamāṇaḥ prasabhaṁ yavanena baliyasā / nāvindat tamasā 'viṣṭaḥ sakhāyaṁ suhṛdaṁ puraḥ //
Tagare: Though Purañjana was forcibly dragged by the powerful Yavana, he was so much overpowered with tamas (ignorance) that he did not remember (Avijñāta) who was his former well-wisher and companion.

4, 29. After much philosophical discussion the allegory is explained:
22. kālakanyā jarā sākṣāt lokas tāṁ nābhīnandati / svasāraṁ jagrhe mṛtyuḥ kṣayāya yavanaśvarah //
23. āghaso vyāghayas tasya sajñaṁ vyanāṣa carāḥ / bhūtopasargāśur āyaḥ prajvāro dvividho jvaraḥ //
Tagare: Kālakanyā is the old age incarnate. People do not greet her. Death, the king of Yavanas, adopted her as his sister for the (help in the) destruction of the world. Mental anguishes and physical pains are his active Yavana soldiers. Prajvāra means the two types of fever (one accompanied with cold and the other with temperature which is said to have a swift career to harass living beings).

BhāgP 9, 8, 5
The story of Sagara.
Bhāgavatapurāṇa 9, 8, 5–7.

Verses 9, 8, 2–4 relate briefly how Sagara’s father was deprived of his kingdom by the enemy, and how Sagara was born in the forest.

5. sagaraś cakraparty āsīt sāgaro yat sutaḥ kṛtaḥ / yas tālajaṅghaṁ yavanaṁ chakāṁ haihayabarbarāṁ //
6. nāvadhīd guruvākyena cakre vikṛtaveśiṇaḥ / munḍāṁ chmaśrudharāṁ kāṁscin muktaṁ śeṣārdhamuṇḍitān //
7. anantarvāsasaḥ kāṁscid abahirvāsaso 'parān / so 'svamedhair ayajata sarvavaidasurātmakam //

Tagare: Sagara became a universal monarch. It is his sons who excavated the sea. He conquered Tālajaṅghas, Yavanas, Śakas, Haihayas and Barbaras, but to honour the promise given by his preceptor Aurva, he did not massacre them, but caused them to wear loathsome dress and appearance; some were got clean-shaven; some were left with beards and moustaches only (with no hair on the head); some had only hair on the head (but clean-shaven face); some had only half-shaven heads; some were made to remove the undergarment, while others, of the upper garment.
**BhāgP 9, 20, 30**
The deeds of King Bharata.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa 9, 20, 30.

30. kirāthahūṇān yavanān andhrān kaṅkān khaśāṅ chakāṅ / 
   abrahmanyān nrpāṁś cāhan mlecchān digvijaye 'khilān //

Tagare: *During his expedition for the conquests of the world, he defeated the tribes Kirātas, Hūṇas, Yavanas, Andras, Kaṅkas, Khaśas and Śakas and killed the Mleccha kings who were inimical to Brahmins or Vedas.*

**BhāgP 10, 37, 17**
Kālayavana briefly mentioned by Kṛṣṇa.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa 10, 37, 17 (Tagare 16).

17. tasyānu saṅkhayavananamurāṇāṁ narakasya ca / 
   pārijātāpahāranam indrasya ca parājaya //

Tagare: *Thereafter I shall see the slaying of the [conch] demon Pañcajanu, Kālayavana, Mura and Naraka as well as bringing down the Pārijāta tree after defeating Indra.*

**BhāgP 10, 50, 44 ff.**
The story of Kālayavana.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa 10, 50, 44 ff. (also 10, 37, 16 & 10, 51, 12).

44. aṣṭādaśamasaṁgrāme āgāmini tadantarā / 
   nāradapreṣito viro yavanaḥ pratyaḍrṣyata //

45. rurodha mathurām etya tisṛbhir mlecchakoṭibhiḥ / 
   nṛloke cāpratidvandvo vṛṣṇīñ chrutvātmasammitān //

46. tāṁ dṛṣṭvācintayat kṛṣṇāḥ saṅkarṣasaśāhāyavān / 
   aho yad ūnāṁ vṛjīnaṁ prāptāṁ hy ubhayato mahat //

47. yavano 'yaṁ nirundhe 'smān adya tāvan mahāvalaḥ / 
   māgadho 'py adya vā śvo vā paraśvo vāgamisyati //

48. āvayor yudhyator asya yady āgantā jārāṣṭaḥ / 
   bandhūn vadhīṣyatya athavā nesyaṁ svapuraṁ bāli //

49. tasmād adya vidhāśyāmo durgāṁ dvipadadurgamam / 
   tatra jñātin samādhyāya yavanaiṁ ghātayāmahe //

50. iti sammantrya bhagavān durgāṁ dvādāśayojanam / 
   antahśamudre nagaraṁ kṛtśādībhutam acīkarat //

Tagare: *While the eighteenth invasion was imminent, there appeared in the interval, a Yavana hero (Kālayavana) who was despatched by Nārada. Kālayavana (who regarded himself as) the matchless hero in this world, heard (the report from Nārada) that Vṛṣṇis were his equals in war. He invaded and laid siege to Mathurā with three crores of Mlecchas (barbarians). Seeing him (with that vast army), Kṛṣṇa who had Balarāma as His companion, conferred (with him), “Alas! A great calamity is befall-
ing Yadas on both sides (from Kālayavana and Jarāsandha). Today this Yavana with his vast army has completely beleaguered us. Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha, also will be coming today, tomorrow or day after tomorrow. If Jarāsandha, the son of Jarā, comes while both of us are engaged in fighting with this (Kālayavana), the mighty Magadhan king will massacre our clansmen or take them captive to his capital. Therefore, let us construct today a fortress inaccessible to human beings (lit. bipeds) and keeping our kinsmen safe in that fort, we shall arrange for the killing of this Kālayavana. Having thus consulted with Balarāma, the Lord caused a fortress constructed in the (western) sea. In the fortress, he got built a city twelve yojanas (96 miles) in area and wonderful in every respect.

51.–58. A description of Dvārakā.

BhāgP 10, 51
The story of Kālayavana is continued.

1. taṁ vilokya ...
6. iti niścitya yavanaḥ prādravantaṁ parāṁmukham / anvadhāvaj jighrksus taṁ durāpam api yoginām //
7. hastaprāptam ivātmānāṁ hariṇā sa pade pade / nīto darṣayatā dūraṁ yavaneśo ’drikandaram //
8. palāyanaṁ yadukule jātasya tava nocitam / iti ksippan anugato nainīṁ prāpāhatāsuhbhā //
9. evaṁ ksipta ’pi bhagavā práviśad girikandaram / so ’pi praviṣṭas tatrānyaṁ śayānaṁ dadṛše naram //
10. nanv asau dūram āniyaṁ śete māṁ iha sādhuvaṭ / iti matvācyutaṁ mūḍhaṁ taṁ padā samatāḍayat //
11. sa utthāya ciraṁsuptaḥ śanair unnīlya locane / diśo vilokayan pārśve tam adrākṣid avasthitam //
12. sa távat tasya ruṣṭasya drṣṭipātena bhārata / dehajenaṁnī gaṁ dagdho bhasmasād abhavat kṣaṇāt //
13. ko nāma sa pumān brahman kasya kiṁ vírya eva ca / kasmād guhāṁ gataḥ śīye kiṁ tejo yavaneśadanaḥ //
śrīśuka uvāca
14.–22. The story of Mucukunda and his long sleep is told.
23. yavane bhasmasān nīte bhagavān sārvatarṣabhaḥ / ātmānāṁ darṣayām āsa mucukundaya dhīmate //
24.–41. Conversation of Kṛṣṇa and Mucukunda. Kṛṣṇa presents himself and his deeds.
42. kālanem mir hataḥ karṇaḥ pralambādyāś ca saddviṣaḥ / ayaṁ ca yavano dagdho rájaṁs te tigmacakṣusā //
Tagare: The Yavana (Kālayavana) perceived Śrī Kṛṣṇa coming out (of the gates of Mathurā)...

Resolving thus, the Yavana, with the intention of seizing him whom even the yogin cannot attain with difficulty, chased him who was running fast with his back towards the Yavana. Showing himself to be within his grasp at every step, the king of Yavanas was taken far away to a distant mountain cave.

“Born as you are in the Yada race, it is not proper for you to run away from the enemy.” Reproaching him thus while pursuing, he could not overtake him (and catch hold of him) as his inauspicious karmas were not exhausted. Even though he was thus viliﬁed, the Lord entered a deep cave in the mountain.

Kālayavana also made his way into it and saw that another person was lying there asleep. “Surely after luring me to such a long distance he is (pretending to be) asleep like an innocent person.” Thinking thus and regarding the sleeping man to be Kṛṣṇa, the stupid fellow kicked him. The man who was asleep for a long time became awakened. He slowly opened his eyes and looked in all directions and espied Kālayavana standing by his side. By the angry look of the enraged man (rudely awakened from sleep), there arose a fire out of Kālayavana’s body and he was reduced to ashes in a moment.

King Parīkṣit asked: What was the name of the man who (thus) killed the Yavana, oh Brāhmaṇa sage? From whom was he born? What (extra-ordinary) prowess did he possess? Why did he enter the cave for sleep? What majestic lustre did he possess?

Śrī Śuka narrated: …When the Yavana was reduced to ashes, the glorious Lord Kṛṣṇa, the most prominent Sātvata manifested himself to the intelligent king Mucukunda. . . .Kālanemi, born as Kamsa, and the haters of the righteous like Pralamba and others have been killed by me. This Yavana is caused to be burnt by me through your ﬁery looks.

N.B. Our 23 & 42 are 24 & 43 in Tagare’s translation.

BhāgP 10, 52, 5
Kṛṣṇa slays Yavanas.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa 10, 52, 5.

5. bhagavān punar āvrajya purīṁ yavanaveṣṭitām /
   hatvā mlecchabalaṁ ninye tadiyaṁ dvārakāṁ dhanam //

Tagare: The Lord again returned to the city of Mathurā which was still besieged by the Yavana army. He annihilated the Yavana army and carried off its wealth as spoils to Dārakā.

BhāgP 12, 1, 30
Dynasties of the Kali Age.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa 12, 1, 29 f.

29. saptābbīrā āvabhṛtyā daśagardabhino nrpāḥ /
   kaṅkāḥ śoḍaśa bhūprāla bhavisyanty atilolūpāḥ //

30. tato ’ṣṭau yavanā bhāvyās caturdāsa turuṣkakāḥ /
   bhūyo daśa guruṇḍāś ca maunā ekādaśaiva tu //

31. ete bhokṣyanti prthiviṁ daśavarṣatāpī ca /
   navādhikāṁ ca navatiṁ maunā ekādaśa kṣitim //

Tagare: At their capital Avabhṛti, seven Ābhīra princes will rule the earth, ten kings of Gardabhi dynasty and sixteen of the Kaṅka (Śaka) race – all of them very greedy and lewd will hold the sway.
They will be succeeded by eight Yavana rulers (Bactrian Greeks), and fourteen kings of the Turuṣka race. Again there will be ten kings of Gauruṇḍa (probably Maruṇḍas) race and eleven of the Mauna (Hūṇa) dynasty. These kings will enjoy the sovereignty of the earth for (a total) of one thousand and ninety years. And the eleven Mauna kings will rule...

BhāgP 12, 12, 36
Summary of the work in which Kālayavana appears.
Bhāgavatapurāṇa 12, 12, 36.

36. jarāsandhasamānītasainyasya bahuṣo vadhaḥ /
    ghātanaṁ yavane
    ndrasya kuśasthalyā niveśanam //

Tagare (additions omitted): Annihilation of the armies brought by Jarāsandha many times, killing of the king of Yavanas, founding of the city of Kuśasthali (Dvārakā).

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa

BhavP 3, 28, 53
Prohibition to speak the Yavana language.
Bhaviṣyapurāṇa Pratisargaparvan 28, 53 ff.

53. na vadet yāvanīṁ bhāṣāṁ prāṇaiḥ kaṇṭhagatair api /
    gajair āpīdyamāno ‘pi na gacchej jainamandiram //
54. ity evaṁ smṛtvā vyāṇi muninā paṭhitānī vai /

He should not speak the Yāvanī language, even when his life is in his throat. He should not go to a Jaina temple, even when pressed by elephants – thus the traditional rules were proclaimed by the sage.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
atha brahmāṇḍamahāpurāṇam prārabhyate. Śrī Venkaṭeśvar stīm-pres, Bambaī.

BṇḍP 1, 2, 16, 12
Description of Bharatavarṣa.
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 1, 2, 16, 12 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 above).

12. dvīpe hy upaniviṣṭo ’yam mlecchaṁ arīteṣu sarvaśaḥ /
    pūrvē kirātā hy asyante paścime yavaneḥ smṛtāḥ /
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye śūdrāś ca bhāgaśaḥ
iṣyudhavanijyābhīr varttayanto vyavasthitāḥ

Tagare: *All round the bordering regions the sub-continent is colonized by Mlecchas (barbarous tribes). The Kirātas live in the Eastern border lands and the Yavanas in the Western border lands. The Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas live in the central areas and the Śūdras (are scattered) in different parts. They are well settled, maintaining themselves by means of performance of sacrifice, wielding of weapons and carrying on trading activities.*

BṇḍP 1, 2, 16, 47
Janapada list of Western peoples.

46. bāhlīkā vātadhānāś ca ābhīrā kālatoyakāḥ / aparāntāś ca sūhmāś ca pāñcālāś carmanāṇḍalāḥ //

47. gāndhārā yavanāś caiva sindhusauvīramaṇḍalāḥ /
   cīnāś caiva tuṣārāś ca pallavā girīgahvarāḥ //

48. šākā bhadrāḥ kulindāḥ ca pārdāḥ vindhyacūlikāḥ /
   abhisāhā ulūtāś ca kekayā daśamālikāḥ //

49. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāś caiva vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca /
   kāmbojā daradāś caiva barbarā aṅgalauhikāḥ //

50. atrayah sabharadvājā prasthalāś ca daserakāḥ /
   lamakās talaśālāś ca bhūṣikā ījikaiḥ saha //

51. ete desā udicyā vai prācyān deśān nibodhata /

As this is a mere list of names (and, furthermore, is full of obvious corruptions), a translation is unnecessary.

BṇḍP 1, 2, 18, 44
River list of the Gaṅgā(s).
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 1, 2, 18, 43 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954: 5 II, 42 f. above).

43. prasūtāḥ sapta nadyas tāḥ śubhā bindusarodbhavāḥ /
   nānādeśān plavayantyo mlecchaprāyāṁs tu sarvasāḥ //

44. upagacchanti tāḥ sarvāḥ yato varṣati vāsavaḥ /
   ilīndhrān kuntalāṁś caīnān barbarā yavanāndhrakān //

45. puṣkarāṁś ca kulindāṁś ca aṁcoladvicarāś ca ye /
   kṛtvā tridhā sīnHAVantaṁ sitā ’gāt paścimadhim //

46. atha cinamarūṁś caiva tālāṁś ca samamūleś //
   bhadrāṁsv tuṣārāṁ śūhmāś caīnān bāhlavān pāraśān khaśān //

47. etān janapadāṁś cakṣuḥ plavayaṁtī gatadhim /
   daradāś ca sakāśmīrān gāndharān raurasān kuhān //

48. śivāśaīn indrapādāṁ vasatiṁś ca visarjamān /
   saindhavān randhrakarakān chaṁatḥābhīraroḥakān //
49. śunāmukhāṁś corddhvamarūn sindhur etān niṣevate
...

Tagare: Originating from the lake Bindusaras, those seven splendid rivers flow over different climes, almost all of them being the lands of the Mlecchas (Barbarous tribes), and reach the place where Vāsasa (Indra) showers, namely the lands of Śilīndhras, Kuntalas, Cīnas, Barbaras, Yavanas, Andhakas, Puṣkaras, Kulpindas and Aṅcolavicaras.* After dividing the land of ānivas in three parts, the river Sitā flowed into the western ocean. The river Cakṣus flows over the following climes, viz. Cīnavarāṇas, the Tālas, the Camasamūlikas, the Bhadras, the Tāṣāras, the Lāmâyākas, the Bāhlavas [sic], the Pārātas and the Khaśās. Then it falls in the sea. The Śindhu flows over the following territories, viz. the Daradas, along with the Kāṁīras, the Gāndharas, the Raurasas, the Khaśās, the Śivaśailas, the Indrapadas, the Vasi, the Vaiśajnism,* the Satindhavas, the Randbrakarakas, the Śamaṭhas, the Ābhīras, the Rohakas, the Śunāmukhas and the Urddhvamarus.

* VāP 48, 43a aṅga-loka-varāś ca ye
* Vāp 48, 45 vādātinś ca visarjayan

BṛdhP 2, 3, 48, 23 ff.
The story of Sagara (longer version).
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 2, 3, 48, 22 ff.

Verses 13.–21. explain how Sagara defeated the Haihayas in battle.

22. vijītya haihayāṁ sarvān sāmarām samare Sagaro balī /
saṅkṣubḥāṣaṅgarākāraḥ kāmbojān abhyavartata //

23. nānāvādithaṅghatoḥaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvānaṅgariṇvān
sadyaṁ saṁtyaktarājyasvarūpaṁ dhrīsaṁruahūp śūmdhūp /
kāmbojās tālajāṅghāḥ śakāvaṇaṅkīrātādayāḥ sākakete
bhremur bhūryastraṃbhūtiyā diśi diśi ripavo yasya pūrvāparādhāḥ //

24. bhītās tasya nareśvarasya ripavaḥ kecet pratāpaśālaṅvämaṇusṭadṛśo
visṛjya vasatiṁ rājyaṁ ca putrādibhiḥ /
dviṣsainyiḥ samabhidrutā vanabhuvani saṁprāpya tatrāpi te
śtaimityāṁ samupāgatā girigahāsuptottithena dviṣāḥ //

25. tālajāṅghān nihartyājaṁ rāja sa balavāhanān /
kramaṇa nāsāyām āsa tad rājyaṁ arikarṣānaṁ //

26. tato yavanaṅkāṁbojakirātādīn anekaśāḥ /
nijaghāna ruṣāviṣṭaḥ palhavān pārādān api //

Tagare: After defeating all the Haihayas in battle, Sagara the powerful king had the features of an agitated ocean. He moved against the Kāmbojas. Kāmbojas, Tālajāṅghas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas and others – his enemies who had offended him formerly, became utterly confounded as they lost courage on hearing the sounds of the war-drumming and various other musical instruments (of Sagara’s army). They immediately abandoned their kingdoms, armies, cities and ladies of their harems. They wandered here and there to various directions due to their fear (of a fresh discharge) of his arrows and missiles.
The enemies of that king were frightened. Their vision became blinded by the flame of the fire of his valour. They abandoned their homes, realms, etc. along with their sons and others. Being attacked and chased by the armies of their enemies, they fled to the forest region where also they were stunned and stupefied by another enemy who got up from his sleep in the caves of the mountain.

After exterminating the Tālajaṅghas along with their armies and vehicles, that king, the suppressor of enemies, gradually destroyed their kingdom. Extremely infuriated he slew many of the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Kirātas and others as well as Palhavas and Pāradas.

27.–41. Yavanas, etc. go to Vasiṣṭha and beg for protection.

42. bhūpavyā kopadagdhaṁ nṛpakulavihitāśeṣadharmād apetāṁ kṛtvā
teṣāṁ Vasiṣṭhaḥ samayam avanipālapratijñānivṛttyai /
gatvā taṁ rājavaryaṁ svayam atha śanakah sāntvayitvā yathāvat
saprāṇānām arīṇām apagamanavidhāv abhyanujñāṁ yayāce //

43. sakrodho 'pi mahīpatir guruvacaḥ sambhāvayanis tāṁ arīṁ dharmasya
svakulocitasya ca tathā veśasya saṁtyāgatah, /
rautasmārtavibhinnakarmaniratāṁ vipraś ca dūroñjhitān sāsūn
kevalam atyajan mṛtasamāṁ ekaikaśah pārthivān //

44. ardhamuṇḍān chakāṁ cakre palhavān śmaśrudhārīṇaḥ /
yavanāṁ vigataśmaśrūn kāmbojāṁś cabukānvitān //

45. evaṁ virūpān anyāṁś ca sa caṅkāra nṛpānvayān /
vedoktakarmanimuktān vipraś ca parivarjītaṁ //

46. kṛtvā samasthiṁ yāpya samaye jīvatas tāṁ vyasarjayat /
tatas te ripavas tasya tyaktaśāraḥ ārāḥsānāṁ //

47. vrātyatāṁ samanuprāpṭāṁ sarvavarnavindinditaḥ /
dhikktāṁ satataṁ sarve nṛsaṁsā nirapatrapāḥ //

48. krūrāś ca saṁghaśo loke babhūvur mlecchajātayaḥ //

49. muktās tenātha rājā śakayavanakirāṭādayaḥ sadya eva tyaktasvācāra-
veśā girigahanaguhādyāśrayāṁ saṁbabhūvuh //
etā adyāpi sadbhīḥ satatam avamatā jātayō 'satpravṛtyā varānte
duṣṭaśeṣītā jagati narapateḥ pālayataḥ pratijñām //

Tagare: In order to fulfil the vow of the king, Vasiṣṭha stipulated the condition that those persons who had been burned by the anger of the king should be denied all those holy rites laid down for persons of royal families. He went to the excellent king himself. He pacified him slowly in fitting manner. He then requested him for permission to the surviving enemies to go away for good.

Though the king was still angry, he respected the words of his preceptor. Those enemies were compelled to eschew the holy rites laid down for their families as well as their mode of dress. He made them accept rites different from what are laid down in Śrutis and Smṛtis. They were forsaken by the Brāhmaṇas. He let off each and everyone of those kings alive but no better than dead.

He made the Śakas shave off half of their heads, he made the Palhavas grow moustache (and beard). He made the Yavanas devoid of the moustache. He made the Kāmbojas to retain the chin (i.e. the
beard). In this manner he made others also born of royal families very ugly. They were denied the right of performing holy rites mentioned in the Vedas. They were forsaken by the Brāhmaṇas. After forcing them to accept these stipulations, he left them alive. Those enemies abandoned their characteristic features and mode of conduct. They became outcasts. They were censured by the people of all castes. All of them were slighted and insulted. They became ruthless, shameless Mleccha barbarian tribes. They roamed about in the world in groups.

Released by that king, these Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas and others immediately abandoned their modes of dress and conduct of life. Their only resorts were mountains, forests, caves and such other places. Even today they are censured by good people. These tribes maintain themselves by evil activities and wicked pursuits. But they keep up the vow of the king and prevent it from being broken.

BṛdhP 2, 3, 63, 120 ff.
The story of Sagara (shorter version, part of the Ikṣvāku dynastic history in the Pañcalakṣa account).

119. Rurukas tanayas tasya rājā dharmārthakovidāḥ / Rurukāt tu Vṛkaḥ putras tasmād Bāhur vijaśīvān //
haihayais tālajaṅghaiś ca nirasto vyasanī nṛpaḥ / śakair yavanaṁkāmbojaiḥ pāraddaiḥ pahlavais tathā //

Tagare: Ruruka was his son. He was a king proficient in details regarding Dharma and wealth. Vṛka was the son of Ruruka and Bāhu was born of him. Since that king indulged in vice, he was dethroned by the Haihayas, Tālajaṅghas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas.

121.–125. The story of Sagara is briefly summarized. Then the sages ask for a more detailed account, which is given by the charioteer.

126. Bāhor vyasaninastasya hṛtaṁ rājyam purā kila / haihayais tālajaṅgghaiś ca śakaiḥ sārdhaṁ samāgataiḥ //
127. yavanāḥ pāraddaiḥ caiva kāmbojaiḥ pahlavais tathā / haihayais tālajaṅghaiś ca nirasto vyasanī nṛpaḥ //

Tagare: It has already been mentioned that the kingdom of Bāhu, who indulged in vice, had been formerly seized by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who came along with the Śakas. The Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas (and Śakas), these five clans (of kings) attacked for and on behalf of the Haihayas.

128.–133. Bāhu’s end, Sagara’s birth and youth.
134. tataḥ śakān sayavanān kāmbojaiḥ pāraddaiḥ tathā / pahlavāṁś caiva niḥśeṣāṁ kartuṁ vyavasito nṛpaḥ //

Tagare: After that the king determined to exterminate the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas.

135.–137. They take refuge in Vasiṣṭha and receive their punishment.
138. ardhāṁ śakāṁ śīrāṁ muṇḍyayitvā vyasarjayat / Yavanāṁ śīraḥ sarvam kāmbojāṇāṁ tathaiva ca //
139. pāradā muktaṁ kṣesāḥ ca pahlavaḥ śmāsudhāriṇaḥ / niḥśvādhyāvaśaṭkārāḥ kṛtāṁ tṇa mahātmanā //
140. śakā Yavana kāmbojāḥ pahlavaḥ pāradāḥ saha / kalisparsā mahiṣikā dārvaś colāḥ khasās tatha //
141. sarve te kṣatriyaganāṁ dharmas teśāṁ nirākṛtaḥ / Vasiṣṭhavacanāṇāṁ pūrvvān Sagareṇa mahātmanā //

Tagare: He shaved half of the heads of the Śakas and discharged them. He shaved off the heads of Yavanas and Kāmbojas completely. The Pāradas were compelled to keep their hairs dishevelled and the Pahlavas were made to grow their moustache and beard. All of them were deprived of the study of the Vedas and the utterance of the Vāṣṭṭkāra Mantras by that noble-souled king, The Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, Pāradas, Kalisparsās, Māhiṣikas, Dārvās, Colas and Khasas — the customary observations of their castes and conventions of all these groups of Kṣatriyas were prohibited formerly by the noble-souled Sagara at the instance of Vasiṣṭha.

BṇḍP 2, 3, 73, 102
Deeds of Kṛṣṇa.
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 2, 3, 73, 102 (cf. Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 88 above).

102. narakaś ca hataḥ sarṅkhya Yavanāś ca mahābalaḥ / hṛtāni ca mahīpānāṁ sarvaratnāṁ tejasā //

Tagare: Naraka was killed. So also the extremely powerful Yavana. All the valuable gems of the kings were taken away by him along with their splendour and glory.

BṇḍP 2, 3, 73, 108
Deeds of Kalkī.

106. pragruṭṭhāyudhair viprāṁ pravṛttāḥ śatasaḥhasraśaḥ / nāyaṛthaṁ dhārmikā ye ca ca dharmadviṣaḥ kvacit //
107. udīcyān madhyadeśāṁ ca tatha vṛndhā Karnāṇaḥ / taitaṁva dākṣāpyārāṁ ca draviḍāṁ sāṁhitāḥ saha //
108. gāndhārān pāradāṁ caiva pahlavaḥ pavanāḥ / tubārāṁ caiva pulindāṁ baradāṁ vasān //
109. lampākan āndhrakān puṇḍrān kirātaṁ caiva sa prabhuḥ / pravṛttacamkro balavān mlecchānam antaṁkṛd bali //

Tagare: He will be surrounded by hundreds and thousands of Brāhmaṇas who have taken up weapons. The powerful Lord will put an end to the Mlecchas with the followers functioning duly. He will go round among the Udīcyas (Northerners), Madhyadeśas (Middle lands), other sides of the Vindhayas (?), Dākṣaṭyas (Southerners), Draviḍas along with the Śīṁbalas, Gandhāras, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Pavanas, Śakas, Tubaras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Baradas, Vaśas, Lampākas, Āndhrakas,
Puṇḍras and Kirātas. He will chastise those who are not very pious and in some places those who hate piety and devotion.

Even without the close parallel version of the VāP, it would be easy in this connection to recognize Yavana, Tuṣāra and Darada in Pavana, Tubāra and Barada.

**BṇḍP 2, 3, 74, 172 ff.**
Dynasties of the Kali Age.
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 2, 3, 74, 172 ff.

172. sapta gardabhinaś cāpi tato 'tha daśa vai śakāḥ /
    yavanaśtau bhaviṣyanti tuṣārās tu caturdaśa //

Tagare: Gardabbin kings are seven. Then the Śaka rulers are ten. There will be eight Yavana families and fourteen Tuṣāras...

175. śatāni trīṇy aśītiṁ ca bhokṣayanti vasudhāṁ śakāḥ /
    aśīti dve ca varṣāṇi bhoktāro yavana mahīṁ //

Tagare: Śakas will enjoy the Earth for three hundred and eighty years. Yavanas will enjoy the Earth for one hundred and sixty years...

200. alpaprasādā hy anṛtā mahākrodhā hy adhārmikāḥ /
    bhaviṣyantīha yavana dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ //

Tagare: There will be Yavanas (Yavana kings) who will be difficult to please and quick in being furious. They will be untruthful and unrighteous in the affairs of Virtue, Love and Wealth.
Cf. MP 273, 18 ff.

**BṇḍP 4, 16, 17**
Lalitā’s victorious march against Bhaṇḍa Daitya.
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 4, 16, 16 f. (= Lalitāmāhātmya 16, 17).

16. vanāyujāś ca kāṁbojāḥ pāradāḥ sindhudeśajāḥ /
    ṭaṅkaṇāḥ parvatīyāś ca pārasīkās tathāpare //

17. ajāneyā ghaṭṭadharā daradāḥ kālavandijāḥ /
    vālmīkayāvanodhūtā gāndharvāś cātha ye hayāḥ //

Different breeds of horses named according to their country of origin, including those arising from Vālmikas and Yavanas.

**BṇḍP 4, 29, 131**
The battle between Lalitā and Bhaṇḍāsura.
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 4, 29, 130 ff. (= Lalitāmāhātmya 29, 130 ff.).

130. atha teṣu vinaṣṭesu saṁkruddho bhanaḍradāṇavaḥ /
    dharmaviplāvakaṁ gharāṁ kalyastraṁ samamuñcata //
When they were destroyed, Asura Bhāyaṇḍa became highly furious. He discharged the dreadful Kali missile that caused violation and transgression of virtue. Thereupon, from the Kali missile were born kings Āndhras and Puṇḍras, Kirātas, Śabaras, Hūṇas and Yavanas who had sinful activities.

They are then slain by Lalitā with the help of the Kalkī missile. The entire mythic history is here explained as parts of their duel.

Brahmapurāṇa


Brahma Purāṇa, tr. by a board of scholars, 1 ff. AITMS 33 ff. Delhi 1985 ff.

BP ed. R. Söhnen & P. Schreiner. Tübingen (index checked).

BP 6, 36 & 44 ff.
The story of Sagara.

Brahmapurāṇa 6, 35 ff. (see Kirfel 1927, 2 I B, 28 ff. above)

Lomaharṣaṇa uvāca:

35. Bāhor vyasanīnāḥ sarvāḥ hṛtaṁ hṛtaṁ abhūt kila /
haihayais tālajanghaḥ ca śakaḥ sārdhānāṁ dvijortmbāḥ //

36. yavanāḥ pāradāś caiva kāṃbojāḥ pahlavāḥ tathā /
ete hy api gaṇāḥ pañca haihatyārthre parākraman //

AITMS: Bāhu was indulging in vice. Hence, he was entirely deprived of his kingdom, o excellent brahmans, by Haihayas and Tālajanghas along with Śakas. The five groups of kings viz. Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Kambojas and Pahlavas exhibited their valour on behalf of Haihayas.

In 37–43. follows the account of Bāhu in the forest, the birth and youth of Sagara, and the slaying of the Haihayas.

44. tataḥ Śakāṁś ca yavanān kāṃbojān pāradāṁ sīrāḥ tathā /
pahlavānā ca nihśeśāṁ kartūṁ vyavasito nṛpaḥ //

45. te vadhyāmānāṁ vīraṇa Śagarāṇa maheśāṁ /
Vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā pranāpiṭam maniṣīnam //

46. Vasiṣṭhas tv atha tāṁ dṛśtvā samayena mahādyutīṁ /
Śagarāṁ vārayāṁ āsa teṣāṁ dattvā ’bhayaṁ tadā //

47. Śagaras tāṁ pratiṣṭāṁ tu guror vākyānī niśāmya ca /
dharmāṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ ca veṣān anyāṁśi cakāra ha //

48. ardhaṁ śakānāṁ śiraso muṇḍayātva vyasarajyat /
yavanānāṁ śiraḥ sarvāṁ kāṃbojānāṁ tathaiva ca //

49. pāradā muktaṁ sāś ca pahlavāḥ śmaśrudyāṁ /
nihṣvādhiyāvaśātāṅkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā /
50. śakā yavana kāṃbojāḥ pāradāś ca dvijottamāḥ
   kālasarpā mahiṣakā dāryāś colāḥ sakeralāḥ //
51. sarve te kṣatriyā viprā dharmas teṣāṁ nirākṛtaḥ
   Vasiṣṭhavanād rājñā Sagareṇa mahātmanā //

AITMS: Thereafter, he resolved to exterminate Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. Being slaughtered by that heroic noble Sagara they sought shelter in Vasiṣṭha after submitting to that learned sage. Vasiṣṭha the extremely brilliant sage offered them freedom from fear on certain conditions. He then restrained Sagara. On hearing the words of his preceptor and being faithful to his promise Sagara suppressed their traditional rituals and changed their guise. He released Śakas after shaving half of their heads. He completely shaved off the heads of Yavanas and Kambojas. The Pāradas were made to keep their tresses untied and the Pahlavas were asked to grow moustaches and beards. They were deprived of Vedic studies and the chanting of Vaṣaṭkāra Mantras by that noble king. O excellent brahmins, all these Kṣatriyas – viz. Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas, Kālasarpas, Māhiṣakas, Daryas, Colas and Keralas were deprived of their traditional religious practices by king Sagara of noble soul at the instance of Vasiṣṭha.

BP 17, 8 (19, 9)
Description of Bhāratavarṣa.
Brahmapurāṇa 17, 8 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 f. above), also referred to as BP 19, 9.

8. yojanānāṁ sahasraṁ ca dvīpo 'yaṁ dakṣiṇottarāt /
   pūrve kirātās tiṣṭhanti paścime yavanāḥ sthitāḥ //
9. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś ca bhāgaśaḥ /
   ijjāyuddhavanijyādyaiḥ vṛttimanto vyavasthitāḥ //

AITMS: Bhārata, the ninth among them, is an island encircled by the ocean. This island extends from South to North a thousand Yojanas. Kirātas stay in the East, Yavanas stay in the West. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas stay in the centre. Śūdras stay everywhere. These people have their means of subsistence in sacrifice, battle, trade and service.

BP 25, 17 (27, 17)
Second description of Bhāratavarṣa.

16. ...
    yojanānāś ca sāhasraṁ dvīpo 'yaṁ dakṣiṇottarāḥ //
17. pūrve kirātās yasyāsan paścime yavanāḥ tathā /
    brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cātra sthitā dvijāḥ //
18. ijjāyuddhavanijyādyaiḥ karmabhiḥ kṛtaṇaḥ vanāḥ / ...

AITMS: In the east of it, Kirātas stay. The Yavanas stay in the west. O Brahmins, Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas and Śūdras stay in the middle. They are sanctified by holy rites and worldly pursuits as sacrifice, warfare, trading...
Janapada list of lands with three varṇas.

45. aparāntāś ca śūdrāś ca bāhlīkāś ca sakeralāḥ /
    gāndhārā yavanāḥ caiva sindhusauvīramadākāḥ //
    ...
47. kṣatriyopamadesāś ca vaiśyasūdrakulāni ca //

Janapada list of Vindhya peoples.
Brahmapurāṇa 25, 61–62.

61. tumburās tu carāś caiva yavanāḥ pavanaiḥ saha /
    abhayā runḍikerāś ca carcarā hotradhartayaḥ //
62. ete janapadāḥ sarve tatra vindhyanōvāsinaḥ /
    ...

This is evidently corrupt. Yavanas are here mentioned out of their usual north-western context in the Vindhyas. Comparing the parallel versions (BṇḍP, LP, MP, VāP), they are not mentioned. Kirfel 1954, 3 II combines these versions as:

54. tumurās tumbarāś caiva śaṭpurā naiśadhaiḥ saha /
    anūpās tuṇḍikerāś ca vītihotrā hy avantayaḥ //
55. ete janapadāḥ sarve vindhyapṛṣṭhanivāsināḥ /
    See also Kirfel 1920, 76.

Kālayavana, the son of Yavaneśa.

4. saṁbhāvayām āsa sa tam yavaneśo hy anātmajaḥ /
    tad yoṣītsaṅgāmāc cāsya putro 'bhud analaprabhāḥ //
5. taṁ kālayavanām nāma rājye sve yavaneśvarāḥ /
    abhiśacya vanarīṁ yāto vajrāgrakāṭhinorasam //
6. sa tu viryamadonmattah prthivyāṁ balino nṛpān /
    papraccha nāradaś cāsmai kathayāṁ āsa yādavān //
7. mlecchakoṭisahasrāṇāṁ sahasraiḥ so 'bhisaṁvṛtāḥ /
    gajāśvarathasaśipannaiś cakāra paramodyatam //
8. prayayau cāvyavacchinnaṁ cintayāno dine dine /
    yādavāṁ prati sāmarṣo munayo mathurāṁ purīṁ //
9. kṛṣṇo 'pi cintayāṁ āsa kṣapitaṁ yādavaṁ balam /
    yavanena samālokya māgadhāṁ prahariṣyati //
10. māgadhasya balaṁ kṣīnaṁ sa kālayavano bālī / hantā tad idam āyātaṁ yaddūnāṁ vyasanaṁ dvidhā //
11. tasmād durgāṁ kariṣyāmi yadūnāṁ atidurjayam / striyo 'pi yatra yudhyeyuḥ kiṁ punar vṛṣṇipuṅgavāḥ //

... bahir āvāsite sainye mathurāyā nirāyudhaḥ / nirjaṅgāma sa govinda daddarśa yavanaṁ ātmā //
17. sa jīṅtī vāsudevaṁ tāṁ bāhuprahaṁ nṛpāḥ / anuyāto mahāyogīcetobhiḥ prāpya te na yāḥ //
18. tenānuyātaḥ krṣṇo 'pi praviveśa mahāguhām / yatra śete mahāvīryo mucukundā nareśvaraḥ //
19. so 'pi praviṣṭo yavana drśtvā śāyayāgataṁ nāma / pādena tāḍayām āsa krṣṇaraṁ matvā sa durmatiḥ //
20. drśṭamātraś ca tenāsaucajāvāla yavanaṁ 'gninā / tatkrodhajena munayo bhasminbhūtaṁ ca tatkṣaṇāt //

AITMS: The Yavanaśa (a Greek King) who had no son honoured him. As a result of sexual intercourse with his wife a son of fiery splendour was born to him. He was named Kālayavana. The Greek king crowned the boy who had a chest as hard as the adamantite tip and went to the forest...

Then it is told how Kālayavana attacks the Yādavas marching towards Mathurā (6–8). Thinking of the difficult situation – Jarāsandha of Māgadhā is hostile, too – Kṛṣṇa (9–12) builds the city of Dvārakā and moves his people there (13–15). Only Kṛṣṇa himself remains in Mathurā. He lures Kālayavana to chase him to Mucukunda’s cave, in order for the curse to reduce him to ashes (16–20). A full translation of the conventional account is not needed. This must be the passage referred to in Dikshitar's Purana Index 1951 as BP 3, 73, 102.

Bṛhadārṇāparāṇa


According to Hazra 1963 (but see also Rocher 1986!), this is a non-sectarian Bengali Upaparāṇa of the early Muslim period. On page 458, Hazra remarks that “it knows the spread and tyranny of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in Bengal. Hence the date of this work cannot be placed earlier than 1200 AD” The edition is cut off at the end of Uttara 14; the rest is quoted from Hazra.

BdhP Uttarākhaṇḍa 6, 89

Mleccha women forbidden.

Bṛhadārṇāparāṇa Uttarākhaṇḍa 6, 89 (also quoted by Hazra 1963, 433 from a MS).
89. mlecchāñ ca yavanīñ caiva gatvā jātyāḥ parityajet /
kuulo py etāsu saṅganyya devatāsāpam āpnuyāt //
90. durvahaṁ śaktyanuṣṭhānaṁ tatra muhyanti sūrayaḥ /
alarṇgageyi śivavākyañ ca yogapanthānam uttamam //
91. tasmād yogapriyāṁ devīṁ bhajan kurvan na doṣabhāk /
  Hazra reads in 89a (his 89c) cāpi, in 89b jātyā, in 89c (his 90a) kalāv etāsu

Hazra: "If he cohabits with any Mleccha or Yavana woman without being a Śakti-worshipper,
he will lose his caste and be an object of curse of gods." Rather, the loss of caste comes upon
everyone and the curse of gods to a Kaula, because in this way the learned fail in difficult Śakti
worship, in the inviolable word of Śiva and in the highest path of yoga. Therefore, one should
without fault practise the yoga-loving Goddess.

**BdhP Uttarakhaṇḍa 19, 16 & 43**
On the evils of the Kali Age.
Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa 19, summarized by Hazra 1963, 446 f.

Hazra: Then the “Pāṣaṇḍas and the Yavanas would destroy the varṇāśramadharma...’Brahmins
would forsake the Vedas and take intoxicants, and the earth would yield scanty crops and
shrink day by day. The Yavanas would become powerful, and the gods would leave this earth
which would be crowded only by Mlecchas.’ Hari would be incarnate as Kalki and exterminate
all the Mlecchas.”

On page 458, both of the verses that mention Yavanas are quoted by Hazra:
16. yavanais taiś ca pāṣaṇḍaiḥ svadharmo nāśayiṣyate /
   ...
43. tatas tyakṣanti vai varṇā yavanasya balaṁ sadā /
   devās tyakṣanti prthivīṁ mleccha-mātra-samāvṛtām //

**BdhP Uttarakhaṇḍa 20, 15**
On the evils of the Kali Age.
Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa 20, 14 ff., quoted by Hazra 1963, 448 (note 193).

14. ālāpād gātra-saṁsparśān niḥśvāsāt saha-bhojanāt /
   eka-yānāsanābhyāṁ ca pāpaṁ saṁkramate nṛṇāṁ //
15. saṁsargo yāvanaś caiva bhāṣā ca yāvanī tathā /
   surā-tulyaṁ dvayaṁ proktāṁ yavanāṁnaṁ tato ’dhikam //

Hazra p. 448: “Spread of sins among the people through conversation, touch of the body,
breaths, inter-dining, riding the same vehicle, and sitting on the same seat. Denouncement of
association with Yavanas, use (or study) of their language, and taking food from them,” and p.
461 “Association with the Yavanas and the use of their language – these two have been said to
be equivalent to (drinking) wine; (acceptance of) food from the Yavanas is worse than this.”
Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa


A Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇa.

BNP 8, 36 & 39

The story of Sagara.

Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa adhyāyas 7.–8.

7, 7ff. Eulogy of Bāhu. Note that everything told here is supplemented with moralizing additions. A translation is therefore deemed unnecessary.

15 ff. Bāhu’s arrogance is mentioned as nāśahetu.

30. atha tasya sthirāpat syād asūyāviṣṭacetaṣaḥ /
   haihayās tālajaṅghās ca balino 'rātayo 'bhavan //
   ...

40. haihayais tālajaṅghaiś ca ripubhiḥ sa parājitaḥ /
   sajāyo vipīnaṁ bheje sahasā bhraṣṭapīṭapah //

41. tair eva ripubhir tasya bhāryāyāṁ vibuddhottamāḥ /
   datto garo mahāghoro garbhashambhāya bhīrubhiḥ //

42 ff. Bāhu flees to the forest with his wife. Bāhu dies (57) in exile and his wife is not allowed to carry out sahagamana, as she is pregnant (64 ff. includes the long speech of Aurva on this).

8, 1 ff. Birth of Sagara. The boy is taught by munis (12). Sagara asks his mother about his origin (15 ff.) and decides to follow through on revenge (27.). He visits Vasiṣṭha (30 f.) and then goes to war.

35. kecid vikīrṇakeśāś ca valmīkopari saṁśhitā /
   tṛṇāny abhakṣayan kecit nagnāś ca viviṣūr jalam //

36. śakāś ca yavanāś caiva tathā cānye mahībhṛtāḥ /
   tadguruṁ śaraṇaṁ jagmur Vasiṣṭhaṁ prāṇalolupāḥ //

37. jitakṣitir bāhuputro ripūn gurusamīpagān /
   cārair vijñātavān sadyaḥ prapede gurusannidhim //

38. tam āgataṁ bāhusutaṁ niśamya munir Vasiṣṭhaḥ śaraṇāgataṁs tān /
   trātuṁ ca śiṣyābhimataṁ ca kartuṁ vicārayāṁ āsa tādā kṣaṇena //

39. cakāra pārṣṇikān muṇḍāñ javanān lambamūrdhajān /
   anyāṁś ca śmaśrulān muṇḍān anyān vedavahiṣkṛtān //

40. Vasiṣṭhamuninā tena hataprāyāṁ nirikṣya saḥ /
   prahasana āha Sagaras taṁ gurum tapasāṁ nidhim //

For 39b, Hazra quotes the more correct variant yavanān from the Vaṅgavāsī Press edition (1316 B.S.).
Devībhāgavatapurāṇa

Devībhāgavata 9, 33, 45 & 72
A section (Adhyāyas 33.–35. of Skandha 9) dealing with acts leading to different hells and various undesirable rebirths.31
Devībhāgavatapurāṇa 33, 44 ff. and 70–72.

44. ... sakesaṁ pārthivaṁ liṅgaṁ yo vārcayati bhārate //
45. sa tiṣṭhati keśakunḍe mṛdreṇumānavarṣakam /
tadante yāvanīṁ yonimī prayāti harakopataḥ //
...
70. mahāklesena taṁmṛtyuḥ sarpeṇa bhakṣitād dhruvaṁ /
vidhipradattajīvyāṁś ca kṣudrajantūṁś ca hanti yaḥ //
71. sa dāṁśamaśayoḥ kuṇḍe jantumāṅbdam eva ca /
divāṁśam bhakṣitas tair anāhārasa ca śabdavan //
72. hastapāḍādibaddhaś ca yamadūtana tāḍitaḥ / [-dūtais??]
tato bhavet kṣudrajantur jātiś ca yāvanī bhavet //

...or whosoever worships an earthen liṅga with hair, he remains in Keśakunda (hell) as many years as there are dust atoms (found there). At the end of this, he proceeds to the womb of a Yavanī because of Śiva's anger... Whosoever kills protected living beings and tiny animals, his death (will be caused) by the hard bite of a serpent, which causes great torment. He shall be in the hole (hell) of gadflies and mosquitoes as many years as (there are) those animals, day and night being eaten by those (insects); famished and buzzed, (being) without hands and feet, (he’ll be) tormented by Yama’s messengers. Then he will (himself) become a tiny animal and (then in the next rebirth a human) of the Yāvanī caste.

Garuḍapurāṇa

31 See Hazra 1963, 320. A parallel version is found in adhyāya 33 of the Prakṛṭikhaṇḍa of the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa, but the Yavanī verses are not included there.
GP 1, 55, 5
Description of Bhāratavarṣa.
Garuḍapurāṇa 1, 55, 5 (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 f. above).

5. pūrve kirātās tasyāste paścime yavanāḥ sthitāḥ /
āndhrā dakṣiṇato, Rudra, turuṣkās tv api cottare //

6. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ cāntaravāsinaḥ /
In the translation, these are ślokas 6ad and 7ab.

GP 1, 55, 15
Kūrmavibhāga list (though here not called a tortoise; cf. MkP 55, 52).
Garuḍapurāṇa 1, 55, 15.

15. strairājyāḥ saindhavā mlecchā nāstikā yavanāḥ tathā /
paścimena ca vijñeyā māthurā naiṣadhail saha //

AITMS: The people in the west are Strīrājyas, Saindhavas, Mlecchas, Atheists, Yavanas, Māthuras and Naiṣadhas.

GP 1, 80, 2
On corals.
Garuḍapurāṇa 1, 80, 1 ff.

1. ādāya śeṣas tasyāntraṁ balasya keralādiṣu /
cīṣeṣa tatra jáyante vidrumāḥ sumahāguṇāḥ //

2. tatra pradhānaṁ śeśalohitābhaṁ guñjājavāpuṣpanibhaṁ pradīṣṭam /
sunīlakaṁ devakaromakaṁ ca sthānāni teṣu prabhavairu surāgam /
anyatra jātaṁ ca na tatpradhānaṁ mūlyaṁ bhavec chilpivīśeṣayogat //

AITMS: Śeṣa (the serpent king) carried the entrails of the demon Bala and deposited the same in Kerala and other places; there corals of great virtue are produced. The most important of them is the one coloured like the blood of a hare, the Guñjā-berry or the china-rose. The foreign lands where corals abound are Sunīlaka, Devaka and Romaka. Corals found there are of deep crimson colour. Corals found elsewhere are not so important. The price of coral depends upon the efficiency of the artisan.

Kūrmapurāṇa

KūP 1, 44 (42), 22
Description of Pātāla (the subterranean world).
nītalam yavānādyaiś ca tārakāgnimukhais tathā /
mahāntakādyair nāgaiś ca prahmādenāsureṇa ca //
The Nītal region (is populated) by Yavanās, etc., and by (demons) such as Tāraka and Agnimukha, by Mahāntaka and other Nāgas and by Asura Prahlāda.

KūP 1, 47 (46), 26
Description of Bhāratavarṣa.

24. List of continents:
   indradvīpaḥ kaserumān tāmraparṇo gabhastimān...

26. yojanānāṁ sahasran tu dvīpo 'yaiṁ dakṣinottaraiḥ /
pūrve kirātās tasyaiṁ paścime yavānās tathā //
27. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ ca antaravāsinaḥ /
iyāyuddha-vanijāyābhir vartayanty atra mānavāḥ //

Tagare (26.): This continent extends from the south to the north for a thousand Yojanas. To the east of it are the Kirātas and to the west are Yavanas.

This passage is followed by the list of rivers.

Liṅgapurāṇa

The Linga-Purāṇa. Tr. a Board of Scholars. 1. AITMS. Delhi 1973.

LP 1, 52, 29
Description of Bhāratavarṣa.
Liṅgapurāṇa 1, 52, 29

29. pūrve kirātās tasyaiṁ paścime yavānās smrtaḥ /
   brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ madhye śūdrāḥ ca sarvaśāḥ //
30. iya-yuddha-vaanijāybhir vartayanta vyavasthitāḥ / ...

32 I found this reference during the final revision of my work. As neither of the aforementioned editions was available, I have used the Sanskrit text in Gretil. The text is not proofread and I suppose that Prahlāda (or Prahrāda) should be read instead of the unintelligible Prahmāda.
AITMS: In the Eastern parts of the Dvīpa are the Kirātas; in the Western extremities the Yavanas; in the middle the Brahmīns, Kṣatriyas and Vaśyas. The Śūdras are everywhere.

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa

Attha sabhāṣaṭīkam śrīmārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam. Mudrak aur prakāśak Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa. Śrīvenkateśvara stīm mudraṇālaya. [Bombay n.d.]


MkP 54, 8 (57, 8)
Description of Bhāratavarṣa.
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 54, 8 (Venkateshwar edition; 57, 8 of Pargiter; cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 f. above).

8. pūrve kirātā yasyānte paścime yavanās tathā / brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ cāntasthitā dvija //

Pargiter: At its east end are the Kirātas, and at the west end the Yavanas. Within it dwell brāhmans, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, O brāhman.

MkP 54, 36 (57, 36)
Janapada list of Western peoples.

36. aparāntāś ca śūdrāś ca pahlavāś carmakhaṇḍikāḥ / gāndhārāṁ yavanāś caiva sindhusauvīramadrakāḥ /

Pargiter's manuscripts actually read here gabalāś, but he points out that yavanāś is the reading of the VāP (Pargiter p. 314).

MkP 55, 52 (58, 52)
The Kūrmacakra, the Earth described in the shape of a tortoise.
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 55, 52 (Venkateshwar edition; 58, 52 of Pargiter).

52. tathā sayavānā hiṅgāś cīraprāvaraṇāś ca ye / trinetrāḥ paivrāvāḥ caiva gandharvāḥ ca dvijottama //

The text seems to be very corrupt. Perhaps the mysterious Hiṅgas stand for Hūṇas. Cīra could be Cīna or, rather, Cīraprāvana for Karṇaprāvana. Pargiter’s translation and notes are given on p. 384. See also the note on VM:BS 14, 18.

MkP 131, 30 (134, 30)
Nariṣyanta’s death.
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 131, 30 (Venkateshwar edition; 134, 30 of Pargiter).
30. vidūrathasya janako yavanena yathā hataḥ /
   tathā yaṁ tava putrasya kulaṁ tena vināśitam //

Pargiter (p. 677): As Vidūratha's father was slain by the Yavana, so has this king, the father of thee, my son, been slain; thereby thy family has been destroyed.

Matsyapurāṇa


MP 34, 30
Yāyāti's sons and their offspring.
Matsyapurāṇa 34, 30.

30. yados tu yādavā jātā turvasor yavanāḥ sutāḥ /
   druhyos caiva sutā bhojā anos tu mlecchajātayaḥ //
   Quoted from Mbh 1, 80, 26 (see above).

Yādavas were born of Yadu, Yavanas of Turvasu, and Bhojas were the sons of Druhyu, while the castes of barbarians (were) of Anu.

MP 50, 76
Dynasties of the Kali age.
Matsyapurāṇa 50, 75 ff.

75. tebhīyo 'pare 'pi ye tv anye hy utpatsyante nrpāḥ punaḥ /
   kṣatrāḥ pāraśavāḥ śūdrās tathā 'nye ye bāhiścarāḥ //

76. andhāḥ śakāḥ pulindāś ca cūlikā yavanās tathā /
   kaiwartābhiraśabarā ye cānye mlecchasambhavāḥ /
   paryāyataḥ pravakṣyāmi nāmataś caiva tān nrpān //
   A mere list of the names of barbarian peoples.

MP 114, 11
Description of Bhāratavarṣa.

11. dvīpo hy upaniviśto 'yari mlecchair anteṣu sarvaśaḥ /
   yavanās ca kirātāś ca tasyaṁ pūrvapāścime //

12. brāhmaṇaṁ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye śūdrās ca bhāgaśaḥ /
   ijjāyutavānījyādi vartayante vyavasthitāḥ // ...
MP 114, 41
Janapada list.

40. bāhlīkā vāradhānāṁ ca ābhūrāḥ kālatoṣṭāḥ /
   purandhrāś caiva śūdrāś ca pāllavāś ca cāṭṭakhaṇḍikāḥ //
41. gāndhārā yavanāṁ caiva sindhuṣauvīryamadraṇāḥ /
   akā druhyāḥ pulindāḥ ca pāradā hārāmūrtikāḥ //
42. samaṭhāḥ kaṇṭakārāḥ ca kaikeyyāḥ daśanāmākāḥ /
   kṣatriyopaniṣṭā yāḥ ca vaisyāḥ śūdrakulāḥ ca //
43. atrayo 'tha bharadvājah ca prasthalāḥ sadaserakāḥ /
   lampakās talaṅgānāḥ ca sainikāḥ saha jāṅgalaṁ /
   ete desā udīcyāṁ tu, prācyāṁ desā nibakhā //

MP 121, 43
List of rivers.

41. …
   sitā caṅkusuḥ ca sindhuṣ ca tisras tā vai pratīcyagāḥ //
42. saptar caṅkān caiva tarvasaṁ tu himasādvayam /
   prasūṭāḥ saptar nadyas tu śubhā bindusarodbhavāḥ //
43. tān desān caṅkāyāṁ sma mlecchaprāyaṁś ca sarvasaḥ /
   saśailān raudhrān caiva pāradā yavanāṁ //
44. pulikāṁś ca kulathāṁś ca aṅgalokyaṁ vārāṁś ca yān /
   krtvā dvidhā himavantaṁ praviṣṭā bhujṣṇodadhīm //

MP 144, 57
As the incarnated Viṣṇu of the Kali age, King Pramati conquers all peoples.
Matsyapurāṇa 144, 57.

57. gāndhārān pāradāṁ caiva pahnavāṁ yavanāṁ chakān /
    tuṣārān barbarān chhetāṁ halikān daradān khasān //

MP 273, 19 ff.
Dynasties of the Kali Age.
Matsyapurāṇa 273, 18 ff.

18. saptaivāndhrā bhaviṣyanti daśābhūrās tathā nṛpāḥ /
    sapta gardabhiṇāṁ ca sākās ca śaṭṭaśaiva tu //
19. yavanāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti tuṣārās ca caṭurduṣṭās /
    trayodaśa gurūṇḍās ca hūṇās ca ekopāniṁśatiḥ //
20. yavanāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti saptaśītim mahīṁ imāṁ /
    sapta garbhiṇāṁ bhūyo bhokṣyantāṁ vasaṁhārām //
21. saptavarṣasahasrāṇi tuṣārāṇāṁ mahī smṛtā / 
atāni trīṇy aśitiṁ ca satāṇy aṣṭādaśaiva tu //
22. satāṇy ardhacatuṣkāni bhavitavyāś trayodaśa / 
guruṇḍa vrṣalaiḥ sārdhaṁ bhokṣyante mlecchasārihbhavāḥ //
23. satāṇi trīṇi bhokṣyante varṣāṇy ekādaśaiva tu / 
āndhrāḥ śrīpārvatīyāḥ ca te dvipaṃśuṣṭaraṁ samāḥ //
24. saptaśaṣṭis tu varṣāṇi daśā 'bhūrās tathaiva ca / 
tēṣūsamneṣu kalena tataḥ kilakilā nrpāḥ //
25. bhavisyantīha yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ / 
tair vimśrā janapadā āryā mlecchas ca sarvaśaḥ //

This is followed by an account of their impiety.
Cf. BṇḍP 2, 3, 74, 172 ff., and VāP 2, 37, 353 ff.

Padmapurāṇa

[Padmapurāṇa. Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvar śṛim-pres, Bambaī; 2 parts, in the beginning:] atha 
śrīpadme mahāpurāṇe prathamaṁ śṛṣṭikhaṇḍam prārabhyate / [and at the end:] 
idam brahmakhaṇḍaṁ muṁbayyāṁ śrīkṛṣṇadāsaśmaṇe saṁvādaṁ / 
śrīveṅkaṭeśvarayantrālaye 'ṅkitvā prakāśitaṁ / saṁvat 1951 śake 1816.

Mahāmunirdhāvyāśapranitam Padmapurāṇam. [Ed.] Mahādeva Cimaṇājī Āpaṭe. 
Ānandāśramaḥ saṁskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 131:1–4. Śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1815–1816, 
Khristābdāḥ 1893–1894.

The only translation with an index is AITMS, which corresponds to the 
Venkateshwar Press edition. Therefore, it is used here and the ĀnSS edition is 
ignored.

PP 3, 6, 60
Barbarians of the North.

Padmapurāṇa 3 (Svargakhāṇḍa), 6, 60 ff.

60. uttarāś cāpare mlecchā janāhi munipuṅgavaḥ /
    javanāś ca sakāṁbojā dāruṇa mlecchājātyaḥ //
61. sakṛghṛḥa kulaṭāś ca hūṇaṃ pārasikāḥ saha /
    stathaiva [!] tamaṇṇā cānyaṁ tatha ca daśaṃālaikāḥ //

Deshpande: O best sages, the others at the north are Mlecchas, the Yavanas with Kāmbojas are ter-
rrible Mleccha tribes, Śakṛghṛhas, Kulaṭyas, Hūṇas with Pārasikas, also Ramaṇas and others (like) 
Daśaṃālikas are other tribes.
Cf. Mbh 6, 10, 64.
PP 5, 81, 20
All are entitled to worship Krṣṇa.
Padmapurāṇa 5 (Pātalakhaṇḍa), 81, 19–21.

19. sarve 'dhikāriṇaś cātra caṁdaṁlāṁtāṁ munīśvara /
strīyāḥ śūdrādayaś cāpi jaḍamūkādipaniṅgavaḥ //
20. anye hūṇāḥ kirātāḥ ca puliṁdāḥ puṣkarās tathā /
ābhūrā yavanāḥ kaṁkāḥ khasādyāḥ pāpayonayaḥ //
21. daṁbhāhaṁkāraparamāḥ pāpāḥ paśuṇyatatparāḥ /
goṇāpānpādhamātāro mahopapātākānvitāḥ //

Deshpande: O best Sage, all are entitled to it (even) up to a cāṇḍāla. So also women, śūdra[s] and others, the dull, the dumb and the lame. Others (like) the Hūṇas, Kirātās, Pulindas and Puṣkaras, Ābhīras, Yavanas, Kāṅkas, Khāṣa[s] and others, so also other low-born ones, those having much religious hypocrisy and egotism, those given to wickedness, killers of cows and brāhmaṇas, those having (committed) major and minor sins,...

PP 6, 20, 19 ff.
The story of Sagara (different version).
Padmapurāṇa 6 (Uttarakhaṇḍa), 20, 19 ff.

19. ...
garasya vyasane tāta hṛtaṁ rājyam abhūt kila //
20. haihayais tālajāṅghaṁyaiḥ śakaṁ sārdhaṁ ca nārada /
yavanāḥ pāradāś caiva kāṁbojāḥ pahlavās tathā //
21. ete pañcagunā bhrayā hāiyāyārthe parākramān /
hṛtarājyas tato rājā sa γaro 'tha vanaṁ yayaʊ //

Deshpande: One to a calamity of (i.e. befalling) Gara, his kingdom was taken away by Haihayas, Tālajāṅghas and Sakas, o Nārada. These tribes – Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāṁbojas and Šakas (showed) valour. That king Gara whose kingdom was snatched, then went to a forest.

After Gara’s death, Sagara was born and taught by Aurva.
29. haihayān vai jaghānāśu sarṅkruddhaṁ svabaleṇa ca /
ājahāra ca lokeṣu sa ca kirtim avāpa saḥ //
30. tataḥ śakaṁ sayavanāḥ kāṁbojāḥ pahlavās ![ ] tathā /
hanyamānās tadā te tu vasiṣṭhaṁ sarpanāṁ yayaʊ //
31. vasiṣṭho ‘pi ca tāṁ kṛtvā saayena mahādyutih /
sagaraṁ vārayāṁ āsa teṣāṁ dattvā 'bhiyaṁ nṛpaḥ //
32. sagaraṁ svāṁ pragreṣṭhaṁ tu gavors vākyam niṣamya ca /
dharmaṁ jaghāna tāṁś ca saṁvāṁ vikṛtavāṁ cakāra ha //
33. arddhaṁ śakānaṁ śirasa muṇḍaṁ kṛtvā visarjayat /
yavanānāṁ śiraṁ sarvāṁ kāṁbojānāṁ tathaiva ca //
34. pārādā muṃḍakeśāś ca pallavāḥ śmaśrurakṣakāḥ /
evarī vijitya sarvān vai kṛtvān dharmasaṃgraham //

Deshpande: Being angry he quickly killed Haihayas with his might. He captivated them and obtained fame in the (three) worlds. Then those Śakas with Yavanas, so also Kāmbojas and Pallavas, being struck by him, sought the shelter of Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha, the very lustrous one, having made an agreement kept away king Sagara after granting them protection from fear. Sagara, keeping his pledge and the preceptor’s words, struck them righteously, and made them deformed. He half-shaved the heads of Śakas and send them away. He completely shaved the heads of Yavanas and also of Kāmbojas. Pāradas are clean-shaved, Pallavas keep moustache. Having thus vanquished all he collected religious merit.

PP 6, 193, 35
The ills of the Kali Age.
Padmapurāṇa 6 (Uttarakhaṇḍa), 193, 35.

35. āśramā yavanairuddhās tīrthāni sarito hradāḥ /
devatāyatanānyatra duṣṭairuccheditāni ca [?] //

Deshpande: The hermitages, holy places, rivers, pools are besieged by Yavanas. The temples at other places are destroyed by the wicked.

PP 6, 246, 33 ff.
Kālayavana.
Padmapurāṇa 6 (Uttarakhaṇḍa), 246, 33 ff.

33. sānujo ratha āruhya mathurāṁ praviveśa ha /
sakālayavanāṁ prāpya mahāvīryaṁ balānvitam //
34. putrayor vasudevasya samācaṣṭaparākramaṁ /
dānavāṁnāṁ vadhaṁ caiva kaṁsasya nidhanaṁ tathā //
35. akṣauhiṇīnāṁ ca vadhaṁ tathā svasya parājayaṁ /
sarvaṁ nivedayāṁ āsa kṛṣṇasya caritaṁ mahat //
36. tac chrutvā yavanaḥ krudḍho mahābalaparākramaiḥ /
mlecchakoṭisahasrais tu saṁvṛto madasaṁyutaiḥ //
37. magadhāḥdhipates tasya sahāyārthāṁ mahābalaḥ /
tenaiva sahitas tūrtāṁ jagāma mathurāṁ purīṁ //

Deshpande: He [Jarāsandha], along with his younger brother (Sunāman), got into a chariot and entered Mathurā (Māgadha?). Having approached Kālayavana, the powerful one, endowed with might, he told him about the valour of Vasudeva’s sons. He narrated to him the destruction of the akṣauhiṇis, so also his own defeat, and the great deeds of Kṛṣṇa. Hearing that the very powerful, angry (Kāla)Yavana, surrounded by thousands of crores of arrogant, very strong and brave mlecchas, went quickly to Mathurā for the help of the king of Magadha.

38.–46ab. Kṛṣṇa moves his people to Dvārakā, but himself remains besieged in the city of Mathurā.
... yavanena tadā yoddhaṁ rāmakṛṣṇau mahābalau //
47. vinirayatur ātmesau mathurāyā bahis tadā /
rāmo lāṅgalam ādaya muśalam ca mahārathaḥ //
48. jaghāna samare kruddho yavanānāṁ mahadbalam /
krṣṇas tu śārṅgam āsajya bāṇair agnisīkhopamiḥ //
49. niraddāha balam sarvaṁ mlecchānāṁ devakīsūṭaḥ /
nihataṁ svabaliṁ dṛṣṭvā sa kālayavano bali //
50. yuyudhe vāsudevena gadayā yavaneśvarah /
kṛṣṇo 'pi kadanaṁ tena kṛtvā ciramanāmayaḥ //
51. vimukhaḥ prādravat tasmāt saṁgrāmaṁ bāṇair agniśikṣapamaiḥ /
so 'nuyāto 'tivegena tiṣṭha tiṣṭheti cābruvan //
52. vegat kṛṣṇo giriguhāṁ prāveśa mahāmatiḥ /
tatra prasupto rājasaṁ mucekūndo mahāmuniḥ //

Deshpande: Then the very powerful Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the lords of themselves, came out of Mathurā to fight with (Kāla)Yavana. Rāma, the great warrior, taking a plough and a pestle, being angry, killed the great army of the Yavanas in the battle. Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, strung the śārṅga (bow) with arrows resembling flames of fire, and burnt the entire army of the mlecchas. Seeing his army killed, that mighty Kālayavana, the lord of Yavanas, fought with Kṛṣṇa, with a mace. Seeing that great havoc (done) by him for a long time, the lotus-eyed Kṛṣṇa too, turning away from the battle, retreated.

(Kālayavana) very speedily followed him, saying, 'Wait, wait.' The very intelligent Kṛṣṇa speedily entered a cave. There the great sage, the king Mucukunda, was asleep.

53. adṛśyas tasya nṛpateḥ saṁsthito bhagavān hariḥ /
yavanam 'pi mahāvīro gadām udyamya pātinā //
54. krṣṇaṁ hantuṁ samārdho guhāṁ tāṁ prāveśa ha /
drṣṭvā saṁgrāmaṁ bāṇair agniśikṣapamaiḥ //
pādena tadāyāṁ asamucukūndaṁ mahāmuniṁ /
tataḥ prabuddho bhagavān mucekūndo mahāmuniḥ //
55. krodhāt saṁraktanayano huṁkāraṁ kṛtvaṁ asau /
tasya humkārasabdhaṁ tathā krodhanirikṣaṇāt //
56. nirdagdho bhasmatāṁ prāpa yavanas tyaktajīvitaḥ / ...

Deshpande: Lord Kṛṣṇa remained invisible to the king. The great hero, Yavana also, raising his mace with his hand, and set out to kill Kṛṣṇa, entered that cave. Seeing the king that was asleep, and taking him to be Kṛṣṇa, Yavana struck the great sage Mucukunda with his foot. Then the revered great sage, Mucukunda, woke up. He, with his eyes red through anger, made hum sound. Due to his hum sound, so also due to looking at (Kālayavana) angrily, the Yavana was completely burnt, was reduced to ash and (thus) gave up his life.
How the great sinner finds bliss through the water of the Gangā.

He is the murderer of thousands of Brāhmaṇas and the kidnapper of others’ wives. He has committed incest with his mother, eaten cow’s flesh, etc.

Deshpande: He, resembling a Yavana, killed at night with sharp swords a guest that had come to his house through greed of wealth.

All this is true, but he was sprinkled with drops of water from the Gaṅgā. Therefore, he proceeds to Vaikuṇṭha.

This Kriyāyogasāra was analysed by Hazra (1958, 277). According to him, it is a Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇa of the late 9th or early 10th century and appended to the PP. The verse quoted here is also given by Hazra with some variants.

Saurapurāṇa

Vyāsakṛtaṁ Saurapurāṇam. Ānandāśramasarasṅskṛtgranthāvaliḥ 18. 2nd edn 1924.

Saurapurāṇa 38, 54

Impious Yavanas (Muslims).

Adhyāya 38. Gurvindrasaṁvāda. Indra protests that men are too pious under a good king and the gods are no longer needed. He speaks to Bṛhaspati, who has known before what to do and should help again now. In the end, Bṛhaspati agrees to give his help and suggests that the true Śaiva religion should be supplanted by a new sectarian (!) Vaiṣṇava creed. Thus was founded the sect of Madhva, as described in this and the next Adhyāya.

Indra uvāca

51. asmākaṁ hīnajīvānāṁ ko viśeṣo yadā śrutih / pramāṇayati tattvena vayaṁ devā yad ājñayā //
52. purohita tava prajñā śobhanā pratibhāti me / pūrvaṁ cārvākabaudhdhādīmārgāḥ sanīdarṣītaṁ tvayā //
53. tena mārgeṇa vibhrāntā vedāṁgabahiśkrāḥ / dāityāś ca dānavaś caiva tathā kuru dvijottama //
54. na cārvākō na vai bauddho na jainō yavano ’pi vā / kāpālikaḥ kauliko vā tasmin rājye viśet kvacit //
55. 
vedāḥ pramāṇam ity eva manyamānā prajā śubhā /
kathāṁ sā cālyate tāta na śakyaṁ hi śubhā ’dhunā //
56. 
vidhidattavarasyāham uchchettuṁ śaktimān katham /

Indra said: “What difference makes it to us, wretched as we are, whether the śruti is held to be an authority of truth, as we are gods by order. O priest, your brilliant intelligence shines to me. The ways of the atheists, Buddhists, etc. were formerly exposed by you. In this way, those who were excluded from the Veda — the Daityas and Dānavas — were confused. Do so (now again), O the best of twice-born!” The guru said: “Not an atheist, nor Buddhist, not a Jaina, Yavana, Kāpālika or Kaula should ever enter this kingdom. The good people, who think that Vedas are authoritative, how can they be confused, friend, as I am now not capable and how could I be capable of destroying the lustre of those who have the choice of law?”

Śivadharmapurāṇa
Unchecked references.
ŚivadhP 34, 7 / 55, 6
Śivadharmapurāṇa 34, 7 or 55, 6 geographical account.
ŚivadhP 61, 29 & 38 & 41
Śivadharmapurāṇa 61, 29 ff. legend of Sagara.

Śivapurāṇa
atha śrīśivamahāpurāṇaṁ bhāṣāṭīkāsahitaṁ prārabhyate. 1–2. Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara mudraṇālaya.
[Bambai n.d.]
The Śiva Purāṇa. Tr. by a Board of Scholars. 1–4. AITMS 1–4. Delhi 1969–70.
ŚiP 38, 30 & 42 & 45
Legend of Sagara.
Śivapurāṇa 38, 21 ff. (translation IV, p. 1609 ff.).

21. hariścandraśyā hi suto rohito nāma viśrutaḥ /
rohitasya vṛkāḥ putro vṛkād bāhus tu jajñivān //
22. haihayās tālajaṅghāś ca nirasyantī sma taṁ nṛpaṁ /
nātmārthe dhārmiko vipraḥ sa hi dharmaparo ’bhavat //
23. sagaraṁ sasutaṁ bāhur jajñe saha gareṇa vai /
aurvasyāśramaṁ āśādyā bhāvgavenābhirkṣitaḥ //

The unexplained reference to ŚiP 6, 61 also seems to refer to this passage.
24. āgneyam astraṁ labdhvā ca bhārgavāt sagaro nṛpaḥ /
jīgāya prthivīṁ hatvā tālajaṅghān sahaihayān //
25. śakān bahūdakāṁś caiva pāradān tagaṇān khaśān /
sudhāraṁ sthāpayām āsa śaśāsā vṛṣataḥ kṣitim //
26.–28. Śaunaka asks for closer information. Sūta agrees and relates what
Vaiśampāyana has told to Janamejaya.
29. bāhor vyasaninas tāta hṛtaṁ rājyam abhūt kila /
haihayais tāljaṅghais ca śakais sārddhaṁ viśāṁ pate //
30. yavanāḥ pāradāś caiva kāmbojāḥ pāhlavās tathā /
bahūdakāś ca paṇcaiva gaṇāḥ proktās ca rakṣasām //
31. ete paṇca gaṇā rājan haihayārtheṣu rākṣasāṁ /
krītvā parākramāṁ bāho rājyaṁ tebhyo dadur balāt //
32.–39. The birth and youth of Sagara.
40. sa tenāstrabalenaiva balena ca samanvitaḥ /
haihayān vijaghaṅnāśu saṁskṛuddho 'strabalena ca //
41. ājahāra ca lokeśu kīrtitāṁ kārmatāṁ varah /
dharmāṁ saṁsthāpayāṁ āsa sagaro 'sau mahītale //
42. tatas śakās sa yavanāḥ kāmbojāḥ pāhlavās tathā /
hanayamāṇas tadā te tu vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ //
43. vasiṣṭho vaṁcānāṁ [sic] kṛtvā samayena mahādyutāḥ /
sagaram vārayāṁ āsa teśām datvābhayaṁ nṛpam //
44. sagaras svāṁ pratiṣṭhānā tu guror vākyaṁ niśamya ca /
dharmāṁ jaghāna teśām vai keśāntvāni cakāra ha //
45. arddhaṁ śakānāṁ śiraso muṇḍaṁ kṛtvā vyasarjayat /
yavanānāṁ śiras sarva kāmbojānāṁ tathaiva ca //
46. pāradā muṇḍakeśāṁ ca pāhlavās śaṁśrūdhārāṇāḥ /
nissvādhyāyasvaṅkārāṁ kṛtās tena mahātmanā //

In 42 and 46, the printed text seems to read Pāhnava, but the translation has Pāhlava.
Although different in its details, this version is so close to that of the Pañcalakṣaṇa that the
translation is left out here.

Skandapurāṇa

atha śrīskāndaṁ mahāpurāṇaṁ prārabhyate. Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara (ṣṭim) mudrānālaye, [Bambail]
sarīvat 1966, śake 1831, i. sa. 1910 = [vol. I.].

34 Vol. I. Maheśvarakhaṇḍa, Vaiśṇavakhaṇḍa (1), II. Vaiśṇavakhaṇḍa (2), Brāhmakhaṇḍa; III.
Kāśikhaṇḍa, Avantyakhaṇḍa (1), IV. Avantyakhaṇḍa (2), Nāgarakhaṇḍa; V. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa.

34 This has been reprinted by Nag Publishers in 7 vols. Delhi 1986–87.
Epic and Classical Sanskrit Texts


Skp 1, 2, 39, 152 & 161
The list of 72 Pradeśas (Barbareśvaramahātmya).
Skandapurāṇa 1, 2 (Kaumārikakhaṇḍa), 39, 151 ff.

151. ṣaṭtriṁśaca sahasrāṇi smṛtau caṭavirāṭakau / ṣaṭtriṁśaca sahasrāṇi yamakoṭiḥ prakīrtitā //
152. aṣṭādaśa tathā kotyo rāmako deśa ucyate / tomaraś cāpi karṇāṭo yugalaś ca trayas tv ime //
153. sapādalakṣagrāmāṇāṁ pratyekam parikīrtitāḥ / pañcalakṣas ca grāmāṇāṁ strīrājyaṁ parikīrtitam //
154. pulastyaviśayaś cāpi daśalakṣaka ucyate / pratyekam lakṣaḍaśakau desau kāmbojakōśalau //
155. grāmāṇāṁ ca caturlakṣa bāhlikāḥ parikīrtitaye / ṣaṭtriṁśac ca sahasrāṇi lāṅkadeśaḥ prakīrtitā //
156. catuḥṣaṭṭisahasrāṇi kurudeśaḥ prakīrtitāḥ / sārdhalakṣas tathā proktaḥ kirātavijayo jayaḥ //
157. pañca prāhus tathā lakṣān vidarbhāyāṁ ca grāmākān / caturdaśasahasrāṇi vardhamānaṁ prakīrtitam //
158. sahasradāśakānāṁ cāpi sīṁhaladvipam ucyate / ṣaṭtriṁśac ca sahasrāṇi grāmāṇāṁ pāṁgudeśakaḥ //
159. lakṣaikāṁ ca tathā proktaṁ grāmāṇāṁ tu bhayāṇakam / ṣaṭṣaṭṭin ca sahasrāṇi deso māḻadha ucyate //
160. saṭṭisahasrāṇī tathā grāmāṇāṁ pāṁgudeśakaḥ / trimiṣaṭaḥsahasra uktaś ca grāmāṇāṁ ca vireṇdukaḥ //
161. pañcaviṁśasahasraṁ mūlasthānaṁ prakīrtitam / catvāriṃśasahasrānī grāmāṇāṁ yavaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ //
162. catvāry eva sahasraṁ pakṣabāhur udīryate / dvāsaptatir amī deśāḥ grāmāsainkhyaḥ prakīrtitāḥ //
163. evam bhāratakhaṇḍe 'smin śaṇṇavatya eva kōtyaḥ / dvāsaptatīs tathā lāṅkāḥ pattannāṁ prakīrtitāḥ //

Variants. 152c puṁgalaś, 154a mulastya°, 154d uttarakoṇalau, 159b °nakam, 160b pāṁdu°, 161b mūlasthānaṁ nigadyate, and 162b yakṣabāhur.

AITMS: Ciṭa and Virāṭaka are known to have thirty-six thousand (villages) (each). Yamakoṭi is declared as having thirty-six thousand (villages). Rāmaka land is said to have eighteen crores (of villages). The three lands of Tomara, Karṇāṭa and Yugaḷa (Pingala) have one hundred thirty-five thousand villages each. The land of Strīrājya is known as having five hundred thousand villages. The realm of Pulastya is said to have one million (villages). The lands of Kāmboja and Kosala have each a
Bālhika is known as having four hundred thousand villages. Laṅkā Deśa is known as having thirty-six thousand villages. Kuru Deśa is known as having sixty-four thousand villages. Jaya, the land of Kirātas, is said to have fourteen thousand villages. The land Pāṇḍudeśaka has thirty-six thousand villages. Vidarbha is proclaimed to have five hundred thousand villages. Vardhamāna has fourteen thousand villages. Skandapurāṇa 2, 7, 24, 22 ff.

The story of the Yavana Brahmin and his wife.

22. ... puṣrā kāśmiradeṣe tu dvijo devavratāhvayaḥ //
23. tasya 'śin mālinināma tanayā cārurūpiṇī /
   dadau tāṁ satyaśīlāvipravrayāyāvahīmante//
24. tāṁ udvāhyā yayaḥ dhimāṁ svadeśaṁ yavanāhvayaṁ /
   rūpayauvanasarṣapannā tasya naiva priyābhavat //
25. sadā vidveṣasāryuktas tasyāṁ tiṣṭhati nīṣṭhurāḥ /
   nānyasya kasyacī dveṣī tāṁ vīnaṁ nrpate patiḥ //
26. tasmin sā krodhasāryuktā vaśikaraṇalāṁpatā /
   aprcchat pramadā rājan yās tyaktāḥ patibhiḥ purā //
27. tāṁ bhiṣma vaśyaṁ bhavītā śāṅkarāṇe vīṣṇu-rajan /
   vyāsantaḥ prayaṁ jato bharṣṭṛtyāgāvamāniṃām //
28. pratyujya bheṣajaṁ vaśyaṁ nāṁśaṁ yavanāḥpurā /
   yoginīṁ tvaṁ tu gacchādyā dasyate bheṣajaṁ śubham //
29. na vikalpas tvayā kāryo bhavītā dāsavat patiḥ /
   yoginīmāndire gatvā täśāṁ śrīmaṁ bhūpate //
30. prasādam atulaṁ tasyāṁ āśrādhe duścārīṇi sāti /
   atastamāḥbhasāṁyuktāṁ kuṭināḥ bhūe svaraṁvītī //
31. bhuvi śṭṛti kāma duvartakāṁ tathaśāpiyātāpyāmākīmām /
   pravṛtvā dirghavastreṇa sannidhiṁ tena yoginī //
32. dirghābhīṣ ca saṅkhitṛi tu pravṛtvā dipṣarṣāyutā /
   paricārāsāṃpetā viśamānā śānaḥ śānaḥ śānaḥ //
33. aksaśaṭārakārā sī tu japantī prārthitaḥ tayaḥ /
   dadau vaśyakaraṇaḥ mantrāṁ kṣobhaḥkaraṇaḥ prayaŷātmakām //
34. tāṁ sā prāṇatā bhūtvā dādyād dravyāṁ gūliyakām /
   vajramāṇikeṣāṃyuktām atiraktaprabhāñvite //
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35. mṛdukāñcanasaṁyuktaṁ bhānuraśmisamadyuti /
tato drṛṣyā tu sarāṅṣṭā pādasthaṁ cāṅguliyačakam //
36. ṣrdayaṁ ca taṁ jātaṁ tapatār avamānajam /
tadoktā hi taṁ bhūpa tāpasyāhitayuktayā //
37. cūrṇo rakṣānvitō hi eṣa sarvabhūtavāsaṁkaraḥ /
cūrṇaṁ bhārtari saṁyujya rakṣāṁ grīvāsrayāṁ kuru //
38. bhavisyati patir vaśyō nāyaṁ yāśyati sunaṛīm /
nāpiyaṁ vadati kvāpi duścārīnyās tavāpi ca //
39. cūrṇaraksāṁ grīhītvā sā prāpa bhartygrhaṁ punaḥ /
pradoṣe payaśā yuktas cūrṇo bhārtari yojitah //
40. grīvāsṛā hä kṛtā rakṣā na vaśyō kṛtā taṁ taṁ /
tadā sa pita-cūrṇas tu bhārtā nṛpavarottama //
41. tatcūrṇāt kṣayarogo 'bhūt patiḥ kṣiṇo dine śāme /
guhye te kṛmayō jātā ghorā duścāraṇodbhavāḥ //
42. dinaṁ kati-payai rājan patyur naiva vyavasthitih /
ūvāsa vyavasthitā sāpi puruśācari duścārīṇi //
43. halatejās tato bhārtā tām uvāca 'kulendriyaḥ /
krandamāno divārātrau dāso 'smi tava sōbhane //
44. trāhi māṁ śaraṇaṁ prāptaṁ necche 'hāṁ aparāṁ striyam /
tat tasya viditaṁ jātaṁ bhūte sā medinīpate //
45. alaṅkārakṛte patyur jīvanavacchur na vai hita /
yoginīṁ ca yayau śīghraṁ tasyai sarvaṁ nyavedayat //
46. taṁ ca bheṣajaṁ dattaṁ dviṛtyāṁ dāhāśāntaye /
datte ca bheṣaje tasmin svastho ‘bhūt tat-taṁśāntat patiḥ //
47. tiṣṭhaṁ upapatīr gehe ghruhgyṛtyā-padeśataḥ /
sarva-vṛṣṇasubhātā jārās tiṣṭhanti vai gehe //
48. na kirśic vacane śaktir bhārtur jātaṁ kathānicana /
tatas tenaiva doṣena sarvānās gṛhe sa jājīre //
49. karma yaś cāśibhektāṛaḥ kālāntakayamopamāḥ /
tair nāsāśivayoś cāśc cheadaṁ karṇadvayasya ca //
50. stanayoś cāṅgulīnāṁ ca purūgatvarīṁ cāpi cāgatam /
tenā paṅcatvam āpānaṁ gṛhe na-rakṣayātāṁ //

Tagare: Formerly, in the land of Kāśmīra, there was a Brāhmaṇa named Devavrata. He had a very beautiful daughter named Mālinī. He gave her (in marriage) to Satyaśīla, an intelligent, excellent Brāhmaṇa. The intelligent one went to his own land named Yavana after marrying her. Though she was richly endowed with beauty and youth, he was not much enamoured of her. He was always cruel towards her and hated her, O king. The husband did not hate anyone except her. She became furious with him and was eager to win him over, O king. The young woman asked those ladies who had been by their husbands earlier. She was told by them, O king: “Your husband shall definitely come under your control. We have been insulted by being forsaken by our husbands. It is our firm belief that (many) husbands were earlier
brought under control by using medicinal potions etc. You do go to one Yoginī today. She will give you splendid medicine or drug. You need not at all entertain suspicions to the contrary. Your husband will begin to behave like a slave.” At their instance, the woman of evil deeds went to the abode of the Yoginī, O king, and obtained very great favour from her. She hurriedly went to her cottage that had a hundred columns. It was spacious and very brilliant. It was sufficiently large. The Yoginī had covered herself with a long cloth. Her matted locks of hair were very long. She was highly resplendent. There were many to attend upon her. She glanced at her slowly. With a rosary in her hand, she was engaged in Japa. On being requested by the (Brāhmaṇa lady) the Yoginī gave her a magic spell that could agitate, that could create confidence and that could win over (anyone). Then she bowed down (to the Yoginī) and gave her a ring of great value that was studded with diamonds and rubies, that had a very brilliant red lustre, that was made of gold soft to the touch and that had the refulgence on a par with the rays of the sun. On seeing the ring placed at her feet, the Yoginī became delighted. She could understand the reaction in her heart due to the disregard of her husband. The (Brāhmaṇa lady) was told thus, O king, by the ascetic woman engaged in her welfare: “This powder along with this amulet is powerful enough to captivate all living beings. Give the powder to your husband and wear the amulet round your neck. Your husband can be won over. He will not approach any other beautiful woman. He will not utter anything displeasing to you, even if you misbehave.” With the powder and the amulet she came back to her husband’s house. At dusk, the powder was administered to her husband in milk. The amulet was tied round her neck. She did not feel worried thereafter. The husband (of the lady) who had drunk the milk along with the powder, O most excellent king, became afflicted with consumption due to that powder. He became tired and worn out day by day. Worms and germs grew in abundance in the awfully putrefying wounds. Within a few days the condition of the husband became exceedingly critical. But she lived as she was pleased with her vicious deeds and union with different men. The husband whose natural lustre and brilliance perished and whose sense-organs became disordered continued to lament day and night. He said to her: “O splendid lady, I am your slave. I seek refuge in you. Save me. I do not at all wish for any other woman.” On realizing his plight, she became afraid, O king. She desired that her husband should continue to live not because she wanted his welfare, but because she wanted him as her ornament. She immediately went to the Yoginī and said everything to her. A second drug was handed over to her for quelling the burning sensation. When the drug was administered the husband got relief instantaneously and regained his normal health. The paramour (of hers) stayed on in the house under the pretext of attending to some domestic work (of urgency). She had lovers belonging to all castes and creeds, all staying in the house itself. The husband was powerless to say anything (against her). Yet, the sin arising from her misdeeds produced germs in her body. They pierced her bones. They were like Kāla, the annihilator, and Yama, the controller. Holes were made by them in the nose, tongue and ears as well as in the breasts. The fingers became split. She became lame and ultimately she died. She met with hellish tortures.

SkP 3, 3, 15
Legend of the Yavana King Durjaya.
Skandapurāṇa 3 (Brahmakhaṇḍa), 3 (Brahmottarakhaṇḍa), adhyāya 15 = Vṛhadbrahmottarakhaṇḍa ch. 27, according to Aufrecht 1864, 74b (MS no. 126):35

35 Aufrecht: Cineris, quo Śivae cultores corpus illinere solent, sanctitas narratione quadam probatur.
Walking in a remote forest, the Śaiva ascetic Vāmadeva is attacked by a hungry Brahmarākṣasa. But the mere touch of the holy ashes that the sage has applied on his body gives the monster a memory of his former births and the cause of his birth in this terrible form.

vāmadeva uvāca

20. kas tvaṁ vanecaro ghorō rākṣaso 'tra kim āsthitaḥ / katham etāṁ mahāghorāṁ kaṣṭāṁ gatim avāptavān // rākṣasa uvāca

21. rākṣaso 'ham itaḥ pūrvarśa pañcacāraṁ śatam āstitaḥ / goptā yavanarāṇāṣṭraya durjayo nāma viryavān //

22. so 'haṁ durātāṁ pāpiyāṁ svairacāri mahotkaraṁ / daṇḍadārī durācāraṁ pracaṇḍo nirghṛṭaṁ khalā //

23. yuvā bahukalatro 'pi kāmāṣakto jītendriyaḥ / imāṁ pāpiyāṁ śeṣāṁ punar ekāṁ gato 'smy aham //

24. pratyaḥarāṁ nūたanām anyāṁ nāṁ bhoktumānāḥ sadā / āḥṛṭāḥ sarvadesēbhya nāryo bhṛtyaṁ madāṁnāyā //

25. bhuktvā bhuktvā parityaktāṁ ekāṁ ekāṁ dine dine / antargṛheṣu sarṇāhāpya punar anyāḥ striyo dhṛtaḥ //

26. evaṁ svarāṣṭrāṁ pararāṣṭrāṁ ca desāgaragrāmapurvajebhyāḥ / āḥṛtya nāryo rāmāṁ dine dine bhuktā punaḥ kāpi na bhujyate mayā //

27. athāntyāś ca na bhujyante mayā bhuktāṁ tathā striyāḥ / antargṛheṣu nihitāḥ śocante ca divāniśam //

28. brahmaviṭkṣatraśudrāṁ yadā nāryo mātā hṛtaḥ / mama rājye sthitāviprāḥ sahadāraiḥ pradudruvuḥ //

29. sabhāṛṭkāś ca kanyāś cavidhavāś ca rajasvālāḥ / āḥṛtya nāryo rāmitā mayā kāmāhaṁtmanā //

30. dvīṣataṁ dvījanāṁśāṁ rājastrāṁ cātmahāṭtamaṁ / svāṁ caraśāṁ vaiśyanāṁśāṁ sahasraṁ śudrayosṭāṁ //

31. sataṁ caṇḍālanāṁśāṁ pulindānāṁ sahasrakam / aḷūṣaṁśāṁ pañcaśataṁ rajakīṁśāṁ cūṭṭhātama //

32. asaṁkhyāvā nāryamukhyāṁ ca mayā bhuktāḥ durātmanā / tathāpi mayi kāmāya na ṭṛpaṁ saṁajaya //

33. evaṁ dvīṣayāśaktair ca maṁśāḥ pāṇarataṁ sadā / yauvane 'pi mahāraogā viviśur yaksmaṁkādaya //

34. rogarīttu 'napatyāś ca śatrubhiś cāpi pāṇḍitaḥ / tyakto 'maṁśāś ca bhṛtyaṁ ca mṛto 'haṁ svena karmanā //

Durjaya enim, Yavanarum rex, qui propter vitam libidinosam varias metamorphoses subierat, et de-mique in Rākṣasaṁ mutatus erat, quum Vāmadevam tetigisset, sceleribus liberatus est.
35. āyur vinaśatya ayaśo vivardhate bhāgyaṁ kṣayaṁ yāty atidurgatiṁ vrajet / 
svargāc cyavante pitaraḥ purātanā dharmavyapetasya narasya niścitam //

There follows an account of his fate after death, both in hell and in 25 subsequent rebirths as a piśāca, various animals and a rākṣasa.

Tagare (vol. 9, 1996): Vāmadeva asked: Who are you, a forest-roaming terrible Rākṣasa? Why are you staying here? How did you get into such a painful and excessively terrible plight?

The Rākṣasa replied: I am now a Rākṣasa but in my twenty-fifth previous birth, I was the ruler of the Yavana country. I was called Durjaya, the heroic one. I was vicious-souled and highly sinful. I was arrogant and self-willed, a man of wicked conduct out to punish everyone, a fierce, ruthless, mischievous person. In my youth I was excessively lecherous, without any control over my passions, though I had many wives. Further, I was guilty of another heinous, sinful act. Everyday I wanted to enjoy a fresh woman. At my bidding, my servants brought women from all countries. Everyday I used to enjoy a woman and throw her into the inner apartment, ready to catch hold of another woman for the morrow. In this way, women were brought from my own and foreign countries, from all excellent countries, villages, cities and colonies and were enjoyed day-by-day. A woman once enjoyed was never enjoyed again. The women enjoyed by me were not enjoyed by others at all. Kept within the four walls of the inner apartment, they used to bewail day and night. When women of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra castes were carried away by me, Brāhmaṇas residing in my kingdom ran away along with their wives. Women having husbands alive, virgins, widows, nay, women in their menses too, were brought and enjoyed by me, a damned lustful soul. Three hundred Brāhmaṇa women, four hundred women from royal families, six hundred Vaiśya women and a thousand Śūdra maidens, a hundred Cāṇḍāla women, a thousand Pulinda (hill tribe) girls, five hundred Śailūṣīs (actresses), four hundred Rajakīs (washerwomen) and innumerable prominent harlots were enjoyed by me in the course of my wicked life. Still my lust was not satisfied fully. Even in the prime of my youth, great ailments such as pulmonary consumption etc. entered me (my body), bent upon enjoying evil worldly pleasures, haughty and addicted to imbibing liquor. Having fallen prey to foul diseases, harassed by enemies, devoid of sons and forsaken by the servants and the ministers, I died as a result of my (evil) karmas. It is definite that if a man goes astray from the path of virtue, his span of life gets reduced, ignominy is enhanced, fortune dwindles into nothing and he undergoes a very wretched life. All the ancestral Manes certainly suffer a downfall from heaven.

SkP 6, 88, 8 & 18
Kālayavanas as a people conquer and kill the king of Kāśi.
Skandapurāṇa 6, 88, 8 ff.

8. kasyacit tv atha kālaśya kāśirājasya bhūpateḥ /
taiḥ kālayavanaṁ sārdham abhavat saṅgara mahān //
9. atha tair nihataṁ saṁkhye sābhṛtyabalavāhānaḥ /
haralabdharaṁ raudraṁ kāśirājāḥ pratāpavān //
...
18. asmākaṁ dayito bharttā kāśirājāḥ pratāpavān /
nihataṁ saṅgare krudhdhair yavanaṁ kālipūrvakaṁ //
Tagare (vol. 16, 2002): Once upon a time the king of Kāśī had to fight a great battle with the Kālayavanas (dark-complexioned Barbarians). Though the king of Kāśī was endowed with great prowess, he was killed in the battle along with his servants, armies and vehicles by those terrible ones who had obtained boons from Hara... The (two) queens said: Our beloved husband, the valorous king of Kāśī, has been killed in battle by the ferocious Kālayavanas.

SkP 6, 88, 36 & 41
An army of fierce goddesses slays the Kālayavanas.
Skandapurāṇa 6, 88, 36 ff.

36. atha tābhyāṁ tathākarnya tāḥ sarvā harṣasaṁyutāḥ / prasthitās tatra tā yatra te kālayavanāḥ sthitāḥ //
37. tatas te tat samālokya balaṁ devīsamudbhavam / raudrārupadharāṁ tīvraṁ vikṛtaṁ vikṛtair mukhaiḥ //
38. viṣaṇṇavadanāḥ sarve bhayabhītāḥ samantataḥ / dhāvanto bhakṣitās tābhīr devatābhīḥ sunīrdayam //
39. bālavṛddhasamopetaṁ teṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ durātmanāṁ / striāḥ ca sahitaṁ tābhīr devatābhīḥ prabhakṣitam //
40. evaṁ nirvāśya tadrāṣṭram teṣāṁ sarvāḥ tā harṣasaṁyutāḥ / bhūya eva nijāṁ sthānāṁ sāṁprāptī dvījasattamāḥ //
41. tataḥ procuḥ praṇamyoccais tābhyāṁ vinayapūrvakam / hatās te yavanaḥ kṛṣṇāḥ saputrapaśubāndhavāḥ //
42. udvāsitas tathā sarvo deśas teṣāṁ sa vai mahān / sāṁpratam diyaṁtāṁ kaścid āhāras trptihetave / nivāśaya tataḥ sthānāṁ kiṁcic cāvedyatāṁ hi naḥ //

Tagare (vol. 16, 2002): Then these beings heard the commands of the two goddesses and were highly delighted. They proceeded towards the place where dark-complexioned ones were staying. On seeing the army of the goddesses with hideous forms and ugly countenances (advancing) all those (Kālayavanas) became afraid with gloomy faces. While they fled here and there, they were ruthlessly swallowed by those deities. The entire kingdom of those wicked-souled ones including children and old people as well as women were quickly swallowed by those deities. After depopulating and exterminating the entire territory, O excellent Brāhmaṇas, all of them joyously returned to their original abodes. Then they bowed down with humility to those two deities and requested loudly: “All those Kālayavanas have been killed along with their sons, kinsmen and cattle. The entire realm though vast has been rendered waste. Now some food may be given to us for our satisfaction. Similarly some place may be assigned to us for residence.”

SkP 6, 121, 39
Yavanas among the Dāityas and Dānavas of Mahiṣāsura slain by Devī.
Skandapurāṇa 6, 121, 37 ff.
37. etasminn antare devī sāṭṭhāsakṛtāsakranā
trailokyavivarāṇī sarvarāī yac chabdena prapūritam //
38. evaṁ tasyā hasantyāś ca vaktrāntād atha nīrayuḥ /
pulindā śabarā mlecchās tathānye 'ranyavāsinaḥ //
39. śakāś ca yavanās caiva śataśas tu vapurdharāḥ /
varmasthagita-gatrāś ca yamadūtā ivāpare //
40. te procur devī no brūhi yena sṛṣṭā vayaṁ kṣītā /
    kāryeṇa kriyate kṛtsnaṁ yena śīghraṁ varānane //
Devy uvāca
41. etān asya suduṣṭasya sainikān balagarvitān /
sūdayadhvārīntaṁ dantāṁ vākyād asmadiyād yathecchayā //

Tagare (vol. 10, 2002): In the meantime the goddess laughed boisterously making the entire space of three worlds filled therewith. Thus, when she laughed, Pulindas, Śabaras, Mlecchas and other forest-dwellers issued forth from her mouth. Śakas and Yavanas too came out thus in their hundreds of physical forms (bodies) covered with armour. They appeared like messengers of Yama. They spoke: “O fair lady, for what purpose have we been created? Do tell us, O lady of excellent countenance, so that it can be carried out quickly.”

Devi said: At our instance slay, as you please, these soldiers of this evil fellow. They are foolishly proud due to their inordinate strength. Slay them quickly.

In the following battle (42–45.), Devi’s forces are, of course, victorious.

Vāmanapurāṇa

Vāmana Purāṇa. Sanskrit text and English translation with an exhaustive introduction, notes and index of verses. Tr. by a board of scholars. Ed. with notes by O.N. Bimali and K.L. Joshi. Parimal Sanskrit Series 76. Delhi 2003. (This is a poor work with a number of grave errors, both in the Sanskrit text and translation.)

An unspecified reference claiming that Alexandria is mentioned in this Purāṇa as alinhadra is not very convincing. In addition, only two familiar geographical accounts are found.

VāmP 13, 11

Description of the Bharatarṣa

11. pūrve kirātā yasyānte paścime yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ /
    āndhrā daksinatā vīrā turuṣkās tv api cottare //

VāmP 13, 38

List of the inhabitants of Jambūdvīpa: Western division.

VāP 1, 45, 82
Description of Bharatavarṣa.
Vāyupurāṇa 1, 45, 82 (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 above).

82. dvīpo hy upaniviṣṭo ‘yaṁ mlecchair anteṣu nityaśaḥ / pūrve kīrāṭā hy asyānte paścime yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ //
N.B. Previously (in verse 1, 45, 79), Kaseru is mentioned as a division of the Bharatavarṣa (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 II 6).

VāP 1, 45, 116
Description of Bharatavarṣa.

115. bāhlīkā vāḍhadhānāś ca ābhīrāḥ kālatoyakāḥ / aparītāś ca śūdrāḥ ca pahnavās carmakhaṇḍikāḥ //</p>116. gāndhārā yavanāś caiva sindhusauvīrābhadrakāḥ / akā hradā kulindāś ca pāritā hārapūrikāḥ //</p>117. ramaṭā raddhakaṭakāḥ kekayā daśamānikāḥ / kṣatriyopaniveśaś ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca //</p>118. kāmbojā daradāś caiva barbarāḥ priyalaukikāḥ / pīnāś caiva tuṣārāś ca pahlavā bāhyatodarā //</p>119. ātreyāś ca bharadvājāḥ prasthalāś ca kaserukāḥ / lampākā stanapāś caiva piḍīkā jhūḍalī saha //</p>120. apagāś cālimadrāś ca kirātānāṁ ca jātayaḥ / tomarā haṁsamārgāś ca kāśmīraṁ taṅgaṇās tathā //</p>

Tagare: The colonies of Kṣattriyas are Vāhlīkas,…Yavanas,…and Daśamānikas. The tribes of Vaiśyas and Śūdras are: Kāmbojas,…and Juhuḍas.

Through a comparison to parallel versions, Alimadra in 120a has been occasionally interpreted as Alexandria. The passage is quoted by al-Bīrūnī (Sachau Ch. 29, p. 300).
VāP 1, 47, 42
River list of the Gaṅgā(s).
Vāyupurāṇa 1, 47, 41 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954: 5 II, 42 f. above). The text is close to that of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (see above).

41. prasūtāḥ sapta nadyas tāḥ śubhā bindusarobhavāḥ /
ānādeśān bhāyaṃtyayto mlecchāṃś ca sarvaśaḥ //
42. upagacchanti tāḥ sarvā yato vārṣati vāsavaḥ /
śirindhrān kantalānīś cīnas barbaraḥ yavanān druhnān //
43. ruṣānānīś ca kuṇindānīś ca aṅgalokavarās ca ye //
kṛtvā dvipindhaṃ sīdhumaraṃ sītā īgat pascimodadiṃ //
44. atha cīnamarūnīś caiva naṅgaṇān sarvamūlikān /
sādhrān tuṣārānīś tāṁ pāhnān darān śakān //
etān janapadān cākṣuḥ śrāvayaṃtī gatodadiṃ /

Tagare: These seven streams issuing from the Bindu lake sanctify several countries mainly occupied by Mlecchas and approach a place where Indra showers the rain. They are as follows: Sirindhras, Kun-talas, Cīnas, Barbaras, Yavasas [sic], Druhas, Ruṣānas, Kuṇindas and Aṅgalokavaras. The river Sītā divides the desert of Sindhu into two and flows into the western Ocean. The river Cakṣu flows through these countries: Cīnamarus (Chinese desert?), Naṅgaṇas, Sarvamūlikas, Sādhras, Tuṣāras, Lāṅpakas, Pahlavas, Darāṇas and Śakas. It then falls into the Ocean.

The seven rivers flowing from the Himalaya were given as currents of the Gaṅgā in verses 38 f. as the Nalinī (explained in verses 56–58) and the Hrādinī (53–55) flowing to the east; the Sītā (42 f.?), the Cakṣu (44) and the Sindhu (–) to the west; and the Bhagīratha (i.e. the Gaṅgā, 45–50) to the south. The Sindhu is not included here (as it is in the BṇḍP), perhaps being confused with the Sītā.

VāP 1, 58, 82
Prophecy about the end of the Kaliyuga, when a divine king will be born as an aspect of Viṣṇu to become the chastiser of wicked people (75 ff.).
Vāyupurāṇa 1, 58, 82 f. (cf. Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 92-1 ff. above).

80. ... tān sarvān hanti sarvaśaḥ ...
82. taithaiva dākṣiṇātyāṁś ca draviḍān siṃhalaiḥ saha /
   gāndhārān pāradāṁś caiva pahnavān yavanānīś tathā //
83. tuṣārān barbarānīś cīnas śūlikān darān khasān /
   lampākān atha ketānīś ca kirānānīś ca jātayaḥ //

No translation needed for this mere list of peoples to be vanquished. Cf. 2, 36, 107 below.

VāP 2, 26, 121 ff.
The story of Sagara.
Vāyupurāṇa 2, 26 (88 or 89 of the whole work), 120 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1927, 2. I B, 28 ff. above). The text is very close to that of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (see above).
... tasmād Bāhur ca jajñivān //
120. haihayais tālajaṅghaiś ca nirasto vyasanī nṛpaḥ /
   śakair yavanakāmbojaḥ pāradas tahlā pahlavais tathā //

Tagare: ...Bāhu was born of him. The king (viz. Bāhu) who was addicted to vice was defeated by the
Haibayas, Tālajaṅghas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas.

122.–125. The story of Sagara is briefly summarized. Then the sages ask for a more detailed
account, which is given by the Śūta.
123. Bāhor vyasaninas tasya hṛtaṁ rājyam purā kila /
   haihayais tālajaṅghaiś ca śakaiḥ sārddhaṁ samāgataiḥ //
124. yavanāḥ pāradāś caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavās tathā /
   haihayārthaṁ parākrāntā ete pańca gańças tadā //

Tagare: It is reported that the kingdom of the vicious king Bāhu was taken over by Haihayas and
Tālajaṅghas who came along with Śakas? [sic] These five clans, viz. Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas,
Pahlavas, (and Śakas) attacked him.

128.–133. Bāhu’s end, Sagara’s birth and youth. 134. consisting of three half-ślokas, describes
the divine arms and concludes:
   jaghāna haihayān kruddho rudraḥ paśugaṇān iva //
135. tataḥ śakān sa yavanān kāmbojān pāradas tathā /
   pahlavāṁś caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavās tathā /
136. te vādhyamānāṁ vireṇa sagareṇa mahātmānā /
   vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ sarve prapannāṁ sārānaiṁśa //
137. vasiṣṭhas tāṁ tathātya uktvā samayena mahāmuniṁ /
   saharaiṁ vārayāṁ āsa teṣāṁ dattvā ‘bhayaṁ tadā //
138. sagaraṁ svāṁ pratiṣṭhaṁ ca guror vākyaiṁ niśaṁya ca /
   dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ vai veśaṁyatvaṁ cakāra ha //
139. ardhaiṁ śakānaiṁ śiraṁ mūndaiyāvī clamāvaiyāvān /
   yavanāṁś cakānaiṁ sīraṁ sarvaiṁ kāmbojānāṁ tathāvai|-- //
140. pāradas muktakeshiṁ ca pahlavāṁ śmaśrudhāriṁ /
   niṁśvāyāyaśaṣtakāṁ kṛtiṁ teṇa mahātmānā //
141. śakā yavanakāmbojāḥ pahlavāṁ pāradas saha /
   kalisparśa māhiṣikā dārvās colāṁ khasās tathā //
142. sarve te kṣatriyaṁ gharmaṁ teṣāṁ niṁśvaiṁ /
   vasiṣṭhavacanād pūrvaṁ sagareṇa mahātmānā //
143. sa dharmavijayiṁ rājā vijityaiṁ vasundhārāṁ /
   aśvaṁ vicārayāṁ āsa vājimedhāya dīkṣitaḥ //

Tagare: ...the infuriated king killed Haihayas like Rudra destroying Paśus (individually). Then the
king attempted to exterminate completely Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. Being
harassed and victimised by the heroic and noble-souled Sagara, all of them desirous of protection sought
shelter and protection from Vasiṣṭha. Having stipulated some conditions, Vasiṣṭha agreed. Promising
them protection from fear (of extermination by Sagara), the great sage restrained Sagara. Remember-
ing his own vow and on hearing the words of his preceptor, Sagara put an end to their traditional rites
of worship and made them change their dress and apparel. He got half of the heads of Śakas shaved and released them. He got the heads of Yavanas and Kāmbojas completely shaven. Pāradas were compelled to keep their hair dishevelled and Pahlavas were made to grow their beards. They were debarred from Vedic study and the use of Vaṣaṭkāra by that noble-souled king. Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, Pāradas, Kalisparśas, Māhiṣikas, Dārvas, Colas and Khasas — all these were clans of Kṣatriyas. Their traditional religious rites were prohibited by the noble-souled Sagara at the instance of Vasiṣṭha. Concluding his conquests rightly, the king conquered the earth and took initiation for the performance of a horse sacrifice. He let loose the horse...

VāP 2, 36, 101
Kṛṣṇa kills Kālayavana.
Vāyupurāṇa 2, 36, 101 (cf. Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 88 above). This is adhy. 98 of the complete work.

101. chinnaṁ bāhusahasrañ ca bāṇasyādbhutakarmaṇaḥ / 
    narakaś ca hutaḥ saṅkhye yavanaś ca mahābalaḥ //

Tagare: The thousand arms of Bāna of wonderful exploits were cut off by him. The Asura Naraka and the powerful (Kāla-)Yavana were killed by him in battle.

VāP 2, 36, 107
Kalkī kills barbarian peoples.

Idential with 1, 58, 82 f. (see above), with the following variants:
107d pahlavān yavanān chakān
108a barbarāṁś caiva pulindān (instead of śūlikān)
108cd lampākān andhakān rudrān kirāṁś caiva sa prabhuḥ /

VāP 2, 37, 264 ff.
Dynasties of the Kali Age.
Vāyupurāṇa 2, 37 (99 of the whole work), 263 ff.

263. tān sarvān kīrtayiṣyāmi ...
264. kṣatrāḥ pāraśavāḥ śudrās tathā ye ca dvijātayaḥ / 
    andh-rośaḥ sakāḥ pulindāś ca tūlikā yavanādh saha //
N.B. śūdra = maurya, dvijāti (brāhmaṇa) = kāṇva
320.–330. Nandas and Mauryas
353. saptaiva tu bhaviṣyaṁ daśābhīrās tato nṛpir / 
    sapta gardabhinaś cāpi tato ‘tha daśa vai sakāḥ //
354. yavanāśtu bhaviṣyaṁ tuṣārās tu caturdaśa / 
    trayodaśa maruṇḍāś ca maunā hy aṣṭādaśaiva tu //
355. andhṛā bhokṣyanti vasudhāṁ śate dve ca śataṁ ca vai /  
           śatāni trīny aṣṭiṁ ca bhokṣyanti vasudhāṁ śakāh //
356. aṣṭiṁ caiva varṣāṇi bhoktāro yavanā mahīm /  
           pañcavarṣaśatānīha tuṣārāṇāṁ mahī smṛtā //
Cf. BṇḍP 2, 3, 74, 172 ff., and MP 273, 18 ff.

In 358., the Śūdra tribe of Kolikilas (with variants) is mentioned. Later follows another account of the dynasties of the Kali age, which is apparently even less connected with real history than the first. This second account reads:

382. alpaprasādā hy anṛtā mahākrodhāḥ hy adharmikāḥ /  
           bhaviṣyantīha yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato 'ṛthataḥ //
383. naiva mūrdhābhiṣiktās te bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ / ...

Tagare: Thereafter, the untruthful and unrighteous Yavanas of great fury and of little grace will rule here spreading their religion, spending vast riches and giving vent to their lust. (!?) Then follows a long account of the many crimes, impiety and folly committed by all these Kali age kings (383.–389.).

Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa

atha viṣṇudharmottaramahāpurāṇaprārambhāḥ. Śrīvenkaṭeśvar (ṣṭīm) yantrālaya, Muṁbaī n.d.

VidhP 1, 9, 7
Kūrmacakra (Janapadarṇana).
Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 1, 9, 1–10.

vajra uvāca
1. śrotuṁ janān ihecchāmi sāgaradvīpavāsinaḥ /  
          prādhānyena bhṛguśreṣṭha vistarād vistaro yataḥ //
Mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
2. pāñcālāḥ kuravo matsyā yaudheyāḥ savaṭaścarāḥ /  
          kuntayaḥ śūrasenaś ca madhyadesājanāḥ smṛtāḥ //
3. vrṣadhvajāṁjanāḥ pannāḥ suhmā māgadhacedayaḥ /  
          kāśayaḥ ca videhāḥ ca pūrvasyāṁ kosalās tathā //
4. kalīṅgaṇāgapeṇḍrāṅgaṇavīdartabhā mūlakās tathā /  
          vindhyāntanilayāḥ proktā pūrvadakṣinataḥ smṛtāḥ //

36 The legend of Bāhu and Sagara is very briefly given in 1, 17 without mentioning the Yavanas. It is only stated in 1, 17, 9 that Bāhu was conquered by haihayais tālajaṅghaiś ca sarvamlecchagaṇāvṛttaḥ, and in 1, 17, 14 that Sagara haihayāṁs tālajaṅghāṁ ca nijaghāna parantapaḥ.
5. pulindāśmakajīmūtanarāṣṭranivāsinaḥ / karṇāṭakā bhojakaṭā dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ //
6. ambasṭhā draviḍā nāgah kāmbojah strīmukhah śakah / ānantavāsina ṣaiva jñeyā dakṣiṇapaścime //
7. strīrāyaṁ saindhavā mlecchā nāstikyā yavanas tathā / paścimena ca viṁśeyāḥ patumānausadhaṁ saha //
8. māṇḍavyaś ca tuṣṭāṁ ca mūlikāḥ ca mukhāḥ khasah / mahākāsaḥ mahānāsaḥ deśās tūttarapaścime //
9. lampagās tālānāgaḥ ca marugāndhārājūtah / himavannilām mlecchā hy udiṁsī diśim āśritāḥ //
10. trigartānikānuṭā brahmaputraṁ satignah / abhīṣārāḥ ca kāsmīraḥ codakpūrvaṁ kīrtītāḥ //

In 4c, MS kha reads nilayā deśā.

**Visṇupurāṇa**

atha śrīviṣṇumahāpurāṇaṁ viṣṇucittyātmakābhāṣākhyāśrīdharīya vyākhyātmaka prārabhaye. Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara (śtīm) mudraṇayantrālaye, Muṁbaī saṁvat 1967, śake 1832.


ViP 2, 3, 8

Description of Bharatavarṣa.

Visnupurāṇa 2, 3, 6 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 above).

6. bhāratasyāsya varṣasya navabhedān niśāmaya / indrādiṁpiḥ kaseruś ca tāmrapaṁśu gabhastimān //
7. nāgadvipas tathā saumyo gandharvas tv atha cāruṇah / [sic] ayaṁ tu navamas teśāṁ dvipaṁ sūgarasaṁvṛtaṁ //
8. yojanānāṁ sahasraṁ tu dvipaṁ daṁśiṇottarāt / pūrve kirāṭā yasyānte paścime yavanas sthitāḥ //
9. brāhmaṇah kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye śūdrāḥ ca bhāgaḥ / iṣṭāyudhavanijyādyair vartayanto vyavasthitāḥ //

Wilson p. 142 (1840, 175): *The Varsha of Bhárata is divided into nine portions, which I will name to you; they are Indra-dvīpa, Kaseruṇa, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimān, Nāg-dvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharba, and Vāruṇa [:]; the last or ninth Dvīpa is surrounded by the Ocean, and is a thousand Yojanas from north to south. On the east of Bhárata dwell the Kirātas (the barbarians); on the west, the Yavanas; in the centre reside Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, occupied in their respective duties of sacrifice, arms, trade, and service.*
In order to avoid certain misunderstanding a few verses found later on in the same passage are given here:

16. ... tathāparāntāḥ saurāṣṭrāḥ śūrābhīrās tathārbudāḥ //
17. kārūṣā mālavāś caiva pāriyātranivāsinaḥ / sauvīrāḥ saindhavā hūṇāḥ sālvāḥ kosalavāsinaḥ //
18. mādrārāmās tathāmbaṣṭhāḥ pārasīkādayas tathā / āsāṁ pibanti salilaṁ vasanti sahitāḥ sādā / samāpato mahābhāga drṣṭapuṣṭajanākulāḥ //

Wilson p. 143: In the extreme west are the Saurāshtras, Śūras, Bhīras [=Ābhīras], Arbudas, the Kārūras and Malavas, dwelling along the Pāripātra mountains, the Saurāshtras, the Saindhavas, the Hunas, the Śālas, the people of Śākala [?], the Madras, the Rāmas, the Ambashthas, and the Pārasi- kas and others. These nations drink of the water of the rivers above enumerated, and inhabit their borders, happy and prosperous.

The Rāmas here have hardly anything to do with the Romans. In another instance, the Romāṇas mentioned by Wilson on page 158 (1840, 192) are not from the ViP, but from the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mbh, quoted here in extenso by Wilson in a way that might lead a careless reader to suppose that it actually is from the ViP.

ViP 4, 3, 42 & 47
The legend of Sagara.
Viṣṇupurāṇa 4, 3, 26 ff.

26. tato vrkasya bāhuḥ yo 'sau haihayatālajaṅghādibhiḥ parājitoṁtarvatnyā mahiṣya saha vanāṁ praviveśa /
27.–40. The birth and youth of Sagara.
41. prāyaśaś ca haihayatālajaṅghāñ jaghāna /
42. śakavyavanaṃ kāmbojapāradapaplavāḥ [sic] hanyamāṇās tatkulaguruṁ vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ jagmuḥ /
43. athainān vasiṣṭho jīvanmṛtakān kṛtvā sagaram āha /
44. vatsālam ebhir jīvanmṛtakair anumṛtaiḥ /
45. ete ca mayaiva tvatpratijñāpārapipālanāya nijadharmadvijaganparyāgānāṅ kāritaḥ /
46. tathete tadguruvacanam abhinandya teṣāṁ veṣānyatvam akārayat /
47. yavanān muṇḍitaśiraso 'rdhamumūḍitāṅ chakāṅ pralambakeśāṅ pāradān paplavāṅ śmaśruḥ dharāṁ nissvādhdyāyavāsataṅ kārān etāṁ yātiṁ ca kṣatriyāṁś ca kārā /
48. ete cātmadharmaparityāgād brāhmaṇaiḥ parityaktā mlecchatāṁ yayuḥ /
49. sagaro 'pi svam adhiṣṭhānam āgamyān askhalitacakras saaptadvipaṇaṁ imām urvirāṁ prasāsā sa

Wilson p. 299 f. (1840, 374 f.): Accordingly when he became a man he put nearly the whole of the Haihayas to death and would have also destroyed the Śakas, the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahnavas, but that they applied to Vaśishṭha, the family priest of Sagara, for protection. Vaśishṭha
regarding them as annihilated (or deprived of power), though living, thus spake to Sagara: "Enough, enough, my son, pursue no farther these objects of your wrath, whom you may look upon as no more. In order to fulfil your vow I have separated them from affinity to the regenerate tribes, and from the duties of their castes." Sagara, in compliance with the injunctions of his spiritual guide, contented himself therefore with imposing upon the vanquished nations peculiar distinguishing marks. He made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Šakas he compelled to shave (the upper) half of their heads; ...the Păradas wore their hair long; and the Pahnavaś let their beards grow, in obedience to his commands. Them also, and other Kshatriya races, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and study of the Vedas; and thus separated from religious rites, and abandoned by the Brahmans, these different tribes became Mlechchhas. Sagara, after the recovery of his kingdom, reigned over the seven-zoned earth with undisputed dominion.

ViP 5, 23, 4–22
Kālayavana.
Viṣṇupurāṇa 5, 23, 4–22.

4. saṁtoṣayām āsa ca taṁ yavaneśo hy anātmajaḥ /
tadyośitsaṅgamāc cāsyā putro 'bhūd alisannibhāḥ //
5. taṁ kālayavanaṁ nāma rājye sve yavaneśvarah /
abhiśicya vanarē yāto vajrāgrakathinorasaṁ //
6. sa tu viryamodonmattah prthivyāṁ balino nṛpān /
apṛcchāni nāradas tasmāi kathayāṁ āsa yādavān //
7. mlecchakoṭisahasraṁ sahasraṁ so 'bhisaṁvṛttah /
gajavasarathasāṁpannaṁ cakāra paramodyamam //
8. prayayau as vyavacchinnāṁ chinnayāṁo dine dine /
yādavān prati śamaṁ suśravasya maitreya mathurāṁ purīm //
9. kṛṣṇo 'pi cintayāṁ āsa kṣapitaṁ yādavāṁ balam /
yavanena raṇe ganyāṁ māgadhasya bhāviṣyatī //
10. māgadhasya balam kṣīṇam sa kālayavano balī /
hantaitad idam āyāṁ yadunāṁ vyasanāṁ dvidhā //
11. tasmād durgāṁ karisyāṁ yadunāṁ aridurjayam /
striyo 'pi yatra yudhheyuḥ kim punar yṛṣṇipuṅgavāḥ //
12. mayi matte pramatte vā supte pravasite 'pi vā /
yādavābhihavaṁ duṣṭā mā kurvanāṁ tvarayodhikaḥ //
13. iti saṁcintyāṁ govindo yojanāṁ mahodadhitum /
yāyāśe dvādaśa purīṁ dvārakāṁ tatra nirmame //
14. mahodyāṁūṁ mahāvaprāṁ taḍāgaśatāsobhitām /
prāśadaghasambādhāṁ indrasyevāmarāvātum //
15. mathurāvā sino lokāṁs tatrānīya janārdaṇāṁ /
āsanne kālayavana mathurāṁ ca svayaṁ yayau //
Wilson: The king of the Yavanas, who was childless, became the friend of Gārgya; and the latter begot a son by his wife, who was as black as a bee, and was thence called Kālayavana. The Yavana king having placed his son, whose breast was as hard as the point of the thunderbolt, upon the throne, retired to the woods. Inflated with conceit of his prowess, Kālayavana demanded of Nārada who were the most mighty heroes on earth. To which the sage answered, “The Yādavas.” Accordingly Kālayavana assembled many myriads of Mlecchas and barbarians, and with a vast armament of elephants, cavalry, chariot, and foot, advanced impatiently against Mathurā and the Yādavas, wearying every day the animals that carried him, but insensible of fatigue himself. When Kṛṣṇa knew of his approach, he reflected that if the Yādavas encountered the Yavana, they would be so much weakened by the conflict, that they would then be over come by the king of Magadha; that their force was much reduced by the war with Magadha, whilst that of Kālayavana was unbroken, and that the enemy might be therefore victorious. Thus the Yādavas were exposed to a double danger. He resolved therefore to construct a citadel for the Yadu tribe, that should not be easily taken; one that even women might defend, and in which therefore the heroes of the house of Vṛṣṇi should be secure; one in which the male combatants of the Yādavas should dread no peril, though he himself should be drunk or careless, asleep or abroad. Thus reflecting, Kṛṣṇa solicited a space of twelve furlongs from the ocean, and there he built the city of Dwārakā, defended by high ramparts, and beautified with gardens and reservoirs of water, crowded with houses and buildings, and splendid as the capital of Indra, Amarāvatī. Thither Janārdana conducted the inhabitants of Mathurā, and then awaited at the city the approach of Kālayavana. When the hostile army encamped round Mathurā Kṛṣṇa unarmed went forth, and beheld the Yavana king, Kālayavana, the strong-armed, recognising Vāsudeva, pursued him, him whom the thoughts of perfect ascetics cannot overtake. Thus pursued, Kṛṣṇa entered a large cavern, where Mucukunda, the king of men, was asleep. The rash Yavana entering the cave, and beholding a man lying asleep there, concluded it must be Kṛṣṇa and kicked him; at which Mucukunda awoke, and casting on him an angry glance, the Yavana was instantly consumed, and reduced to ashes. For in a battle between the gods and demons, Mucukunda had formerly contributed to the defeat of the latter; and, being overcome with sleep,
be solicited of the gods as a boon that he should enjoy a long repose. “Sleep long and soundly,” said the
gods; “and whoever disturbs you shall be instantly burnt to ashes by fire emanating from your body.”

Viṣṇupurāṇa 5, 24, 51 ff.

51. āndhrabhṛtās saptābhīraprabhṛtayo daśagardabhinaś ca bhūdbhuj ca bhaviṣyanti /
52. tataṣ śoḍaśā śakā bhūpatayo bhavitārāḥ /
53. tataḥ cāṣṭau yavanaś caturdaśā muṇḍās ca trayodaśā ekādaśa maunā ete vai prthivipatayāḥ prthivīṁ daśavarṣaṣatāṁi navatyadhikāṁ bhokṣyanti /
54. tataḥ ca maunā ekādaśa bhūpatayo ṭṛiṇi prthivīṁ bhokṣyanti /
55. teṣāṁ prthivīṁ yavanaṁ bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanty amūrddhābhīṣiktāṁ /
56. teṣām apatyaṁ vindhyāṣaktis tataḥ purāṇijayas tasmād rāmacandas tasmād dharmavarmā tato vañga tato bhūnīndanas tatas sunandī tadbhrātī nandiyaśāŚ sukṛaḥ pravīra ete varṣaṣataṁ śaṅvarṣaṇī bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti /

Wilson p. 380 ff. (1840, 474 ff.): Andhrabhritya kings...After these, various races will reign, as seven Áabhīras, ten Gardḍhabas, sixteen Śakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tushāras, thirteen Muṇḍas, eleven Maunas, altogether seventy-nine princes, who will be sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years; and then eleven Pauras* will be kings for three hundred years. When they are destroyed, the Kaiṁkila** Yavanas will be kings; the chief of whom will be Vindhyaśakti; his son will be Puranjaya; his son will be Rāmacandra; his son will be Adharma, from whom will be Varāṅga, Kritanandana, Śudhinandi, Nandiyaśas, Śiśuka, and Pravīra; these will rule for a hundred and six years.

The names of the Kaiṁkila Yavanas in the Venkateshwar edition and in the manuscript used by Wilson for his translation seem to differ considerably. A couple of Wilson’s notes are worth quoting here.

* Note 65 Wilson’s ms. has Paura, but the commentary gives the alternative Mauna.

** Note 66 with vv.ll. Kilakila, Kolakila, Kolikila, Kilinakila. It is a city in Mahārāṣṭra, according to Jones’s pandit (As.Res. 11, 142). An inscription mentions Kilagila as the capital of Nārāsinha Deva of Konkan (JRAS 4, 282, from AD 1058). Vāyu and Matsya state that they were Yavanas “dharmataḥ kāmato ‘rthataḥ”, Bhāg. names 5 princes [in 12, 1, 32 f., but here they are not called Yavanas].
B. EPIGRAPHICAL, SECTARIAN, MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

1. INSCRIPTIONS

Aśoka


R.E. II

Yona King Antiochus in the West.

Major Rock Edict II (Schneider).

savata/ā vijitasi devānaṁpiyasa piyadasine lājine e ca (/vāpi) aṁtā coḍā, paṁdiyā, satiyapute, keḷalapute, taribaparni/ī, aṁtiyog(k)e nama yonalājā e ca arinne (/vāpi) tasa aṁtiyog(k)asa sāmarintā lājāno(e), savata/ā devānaṁpiyasa/ā piyadasine lājine duve cikisā kaṭā: munisacikisā ca pasucikisā ca, osadhāni [ca] munisopagāni ca pasuopagāni ca, ata atā nathi, savata hālāpitā ca lopāpitā ca. hemeva mūlāni ca phalāni ca, ata atā nathi, savata hālāpitā ca lopāpitā ca.

R.E. V
Yonas and Kambojas hear of the dhamma.
Major Rock Edict V (Schneider).

... dhammamahāmātā nāma. se tedasavābhīsitena mamayā dhammamahāmātā kaṭā. te savapāśainḍesu viyāpaṭa dhammādhitthānāye ca dharmavādhiyā hita-sukhāye ca dhammāyutasa yonakaṁboca(y/j)gaṁdhālānaṁ laṭhikapetinikānaṁ e vā pi arūne āpalaṁtā

Schneider: ...Dhammamahāmatas. Sie sind mit sämtlichen Religionsgemeinschaften befasst, sowohl um sie auf den Dhamma zum Heil und Glück der Dhamma-Anhänger unter den Yonas, Kaṁbocas, Gaṁdhālas, den Laṭhikas und Petinikas sowie unter all den anderen, welche westliche Völker sind, (beizutragen).

R.E. XIII J
No classes among the Yonas.
Major Rock Edict XIII, J (Schneider).

... nathi ca se janapade ata nathi ime nikāyā arṇnātata yonesu: bābbhane ca samane ca. nathi ca kuvāpi janapadasi, ata nathi, munisānaṁ ekatalasi pi pāsāṁḍasi no nāma pasāde


R.E. XIII Q–R
Five Yona kings of the West.
Major Rock Edict XIII, Q–R (Schneider).

... se [ca] mana ladhe devānāṁpiyasa hida ca (Gi. om.) savesu ca arītesu ā susu [pi] yojanasatesu ata antiyoke nāma yonalājā palaṁ ca tena (tenā) antiyokena (Gi. om.) catāli lājāne tulamaye nāma (ca) antekine nāma (ca) mak(g)ā nāma (ca) alikasudale nāma (Gi. defekt) nitiyaṁ coḍa paṁdiye κ a tiṁbapāṁniyā. (R) hemeva hida lājavisavasi yonakaṁbojesu nābhakanābhapāṁtiṣu bhojapinikeseu arṇḍhapāḷadesu savata devānampiyasa dhammānusathā anuvatatiṁtī.

Schneider: Die wiederum ist vom Göttergeliebten sowohl hier als auch bei allen Nachbarn bis auf eine Entfernung von sechshundert Yojanas hin errungen worden, wo der Griechenkönig namens Antiyoka ist und über diesen Antiyoka hinaus die vier Könige namens Tulamaya, namens Antekina, namens Makas, namens Alikasudala, (und wo) ferner (?) die Coḍas und Paṁdiyas sind bis nach Tambapāṁni hin. Ganz ebenso hier, im Gebiet des Königs, beim Griechen und Kambocas, bei den Nābhakas und
Nābhapantis, bei den Bhojas und Pitinikas, bei den Aṅdhas und Pāladas – überall befolgen sie die Dhamma-Unterweisung des Göttergeliebten.

**Kharoṣṭḥī**


**CII II: 1, 1**

Swāt Relic Vase Inscription of Meridarch Theodoros.

*theūdorena meridarkhena* pratithavid(r)a ime śarira śakamunisa bhag(r)avato bahujanastitiye

CII: *By Theodoros, the meridarch, were established these relics of the Lord Śākyamuni, for the purpose of security of many peoples.*

**CII II: 1, 2**

Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of a Meridarch.

... *meri*[da]khena sabhayakena thubo pra[t]istavito matapitupuyae aghadākṣo(i) nayae

CII: *By..., the meridarch, together with his wife, the stūpa was established, in honour of (his) mother and father, for the presentation of a respectful offering.*

**CII II: 1, 3**

Bajaur Seal Inscription of Theodamas.

su *Theudama[sa]*

CII: *... of King Theodamas.*

Note that ‘king’ for su is highly suspicious.

**CII II: 1, 24**

Kāldarra Inscription of the year 113

1. datiaputrena Thaïdorena puka-
2. rani karavita sarvasapana puyae
3  vaṣ[ṇ]aṃś 1 100 10 1 1 1 śravanasa 20

CII: *By Thaïdora, the Datiaputra, (this) tank was caused to be made in honour of all beings, in the 113th year, on the 20th of śrāvana.*
CII II: 1, 37
Minor Taxila Inscriptions 1–4 & 7.

1. Theútaras(y)a Thavaraputras(y)a
CII: (Gift) of Theodoros, the son of Thavara.

2. Identical with 1.

3. Muṁjukritas(y)a s(y)a 20 dra 1
CII: (Gift) of Muṁjukrita, 20 staters, 1 drakhm.

4. Miṁjukritasa sa 20 10 dha 2
CII: (Gift) of Miṁjukrita, 30 staters, 2 drakhms.

7. Denipasa
CII: of Deinippos (?).

CII II: 1, 70
Peshawar Sculpture No. 1938, representing two wrestlers.

Miṇaṁdrasa
CII: (Gift?) of Menandros.

[CII II: 1, 72
Kaniśka Casket Inscription. I have included this, as the “Greek architect Agesilaos” is still occasionally found in quotes from old and secondary literature (e.g. Stein 1935, 355 and Tarn 1951, 355). Below is Konow’s reading and translation.

1. saṁ [1 ma]harajas[na] Kani(ṇi)ka[na] imaṇa[na]g(r)ar[ar] [dha]...g(r)aryaka
2. deyadharme sarvasatvana[ṁ][ṇaṁ] hidasuhartha[ṁ] bhavatu
3. dasa Agiśala ṇa[navakarma [Ka*]ne[ne]ṣkasa vihare Mahasena[na]sa saṁgharame
4. acharyana[na] sarvastivatina[na] pratigrahe

CII: In the year 1 of (the mahārāja) Kanisbka, in the town .ima, connected with the...mansion, this religious gift – may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings, – the slave Agiśala was the architect, – in Kanisbka’s Vihāra, in Mahāsena’s Saṁghārāma, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teacher.

Konow has suggested that Agiśala is Agesilaos, but this now seems rather suspect. Based on three earlier studies38 and a new examination of the casket with its texts, Falk 2002 offers

37 Numbers 3 and 4 are included as examples of inscriptions containing Greek weights. More of these have been found (e.g. in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on gold objects found at Dalverzin Tepe).
a completely different interpretation (while also reading the lines, which do not follow each other, in a different order):

kaniṣkapure nagare ayaṁ gaṁdha-karaṁḍe .. ta/I (mahara)jasakaṇi
śkasa vihare mahasena sarigharakṣidasa aringiśala-ṇavakarmiana
deyadharme(,) sarvasatvana hitasuhartha bhavatu(,) avaryana sarvastivatina pratigrabe

Falk: In the town Kaniṣkapura this perfume box...is the pious donation of the architects of the fire-hall, viz. Mahāsena (and) Saṁgharakṣita, in the monastery (founded by) the (Mahārā)ja Kaniṣka.
May it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings.
In the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvāstivāda school.]

CII II: 1, 85
Ārā Inscription of the year 41 of Kaniṣka.

1. maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasaka[la]jasa[ra]sasa
2. Vajheṣkaputasa Kaniṣkasa saṁbaratśarae ekachapar[i]-
3. [śa]j saṁ 20 20 1 Jeṭhasa masasa di 20 4 1 iṣ[e] divasakṣuṇami kha[de]
4. kupe [Da]śavhareṇa Poṣapurlaputraṇa matarapitaraṇa puya[e]
5. atmanasa sabharya[sa] saputrasa anugra[ha]rthae sarvasapaṇa
6. [ja]tiṣ[u] [hi]tae [il]mo cha[li]khiya m[e] [dhama]...

CII: (During the reign) of the Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra, Kaśvara Kaniṣka, the son of Vajheṣka, in the forty-first year — anno 41, on the 25th day of the month Jyaiṣṭha, on this day-term this well was dug by Daṣavhara, of the Peshāwarian scions, in honour of his mother and father, for the benefit of himself with his wife and son, for the welfare of all beings in the (various) births. And, having written this (might there) for me...

CII II: 1, 87
Ohind (Uṇḍ) Inscription of the year 61 (as corrected by Deb in IHQ 9, 1933).

1. saṁ 20 20 20 1 chetrasa mahasa divase aṭhami 4 4 iṣa kṣunami dokha[n]a
2. parvaṣaḍe
Here dokhata is supposed to represent τοξότης (i.e. Sagittarius).

Bajaur Casket Inscriptions (El 24, 1937, 1–8)
Several inscriptions of different age, ed. N.G. Majumdar (also in Sircar 1965, 102 ff., no. 14, as Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscription, and Fussman 1993, 85 ff.).

1. Inscription on the lid:

Minendrasa maharajasaka kaṭiyasa divasa 4 4 4 11 praṇa[s]a meda .. .. (thavi) da
The name can also be read as Jenedrasa. Fussman corrects the date into 14th.

Konow (NIA 2, 1939–40, 641): of the maharaja Menander, 12th day of Kārttika, endowed with life...was established.
Note that according to Falk 2013, 95 ff. (originally published 2005), this inscription is probably a relatively recent forgery added to the genuine object.

2. Inscription on the bottom:

Viśpilena aṇaṃkayena lakhit(e) [likhita?]  
Konow: *Written by Viśpila, the advisor* (ἀναγκαῖος).  
N.B. Viśvila is a Yavana or the pupil of Yavanas in the BKŚS.

The Śatrulekha Casket (Falk 1998, 87 ff.)  
Azes year 77, with Indrasena and Menander, the sons of Śatrulekha and Davili.

3. ... putrehi [patrehi] ca idrasena ca menaṇḍrena ca [gra]  
Falk: ...*and with his sons Indrasena and Menander.*

The Indravarman Casket (Falk 1998, 99 ff.)  
With the commander Vaga, the brother of Indravarman.

... bhrada vaga *stratego* puyaite  
Falk: *His brother Vaga, the stratega, is given veneration.*

The Kharaosta Silver Reliquary (Falk 1998, 103 ff.)  
viśpavarma-stratega-putre iṁdravarma kumare ...

Falk: *Prince Indravarman, son of commander Viśpavarma.*

Taxila Silver Saucer (Marshall, *ASIAR* 1929–30)  
Aśpavarasa *stratega* sa 10 1 dra 2 o 2  
Marshall: ...*during the generalship of Aśpavarma. Value 11 staters, 2 drachmas, and 2 obols.*  
Or perhaps, *Belonging to Aśpavarma, the general...*

Reliquary of Azes Year 98 (Sadakata 1996, 308 ff.)  
A reliquary inscription from the time of Abdagases, nephew of Guduphara.

... gupharasa bhratuputrasa avakaśasa rajami iṁtravarmaputre *strate* aśpavarmame rajami  
Sadakata: *durant le règne d'Abdagasès, neveu (fils du frère) de Gondopharès, durant le règne du strategos Aśpavarma, fils d'Indravarma.*

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39 According to Falk, this commander Vaga is also mentioned as *strateo* "on a silver scroll from the new Uttarā reliquary to be published by R. Salomon". Stratega is, of course, Greek strategos.
Gold Leaf of Azes year 39 (Sadakata 1996, 305 ff.)
Shaṅavaṇa, son of a Yona, in a list of Buddhist laymen.

12 f. yonaputra šaravaṇe

Inscription of Seṇavarma, King of Oḍi.

8. ... maharaja rayatiraya Kuyula Kataphśa-putra sadaṣkaṇo devaputra(tro)
9.  ... sadha anakaena suhasoneṇa aṣmaṇakareṇa ... puyita

Bailey: Honoured is the Great King, King of Kings, Kuyula Kataphśa’s son Sadaṣkaṇo the devaputra (son of god(s)) (9) with the anankaios (royal kinsman) Suhasoma the protector...

Salomon: Sadaṣkaṇa, the son of the Gods, son of the Great King, King over Kings, Kuyula Kataphsa, (9) with his royal kinsman Suhasoma, the aṣmaṇaka...is honored.

13. ... sija(t)i likhita ya šarira praithavāṇa saṁghamitreṇa samlappingeṇa anakaena (,) karavita ya sa-đi-
14.  ... eṇa sacaka-putreṇa meriakheṇa (,) ... 

Bailey: And the body-relics (śarīra-) to be deposited were painted to the life by Saṁghamitra son of Ali’a the anankaios (royal kinsman), and were ordered by Ṣaḍi’a (14) son of Sacaka the meridarkhe (district officer)...

Salomon: And this body-deposit was written by Saṁghamitra, son of Lalia the royal kinsman; and it was executed by Ṣaḍia, (14) son of Sacaka the meridarch.

The Gandhāra Gilded Bowl
samagakeṇa epesukupeṇa karavite ye aimukhe sajate

Falk: Made by order of Samaṅgaka, the Episkopos, who had become an adorant.

Dedicatory Copper Plate from Kohat
Found by clandestine diggers in Kohat, south of the Peshawar valley, with a Buddhist dedication of six lines, published by Falk 2013, 215 ff. (originally published 2010):
1. maharajasa mahatasa ayasa vurtakalasa varṣaya ekaviśatiśadamaye 1-100-20-1 gu
2. rpieyasa masasa dīsaṇami tridaśamami 10-3 utarehi proṭhavadahi nakṣetra[mī]
3. iša kṣunami helaiute demetripute avivage pratiṭhaveti bhagavado rahado sa...
Falk: *In the year one hundred and twenty-one, 121, of the Mahārāja Azes, the Great, whose time has expired, on the thirteenth day, 13, of the month of Gorpiaios, (when the moon is) in the Nakṣatra of Uttara Proṣṭhapada, at this date, Helagupta, son of Demetrius, establishes at Avivaga the relics of the Lord, of the Arhat...*

**Traṣaka Reliquary Inscription**

Inside a globular reliquary from the year 172 (125 CE), first published in 1985, then by Falk 2013, 223 ff. (originally published 2010):

1. ime bhagavato śarīra praṭīṣṭhapita sava-budhana puṭyae aprakhasat (?) heliophil-putrasa
2. dua-sataṭi-śadama gurpiya vànbulima maṣsa saste 4-4

Falk: *These relics of the Lord are (deposited) in veneration of all the Buddhas for Aprakhasat, son of Heliophilos. (Year) one hundred and seventy-two, intercalary month of Gorpiaios, on day 8.*

**Inscriptions Containing Dates on the Yavana/Yoṇa Era**

**Mathura Stone Slab Brāhmī Inscription**

Ed. B.N. Mukherjee, *VDI* 1992:1, 87–91 (again in Mukherjee 2004, 232 ff. and Fussman 1993, 111 ff.). From Maghera, U.P., 73 km from Mathura, found in 1988. Three lines in Sanskritizing Prakrit about digging a well. Mukherjee dates it to the second half of the first century BCE, but if the Yavana Era of 185/185 BCE is accepted, the real date is 70/69 BCE.

1. yavana-śalāya śoḍasuttare varṣaśate 100 [+] 10 [+ 6 hema[n]ta māse 4 divase 30 etāye purvāye

*In the 16th year after a hundred of the Yavanarājya in the hemanta season, 4th month, 30th day...*

**King Vijayamitra of Apracha**

Mukherjee 2004, 406 ff. quotes an oral presentation of Richard Salomon on an inscription of King Vijayamitra of Apracha (Bajaur) on a reliquary dated to Azes year 73 (= Yoṇa year (yoṇaṇa vaṣaye) 201 (both corresponding to CE 15/16)). Mukherjee disagrees with this.

Translation (simplified from Mukherjee): *In the year 27 in the reign of Lord Vijayamitra, the King of Apracha, in the year 73 of Azes, in the year 201 of the Yoṇas, on the 8th day of the month Śrāvaṇa.*

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Inscriptions Containing Dates in Macedonian Calendar (summarized only)

CII II: 1, 13
Taxila Copper-Plate Inscription of Patika in the year 78 of the era of Azes:
\[\text{pa[ne]masa masasa}\]

CII II: 1, 74
Sui Vihār Copper-Plate Inscription of the year 11 (of Kaniṣka):
\[\text{daïsi(ṁ)kasya masas[y]a}\]

CII II: 1, 79
Box-lid Inscription of the year 18 (of Kaniṣka?):
\[\text{masye arthamisiya}\]

CII II: 1, 80
Kurram Casket Inscription of the year 20 (of Kaniṣka):
\[\text{[... masa]sa avadunakasa}\]

CII II: 1, 82
Hidda Earthen Jar Inscription of the year 28 with mention of apela.

CII II: 1, 86
Wardak Vase Inscription of the year 51 (of Kaniṣka):
\[\text{masy[e] arthamisiya}\]

StII 7, 1981, 11 ff. (by R. Salomon)
The Spinwam (North Waziristan) Inscription of the year 39 found by Dani (see Falk 2013, 202 for a slightly different reading):
\[\text{mase avadunagasya}\]

Salomon 2011
The Incense Burner Inscription of the year 24.
\[\text{sañ khsamdidkas[a] di [2]}\]

The New Vase from Wardak
A reliquary vase obtained by a collector about 2002 and published by Falk 2013, 134 ff. (originally published 2008):
\[\text{mase arthamisiya}\]

Peshawar University Museum Slab
A small slab dated year 88 (212 CE), first published in 1999, then by Falk 2013, 204 (originally published 2009):
\[\text{arsamiasa masasa}\]
Mathura Brāhmī Inscription of the year 28
A Kushana inscription on a sandstone pillar with the only known mention in
Brāhmī epigraphy of a Macedonian month. See also IHQ 8, 1932, 117 ff.
siddham samvat are 20 8 guppiya divase / …

Brāhmī

BHANDARKAR, Devadatta Ramkrishna: "List of the Inscriptions of Northern India written in
Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 AC", publ. as an appendix to EI
LÜDERS, Heinrich 1912. A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the earliest times to about AD 400 with
the exception of those of Asoka. Appendix to EI 10. Calcutta.

Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus
Lüders’ List No. 669, often edited and discussed, here quoted according to Narain 1957, pl. VI
and Sircar 1965, 88 f. (No. 2):

1. [De]vadevasa Vā[sude]vasa garuḍadhvaje ayaṁ
2. kārite i[a] Heliodoreṇa bhāga-
3. vatena Dīyasa putreṇa Takhkhasilākena
4. Yona-dūtena [ā]gatena mahārājasa
5. Antalikitasa upa[m]tā sakāsam raño
7. vasena ca[tu]daserīna rājena vadhamānasa
8. trini amuta-padāni [ia] [su]-anuṭhitāni
9. neyarāti [svagaṁ] dama cāga apramāda

Narain: This Garuḍa pillar of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, was erected by Heliodorus, a
Bhāgavata (i.e. a worshipper of Vishnu), the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Taxila,
who came as Greek ambassador from the great king Antialcidas to king Kosiputra

41 Passages containing Yavana Era or Macedonian month names are given above under their
respective headings. I have left out the so-called Reh inscription, found in the Fatehpur district of
U.P. and published by G.R. Sharma 1980, as the reading of the name Menander there seems to
be just a hypothesis. See also Mukherjee 1979 & 1986, as well as Verma’s review in JISOA N.S.
(Kautsi-putra) Bhāgabhadra, the saviour, then reigning prosperously in the 14th year of his kingship.

Three immortal precepts when practised lead to heaven — self-restraint, charity, conscientiousness.

Besnagar Seal Inscription

1. Ṭimitra-dātṛsya[sa]- ho[ṛa]-
2. p[o]tā-manitra-sajuna [?]i

Bhandarkar: Of the donor Ṭimitra, accompanied by the Hotā, Potā, hymn-kinsmen and...

A piece of inscribed sacrificial clay found on the sacrificial ground was supposed by Bhandarkar to be a pass or entrance token. He identifies the name with Demetrius, who is here the donor or yajamāna. See Narain 1957, 44: “The Ṭimitra of a Besnagar seal may very well be an Indian name with the ending -mitra, which was very common at this period.” I agree with Narain here.

Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman


9. paṁca-saptatiṁ hastān-avagāḍhêna bhêdêna nissṛta-sarvva-tôyaṁ marudhaṁ avakalpam-atibhṛśaṁ durd[a]...

Kielhorn: ...ordered to be made by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Candragupta; adorned with conduits for Aśoka the Maurya by the Yavana king Tuṣāspa while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam...

Mathurā Stone Slab
Ed. in Saṁpupa Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology 47–48, 1991, 9–19, unavailable to me, quoted by Mukherjee 2004, 233, who dated it to the late 1st or early 2nd century CE.

siddhaṁ yavanena naṁdinaṁ ... vihāre sīlāpaṭḥ

Stone slab set up in the monastery by Yavana Nandi.

Nāgārjunakonda Buddhist Inscriptions: the Second Apsidal Temple Inscription
Vogel p. 22 The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F, perhaps from the late 3rd century CE.

1. ... [rā]jacarīyānaṁ Kasmira-Gaṁdhara-Cīna-Cīlāta-Tosali-Avaraṁta-Varṇa-Vanavāsi-Yava[na]-Da[mila]-Da[lura]-Tambaparṇī-dīpa-pas[ā]dakānaṁ theriyyānaṁ Tambapa[m]nākānaṁ suparigahe...

Vogel: For the benefit of the...masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tāmbap:],... (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, Cīna, Cīlāta (= Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaraṁta (Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Pula (?), and the Isle of Tāmbapainī (Ceylon).

Vogel initially suggested the reading bhadaṁta-rājācariyānaṁ. In EI 33, 1959–60 (1963), 248, Sircar instead argued for acaṁtarājācariyānaṁ, referring to a parallel case in another Nāgarjunakonda inscription and translating it as "the teachers of the Achantaraja school".

Nāgarjunakonda Buddhist Inscriptions: of year 30

1. ... rājño Vāṣ(e)śṣiṣṭhīputraśyā Abhīrasya Vasuṣeṇasya...
2. ... Śivasēbēna, Saṁjaya[ṇ]pur[ī]ṇa – yo[na]rājibhi[h]
3. āv[anta]kēna śakēna Rudradāmena...

The lection yo[na]rājabhi[h] is suggested by Sircar.

Sircar: ...in the thirtieth year of king Vāṣiṣṭhīputra Vasuṣeṇa, the Abhīra...is installed...by Śivaśeṣa..., [and] by the Yavana-rājas of Saṁjaya[ṇ]pur, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and...

Nāgarjunakonda Buddhist Inscriptions: Footprint slab

1. ācarīyanaṁ theriyānaṁ vibhajavādānam kasmira-gaṁddhara-yavana-vanavāsa-tambaparṇidīpa-pasādakanaṁ
d. mahāviharavāsinaṁ...
3. vihāre...

S & L: [The pair of feet of the Buddha has been installed...in the monastery of the teachers who are Theriyas (Theravādins) (and) Vibhajja-vādas (-vādins), who caused delight to (i.e. converted to the Buddhist doctrine) (the people of) Kaśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa, who are the residents of the Great Monastery...
Sanchi Inscription No. 364 Bühler


1. setapathiyasa
2. yonasā dānāṁ

Bühler: The gift of Yona (Yavana), inhabitant of Setapatha (Śveta-).

Hāthigumpha Cave Inscription of Khāravela


7. ... Gorathagiriṁ
8. ghātāpayītā Rājagahaṁ upapiḍāpayati (/*) etin[a] ca karṇmapadāna-sa[m] nādena ... sena-vāhena vipamucitum madhuraṁ apayāto yavanarā[ja] [dimita?] ...

Banerji & Jayaswal: ...having sacked Goradgir [he] causes pressure on Rajagaha (Rajagriha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dim[ta] retreated to Mathura having extricated his demoralized army and transport.

Sircar’s Sanskrit rendering: Gorathagiriṁ ghātayitvā (=gharṣaṇānantaraṁ) Rājagrham upapiḍāyat (=upapiḍāyat); etena Karmāpadāna-sarīnādena (=duṣkarakarmasampādana-śabdena)...Senāvāhanam vipramoktuṁ [bhayāt] Madhuraṁ (=Mathuraṁ) apayātaḥ (=palāyitaḥ) yavanarājasya dimitaḥ (?) ...

Sircar adds: “The reading of Yavanarāja is clear, but Dimita or Dimita is doubtful. Even if the reading be correct, this Dimita cannot be identified with Demetrios (son of Euthydemos) who flourished in the first half of the 2nd century BCE. The Indo-Greek ruler mentioned in the inscription may have had his headquarters at Mathura.”

Buddhist Cave Inscriptions: Junnar


Junnar: Lüders’ List No. 1154

yavanasa irilasagatāna deyadhama be podhiyo

Burgess & Bühler: The meritorious gift of two cisterns by the Yavana Irila of the Gatā (country).

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42 This inscription has been repeatedly edited: for the first time by J. Prinsep in JASB 6, 1837, 1075–1091, then by A. Cunningham in CII 1, 27f., 98–101, 132 ff., etc.
Konow 1912: …Irila, the Goth.
Laeuchli 1984: The gift of two cisterns by the Yavana Irilasagata.

Junnar: Lüders’ List No. 1156
yavanasa caṇḍānam gabhadā[ra]
Burgess & Bühler: The meritorious gift of a hall-front by Chanda, the Yavana.

Junnar: Lüders’ List No. 1182
yavanasa citasagatāṇaṁ bhojanamaṭapo deyadhama saghe
Burgess & Bühler: The meritorious gift of a refectory for the community (saṅgha) by the Yavana Chiṭa (Chaitra) of the Gatas (or of the Gata country).
Konow 1912: …Ciṭa, the Goth.
Laeuchli 1984: The gift of a dining hall to the Saṅgha by the Yavana Citasagata.

Buddhist Cave Inscriptions: Karle

Karle: Lüders’ List No. 1093 (Senart No. 7)
Identical with Vats No. 7.
dhenukākaṭā yavanasa sihadhayāna thāṁbho dāṇaṁ
Senart: (This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhenukākaṭa.

Karle: Lüders’ List No. 1096 (Senart No. 10)
1. dhenukākaṭā
2. dhaṁma-yavanasa
Senart: Of Dhamma, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭa.

Karle: Vats No. 1
1. umēhanākaṭā yavanasa
2. viṭasa[m]*gatānāṁ dāṇaṁ thabho
Senart: (This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Viṭasāṅgata from Umēhanākaṭa.

Karle: Vats No. 4
1. dhēnukākaṭā ya[v]anasa dhamadh-
2. yānaṁ thabho dāṇaṁ
Senart: (This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Damadhaya from Dhēnukākaṭa.
Karle: Vats No. 6
1. dhēnukākaṭā chulayakhan[āṁ]
2. [yā]vanasa thabhō dāna X
   Vats: (This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Chulayakha from Dhēnukākaṭa.

Karle: Vats No. 7
1. dhēnukākaṭā yavaṇasa
2. sihadhayānas[ṁ̄] thaṁbhō dānaṁ
   Vats: (This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhēnukākaṭa.

Karle: Vats No. 10
1. dhēnukākaṭā yavaṇasa
2. yasavadhanān[ṁ]
3. thabho dāna[ṁ̄]
   Vats: (This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Yasavadhana from Dhēnukākaṭa.

Buddhist Cave Inscriptions: Nasik

Nasik: Lüders’ List No. 1123 (Senart No. 2)
The great inscription of Śrī Puḷumāvi, c.149 CE. Also in Sircar 1965, 203 ff. (No. 86).
1. … raño Vāsiṭṭhiputasa Siri-Puḷumāyisa savīchare ekunavīse 19
   … rājaraño Gotamīputasa...
5. … sakayavanapalhavanisūdanasa ...
9. … Siri Sātakaṇisa mātuya mahādeviya Gotamīya Balasiriya ...
10. … kārita ... lēṇa eta ...

Senart: In the nineteenth – 19th – year of king Siri-Puḷumāyi Vāsiṭṭhipu...the mother of king of kings Siri-Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa, who...destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas...the great queen Gotami Bālasiri...caused...this cave to be made...

Nasik: Lüders’ List No. 1140 (Senart No. 18)
1. sidhari otarāhasa dātāmitiyakasa yoṇakasa Dharīmadevaputasa
   Īdrāṅgidatasa dharīmāṭmanā
2. imaṁ leṇaṁ pavate tirarīṃhumhi khānitaṁ abhaṁtaraṁ ca leṇasa
cetiyaγharo poḍhiyo ca mātāpi-

43 I leave out Vats No. 5 as the idea of Agila being the Greek Agesilaos is quite speculative.
44 The X here stands for a swastika.
3. taro udisa ima leṇa kāritaṁ savabudha-pujaṁ cātudiśasa bhikhūsaṁghasa niyātitaṁ sa-

4. ha putena Dharīmarakhitena

Senart: Success! (The gift) of Indrāgnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, the Yavana, a northerner from Dattāmitrī. By him, inspired by true religion, this cave has been caused to be excavated in mount Tiraṇhu, and inside the cave a Caityagṛha and cisterns. This cave made for the sake of his father and mother has been, in order to honour all Buddhas, bestowed on the universal Saṁgha of monks, together with his son Dhammarakhita.

**Gupta and later**

**Bhubaneswar: El 13, 1915–16, 150–155**


2. ... subhaṭo ‘naṅkabhīmaḥ ...
3. ... svant-ōpasarpaj-javam api Ja(Ya)vanam saṅgarē sañjahāra...

Barnett: The heroic Anaṅkabhīma...With good fortune he destroyed in battle the Yavana, although he possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced (to the attack).

Anaṅgabhīma II of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty ruled around 1219–1253. The Yavana slain by him was probably a Muslim king.

**Bikaner Praśasti of Rāya Simha**


... yadā hakīmair yavanādhipataiś ca svatejasā lābhapūrī svasainyaiḥ / saṁmudritā tyaktaparakramāṁ vai kṛtvā jhaṭattāṁ mumucen nṛpendraḥ //

Tessitori: [And] when Hakīma and the leaders of the Yavanas with their power subjugated with their forces Lābhapūrī like [a city which has] lost all power of resistance, the Indra-among-the-kings making haste [came and] rescued [it].

The king is Rāyasimha himself. According to Tessitori’s notes, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the brother of Akbār, crossed the Indus in 1581 CE and laid siege to Lahor. Akbār came in person against him, but sent Rāyasimha in advance, and Ḥakīm had to take flight.

45 N.B. No systematic search has been done here beyond a check of the indices in the El. These few instances, however, may serve as examples of Yavanas in later epigraphy.

46 This is according to Barnett. S.B. Chaudhuri in IHQ 26, 1950, 122 names him A. III and dates him to around AD 1211–1238.
Chatesvara Temple Inscription

15. karṇṇottasitasāyakasya subhaṭanēkino nignataḥ kimbrūmo
   yavanāvanindra-samare tattasya vīravratam /
   yasyālokanakautukavyasanināṁ vyomāṅgaṇe nākināma-svapnair
   animeśavṛttibhir abhūn netair mmohānutsavaḥ //

Chhabra: How are we to describe the heroism of his (Vishnu’s) during his fight with the Muslim king, while all alone – his arrows appearing as his ear-pendants – he shot dead (many) expert soldiers, which (display of heroism) became a grand feast to the gods who were the interested lookers-on in the heaven above?

Chitorgarh Inscription of Mokala of Mewar
F. Kielhorn, “Chitorgadh Stone Inscription of Mokala of Mewad. The Vikrama years 1485”, *EI* 2, 1894, 408–421. Bhandarkar’s List No. 764. Metrical inscription of 1428/29 CE in Kielhorn p. 409: Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, the father of Mokala, “freed the holy place Gayā from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (i.e. the Muhammadans)” – in verses 38 & 41 – while Mokala – in verse 51 (line 35 f.) – “defeated Peroja, the King of the Yavanas”.

51. netā pātottarāśāṁ yavanarapatiṁ luṇṭitāśasenaṁ
    perojaṁ kīrtvalikusumam urumatir yo ‘karot saṅgarasthaḥ /
    pallīśākrāṁtivārttā kalayati kalayakīrttitā yasya helāṁ
    paṁcāsyasyeva mādyadgajadalananarucer lilayā raṁkubhaṁgaḥ //

According to Kielhorn, pallīśākrāṁtivārttā is “not quite clear in the original”, and helāṁ could perhaps be changed to helā.

The leader (King Mokala), who, wide-minded, staying in battle made the Yavana King Peroja (Firuz), the flower of the creeper of glory, one whose further hopes were lost and whose entire army was robbed from him, be, whose contempt is urged on by urging lauds of approaching village chiefs, like the five-headed (god), whose splendour is the tearing of the drunken elephant, lightly kills the deer.

Dantewara Inscription of CE 1760
Hira Lal, “Dantewara Sanskrit and Hindi Inscriptions of Dikpaladeva; samvat 1760”, *EI* 12, 1913–14, 242–250. Inscription of Dikpaladeva, the King of Bastar in south-eastern Madhya Pradesh, giving his dynastic history.

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47 This is No. 286 in Kielhorn’s “List of the Inscriptions of Northern India”, published as an appendix to *EI* 5, 1898–99, and the only Yavana reference there.
5. ... bhrātā anna-
6. marājanāmā yavanabhayāt nijadeśam parityajya daṇḍakāraṇya-
niṣṭavastaradeśe
7. rājyaṁ cakāra /

Lal: After the death of king Kākatī of Oraṅgal (Waraṅgal) country, his brother
named Annamarāja, having left his country through fear of the Yavanas, ruled over the
Bastar country near the Daṇḍaka forest.

Lal tentatively dates this to the beginning of the 14th century CE. The Hindi version
of the inscription omits the Yavanas, although Annamarāja’s moving from Varangal to Bastar is
mentioned.

Girnar Inscription of the time of Yādava Jayasiṁha II
This is published in J. Burgess & H. Cousens, Revised List of Antiquarian Remains, Bom-
day Presidency. Bombay 1897, p. 243 & 361 f. Although unavailable to me, it is referred to in
Bhandarkar’s List No. 751. Dated to saṁvat 1473 (1417 CE). It deals with the genealogy and
glory of Jayasiṁha II, who defeated a Yavana force near Jhīṁjharakōṭa.

Gun Inscriptions
1. Rākhāla Dāsa Bandyopādhyāya, “Two Inscribed Guns from Assam”, JASB N.S. 5, 1909,
465 f. Bhandarkar’s List No. 1552. An inscription on a gun in Assam dated Śaka 1604 (1682 CE),
when Gadādhara Siṁha expelled the Muslims from Gauhāti.

śrī-śrī-svargga-nārāyaṇa-deva śaumāraśvara gadādhara siṁhena ja/vanaṁ jītvā
Guvākahāṭyāṁ idam astraṁ prāptaṁ śāke 1604
Bandyopādhyāya: The illustrious Svargga-nārāyaṇadeva Gadādhara Siṁha, the
lord of the Saumāra (country), having conquered the yavanas (i.e. Muhammadans),
obtained this weapon at Guvākhāṭi Śaka 1604.

2. Rakhal Das Banerji, “Inscribed Guns from Assam”, JASB N.S. 7, 1911, 43–49. Inscription
No. 5 (p. 46 f.), Bhandarkar’s List No. 1149. Found in a Muhammadan Mausoleum of late
Mughal period in Bhagalpur near the Ganges, along with a gun with two Persian and one
Sanskrit inscriptions. The Sanskrit one is by Jayadhvaja Siṁhā, the Ahom king, and dated to
Śaka 1580 (1657–58 CE).

śrī-śrī-svarg gadādhara jayadhvaja mahāraja yabanāṁ jītvā Gubākahāṭṭyāṁ
idam astraṁ prāptaṁ saka 1580
The illustrious great king Svargadeva Jayadhvaja, having conquered the Yabana,
obtained this weapon at Gubākahāṭi Śaka 1580.

Jagannatharaya Temple Inscription in Udaipur
Akhaya Keerty Vyas, “Jagannatharaya Temple Inscriptions at Udaipur”, EI 24, 1937–38
(1942), 56–90. Inscription A (the Mewar genealogy), verse 26 (p. 67).
26. mlechā mlechapatīṁ tṛṇasya puruṣaṁ kṛtvāni kṛṣikān sa kṣetrabhūpaḥ kṣetṛaṁ svavaśāṁ tāṁ dayāyā kiṁ na dvijebhyo daduḥ //

Mlecchas, having made the mleccha king a straw man, driving away other princes like deer, stole the enjoyment of the fields from the twice-born on the earth. Having angrily suppressed those yavana cultivators, the lord of the fields, understanding these fields to be under his will — why did he not give them to the twice-born out of compassion?

Jhansi Stone of Chandella Sallakṣaṇasiṁha
F. Kielhorn, “Jhansi Stone Inscription of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha (?)”, EI 1, 1892, 214–217. A very fragmentary inscription. Line 30. on p. 215, remains of a sragdharā verse, apparently shows Sallakṣaṇasiṁha fighting with the cavalry troops of the Yavanas or Muslims.

30. ...yavanaturagasainyay i...

Kabilāspur Temple Inscription
Dating to 1643 CE in a Vishnu temple at Kabilāspur in Birbhum, West Bengal. Ed. A.K. Bhattacharyya, A Corpus of Dedicatory Inscriptions from Temples of West Bengal (c.1500 AD to c.1800 AD). Calcutta 1982, page 73, no. 19: a stone inscription on granite in Śārdūlavikrīḍitā metre:

1. śubham=astu śak-ābdāḥ 1565
   pūrva yasya nivāsa-bhūmir=atulāsā
2. māsanā viśrutā
   yasya khyātir=ātiva-dāna-janitā yasya=ātí bhūp-ā
daraḥ
   yasya dvāri ca dāna-māna-mahitāḥ santaḥ śubh-āśarīṁśinaḥ
   kīrtiḥ
4. s(ś)rī-yuta-Rūpadāsa-sudhiyas=tasya=āstu kalp-āvadhi
   enāṁ kīrtiṁ=apā
5. karoti yadi ko=ṃpy=ajñāna-jālavṛto
   varṇṇas=tasya nivāraṇāya śapa
6. nam go-bhakṣaṇāṁ vartatāṁ
   dharm-āndho=yavano=ḥAVED=anuyugaṁ bhūpo=
7. pi sambhāvyate
   tatr=āyam vinayo=yath-ā(?)khya-śapanam c=āstāṁ varāḥ-ā
8. śanam

Mehatari Śrī Haridāsa

Bhattacharyya: Let it be auspicious. Śaka year 1565 [= 1643 CE]. Let the achievement be eternal (lit. up to the Kalpa) of Śrī Rūpadāsa, the wise, whose former place of residence was the incomparable, the famous Sāmāsanā, whose fame is
born out of large charities, whose appreciation was great from the king, and at whose doors were the good people esteemed by gifts and honours, praying for his welfare.

If a bad (or low) fellow (lit. unpraiseworthy f.) (or, a fool or ignorant person) destroys this achievement through (lit. being covered by the net of) ignorance, for his dissuasion let there be the curse (of) cow-eating; at all times (anyugañ) it is possible to have Yavanas (Muslims) blinded by religion, even there could be a (Yavana) king (blinded by rel.), then (in that case) is this imploration (or enjoined course of conduct) as also the usually noted (?) curse (of) pig-eating. – The artisan Śrī Haridāsa

Khaḍāvadā Inscription of the time of Ghiyās Shāh of Māṇḍu

Ed. D.R. Bhandarkar in JBRAS 23, 12 ff. (not available to me), described in Bhandarkar’s List No. 859. Inscription dated 1484 ce, found in Khaḍāvadā (then in Indore State) and kept in Indore Museum.

Bhandarkar’s summary: “At Māṇḍavya on the Vindhyas, a Yavana-Śaka, Hūsaṁga Gōrī (Hūshang Alp Khān Ghūrī), who secured Vindhya elephants from Naganātha, and defeated Kādirasāhi (Abdul Kādir), ruler of Kālapriyapattana (Kālpi), who ceded son, daughter and ministers among whom was Salaha who was made Khān at Maṇḍapā by Hūshang; his throne seized by Mahamūda Khilchi (Maḥmūd Shāh I Khāljī), who desolated Dhillī (Delhi), subjugated Utkala (Orissa) and defeated Chōla and Draviḍa kings, and for whom Salaha destroyed eighty elephants of the Gujarāt Sulṯān; his successor, Gayāsa (Ghiyās Shāh Khāljī), in whose reign Baharī, being sent by his adoptive father Salaha, quelled a Śabara revolt at Khiḍāvadā on the Charmaṇvatī, excavated a stepwell and tanks there, defeated Kshēmakarṇa at Śaṁkhōddhāra on the Chambal and destroyed Ibarāhim, a thorn to the Sulṯān of Mālwā.”

“Genealogy of Salaha: Karachulli king Bhairava of Hamīrapura; his protégé, Sumēdhas, a Mādhyandina Brāhmaṇ of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra; his son, Arthapati; his son, Purushōttama; his sin, Ghuḍaü, who assumed the name Salaha after being made a Muhammadan by Kādira Sāhi. Salaha made Baharī a yavana who was originally a Kshatriya.”

Khālimpur Plate of Dharmapāladeva


This was quoted by D.R. Bhandarkar (“Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, Saka-samvat 852”, EI 7, 1902–03, 26–47), p. 31, with the different readings samudraīt and korair. The second part of the verse was characterized by him as “partly unintelligible”.

Kielhorn: With a sign of his gracefully moved eye-brows he installed the illustrious king of Kanyakubja, who readily was accepted by the Bhōja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yavana, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kira kings, bowing down respectfully with their
diadems trembling, and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted up by the delighted elders of Pañcāla.

Kielhorn p. 246 suggests that Yavana here stands for Mleccha.

**Kumbhalgarh Inscription of Maharana Kumbhakarna**


Hammīra’s son Kṣetrasiṁha destroys Amī Shah’s Muhammadan army near Chitor:

192. yenānargalabhalladīrṇṇahṛdayā śrīcitrakūṭāṁtike
tattatsainikaghoravārinadapradhvastadhairyodayā /
manye yāvanavāhini nijaparitrāṇasya hetor alaṁ bhūnikṣepamiṣeṇa
bhīparavāsā pātālamūlaṁ yayau //

Through him, I think, the Yavana army – whose heart was rent by unrestrained missiles near Chittorgarh, the rise of whose firmness perished through the din of the terrible heroes of that army, who were quite subdued by fear of being deceitfully being brought down because of protecting their own country – went to the root of the underworld.

Kṣetrasimha’s son Lakṣasena conquers Gayā from the Muslims:

208. ravir iva nalinīṁ niśātuṣārāt vidhur iva yāmavatīṁ mahāṁdhakārā[t] /
pavana iva ghanān navārkabhāsaṁ yavana karāc ca gayām amocayad yah //

Who liberated Gayā from Yavana hands as the sun [liberates] the lotus from night-frost, as the moon the night from great darkness, as the wind the nascent sunbeam from cloud.

**Kuniyur Plates**

H. Krishna Shastri, “Kuniyur Plates of the time of Venkata II; śaka-samvat 1556”, *EI* 3, 1894–95, 236–258. Verse 33 Veṅkaṭa II (if not Veṅkaṭa I) (c.1585–1613) destroys the Yavanas.

33. yathā raghukulodvaha[h] svayam arūḍhātijāniṁ[a] svagotragurūnā
sudhitilaka tātayāryena yah /
yathāvidhiyāśasvinī viracitābhīṣeka[h] kṣaṇ[a]d vibhidya yavanāšarān
prasāsan mahīṁ //

Shastri: Having been anointed according to the rule by his family preceptor, the famous Tātayārya, the ornament of the learned, just as (Rāma) the descendant of Raghu himself by (Vāsishṭha) the husband of Arundhatī, (and) having destroyed in an instant the Yavanas, (just as Rāma) the demons, he rules the earth victoriously.

The same verse is also found in several other inscriptions. See the following:
T.A. Gopinatha Rao, "Dalavay-Agraharam Plates of Venkatapatideva-Maharaya I; – śaka-samvat 1508", EI 12, 1913–14, 159–187: nine copper plates by Venkatapatidevarāya-Mahārāya I of Vijayanagara, verse 28 is the same as above with minor variants.

V. Natesa Aiyar, "Padmaneri Grant of Venkata I: śaka-samvat 1520", EI 16, 1921–22, 287–297. From Padmanēri, with verse 29 again the same, on Venkata being crowned by Tātayārya.


Madanapara Grant
Of Viśvarūpasena of Bengal. Edited in Inscriptions of Bengal. Vol. 1 or 2 (?) 132–139, verse 17 (not available to me) and referred to by S.B. Chaudhuri in IHQ 26, 1950, 122: “In later records Yavana stood for the Muhammadans. For instance, Viśvarūpasena is described as Garga Yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra-nṛpaḥ in his Madanapara Grant,” (i.e. the black Rudra King of the annihilation of the Yavana race). Chaudhuri goes on to mention the Bhubaneshwar inscription (above) as another example of Yavana for Muslim.

Pentapadu Grant of Chola Bhaktirāja
H.K. Narasimhaswami, “Pentapadu Grant of Choda Bhaktiraja, saka 1265”, EI 33, 1959–60 (1963), 219–234. Śaka 1265 (1342 CE). Verse 28 is about the accession of Bhakta or Bhaktirāja and the overrunning of the Andhra country by the Yavanas (Muslims).

28. bālo 'pi bhakti-bhūpālas sadbhis sarāñānavac chritaḥ /
      yavanair avanīcakram āṁdhram atrāṁtare hṛtam //

Although a child, King Bhakti was continuously resorted to by good people. But in the interim, the Andhra country was taken by the Yavanas.

Punjai Inscription of Krishnadevaraya
K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, “The Punjai Inscription of Krishnadevaraya”, EI 25, 1939–40 (1940–48), 297–309. This text is known in no less than 20 different versions. In the part listing the epithets of the Vijayanagara King Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509–29), one reads:

Line 7. … yavanarāśa-sthāpanācārya, “the establisher of the kingdom of the Yavanas”

Three versions give the variant –rājya.

Rohtāsgarh Rock Inscription of Pratāpa

2. ja(ya)vana-dalana-līlā-māṁsalaiḥ svair yaśobhir ddhavalayati dharitrīṁ śrī-Pratāpa-kṣitīṁdre / idam udakam...

Kielhorn: While the illustrious king Pratāpa was whitening (dbhavalayati) the earth with the great fame of having in mere sport cut up the Yavanas...
The rest deals with the digging of a well or tank.

**Sringirishi Inscription of Mokala of Mewar**


6. ājāv amīsāham asiprabhāvāj jītvā yavanān aśeṣān / yahi kośajātam turagrāsam anāśīkhy[a]ṃ samānayat svāṁ kilā rājadhānīm //

Vyas (p. 239): *(It was Kshetra) who having conquered in battle Amī Sāha by the might of (his) sword and totally annihilated the Yavanas, verily brought the entire treasury and numberless steeds to his own capital.*

**Tuni Plates of Telugu Chola Annadeva**


prāṁte yuvaiva gulapūṁḍipurasya śūrān yo boggarādiyavanādhipatīn ajaiṣīt / prācyaṁ ca koppulapatir ddiśi yena paṁcädhārāṁgaṇe gajapatiṁ jayatābhyaṣeci //

Venkataramanayya: *(Even in his youth, Bhaktirāja won a victory over the heroes, Boggara and other Yavana chiefs, in the neighbourhood of the town Gulapūṁdi; in the eastern direction, after winning a victory over the Gajapati in battle at Pānchadhāra, he installed the Koppula chief on his throne.)*

King Bhaktirāja, the father of Annadeva, defeated Boggara and other Yavana chiefs in the late 14th century. According to Venkataramanayya, Boggara is Bughra, but not clearly identifiable. See Pentapadu Grant above.
2. BUDDHIST: PĀLI

Canonical

Majjhimanikāya


MN 93 Assalāyana-sutta
Assalāyana and the Buddha discuss the position of Brahmins.
Majjhimanikāya (PTS) 2, p. 149 (tr. p. 341).


Horner: “What do you think about this, Assalāyana? Have you heard that in Yona and Kamboja and other adjacent districts there are only two castes, the master and the slave? And that having been a master one becomes a slave; having been a slave one becomes a master?”

“Yes, I have heard this, Sir. In Yona and Kamboja...having been a slave becomes a master.”

“In reference to this then, Assalāyana, on what strength and authority do brahmans speak thus: ‘Only brahmans form the best caste, all other castes are low...heirs to Brahmā?’”

Late Canonical: Apadāna


Apadāna 406 Jatukaṇṇika

Yonakas, Alasandakas and other foreigners visited the rich merchant’s son. He was easy-minded and he spent his time on enjoyments such as music and dance. His house was visited by all kinds of beggars and applicants (v. 8 ff.), including Śramaṇas, Brahmins, Jainas, Ājīvikas, and also different kinds of foreigners.
13. oḍḍakā damilā c’eva sākulā malayālakā
      sabarā yonakā c’eva āgacchanti mamaṁ gharairīn.
14. andhakā muṇḍakā sabbe kolakā sānuvindakā
      ārā va cīnaraṭṭhā ca āgacchanti mamaṁ gharairīn.
15. alasandakā pallavakā babbarā bhaggakārūsā
      bāhikā cetaputtā ca āgacchanti mamaṁ gharairīn.

After naming different peoples, the list continues with various crafts and castes. Note that
15a has one superfluous syllable, which disturbs the metre.

Orissans and Tamils, Sākuḷas and Malayāḷakas (Keralans), Sabaras and Yonakas,
come to my house. Andhakas and all Muṇḍakas, Kolakas with Anuvindakas, Āras
and Chinese, come to my house. Alexandrians, Pallavas, Barbarians, Bhaggas and
Kārusas, Bāhikas and Cetaputtas, come to my house.

**Late Canonical: Mahānīddesa**


**Mahānīddesa on Suttanipāta 820**

Yona, Paramayona and Allasanda visited by a merchant.

Mahānīddesa on Suttanipāta 820 Tissamettēyyassuttanīddesos, p. 154 f.

athavā kāmataṇhāya abhibhūto pariyādiṁacitto bhoge pariyesanto nāvāya
      mahāsamuddāṁ pakkhandati, sītassa purakkhato, uphasa purakkhato, daṁsama
      kasavatātapasirīṁsapamphasēhi rissamāno khuppipāsāya piliyamāno Gumbaṁ
gacchatī, Takkolāṁ gacchatī, Takkasilāṁ gacchatī, Kālamukhāṁ gacchatī,
      Maranapārāṁ gacchatī, Vesungāṁ gacchatī, Verāpathāṁ gacchatī, Javaṁ gacchatī,
      Tamaliṁ gacchatī, Vāṅgāṁ gacchatī, Eḻavaddanāṁ gacchatī, Savaṇṇakūṭaṁ
gacchatī, Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ gacchatī, Tambapāṇiṁ gacchatī, Suppāraṁ gacchatī,
      Bharukacchāṁ gacchatī, Suraṭṭhaṁ gacchatī, Gaṅgaṇaṁ
      gacchatī, Paramagaṅgānāṁ gacchatī, Yonaṁ gacchatī, Paramayonaṁ gacchatī,
      Allasandaṁ gacchatī, Marukantārāṁ gacchatī, Ājapathaṁ gacchatī,
      Meṇḍapaṁ gacchatī, Saṅkupathaṁ gacchatī, Chattapaṁ gacchatī,
      Vettādharāṁ gacchatī; evaṁ pi kissati parikissati parikilissati.

Or, overwhelmed by the thirst of desires, with mind exhausted he goes by ship across the
ocean, seeking enjoyments. Experiencing cold and experiencing heat, pained by the bite
of gadflies, gnats, insects (wind and heat?) and reptiles, suffering from hunger and thirst,
he goes to Gumba, he goes to Takkola, he goes to Taxila...he goes to Gaṅgaṇa, he goes to
Paramagaṅgaṇa, he goes to Yona, he goes to Paramayona, he goes to Allasanda, he goes to Marukantāra…and thus he becomes exhausted, very exhausted, emaciated.

Mahāniddesa on Suttanipāta 939

Yona, Paramayona and Allasanda visited by a merchant. In spite of some different lecctions, the passage is the same as the one quoted before.

Vinaya-Commentary


Vin-C 1, p. 55

Prince Tissa and the monk Yonakamahādhammarakkhita.

so puna ekādivasāṁ migavaṁ nikkhamitvā araṅñe anuvicāramāno addasa Yonaka-mahādhammarakkhittheraṁ aññatarena haṭthināgena sālasākhaṁ gaheyyā vijayaṃ nisinnāṁ. disvā pāmujjajāto cintesi: kadā nu kho aham pi ayaṁ mahatthero viya pabbajjeyyaṁ, sīyā nu kho so divaso ti.
One day he went again hunting, and wandering in the forest he saw Thera Yonaka Mahādhammarakkhita sitting, fanned by an elephant with a sāl branch. Seeing this, he thought with delight: ‘Someday, I too will go forth like this great Thera. Let it be that day now.’ Understanding his desire, the Thera rose up in the air and, stopping at the lotus pond in the pleasure park of Aśoka and hanging both of his upper robes in the air, started to take a bath. Seeing the Thera’s greatness, the prince was very pleased: ‘On this very day I shall go forth.’ He returned and announced to the king: ‘I shall go forth, Your Majesty.’

Vin-C 1, p. 63 f. & 67
Missions sent from Aśoka’s council.
Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 1, p. 63 f. & 67

Having arranged this third Dhamma council, Thera Moggaliputta Tissa thought: ‘Where then will the doctrine be well-established in the future?’ Examining it, this (idea) arose in him: ‘It will be well-established in neighbouring lands.’ He gave the task to each monk and sent the monks to different countries. He sent Thera Majjhantika to the country of Kashmir and Gandhāra: ‘You, going to this country, establish the doctrine there!’ Saying the same, he sent Thera Mahādeva to Mahisakamaṇḍala, Thera Rakkhita to Vanavāsi, Thera Yonakadhammarakkhita Yonaka Dhammarakkhita to Aparantaka, Thera Mahādhammarakkhita to Maharashtri, Thera Mahārakkhita to Yonakaloka, Thera Majjhima to the Himalayas, Thera Sonaka and Thera Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, and his companion, Thera Mahinda, together with Thera Uttiya, Thera Sambala and Thera Bhaddasāla, to Sri Lanka.
Going to Aparantaka, Thera Yonaka Dhammarakkhita gladdened the Aparantakas with the sermon of the Aggikkhandhūpamasuttanta and let thirty-seven thousand people drink the nectar of Dharma. A group of a thousand went forth from the Kṣatriya class, together with six thousand women. In this way, he established the doctrine there.

Entering Aparanta, Yonaka Dhammarakkhita
Gladdened many people there with the Aggikkhandhūpama.

Going then to Yonaka country, this sage Mahārakkhita gladdened the Yonakaloka with the Kālakārāmasutta.

*Instead of the incomprehensible maggapalālākāraṁ, Mv 12, 40 has maggapalāmaṁ as 'the fruit of the (Buddha’s) path'.

Vin-C 5, p. 1029
A Yonaka does not defile the assembly.
Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 5, p. 1029 on Vinaya: Mahāvagga 1, 71.

...Yonakajātiko pana parisadūsako na hoti, sabhāvo yeva hi so tassa kaṇṇabhagandariko vā niccapūtinā kaṇṇena samannāgato, ...

But “one of Yonaka birth” does not disgrace the assembly, as his nature is really (like?) an ulcer in the ear or endowed with an always putrid ear...

Vin-C 5, p. 1084
Yonaka shoes cover the whole foot.
Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 5, p. 1084 on Vinaya: Mahāvagga 5, 2, 3.
Horner (in a note to her Vinaya translation): “Knee-boots” – it is called a Greek sandal, it covers the whole foot as far as the knee.

Vin-C 5, p. 1086
Yonaka cloth.
Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 5, p. 1086 on Vinaya: Mahāvagga 5, 10, 4.

“Knee-boots” – it is called a Greek sandal, it covers the whole foot as far as the knee.

Vin-C 7, p. 1336
Yonaka monks as pilgrims.
Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 7, p. 1336 on Vinaya: Parivāra 6, 5.

“A woven cloth” – a woollen covering, festooned with many flowers, called the garment of Yonakas and Damilas (Greeks and Tamils).

“Calms the mind of others” – it is like this: A young monk called Tissa had swept the courtyard of the Jambukola Caitya and was standing with dustpan in hand. At that moment, a monk called Tissadatta, having come from a ship, was looking at the area around the caitya. Having understood that it had been cleaned through the force of thought, he asked for five thousand. The other gave it all. In another monastery also, a monk restricted his observances after having swept the courtyard of the caitya. Four monks, having come from the Yonaka country to worship the caitya and having seen the area around the caitya, were just staying at the gate without going in. One monk remembered eight kalpas, one sixteen, one twenty and one remembered thirty kalpas.

Dīghanikāya-Commentary, with Sub-Commentary

DN-C 1, p. 176
On barbarian languages. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Dīghanikāya Commentary), 1, p. 176 on DN 2, 40 (Sāmaññaphalasutta).

Yassa pana desanā eka-vyañjanādī-yuttā vā sabba-niroṭṭha-vyañjanā vā sabba-visaṭṭha-sabba-niggahīta-vyañjanā vā, tassa Damīla-Kirāta-Yavanādī- Millakkhānaṁ* bhāsā viya, vyañjana-paripūriyā abhāvato avyañjanā nāma desanā hoti

*The Burmese MS of the Indian Office reads savarādi-milakkhunāṁ

But whose discourse is combined of single sounds or wholly without labial sounds or of wholly aspirated and wholly nasalized sounds, his discourse is without (correct) sounds like the languages of barbarians – such as Tamil, Kirāta and Greek – as it lacks the correctness of sounds.49

DN-C 3, p. 736
A Yona mentioned among monks who lived many years without using a bed.
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Dīghanikāya Commentary), 3, p. 736 on DN 22, 2, 5 (Sakkapañhasutta).

Sāriputta-tthero kira tiṁsa vassāni mañce piṭṭhiṁ na pasāresi. tathā Mahāmoggallā-tthero Mahākassapa-tthero ca visaṁ vassa-sataṁ mañce piṭṭhiṁ na pasāresi. Anuruddha-tthero paṁca-paṁñāsa vassāni, Bhaddiya-tthero tiṁsa-vassāni, Yoṇa-tthero aṭṭhārasa vassāni, Raṭṭhapāla-tthero dvādasa ...

Now Thera Sāriputta did not stretch his back on a bed for thirty years. In the same way, Thera Mahāmoggallāna did not stretch his back on a bed for twenty years, Thera Anuruddha for fifty-five years, Thera Bhaddiya for thirty years, Thera Yona for eighteen years, Thera Raṭṭhapāla for twelve...

DN-Subcommentary 1, p. 308 f.
On Yavana language.
Līnatthavaṇṇanā (ṭīkā on the Dīghanikāya Commentary), 1, p. 308 f. on DN-C p. 176.

48 This is also Malalasekera’s reference, albeit with the misprint “276” for the page number.
49 This passage and especially the subcommentary on it (below) caused much trouble. During the final phase of editing A. Butters kindly pointed out to me the recent contribution (Gornall 2014) and this led me further to von Hinüber 1994. Only in this way was I able to learn the right meaning of several technical terms missing in the PTS Dictionary.

“Combined of single sounds, etc.” — sounds with original difference as unaspirated combined with coinciding or wrongly pronounced sounds, like in the Tamil language. Or when without cause (?) (something is) uttered without touching the lip, (this is) “of wholly without labial sounds”, like the Kirāta language. Or being everywhere combined with visargas, (it is) “of wholly aspirated sounds”, like the Greek language. Or being everywhere combined of remembered letters, (it is) “of wholly nasalized sounds”, like Persian and other barbarian languages. All these sounds, made unfinished (incorrect) in the way of each country, are called “without sounds”.

Majjhimanikāya-Commentary


MN-C 3, p. 19 (Aluvihāra 2, 575)
On hanging up oil lamps.

Telappadīpaṁ āropetvā ti rajatasuvaṇṇādimayadaṇḍāsu dipikāsu yonaka-rūpakhačinarūpakhaādināṁ hatthe ṭhapitasuvaṇṇarajatādimayakapallakādisu ca telappaṭihe jālayitvā ti attho.

50 This follows the interpretation of von Hinüber (1994, 219), but note that Gornall (2014, 26) reads dvippakāren’ eva. Thus, unaspirated sounds would be combined with one or two types of sounds (i.e. with voiceless and voiced aspirates), which is perhaps a less complicated way of describing the peculiarity of Tamil phonology.
51 See von Hinüber 1994, 219, which explains that a similar explanation is also given in the sub-commentaries of the Vibhaṅga commentary, Majjhimanikāya commentary and Aṅguttaranikāya commentary.
52 While our text follows the PTS edition, this has been used in order to identify Malalasekera’s references.
This seems to follow the reading of the Aluvihāra edition. The Burmese printed text (Rangoon 1920/21, vol. 3) has yonakaruṣṇakītarūpakādināṁ, and the Thai edition (1920, vol. 3) yonakaruṣṇakīnarūpakādināṁ. See also Udāna-C below.

“Having hung up an oil lamp” – having kindled oil lamps, lamps with silver or golden shafts and golden or silver (lamp) bowls and the like, and having put them in the hands of figures representing Greeks or Chinese, etc.

MN-C 3, p. 409 (Aluvihāra 2, 784)
No social classes in the Yona country.

Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya Commentary), 3, p. 409 on MN 93 (Assalāyanasutta, ed. p. 149 [above]).


“A Brahmin engaged in trade went with his wife to the Yona country or Kamboja country and fulfilled his time (i.e. died there). As there was no mature son in his house, his wife lived together with a slave or a servant. That man was a slave when a male child was born. But the son born to him was owner of the inheritance. (He was) pure from his mother’s side, but impure from his father’s side. Engaging in trade, he went to the Middle Country and, taking a Brahmin’s daughter (as wife), begot a son on her. He also was pure from his mother’s side, but impure from his father’s side. This has been said in order to point out that even in the condition of Brahmins, there is a difference of birth.

Anguttaranikāya-Commentary

Monks in ancient times clad in white robes like Yonakas.

Then, in the passing of time, doing various works, (thinking) “This is an obstacle. What use is it to us?”, they removed the yellow robe and cast it into the forest. At that time, the distinguishing mark (of monks) really disappeared. Now, from the time of the Buddha Kassapa they began to dress in the white clothes of Yonakas and showed good conduct and behaviour. This was really the disappearance of the distinguishing mark.

Yavanabhāsā listed among the barbarian languages.

“With meaning and sound” – whose discourse is of unsupported description (like rice gruel, woman and man, etc.), he does not teach with meaning. But the Lord, abandoning such discourse, teaches the discourse that is supported by the four foundations of mindfulness, etc. Therefore, it is called discourse with meaning. But whose discourse is combined of single sounds or wholly without labial sounds or of wholly aspirated and wholly nasalized sounds, his discourse is without (correct) sounds like the languages of barbarians – such as Tamil, Kirāta and Greek – as it lacks the correctness of sounds.
Udāna-C, p. 410
On hanging up an oil lamp.
Paramatthadīpanī (Udāna Commentary), p. 410 on Udāna 8, 6.


"Having hung up an oil lamp" – having kindled oil lamps, lamps with silver or gold shafts, and gold or silver, etc. (lamp) bowls put in the hands of figures adorned with the shape of a charming Greek, etc.

Itivuttaka-Commentary


Itivuttaka-C 2, p. 154
Prince Tissa and the monk Yonakamahādhammarakkhita.
Paramatthadīpanī (Itivuttaka Commentary), 2 p. 154 on Itivuttaka 1, 5.


But in the same way, as soon as Thera Mahākassapa had renounced the world, there were as many as a hundred thousand renouncers who followed him in renouncement of the world. Thus was (the renouncement) of the monk's pupil Thera Candagutta, as well as his pupil Thera Suriyagutta, his pupil Thera Assagutta, and his pupil Thera Yonaka-dhammarakkhita. But his pupil was Thera Tissa, the younger brother of King Aśoka.

Theragāthā-Commentary


Thg-C 2, p. 227f.
Prince Tissa and the monk Yonakamahādhammarakkhita.
Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthā Commentary), 2, p. 227f. on Theragāthā 10, 2, 537–546 (Ekavihāriya).
Asoka-mahārājā kira Satthu parinibbānato dvinnāṁ vassa-satānaṁ upari
aṭṭhārasame vasse sakala-Jambudīpe eka-rajjâbhisekaṁ patvā, attano kaniṭṭhaṁ
Tissa-kumāraṁ uparajje ṭhapetvā, kena upāyema taṁ sāsane abhippasannāṁ
akāsi? So ekadivasām migavaṁ gato araṁñe Yonaka-mahādhammarakkhittha-
ttheraṁ hatthi-nāgena sālasākhaṁ gahetvā vijayamānaṁ nissamaṁ disvā sañjāta-
pasādo ‘Aho vat’ ahaṁ pi mahāthero viya pabbajitvā araṁñe vihareyyan’ ti
cintesi. Thero tassa cittācāraṁ āṭṭavā tassa passantass’ eva ākāsaṁ abhippasangvā
Asokārāme pokkharaniya abhijjamāne uduke thatvā civarāṁ ca uttarasāngaṁ ca
ākāse olambetvā, nahāyituṁ ārabhi. Kumāro therassa ānubhāvaṁ disvā, abhip-
pasanno araṁñe nivattitvā, rājagehaṁ gantvā; ‘pabbajissāmi’ ti raṅno ārocesi.
Rājā tam anekappakāraṁ yācitvā pabbajādhhippayaṁ nivattetēṁ nāsakhi.

Now, two centuries after the Master’s parinirvāṇa, the great King Aśoka – having
received consecration in his eighteenth year as the only king of the whole of Jambudīpa –
settled upon his own younger brother Prince Tissa as co-regent. What made him (Tissa)
devoted to Buddhist doctrine? One day he was hunting and saw in the forest the monk
Yonakamahādhammarakkhittha sitting, fanned by a mighty elephant with a branch of
a sal tree. He became happy and thought: “Indeed, I shall also renounce the world and
live in the forest like the great monk.” Understanding his thought, the monk rose up into
the air as he was watching. He stopped at a lotus pond in Aśoka’s grove without sinking
into the water, hung both of his upper robes in the air, and began to bathe. Seeing the
magnificence of the monk, the prince returned from the forest with faith. He went to the
palace and announced to the king that he intended to renounce the worldly life. The king
entreated him in many ways, but could not turn him from the wish for renunciation.

Vibhaṅga-Commentary

Vibhaṅga-Commentary: Sammoha-vinodani Abhidhamma-piṭake Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā, ed.

Vibhaṅga-C, p. 240

Local languages are subject to change, Māgadhī (i.e. Pāli) is not.
tattha sesā oṭṭakirāta-andhakayonakadamīlabhāsādikā aṭṭhārasa bhāsā parivattantī.
ayam ev’ ekā yathābhuccabhrahmavohā-ariyavohāraṁ-khātā māgadhabhāsā va
na parivattati.

von Hinüber: There the rest of the eighteen languages such as Oṭṭa, Kirāta, Andhaka,
Yonaka, Damila, etc., are subject to change. Only this Māgadhā language, rightly called
the language of Brahmā, the language of the Aryans, it alone does not change.
Vibhaṅga-C, p. 387 f.
Yonabhāsā listed among the barbarian languages.
Sammoha-vinodanī (Vibhaṅga Commentary), p. 387 (Paṭisambhidāvibhaṅgo).

Tattha dhammanirutthābhilāpe 념āṇi ti ... Niraye, tiracchānayoniyaṁ, petti-
visaye, manussaloke, devaloke ti sabbattha Māgadhabhāsā va ussannaṁ. Tattha sesā
Otta-Kirāta-Andhaka-Yonaka-Damilabhāsādikā aṭṭhārasa bhāsā parivattantī, ayam ev' ekā yathābhuccha-brahmavohāra-ariyavohārasankhātā Māgadhabhāsā
na parivattati.

Alwis, p. 58:54 Māgadhī. It predominates in all regions (such as) Hell, the Animal
kingdom, the Petta sphere, the human World, and the World of the devas. The
remaining eighteen languages, Otta, Kirāṭa, Andhaka, Yonaka, Damila etc. undergo
changes – but not the Māgadhī, which alone is stationary, as it is said to be the speech of
Brahmas and Ariyas.

Vibhaṅga-C, p. 389
On Yonakadhammarakkhita

so [Tissatthero] kira Tambapanṇidipe Buddhavacanaṁ ugganhitvā paratīranaṁ gantvā
Yonaka-Dhammarakkhitattherassa santike Buddhavacanaṁ ugganhitvā āgainchanto
navaṁ abhirahanaṁ the ekasmin paṁe uppannakankho yojanasatamaggaṁ
nivattitvā ācariyassa santikaṁ gacchanto antarāmaggaṁ ekassa kutumbikassa paṁhaṁ
kathesi.

Now, this Thera Tissa, having learned the Buddha’s words on the island of Tambapanṇi,
went to the other shore, learning the Buddha’s words with Thera Yonakadhammarak-
kkhita. Arriving at the landing place of the ship, he went back a hundred yojanas with one
step, having gotten a doubt. Going to the teacher another way, he told of the question of
a certain householder.

Chronicles

Dīpavaṁsa

The Dīpavaṁsa. An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record. Ed. & tr. H. Oldenberg, 1879 (repr.
New Delhi 1982).

The Chronicle of the Island of Ceylon or the Dīpavaṁsa. Ed. [and tr.] B.C. Law. The Ceylon

Dv 8
The missions sent by Moggaliputta from Aśoka’s council.
Dīpavaṁsa 8, 1–13.

1. Moggaliputto dīghadassī sāsanassa anāgate
paccantamhi patiṭṭhānam disvā dibbena cakkhunā
2. Majjhantikādayo there pāhesi attapañcame:
sāsanassa patiṭṭhāya paccante sattabuddhiyā
3. paccantakānaṁ desānaṁ anukampāya pāṇināṁ
pabhātukā balappattā desetha dharmam uttamaṁ.
4. gantvā Gandhāravisayaṁ Majjhantiko mahā isı
kupitaṁ nāgaṁ pasādetvā mocesi bandhanā bahu.
5. gantvāna raṭṭhāni Mahisaṁ Mahādevo mahiddhiko
coditvā nirayadukkhena mocesi bandhanā bahu.
6. athāparo pi Rakkhito vikubbanesu kovido
vehāsam abhuggantvāna desesi anamataggyaṁ.
7. Yonakadhammarakkhitathero nāma mahāmati
aggikkhandhopamasuttakathāya Aparantakaṁ pasādayi.
8. Mahādhāmmarakkhitathero Mahāraṭṭhaṁ pasādayi
Nāradakassapajātakakathāya ca mahiddhiko.
9. Mahārakkhitathero pi Yonakalokāṁ pasādayi
kālakārāmasuttantakathāya ca mahiddhiko.
10. Kassapagotto ca yo therō Majjhimo Durabhisaro
Sahadevo Mūlakadevo Himavante yakkhaṇaṁ pasādayuṁ,
11. kathesuṁ tattha suuttantaṁ dhamacakkappavattanarāṁ.
12. Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ gantvāna Soṇuttarā mahiddhikā
niddhametvā pisācagaṇe mocesi bandhanā bahu.
13. Laṅkādīpavaraṁ gantvā Mahindo attapañcamo
sāsanaṁ thāvaram katvā mocesi bandhanā bahu.
bhāṇavāraṁ aṭṭhamañī

Oldenberg: 1. Far-seeing Moggaliputta who perceived by his supernatural vision the
propagation of the faith in the future in the neighbouring countries, – 2. sent Majjhantika and other Theras, each with four companions, for the sake of establishing the faith
in foreign countries (and) for the enlightenment of men.
3. “Preach ye together with your brethren (?) powerfully the most excellent religion to the foreign
countries, out of compassion for created beings.” 4. The great sage Majjhantika went to the country
of the Gandhāras; there he appeased an enraged Nāga and released many people from their fetters
(of sin). 5. Mahādeva who possessed the great (magical) powers, went to the realm of Mahisa; urging
(the people) by (the description of) the suffering in hell, he released many people from their fetters. 6.
The another (Thera), Rakkhita, skilled in magical transformations, rising into the air, preached the Anamataggiya discourse.

7. The wise Thera called Yonakadharmarakkhita converted the Aparantaka country by preaching the Aggikkhandhopama Sutta.

8. The Thera Mahādhammarakkhita who possessed the great (magical) powers, converted Mahāraṭṭha by preaching the Nāradakassapajātaka.

9. The Thera Mahārakkhita who possessed the great magical powers, converted the Yavana region by preaching the Kālakārāma Suttanta.

10. The Thera who originated from the Kasapa tribe, Majjhima, Durabhisara, Sabadeva, Mālakadeva, converted the multitude of Yakkhas in the Himavat. 11. They preached there the Suttanta called Dhammacakkappavattana. 12. Sona and Uttara who possessed the great magical powers, went to Susaṇṇabhūmi; there they conquered the multitudes of Piśācas and released many people from their fetters. 13. Mahinda, going with four companions to the most excellent island of Laṅkā, firmly established (there) the faith and released many people from their fetters.

Dv 15, 49 (Law 48)
The Buddha brings rain to the famished Yonaka country.

Dīpavaṁsa 15, 49–50.

49. dubbuṭṭhiyo tadā āsi dubbhikkhi āsi yonakā dubbhikkhadukkhite satte macchā v’appodake yathā
50. āgate lokadiduṁhi devo sammābhivassati khamo āsi janapado assāssesi bahū jane

Law: At that time there was drought, there was famine among the Yonakas; people suffered from famine like fish in shallow water. When the knower of the world came, god poured forth abundant rain, the country was prosperous, he gave consolation to many people.

The whole of Chapter 15 deals with Sri Lanka. This is probably the reason why Oldenberg does not accept Yonakas here. In his translation, there are just three dots in its place and no explanation is given.

Mahāvaṁsa

The Mahāvaṁsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, tr. into English by W. Geiger. London, PTS 1964 (originally published 1912).

Mv 10, 90
King Paṇḍukābhaya in the 4th century BCE builds Anurādhapura and gives a separate area to the Yonas.
Mahāvaṁsa 10, 88–90.
88. ... 
Dvārāgame ca caturo 'bhayavāpiṁ ca kārayi
89. mahāsusānaghātanaṁ pacchimarājīnī tathā
Vessavaṇassa nigrodhaṁ vyādhidevassa tālakaṁ
90. yonasabhaṅgavatthuṁ ca mahejagāhāraṁ eva ca:
etāni pacchimadvāradisābāhge nivesayi.

Geiger: He laid out also four suburbs as well as the Abhaya-tank, the common cemetery, the place of execution, and the chapel of the Queens of the West, the banyan-tree of Vessavaṇa [Kubera] and the Palmyra-palm of the Demon of Maladies [or the God of the Huntsmen], the ground set apart for the Yonas and the house of the Great Sacrifice; all these he laid out near the west gate.

Geiger's editorial note (p. LIV): "The word yonas° is exceedingly doubtful. It would mean 'common dwelling ground of the Yonas or Greeks'. It is not probable, that four centuries BCE, already at Paṇḍukābhaya's time, Greeks had settled in Ceylon, but the building erected by that king may afterwards have served as a dwelling place for foreigners and may have got its name from this fact."

Mv 12, 4 f.
Missions sent from Aśoka's council.
Mahāvaṁsa 12, 1 ff.
1. Thero Moggaliputto so jinasāsanajotako niṭṭhāpetvāna saṅgītiṁ pekkhamāno anāgataṁ
sāsanassa patiṭṭhānaṁ paccantesu apekkhīya pesesi kattike māse te te there tahiṁ tahiṁ.
2. Theraṁ Kasīragandhāraṁ Majjhantikaṁ apesayi, apesayi Mahādevattheraṁ Mahisamaṇḍalaṁ.
3. Vanavāsaṁ apesesi theram Rakkhitanāmakam, tathāparaṁ Yonaṁ Dhammarakkhitattheraṁ apesayi.
5. Pesesi Majjhimaṁ theraṁ Himavantapadesakaṁ, Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ there dve Soṇaṁ Uttaram eva ca.

In 7–8, Mahinda is sent to Laṅkādīpa. Then follows the account of their individual missions (see next extract).

Geiger: When the thera Moggaliputta, the illuminator of the religion of the Conqueror, had brought the (third) council to an end and when, looking into the future, he had beheld the founding of the religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the month Kattika he sent forth theras, one here and one there. The thera Majjhantika he sent to Kasmirā and Gandhāra, the thera Mahādeva he sent to Mahisamaṇḍala. To Vanavāsa he
sent the therī named Rakkhita, and to Aparantaka the Yona named Dhammarakkhita; to Mahāraṭṭha (he sent) the therī named Mahādhammarakkhita, but the therī Mahārakkhita he sent into the country of the Yona. He sent the therī Majhīma to the Himalaya country, and to Suvaṇṇabhūmi he sent the two therīs Soṇa and Uttara.

**Mv 12, 34**
The Aparantaka mission of Yona Dhammarakkhita.
Mahāvamsa 12, 34–36.

34. Gantvāparantakaṁ therō Yonako Dhammarakkhito
    aggikkhandhopamāṁ suttaṁ kathetvā janamajjhago
35. so satta tiṁsasahassāni pāṇe tattha samāgatē [sic]
    dhammāmataṁ apāyesi dhammādhammesu kovido.
36. Purissānaṁ sahassā ca itthiyo ca tato ’dhikā
    khattiyānaṁ kulā yeva nikkhamitvāna pabbajuriṁ
    Some MSS. apply different ways of correction to restore the metre in 35ab.

Geiger: The therī Dhammarakkhita the Yona, being gone to the Aparantaka* and having preached in the midst of the people the Aggikkhandhopamāsutta [of AN], gave to drink of the nectar of truth to thirty-seven thousand living beings who had come together there, he who perfectly understood truth and untruth. And a thousand men and yet more women went forth from noble families and received the pabbajjā.


**Mv 12, 39**
The Yona mission of Mahārakkhita.
Mahāvamsa 12, 39 f.

39. Gantvāna Yonavisayam so Mahārakkhito isi
    kālakārāmasuttantaṁ kathesi janaajjhago.
40. Pāṇasatasahassāni sahassāni ca sattati
    maggaphalaṁ pāpuṇiṁsu, dasahasahassāni pabbajuriṁ. [sic]

Geiger: The wise Mahārakkhita who went to the country of the Yona* delivered in the midst of the people the Kālakārāma-suttanta. A hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained the reward of the path (of salvation); ten thousand received the pabbajjā.

*Geiger’s note: “The Yonas...also mentioned, together with the Kambojas, in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Aśoka. They ‘must mean the clans of foreign race (not necessarily Greek) on the north-western frontier’. V.A. Smith, Aśoka p. 132 n. 2. It is remarkable that just at that time (246 BCE) the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was founded by Diodotos. See Spiegel, Eran. Altertumsk. III, p. 49 foll.”
Mv 29, 39
A list of the delegates of the Saṅgha who came to celebrate Duṭṭhagāmaṇi’s victory over Eḷāra.
Mahāvaṁsa 29, 38 f.

38. cattāri satasahassāni sahassān’ atha saṭṭhi ca bhikkhū Pallavabhoggamhā Mahādevo mahāmati,

Geiger: The wise Mahādeva came from Pallavabhogga* with four hundred and sixty thousand bhikkhus and from Alasanda** the city of the Yonas came the ther Yonamahādhammarakkhita with thirty thousand bhikkhus.

*Geiger’s note: “Pallava is the name of the Persians = Skt. Pallava or Pahlava. Bhoggaṁ is perhaps ‘fief’.”

**Geiger’s note: “Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, i.e. the Greeks, probably the town founded by the Macedonian king in the country of the Paropanisadae near Kābul.”

Later Chronicles
Cūlavāṁsa

Cūlavāṁsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṁsa, ed. W. Geiger. 1–2. London, PTS 1925–27.
Cūlavāṁsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṁsa, tr. W. Geiger, and from the German into English by C. Mabel Rickmers. 1–2. London, PTS 1929–30 (repr. Colombo 1953).

Cv 76, 264
Gifts given to Parakkamabāhu I.
Cūlavāṁsa 76, 264.

264. Paṇṇākāraṁ tadā nītāṁ Vessehi Yavanehi ca gahetvā te ca sakkatvā pasādehi bahūhi ca

Geiger: He accepted the gifts which were brought him by the Vessas [Vaiśyas] and the Yavanas [perhaps Arabians] and distinguished these people also by countless marks of favour.

Mahābodhivaṁsa


Mbv p. 113–115
Missions sent by Moggaliputtatissa from Aśoka’s council.
Mahābodhivaṁsa p. 113–115.
Thūpavaṁsa


Thūpav. 6, p. 192

Missions sent by Moggaliputtatissa.

Moggaliputtatissa therēṁ taṁ tatiyasaṅgītimiṁ niṭṭhāpetvā, “Kattha nu kho anāgate sāsanaṁ suppatīṭhitaṁ bhaveyyāti? upaparikkhanto, “Paccantimesu kho pana janapadesu suppatīṭhitaṁ bhavissatīti,” disvā, Majjhantikattheraṁ Kasmīra-Gandhāraṭṭham pesesi, tathā Mahādevattheraṁ Mahiṁsakamaṇḍalalāṁ, Rakkhitattheraṁ Vanavāsiṁ, Yonakadhammarakkhitattheraṁ Aparantakaṁ, Mahādhīmmarakkhitattheraṁ Mahāraṭṭhaṁ, Mahārakkhitattheraṁ Yonakalokāṁ, Majjhimaṭtheraṁ Himavantadesabhaṁgaṁ, Soṇattheraṁ ca Uttaratheraṁ ca Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ ... Mahāmahindattheraṁ Laṅkāsaṅkhātaṁ Tambapanidīpaṁ pesesi. Te sabbe taṁ taṁ disābhagaṁ gacchantā attapañcamā āgamiṁsu ...

[p. 114] Yonakadhammarakkhitatthero pi Aparantaṁ gantvā, aggi-kkhandhopamasuttantakathāya Aparantake pasādetvā, sattatiṁsasahassassanī Dhammāmatāṁ pāyetvā, khattiyakulato yeva purisasahassāṁ cha itthisahassāni ca pabbjētvā, tattha sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpesi ...

Mahārakkhitatthero pi Yonakaraṭṭhaṁ gantvā, Kāla- [p. 115] kāramasuttantakathāya Yonakalokāṁ pasādetvā, sattatiṁsasahassādhikassa pānatasahassassassa maggaphalāḷaṅkāraṁ datvā, dasasahassāni pabbjētvā, tattha sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpesi. Slightly abridged, but otherwise identical with Vin-C 1, p. 63 f. & 67 above.

Moggaliputtatissatthero taṁ tatiyasaṅgītimiṁ niṭṭhāpetvā, “Kattha nu kho anāgate sāsanaṁ suppatīṭhitaṁ bhaveyyāti? upaparikkhanto, “Paccantimesu kho pana janapadesu suppatīṭhitaṁ bhavissatīti,” disvā, Majjhantikattheraṁ Kasmīra-Gandhāraṭṭham pesesi, tathā Mahādevattheraṁ Mahiṁsakamaṇḍalalāṁ, Rakkhitattheraṁ Vanavāsiṁ, Yonakadhammarakkhitattheraṁ Aparantakaṁ, Mahādhīmmarakkhitattheraṁ Mahāraṭṭhaṁ, Mahārakkhitattheraṁ Yonakalokāṁ, Majjhimaṭtheraṁ Himavantadesabhaṁgaṁ, Soṇattheraṁ ca Uttaratheraṁ ca Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ ... Mahāmahindattheraṁ Laṅkāsaṅkhātaṁ Tambapanidīpaṁ pesesi. Te sabbe taṁ taṁ disābhagaṁ gacchantā attapañcamā āgamiṁsu ...

Jayawickrama: Elder Moggaliputtatissa...sent...monks to various places...He sent the Elder Majjhantika to the kingdom of Kasmīra-Gandhāra saying, “Go you to that kingdom and establish the Dispensation there.” Making the same request he sent the Elder Mahādeva to the principality of Mahiṁsaka, the Elder Rakkhita to Vanavāsi, the Elder Dhammarakkhitatthera to the Yona to the Western Lands, the Elder Mahādhīmmarakkhitatthera to Mahāraṭṭha, the Elder Mahārakkhitatthera to the Yona World,...
Thūpav. 13, p. 224
Commencement of the Thūpa.

Yonakaratthe Alasandanagarato Yonakadhammarakkhitatthero tīṁsa bhikkhu-

sahassāni...gahetvā āgañhi

Jayawickrama: The Elder Dhammarakkhita the Yonaka [came] with 30000 monks
from the city of Alasandā in the Yonaka kingdom.
Cf. Mv 29.

Vaṁsatthappakāsinī

Vaṁsatthappakāsinī: Varinsatthappakāsinī, Commentary on the Mahāvaṁsa, ed. G.P.

Mv-C on Mv 5, 161
Conversion of Aśoka’s brother Tissa.
Varinsatthappakāsinī on Mahāvaṁsa 5, 161 (to give the context of the story, the
whole passage Mv 5, 160–165 is given).

160. iccevaṁ bhātarā vutto sāsanasmiṁ pasīdi so.
Kālena migavaṁ gantvā theraṁ adakkhi saññataṁ

161. nisinnaṁ rukkhamūlasmiṁ so Mahādhammarakkhitam
sālasākhāya nāgena vijīyangam anāvasaṁ.
Commentary: Mahādhammarakkhitam ti Yonaka mahādhammarakkhitattheraṁ
nāgena ti aññatarena hatthināgena...

162. “Ayaṁ thero viyāhaṁ pi pabbajja jinasāsane
viharissāṁ kadā ‘raññe?” iti cintayi paññvā.

163. Thero tassa pasādathaṁ uppatitvā vihāyasā
gantvā Asokārāmassa pokkharaṇā jale ṭhito
164. ākāse ṭhapayitvāna cīvarāni varāni so
ogāhitvā pokkharaṇāni gattāni parisiṅcatha.
165. Tam iddhiṁ uparājā so disvā ‘tva pasīdiya
“ajj ‘eva pabbajissan” ti buddhimā cakkāsi buddhimā.

Geiger’s translation of Mv: And (Tissa) when his brother [Aśoka] spoke thus, was
turned toward faith in the doctrine (of the Buddha). And afterwards when he once went
forth hunting, he saw the thera Mahādhammarakkhita, the self-controlled, sitting at the
foot of a tree, and fanned by a cobra with a branch of a sāla-tree.* And that wise (prince)
thought: “When shall I, like this thera, be ordained in the religion of the Conqueror, and
live in the forest wilderness?” When the thera, to convert him, had come thither flying
through the air, standing on the water of the pond in the Asokārāma, he, leaving his
goodly garments behind him in the air, plunged into the water and bathed his limbs. And when the prince saw this marvel he was filled with joyful faith, and the wise man made this wise resolve: “This very day will I receive the pabbajā-ordination.”

*Commentary: Mahādhammarakkhita i.e. Yonakamahādhammarakkhitatthera (the Greek monk M.), by a cobra, otherwise by an elephant.
Cf. Vi-C 1, p. 55 above.

Mv-C on Mv 29, 39
Monks coming from Alexandria.
Vānsatthappakāsinī on Mahāvaṃsa 29, 39 (for the Mv passage, see above).
yonanagarā 'lasandā ti Yonavisayambi Alasandā nāma nagaraparivatto ti vuttaṁ hoti.
“Yona town Alexandria” – in the Yona country there is said to be a town named Alexandria.

Mv-C on Mv 34, 47
On the deeds of King Bhātikābhaya.
Vānsatthappakāsinī on Mahāvaṃsa 34, 47 (to give the context of the story, the whole passage Mv 34, 46–48 is given).

46. sakaṭasatena muttānaṁ telena saddhirāṁ sadhukaṁ maddāpetvā sudhāpiṇḍaṁ sudhākammaṁ akārayi.
47. Pavāḷajālaṁ kāretvā taṁ khipāpiya cetiye sovaṇṇayāni padumāni cakkamattāni sandhisu
48. laggāpetvā tato muttākalāpā yāva hetṭhimā padumā lambayitvāna Mahāthūpaṁ apūjayi.
Commentary: Pavāḷajālaṁ kāretvā ti paratīre Romanukkharāṭṭhaṁ nāma pesetvā surattapavāḷāṁ āharāpetvā sabbāvantaṁ parikkhepārahaṁ mahantaṁ pavāḷacchikajālaṁ kārāpetvā.
v.1. ropanukharathāni

Geiger’s translation of Mv: From a hundred waggon-loads of pearls, he, bidding that the mass of plaster be carefully kneaded together with oil, made a plaster-covering (for the Great Thūpa). He had a net of coral prepared and cast over the Cetiya, and when he had commanded them to fasten in the meshes thereof lotus-flowers of gold large as waggon-wheels, and to hang clusters of pearls on these that reached to the lotus-flower beneath, he worshipped the Great Thūpa with his offering.

Commentary: “Had a net of coral prepared” – having sent to the country of Romanukkha on the far coast and having let very red coral be brought and having prepared an entire great net of shining coral for the circumference.
Sāsanavāṃsa


As this text is quite modern (written in the 19th century), full quotations seem unnecessary, even though there are several references to Yonkas and their country. Pariccheda IV is entitled *Yonakaraṭṭhasāsanavāṃsakathāmaggo*. In Chapter 1, it is told how the Buddha himself visited the Yonaka country (*Yonakaraṭṭha*) with his monks, along with the town of Labhuñja. This name, as well as the river Mapinnā and the place Ca-nah-ma (or Ja-mah-ma), is said to be in the Yonaka language (*yonakabhāsāya*). These names are not found in Malalasekera, but could well point to South-East Asia.

Chapter 2. The second propagation of the Dhamma in the Yonaka country includes the well-known story of Thera Mahārakkhita being sent to the Yonaka country, here clearly located in South-East Asia. In addition to Yonaka, he converted other countries as well, such as Kamboja, Khemavāra, Haribhuñja and Ayudhaya.

Chapter 3. The third propagation of the Dhamma is connected with Nāgasena (the *MilP* is expressly referred to), but the story of a relic brought by him to the town of Lakunna again belongs to South-East Asia.

Chapter 4. The fourth propagation of the Dhamma explains how Thera Kassapa came from India to the town of Kyu-nah-ra, meeting King Byaññā-co-maṅ-na-ra, and how relics were brought from Sīhaladīpa to Labhuñja.

Chapter 5. The fifth propagation of the Dhamma took place in 762 of the Kali yuga when the Cīna king had conquered the Yonakaraṭṭha. Seeking help, two Yonaka monks visited Sīhaladīpa and then the town Sokkata in the Siyāma country, and then returned to Lakunna.

Chapter 6. The sixth propagation of the Dhamma in 825 of the Kali yuga was connected with King Sirisaddhamma, who enlarged the Labhuñja shrine and built monasteries around it.

Chapter 7. The seventh and last propagation of the Dhamma in 943 of the Kali yuga was instigated by the conqueror king Anekasetibhinda of Hāṁsāvatī, who set his eldest son, prince Anuruddha, as viceroy of the conquered Yonakaraṭṭha and send monks there to purify the religion.

**Milindapañha**


55 There are also French, German, and Russian translations, which may be useful.
The dialogue of the Yona King Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena. As King Milinda (Menander) is mentioned by name in almost every chapter of this long text, only such passages have been included here that contain the word Yona(ka) or some further information.

**MilP 1, 1**
King Milinda of Sāgala, the master of witty questions.
Milindapañha 1, 1 (Shastri; p. 1 Trenckner).

1. Milindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyaṁ puruttame / upagañchi Nāgasenaṁ Gaṅgā va yathā sāgaraṁ //
2. āsajja rājā citrakathiṁ ukkādhāraṁ tamonudaṁ / apucchi nipuñe pañhe thānāṭhānagate puthū //
3. pucchā visajjanā ceva gambhūratthūpanissitā / hadayaṅgamā kañṇasukkhā abhuttā lomahaṁsanā //
4. abhidhammavinayogāḷhā suttaṁ ālacakhattiṁ / nāgasenakathā citrā ommehi nayehi ca //
5. tattha ñānaṁ paṇidhāya hāsayitvāna mānasāṁ / suṇātha nipuñe pañhe kankhāṭhānavidālāne ti //

Horner: The King named Milinda approached Nāgasena at Sāgala, the incomparable city, like the Ganges the ocean. To him, the eloquent, the torch-bearer, dispeller of darkness, the king, drawing near, asked many abstruse questions about correct or faulty conclusions. The solutions to the questions likewise were given over to profound meanings, going to the heart, pleasing to the ear, wonderful, astounding, plunging into Further-Dhamma and Vinaya, deliberating the net of the Suttas, Nāgasena’s talk was varied with similes and in the method. Aspiring to knowledge herein while gladdening the mind, hearken to these abstruse questions, dissipating occasions for doubt.

**MilP 1, 2**
Description of Sāgala, the capital of the Yonaka country.
Milindapañha 1, 2 (Shastri; p. 1f Trenckner).

2. taṁ yathānusūyate – atthi yonakānāṁ nānāpuṭabhedaṁ Sāgalāṁ nāma nagaraṁ nadipabbaṭasobhitāṁ ramaṇīyabhūmippadesabhāgaṁ ārāmuṇyānopavanatajāga-pokkharaṇismapannāṁ nadipabbaṭavanarāmaṇeyyakaṁ sutvantanimmitaṁ nihatapacattākakappacāmittaṁ anupaṇḍitaṁ vividhavicitrādhamāvaṭṭālakoṭthakaṁ varagopuratoraṇaṁ gambhiraparikhāpaṇḍaraṇapākāraparikkhittantepuraṁ suvībhavatāṭhīcaccaracatukkasīṁghāṭakaṁ suppasarītāṇividhavaṇaḥavaṇaḥapa-paripūruntarāpaṇaṁ vividhadānaggasatasamupasobhitāṁ himagirisikhara-saṅkāsaraṁ abhirūpanaranārīgaṇānucaritaṁ ākiṇṇa jana manussaṁ puthu khattiya brāhmaṇa-
Horner: According to what has been heard: There was a city Sāgala, a centre of all kinds of merchandise for the Greek Bactrians, graced with rivers and mountain-slopes, having delightful districts and regions, possessed of parks, pleasure-grounds, woods, lakes and lotus-pools – a lovely scene of rivers, mountain-slopes and woods, it was laid out by knowledgeable men. Enemies and adversaries had been destroyed, it was without oppression; divers, varied and strong were its watch-towers and ramparts, its splendid and noble arches curving over the city-gates; the palace was surrounded by a deep moat and pale encircling walls; well laid out were its carriage-roads, cross-roads, squares and the places where three or four roads meet; the bazaar shops were filled inside with innumerable varieties of well-displayed goods; it was richly adorned with a hundred varieties of halls where gifts (were given); it was splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent dwellings like crests of snowy mountains; it was filled with elephants, horses, chariots, and pedestrians, with groups of handsome men and women; it was crowded ordinary people, warriors, nobles, brhmans, merchants and workers; resounding with a variety of salutations to ascetics and brhmans, it was the resort of skilled men and knowing a great variety (of things). It has divers and various shops for cloths: Benares muslin, of Koṭumbara stuffs so on. It was sweet-smelling with the great variety of shops for flowers and perfumes, well and tastefully displayed. It was filled with an abundance of alluring jewels. Its shops, well-displayed and facing (all) directions, were frequented by crowds of elegant merchants. Full of kāhāpaṇas [gold coins], silver, bronze and stone ware, it was the abode of shining treasure. The warehouses were full of an abundance of riches and corn and wealth; there were many foods and drinks, a great variety of solid and soft foods, sweets, beverages and savouries as in Uttarakuru. Its harvests were heavy as in Āḷakamandā, the city of devas.

MilP 1, 9–15
King Milinda of Sāgala, learned and skilled in disputation (9). How he proceeded to beat teachers of various creeds, accompanied by his five hundred Yonaka ministers (10–15).
Milindapañha 1, 9–15 (1, 4–6 [1–2] Shastri; p. 3–5 Trenckner).
Horner (extracts): 9. Of these two the novice became the King called Milinda in the city of Sāgala in India. He was wise, experienced, clever, able; he was one who acted conscientiously at the times of doing all the (magic) devices, ceremonies and observances concerning things past, future and present. Many were the arts he had mastered...A disputant hard to equal, hard to overcome, he was acclaimed chief of the numerous schools of thought. In the whole India there was no one like King Milinda in fortitude, speed, courage and wisdom...10. Now one day King Milinda issued forth from the town as he wished to see his endless armed forces in their fourfold array [of elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry]. When he had the army mustered outside the town the king, who was fond of discussion and eager for conversation with natural philosophers, sophists and others of the sort, looked at the sun and addressed his ministers, saying: "Much of the day still remains..."

11. When this had been said five hundred Bactrian Greeks spoke thus to King Milinda: "There are six teachers, sire..." 12. Then King Milinda, surrounded by the five...
hundred Bactrian Greeks, having mounted a splendid chariot, an auspicious vehicle, approached Pūraṇa Kassapa,...

MilP 1, 37–39

39. evaṁ vutte ṛṣi Āyupāla tuṇhī ahosi / na kiñci paṭibhāsi / atha kho paṇcasatā yonakā ṛjānaṁ Milindaṁ etad avocuṁ: paṇḍito mahārāja thero / api ca kho avisārado na kiñci paṭibhāsati 'ti / atha kho Milindo ṛjā ṛjasamantaṁ Āyupālaṁ tuṇhībhūtaṁ disvā apphoṭetvā ukkuṭṭhiṁ katvā yonake etad avoca: tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo / palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo / nathhi koci samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhīṁ sallāpituṁ uṣsahati kaṅkhaṁ paṭivinetoṁ ti / atha kho Milindassā raṅno pariveṇaṁ Milindo ṛjā yonake etad avoca: atthi bhaṇe añño koci paṇḍito bhikkhu yo mayā sallāpituṁ uṣsahati kaṅkhaṁ paṭivinetoṁ ti /

Horner: 37. Now at that time the venerable Āyupāla was dwelling in Saṅkheyya Parivena. Then King Milinda spoke thus to the ministers: ‘Indeed sirs, it is a lovely moonlight night. Suppose that we were to approach an ascetic or a brahman tomorrow for conversation and for asking questions. Who is capable of conversation with me to dispel my doubts?’ When this had been said, the five hundred Bactrian Greeks spoke thus to King Milinda: ‘Sire, there is an Elder called Āyupāla, he is versed in the three Piṭakas, one who has heard much, one to whom the tradition has been handed down, and he is now staying in the Saṅkheyya Parivena. Go you, sire, and ask questions of the venerable Āyupāla.’ – ‘Very well, sirs, let the revered one know.’ Then an astrologer sent a messenger to the venerable Āyupāla to say: ‘Revered sir, King Milinda wishes to see the venerable Āyupāla.’ And the venerable Āyupāla spoke thus: ‘Well then, let him come.’ Then King Milinda, attended by at least five hundred Bactrian Greeks, mounted a splendid chariot and approached Saṅkheyya Parivena and the venerable Āyupāla; having approached he exchanged greetings with the venerable Āyupāla, and when he had exchanged greetings of friendliness and courtesy he sat down at a respectful distance…and spoke:

38. …[The actual disputation between Milinda and Āyupāla.]

39. When this had been said, the venerable Āyupāla became silent; he said nothing in reply. Then the five hundred Greek Bactrians [sic] spoke thus to King Milinda: ‘The Elder, sire, is learned; all the same he is diffident and says nothing in reply.’ Then King Milinda, seeing the venerable Āyupāla had become silent, clapped his hands and shouted and spoke thus to the Greek Bactrians: ‘India is indeed empty, India is void indeed. There is no ascetic or brahman capable of conversing with me so as to dispel my doubts.’ Then as he was looking round at all that company and saw how fearless and unashamed were the Greek Bactrians it occurred to King Milinda: ‘I think there is certainly some other learned monk who is capable of conversing with me since these Greek Bactrians are not ashamed.’ And King Milinda spoke thus to the Greek
Bactrians: “Is there some other learned monk, sirs, a monk who is capable of conversing with me as to dispel my doubts?”

Now it is time for Nāgasena to enter the scene.

MilP 1, 42 f.
The discussion between Milinda and his counsellors is continued. Devamantiya tells Milinda of Nāgasena.


43. tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahas-sehi sādhiṁ maṇḍalāmāle nisinno hoṁi / addasā kho Milindo rājā āyasato Nāgasensassa parisāṁ dūrato va / disvāna Devayantiyaṁ etad avoca: kassesā Devamantiya mahatī parisā ti āyasanta kho mahārāja Nāgasensassa parisā ti / atha kho Milindassa raṁho āyasato Nāgasensassa parisāṁ dūrato va / disvā ahud eva bhayaṁ ahud eva chambhitaṁ ahud eva lomahāṁsō / atha kho Milindo rājā khaggapariṇāṁ viya gajo garuḷapariṇāṁ viya nāgo ajuṣgarapariṇāṁ viya geko koṭhuko mahinśapariṇāṁ viya accho nāgāṁu bondho viya maṇḍukō sādulāṁu bondho viya migo aḥitunḍikasamāṅgato viya pannago mājjasamāṅgato viya undūro bhūtavejjasamāṅgato viya pūśacā Roḥumukhagato viya cando pannago viya peḷantaragato sakuṇo viya pājjanantaragato maccho viya jālantaragato vālavanam anuppaṃṭho viya purīso Vessavanāparādhiṅko viya yakko parikhiṇāyuko viya devaputoff bhūto ubbiggo utrasto saṁvīggo lomahāṭṭhajāto vimano dummano bhantacitte vixpanatamānasa mā maṁ ayaṁ
Then Devamantiya spoke thus to King Milinda: “Do you wait, sire, wait, sire. There is the Elder named Nāgasena, who is wise, experienced, clever, disciplined and confident; he is one who has heard much, a speaker on a variety (of topics), prompt in speaking what is lovely, and he has attained to perfection in the analytical insights of meanings, of Dhamma, of language and of perspicuity (in expression and knowledge). He is now staying in the Saṅkheyya Pariveṇa. Do you go, sire, and ask questions of the venerable Nāgasena. He is capable of conversing with you so as to dispel your doubts.”

But when King Milinda suddenly heard the name Nāgasena he was greatly agitated and his hair stood on end. He spoke thus to Devamantiya: “Is the bhikkhu Nāgasena really able to converse with me?” – “Sir, he is capable of conversing even with Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Prajāpati, Suyāma, with the guardians of the world of the Contented, even with Great Brahmā, the progenitor; so why not then with a human being.” Then King Milinda spoke thus to Devamantiya: “Well then, do you, Devamantiya, send a messenger to the revered sir.” – “Yes, sire,” and Devamantiya sent a messenger to the venerable Nāgasena to say: “King Milinda, revered sir, wishes to see the venerable one.” The venerable Nāgasena said: “Well then, let him come.” Then King Milinda, surrounded by at least five hundred Bactrian Greeks, having mounted a splendid chariot, approached the Saṅkheyya Pariveṇa and the venerable Nāgasena with his great array of troops.

Now at that time the venerable Nāgasena was sitting in a pavilion together with the eighty thousand monks. When, from a distance, King Milinda saw the venerable Nāgasena’s company, he spoke thus to Devamantiya: “Whose is this large company, Devamantiya?” – “It is the company of the venerable Nāgasena, sire.” And when, from the distance King Milinda had seen the venerable Nāgasena’s company, he was greatly afraid, greatly agitated and his hair stood on end. Then, like an elephant surrounded by rhinoceroses, like a cobra surrounded by the eagles, like a jackal surrounded by rock-snakes, like a bear surrounded by buffaloes, like a frog pursued by a cobra, like a deer pursued by a leopard, like a snake met with a snake-charmer, like a rat met with a cat, like a demon met with an exorcist, like the moon entering Rāhu’s mouth, like a snake in a basket, like a bird in a cage, like a fish in a net, like a man got into a forest of wild beasts, like a yakkha offending Vessavana, like a deva whose life-span is exhausted, King Milinda was fearful, alarmed, frightened, moved by awe, his hair standing on end, in consternation and dismay, his thoughts in a turmoil, his purpose changed, and thinking, “Do not let these despise me,” yet, summoning up courage he spoke thus to Devamantiya: “Do not you, Devamantiya, indicate the venerable Nāgasena to me, I will certainly
recognize (the venerable) Nāgasena without his being pointed out.” – “Very well, sire, find him yourself.”

In 44, Milinda succeeds recognizing Nāgasena, of course.

**MilP 2, 1, 1**
The discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena commences.

Milindapañha 2, 1, 1 (Shastri; p. 25–27, Trenckner).

1. atha kho Milindo rājā yen’ āyasmā Nāgaseno ten’ upasaṅkami / upasaṅkamitvā āyasmatā Nāgasenena saddhiṁ sammodi / sammodaniyāṁ kathamā sāraṇīyaṁ āyasmā ekam antaṁ niṣīdi / āyasmā ‘pi kho Nāgaseno paṭisammodaniyān’ evaMilindassa raññamā cittaṁ ārādhesi / atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṁ Nāgasenaṁ etad avoca: kathamā bhadanto āyamā kiṁ nāmo si bhante ti / Nāgaseno ti kho ahaṁ mahārāja ṃāyāmi / Nāgaseno ti kho maṁ mahārāja sabrahmacārī samudācariṁ / api ca mātāpitārānamā karonti Nāgaseno ti vā Śūraseno ti vā Vīrāseno ti vā Śīhaseno ti vā / api ca kho mahārāja saṅkhaṁ saṃbhāri paṅñatti vohāro nāmamattattān yad idaṁ Nāgaseno ti / na hettha puggalo upalabbbhi ti / atha kho Milindo rājā evam āha: suṁantu me bhonto paṇcasatā yonākā asitāsahassā ca bhikkhū / ayāṁ Nāgaseno evam āha: na hettha puggalo upalabbbhi ti / kallāṁ nu kho tad abhinanditum ti / atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṁ Nāgasenaṁ etad avoca ... 56 tam ahaṁ mahārāja pucchanto puchanto na passāmi rathāṁ / rathasaddo yeva nu kho mahārāja ratho ti / na hi bhante ti / ko pan’ ettha ratho / alicānāṁ tvaṁ mahārāja bhāsasī musāvādaṁ纳税hi ratho / tvaṁ ’si mahārāja sakalajambudepe aggarājā / kassa pana tvaṁ bhāyītvā musāvādaṁ bhāsasi / suṁantu me bhonto paṇcasatā yonākā asitāsahassā ca bhikkhū / ayāṁ Milindo rājā evam āha: rathenāhaṁ āgato ’smi ti / sace tvaṁ mahārāja rathenāgato ’si rathāṁ me āroche ṭi vutto samāno rathāṁ na sampādeti / kallāṁ nu kho tad abhinanditum ti / evaṁ vutte paṇcasatā yonākā āyamato Nāgasenassa sādhukārāṁ datvā Milindāṁ rājānaṁ etad avocuṁ: idāṁ kho tvaṁ mahārāja sakkonto bhāsasā ’ti / atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṁ Nāgasenaṁ etad avoca: nāhaṁ bhante Nāgasena musā bhaṅḍāmi / īsari ca paṭicca cakkāni ca paṭicca rathapāñjarān ca paṭicca rathadaṇḍākāṁ ca paṭicca ratho ti saṅkhaṁ saṃbhāri paṅñatti vohāro nāmamattattāṁ pavattati ’ti / sādhu kho tvaṁ mahārāja rathāṁ jānasi / ...

Horner: *Then King Milinda approached the venerable Nāgasena; having approached, he exchanged greetings with the venerable Nāgasena; and, having exchanged greetings of friendliness and courtesy, he sat down at a respectful distance. And the venerable Nāgasena greeted him in return so that he gladdened the heart of King Milinda.*

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56 Though very interesting in itself, part of the actual discussion must be left out here to save space, as it is not concerned with the present theme.
Then King Milinda spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: “How is the revered one known? What is your name, revered sir?” – “Sire, I am known as Nāgasena; fellow Brahma-farers address me, sire, as Nāgasena. But though (my) parents gave (me) the name Nāgasena or Sūrasena or Virasena or Sīhasena, yet it is but a denotation, appellation, designation, a current usage, for Nāgasena is only a name since no person is got at here.” Then King Milinda spoke thus: “Good sirs, let the five hundred Bactrian Greeks and the eighty thousand monks hear me: This Nāgasena speaks thus: Since no person is got at there. Now, is it suitable to approve of that?” And King Milinda spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: …

“Though I, sire, am asking you repeatedly, I do not see the chariot. Chariot is only a sound, sire. For what here is the chariot? You, sire, are speaking an untruth, lying word. There is no chariot. You, sire, are the chief rājah in the whole of India. Of whom are you afraid that you speak a lie? Let the five hundred worthy Bactrian Greeks and the eighty thousand monks listen to me: This King Milinda speaks thus: I have come by chariot. But on being told: If you, sire, have come by chariot, show me the chariot, he does not produce the chariot. Is it suitable to approve of that?”

When this had been said, the five hundred Bactrian Greeks, applauding the venerable Nāgasena, spoke thus to King Milinda: “Now do you, sire, speak if you can.” Then King Milinda spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: “I, revered Nāgasena, am not telling a lie, for it is because of the pole, because of the axle, the wheels, the body of a chariot, the flag-staff of a chariot, the yoke, the reins, and because of the goad that ‘chariot’ exists as a denotation, appellation, designation, as a current usage, as a name.” – “It is well; you, sire, understand a chariot...

MiI2, 1, 3 ff.
The four ministers of Milinda are presented. One of them is converted by Nāgasena.

MiI2, 1, 3 ff. (2, 1, 4 Shastri; p. 29–31, Trenckner)

3. ... atha kho Milindassa rañño etad ahosi: paṇḍito kho ayaṁ bhikkhu paṭibalo mayā saddhiṁ sallapitumī / bahukāni ca me ṭhānāni pucchitabbāni bhavissanti / yāva apucchitāni yeva tāni ṭhānāni bhavissanti / atha suriyo atthaṁ gamis-sati yannūnāha sve antepure sallapeyyaṁ ti / atha kho rājā Devamantiyaṁ etad avoca: tena hi tvaṁ Devamantiya bhadantassa āroceyyāsi sve antepure raññā saddhiṁ sallāpo bhavissatī ti / idaṁ vatvā Milindo rājā utṭhāyāsanā theraṁ Nāgasenaṁ āpucchitvā rathāṁ abhirūhitvā Nāgaseno Nāgaseno ti sajhāyaṁ karonto pakkāmi / atha kho Devamantiyo āyasantarā Ṯagasenaṁ etad avoca:

57 To demonstrate his point, Nāgasena asks whether the king came by chariot and then proceeds to ask what this “chariot” is. The king has to admit that none of its constituent parts form the chariot as such.
Then it occurred to King Milinda: “This monk is learned, he is competent to converse with me, but I have so many matters to ask (him) about that the sun will set before I have asked (him). Suppose I were to converse with him tomorrow in the palace?” So King spoke thus to Devamantiya: “Well then, do you, Devamantiya, let the reverend one know that tomorrow he must converse with the king in the palace.” When he had said this, King Milinda rose from his seat and asked the Elder Nāgasena (for permission to depart) and, mounting his horse repeating, “Nāgasena, Nāgasena,” he departed. Then Devamantiya spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: “Revered sir, King Milinda speaks thus: Tomorrow there must be conversation in the palace.” The Elder assented by saying: “It is well.” Then Devamantiya and Anantakāya and Maṅkura and Sabbadinna approached King Milinda towards the end of that night, and when they had approached King Milinda they spoke thus to him: “Sire, shall the revered Nāgasena come?” – “Yes, let him come.” – “With how many monks shall he come?” – “Let him come with as many monks as he likes.” Then Sabbadinna said: “Let him come,
sire, with ten monks.” And a second time the King said: “Let him come with as many monks as he likes.” And a second time Sabbadinna said: “Let him come, sire, with ten monks.” And a third time the King said: “Let him come with as many monks as he likes.” And a third time Sabbadinna said: “Let him come, sire, with ten monks.” – “All this hospitality has been prepared and I say: Let him come with as many monks as he likes, but although I have said this, Sabbadinna says otherwise. Are we not competent to give food to the monks?” When this had been said, Sabbadinna was ashamed.

4. Then Devamantiya and Anantakāya and Maṅkura approached the venerable Nāgasena, and when they had approached, they spoke thus to him: “Revered sir, King Milinda speaks thus: Let him come with as many monks as he likes.” And the venerable Nāgasena dressed early in the morning and, taking his bowl and robe, entered Sāgala with the eighty thousand monks. Then as Anantakāya was walking beside the venerable Nāgasena he spoke thus to him: “Revered sir, that which I call ‘Nāgasena’, which here is Nāgasena?”…And the Elder gave a talk on Abhidhamma. Then Anantakāya declared his status as a lay-follower.

MilP 3. 4. 4

Tender Yonaka wives in a parable.

Milindapañha 3. 4. 4 (2. 4. 6 Shastri; p. 68 Trenckner)

4. ... taṁ kiṁ maññasi mahārāja yā tā santi yonakasukhumāliniyo pi khattiyasukhumāliniyo pi brāhmaṇasukhumāliniyo pi gahapisthusukhumāliniyo pi kiṁ nu tā kakkhaḷāni khajjakāni maṁsāni khādantī ti / āma bhante khādantī ti / kiṁ pana tāna tāsaṁ kucchiyāṁ koṭṭhabhantaragatāni vilayaṁ gacchantī ti / āma bhante vilayaṁ gacchantī ti / yo pana tāsaṁ kucchiyāṁ gabbho so pi vilayaṁ gacchantī ti / na hi bhante ti / kena kāraṇena ti / maṁnāmi bhante kammādhikatena na vilayaṁ gacchantī ti / evam eva kho mahārāja kammādhikatena nerayikā sattā anekāni pi vassasahassāni nireye paccamānā na vilayaṁ gacchantī / ...

Horner: “What do you think about this, sire? Do not the delicately nurtured women among the Bactrian Greeks, the nobles, the brahmans and the householders eat hard pieces of cake and meat?” – “Yes, revered sir, they do.” – “But then, are these hard things dissolved when they have entered their stomachs and bellies?” – “Yes, revered sir, they are dissolved.” – “But is the embryo in the womb also dissolved?” – “No, revered sir.” – “What is the reason for that?” – “I think, revered sir, that it is through the influence of kamma that it is not dissolved.” – “Even so, sire, it is through the influence of kamma that beings in Niraya Hell, though boiling for several thousands of years in Niraya Hell, are not dissolved...
MilP 3, 7, 4
The region of the birth of King Milinda.
Milindapañha 3, 7, 4 (3, 7, 4 Shastri; p. 82 Trenckner)

4. ... therọ āha: kuhiṁ pana mahārāja tava jātabhūmī ti / aththi bhante Alasando
nāma dīpo tatthāhaṁ jāto ti / kiva dūro mahārāja ito Alasando hoṭi ti / dvimattāni
bhante yojanasatānī ti / abhijānāsi nu tvān mahārāja tattha kiṅcid eva karaṇiyaṁ
karitvā saritā ti / āma bhante sarāṁī ti / lāhuṁ kho tvān mahārāja gato si
dvimattāni yojanasatānī ti / kallosi bhante Nāgasenā ti /

Horner: The Elder said: “Now where is the district, sire, where you were born?”
- “There is a land between two rivers called Alasanda, revered sir. I was born there.”
- “How far is Alasanda from here?”
- “Have not you, sire, personal experience of some business you had done there, being
one who remembers?”
- “Yes, revered sir, I do remember.”
- “Speedily have you gone the distance of two hundred yojanas, sire.”

MilP 3, 7, 5
The birth-place of king Milinda.
Milindapañha 3, 7, 5 (3, 7, 5 Shastri; p. 82 f. Trenckner)

5. Rājā āha: bhante Nāgasena yo idha kālaṅkato Brahmaloke uppajjeyya yo ca
idha idha kālaṅkato Kasmīre uppajjeyya ko ciratarāṇi ko sīghataraṁ ti / samakaṁ
mahārāja ti / opammaṁ karohi ti / kuhiṁ pana mahārāja tava jātanagarāṇi ti / aththi
bhante Kalasigāmo nāma tatthāhaṁ jāto ti / kiva dūro mahārāja ito Kalasigāmo
hoṭi ti / dvimattāni bhante yojanasatānī ti / kiva dūraṁ mahārāja ito Kasmīraṁ
hoṭi ti / dvādasa bhante yojanānī ti / īṅgha tvaṁ mahārāja Kalasigāmanī cintehi ti
/ cintito bhante ti / īṅgha tvaṁ mahārāja Kasmīranī cintehi ti / cintitarāṁ bhante
ti / katamaṁ nu kha mahārāja cirena cintitarāṁ katamaṁ sīghataraṁ ti / samakaṁ
bhante ti / evam eva kha mahārāja yo idha kālaṅkato Brahmaloke uppajjeyya yo
ci idha kālaṅkato Kasmīre uppajjeyya samakaṁ yena uppajjantī ti / ...

Horner: The King said: “Revered Nāgasena, if someone died here and uprose in the
Brahma-world, and if someone died here and uprose in Kashmir, which of them is the
longer, which the quicker (in uprising)?”
- “They are equal, sire.”
- “Where is the town, sire, where you were born?”
- “There is a village called Kalasi, revered sir. I was born there.”
- “How far, sire, is the village of Kalasi from here?”
- “The distance is two hundred yojanas, revered sir.”
- “Twelve yojanas, revered sir.”
- “Please do you, sire, think of the village of Kalasi.”
- “I have thought of it, revered sir.”
- “I have thought of it, revered sir.”
- “Now, which thought was the longer, sire, which the quicker (on the journey)?”
- “They were equal, revered sir.”
has died here and uprisen in the Brahma-world and he who has died here and uprisen in Kashmir arise exactly simultaneously.

**MilP 3, 7, 17**
End of the original discussion.

Milindapañha 3, 7, 17 (3, epilogue Shastri; p. 87 Trenckner)

17. thero āha: jānāsi kho mahārāja sampatti kā velā ti / āma bhante jānāmi sampatti paṭhamo yāmo atikkanto majjhimo yāmo pavattati ukvā padipiyanti cattāri paṭākāni āṭattāni gamissantī bhāṇḍato rājadeyyāni ti / yonakā evam āhāṁsu: kallosi mahārāja paṇḍito thero ti / āma bhaṇe paṇḍito thero /

Horner: The Elder said: “Do you know, sire, what time it is now?” – “Yes, revered sir, I know. The first watch (of the night) is now passed, the middle watch is in progress, the torches are glowing, four flags are raised, royal offerings will go out from the treasury.”

The Bactrian Greeks spoke thus: “You are dexterous, sire, and the monk is clever.” – “Yes, sirs, the Elder is clever.”

**MilP 4, 8, 88**
The Yavana country and Alexandria are as good places for attaining Nirvāṇa as any other.

Milindapañha 4, 8, 88 (5, 3, 12 Shastri; p. 327 f. Trenckner)

88. … sīlaṁ mahārāja ṭhānaṁ sīle patiṭṭhahitvā yoniso manasikaronto Sakka-yavane pi Cīna-vilāte pi Alasande pi Nikumbe pi Kāsi-kosale pi Kāsī ri Gandhāre pi nagamuddhani pi Brahma-loke pi yathā katthaci pi ṭhito sammāpaṭipanno nibbānaṁ saccikaroti / yathā mahārāja yo koci cakkhumā puriso Sakkavane pi Cīna-vilāte pi Alasande pi Nikumbe pi Kāsi-kosale pi Gandhāre pi nagamuddhani pi Brahma-loke pi yathā katthaci pi ṭhito ākāsam passati / evameva kho mahārāja sīle patiṭṭhito yoniso manasikaronto Sakkavane pi …

Horner: Moral habit, sire, is the quality [for nibbāna]. If he be established in moral habit and is giving proper attention, then whether he be in Scythia or Bactria, whether in China or Cilāta, whether in Alexandria, whether in Nikumbha, whether in Kāsi or Kosala, whether in Kashmir, whether in Gandhāra, whether on the summit of Mount (Sineru), or whether he be in a Brahma-world or no matter where – if he is steadfast and is practising rightly he realises nibbāna. As, sire, any man with vision sees the sky whether he be in Scythia or Bactria, whether in China or Cilāta, whether in Alexandria, whether in Nikumbha, whether in Kāsi or Kosala, whether in Kashmir,
whether in Gandhāra, whether on the summit of Mount (Sineru), or whether he be in a Brahma-world or no matter where, even so, sire, who is established in moral habit and is giving proper attention, whether he be in the Scythia or Bactria, whether in China or Cilāta, whether in Alexandria, whether in Nikumbha, whether in Kāsi or Kosala, whether in Kashmir, whether in Gandhāra, whether on the summit of Mount (Sineru), or whether he be in a Brahma-world or no matter where, if he is practising rightly he realises nibbāna.

This is followed by a similar passage in which Sakayavana and the other places are repeated.

**MilP 5, 4**

People from many countries take residence in a flourishing city.

Milindapañha 5, 4 (5, 4, 1, 4 Shastri, p. 331 Trenckner)

4. ... Sakayavana, cīnavilātā Ujjenikā, Bhārukacchakā, Kāsikosalā, Parantakā, Māgadhakā, Sāketā, Soreyyakā, Paveyyakā, Koṭumvaramadhurakā, Alasanda-kasmirāgandhārā, taṁ nagaraṁ vāsāya upagatā nānāvisayino jananā navaṁ suvibhattainād osamanavajānā ramaṇiyānā taṁ nagaraṁ passitvā anumānena jānanti cheko vata bho so nagaravaḍḍhakī yo imassa nagarassa māpetā ti /

Horner: People from Scythia and Bactria, from China and Cilāta, from Ujjein, from Bharukaccha, from Kāsi and Kosala and Aparanta, from Magadha, from Sāketa, from Surattha, from Pāva, from Koṭumbara and Madhura, from Alexandria, Kashmir and Gandhāra – when these different people had seen the city, new, well laid out, without a defect, irreproachable, delightful, they would know by inference: “Clever indeed is that city-architect who was the builder of the city.”

**[MilP 6, 12]**

[Four perfumes.]

Milindapañha 6, 12 (5, 4, 2, 10 Shastri; p. 354 Trenckner)]

12. ... padumasamair mahārāja dhutaguṇam visuddhikāmānair sabbakilesamalehi anupalitaṭhena / catujjātiyavaragandhasamair mahārāja dhutaguṇam visuddhikāmānair kile saduggandhapatiṭvinaṭṭhena /

Horner: Like unto a lotus, sire, are the special qualities of asceticism in the sense of being uncorrupted by the stains of all the defilements in those who desire purification. Like unto the four kind of excellent scents, sire, are the special qualities of asceticism in the sense of driving out the evil smells of the defilements from those who desire purification.

Rhys Davids’ note explains: “Catu-jātiy-a-gandho. The two last are Yavana and Tarukkha. Böhtlingk-Roth explain both as Olibanum. Our author does not give the details, but it is unlikely that he meant other perfumes than those usually comprised in the term ‘perfume of four kinds’. The expression is not found in the Piṭakas, though it occurs in Buddhaghosa; and its use by our author may help to settle his date when we know its history and the exact composi-
tion of the two foreign perfumes it includes.” Also see Horner’s note and her introduction, p. li f. (jasmine, saffron, Turukha or Turkish, and Yavana).

**MiIP 6, 21**
A rich shipowner sails to Alexandria and other places.
Milindapañha 6, 21 (5, 4, 2, 16 Shastri, p. 359 Trenckner)

21. yathā mahārāja sadhane nāviko paṭṭane suṭṭhu katasaṅko mahāsaṃuddaṁ pavisitrā Vaṅgapāṇi Takkolaṁ Cinaṁ Sovīraṁ Suraṭṭhaṁ Alasandaṁ Kolapaṭṭanaṁ Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ gacchati aṭṭhaṁ pi yaṁ kiṁci nāvāsaṅkaraṁ, evam eva kho ...

Horner: *As, sire, a mariner, wealthy through constantly levying customs (duties) in a seaport and, going over the great sea, reaches Vanga, Takkola, China, Sovīra, Suraṭṭha, Alexandria, or Kolapaṭṭana or Suvaṇṇabhūmi or any other centre for ships — even so...*

**Other works**

*Śīhalavatthuppakarana*


**Śīhalavatthupp. 59**
The story of the nun (therī) of Śīhalaḍipa.
Śīhalavatthuppakarana 59 (p. 135, tr. p. 149)

... tadā Kāḷakandaratissattherassa sissānaṁ tiṁnaṁ janānaṁ Paṭhavīcālakaṁ dhammarakkhitā pirṇḍāya Uttarakuṁ gato Yonakadhammarakkhitā Pāṭaliputtaṁ Mahādhammarakkhitā imissā therikāya puñṇañca bhavatū ti tassā purataḥ āṭṭhāsi ...

Ver Eecke: *Alors des trois disciples du Thera Kāḷakandaratissa, Paṭhavīcālaṁ dhammarakkhita était allé quêter dans l’Uttarakuru, Yonakadhammarakkhita à Pāṭaliputta et Mahādhammarakkhita, disant: “Puisses-t-il y avoir du mérite pour cette Therī”, se tint en face d’elle.*

**Śīhalavatthupp. 81**
The story of two young Arahants.
Śīhalavatthuppakarana 81 (p. 157, tr. p. 176)

Śīhaḷadīpe yeva Yonakagiriṅvatthabbithe dve bhātikā pabbajitā Mahānāgo ca Cūlanāgo ca ...

Ver Eecke: *Dans l’île des Śīhaḷa, chez le Thera qui devait habiter à Yonakagiri, deux frères sortis du monde, Mahānāga et Cūlanāga ...*
**Saddhamopāyana**


Didactic poem (epistle) in 629 verses, about 1150 CE.

**Saddhamopāyana 160**

Verses describing the suffering of animals.

Saddhamopāyana 160

160. Jīvadāhaṁ vidayhantā yavane gāvi-ādayo
   mahādāhaparissanto passanto pāpaṁ phalaṁ

Hazelwood: *cattle and the like in Yavana-land, burned alive, completely exhausted by great heat, see the fruit of evil.*

Hazelwood’s note: "Yavana: Moorish, 'Moors kill cattle' Sorata (1963)58 s.v. yon 2; see also Vism 525 and Vism tr. Maung Tin 1971, p. 626 f.n."59

**Mohavicchedanī**


Abhidhamma text, about 1200 CE.

**Mohavicchedanī p. 186**

All languages are developed from Māgadhī (i.e. Pāli).


tattha sesā oṭṭakirāta-andhakayonakadamīlabhāsādikā aṭṭhārasa bhāsā parivattanti.
ayam ev’ ekā yathābhuccabrahmavohāra-ariyavohārasamkhātā māgadhabhāsā va
na parivattati.

von Hinüber: *There the rest of the eighteen languages such as Otṭa, Kirāta, Andhaka, Yonaka, Damiḷa, etc., are subject to change. Only this Māgadhī language, rightly called the language of Brahmā, the language of the Aryans, it alone does not change.*

Cf. Sumangalavilasini (Dn-C) p. 176 abode.

58 This is a Sinhalese dictionary.

59 The Visuddhimagga passage, however, does not mention the Yavanas as tormentors of cows. According to Pe Maung Tin, the ūkā (not available to me) "says that the savages apply heat to the body of the cow and beat her with sticks, and give her hot water to drink, so that the flesh may not stick to her bones, and then slay her as she becomes swollen in the body and purging herself of the effects of the hot drinks."
Sārasaṁgaha


Sārasaṁgaha on Caityas
Yonaka monks as pilgrims.
Sārasaṁgaha quoted in Minayeff 1872, 72 f.

Yonakavisayato cetiyaṭṭhāne vandanakāmā cattāro therā āgantvā cetiyaṅgaṇaṁ disvā anto apavisitvā dvāre yeva ṭhatvā eko atṭha kappe anussari eko soḍasa eko viṁsati eko tinisa kappe anussari /

Coming from the Yonaka country with a desire to pay homage to caityas were four Theras, seeing the courtyard of the caitya and standing by the door without entering – one Thera remembered eight kalpas, another sixteen kalpas and the third remembered twenty Kalpas.

Based on the Vinaya Commentary on the Parivāra 6, 5, quoted above.

Sārasaṁgaha on Buddhapadas
Buddha’s footprint in the Yonaka country.
Sārasaṁgaha quoted in Minayeff 1872, 79.

tīni kho pana bhagavato padacetiyāni Laṅkādīpe ekaṁ Jambūdīpe Yonakaraṭṭhe dve ‘ti /

Well, there are three footprint caityas of the Lord, one on the island of Laṅkā and two in Jambūdvīpa and one in the Greek country.

Ratanapañña: Jinakālamālī


This is a Buddhist church history written by Ratanapañña in 1516 CE in Thailand. It comprises the life of the Buddha, the history of Buddhism in India and Sri Lanka (using the Mahāvaṁsa, Thūpavaṁsa, Bodhivaṁsa, Dāṭhāvaṁsa, and Lalāṭadhātuvaṁsa as sources), and in Thailand (including what are now Cambodia and Laos). This text contains several references to the Yona country (yonakaraṭṭha) in Northern Thailand; see ed. p. 81 ff., 91, and 94. On p. 62, King Milinda is mentioned (see Horner’s introduction to her MilP translation, p. xxiii f.). It seems unnecessary for the present enquiry to quote these passages here.
Moggallāna: *Abhidhānappadīpikā*


*Abhidhānappadīpikā* 1, 6, 147

Yavana flower listed among perfumes.

*Abhidhānappadīpikā* 1 Saggakaṇḍo, 6. Girāvaggo, 147 kuṅkumādigandhā

147. kuṅkumāṁ ceva yavanapupphaṁ ca tagaraṁ ca tathā /

   turukkho ti catujjātigandhā ete pakāsitā //

W. Subhūṭī: *Four sorts of perfume, as saffron, yavanapuppha, tabernal montanna, and incense.*

The intended plant here is *Tabernaemontana divaricata* (*T. coronaria*).
3. BUDDHIST: Sanskrit and BHS

Canonical: Bhaiṣajyavastu


Bhaiṣajyavastu p. 166 ff.

Story of a painter going to the Yavana land.

Part of the Śāriputramaudgalyāyanavarga; Bhaiṣajyavastu p. 166–168 (§ 26–35 Hofinger).

(p. 166) bhagavān āha // na [bh]i[kṣava etarhi atite ’dhvany api śilpakuśalena parājitaḥ /


60 Words given in square brackets are reconstructed from the Tibetan version. The Tibetan text of the passage is given by Hofinger (p. 38–40), according to Dulva fol. 508b–509b. Instead of Yavanaviśaya, the Tibetan has here Yavaniśaya (Yul nas čan), i.e. the island of Java, and the Chinese just “a foreign country”.
The Lord said: "Neither now, O monks, nor in the past has he (Śāriputra) been inferior in artistic skill. Formerly, there was a master painter in Madhyadeśa. He went from Madhyadeśa to the Yavana land to acquire riches through business. There he came to the house of a master engineer. The host construed a mechanical servant girl and sent it to him. She washed his feet and remained standing. The painter asked her to approach, but she remained stationary and silent. He thought: 'Was she not sent to serve me?' He took her by the hand and started to pull her closer, but when he embraced (?) her, she fell apart into a pile. Mortified, he thought: 'My host has caused me shame. I shall bring him shame, together with the king's attendants.' He drew his own likeness being hanged, looking at the door, and hid himself behind the door. At the hour of rising, he remained hidden. The master engineer thought: 'The guest has still not come. Why is his door not closed?' He went there and saw him, hanged and dead. He thought: 'Why has he taken his own life?' He saw the mechanical girl which had fallen into a pile after an embrace. He thought: 'He was ashamed. He was used to intercourse and, having made advances, the guest has died.' (There was a rule that) he could not arrange his funeral before announcing it to the king. Then he went to the king and announced: 'Sire, there was a master painter in the Yavana Land. He came to my house. I sent a wooden girl to serve him. He grasped her hand, drew her close and embraced (?), so that she fell apart into a pile. Broken-hearted, he hanged himself. Therefore, Sire, he must be examined, upon which I shall arrange his funeral.' Then the king sent policemen: 'You, examine it at once!' They went there and examined (the situation). They thought: 'How should we lower him down from this wall hook?' Others said: 'The rope must be cut.' They took an axe and started to cut, at which point they saw the master painting. Then the master painter came out from behind the
door and said: ‘Ho, man, you put me alone to shame, but I have put you to shame together with the king’s council!’ What do you think, O monks? At that time, who was that master engineer? He is this monk, Maudgalyāyana. And then at that time, who was that master painter? He is this monk, Śāriputra. Also then, at that time, he was superior to him in skill and even now he is superior to him in his miraculous power.

See Schiefner & Ralston below under Kanjur.

Bhaiṣajyavastu p. 170 ff.

Story of an ivory worker going to the Yavana land.
Part of the Śāriputramaudgalyāyanavarga; Bhaiṣajyavastu p. 166–168 (§ 54–58 Hofinger; Tibetan in Dulva fol. 511b–512a).

In terms of how he was again made inferior by him by means of skill, listen to this: An ivory craftsman went from Madhyadeśa to the Yavana land, taking with him one prastha of ivory (rice) grains. He came to the house of a master painter. But the house was empty (i.e. the man was not there). He said to his (the painter’s) wife: “O wife of my friend, cook this prastha of grains and offer it to me!” He left them and went out while she started to cook. The firewood burned out, but they (the grains) were not done. Her husband arrived and said: “What is this, dear?” She explained generally. He went to check and saw the ivory grains. Deceitfully he said to her: “This water is salty, dear. Bring another jar, with which we shall cook these grains.” She spoke to the ivory craftsman: “Bring clean water!” When he (the painter) had spoken to her, he went to a certain place and painted a water pool and a swelled dog’s carcass in it. Then the ivory craftsman arrived at that place with jar. He saw the swelled dog’s carcass. He

*yathā punar apy anena śilpena parājitām / madhyadeśād danta-
kalācāryo dantatāṇḍulānāṁ prastham ādāya yavanaviṣayaṁ gataḥ sa citrakarācārya-
grhe ‘vatīrṇaḥ sa ca śūnyaḥ sa tasya bhāryāṁ uvāca / vayasyabhārye ta[n]ḍu[lapra]
sthā .. (p. 171) sa[ddhayitvanuprayaczeti] / sa sthāpayitvā prakrāntaḥ sā sā[ddhayitum]
ārabdhā / kṣaṭṭhakṣayaḥ samīrṇtaḥ na ca siddhāḥ tato ‘syāḥ svāmī āgataḥ kathayati
bhadre kim etat* tayā vistareṇa sa[ma]khyātaṁ sa vyavalokayitum ārabdhah [/] paśyati
dantatāṇḍulāṁ sa tāṁ vipra[laṁbhaṁ] kathayati bhadre kṣāram etat pāṇīyaṁ
anyad ghaṭam ānaya tenaṁte taṇḍul[āḥ sādhayi]ṣyantītī / tayāsau dantakalācāryo
bhiihitaṁ mṛṣṭaṁ pāṇīyaṁ ānayetī [/] tena tāṁ uktvā anyatatmasmin pradeṣe vāpi
likhitā tasyāṁ ca kukkuro vyādhmaṭa[ko] likhitāḥ [/] ta[to da]ntakarācāryo ghaṭaṁ
gṛhitvā tāṁ pradeṣam anuprāptaḥ [/] paśyati kukkuraṁ mṛ[a]ṁvyādhmaṭa[kam] [/]
sa gṛhāṁ paśyati nīrīkṣitum ārabdho yāvat tasya tad udakabhāvanāṁ bhagnāṁ ḷ
dantakarācāryaḥ pratibhimnaḥ [/] kīṁ manyadhva bhikṣavo yo ’sau dantakarācārya
eṣa evāsau maudgalyāyano bhikṣuḥ yo ’sau citrakarāc[ārya e]ṣa evāsau śāriputro
bhikṣuḥ [/]

* Thus Hofinger, Dutt has tena sā uktā.
looked, holding his nose, so that he broke his water jar. The ivory craftsman was put to shame. What do you think, O monks? Who was that ivory craftsman? He is this monk, Maudgalyāyana. And who was that master painter? He is this monk, Śāriputra.

See Schiefner & Ralston below under Kanjur.

**Canonical: Bhikṣunī-Vinaya**


A manuscript from the 11th or 12th century, photographed by R. Sankrtyayana in the 1930s in Tibet.

**Bhikṣunī-Vinaya 162 (4 B 3)**

Various punishments listed for different peoples and classes. Bhikṣunī-Vinaya 162 (4 B 3) (Saṁhātīśeṣa-Dharma 8, p. 141).

mallānāṁ śākyānāṁ ca go-pāṭikāya pāṭiyati / kṣatriyāṇāṁ palālena śarehi ca veṭhayitvā dahi / abhīrāṇāṁ vālukā yaśaṁ kaṇṭhe badhvā udake prakṣipati / śaka-yaavanaṇāṁ šīrṣāṁ pradhami�ati / karṇa-nāsā vā chidyanti / taptam vā phālāṁ anuṣrote vrāṇa-mukhe prakṣipīyanti /

Those (nuns) belonging to the Mallas and Śākyas are trampled by cow hoof. Those belonging to the Kṣatriyas are covered with straw and reeds and burned. Those belonging to the Ābhīras are thrown into the water with a jar full of sand, bound around their neck. Those belonging to the Śakas and Yavanas have their head violated (shaven?) or ears and nose cut. Or a red-hot ploughshare is put on their vagina.

**Mahāvastu**


**Mvst I p. 135**

Various sorts of writing. Mahāvastu I, p. 135 Senart (p. 107 Jones)

yā vā imā loke saṅjiṇā brāhmi puṣkaraśārī kharostī yāvanī brahmaṇāṇi puṣpasālipī kutilipī śaktinalipī vyatyaṣtalipī lekhaliṇī mudrālipī ukaramadhrur-daradacīṇahūṇāpīrā vaṅgā sīphalā tràmidā durdūra ramaṭhabhayavaicchętkā
gulmalā hastadā kasūlā ketukā kusuvā talikā jajarideṣu akṣabaddhaṁ sarvā eṣā bodhisattvānāṁ nīti /

In his apparatus criticus, Senart gives many variants to these. In a note on p. 483 f., he comments on these scripts. Edgerton, BHSDict. s.v. yavana: yāvanī, better yonānī (mss. yonārī). Commenting on my earlier study, De Jong 1999 pointed out that both Senart’s and Edgerton’s suggestions are mere emendations for the manuscripts’ yonārī.

Jones: All the names of the styles of writing known in the world were introduced by Bodhisattvas. These are the Brāhmī style, the Puṣkarasārī, the Kharosti (-ṣṭhī), the Greek, the brahmavāṇī, the puspha, the kuskā, the saktinā, the vayastā, the lekha, the mudra, the style of Uttarākuru (corrected to this), of Magadha, that of the Daradas, of the Chinese, of the Hūṇas, of the Abhiras, and of the Vaṅgas, the siphalā style, the Dravidian, the Dardura, the Ramaṭha, the bhayā, the vaicitukā, the gulmalā, the hastadā, the kasūlā, the ketukā, the kusuvā, the talikā, the jajarideṣu, and the akṣabaddhā.

Mvst I p. 171
List of the 60 qualities of the perfect voice of the Buddha (in a gāthā part of the text).
Mahāvastu I, p. 171 Senart (p. 135 Jones)

śaka-yāvana-ciṇa-ramaṭha-pahlava-daradeṣu dasyupariṣāyāṁ /
ekavidham ucyamānā sarvaviṣayacāriṇī bhavati //

Edgerton, BHSDict. s.v. yavana, notes that yavana is here nearer to the MSS and metrically better.

Jones: Though it speaks in one language, this utterance becomes current everywhere, even in the barbaric assemblies of the Scythians, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Ramaṭhas, the Persians, and the Daradas.

Divyāvadāna


Divy 33
Astrological notes.
Śārdulakarṇāvadāna. Quoted according to pages and lines in Vaidya’s edition.

341, 26. pūrvabhādrapadā gandhikānām yavanakāmbojānāṁ ca /

(Of the nakṣatras,) the Pūrva Bhādrapadā relates to perfume-sellers, Yavanas and Kāmbojas.

345, 23. yadi pūrvabhādrapadāyāṁ somo grhyate, gāndhikānām yavanakāmbojakānāṁ ca piṭā bhavati /
If the moon is eclipsed in Pūrva Bhādrapadā, there will be injury to perfume-sellers, Yavanas and Kāmbojas.

361, 15 ff. sājena calitā bhūmī... // 287 //
vaṇijyajīvino vaiśyān śūdrāṁś ca karītīn api /
yavanān mālavādyāṁś ca gandhibhedāṁś ca nāśayet //288//

When there is an earthquake in connection with Pūrva Bhādrapadā...it destroys Vaiśyas living by means of trading, Śūdras, Karītis, Yavanas and Mālavas and perfume-sellers (?)

Kṣemendra: Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā

AvKL 57, 15
King Milinda will raise a stūpa on the spot visited by the Buddha.
Stūpāvadānam. Avadānakalpalatā 57, 13–15
15. tatra saṁdarśanāyātaṁ bhagavān indram abravīt /
   milindo nāma rājaṁ deśe stūpaṁ kariṣyati //

There the Lord spoke to Indra, who had come to see him: ‘The King named Milinda will build a stūpa in the kingdom.’

Kāraṇḍavyūha

Edgerton, BHS Dictionary, s.v. romavivara: "m. and nt., n. of a series of mythical regions which belong to Avalokiteśvara, each one given a name (Suvarṇa, Kṛṣṇa, etc.), and its inhabitants (e.g. gandharvas, rṣis, Bodhisattvas, etc.) specified: Kv 59.13 ff.; 60.3 ff.; 62.3 ff.; 64.8 ff., 65.12 ff.; 67.7, colophon (read romavivaranaṁ for text "vivaraṇa-var"); 84.13 ff.; 87.14–15. The word occurs in Skt. in the mg. pore of the skin (= Skt. romakūpa), but this can hardly be concerned here; has roma something to do with Skt. Romā, Rome, Romaka, Roman(s), etc.?”

In the Gretil version of Vaidya’s edition of KārVy 2, one finds romavivaranaṁ dvītiyaṁ prakaraṇam. This refers to the golden country of Romavivarana, a place of divine riches and eternal bliss, inhabited by Gandharvas. However, it is too long to be quoted here.
4. BUDDHIST: TIBETAN AND CHINESE, ŚAKA

Asokāvadāna


Translated by An Faqin of Parthia around 300 CE.


61 Not being a scholar of these languages, I give only a few references to secondary sources as a kind of supplement to Sanskrit sources.

These same passages are also quoted in the study, p. 162 f. (168 f. Biswas). Przyłuski notes here that as the *Ayuwangzhuan* clearly refers to the invasions of Sakas, Greeks and Parthians, and *Zaahan-jing* further to that of the Kushans (Tukhāra), the first text must precede the last invasion. On this ground, he also dates (on p. 166) the Aśokāvadāna around 150–100 BCE. The first century BCE actually seems more likely.

**Lalitavistara**


See Edgerton, *BHS Dictionary*, s.v. yonānī. In the Sanskrit of Lalitavistara 125, 21 (corresponding to Mvst 1, p. 135, above), Lefmann omits yonānī, but the Tibetan version gives *ya ba na-bi yige* (“writing of the Yavanās”) immediately before brahmavali-lipi (brahmavāṇī in the Mvst). The text also mentions the writing of the Śakas (śakānī-lipi according to Edgerton s.v.). Lefmann’s manuscripts read all sakārī, but the Tibetan has ša-ka-nī. This is perhaps the same as śaktina-lipi in the Mv[st], for which Senart suggested Lalitavistara’s sakārī (Edgerton s.v. śaktina-lipi).

De Jong 1999, 366: “The word yāvanī does not occur in older editions [of the Sanskrit Lalitavistara...] but is added between parentheses by K. Hokazono in his recent edition of Chapter 1–14 (*Raritavistara no kenkyū*, vol. one, Tokyo 1994, p. 526). It occurs in one of the manuscripts consulted by him (N 3) in the form *yāvakiṁ* and also in the Chinese translation by Divākara (*AD* 823).”

**Narratives from the bKah-’gyur** (the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya)


Schiefner col. 195 f. (Ralston p. 361 f.)
The painter and the engineer.
Schiefner col. 195 f. = Ralston p. 361 f. (Kanjur Band II Blatt 283)

63 As Ralston was not a Tibetan scholar and just translated Schiefner’s German into English, I have used Schiefner’s text.
Schiefner: In früherer Zeit gab es in Madhjadeça einen Maler, der einer Angelegenheit wegen nach dem Javana-Lande reiste und daselbst in dem Hause eines Mechanikers abstieg. Der Mechaniker schickte, um den ermüdeten zu bedienen, eine von ihm verfertigte künstliche Jungfrau. Diese wusch ihm die Füsse und blieb stehen. Er rief ihr zu, sie möchte näher treten; sie aber gab keine Antwort. Da er der Ansicht war, dass der Mechaniker sie ihm ohne Zweifel deshalb zugeschickt habe, damit er sich mit ihr in Liebeslust vergnüge, packte er sie an der Hand und wollte sie an sich ziehen. Allein da fiel die künstliche Jungfrau zusammen und verwandelte sich in einen Haufen von Holzstücken. Also zum Besten gehalten, hatte er den Gedanken: "Ich bin allein hier zum Besten gehalten, werde ich aber dafür den Mechaniker mitten im Gefolge des Königs zum Besten halten."

An die Thürwand malte er seine eigne Gestalt, als wenn er sich erhängt hätte und verbarg sich selbst hinter der Thür. Als die Zeit, zu welcher er aufzustehen pflegte, vorüber war, wollte der Mechaniker nachsehen, weshalb der Maler nicht zum Vorschein gekommen wäre und erblickte ihn erhängt. Als er darüber nachdachte, weshalb er sich wohl das Leben genommen haben könnte, sah er die künstliche Jungfrau zusammengefallen und in einen Haufen von Holzstücken verwandelte. Da meinte er, der Maler habe sich aus Verdruss darüber, dass er ihn zum Besten gehalten, erhängt. Im Javana-Lande war es Brauch, dass, wenn in irgend einem Hause jemand plötzlich gestorben war, die Bestattung nicht stattfinden durfte bevor dem Könige Anzeige gemacht worden war. Der Mechaniker begab sich deshalb zum König und meldete ihm, dass ein Maler aus Madhjadeça bei ihm eingekehrt sei und er ihm zu seiner Bedienung eine künstliche Jungfrau zugesandt habe, diese habe er an der Hand gepackt und an sich ziehen wollen, worauf sie sich in einen Holzhaufen verwandelte, er aber aus Verdruss darüber, dass man ihm zum Besten gehalten, sich erhängt habe. Er bat den König den Todten besichtigen zu lassen, damit er ihn bestatten könne. Der König befahl seinen Beamten die Besichtigung vorzunehmen. Als die Beamten zur Stelle gekommen waren und darüber nachsannen, wie sie den erhängten herabbekämen und andere den Rath gaben, den Strick zu zerhauen, holte man eine Axt herbei; als man aber daran gehen wollte den Strick zu zerhauen, sah man, dass es eine Wand war und dass der Mechaniker zum Besten gehalten worden war. Da kam der Maler aus dem Versteck hervor und sagte: "O Hausgenosse, du hast mich allein zum Besten gehalten, ich aber habe dich inmitten des königlichen Gefolges zum Besten gehalten.

Cf. Bhaïṣajyavastu above.

Schiefner col. 194 (Ralston p. ???)
The painter and the ivory carver.

Schiefner col. 194 = Ralston p. ??? (Kanjur Band II Blatt 285)

Schiefner: In Madhjadeça lebte ein Elfenbeinschnitzer, der, nachdem er ein kleines Maass Reiskörner aus Elfenbein geschnitzt hatte, damit nach dem Javana-lande reiste und dort in dem Hause eines Malers abstieg. In Abwesenheit des Mannes sagte er zu
dessen Frau: “Frau meines Freundes, kochte dieses Maass Reis und setze es mir vor.”

Die Frau fing an den Reis zu kochen, allein, obwöhl das Holz zu Ende ging, wollte der Reis nicht kochen. Als darauf der Maler gekommen war, fragte er: “O Gute, was ist das?” Sie erzählte ihm alles ausführlich. Der Mann sah sich den Reis an und als er gefunden hätte, dass die einzelnen Körner aus Elfenbein geschnitzt waren, sagte er der Frau, indem er sie zurecht wies: “O Gute, dieses Wasser ist salzig; er muss uns gutes Wasser holen, dann wird dieser Reis kochen.” Die Frau sagte dem Elfenbeinschnitzer: “Hole uns gutes Wasser.” Es hatte aber der Maler an einer Stelle einen Teich gemalt und an demselben einen Hundeleichnam. Der Elfenbeinschnitzer nahm einen Wasserkrug und da er vermutete, dass dort ein Teich wäre, begab er sich hin; als er aber den Hundeleichnam erblickte, hielt er sich die Nase zu und machte sich daran das Wasser zu versuchen, zerschlug jedoch seinen Krug und merkte, dass er zum Besten gehalten war.

In a note, Schiefner gives the Tibetan word for the Yavana land as nas.yul ‘barley country’ (i.e. Sanskrit yavadeśa). Cf. Bhāṣajyavastu above.

The Book of Zambasta


In Khotanese Saka.

The Book of Zambasta 24, 393

Barbarian kings will act against the true religion.

393. Śśakauna ṣu nāma yavanā palvalā draya
    uṣtamye kālī mlecha rrunde hāmāre
394. ttā biśśā saṅkhārama padajśīndā u balsa
    cu ro samai-drṣṭya ttā nä tvīṣṣe yanīndā
395. padāṃjśi vīrā kāḍāna śśāsanu balysā
    biśśu bajevīndā uttarāvatā tūiyā

Emmerick: 393. Śakuna by name, Yavana, Pahlava, three Mlecchas will in the last time be kings. 394. These will set on fire all the saṅghārāmas and stūpas. Those who are still of right views they will destroy. 395. On account of former hatred, they will then damage the whole of the Buddha’s śāsana in Uttarāpatha.

On these three kings – Śakauna, Yavana, and Palvala – see the Aśokāvadāna above.
5. JAINA: CANONICAL

Aṅga

Aṅga 4. Samavāyāṅga


Samavāyāṅga 18, 43

Javanālivi as one of the 18 kinds of writing.

Samavāyāṅga 18, 43.

āyārassa naṁ bhagavao sacūliāgassa aṭṭhārasapayasahassāṇi payaggeṇaṁ paṇṇattāṁ bāṁbhī naṁ lībī aṭṭhārasavihe lehavihāṇe paṇṇattāṁ / taṁ jahā – bāṁbhī javanīyā dosā ūriā kharōṭṭiā kharasāviā pahārāī ukācyāriā akkharapuṭṭhiyā bhogavyātā venatiyā nīṃnāiyā arikalivi ānkalivi ānkalivi gāṁdhavvalivi [bhūyalivi] ādarīsaliivi māhesarīlivi dāmilivi* colīndiivi /

Here dābhilivī is corrected according to the commentary and the Hindī version.

Aṅga 5. Viyāhapaññatti (Vyākhya-prajñapti = Bhagavaī/Bhagavati)

Quoted from Weber 1883, 302. See also:


[Viyāhapaññatti 9, 33

List of female slaves. Viyāhapaññatti 9, 33.]

[bahūhiṁ khujjāhiṁ cilātiyāhiṁ vāmanīyāhiṁ vaḍahiyāhiṁ babbariyāhiṁ isiganiyāhiṁ vāsaganiyāhiṁ palhaviyāhiṁ lašiyāhiṁ ārāhiṁ dāmilāhiṁ simithalāhiṁ pulindihāiṁ bahalihāiṁ muranihindihāiṁ (marunihindihāiṁ) saṁvarihāiṁ (savarihāiṁ) pārāhiṁ nānādesividesaparipindihāiṁ]
In a note, Weber refers to Bhagavaī 12, 2 and Nāyādhamakahāō 1, 117 (Steinthal p. 28) and Ovavāya 55 (Leumann p. 60) with the remark that these are later than the Viyāhapaññatti, which he dates to the 2nd–4th centuries. The point is that this list contains no Joniyas, though they are included in the parallel versions. From Weber 1888, 431, we note that the Benares edition of the Bhagavaī (sarivat 1938 = 1882) actually adds jōnīyāhīṁ to the list.

This seems to be 9, 33, 10 in the Illustrated Agam Series, but only hunchback (khujja) and Kirāta (cilāta) are named there.

**Viyāhapaññatti 14, 1**

Javanas listed among foreign peoples.

Viyāhapaññatti 14, 1.

Bhagavaī 3, 2 lists Sabara, Babbara, Ṭaṁkaṇa, Cuccuya, Palhaya, and Pulirinda, but no Javanā.

**Viyāhapaññatti 21, 21 (Bhagavaī 6, 7)**

On a sort of corn called ālisandaga.

Viyāhapaññatti 21, 21.

kalāya-maśa-tila-mugga-māsa-nippūva-kulatttha-ālisandaga-saṅa-palmarithagamānāṁ eesiṁ ṣaṁ thandhānāṁ

Mentioned by Weber (1883, 303) as “aus Alexandrien commend”.

**Aṅga 6. Nāyādhammakahāō (Jñātadharmakathāḥ)**


Poona 1940.

Nāyādhammakahāō (Jñātadharmakathāṅgasūtram). Ed. Muni Jambuvijaya. Jaina-Āgama-


Quoted by Weber 1883, 313.

**Nāyādhammakahāō 1, 1, 20/117**

List of female slaves.

Nāyādhammakahāō 1, 117 (quoted as p. 28 of Steinthal’s and p. 23 of Vaidya’s edition)⁶⁴ (Jambuvijaya 1, 1, 20).

Weber 1883 (from Steinthal): bahūhiṁ cilāiyāhīṁ khujjāhīṁ vāvaṇī(!)-vadabhī(!)-
babbari-vaśī-joṇiya-palhavi-isini-thāruṁīni-lāsiya-laśiya-damili-sīnha-li-āravi-
pulirindhi-pakkaṇi-bahali-murumṇḍi-sabari-pārasīhiṁ

Jambuvijaya’s text has the following variants: vāmaṇi ... baśī ... sīnhali ... vahali. The same passage is also quoted in the Abhidhānarājendu, with many different readings.

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⁶⁴ However, I have been unable to find this in Vaidya’s edition. Page 23 corresponds to Nāyādhammakahāō 1, 25, but without any mention of yavanas.
Nāyādhammakahāo 18
Javanaṣas as listed among foreign peoples??
Nāyādhammakahāo 18.
Weber 1888, 469 (No. 1792) mentions Queen Javaniyāntariyā. In a note, he explains javaniya as yavanika, thus (in his opinion) yavana. Yavanika, however, is most probably not yavana.

Aṅga 10. Pañhāvāgaraṇāiṁ (Praśnavyākarāṇāiṁ)
Quoted from Weber 1883, 332. See also:
Amulyachandra Sen, A critical Introduction to the Pañhāvāgaraṇāiṁ, the tenth Anga of the Jaina Canon. Diss. Würzburg 1936.
Pañhāvāgaraṇāiṁ 1, 1, 4
Javanaṣas in a list of foreign peoples.
Pañhāvāgaraṇāiṁ 1, 1, 4.

Instead of Marahatta, Upāṅga 4 has Ramātha.
Weber adds that "ihre Träger werden sämmtlich als pāvamatiṇo und kūrakammā bezeichnet".


Upāṅga

Upāṅga 1. Uvavāiya (Ovavāya, Aupapātika)


Uvavāiya 55

List of female slaves, serving Queen Subhaddā ("Wärterinnen des Knaben" (i.e. of the incarnation of the wise Ambaḍa)).

Uvavāiya 55 (p. 60 Leumann) = ch. 33 Lalwani.

bahūhiṁ khujjāhiṁ cilāïyāhiṁ vāmaṇīhiṁ vaḍabhīhiṁ babbarīhiṁ pausiyāhiṁ joniyāhiṁ palhaviyāhiṁ /siṇiyāhiṁ cāruiṇiyāhiṁ (vāru°, thāru°) läsiyāhiṁ lausiyāhiṁ damiğihiṁ sinhalihiṁ ārabīhiṁ pulindhiṁ pakkaṇīhiṁ bahalihiṁ mārṇḍhiṁ sabarihiṁ pāraṣīhiṁ nānādesīhiṁ videsa-parimaṇḍiyāhiṁ ingiya-cintīya-patthiya-viyāṇiyāhiṁ sa-desa-nevagaccha-gahiya-vesāhiṁ cediya-cakkañva-kancuija-mahattara-vanda-parikhittāo anteūrōo niggajjhantī

Weber 1883, 380 quotes this passage and also refers to Chapter 53 (or rather 33?!, listing the queen’s attendants. In Weber 1888, 537, it is given from p. 219 of the Calcutta edition of Saṁvat 1936 (1880). In some editions, the passage also seems to have the number 105.

Upāṅga 2. Rāyapasenaïyyam (Rājapraśnīya)

Quoted in Weber 1888, 547 (no. 1829).


Rāyapasenaïyyam 281

Javaṇas included in a list of foreign slave women.


tae naṁ Daḑhapaṅṇe dārāge paṁcadhāiparikkhittae: khūradhāie maṟḏaṇdaṁhāie majjaṁdhāie kīlaṁvaṁdhāie annāhi bahūhiṁ khujjāhiṁ cilāïyāhiṁ vāmaṇīhiṁ vaḍabhīhiṁ babbarīhiṁ bausiyāhiṁ joniyāhiṁ paṇṭavyāhiṁ isīniyāhiṁ varuṇiyāhiṁ läsiyāhiṁ läsiyāhiṁ damiğihiṁ sinhalihiṁ pulindhiṁ pakkaṇiṁ bahalihiṁ puraṇḍhiṁ sabarihiṁ pāraṣīhiṁ nānādesīvidesaparimarṇḍiyāhiṁ ingiyaciṁtiyapatthiaviyāṇiyāhiṁ sadesaṇevaṭthagahiya-vesāhiṁ
Note joṇiyāhiṁ among Weber’s variants.

Then this child Daḍhapaṇṇa grew up in the charge of five nurses: the milk-nurse, the dressing nurse, the bath nurse, the lap nurse and the playing nurse. In addition, many other female servants looked after him: invalids, Kiratas, dwarfs, Valabhis, Barbarians, Bakusbas, Greeks, Pablavas, Isinikas, Varunikas, Lasikas, Lakusbas, Dravidians, Sinhalas, Pulindas, Arabs, Pakkanas, Bahalas, Purandas, Sabaras, and Persians — all dressed in the way of their diverse countries...

Upāṅga 4. Pannavaṇā (Paṇṇāpanā, Prajñāpanā)


Pannavaṇā 1, 37

Javanās in a list of foreign peoples. Pannavaṇā 1, 37.


In Weber 1883, 396f., the list shows several changes and must be therefore quoted in full: sagā javana citiaya savara pappara (babbara) kāya murunīdo ‘dha(bha) bhadhagā niṇṇaga pakkaṇiyā kulakkha koṁkaṇga (goṛiṅga) sīhala (sīhala) pārṣa godhova (gāhvādā, godhāi) damila villala (villallā, cillāla) pulindā hārosa dorīna (tova, doca) boṭṭhakāṇa bahayaliya (pahla-ṭiya) ayyala rīma pāsa pāsā malaya (navaya) ya baṁdhuyā ya baṁdhuyā ya sūyali koṁkanṣa- меya (mopanīya) pahlava mālava maggarī (‘ra) ābhāsiyā nakvavīna (kaṇṇavīra) lhasiya (lhā)
khagga (kkhasa) ghāsiya (khā°) ṇoha (nedū, ṇaddu) ramaḍha (°ṭha) doṁbilaga (ḍo°) laüsa (laosa) paosa kvokvāta (śl kakkveya, kaleya) arakāga (vāga) hūṇa romagā hūnu maruya visalāpavāsī (cilāya visavāsi ya, vilāyavisavāsi yā) evamādi / se ttaṁ milakkā //

The omission of the Yavanas in the Rajkot edition is perhaps a printing error, as the chāyā (as well as the ṭīkā and the Hindi and Gujarati versions) includes it: śakā, yavānāḥ, cilatāḥ, śabara-barvara-muruṇḍa-uḍḍaka-bhaṇḍaga ...

In note 3, Weber quotes Malayagiri’s commentary: śakadesanivāsaṅaḥ śakā, jyavānadesanivāsino yavānāḥ, evaṁ sarvatra, navaram amī nānādeśā lokato vijñeyāḥ.

Cf. the Pañhāvāgaraṇāim above and Nemicandra’s Pravacanasāroddhara below.

Pannavaṇā 1, 107
Javanā included in a list of writing systems. Pannavāṇā 1, 107.

se kiṁ taṁ bhāsāriya? bhāsāriyā jeṇaṁ addhamāgāhie bhāsae bhāṣimti, jatthaviya ṇaṁ bāṁbhī livī pavattai / bambhīe ṇaṁ livīe ṇaṁ livie aṭṭhārasavihe lekkhavihāne paṇṇate / taṁ jaḥ – bāṁbhi 1 javanaliya 2 dosāpuriya 3 kharotthi 4 pukkhayasāriya 5 bhogāviya 6 paharāīyī 7 aṁtakkhariyī 8 akkharaputṭhiyī 9 venāiyī 10 niṃhaivyī 11 anikalivī 12 gaṇitālivī 13 gaṁdhvalivī 14 ayaṁsalivī 15 māhesari 16 dāmilī 17 polindī 18 / se ttaṁ bhāsāriyā

The word javanaliya is elsewhere found as javanāniyā; for dosāpuriya, the variant dāsāpuriya is given.

Upāṅga 6. Jambuddivapaṇṇatti (Jambūdvipaṇṇatti)

Jambuddivapaṇṇatti 43
List of foreign slave women in service to King Bharata.
Jambuddivapaṇṇatti ch. 43, quoted in Weber 1883, 412 f. (and 1888, 582)

Weber: tate naṁ tassa Bharahassa rauśo bahūo khyuya-cilāti-vāmaṇi-vadhābhī babbari-vausiyājā jonyā-palhaviyāu isiniyā-thāruṇiyā (thārukiniā, cāru(ū)bhaṇiyā) lāsiya laūsiya damiḷi siḥali taha āraṇī pulinīdi ya pakvaṇī vahali maruṇḍī (mura°, muru°) savarīu pāraśīu ya appigatiyāo caṇidaṇakalasahathhayāo

Jambuddivapaṇṇatti 52
Conquests of Bharata (Bharaha).
Jambuddivapaṇṇatti ch. 52 (Suttāgame 2, p. 571 f.).

tao mahanāim uttarittu Sindhuṁ appadihayasāsaṇe senāvaṁ kahimi gāmāgaranagarapavavāyāī kheḍakabaḍamaḍambhāṇī paṭṭaṅaṁi siṅhale babbare ya savvaṁ ca aṁgaloyāṁ balayāloṣaṁ ca paramarammaṁ javanaḍivaṁ ca pava
ramaṇirayaṇakaṇaṅgakosāsamiddhaṁ ārabae romaevya ṣaṅdayāsāyaṁ vyāsī ya pukkhare kālamuhe joṇave yauttaraveḍḍhasarāṃsiyāo ya mecchajāi bahuppagārā dāhiṅāvareṇa āva sindhusāgaranito tti savvapavarakacchaṁ ca oaveiṅa paḍiniyatto bahusaram arije ya bhūmibhoge tassa kacchhassa suhaṅṣaṅaṇe

A reference to the Jambuddīvapaṇṇattivṛtti p. 191 & 220 probably covers the two passages quoted above.

…the very pleasant island of the Javanās, rich with many gems, jewels, gold and treasure houses, Arabs, Romans living in the country of Alasanda, Puṣkaras, Kālamukhas, Joṇas (Yavanās)...

[Upāṅga. 8. Nirayāvaliyāo (-vali)]

Quoted in Weber 1883.

According to Weber 1883, 422, the actual list of the slave women is not given in the text itself, but in the commentary of Candrasūri (see below).

Cbedasutta 1. Niśīha


Niśīha 9, 29

List of foreign slave women.

Niśīhasutta 9, 29 (9, 600).

je bhikkhu raṇṇo khattiyāṇaṁ muddiyāṇaṁ muddhā-bhisittāṇaṁ asaṇaṁ vā parassa nihaḍaṁ padiggāheti, padiggāheṁtaṁ vā sātijjati, taṁ jahā – khujjāṇa vā, cilāïyāṇa vā, vāmaṇa vā, vadabhiṇa vā, babbarīna vā, paüsīna vā, joṇiyāṇa vā, palhaviyāṇa yā, īsiṇīna vā, thārugiṇīna vā, lāsīna vā, lāisiṇa vā, sihilāna vā, damilīna vā, ārabīna vā, puliṁdīna vā, pakkaṇīna vā, bahalīna vā, marumiṇa vā, sabarīna vā, pārasīna vā – taṁ sevamāṇe āvajjaï cāümmāsiyaṁ parihāraṭṭhāṇaṁ anugghātiyaṁ //

There is a further reference to Niśīhasuttaṁ verse 3689 that at first seemed quite puzzling to me. The Suttāgame edition only contains 20 chapters with 1405 subheadings. The answer appears to be found in the so-called Bhāṣyagāthās, which are contained in the following edition: Nisibith Sutram, with Bhashya by Sthavir Pungava Shri Visahngani Mahattar and Vishesh Churny by Acharya Pravar Shri Jindas Mahattar. Edited by Upadhyaya Kavi Shri Amar Chand Ji Maharaj and Muni Shri Kanhaiya Lal ji Maharaj “Kamal”. Part III. Udeshika 10–15. Agam Sahitya Ratnamala Book No. 5. Rev. 2nd ed. Delhi – Varanasi – Agra – Rajgir 1982.
Here we find Bhāṣya Chapter 11, Bhāṣyagāthā 3689.

3689. parapakkho u sapakkhe, bhaiṭo jai ḫoi jaṭhāraṭhā u /
       taṁ puṇa atisayanāṃi, dikkharintadhikāraṇāṁ nāṁ //

However, Jaṭhāraṭhā is not Yavanarāja (as supposed by Sircar 1973, 171 f.), but Yamunarāja!
6. JAINA: COMMENTARIES, ETC.

Āmradeva on Nemicandra


Nemicandra wrote in the 11th century, while Āmradeva fl. around 1134 in Gujarat.

Āmradeva on Nemicandra, Ākhyānakamaṇikośa 23, 608

List of foreign slave women.

Āmradeva on Nemicandra, Ākhyānakamaṇikośa 23, 608 (ch. 9 of Ācudattacariu).

kappāsu tetthu laïyaü mahatthu, āvaṁtaha davi duḍḍhau samatthu / māulaï viūuttaü atthakāmu, velāulu pattu piyaṅgunāmu / piusittiṁ periu tahin akīvi, gati jāṇavatti lahu javanaţāvi / tattha vi ya mukkavānijji khođi, tiṭṭha aṭṭha viḍhatta suvaṇṇakōdi / āvaṁtaha phuṭṭtāurī jāṇavattu, thīgūjju jeva hāraviyavittu / diṇasattagi phalahiṁ tarevi nīru, āsamaţaū pāvii kahavi tīru /

U.P. Shah, Introduction, p. 9 points out that Javaṇaţāva (Yavanadvīpa), here as well as in the parallel version in the Vasudevaviṇḍi, probably denotes modern Java in Indonesia.

Aṅgavijjā


Aṅgavijjā 9, 259

A brief list of slave women.

Aṅgavijjā 9, 259.

259. lāḍī [vā] joṅikā va tti cilāti babbari tti vā / sabari tti pulindi tti aṅghī dimilitti vā //

Lāṭī and Yavanī and Kirātī and Barbarī and Śabarī and Pulindī and Aṅgī and Ąamiţī.

Candrasūri on Upāṅga 8 (Nirayāvali)

Candrasūri on Upāṅga 8, quoted in Weber 1883, 422 and 1888, 606.

Candrasūri on Nirayāvali

List of foreign slave women.

Candrasūri on Nirayāvali (in Sanskrit)
Epigraphical, Sectarian, Middle Indo-Aryan Texts

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara, quoted by Weber 1883, 397. See his note (with some explanations).

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara 274, 1594
List of foreign peoples.

1594. sagā javaṇa sabara vavvara kāya (kāyāḥ)
    maruṁḍo ’ḍḍa (muruṁḍāḥ uḍrāḥ) goḍa pakkaṇāya /
    aravāga (aukhāga, aksāgāḥ!) hoṇa romaya
    pārāsa khasa khāsiyā ceva //

1595. ḍuṁvilaya laüsā (lakuśāḥ) bhokkasa bhilliṁdha (bhillā āṁdhrāḥ)
    puliṁda kuṁsica bhamararuyā (!! bhṛmararucāḥ) /
    kovāya (korpaṁ) cīna-cāṁcuyā (cīnāḥ caṁcukāḥ)
    mālava ḍamilā (draviḍāḥ) kuḷaggha (kuḷārghāḥ!) ya //

1596. kekaya kirāya hayamuha kharamuha
    gaya-turaya-miṁḍhayamuhā (miṁḍhakamukhāḥ) ya /
    hayakannā gayakannā anne vi anāriyā bahave //

Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamaśramaṇa: Brhatkalpabhāṣya

Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamaśramaṇa: Brhatkalpabhāṣya (not seen by me).

Jain (1979, 3), who dates this text to the 4th century CE, refers to 4, 4915, stating that “we are told here about a mechanical image (jantapaḍīmā) of a human being which could walk and open and shut its eyes. It has been stated that such images turned out in plenty in the country of Yavana.”

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66 Weber 1888, 660 (no. 1891) quoted the Kalpāntarvācyāni, a Kalpasūtra commentary dated later than Hemacandra, in which the dasi list of the Nāyādhammakahāo is quoted in Chapter 16.
7. JAINA: NARRATIVES

Āvaśyakacūrṇi, etc.


According to Jain (1979), the Ratlam edition of the Āvaśyakacūrṇi 1, p. 191, in connection with Bharata’s conquests, states that Javaṇa is “a beautiful land and a treasure-house of excellent gems, gold and jewels.” The same passage is also referred to in PPN 1 s.v. Alasarīṇa.

There is also an unchecked reference to the Āvaśyakacūrṇi 2, p. 554.

Alsdorf (1935, 301 ff.) includes the text and translation of Āvaśyaka 9, 44 (p. 540 f. of Jain 1979, 2) from the posthumous notes of E. Leumann, containing a parallel version of the story of the master carpenter Kokkāsa and his aerial cars. Unlike the Vasudevahinīdi version (see below), however, the yavanas are not mentioned here, and Kokkāsa learns his skill in Sopāra. Alsdorf further shows that the Vh. version is clearly more original and must thus date before the Āvaśyaka (6th century CE).

There is also an unchecked reference to the Āvaśyakaniryukti (ed. Surat 1939–41), verses 336 f.

Viśesāvaśyakabhāṣya of Jinabhadra


Viśesāvaśyakabhāṣya 262 f. (1701 f.)
Rṣabha visits Yavana country, Suvarṇabhūmi, Yavanas and Pahlavas and other barbarians.
Viśesāvaśyakabhāṣya 261–264 (1700–1703, p. 305 Malvania)

261./1700. kallaṁ savviḍḍīe pūehamadaṭṭhu amma cakkaṁ tu /
viharati sahassam egaṁ cchatumattho bhāradhe vāse //

262./1701. bahalī ya aḍamba ilā joṇaga visayā suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ ya /
āhiṇḍita bhagavatā usabhena tavaṁ caraṁteṇaṁ //

263./1702. vahalī ya joṇagā paṇhavā* ya je bhagavatā samaṇusatthā /
aṇñe ye meccchajātī te taṁyā bhaddayā jātā //

264./1703. titthakarāṇaṁ paḍhamo usabhariṣi viharito ṇiruvasaggaṁ /
aṭṭhāvato ṇagavaro aggabhūmi jiṇavarassa //
*Variants include paṇhagā, pallagā and palhagā.

**Kumārapālacarita of Hemacandra**

The Kumārapālacarita (Prākṛta Dvyāśraya Kāvya) of Hemacandra, illustrating the eighth chapter of his Siddha-Hemacandra or Prakrit Grammar, with a Commentary of Pūrṇakalaśaṅgāṇi.


**Kumārapālacarita of He 6, 74**

Being afraid of Kumārapāla, the Yavana king did not enjoy his tāmbūlabhoga.

Kumārapālacarita of Hemacandra 6, 73 f. with Pūrṇakalaśaṅgāṇi’s commentary.

73. sindhu-vaī tuha camaḍhaṇa-velillo tumai dinna-caḍḍaṇao / na jimaī divase jemaī nisāī pacchima-disāī taha //

74. tambolaṁ na samāṇaī kammaṇa-kole vi nāṇhae javano / visaē a novabhuṅjai bhaeṇa tuha vasuha-kammaṇa //

Depending on you for the dining hour, the lord of Sindb does not eat food given by you during the day. He eats at night and in the evening. The Yavana does not enjoy tāmbūla even at the time of its enjoyment and, being afraid of you, he does not enjoy his lands, O Enjoyer of the Earth.

Commentary:

73. tathā tava bhojanasya velā vidyate yasya sa bhojanavelāvān / bhavato velādhara ity arthaḥ / tvayā dattabhojanaḥ jīvatv asau varāka ity anukampayā viṁśagrāśamātrajanakadeśaḥ paścimadiśaḥ sindhupatiḥ pratiścitaśaṁbhandhiśvāmī divase na bhuṅkte niśāyāṁ bhuṅkte / svāmyasākṣātkāre velādhara rātrau bhuṅjata iti sthitī //

74. he vasudhopaboḥjakā prthivipālaka, tava bhayena hetunā javanah javanadēśādbiśaḥ tāmbulaṁ na bhuṅkte / bhojanakāle ’pi na bhuṅkte / viṣayāṁś ca sābdāṁ deśānāṁ nopabhuṅkte / sarvaṁ tāmbūlaśvādanādī muktvā kevalatvadārādhapanāye adhītā ity arthaḥ //

King Kumārapāla of Anhilwar lived in 1092/1149–1172/1229 and ruled from 1142/1199. He was Hemacandra’s patron. He is lauded here because of his might.

**Harivanśapurāṇa of Jinasena**


A Sanskrit Kāvya from 784 CE.
Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 11, 66
List of Northern kings and peoples in the Bharatadigvijayavarṇana.
Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 11, 65 ff.

65. solvāvṛṣṭatrigartāś ca kuśāgro matsyanāmakaḥ /
    kuniyān kośalo moko deśās te madhyadeśakāḥ //

66. bāhlīkātreyakāmbojā yavanābhīramadrakāḥ /
    kvāthatoyaś ca śūraś ca vāṭāvānaś ca kaikelayah //

67. gāndhāraḥ sindhusauvīrabhāradvājadaśerukāḥ /
    prāsthālas tīrṇakarṇaś ca deśā uttarataḥ sthitāḥ //

Verse 65 mentions the Middle Country. In 66 f., Yavanas, etc. are defined as Northerners;
68 f. lists eastern peoples, 70 f. southern, and 72 f. western peoples (such as Sūrpārakas, Bharukacchas, Saurāṣtras, and Narmaḍas).

Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 73
Kings arriving at Kurukṣetra.
Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 73.

73. barbarā yamanābhīrāḥ kāmbojā dravidā nrēḥ /
    anye ca bahavaḥ śūrāḥ śauripakṣam upāśritāḥ //

The kings of Barbaras, Yamanas, Ābhīras, Kāmbojas, Dravidas and many other heroes took the side of Sauri (Krṣṇa).

It seems very likely that Yamana is just an error for Yavana. Note that unlike in the Mahābhārata, here Krṣṇa remains on the side of the Kauravas.

Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 84
List of kings in the Cakragaruḍavyūhavarṇana.
Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 84.

84. śakunir yavano bhānur duśśāsanaśikhaṇḍinau /
    vāhlīkasomadattaś ca devaśarmā vakas tathā //

Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 52, 29
Kālayavana fighting on the side of Jarāsandha.
Harivaṁśapurāṇa of Jinasena 52, 29.

29. sa kālayavanaḥ kāla iva svayam upāgataḥ /
    gajaṁ malayanāmānam ārūḍho yuyudhe ’dhikam //

That Kālayavana arrived like death himself, mounted on an elephant named Malaya, which was excellent in battle.
Nammayāsundarīkathā of Mahendrasūri

Śrīmahendrasūri-viracitā (prākṛtabhāṣā-nibaddhā) Nammayāsundarī Kahā (Devacandrasūrikṛta saṁkṣipta prākṛta kathā, Jinaprabhasūrikṛta apabhramśabhāṣāmaya Namayāsundarī sandhi, tathā Meraṇḍarakaṇṭa gūrjarabhāṣāgadyamaya bālāvabodhasamanvitam).


A kathā of 96 pages, Sanskrit Narmadāsundarīkathā, in verse and some prose. Dated to 1130 ce.

A summary is given in Jain 1979, 3. Although the Javaṇa country is only mentioned in passim, we quote it in full:

“Maheśvaradatta, a Jain merchant, in order to earn money, leaves for the country of Javaṇa, accompanied by his wife Narmadāsundarī. On his way he gets suspicious of her fidelity and deserts her. The forsaken Narmadā wanders from place to place. One day by chance she happens to see her uncle Viradāsa who takes her with him to Babbarakūla (Barbaricon). There lived a group of 700 prostitutes under the leadership of Hariṇī. They used to earn wages for their mistress, who paid one-third or even one-fourth of it to the royal treasury. As soon as Hariṇī learnt about the arrival of a merchant from India (Jambudvīpa) she deputed her maid-servant to him with a pair of precious garments. But Viradāsa would not accept her invitation: he gave the maid-servant 500 drammas and dismissed her. Hariṇī sent another maid-servant who succeeded to persuade Viradāsa to come to her house. Hariṇī was pleased to see her guest and she showed extraordinary love and affection towards him. She occupied him in the game of dice which went on for a long time. In the meantime, by her strategy she succeeded in getting Narmadā there. She detained her in an underground cell. Narmadā was asked to follow the profession of a prostitute but she hated even to listen to such an awful thing. Hariṇī cited verses from the scriptures to persuade her but it was of no avail. She engaged violent lustful men to harass Narmadā and struck her with sharp canes, but she would not yield. Narmadā retorted that she was prepared to earn money for her by spinning or cooking, but in no circumstances she would accept a degrading position. In the course of time, Hariṇī breathed her last and Narmadā was installed in her place as a head prostitute. After some time when the king heard of Narmadā’s beauty and charm he ordered his servant to fetch her to his palace. After hearing the king’s command Narmadā dressed herself properly and set out to meet the king. On her way she feigned behaving abnormally. Thereupon the king let her go. He entrusted her to the care of an Indian merchant from Bharuyakaccha (Broach) who had come there to sell ghee.”

Although it starts on the way to the Javaṇa country (but before reaching it!), the main part of the story takes place in Babbarakūla (perhaps Varvara/Barbarica at the mouth of the Indus). Therefore, I cannot agree with Jain that “the episode reflects the life of prostitutes in ancient Greece”.

After a long account of the background, the description of the actual travel starts in the prose passage after verse 307 (p. 30):
annayā mahesaradatto ujjāne kīlāṁto bhaṇio siṇiddhamittehiṁ – kim amha kūpa dadduregevādiṁthadesarataraṇa jīvieṇa ? kim vā ... kim bahunā
312. hosu tumaṁ amhāṇaṁ (savvāṇaṁ) ugaṇi javaṇadīvaṁ 
      vaccāmo nāṇāvihamaṁmotiiyaraṇapaḍihatthā //
313. evaṁ bahuppayāram vayaṁsayāṇaṁ suṇettu vinnattīṁ /
      āha mahesaradatto – kim a juggam hou evaṁ ti //
tao āpucchiūna niyaniyañaæe párradha saṁjjatī – gahiyaṁ taddīvapāauggāṁīṁ bharīṇāṁ, paṇīkayāṁ jānattāṁ, sajjiyā nijāmayā, nirūvyāṁ pathnā-
divasaṁ / etthariṇtare pucchīyā bhattunā Nammayāsuūndari – pie! vaccāmo vayaṁ javaṇadīvaṁ /

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacarīaṁ of Śīlāṅka

Saṁvat 925.

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacarīaṁ of Śīlāṅka 124
List of various scripts.
Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacarīaṁ of Śīlāṅka, 1. Risahasāmi – 2. Bharahacakkavatti-
cariyaṁ § 124, p. 38.
puṇo bhagavayā baṁbhīe darisiyā akkharalivī / tīe livīe ‘paḍhamaṁ baṁbhīe darisiya ’tti kāuṇa baṁbhī ceva nāmaṁ jāyaṁ / tao pacchă baṁbhippabhīo aṭṭhārasa livio jāyāo, tāṁ jahā – baṁbhī haṁsī uḍḍī domilī [sic] jakkhī khasanīyā āyarisī bhūyalivī gandhavvī ṇandīṇayarā saṇṇāmattā parakammi babari kharotthī khadaviyaḍā javaṇi pokkharī loyapayaḥā tti (tti) /

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacarīaṁ of Śīlāṅka 127
Joṇagavisaya with Suvaṇṇabhūmi included among barbarian countries.
sāmī vi bahuli aḍambaïllaṁ joṇagavisayaṁ suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ ca anhe ya ṇaṇaṇāvihamecchajāidese dhammasuivivajjī gahiyavivābhīghago ṇaṇaṇaṁhata-vaccaranārao varisasahassāṁ viharamāo samippo purimattalasa ṇagarassa puvvuttare disābhae, sagaḍamuhābhīhāe ujjāne ṇaggohavarapāyavacchaśāe aṭṭhameṇaṁ bhaṭṭeṇaṁ paḍimaṁ ṭhio /
**Yaśastilakacampū of Somadevasūri**


Campū on a Jaina legend, AD 959.

**Yaśastilakacampū 3, 423+**

Yaśastilakacampū Āśvāsa 3, 423+, p. 567, 7 in a long list of epithets of King Yaśodhara

... keralakulakuliśapātah yavana kuja vajrānalaḥ caidyasundarīvinodakandalaḥ ...

...(who is) the stroke of lightning in the family of the king of Kerala, the fire caused by lightning in the tree of the Yavana king, whose battle is the pleasure of the Cedi ladies...

Commentary: yavana kuja vajrānalaḥ yavano nāma khurāśanadeśas tasya svāmy api yavanaḥ sa eva kujo vṛkṣas tasya dāhane jvālane vajrānalaḥ pavipāvakah /

“The fire caused by lightning in the tree of the Yavana king.” – Yavana is the name of the country of Chorasam. Its master is also called Yavana, and he is the tree burnt by this fire.

**Paṃcaśatīprabodhasaṁbandha of Śubhaśīlagaṇi**

A collection of legends and anecdotes in 4 adhikaraṇas (saṁvat 1521) quoted by Weber 1888, 1114 (n. 2020).

**Paṃcaśatīprabodhasaṁbandha 1**

Adhikaraṇa 1, passage quoted by Weber.

ekadā suratrāṇena Kānṇaḍagrāmo bhagnaḥ, tatratyaḥ Śrī Vīrapratimām ānīya yavanaḥ Dūliyā musūtadvāre* sopānakasthāne sthāpitā, tata ekadā...

*Weber: “an der Thür des Moschee von Delhi?” (i.e. Yavanas took the statue of Śrī Vira and put it there).

**Kuvalayamālā of Uddyototana**

Dākṣīṇyacīnāvika śrīmad Uddyotanasaṁviviracitā Kuvalayamālā (prākṛtabhāṣānobaddhā campūsvarūpā mahākāthā) atidurlabhprācīnapustakakṣayādhāreṇa sapariśodhya bahuviladhapāṭhabhedādibhiḥ pariṇāṃcita ca saṁpāditam. Saṁpādaka Ādinātha Neminātha Upādhye. Dvitīyabhāgaḥ. Ratnaprabhasūrikā Kuvalayamālākathā. Muṁbaī 1970. (Unfortunately I have not been able to find the first volume.)

There are some unchecked references to this text. The index in vol. 2 of Upadhye’s edition (the only one seen by me) refers to page 281, line 23 for joṇī, while another source gives p. 109 of vol. 2. This is certainly wrong, but perhaps it refers to the corresponding page in vol. 1. In Kuvalayamālākāhā kā saînskrîtk adhyayan (Vaiśālī 1975), Prem Suman Jain cites passages 2, 9 and 10, 23 for Yavanas.

The text contains the story of the merchant Sāgaradatta, who sails to Javānādīva and has good business success there, but on the return voyage loses his ship in a storm. He succeeds in swimming to an island, is rescued and eventually becomes a monk. In Chojnacki’s translation, this episode starts on § 189, referring to Upadhye’s page 106, and Yavanadvīpa is almost immediately mentioned. But page 281 has nothing to do with Yavanas, and p. 106 is the only reference in Chojnacki’s index.

Vasudevabhiṇḍi of Saîngbadāsa


VDH: Dhammillahiṇḍi p. 38 f.
A Javāna envoy as a skilled physician.

Vasudevabhiṇḍi: Dhammillahiṇḍi p. 38 f.

Summary by Jain 1979, 1 f.: “...an emissary (dūo) deputed by the King of Javaṇa to the royal court of Kosāmbi. The emissary was invited to his house by the King's minister. Seeing the minister's son afflicted with leprosy he remarked, 'Have you no medicine and are there no physicians in the country who could cure the disease?' Thereupon he suggested to give a bath to the patient in the blood of a young horse.”

See the Arabian Nights 1, 2 (Lane p. 75–77).

VDH: Dhammillahiṇḍi p. 62
Javaṇa engineers know how to build flying cars.
Vasudevahiṇḍi: Dhammillahiṇḍi p. 62 (text is also given in Alsdorf 1935, 295).


Kokkāsa found a carpenter, who accepted the bright youngster as his pupil. Back in Tāmalitti he attracted the king's attention with a couple of mechanical doves and then built for him an aerial car (āgāsagamaṁ jantaṁ). Being overweight because of the queen, the car landed in To-sali, where Kokkāsa built additional flying machines for the local king.

Cf. BKŚŚ 5, 190 ff.
VDH: Cārudattacarita p. 148
Javaṇa island identified as Java and Javaṇas (Greeks) as Western people.
Vasudevaḥiṇḍi: Cārudattacarita p. 148 (text is also given in Alsdorf 1935, 280).

tato niyagaghare iva vasanteṇāṁ sajjiyāṁ jāṇavattaṁ, bhariyaṁ bhaṇḍassa,
gahiyā kīrkāra saha sarhjattahārīṁ, pesiyā ya khemavatāmāṁi savvāṭhāssas, gahio
ya rāyasāsaneṇa paṭṭaō, anukūlesu vāta-saūṇesas ārūḍho mi jāṇavattaṁ, ukkhitto
dhāvo, cinatthāṇassa mukkaṁ jāṇavattaṁ, jalapahaṇa jalamao vīva paibhāi logo,
pattā mu cinatthāṇari / tattha vanijjeuṇa gao mi suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ / puvvadhiṁāni
paṭṭaṇaṁ hiṇḍiūṇa kamalopuraṁ javanadīvaṁ sinhhāle ya vaḷaṇjeuṇa, pacchime
va babbara-javaṇe [ya] ajiyāo atthā koḍio / bhaṇḍalagāo tāo jalapahagāyo
duguṇāo havanti, tao jāṇavatṛṇa soraṭṭhakūleṇa vaccamaṇo aloiyakālassa [ya]me
uppaïyamāruyāhao viṇaṭṭhio so poō, ...
line 5 vanijjeuṇa, Alsdorf vaḷaṇjeuṇa, from vaḷaṇje ‘Handel treiben’

Alsdorf 1935, 282 f.: Darauf...liess ich ein Schiff bauen, belud es mit Waren, warb
Diener und Matrosen und sandte (meinem Oheim) Sarvārtha Nachricht von meinem
Wohlergehen. Ich liess mir einem königlichen Schutzbrief ausstellen, und als Wind
und Vogelzeichen günstig waren, ging ich an Bord des Schiffes, opferte Räucherwerk
und stach nach China in See. Während der Seereise sah es aus, als ob die ganze Welt
nur aus Wasser beständige. So kamen wir in China an. Dort trieb ich Handel und
fuhr dann nach Sumatra. Indem ich die Städte des Ostens und Südens, Kamalapura
und Yavanadvīpa bereiste und auf Ceylon sowie bei den Barbaren und Griechen des
Westens Handel trieb, erwarb ich acht Kroses. Diese legte ich wieder in Waren an und
verdoppelte sie durch Seehandel. Darauf, als ich in Sicht der Küste am Gestade Kathia-
wers entlang segelte, erhob sich plötzlich ein Sturm und zertrümmerte mein Schiff...

The complete story extends from p. 145, 1 to 149, 30 (see Jain 1979, 3 f.). In the following part,
many words are dedicated to the traditional theme of the great dangers involved in sea trade.

VDH 18 p. 296
Javaṇa anklet given to a queen.
Vasudevaḥiṇḍi 18 (aṭṭhārasamo piyaṅgusundarilaṁbho, kāmapaḍāgāsaṁbandhe
aṇuvvaṇaṁ gaṅadesā), p. 296.
mahurāe ajiyaseṇo nāma rāyā, tassa aggamahisì mittavati / aṇṇayā ya javanaraṇṇā
Ajiyasenasss raṇṇo neuraṁ ekkari suṭṭhu-suddha-mahallayaṁ pāhuḍam
vasijjiraṁ / taṁ raṅṇa mittavatiṁ dinnaṁ / mittavatiṁ rayaṁ bhaṇaṁ — sāmi! biyaṁ
erisaṁ ghaḍāveha / raṇṇa suvaṇṇakārasenī sahāvita / taṁ padicchandao dinṇo —
biyaṁ erisaṁ ghaḍēha /

In Mathurā there was a king named Ajitasena. His head queen was Mitraṇaī. Once
the Yavana king sent to King Ajitasena a very bright and large anklet. The king gave it
to Mitravati. Mitravati said to the king: ‘Lord, let a second one like this be made.’ The king invited a master goldsmith. He was given a picture (of it and told) ‘Make another like this.’

**Paümacariya (Padmacarita) of Vimalasūri**


**Paümacariya 98, 64**

Javanās included in the list (98, 57–68) of peoples conquered by Lavaṇa and Aṅkuśa.

āhīra-voya-javaṇā kacchā sagakeralā ya nemālā /
varulā ya cāruvacchā varāvaḍā ceva sopārā /
APPENDIX 1: TAMIL SOURCES


1. Sangam Anthologies

Akanānūru

Akanānūru 149, 7–11
Muciṟi, a port visited by Yavanas and conquered by Pāṇḍya.
Meile 1941, 90 & Zvelebil 1956, 403 & De Romanis 1997a, 98 f. & 107 f.

... cēralat / cūliyam pēriyāṟṟu veṇṇurai kalaṅka / yavaṉar tanta viṉaimāṇkalam / ponnoṭu vantu kariyōtu peyarum / vaḷaṅkelu muciri yārppēḷa vaḷai

Zvelebil: ...the flourishing town of Muciṟi, where the large beautiful ships built by the Yavaṉas came with gold, disturbing the white foams of the fair Pēriyāṟu (= ‘big river’) called Cuḷḷi of the Cēralar, (and) returned with pepper.

Puṟanānūru

Puṟanānūru 56, 17–20
Wine brought by Yavanas.

... iravalarkk aruṅkalam arukād īyā / yavaṉar naṅkalam tanta taṅkamāl tēral / poṇcai puṇaikalatt ēnti nāḷum / oṇṭoti makaḷir maṭuppa makiḻciran …

Zvelebil: [...]may you] therefore, having distributed without limit costly vessels to the iravalar, behave pleasantly indeed, having increased the joy by giving to the girls of
shining bangles, who every day have taken in hands vessels beautified by gold, to drink
the cool fragrant wine brought by the Yavanās in beautiful bowls.

In a note, Zvelebil explains trāvalaṟ as suppliants or beggars. According to the Vaidehi trans-
lation at http://sangampoemsinenglish.wordpress.com/purananuru-songs/, the girls pour the
wine for the Pāṇḍya king, to whom the poem is addressed.

Pattuppāṭṭu: Mullaippāṭṭu

Pattuppāṭṭu: Mullaippāṭṭu 59–62
Appearance and attire of Yavanās.
Translation also in N. Raghunatha, Six Long Poems from Sangam Tamil. Madras
1978.
mattikai vaḷaiya maṟintu viṅku cerivuṭai / meyppai pukka veruvarun tōṟṟattu /
valipuṇar yākkai vaṉkaṇ yavaṉar / pulittoṭar viṭṭa puṉaimā ṇallīṟ
Zvelebil: the hard-eyed Yavaṉas of terrible appearance, whose body is of strong joints,
dressed in a gown (meyppai) and a rich piece of cloth with abundant folds concealing a
horse-whip (mattikai).
Commenting on this, Zvelebil ventures to derive the word mattikai ‘whip, horse-whip’
from the Greek accusative μάστιγα. Earlier, in verse 44, the royal bodyguards are described
as “speaking different tongues”. A different explanation for mattikai is given by Tieken 2003.

Patiṟṟuppattu

Patiṟṟuppattu 2, 7–10
Yavanās are taken prisoners.
pēricai marapin āriyar vaṇakki / nayaṉil naṉcol yavaṉar piṇittu / ney-talaip
peytu kai-piṟ koḷīi / yaruvilai naṉkalam vayiramoṭu koṇṭu
Zvelebil: [The Cera King]...having captured the uncivilised Yavaṉas of harsh speech,
poured oil on (their) heads, tied (their) bands to (their) backs and took (their) precious
beautiful vessels (naṉkalam ‘amphorae’?) and diamonds.
2. Classical Epics

*Cilappatikāram of Ilaṅkō Aṭikal*


**Cilappatikāram 5, 10**
Flourishing Yavana houses.
Meile 1943, 113 & Zvelebil 1956, 405.

payāṇ aravu aṟiyā yavaṉaṟ irukkaiyum

Zvelebil: The dwellings of Yavaṉas who do not know cessation of profit [in Kāvērippūmpaṭṭinam].

**Cilappatikāram 14, 66 f.**
Yavana guardians.

kaṭimatil vāyil kāvaliṟ ciṟanta / aṭalvāḷ yavaṉark

Zvelebil: The Yavaṉas of murderous sword, best in guarding the gates of the fortified wall.

**Cilappatikāram 28, 141 f.**
Yavana kingdom attacked by the Cēra King.

vaṉcol yavaṉaṟ vaḷanāṭu vaṉperuṅkaṟ / reṉkumari yāṇṭa ceruviṟ kayaṟ puliyāṉ

Zvelebil: [Our king rules the earth] from the fertile country of the Yavaṉas of harsh tongue to Kumari in the South with large and rude rocks...
Maṇimēkalai of Cāttaṉār


Maṇimēkalai 1, 45
Lamps made by Yavanas.
Zvelebil 1956, 406 f.

pāvaivilakku ... yavaṉar iyarriya viṉaimāṇ pāvai kaiyēn taiyakal
Zvelebil: The bowl of an earthen lamp held in the hand of a statue of beautiful workmanship made by the Yavanās.

Maṇimēkalai 19, 107 f.
Yavana carpenters.
makata viṉaiñaru marāṭṭa kammarum avantik kollarum yavaṉat taccarum
Zvelebil: Magadha artisans, Maratha goldsmiths, blacksmiths of Avanti, and Yavana carpenters (collaborated on building a pavilion for the Cholas).

3. Other and Late Sources

Apitāṉacintāmaṇi (Abhidhānacintāmaṇi)

Apitāṉacintāmaṇi 1, 45
Yavana means Arab.
Meile 1943, 101.

According to Meile’s brief comment, ‘Arab’ is here the first definition given to the word yavaṉaṉ.

Cīvakacintāmaṇi of Tiruttakkatēvar

Cīvakacintāmaṇi 1, 101
On Yavanas possessing mechanic skills.
Zvelebil 1956, 408.
tam pulankaḷāl yavaṉar tāṭpaṭutta poṟiyē
Zvelebil: [A] machine, invented by the Yavanās, made by the help of their intelligence.
See also 1, 557 yavaṉappēḻi ‘yavana chest, small ornamental box as made in yavaṉam’ (Zvelebil ibid. quoting TL).

**Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar**

**Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar 62**
On Yavanas being hard-eyed.
Meile 1943, 109.
vaṉkaṇ yavaṉar taṟukaṇmaiṉaiyutaiya
Meile: Les Sonaguers possédant un regard terrible.

**Nakkīrar: Neṭunalvāṭai**

**Nakkīrar: Neṭunalvāṭai 101 f.**
On a Yavana lamp.
Meile 1943, 114; Arokiaswami 1966, 109
yavaṉar iyarriya viṉaimāṇ pāvai / kaiyēn taiyaka niṉaiyanay corintu (kaiyantiya ganiraiya nay?)
Arokiaswami: [Yavana lamp in the form of] “the figure of a lady holding out her hand with a light into which the users poured ghee and put a wick.”

**Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai**

**Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai 316–318**
On a Yavana lamp.
Zvelebil 1956, 405.
“A kingfisher is compared to a ‘yavaṉa swan-lamp on the mast’ of a boat (yavaṉar ötima viḷakku).”

**Peruṅkatai of Koṅkuṉvēḷir**

**Peruṅkatai 1, 17, 175**
Mention of a Yavana lamp.
Zvelebil 1956, 407.
yavaṉap pāvaiyaṉai viḷakku “the ornamented lamp (held by) a Yavaṉa statue”
Peruṅkatai 1, 32, 76
Mention of Yavana-made box.
Zvelebil 1956, 407.

*yavaṇa* maṅcikai “Yavaṇa trunk, box”

Peruṅkatai 1, 38, 233
Mention of a Yavana-made cart.
Zvelebil 1956, 407.

*yavaṇak* kaivinai yāriyar puṇaintatu tamaṇiyattiyaṅga tāmarai ... vaiyam
“the cart...with the hand-made gold lotus, made by the Yavaṇas and ornamented by the Āryas”

Peruṅkatai 1, 58, 40–44
Yavana carpenters.
Meile 1943, 116; Arokiaswami 1966, 110.

*yavaṇat* taccarum avantik kollarum makatattu piranta maṇiviṅaikkārarum pāṭalip piranta pacumpoṅ viṅaiṅarum kōcalat tiyaṅra vöiyiyat tolijlarum vattanāṭtu vaṇṇak kammarum

After Meile: *Yavaṇa carpenters, blacksmiths of Avanti, pearl-workers of Magadha, goldsmiths of Pāṭaliputra, painters of Kośala, decorators of Vatsa.*

Peruṅkatai 3, 4, 8
Yavana villages.
Zvelebil 1956, 407.

aimpatiṅiraṭṭi *yavaṇac* cēri “twice fifty Yavaṇa villages”

Peruṅkatai 3, 5, 48
Zvelebil 1956, 407 (mentioned as a parallel to 3, 22, 213) on a Yavana chest.

Peruṅkatai 3, 16, 22
Mention of a Yavana-made lute.
Zvelebil 1956, 407.

*yavaṇak* kaivinai maṅap puṇarntatōr makara viṅai
“a viṅa in the form of Makara, ornamented with the excellent handiwork of the Yavaṇas”
Peruṅkatai 3, 22, 213
Mention of a Yavana chest.
Zvelebil 1956, 407.

*yavaṉap pēḷai* “Yavana chest”

_Tiruvēṅkaṭa Catakam_

_Tiruvēṅkaṭa Catakam 98_
Referred to in the _TL_ (using Nārayaṇapāratiyār’s 1905 edition).

98. _Cōṇakam_ – the Yavana country.

_Tivākaram_

_Tivākaram_
Referred to in the _TL_ (using the _Cēntaṉ Tivākaram_ edition. Čēntaṉar 1904).

cōṇakam – the Yavana language
cōṇakany – a foreigner from the Yavana country

_Yāḻppāṇattu maṉippāyakarāti_

_Yāḻppāṇattu maṉippāyakarāti_

yavaṉāri – Kṛṣṇa as the slayer of Kālayavana
yavaṉappiriyam – pepper
APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLES OF TELUGU SOURCES

Kāśikhaṇḍa of Śrīnātha


Śrīnātha

Ramamurti 1899, 59:

In his Kāśikhaṇḍam, the Telugu poet Śrīnātha (first half of the 15th century CE) describes how the mighty king Vēma (Allaya-Vēma, in the 14th century), the son of Allāḍa, was a conqueror who also received tributes from many kings, among them the kings of the *Yavanas*.

On Śrīnātha, see Rao 1988, 129 ff.

Telugu Varāhapurāṇa and Pārijātāpaharaṇa


Ramayya (75 f.) refers to an unpublished Telugu Varāhapurāṇa MS in Madras Government Oriental Library. According to Rao 1988, 174, the work was written by Nandi Mallaya and his nephew Ghanta Singaya in the second half of the 15th century.

Telugu-Varāhapurāṇa 1, 42 f.

Ramayya 1903, 78:

Varāhapurāṇa āśvāsa 1, 42 f. Īśvara, the general of Nṛsiṁhārya, conquered 12 forts (listed in the text and by Ramayya) and “destroyed the cavalry of the *Yavanas* of Beḍadakōṭa at Gaṇḍikōṭa, i.e. the Bāhmani king of Bidar”.

Ramayya continues by stating that the same battle is also mentioned in the Telugu poem Pārijātāpaharaṇa and describing how Īśvara “gave rise to thousands of rivers of blood by killing the horses of the *Yavanas* of Beḍadakōṭa”. The battle itself is here located in Kandukūry.

Of the text, Rao 1988, 199, says: “P., a prabandha work by Nandi Timmana in the court of Krishna Deva Raya in the early 16th century.”
## CONCORDANCE OF SOME OLD REFERENCES

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See also the list given in the end of the Mbh.

68 Sthavira Romakāyaṇa quoted as an authority. As this hardly has anything to with with Romans it has been ignored in my study.
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| yavanyah = | |
| vānavāsikāḥ striyaḥ | |


1) Waizen — RN 16, 151
2) Möhre — ??
3) Olibanum Rāg´an. im ČKDr RN 12, 36

2. yavana nom. ag. von yu
ganā NANDYĀDI zu P. 3, 1, 134

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69 A. Weber, *Ind. Studien* 1, 1849, 464 ff., a review of the *Sūcīpustakam* (Calcutta 1838, full title in Gildemeister 1847, no. 558), the catalogue of the manuscripts in the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of the College of Fort William, and of the Benares Sanskrit College. On p. 467 A 63 Lagnacandrīkā by Yavanācārya and C 1525 Vṛddhayavanajātaka are briefly mentioned.

70 The PW reference seems to be a page number, which I cannot presently identify. Passages containing quotations from Yavaneśvara are listed in the end of our chapter Utpala on VM:BS.

71 Note 66 on the page 477 of the first edition of his ViP translation, dealing with the Kailākīla Yavanas.
3. yavana adj. falsche Schreibart für 1. javana rasch, schnell
   Med. n. 109 Medinik. 20, 109
   — aśvānīka Mālav. 71, 2 eine Javana-
   Reiterschar nach Weber
   m. ein schnell laufendes Pferd, Renner
   Med. Medinik. 20, 109

4. yavana fehlerhaft für Paijavana
   M[Dh]. 7, 41 [MDh 7, 41 on Paijavana]
   Kām. Nitis. 1, 14 KāmNS id.

yavanadeśaja Styrax oder Benzoïn (im Lande der Javana wachsen)
   Bhāvapr. in Nigh[aṇṭa] Pr(akāśa, Bombay 1839]
   RN 12, 183

yavanadviṣṭa m. Bdeellerion (den Javana verhasst)
   Rāg’ an. im ÇKDṛ
   RN 12, 183

yavanapura n. die Stadt der Javana, wohl Alexandrien
   Kern in den Vorrede zu Varāh.
   Bh.S. [p. 53ff.]
   VM:PS 15, 18

yavanapriya n. Pfeffer (den Javana lieb)
   H. 420 Hc, Abhidh.c. 3, 84 (420)

yavanamuṇḍa m. ein kahl geschorener Javana
   gaṇa mayūravyaṁsakādi zu P.
   id.
   vgl. Hariv. 780 oben und 1.
   yavana 1)

yavanasena (1. yavana + senā) m.N.pr. eines Mannes
   Kathās. 36, 73 [KSS 7, 36, 73]

yavanānī (von 1. yavana) f.
   P. 4, 1, 49 P id.
   Vop. 4, 26 id.
   — die Schrift der Javana
   Kāty. on P. 4, 1, 49

1. yavanī s.u. 1. yavana 1).

yavanēṣṭa adj. den Javana lieb (1. iṣṭa)
1) m. a) eine Art Zwiebel oder Knoblauch (laśuna, palāṇḍu, rājap.)
   — RN 7, 103
   b) Azadirachta indica Juss.
   — RN 9, 44
2) f. a *der wilde Dattelbaum*

Rāg´an. im ÇKDr

RN 11, 65

3) n. a) *Blei*

H. 1041

Hc, Abhidh.c. 4, 107 (1041)

b) *Zwiebel, Knoblauch*

—

RN 7, 55

c) *Pfeffer*

Rāg´an. im ÇKDr

RN 6, 135

1. *yāvana* (von 1. yavana)

1) adj. *im Lande der Javana geboren*

Prājaçk´ittend. 20 a 3; 57 a 1

quoted from the PW

2) m. *Weihrauch*

AK. 2, 6, 3, 30

AK 2, 6, 128

H. 648, Sch.

Sch. on Hc, Abhidh.c. 3, 312 (648)

2. *yauna* m.pl. N.pr. eines Volkes, wohl = yavana und auch daraus entstanden

Mbh. 12, 7560

Mbh 12, 200, 40

3. *roma* *Rom*

Verz. d. Oxf. H. 338 b 1

Romakasiddhānta

2. *romaka*

1) m. a) N. pr. eines Udīcyagrāma

gañā paladyādi zu P. 4,2,110

??

pl. N. pr. eines Volkes

Mbh. 2, 1837

Mbh 2, 47, 26

die Römer, Bewohner des Römerreiches

Varāh. Bṛh.S. 16, 6

VM: BS 16, 6

sg. *Rom*


(III) 28

??

Verz. d. Oxf. H. 339 a 34

Romakasiddhānta

Reinaud, Mém. sur l’Inde 341fg.

al-Bīrūnī 26 (p. 266f. Sachau) & 29 (303f.)

b) *der Römer* Bez. eines best. Astronomen

Verz. d. B.H. No. 835

Brahmasiddhānta

— No. 881

Balabhadra: Häyanaratna

— No. 939

Jñānabhāskara
Concordances

Verz. d. Oxf. H. 333 a 9

Nārāyaṇa: Tājakasārasudhānidhi 1, 4

Ind. St. 2, 247fg.

Balabhadra: Häyanaratna

-tājika

— 274

Balabhadra: Häyanaratna

2) n. a) salzhaltige Erde und das aus ihr gezogene Salz (Suśruta, RN, = pāṁsulavaṇa, kind of salt, not relevant here.

b) eine Art magnet (ayaskāntabheda)

Rāg’ an. im ČKDr. RN

romakapattana n. die Stadt Rom

Verz. d. Oxf. H. 325 b N. 1

— 340 a 7

Romakasiddhānta

Siddhāntaçir. Golâdhj. Siddh.śir. Gol. 17

Bhuvanakr. (III) 17

romakasiddhānta m. N. eines der fünf Haupt-Siddhānta zu Varāhamihira’s Zeit

*Varāh. Bṛh.S. S. 4, Z. 1.2. [Kern] VM: BS 2, 4

Colebr. Misc. Ess. II, 386 Romakasiddhānta

— 388 VM: PS 1, 3; Brahmagupta

— 411 VM: BJ 27

— 476 VM: PS 1, 3

Reinaud, Mém. sur l’Inde 332 al-Bīrūnī 14 (p. 153 Sachau)


Verz. d. Oxf. H. 338 b No. 796 Romakasiddhānta

romakācārya m. N.pr. eines Lehrers der Astronomie (vgl. 2. romaka 2)

Verz. d. Oxf. H. 338 b 3 Romakasiddhānta

romakāyana m. N.pr. eines Autors

Bṛhadd. 3, 10 in Ind. St. 1, 105 not relevant, cf. note 2 above

2. roman m. pl. N.pr. eines Volkes

Mbh. 6, 363 & *ed. Bombay (VP 192) Mbh 6, 10, 54

rauma 1) m. N.pr. eines Mannes

Rāg’a-Tar. 3, 54 [Rājat 3, 54 Stein’s Bhauma]

2) n. eine Art Salz = raumaka (unrelevant here)
**raumaka** 1) adj. oxyt. von romaka (einem udiyagrāma) **raumaka** 1) adj. oxyt. von romaka (einem udiyagrāma) römisich, von den Bewohnern des Römerreichs gesprochen

Colebr. Misc. Ess. I, 315  
Kumārila, *Tantravārtika* on MS 1, 3, 6, 10

**vom Astronomen Romaka herrührend**

ganīta  
Verz. d. B. H. No. 939  
Jñānabhāskara (astrology)

2) n. (von rumā) **eine Art Salz** (unrelevant here)

**raumakīya** adj. von romaka

gaṇa kṛṣāśvādi zu P. 4, 2, 80  
id.

**brhadroma** (brīhant + roma) N.pr. einer Oertlichkeit

Verz. d. Oxf. H. 339 a 1  
Romakasiddhānta

- paṭṭana  
340 a 11  
Romakasiddhānta

**kālayavana** (1. kāla + yavana) m. N.pr. eines Fürsten der Javana

Hariv. 1961 fgg.  
Hv 25, 10ff.

- 6163 fgg.  
Hv Ins. 20, line 729

- 6190 fgg.  
Hv Ins. 20, line 779

- 6397 fgg.  
Hv 84, 12ff.

- 6425 fgg.  
Hv 85, 4ff.

VP 565 fgg.  
VīP 5, 23, 5

*Hariv. 9801  
Hv 105, 19

(vgl. Bhāg.P. 3, 3,1 0)  
BhāgP id. (see note on 2, 7, 34)

Vgl. Weber, Lit. 202, N.  
Mbh 12, 326, 88 and Purāṇas

Nachträge in vol. 7 have nothing more.

**pw**

2. yavana

1) m. a) **ein Griech, ein Fürst der Griechen, als Bez. einer best. Kaste**

Gaut  
GDh 4, 21

pl. **die Griechen, die griechischen Astrologen**; auch Name einer Dynastie. Später bezeichnet das Wort **einen Muhammedaner** und überh. **einen Mann fremden Stammes**

b) **"Weizen**

Rāg´an. 16, 30  
RN 16, 151

c) **"Möhre**

d) **"Olibanum**

Rāg´an. 12, 105  
RN 12, 36

2) f. -ī **eine Griechin**
3. *yavana 1) Adj. rasch, schnell; richtig javana
   Mālav. 71, 2
   Kd: Mālav 5, 14+

2) m. ein schnell laufendes Pferd, Renner

4. yavana m. fehlerhaft für paijavana

yavanaka 1) *m. eine best. Getreideart
2) f. -nikā eine Griechin

yavanajātaka n. Titel eines G´ataka

yavaneśava m. N.pr. eines Fürsten der Javana

yavaneṣṭa 1) m.
   a) Zwiebel, Schalotte oder dgl.
   Rāg´an. 7, 51, 58
   RN 7, 55 & 103 (?)
   Bhāvapr. 1, 179
   Bhr Nighaṇṭubhāga 1, 217
   b) Azadirachta indica
   Rāg´an. 9, 8
   RN 9, 44
   2) f. ā
der wilde Dattelbaum
   Rāg´an. 11, 56
   RN 11, 65

3) n.
   a) Blei
   Rāg´an. 13, 24
   RN 13, 20
   b) Zwiebel
   Rāg´an. 6, 31
   RN 7, 55 or 103
   c) Pfeffer
   Rāg´an. 13, 24
   probably error for RN 6, 135

1. yāvana 1) Adj. im Lande der Javana geboren

yavanapura n. N.pr. einer Stadt, wohl Alexandrien

*yavanapriya n. Pfeffer

*yavananunṣa m. ein kahl geschorener Javana

yavanasena m. N.pr. eines Mannes

yavanācārya m. N.pr. eines Lehrers

*yavanānī f. die Schrift der Javana

yavanārī m. 1) *Bein. Kṛshṇa’s
2) N.pr. eines Fürsten

By 1) aus dem Lande der Javana stammend
   Bhāvapr. 1, 187
   Bhr Nighaṇṭubhāga 2, 52

*yavanadviṣṭa n. Bdellium
   Rāg´an. 12, 108
   RN 12, 183

yavanapura n. N.pr. einer Stadt, wohl Alexandrien
2) "m. Olibanum
2. yauna m. Pl. N.pr. eines Volkes. Wohl = yavana
3. roma m. 1) Rom
   2) Pl. N.pr. eines Volkes
   VP. '2, 133

2. romaka 1) m. a) N.pr. a) Pl. die Römer, die Bewohner des Römerreiches
   b) Rom
   g) *eines Dorfes im Nordlande
d) eines Astronomen
b) eine best. Mischlingskaste, v.l. für rāmaka
   Vasishṭha 18, 4
   VasDh 18, 4
c) abgekürzt für "siddhānta
2) n. a) salzhaltige Erde...
romakapattana und romakapura n. Die Stadt Rom
   Weber, Lit. Weber 1852, 226 on
   Jñānabhāskara
romakaviṣaya m. das Römerland
   Árjabh. 4, 13
   Āryabh. 4, 13
romakasiddhānta m. Titel eines der fünf Haupt-Siddhānta zu Varāhamihira’s Zeit und
   auch eines späteren Machwerkes.
romakācārya N.pr. eines Lehrers der Astronomie
raumaka 1) Adj. a) *von romaka N.pr. eines Dorfes im Nordlande
   b) römisch, von den Bewohnern der Römerreiche gesprochen
c) von Astronomen Romaka berührend
2) n. eine Art Salz...
   *raumakīya Adj. von romaka.
kālayavana m. N.pr. 1) eines Fürsten der Javana.
   2) eines Dvîpa
   Daçak. 9, 23
   DKC Pp 1 & 4 (?)
Nachträger in vol. 7 have nothing more.

Schmidt, Nachtr.

Yavana m. "= Khurāśanadeśas tasya svāmy api
   S I, 567, 7
   Somadevasūri, Yaśastilaka p.
   567, 7
   Ko 568, 7
   Commentary on the same
ŚKDr

yavanaḥ puṁ, deśaśeṣaḥ /
deśaśeṣaḥ /yathā  *Mātsye 120, 43  MP 121, 43
vegāḥ / vegādhikāśvaḥ iti  Medinī  Medinik. 20, 109
godhūmaḥ / garjaratṛṇam / turuṣkaḥ / iti  Rājanighaṇṭaḥ RN 16, 151; [7, 98?]; 12, 36
(yauți mīśřibhavatiti / yu + "suyururṇṛjo yuc” / iti yuc /)
jaṭiviśeṣaḥ / iti  Śabdaratnāvaḷī ??
sa tu yavanadesodbhayav ayaṭirājaputraturvvasuva rīśaḥ / yathā  *Mātsye 34 adhyāyaḥ MP 34, 30f.
sa garjarajenaśaṁ sarvvaśiromuṇḍaṁ sarvvadharmanarāhityaṁ ca kṛtaṁ te cātmadharmmaparītyāgāt mlecchatvāḥ yawur iti
yavanaḥ mosalamāna-iṅgarejaubhaya-jāti-vācakaḥ / yavanaśabdaḥ ca vargāṭṛtyādir iti Raghunandana-bhaṭṭācāraṁ (??) likhitam //
javanādnāṁ tu  *Harivāṁśe Hv 10, 41–45ab
sarvvaadharmmarāhityam uktaṁ
tsakānāṁ sakadesodbhayavanāṁ kṣatriyāṇāṁ evari jayavanādnāṁ iti / atra javanāśabdas taddesodbhayavāci cavarṛṭṛtyādīṁ /
javano deśaveginor iti  Trikāṇḍaśeṣābhikāṁ sarvvaśiromuṇḍaṁ uktaṁ

tēśāṁ mlecchatavāṁ apy uktaṁ  Viṣṇupurāṇe ViP 4, 3

72 garjara = grñjara in RN 7, 98 (DhN 4, 21), but not yavana.
73 mosalamāna-iṅgareja-ubhaya-jāti-vācakaḥ ‘name of both castes, the Musulmans and the English'.

Concordances 313
yathā iti Brahmāṇḍapurāṇe 39
adhāyaḥ

muniviśeṣaḥ
yathā *Tithyāditattvam

kālayavanotppair
yathā *Viṣṇupurāṇe 5 aṁśe 23
adhāyaḥ

yavanaḥ tri (yotīti / yu + nandigrahīti / 3, 3, 134 / iti lyuḥ /)
vegī / iti Medinī / ne 111 Medinīk. 20, 109
yathā *Naśadhacarite 1, 65 Naśadhac. 1, 65

yavanadviṣṭaḥ puṁ (yavanair dviṣṭaḥ / hindupriyatvāt tathātvam /)
guggukuh / iti Rājanighaṇṭah RN 12, 183

yavanapriyaiḥ kli (yavanānāṁ priyaṁ /)
maricam / iti Hemacandraḥ Hemacandra: Abhidh.c. 3, 84
(vivaraṇam asya maricaśabde jñātavya /)

yavanācāryyaḥ puṁ (yavano namācāryyaḥ /) jyotiḥśāstrakarttrmuniviśeṣaḥ
iti Varāhamihirau

yavanānī strī
yavanānāṁ lipiḥ *4, 1, 49 iti vārttikokyā Kāty. v. 3 on P. 4, 1, 49
ūṣ ānugāgamaś ca Mugdhabodihaṅkāryāṁ Quoted from ŚKDr
yavanasya lipiḥ / iti Durgādāsaḥ

yavanārīḥ puṁ (yavanānāṁ ariḥ / yavanaḥ kālayavano ’rir yasyeti vā /)
śrīkṛṣṇaḥ / iti Trikāṇḍaśeṣaḥ Puruṣottamadeva, Trik. 1, 1, 31

yavānī strī (yūyate pacyate bhuktam anayā / yu + lyuṭ / ūṣ /)
yavānīnāmakauṣadhibhedaḥ Medinī / ne 112 Medinīk 20, 110
/ iti
(yavanasya strīti / yavana + Raghuḥ 4, 61 Kd: Rv 4, 61
ūṣ /) yavanabhāryyā // yathā

yavaneṣṭaṁ kli (yavanānāṁ iṣṭam /)
sīsakam / iti Hemacandraḥ 4. 107 Hc: Abhidh.c. 4. 107
maricam / grñjanam / iti Rājanighaṅṭah RN 6, 135 & 7, 55

yavaneṣṭaḥ puṁ (yavanānāṁ iṣṭaḥ /)
| laśunaḥ / rājapalāṇḍulḥ / nimbaḥ / palāṇḍulḥ / iti | Rājanighaṇṭaḥ | RN 7, 55; 7, 103; 9, 44; 7, 103 |
| *Bhāvaprakāśasya pūrvvakhaṇḍe prathame bhāge | Bhpr Nighaṇṭubhāga 1, 217 |

**yāvanaḥ** purī (yavane yavanadeśe bhavaḥ / yavana + an /)

| silākhyagandhadravyam | Amaraḥ 2, 6, 128 | AK 2, 6, 128 |
| vivṛtir asya silhakaśabde jñātavya / ity | | |

**roma** [n] kli ... śaṅrājatāṅkuraḥ ... janapadavīśeṣaḥ / taddeśavāsini / puṁ bhūmni /
yathā

| *Mahābhārate 6, 9, 55 | Mbh 6, 10, 54 |

**romakāṁ** kli (rome kāyaṭīti / kai + kaḥ /)
pāṁśulavaṇam

| Suśrute 1, 42 | ‘salt’, here unnecessary |

**ayaskāntabhedaḥ** ...

| Rājanighaṇṭaḥ | also irrelevant |

**romaiva** / janapadavīśeṣaḥ / taddeśavāsini / puṁ bhūmni / yathā

| *Mahābhārate 2, 50, 14 | Mbh 2, 47, 26 |

**romakapattanaṁ** kli (romakāṁ pattanam iti karmmadhārayaḥ /) deśaviśeṣaḥ / Rum iti pārasyabhāṣā /*
yathā

| *Siddhāntaśiromaṇau | Bhāskara, Siddhānt., Golādhy. |
| Golādhyāyaḥ | 17 |

### TTV

**yavana** pu’ yu – yu /

| 1. deśabhede so ‘bhijano ‘syasya rājā vā an bahuṣu tasya luk / 2. taddeśastheṣu janeṣu |
| 3. tanṛpṛṣṇaḥ yeṣu yā va’ ?? |
| 4. vege 5. adhivegayutāśve Medī° | Medīnīk. 20, 109 |
| 6. godhūme 7. garjaratṛṇe Rājani° | RN (cf. ŚKdR) |
| 8. turuṣkajātāu | |
| yayatiśaptamya tatputrasya turvasor vaṁśe ca puṁ stṛś striyāṁ nīś | |
| 10. vagavati tvī° ?? | |

**yavanadviṣṭa** pu’ yavanaip dviṣṭaḥ dviṣṭa–kta /
guggulau

| Rājani° | RN 12, 183 |

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74 Rome in the Persian language, in fact Rūm (with rūmī ‘Roman, Greek’). Note that since the middle of the first millennium Byzantium was also known as ‘Rome’. 
yavanapriya na° 6ta /
machine Hemaca° Hc: Abhidh.c. 3, 84

yavanācāryya pu° täjakādiyotiḥśāstrakārake paṇḍitabhede

yavanānī strī yavanānāṁ lipīḥ niś ānuk ca /
yavanānāṁ lipyāṁ Śī Kau° Siddhāntakaumudī 505

yavanārī strī yavanasyāriḥ /
Śrīkṛṣṇe Trikā° Trik. 1, 1, 31

yavani strī yu—syuṭ niś /
1. yavānāṁna oṣadhau Medi° Medinīk. 20, 110
2. yavanabhārīyyāś ca *Raghuḥ Kd: Rv 4, 61

yavaneṣṭa na° 6ta° /
1. sīsake Hemaca° Hc: Abhidh.c. 4, 107
2. marice 3. mṛñjane 4. Rājani° RN (cf. ŚKdR)
laśune 5. rājapalandaḥau 6.
imbe ca pu° kharjūtyāṁ
strī

romaka na° romeva nividdhaṁ krāyati kai—ka / (ruma)
1. nagare Śū° Śī° Sūryasiddhānta 12, 39
2. pāṁśulavaṇe 'salt', not relevant here.
3. ayaskānte ca Rājani° RN 13, 29

romakapattana naś karmaś / (ruma)
nagarabhede Śū° Śī° Sūryasiddhānta? (not in Gretil text)

Abhidhānarājendra

javanam deśi

haḷaḥśikhyām De°nā° 3 varga Deśināmamālā 3, 41

javana = javana — puṁ° /
vege Ā° ma° pra° ??
śīghre, javanaśabdaḥ Bha° 14 Bhagavarīsūtra
śīghravacanaḥ /
"a° 1, 49 ??

vegavati śīghrage ghoṭake vāca° ??
paramokṛṣṭavegaparī—nāmopetā javanāḥ ??

yavana = javana — puṁ°
m[ll]ecchajātibhede Śū° pra° 20 pāhu° Sūryaprajñapti
Pravasūtra

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhāra 274, 1594

deśabhede, taddeśasthe jane ca / vegē, adhikavegavaty aśve godhūme, garjaratṛce, turuṣkajātau, yayātiśaptasya tatputrasya turvasor varāṣye jātibhede ca /
vegavati
Trīvāca ??
= yāpanā ...

javaṇapaddīva = yavanadvīpa — puṃ / yavanānāṁ nivāsabhūte dvīpabhede
Ācūṃ āṃ Āvaśyakacūrṇi

javaṇā = yāpanā ...

javaṇāṇiyā = yavanānākā — strī / brāhmyā liper lekhyavidhānabhede

Prajñā 1 pāda Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 107
joṇa = yona — puṃ / anāryaprayē deśabhede
Jñā Jñātadharmakathā 18
Jñā 1 Jñātadharmakathā 1, 1, 117
Śru 1 a° Ācārāsā

roma = romaka mlecchadesabhede
Praśna 1 āśru dvāra Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra 1, 1, 4?
romakadesodbhave Jaṁ 3 vakṣa° Jambudvīpaprajñapti 52
tatrajāte anāryajātibhede Sūtra 2 śru 1 a° Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra
Ă° ām Āvaśyakacūrṇi

AMgD

Javaṇa puṃ° (-javana) swiftness; velocity
Bhaga 14, 1 Bhagavatisūtra

Javaṇa puṃ° (-yavana) an out cast; one residing in a foreign country
Paṇha 1, 1 Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra 1, 1, 4
Panna 1 Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 37
Śū Pa 20 Sūryaprajñapti

(2) a non-Āryan country of this name
Prava 1597 Nemicandra, Pravacanasāroddhāra 274, 1597

75 Gujarati and Hindi explanations are left out as they correspond to the English.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diva puṁ° (-dvīpa)</td>
<td>A country inhabited by non-Āryans</td>
<td>Jambudvipaprajñapti 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaṇāṇīyā strī° (yavanānikā)</td>
<td>A kind of script or character</td>
<td>Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaṇāliyā strī° (yavanālikā)</td>
<td>A kind of breast-coat for a girl ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) one of the 18 scripts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sama° 18</td>
<td>Samavāyānga 18, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joṇa puṁ° (yona)</td>
<td>One of the Anārya countries</td>
<td>Nāyā° 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) produced or born in the country named Yona</td>
<td>Nāyā° 1, 1, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joṇiya strī° (yaunikā)</td>
<td>A maid servant born in the Anārya country named Yona</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ova° 33</td>
<td>Aupapātikasūtra 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nāyā° 1</td>
<td>Jnātadharmakathā 1, 1, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roma na° (roman)</td>
<td>... The hair, feathers ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) A country named Roma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) tri° An inhabitant of that country</td>
<td>Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romaka puṁ° (romaka)</td>
<td>A country in Uttara Bharata</td>
<td>Jambudvīpaprajñapti 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) tri° An inhabitant of that country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romaga tri° (romaka)</td>
<td>Vide ‘romaka’</td>
<td>Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra 1, 1, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romaya puṁ° (romaka)</td>
<td>Vide ‘romaka’</td>
<td>Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Notes:* The document provides translations and definitions for various Sanskrit terms, primarily focusing on countries and their inhabitants. The terms are from a range of ancient Indian texts, including Jambudvipaprajñapti and Prajñāpanāsūtra, among others.
AMgD 5  
(Māhārāṣṭrī-prākṛta-kośaḥ)  
javaṇa strī (yavanī)  
(1) yavan kī strī – a wife of Yavana  
(2) yavan kī lipi – Yavani language  

Više° 464 tī Višeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya  
javaṇī strī (yavanī) parādā; ācchādaka paṭa – a veil, a curtain  
(2) saṁcārīkā, dūṭī – a female messenger, a female go-between  

Sheth  
javaṇa vi (javana)  
1 veg se jānevālā Upa 768 tī Upadeśapadatīkā (ms.)  
2 puṁ. veg, śīghra gati Āvama Āvaśyakasūtra Malayagiriṭīkā (ms.)  

javaṇa puṁ (yavana)  
1 mleccha deśa-viśeṣa Paūma 98, 64 Vimalasūri: Paūmacariya 98, 64  
2 us deś meṁ rahanevālī Paṇha 1, 1 Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra (Bombay 1919) 1, 1, 4  
3 yavan deś kā rājā Kumā (Bombay 1900) Hc, Kumārapālacarita 6, 74  
javaṇāṇīyā strī (yavanānikā)  
li-pi-višeṣ Rāja Abhidhānarājendra (above)  
javaṇī strī (yavanī) parād ...  
2 saṁcārīkā, dūṭī Abhi° 57 (Bombay 1919) Kd.: Śak. 2, Prelude  
javaṇī strī (yavanī)  
1 yavan kī strī  
2 yavan kī lipi Sama 35 Samavāyāṅgasūtra (Bombay 1918, p. 35) = 18, 43  
Vise 464 tī Višeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya (Benares 2421)  
joṇa puṁ (yona, yavana)  
mleccha deś-viśeṣ Nāyā 1, 1 Jñātadharmakathā (Bombay 1919)  

jóniya vi (yonika, yavanika) anārya deś-viśeṣ se utpān
stri ’yā

Ika
Kirfel, Kosmographie 1920,
227, i.e. Jñātadharmakāthā 1,
1, 117 and parallel lists

Aupa
Aupapātikasūtra (E.
Leumann, Leipzig 1883) 105

Nāyā 1, 1 — patra 37
Jñātadharmakāthā 1, 1, 117

romaka/romaya
1 anārya deś-viśeṣ, rom
dēś
Pava 274
Nemicandra,
Pravacanasārodhāra (s. 1934)

2 rom deś meṁ rahanevāli
manuṣya-jāti
Paṇha 1, 1 — patra 14
Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra
(Bombay 1919) 1, 1, 4

TL

yavanam 1. n. < yavana. A country variously identified with Ionia, Greece, Bactria and
more recently with Arabia, one of 56 tēcam, q.v.; aimpattāṟu tēcaṅkaḷu oruṟum kīṟcu
arēpiyā mutaliya mēlaināṭukaḷu jōṅgak karutappatuṟuvatamākkiya nātu.
yavaṅat taccarum
Maṇī. 19, 108
Maṇimēkalai 19, 108

yavaṅar n. < yavana. 1. Natives of Yavaṅam; yavaṅatēcattār.
yavaṅar tanta vilai mā
vālkalam
Akanā. 149
Akanānūru 149, 8

2. Artificers; kaṇṭalār
Cūṭā.
Cūṭāmani

3. Sculptors, painters;
cittirakkārar
Cūṭā.
Cūṭāmani

4. Drummers; tōrkaruvi
vācippavar
Nāmatīp. 176
Nāmatīpanikanṭu

yavaṅa-t-taccar
Maṇī. 19, 108
Maṇimēkalai 19, 108

yavaṅappiriyam
Maṇī. 19, 108
Maṇimēkalai 19, 108

yavanam-priya. Pepper milaku.
Yāḷ. Aka.
Yāḷpāṇṭtu manippāyakarāṭi

77 The alphabetical order is here not strictly followed. Here the main words, yavanam and yava-
nar, are taken first, though some of the combination go actually before it in the dictionary.
yavaṉa-p-pēlai n. < yavaṉam 1. +. Small ornamental box, as made in yavaṉam; yavaṉatēcattu vēlaippāṭamainta ciṟupeṭṭi.

irāyiram yavaṉappēḻai ... Civaka. 557

koḷkaveṉṟāṉ

Cīvaka. 557

yavaṉāri n. < yavanāri. Kṛṣṇa, as the slayer of Kāla-yavana [Kālayavaṉaṅkaṅ koṉṟavaṉ]

kaṇṇapirāḷ

Yāḷ. Aka.

yavaṉatēcattu vēlaippāṭamainta ciṟupeṭṭi.

irāyiram yavaṉappēḻai ...

koḷkaveṉṟāṉ

Cīvaka. 557

Yāḷpāṇattu maṉippāyakarāti

Cīvaka. 557

yavaṉatēcattāḷ

Tiruvēṅ. Cata. 98

Tiruvēṅkaṭa Catakam

2. The language of Cōṉakar, one of 18 languages; patiṉeŋ moḻikaḷuḷ onṟu

Tivā.

Tivākaram

2. The language of Cōṉakar, one of 18 languages; patiṉeŋ moḻikaḷuḷ onṟu

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Tivākaram

yavaṉatēcattāḷ

Tiruvēṅ. Cata. 98

Tiruvēṅkaṭa Catakam

cōṉakam n. < yavana. 1. A country, one of 56 tēcam, q.v.; aimpattāṟu tēcaṅkaḷuḷ onṟu.

Tiruvēṅ. Cata. 98

Tiruvēṅkaṭa Catakam

2. The language of Cōṉakar, one of 18 languages; patiṉeŋ moḻikaḷuḷ onṟu

Tivā.

Tivākaram

yavaṉatēcattāḷ

Tiruvēṅ. Cata. 98

Tiruvēṅkaṭa Catakam

2. The language of Cōṉakar, one of 18 languages; patiṉeŋ moḻikaḷuḷ onṟu

Tivā.

Tivākaram

cōṉakan n. < yavana. [M. cōṉakan] Foreigner, especially Greek, Arab or Moor;

yavaṉatēcattāḷ

Tivā.

Tivākaram

cōṉakar malaiyiṟ ōuy

Kamparā. Ūrtēṭu. 112

Kamparāmāyaṇam

cōṉaka.78

Kittel

yavana = javana

1. speed, velocity

2. a fast horse, a courser

3. an Ionian;79 a Greek; a Mahommedan, an individual of a foreign race (turuka, turuṣka, jōnaga)

Mr. 382

MaṆgarāja’s Nighaṇṭu (ms.)

yavanaka = jōnaga. a Greek, a Turk

See Mr. s. yavana

MaṆgarāja’s Nighaṇṭu (ms.)

yavanadēśa the country of the Yavanas, Ionia, Bactria, Turkisthān [sic]. Arabia

My.

Mysore dialect

yavani a Yavana woman

My.

Mysore dialect

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78 The combinations beginning with cōṉaka listed in the TL are hardly relevant for the present purpose and are therefore not discussed. They include cōṉakaṅ-keḷutti ‘a river-fish, Macrones punctatus’, cōṉaka-c-ciṭukku ‘an ornament for women’, cōṉaka-t-tirukkai ‘sting-ray, Trygon war-nac’, and cōṉaka-vāḷai ‘a sea-fish, Trichiurus maticus’.

79 Here Kittel made sort of inverted anachronism, giving the ultimate etymology of the word as its meaning in Kannada.
jonega T[ad]bh[ava] of yavanaka, an Ionian, a Turk, an Arab

Mv. must be My[sore dialect]
Te., T. M. Telugu, Tamil, Malayālam
1. THE NAME AND EARLY HISTORY OF YONA/YAVANA

The question of the identity of the ethnonym known as OIA yavana and early MIA yona(ka) (Pkt. javana, jona) has been discussed since the days of James Prinsep and the decipherment of the Aśokan inscriptions. The majority of scholars seem to have accepted a derivation ultimately going back to the Ionians and have consequently translated it as ‘Greek’.\(^8\) Ionians were the closest Greek tribe for the Near East and their name served as the denomination of all Greeks in a number of languages (Hebrew, Akkadian).\(^8\) But there have also been voices favouring an Indian derivation and a wider or entirely different translation. Another, and perhaps more important, difference of opinion concerns the priority of OIA yavana or MIA yona.\(^8\)

My attempts to establish who first connected yavana with Ionia have not fully succeeded. The earliest case that I have found – no less than Sir William Jones – holds the term to already be familiar. In his famous “Third Anniversary Discourse, on the Hindus” (held in 1786 and published in the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches* in 1788) in which he suggested that the Indo-European linguistic family is based on an Ursprache that no longer exists, he discusses the names Yavanācārya and Yavanajātaka, clearly connecting them with Ionia. I quote the passage,\(^8\) although it also shows the nascent state of Indian history with too early dates for Sanskrit works. The great civilization of ancient Mesopotamia, the real origin of the zodiacal system here ascribed to primitive Indo-Europeans, was still almost completely unknown.

What their *astronomical* and *mathematical* writings contain, will not, I trust, remain long a secret: they are easily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The Philosopher, whose works are said to include a System of the

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80 The derivation of *yavana* from the Greek Ιάονες ‘Ionians’ was propagated by Weber (1852, 202), but before him it was suggested at least by Bohlen 1829, 22. As I shall soon show, its roots are much earlier. The original digamma of Greek *Ἰάονες* disappeared so early that it could not affect the *v* of *yavana.*
81 This is to say, French Allemagne for Germany from the tribe of Alemannians, Finnish Saksa for Germany from Saxony, and Latin Graecia (and from this English Greece) from the name of a Western Greek tribe.
83 I have used the original Calcutta edition, now easily available through the Internet. The Discourse is also found in the London 8°-reprint on pages 415–431 and in Jones’s *Works*, vol. 1, pages 19–34. The passage quoted is from Jones 1788, 354 f. I have underlined the terms.
Universe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *central* position of the sun, is named *Yavan Achārya*, because he had travelled, we are told, into *Ionia*: if this be true, he might have been one of those, who conversed with *Pythagoras*; this at least is undeniable, that a book on astronomy in *Sanskrit* bears the title of *Yavana Jātica*, which may signify the *Ionic Sect*; nor is it improbable, that the names of the Planets and *Zodiacal Stars*, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldest *Indian records*, were originally devised by the same ingenious (p. 355) and enterprising race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled...

Jones was subsequently quoted by several authors of the early 19th century, but listing them is not necessary for our purpose. Instead, I shall go straight to the first modern Sanskrit dictionary, prepared by a team of pandits under the supervision and editorship of Horace Hayman Wilson and published in Calcutta in 1819. I quote the first part of the lemma *yavana*:

*yavana* m. (nah) A country; most probably *Bactria*, or it may be extended from that colony to *Ionia*, (to which word it bears some resemblance) or still further to *Greece*; by late *Hindu* writers, it is most commonly applied to *Arabia*. Méd. (2) A *Yavana*, apparently originally a *Greek*, but since applied to both the *Muhammadan* and *European* invaders of *India*, and often used as a general term for any foreign or barbarous race. Sabd.R. (3) Speed, velocity. (4) A swift horse. Méd. f. (-nī) The wife of a *Yavana*. [Follows the traditional Indian etymology.]

Aside from the swift horses, this is almost entirely correct. Here, if not already in earlier publications, the idea of the relationship between Yavana and Ionia was available to every scholar interested in the term.

In 1955, Csaba Töttössy’s important article “The name of the Greeks in Ancient India” appeared in the *Acta Antiqua* published by the Hungarian Academy of Science in Budapest. Unfortunately, it has not always received the attention it deserves. After a careful examination of the evidence, Töttössy gave his support to the Ionian derivation and the priority of *yona*, from which *yavana* can be constructed through a process of hypersanskritization. I have been used to thinking that the case was thus concluded, but regretfully the Hungarian journal is not often read by Indologists, even though it also includes other interesting contributions (notably by the late J. Harmatta). Years ago I was censured by a well-known scholar (Narain 1992), who said that a reference to Töttössy is not enough. This led me to the idea of examining the question again and I wrote a paper for the Lakshman Sarup memorial volume about the origins and the early uses of the words *yona/yavana*. The first chapter of this study is more or less a
revised version of that article, while the volume itself, after remaining many years in press, finally came out in 2003 in unrevised form (Karttunen 2003).

The first occurrence of the OIA yavana is in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, perhaps from the fourth century BCE. In sūtra 4, 1, 49 we learn of the way in which its feminine is derived as yavanānī. The text itself gives no further information about the word and its meaning. We can only note that the north-western ethnonym so often encountered in later sources (e.g. the Mahābhārata, Rağhuvarṇaśa, Brhatsaṁhitā and several Purāṇas) was naturally familiar to Pāṇini as well, who was himself a North-Westerner from Śalātura in ancient Gandhāra. In north-west India, Western countries were already known of during the period of Achaemenid suzerainty, and in 480 BCE Indian troops had participated in the Greek campaign of Xerxes. Indeed, it seems possible that the name yavana/yona, borrowed from Old Persian, is as early as this.

From later Pāṇinean tradition, we are able to gain some additional information that may have been known to Pāṇini himself (although we cannot state this with any certainty). First comes Kātyāyana’s vārttika on the aforementioned sūtra. As an example of the use of the word yavanānī, one finds mention of yavanānī lipi ‘the Yavana script’. In early grammatical literature, we find nothing corresponding to the long and partly fantastic lists of various kinds of scripts found in Buddhist sources (e.g. the Mahāvastu 1, p. 135 Senart, see Chapter 9 below). Therefore, it seems plausible to suppose that, at least here, the Yavanas really were a people with their own script. In Kātyāyana’s time (probably 3rd century BCE), there were Greeks living on both sides of the Hindukush (in Ai Khanum and Kandahar) and Greek inscriptions show the use of Greek letters. Soon they were also used by Aśoka. But even before Alexander, Athenian coins – with Greek legends – circulated in the eastern provinces of the Achaemenid Empire and there were some Greek colonies in Bactria (Karttunen 1989, 55 ff.).

Next we turn to the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. The passage commenting on Pāṇini 3, 2, 111 (anadyatane laṅ) – a sūtra defining the use of the imperfect tense for the near past of an event that one might have seen with one’s own eyes – gives the famous examples aruṇad yavanaḥ sāketaṁ and aruṇad yavanaḥ mādhyamikān, ‘the Yavana besieged Sāketa/the Mādhyamikas’. Comparisons with the somewhat later Yugapurāṇa and Western sources make clear that the Indo-Greek invasion must have been meant.

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84 See Bhandarkar 1935, 275 ff. (with further discussion in the following two volumes of Indian Culture).
85 For Ai Khanum inscriptions, see, e.g. Robert 1968; for Kandahar, see Fraser 1980.
Another passage of the Mahābhāṣya states that the Śakas and the Yavanas are not impure Śūdras. This is probably the first instance in which Yavanas are mentioned together with the Śakas (Scythians), instead of the earlier Kāmbojas, which seems to reflect changes of ethnic distribution in the North-West (see Chapter 3 below).

The MIA yona(ka) is attested for the first time in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In the RE II aṁtiyoka nāma yonalājā (and in the RE XIII also), several other monarchs are mentioned, and all of these names can easily be identified with contemporaneous Hellenistic rulers, as noted as early as the 1830s by James Prinsep in his first decipherment of these inscriptions. These five Western kings, with their MIA and Greek names, are Aṁtiyoka/᾿Αντίοχος (Antiochus II Theos, 261–246 BCE), Tulamaya/Πτολεμαῖος (Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285–247 BCE), Aṁtekina/᾿Αντίγονος (Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, 276–239 BCE), Maka/Μάγας (Magas of Cyrene, died before 250 BCE), and Alikasudala/Ἀλέξανδρος (Alexander of Epirus, 272–255 BCE).

These five kings, together with some well-known South Indian peoples (Coḍa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputa, Keralaputa) and the Tambapaṇṇi (Sri Lanka, Greek Taprobane), were mentioned as objects of Aśoka’s “spiritual conquest” (dhammavijaya). On another occasion I have suggested that the “missionaries” (dhammadūtas) sent to these Hellenistic kings, albeit perhaps Buddhist monks, were also diplomats and received as such in the West, although no account of their visit remains. There is no further reason to wonder about Aśoka’s claims to have sent drugs and other useful plants to Antiochus, as these kinds of presents were common in diplomatic relations.

The RE XIII and RE V contain the dvandva yonakaṁboja, which describes two peoples counted among the followers of Aśoka’s dhamma and thus as his subjects. For this reason, they must be completely different from the foreigners mentioned in the first passage. From Sanskrit geographical lists (see Chapter 4),

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86 In GDh 4, 21 Pāraśavas and Yavanas are mentioned as Śūdras; in MDh 10, 43 ff., as well as in the Mbh and in several Purāṇas, they are described as fallen Kṣatriyas. See Chapter 2 below.
87 It is customary here to mention Alexander of Corinth (252–244) as an alternative, but as a petty ruler he is rather unlikely, and most scholars have supported Alexander of Epirus. See Karttunen 1997, 266.
88 Aside from Sri Lanka, Tāmraparṇi/Tambapaṇṇi also refers to a river on the opposite South Indian coast. On the name Taprobane, see Karttunen 1997, 338 ff.; Weerakkody 1997, 19; and Faller 2000, 16 ff.
89 Karttunen 1997, 266 ff.; see also Karttunen 2009 and 2012.
90 RE II. See Hegesander’s account of a strong aphrodisiac sent by Bindusāra as a present to Antiochus, as discussed in Karttunen 1997, 324.
91 This was long ago pointed out by Senart 1885, 302 ff.
it becomes clear that both belong to the North-West. A third passage in the RE XIII states that the classes of Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (bābhane ca samane ca) do not exist among the Yonas (yonesa). These accounts are easily connected with the Greek settlers living in Arachosia since the time of Alexander, namely those who were reading the Greek versions of Aśoka’s edicts.

In the Pāli canon, Yonas or Yavanas are not often encountered. However, the Assalāyanasutta of the Majjhimanikāya (93) contains a reference to the Yonas and Kambojas,92 who are said to have no other classes than masters and slaves (ayyo c’eva dāso ca). There are some further sources that divide society into only two or three: Āryans on one hand and slaves or servants and barbarians on the other hand.93 The parallel between this and the aforementioned Aśokan passage is conspicuous; according to what we know about the formation of the Pāli canon, it could be more or less contemporary with Aśoka.94 Certainly there is no reason to ascribe it (following Chattopadhyaya 1974, 38 f.) to the time of the Buddha himself. It has long been accepted95 that the Yonas living together with Kambojas belong to the provinces ceded by Seleucus to Candragupta Maurya. Probably they were living in Arachosia where the Greek (and Aramaic) versions of Aśoka’s edicts were found.96

In the late canonical and post-canonical Pāli sources, the normal form of the word is yona,97 but the longer yonaka is also occasionally encountered.98 In an Indological context, it is hardly necessary to comment any further on Tarn’s erroneous attempt to give yonaka a separate derivation (an unattested Greek *Ἰωνακος). As has been noted by Tarn’s critics, -ka is a normal Indo-Aryan

92 From Brough 1965, 586 I learn that in the Chinese Buddhist canon the corresponding passage has “the country of Yuehzi” (Kuśāṇa) instead of Yonas and Kambojas.
93 Njammash 1989, 363 ff. mentions the KAŚ 3, 13, 3 ārya, dāsa and mleccha, Aṅgavijjā 57, p. 218, ajja and pessa (i.e. ārya and presya ‘servant’). Aṅgavijjā 24, p. 149 also gives ajja and milakkha (i.e. mleccha as jātivijaya), with the first including the three higher vārṇas, the second Śūdras. The Aṅgavijjā, however, seems to belong to the second half of the first millennium CE (see Karttunen 2005).
94 The final redaction of the Pāli canon is much later, but to me it seems acceptable to take the main parts of the Vinayapitaka and Suttapiṭaka (leaving out later parts of the Khuddakanikāya) as originating in the Mauryan period (but not necessarily earlier than that). When Njammash (1989, 365) supposes that the Assalāyanasutta passage reflects the situation in the Kuśāṇa Empire, I cannot follow her.
95 See, e.g. Senart 1885, 360.
96 See Karttunen 1997, 268. For the Kāmbojas (Pāli kamboja), an oft-mentioned (already in the Vedic period) people, probably Iranian, from the north-west, see Law 1973, 1 ff.
97 Thus e.g. in the Mahāniddesa and the Apadāna, in several commentaries to the canonic works, in chronicles and of course in the Milindapañha.
98 See the Apadāna, the Vinaya commentary, the Milindapañha, etc. This is perhaps the origin of the Bactrian (DialogInterface in line 3 of the Rabatak inscription (Sims-Williams & Cribb 1996).
formant often added to many ethnonyms without changing their meaning.\textsuperscript{99} We can further note that in some cases the uncontracted \textit{yavana} is also found in post-canonical Pāli, where it is used to refer to the Yavana language.\textsuperscript{100} It seems that this \textit{yavana} in Pāli was a new borrowing from Sanskrit and not usually understood as a variant of \textit{yona} (see Chapter 11 on \textit{yona}). As to the Prākrit, in Jaina canonical sources both \textit{joṇ(ī)yā} and \textit{javāṇa} (also \textit{javana}) are found in lists of foreign peoples, the latter often together with \textit{saga}, thus corresponding to the common OIA dvandva \textit{Śakayavana}. These lists seem to be rather late (not earlier than mid-first millennium CE), as such peoples as Huns and Arabians are included in them.

Referring to the Indo-Greeks, the MIA \textit{yona} is unquestionably attested in the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, the envoy of King Antialcidas. In Sanskrit sources (e.g. Patañjali and the \textit{Yuga purāṇa}), they are called Yavanas (see Chapter 3 below).

In ancient Tamil Sangam literature, there are several references to the Yavanas (\textit{yavaṉar}), which have been analysed by Meile and Zvelebil.\textsuperscript{101} Arriving on beautiful ships, these Yavanas came bringing wine and gold and returned with pepper (the \textit{yavanapriya} of Sanskrit lexicography). Sometimes they ended up living permanently in southern ports, even serving as bodyguards for Tamil kings. Yavana lamps, Yavana artisans, and Yavana carpenters are also mentioned. In any case, trading accounts clearly refer to Greek merchants coming from Roman Egypt. In later Tamil, the term \textit{yavaṉar}, or more frequently \textit{cōṉakar} (corresponding to MIA \textit{joṇaka}), referred to the Arabians.\textsuperscript{102} I shall return to them in Chapter 5 below.

It is of no use to enter deeply into chronological considerations. In most cases, our means of giving exact dates to texts are so weak that we cannot claim any well-defined date or priority for a particular text. For instance, it seems quite likely that Pāṇini belongs to the fourth century BCE. This is my opinion, too, but in another context (Karttunen 1989, 142 ff., partly following a conference

\textsuperscript{99} Tarn 1951, 416–418 (and notes on 538); for criticism, see, e.g. Gonda 1949, Johnston 1939 and Töttössy 1955, 301 ff. and 313 ff. Note that Tarn’s book originally appeared in 1938. This case was also fully discussed by Narain 1957, 166 ff. The same criticism concerns Altheim’s Middle Persian \textit{*Yōnak} as the supposed model of \textit{yonaka} (Töttössy 1977, 131), although the aforementioned Rabatak example could perhaps be taken as supporting it.

\textsuperscript{100} In the DN-C, p. 176 (on 2, 4), see \textit{damīla-kirāta-yavanādi-milakkānaṁ bhāsā} (note that the Burmese MSS reads \textit{savarādi} instead of \textit{yavanādi}); the AN-C 2, p. 289 (on 3, 7, 3) gives the same list, but with \textit{yona}. In some late sources (e.g. the \textit{Cūlavamsa}, the \textit{Saddhamopāyana}) where the word already denoted Arabs, the form \textit{yavana} is also used.

\textsuperscript{101} Meile 1941 and Zvelebil 1956; see also Selby 2008.

\textsuperscript{102} Meile 1941, 101 ff.
presentation by J. Bronkhorst) I have attempted to show that a later date (the third century BCE) is not impossible. At the same time, the possibility of an earlier date is also not entirely out of the question. Dates for the Pāli canon and for the Tamil classics are still more uncertain. Positive evidence only exists in the case of Aśoka, who must belong to the middle of the third century BCE. His importance is underlined by the fact that the edicts clearly use the word yona for the Hellenistic ruler Antiochus in the West. Pāṇini is probably earlier, but perhaps not so much earlier that we should give undue weight to his priority (and thus to the Sanskrit form yavana in comparison to yona).

Let us consider a bit more the early uses of yavana/yona. It is an unquestionable fact that among our earliest sources, Aśoka used the word yona to signify Antiochus and probably also the four other rulers of Graeco-Macedonian origin, all ruling in the West, the Near East, North-East Africa and South-East Europe. This seems to prove the identity of the early Yonas as Greeks, which is further supported by the etymology (discussed below). At the same time, Aśoka also seems to have had Yonas among his subjects, and these together with the Kāmbojas we must locate in the north-west of his realm. This is supported by the existence of Greek versions of two Aśokan edicts at Old Kandahar (e.g. Mukherjee 1984). But as all this was after Alexander’s campaign, which included at least some colonization of the new foundations,103 there is no need to suppose (following Narain 1957) any earlier Greek population to confirm the evidence of Aśoka. The first reference in Pāli, again with the Yonas and Kambojas mentioned together, is very close to Aśoka in its contents (only two classes), and its chronology presents no difficulties.

In the case of Pāṇini, the situation is more complicated. His testimony has been used as an argument for the existence of an early Greek population in Central Asia.104 It is true that there is some Western evidence for Greek exiles in Bactria (see Karttunen 1989, 55 ff.), but it is too vague to warrant such a far-reaching hypothesis, such as that put forth by Narain, that later Bactrian Greeks hailed from these early settlers and had little to do with Alexander. Furthermore, there are alternative explanations for the Pāṇinean evidence. Pāṇini knew of Yavanas, and Kātyāyana was aware of a Yavana script (perhaps Pāṇini did, too, but we are not sure). Although Patañjali makes reference to the Indo-Greeks, he belongs to a different age and does not help much here.

In the early fifth century, north-western India – and particularly Gandhāra – belonged to the Achaemenid Empire, and Persian rule may have continued there even up to the time of Alexander. The existence of the Aramaic script and

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103 This is amply testified by Arrianus and Diodorus, for example. See Karttunen 1997, 46 ff.
104 e.g. by Narain 1957, 2 ff. and elsewhere. For Bactrian history, see also Holt 1989.
the Aramaic-based Kharoṣṭhī script provides additional evidence for this. Even at the easternmost extremity of the empire, people must surely have had some knowledge of the other end. In Western sources as well, we have specific confirmation of early direct contact. Scylax, a Hellenized Carian, participated in a naval venture on the Indus (Herodotus 4, 44). We also learn from Herodotus that in the early fifth century, Indian soldiers participated in the Persian campaign in Greece. The possibility of a few communities of exiled Greeks in Achaemenian Bactria was mentioned above. But for knowledge of the existence of the Yavana script, no Greek colonies are needed, since Athenian owls and other Greek coins were rather common in the Persian empire and have been found as far east as Afghanistan in a pre-Alexander context. It is also not necessary to have Greeks bringing them personally so far to the east, as they were in currency in most parts of the Persian Empire alongside Achaemenid dareics and sigloi. Surely people had some idea of the origin of these coins. And in the coin legends, Greek writing could be seen.

Now it is time to return to the etymology. Ionians were one of the Greek tribes, and they spoke one of the major dialects of the Greek language. In early historic times, they colonized the part of the Asian west coast which would become known as Ionia. The archaic form of the name, ᾿Ιάϝονες (Iávones), had developed by around 800 BCE into ᾿Ιάονες (Iáones) and then ῎Ιωνες (Íônes), all meaning ‘Ionians’. When ancient Near Eastern peoples first met Greeks, contact in most cases involved Ionians, and therefore ‘Ionian’ was often accepted as a general name for all Greeks. In Achaemenid inscriptions, the Old Persian version has yauna and the Akkadian yamanu (which is considered to be a graphic variant for yavanu), both referring to Greeks (also Hebrew yāwān).

105 Through a special reference to the well-known case of the Branchidae, Greek colonies have been used as the sole explanation for the origin of Pāṇini’s Yavanas by Beal 1880, Das Gupta 1936, Chaudhuri 1950, and (in an extended sense) by Narain 1957. In this connection it must also be stated again that among the best historians of Alexander, the people of Nysa were never described as Greeks (or Thracians), which they probably were not. What struck Alexander’s men was a kind of familiarity of cult – and of the local flora – not Greek language or Greek customs. See Karttunen 1989, 53 f.

106 Schlumberger 1953; Narain 1957, 4. Apparently copies of these coins were also manufactured locally.

107 The Ionian dialect was widely used in early Greek literature (e.g. in history and geography). In the extant literature, the History of Herodotus is the most important work written in it. It can also be noted that the English name Greek goes back to Latin Græcus, which was originally the name of a small West Greek tribe, but in Latin came to be used as a synonym of Greek Hellēn.

108 Lévi 1890a, 27 points out that this usage is also testified to in some Greek sources: in Scholia on Aristophanes, in Acharnes 104, and s.v. Ἰάουα by Hesychius.

109 Töttössy 1955, 302 and 307 ff. See also Rollinger 1997 for some further references. For Hebrew, see Torrey 1904.
It is thus possible to derive either the MIA *yona* from OP *yauna*\(^{110}\) or the OIA *yavana* from Akkadian *yamanu*. If *yona* is the original Indian form, *yavana* is a sanskritized form constructed according to the rule OIA *ava* > MIA *o*, which was well known to ancient grammarians. It is thus a hypercorrect form, of the type OIA *rukṣa* < MIA *rukkha* < OIA *vrkṣa*. The fact that an equivalent for Ionian was used rules out the possibility of direct borrowing from Greek during the Macedonian invasion, when the current denomination was Hellēnes.

We must here comment on the question of the identity of *yavana* and *yona*. Two different names with the regular correspondence of OIA *ava* = MIA *o* and both meaning north-western peoples would be too much of a coincidence. The existence of both forms in MIA does not alter this fact at all. Every case where *yavana* is met in MIA sources is rather late, and it can be easily explained as a borrowing from Sanskrit (like the sagajavana of Jaina sources corresponding to the common dvandva šakayavana of the Mahābhārata).

In principle, two derivations are thus possible: OP *yauna* > MIA *yona* > OIA *yavana* or Akkadian (Semitic) *yamanu* (yawanu) > OIA *yavana* > MIA *yona*. A direct derivation from the Greek *Iāvones* for *yavana* can be excluded, since no contact can be demonstrated at such an early age. As was stated above, the Greek digamma ϝ disappeared as early as 800 BCE. The OP derivation is made likely by the political and commercial ties between north-western India and Persia, but we also have some evidence for trade between north-western India and Mesopotamia before and during the early Achaemenian period (Karttunen 1989, 22 ff. & 2014). It is possible that India had closer contacts with Mesopotamia and Elam than with Persia. Therefore, we cannot entirely leave out the possibility of the Semitic derivation and the priority of *yavana* (as suggested by Töttössy).\(^{111}\) However, while there seems to be no good reason why a name for the Greeks should have been imported from Mesopotamia (and recorded by a grammarian), there are several reasons for borrowing it from the Persians, with Persian military ventures into Greece, Ionia and north-western India being parts of the same empire, Greek exile colonies in Bactria, and Greek coins circulating in the east.\(^{112}\) As *yavana* is

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\(^{110}\) The relation *au* > *o* can be explained both from Iranian, where a colloquial form may already have had the Middle Iranian ʾ, and from Indo-Aryan, where OIA *au* > MIA *o* is a well-known development. The form *yauna* is actually found once in the Mbh (12, 200, 40) as an ethnonym together with the Kāmbojas and Gāndhāras. The textual transmission is not entirely free of problems, but at least *yauna* seems to be attested in several recensions; its variants, *paura* and occasionally *śaka* and *hūṇa*, might easily have been substituted for a rare word. See also Sircar 1935.

\(^{111}\) Töttössy 1954, 312. The OP derivation was already known to Weber 1836. See also Weber 1890, 901.

\(^{112}\) An interesting, though not quite convincing, hypothesis was proposed by Lévi 1890a, 27f. Referring to the passages in Alexander’s histories in which the need for several interpreters in
not attested early enough to rule out the possible existence of an early MIA form (yona), I still follow Töttössy against Narain and derive yavana from yona.

This derivation seems to be clear enough to allow a cursory overview of the alternative explanations. Indian lexicographers had no idea of Ionians as a people or of the Old Persian name yauna. They did not, in fact, clearly understand the idea of a loanword. At the same time, they were eager to derive everything from Sanskrit verbal roots. No wonder, then, that they took yavana as a derivative of the verbal root yu- (yauti 'to unite, attach, take hold') and explained it as ‘those who do not accept the caste distinctions’. On the other hand, yu- and yavana as its derivation were defined as ‘quick’ and applied particularly to quick north-western horses. There is nothing curious in this; grammatical and lexicographical works are full of similar popular etymologies, which are more or (often) less convincing. While it seems that some Indian scholars take it as a kind of patriotic duty to accept these as correct, it suffices here to point out that similarly unfounded popular etymologies were also common in the Greek and Latin grammatical traditions (of the type lucus a non lucendo).

As proponents of the etymology mentioned above argued that the word yavana refers to swift horses, and as the north-western geographical context is indisputable, the word was explained as an indigenous Indian name for Persians (or Iranians). However, in light of the OP yauna and the use of yona/yavana by Aśoka, for example, this seems very difficult to accept.

As Sircar (1935, 35) observed long ago, there is not a single instance among the early occurrences of yona/yavana in which the meaning ‘Greek’ is not possible. Moreover, while it is perhaps possible to somehow understand aṁtiyoka yonalāja as ‘Antiochus, King of the Persians’, it is hardly possible to explain yonanagara alasanda as ‘Alexandria, the Persian city’. Both the mission of Megasthenes to Candragupta and the Greek versions of the Aśokan edicts (which were unknown

India was mentioned, he suggests that Persian interpreters explained to Indians that the invaders were Yaunas.

113 Derivation from yu- in Gaṇa 128 in P 3, 1, 134, explained as being without caste distinctions in Ujjvaladatta on Un. 3, 74 (miśraṇe); Pādacandrikā on AK 2, 6, 128 (miśrīkriyate). Referring only to Gaṇa 128, Lévi 1890a, 2 quotes the full explanation as yauti miśrayati vā miśrībhavati sarvatra jātibhedābhavāt iti yavanaḥ.

114 Medinīkośa 20, 109. This still remains open, as both the root yu- and the adjective yava ‘quick’ are not found in standard dictionaries. Instead there is the old (from the RV on) root jū- (jūnāti/javate) ‘to hurry on, press forward, be quick’ with the root noun jū- ‘quick’ (referring to horses; e.g. RV 1, 134, 1) and jāvana ‘quick, swift’ and n. ‘speed, velocity’.

115 According to F.W. Thomas in Fs. Modi 1930 (not seen by me, but quoted by Ghosh 1935 and Sircar 1935, 34). Stein 1935 is cautious with his identifications and rightly emphasizes that the Yavanas of West Indian inscriptions cannot be taken as Greeks, but to take him as a supporter of the view that Yavana means “not Ionian” does not do him justice.
Study until the late 1950s) show that Greeks were known in Mauryan India and certainly must have had a name. The translator of the Greek edicts was even familiar with contemporary Greek philosophical terminology. Sircar (1935) further points out that there is no reason to believe that *yavana*, though originally denoting Greeks, was understood as “Persian” as early as the second century CE. Kālidāsa (Rv 4, 60 ff.), for instance, made a clear distinction between Yavanas and Pārasikas.

An additional argument for Yavanas being Persians is found in the Junāgadh Rock Inscription. This text deals with reparation of the Sudarśana Lake, originally constructed under Candragupta and earlier repaired under Aśoka by Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha, who is variously described as a local governor or a sub-king from the north-west. The name certainly looks Iranian, but one should not make far-reaching conclusions on such meagre evidence; he may just have a misleading name, or *yavana* here may refer to the north-western Yavana land or be some sort of a title.

The old hypothesis of Lassen is sometimes still mentioned. Referring to the *yāvana* incense of the AK and probably having the later connotation of Muslim in mind, he explained that Yavanas even in early sources were Arabians. However, this leaves the word *yavana* without etymology at all, as Arabian horses came only much later in Indian horse trade. It is very hard to understand how Pāṇini and Aśoka could have meant Arabians, even in an extended sense, and how Arabians could be grouped together with Śakas and Kāmbojas.

The earliest attested feminine form of *yavana* is Pāṇini’s *yavanānī*, but its use was apparently restricted to the Greek writing (Kātyāyana’s *yavanānī lipī*). We do not really know what Pāṇini meant with this word. In later times, the standard word for Yavana women is *yavanī* (Prakrit *javanī* or *joṇiyā*) or just

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116 For his being a governor, see Kielhorn 1906; Stein 1933, 343, and Bhattacharya 1984, 82 f. For his identification as a sub-king, see Raychaudhuri 1919. For both (“Aśoka’s feudatory and governor”), see Vasant 1989, 332.

117 Raychoudhuri 1919 identifies the Kuśāṇa ruler Vāsudeva as having a Hindu name, as well as other instances of names including ethnicity. Pingree 1963, 235 suggests that *yavanarāja* – which Mīnarāja and Sphujidhvaja also used for themselves, and possibly appeared in the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Ābhīra Vasuṣena (for which he gives the wrong reference) – was an official title in the Śaka administration. Even less likely as an explanation is the idea of a Greek colony in Gujarat (e.g. Thapar 1961, 128 f.). Bhattacharya 1984, 82 f. points out that the title *yavanarāja* makes Tuṣāspha a Kṣatriya, not a king.

118 The usual reference is to the *Indische Alterthumskunde* 1, 1847, 729, but it is also found in his earlier works (Lassen 1827, 58 f. and 1840, 215). For a contemporary criticism see Weber 1856. Mitra 1874 tried to explain *yavana* as a vague name for all peoples of Iran and the Near East, but his long article is both linguistically and historically antiquated.

119 See Gupta 1984 *passim* on the history of horse trade in India (with numerous references to horses from the north-west) and 198 f. on the role of Arabs in it.
The vṛddhi formation yāvana ‘pertaining to the Yavanas, coming from the Yavana land’ is occasionally used for Yavana products and glossed with yavanadeśaja. But the few extant examples are all late.

A few words on the later development must be added even here, even though the question will be discussed more fully in later chapters. As noted above, nothing appears to contraindicate the identification of yavana/yona as Greek in the early period, and there is hardly any good argument supporting the opposite view. Afterwards, however, the matter becomes more complicated. With Alexander began the period that historians have traditionally called Hellenism. Its main characteristic is the spread of Greek language and culture in the lands conquered by Alexander and beyond, or rather the interaction and impact of these on other cultures, resulting in a mixture of Greek and local elements. For centuries, these were dominant in the Near East and Egypt, and to a lesser extent felt in Arabia and Iran (where Parthian kings were ‘Philelleses’), including Bactria and Sogdiana.

Yet this also meant that the concept of “Greek” became increasingly vague, even in the West. In India, where the notion of Greece and Greeks was certainly never very clear, and with the Indo-Greeks for the most part being only important in the North-West, it was surely difficult to keep an exact count of who was to be considered as a Yavana. Often it was also quite unimportant. To take a modern example, not so many years ago the English word ‘Russian’ – though originally an exact ethnonym – could also denote an Estonian, an Armenian, or a Kirghiz. In the Middle Ages, Europeans called many Central Asian peoples Tatars (or Tartars), though the word was originally connected with one particular Mongol tribe. It is logical to assume that something similar happened in India. Somebody coming from a country of Yavanas (like Tuṣāspa, who is mentioned as Aśoka’s governor in Rudradāman’s inscription) or known to be a subject of the

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120 OIA yavani in Mbh 11, 22, 11; Kd: Rv 4, 61 & Šak 6, 31+ & Vikr 5 beginning; Pādat 110–111+; MIA javani in Kd: Šak 2 beginning, joṇiyā in Jaina lists of slave women. OIA yavanastrī in Mbh 11, 22, 11 and Mallinātha on Kd: Rv. Note also Yāvani as the personal name of a Yavana woman in the BKSS 18, 277. See further in Chapter 7 below.
121 Pādacandrikā on AK 2, 6, 128, Prāyaścittenduśekhara 2022.
122 The r in Tartary came from a popular etymology connecting the name with Greek Tartarus.
123 Here I agree with Mukherjee 1984, but otherwise I think that his idea of Yavana/Yona as a name of the country called Arachosia in the West is too narrow. I do not see how Lévi (1890a, 26 f.) arrived at his early Yavana colony between the Indus and the Narmadā, which was supposedly ruled by Tuṣāspa, therefore called a Yavana (as the prince of the Yavanas, though himself of Iranian origin). See also Lévi 1890a, 32.
Indo-Greeks might have earned the name of Yavana, especially in an area where real Yavanas were infrequently met.124

When the Indo-Greek kingdoms were succeeded by Iranian dynasties, and the Greek (including Macedonian)125 population, which in any case must have been small, was assimilated shortly thereafter, the meaning of yavana became even more obscure. In a recently found inscription, yavanarājya refers to Iranian (Parthian) principalities in the country that only a bit earlier had been ruled by Indo-Greek princes (Mukherjee 1992). It also seems clear that earlier historians erred in supposing a clear difference between the Indo-Greek and Iranian dynasties, which were partly contemporary and married to each other.126 Thus began the development that made it possible, in a much later age, for the word yavana to be used as a name for Arabs and Muslims, finally including Indian Muslims as well (see Chapter 12 below).

124 Following Stein 1935, I quite agree that the Yavanas with Indian names mentioned in some inscriptions of western India (e.g. Nasik, Karle, Junnar) probably were not Greeks, but must have had some relation either to the Greeks or to their Iranian successors in the North-West. It is perhaps appropriate here to note that Stein has sometimes been quoted somewhat carelessly. His point that yavana does not necessarily mean Greek was made specifically in connection with these inscriptions; from his article it becomes perfectly clear that as far as the early evidence is concerned, he had no doubt about the identification of yavana as Greek.

125 In the Hellenistic period, it was no longer possible to differentiate between Greeks and Macedonians. Even in the time of Alexander, the latter were to a great extent Hellenized and they spoke Greek.

126 According to Harry Falk (2001, 315), Maues was the son-in-law of an Indo-Greek king and father of King Artemidorus. See also Widemann 2009, 249 ff.
2. IDEAS ABOUT THE ORIGIN, SOCIAL STATUS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE YAVANAS

Frequently the Yavanas are encountered in Sanskrit sources as a north-western people, and often as one of many. Regarding their real origin in the distant West, hardly anything was known. Instead, their origin and social status were given various legendary explanations, which sought to locate them in the ideal order of the Brahmin theoreticians.\(^{127}\)

In one passage of the Mahābhārata (1, 80, 26), also quoted in the Matsyapurāṇa (34, 30), the Yavanas are sons of Turvasu, the son of Emperor Yayāti and the brother of Pūru. Because of a curse put on them by their grandfather, all the sons of Turvasu were doomed to become barbarians (*mleccha*, Mbh 1, 79, 11 ff.). Thus they are included in the ancient line of the Kṣatriyas, the so-called Lunar Dynasty. As fallen Kṣatriyas, they are mentioned twice in Book 13 of the Mahābhārata and in a related passage of the Purāṇas.\(^{128}\) They share this fate with several other north-western peoples (but often also with southerners). They have gone into *vṛṣalatvam* as a consequence of living too long without Brahmins (in both Mbh passages). A third passage (Mbh 14, 29, 14 ff.) leaves out Yavanas, but explains Drāmiḍas, Kāśas, Puṇḍras and Śabarās as fallen descendants (*prajā vṛṣalatvam prāptvā*) of those Kṣatriyas who did not serve Brahmins and were slain by Paraśurāma. Manu (10, 44) confirms that Yavanas and other North-Westerners are Kṣatriyas who have fallen into Śūdra-hood because of not attending rituals and not consulting Brahmins. The late Bhāgavatapurāṇa (9, 20, 30) lists Mleccha peoples, including Yavanas, who are “without Brahmins” (*abhramayān*). Their being without Brahmins is often indicated in the Purāṇas in a more general way.\(^{129}\)

It is part of the old (and accurate) lore of Greeks in India, mentioned as early as Aśoka and in the Majjhimanikāya, that they do not have the varṇa system and thus also no Brahmins. Therefore, it is of no importance that a late text (SkP) actually speaks of Brahmins living in their country.\(^{130}\) Even in this account, the Yavanas are

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127 See the interesting discussion in Njammasch 1989. For the social status of Yavanas, see Bhattacharya 1984.

128 Mbh 13, 33, 19 and 35, 18; cf. BrṇḍP 2, 3, 48, 45; ViP 4, 3, 48.

129 In most versions of the Sagara story, Yavanas and other North-Westerners are also deprived of their religion (Pañcalakṣaṇa 2 IB, 50). In a more general statement (ibid. 3 I, 6 f.) repeated in the majority of the Purāṇas, the Yavanas are situated in the west beyond the lands occupied by the four varṇas.

130 SkP 2, 7, 24, 24. We may here note another passage of the SkP. Awasti 1976, 169 claims that according to SkP “5, 1, 24, 7, etc. the Ābhīrias (sic!), Nishādas, Śakas and Yavanas” are “styled sinful people”. SkP 5, 1, 24 gives the story of Vālmīki, the robber turned into a saint and poet, but
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described as a sinful people, and this is the general tone of the later texts. While early authors rightly knew that the Greeks did not have varṇas, those who came later could easily confirm this by observing the Muslims of their own time.\textsuperscript{131}

The idea of representing a Yavana as a sort of fallen Kṣatriya was probably invented in order to raise their social status and to give their rule legitimacy in Indian eyes.\textsuperscript{132} While some early sources vaguely define Yavanas as fallen Kṣatriyas, the Purāṇas (starting with Hv 10) give an elaborate legend that describes how they were allied, together with other North-Westerners, with the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas in the slaying of King Bāhu and how Bāhu’s son Sagara then conquered all these peoples. As a punishment given by Sagara on the advice of his preceptor Vasiṣṭha, they had to abandon Vedic rites and maintain various easily recognizable signs in their appearance (the \textit{yavanamuṇḍa}). That they ran to Vasiṣṭha for protection when sentenced by Sagara is perhaps due to the epic legend (see below) that they were originally created by this sage.\textsuperscript{133}

This and other epic and Purāṇic legends naturally have nothing to do with history as such; they are just invented legends. However, they are interesting as they reflect the social situation and ideas of ancient India. In the case of the Yavanas, the attaining of Kṣatriyahood was part of an Indianization process. The new social status needed some kind of explanation of how people with a foreign origin could have attained this level of standing. In the same way, many other peoples in the North-West and North-East (and earlier in the South) became integrated in Indian society.\textsuperscript{134}

This status of Kṣatriyas, even if fallen ones, was probably not attained immediately. In the early tradition represented by Patañjali (P. 2, 4, 10), the Śakas and Yavanas are defined as “not impure” Śūdras. Patañjali discusses the meaning of “not impure” (or, rather, “not excluded”). First, it cannot mean “not excluded from Āryāvarta”, because then the dvandva \textit{śakayavana} would not be correct. According to him, these two must thus live outside Āryāvarta. The definition of

\textsuperscript{131} For example, see Medhātithi on MDh 10, 44.

\textsuperscript{132} In theory, a ruler had to be a Kṣatriya. In practice, however, many dynasties arose from other varṇas and were only subsequently conferred the status of Kṣatriya. On foreigners admitted into different varṇas (higher than Śūdras), especially those accepted as Kṣatriyas, see Bhandarkar 1911 (with Ghosh 1931).

\textsuperscript{133} For the Sagara legend, see also Chapter 10 below.

\textsuperscript{134} e.g. Śakas and Kuśāṇas in the North-West; Assamese, the Manipuri and the Ahom in the North-East; and Āndhras and the Tamil kingdoms in the South.
Āryāvarta given by Patañjali here and in his comments on P 6, 3, 109 is the traditional one, also known from Vedic Śūtras, in the west leaving out the Indus Valley and the Pañjab.

Patañjali goes on to deal with several other cases that “not excluded from” cannot mean – here the position of the Śakas and Yavanas is left open – and he concludes that it means the right of commensality. This brings to mind, at least to me, the somewhat ambiguously stated agreement between Candragupta and Seleucus. In addition to other clauses, some kind of matrimonial agreement – either an actual marriage or acceptance of the right of intermarriage – was made. Both cases seemed to involve a recognition of the acceptable social status of the Greeks. But Mauryas were not Brahmins; in fact, they favoured heterodox religions and thus did not share Brahmin values.

According to the Gautamadharmasūtra (4, 21), the offspring of Kṣatriyas and Śūdra women are Yavanas. Thus, here also they have at least partial Kṣatriya ancestry. Often, and especially in late sources, the Yavanas are just barbarians. This term (mlecchaviśeṣa) is used in many commentaries and lexica (e.g. Ujjvaladatta on Uṇ. 2, 74). While this refers to Muslims, mleccha would have been fitting for Greeks, too. Even their relative pureness as Śūdras was lost: in the Atrismṛti (7, 2), they are described as unclean, the kind of people with whom it is not allowed to eat or copulate. This passage is a nice example of the Indian tendency to mix social and geographical divisions together. The list first gives a number of performing artists and musicians and then goes on to include Śakas, Yavanas and other North-Westerners. A related account is found in the late Prāyaścitendusēkhara (with Jātimālā). The shift from partially accepted Śūdras or Kṣatriyas into completely unclean barbarians can be understood in terms of the changing meaning of yavana, but it also reflects the increasing importance of ritual purity in India.

According to a less glorious legend found in both classical epics, the Yavanas, together with other North-Westerners, were created by the sage Vasiṣṭha to defend himself when Viśvāmitra, still a Kṣatriya and a king, tried to take his wish-fulfilling cow Kāmadhenu by force. According to the Rāmāyana, the Yavanas were

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135 This is discussed at length by Brucker 1980, as well as by Frauwallner 1960, 109f.
136 Bhandarkar 1935, 275 ff. errs here; see Konow 1936, 189 f.
137 Note that later the Yavanas as Muslims were definitely excluded from commensality. See Prāyaścitendusēkhara 571 and BdhP 20, 14 f.
138 Appianus 11, 9, 55; Justinus 15, 4; Plutarch, Alexander 62. This was discussed in Karttunen 1997, 261 ff.
139 Mbh 1, 165 and briefly referred to in 7, 68, 41 f.; Rām 1, 53 f.
140 In the Mbhb, a couple of Southerners, Dramiḍa and Siṁhala, and general barbarians, Mleccha and Śabara, are also included.
made out of the cow’s vulva (note the etymological play *yoni: yavana*). According to the Mahābhārata, they were created from the cow’s urine (*mūtra*).\(^{141}\) From the Indian viewpoint, it perhaps might be argued that such holy origins would have been an honour, but the Greeks themselves probably did not appreciate them.

Various other origin legends make it clear that the Yavanas were newcomers in India. Accordingly, it is stated in the Mahābhārata (12, 200, 40 ff.) that they did not exist in the Kṛtayuga. Often they play an important role in the ills of the Kaliyuga. In a late Purānic legend — in the Lalitāmāhātmya of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (4, 29, 131) — they are born from the Kali missile of the asura Bhaṇḍa, together with other foreigners.

There are occasional references to Yavana habits. Generally speaking, they are sinful and do not honour the *dharma*.\(^ {142}\) The same is confirmed also in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, but here they are granted the opportunity of taking refuge in Krṣṇa and his devotees, by means of which they might receive purification.\(^ {143}\) According to various medical works, they commonly partake in meat, wheat and wine, as do other North-Westerners (Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa). They were said to eat lying down (Kāśikā on P. 3, 2, 126), which at least was true in the case of the Greeks.\(^ {144}\) Aside from Yavanas, bad habits were often ascribed to all north-western peoples. In Karṇa’s famous censure of Śalya, we learn that in the Pañjāb men and women would eat together, dining on beef and onions, drinking alcoholic beverages (*sīdhu*) and dancing.\(^ {145}\)

It was already stated that the general tone of literature is that the Yavanas are sinful and brutal. In a Jaina list, they are one of many barbarians with wicked minds and cruel deeds. This long list contains many peoples from the North-West, but also includes northern, eastern and southern ones with no apparent order (however, *sagajavana* are mentioned together).\(^ {146}\) In the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya (8, 5), they are simply cited as the lowest of the low. In later sources, the general sinfulness of the Yavanas was easily transferred to Muslims (see Chapter 12 below).

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\(^{141}\) *Mbh* 1, 165, 35; the second passage (*Mbh* 7, 68, 42) follows the Rām account (*goyoniprabhavāḥ*). In *Mbh* 7, 87, 36 ff., *goyonayāḥ* are listed among the barbarians of the northern mountains (Hein 1988, 226). According to Hein, the pun presupposes the form *yona*, but *yavana* is as close to *yoni* as *pahlava* to *puccha*.

\(^{142}\) *Mbh* 12, 65, 13 ff. & 12, 200, 40 ff.; Atrismṛti; *BṇḍP* 2, 3, 74, 200. According to Jaiminibhārata 27, 30 they do violence to the holy tradition (*yavanair dūṣyate śrutiḥ*).

\(^{143}\) BhāgP 2, 4, 18; cf. *PP* 5, 81, 20, which also asserts that even the Yavanas and other barbarians are entitled to worship Krṣṇa.

\(^{144}\) This was noted as early as Weber 1856, 223 (again in Weber 1890, 908).

\(^{145}\) *Mbh* 8, 27, 71 ff. (see Karttunen 1989, 216 ff.). Here the Yavanas are not named.

\(^{146}\) Paññhāvaṇāṇāiṁ 1, 1, 4 and Pannavaṇa 1, 37 (N.B. the note on the text), then in Nemicandra’s *Prvacanasāroddara* 274, 1594.
A real Hellenic custom may be found in the accounts of the wine-drinking Yavanas. The Greeks were traditionally wine drinkers, while the habit was commonly condemned in India, though not completely unknown. Wine was included among the Greek imports in South India, both in Greek (Periplus 56; also 36 and 49 in Barygaza) and in Tamil sources (Puṇānūru). Much of Karṇa’s rebuke of north-western habits in Mahābhārata 8, 27ff. is focused on wine drinking, although the Yavanas are not mentioned here. The same is apparently alluded to in the Carakasaṁhitā, this time naming the Yavanas when it claims that the north-western peoples are meat- and wheat-eaters, wine-drinkers and warriors. During his digvijaya, Raghu met Yavanas in the North-West and was disgusted by the wine drinking of Yavana women. After the victorious battle, however, his own soldiers refreshed themselves with wine – one wonders if this was in the company of Yavana women. A wine-drinking Yavanī is also met in Vidyākara’s anthology (SRK 943).

Bald-headed (muṇḍa) Yavanas in the above-mentioned Purāṇic legend do not seem to be Greeks with such an uncharacteristic hairstyle, but rather Central Asians from a period when the ethnic identity of various North-Westerners was no longer clear. However, a reference to this feature (yavanamuṇḍa) is found as early as the Pāṇinean Gaṇapāṭha (Gaṇa 178 on P. 2, 1, 72). The idea is also mentioned in several Purāṇas, though in one text they were forced to shave their beards instead of hair. This Purāṇic aitia legend will again be dealt with in Chapter 10 below, where some other examples of shaving as a shameful punishment will also be given. Here it is enough to note that the Yavanas, as well as the other adversaries of Sagara, are recognized as Kṣatriyas, and that their unorthodox customs are explained as a result of the punishment inflicted on them by Sagara. They were not only ordered to shave their heads, but to abstain from Vedic rituals and live without Brahmins, which was likely to cause them further signs of heresy.

147 On wine in India, see Aalto 1963 and Karttunen 1989, 207 ff.
148 Caraka 6, 30, 333, then also आष्टाङ्गसांग्रह 1, 7, 19, 230.
149 Kd: Rv 4, 60 ff. See also Sircar 1935, 37 ff.
150 Hair is mentioned in Hv 10, 42, the BṛdhP shorter version, BP, ŚiP, and VāP (muṇḍayitvā...sīrāḥ sarvām; these also combined in Kirfel 1927), as well as in the PP and in a slightly different form in the ViP (muṇḍitaśirasaḥ); descriptions of beards appear in the BṛdhP longer version (vigataimātrān). On the contrary, the late BNP seems to present Yavanas as being long-haired (lambamūrdhajān), with only the back of the hair shaved (pārṣṇikān muṇḍān), exactly the opposite of the Indian way of cutting hair in front and wearing it long in back. This is probably just a fantastic interpretation of the already traditional term yavanamuṇḍa. The legend has been discussed by Pargiter 1919 (who takes it as history) and Sircar 1962. There is a long discussion of the word muṇḍa by Tedesco (1945), but he does not address the present question.
151 I mention Weber (1849, 144) only in passing, as he suggested long ago that Yavanamuṇḍa
We may further note that the barbarians in general are called “bald” (muṇḍa) in the Mahābhārata battle account (7, 95, 20 f.) in which Yavanas are included. This peculiar hairstyle is generally the only description of the appearance of Yavanas, and as such it soon became the conventional description (e.g. in the Jaiminībhārata 27, 30). The truth, however, is that Greeks did not shave their heads, and I doubt that yavanamunḍa can really be explained (with Sircar 1962, 53) by their short hair. The only further reference to the appearance of the Yavanas is found in dramaturgy (BhN 23, 105 f.), where it is stated that they, like many other North-Westerners, have a pale reddish (gaura) complexion. These types of claims are often explained by referring to untanned newcomers, but the sun can also be fierce in Greece and I cannot see how the ancient Greeks could have been less tanned than their contemporary counterparts.

It is easy to get the impression that Yavanas, like other foreign Mleccha peoples, were not much liked in India. This is understandable, of course, given their history of antagonism, and even without military conflict people often tend to see foreigners as suspicious. Yavanas were described as barbarians and heretics with many sinful and wicked habits. Occasionally this is even found in Buddhist sources (Vin-C 5, 1029), although Buddhists usually count Yavanas (Yonas) among their own. However, the term duryavanam ‘ill with the Yavanas’ hails only from a late grammatical source, and it may in fact refer to Kṛṣṇa as the enemy of Kālayavana (see Chapter 10 below).

and Kāmbojamunḍa were derisive names. On a later occasion (in “Nachträge” in ISr 2, 1853), he further added that perhaps these terms originally referred to Buddhist monks (with shaven heads) who lived among Yavanas and Kāmbojas. It is true that Buddhism was quite popular in the North-West in Kuṣāṇa times, but this can hardly explain the term. There were Buddhist monks in Āryāvarta as well. In Vāmana’s Kāvyālaṁkāra (for example, after 4, 2, 2), the practice of shaving the beard is mentioned as a Hūṇa custom.

152 Varadarāja’s Laghukaumudī 972. Cf. Yavanāri as a name of Kṛṣṇa in Trīk 1, 1, 31.
3. NORTH-WESTERN PEOPLE: THE INDO-GREEKS

In most of the accounts in which the geographical context of the Yavanas is mentioned at all, they are clearly said to belong to north-western India (or beyond its north-western borders). For instance, they often appear in the north-west (also in the north or west) in epic and Purāṇic geographical lists (see Chapter 4 below). Here Bactrian Greeks and Indo-Greeks can be seen as a natural possibility. Although there are some accounts that are much closer to history, we start the discussion with the legendary accounts of the Great Epic.

In the Mahābhārata, the Yavanas are often met among the adversaries of the Pāṇḍavas, especially among the allies fighting together in the mighty Kaurava army during the Great Battle. Earlier in the Great Epic (Mbh 2, 47, 12), they were also mentioned along with the subjugated peoples that came to participate in Yudhiṣṭhira’s Rājasūya. In the critical edition, they are mentioned as Kaurava allies in no less than 21 different passages. 153 The most important of these is Mbh 7, 95, where Sātyaki’s victorious battle against the Yavanas and other North-Westerners is described. Unfortunately, it is just a conventional battle episode without any real information about the participants. No peculiar Yavana habits are mentioned.

Most often, the Yavanas are mentioned together with other north-western peoples. Leaving such late sources as the Purāṇas out of the count, I have found more than 30 cases in which they are closely connected with the Śakas (Iranian Scythians), 154 often as a dvandva compound śakayavana, and always in the same śloka. 155 In 23 cases they appear together with the Kāmbojas (as the dvandva yavanakāmboja), which is an earlier connection already found in Aśoka’s inscription and in the Buddhist Majjhimanikāya. 156 It is commonly accepted that

153 Mbh 5, 19, 21; 5, 196, 7; 6, 10, 54; 6, 10, 64; 6, 20, 13; 6, 47, 7; 6, 71, 20; 6, 83, 10; 7, 6, 5; 7, 19, 7; 7, 68, 41; 7, 95, 42 ff.; 7, 96, 1; 7, 97, 13; 8, 31, 15; 8, 40, 108; 8, 51, 18; 8, 64, 16; 9, 1, 26; 9, 2, 18; 9, 7, 24.
154 These peoples formed in ancient times the main population of the Eurasian steppe region, extending from Ukraine to Central Asia. In Greek sources, they are called Scythians, and it is explained that the corresponding Iranian word is Saka, which is also attested in Old Persian. After the Indo-Greeks, they also forced their way to North-West India and became known in Sanskrit as Śakas.
155 Mbh: Yavanas immediately before or after Śakas in 3, 48, 20; 5, 19, 21; 6, 20, 13; 6, 71, 20; 7, 6, 5; 7, 19, 7; 7, 95, 45; 8, 31, 15; 8, 40, 108; 9, 2, 18; 9, 7, 24; 13, 33, 19 in the same half-śloka 5, 106, 7; 6, 20, 13; 7, 68, 41; 7, 97, 13; 8, 64, 16. For further examples, see Rām 1, 53, 20 ff.; 1, 54, 3; 4, 42, 11; MDh 10, 44; BhN 23, 105; Caraka 6, 30, 313. As part of the dvandva, see also Pat on P 2, 4, 10; Viṣ. Mudrār. 2, 12+; Pādat. 24; VM:BS 13, 9, 21; 16, 1; AVpś 51, 3, 3 (close also in 57, 2, 5); BṇḍP 2, 3, 48, 23-49; BP 6, 44; MP 144, 57. See also MilP 4, 8, 88 and 5, 4; Bhikṣuṇīvinaya 162.
156 Mbh dvandva 7, 19, 7; 7, 96, 1; 11, 22, 11; 12, 102, 5; 12, 200, 40; 13, 33, 19; immediately before or after 5, 19, 21; 6, 10, 64; 6, 83, 10; 8, 40, 108; 9, 1, 26; 9, 2, 18; 9, 7, 24; in the same half-śloka 7, 97, 13.
Kāmbojas, already mentioned in Vedic texts, were an ancient Iranian people living west of the Indo-Aryans. Moreover, there are no less than six early cases where Yavanas are located directly between Śakas and Kāmbojas. In addition to these two peoples, the Yavanas are mentioned eight times together with the Kirātas, five times with the Tukhāras or Tuṣāras, and eight times with the Pāradas, Pārasikas and Pahlavas.

These combinations can also be put in chronological order. The Kāmbojas represent an early Iranian population in present-day Afghanistan, which was already known in the late Vedic period. Beginning from the late 4th century BCE at least, with Alexander’s foundation in Bactria and then further Seleucid colonization there, they came to have Yavanas as neighbours. Thus, they appear together in Indian sources in the mid-third century BCE (Āśoka). In the early second century BCE, Yavanas crossed the Hindu Kush and conquered North-West India, thus becoming the Indo-Greeks. The Śakas (śaka) were living in the Central Asian steppes already in the late 6th century BCE (the Saka Haumavarga of Darius’ inscription), and later they intruded into the south-east and reached the Indus in the first century BCE. They were soon followed there by Parthians.
(parthava, pahlava). In fact, it is sometimes difficult to keep the two Iranian groups separate, given the scanty evidence that we possess. The first century CE saw the ascendancy of the Kuśāṇas (ethnic tukhara/tuṣāra). The Huns (hūṇa) came to India only in the 5th century.

Among the other peoples in the Mahābhārata who are occasionally connected with the Yavanas, one finds Āndhras, Bāhlīkas/Bālhīkas (Bactrians), Barbaras, Cīnas, Daradas (Dards), Gāndhāras, Khāṣas, Madrakas, Pulindas, Śabaras, Śibis, Sindhusauvīras, Trīgarṭas, the Mlecchas of the mountains (Pārvatīya Mlecchas), and those living around Mathurā. Only two of these, the Āndhras and Śabaras, have nothing to do with the North-West. The list could be expanded from later sources, such as the Harivaṃśa and the Purāṇic geographies (I have here given only a few examples), or by including the cases in the epics where Yavana and other names are not found in the same śloka but in the second half of the first and the first part of the second śloka. We may also note here that in two important and early geographical accounts – the Aśvamedha of the Mahābhārata and the search for Sītā in the Rāmāyaṇa – the Yavanas did not survive in the critical editions.

The close relationship between Śakas and Yavanas is probably due to their geographical connection – as seen from Gangetic India, they were always close to each other – and the fact that quite often Śaka dynasties succeeded where Indo-Greeks had ruled. Some earlier scholars saw in the commonplace nature of the

162 Immediately before or after: Bāhlīkas in Mbh 7, 97, 13; also BhN 23, 105 and AVpś 50, 2, 4.

Further in the same compound in Viś. Mudrār. 2, 12+ and AVpś 51, 3, 3.

Khāṣas in Mbh 8, 51, 18; further in MP 121, 43.

Madrakas in Mbh 6, 47, 7; further in BP 25, 45; MkP 54, 36; MP 114, 41.

Pulindas in Mbh 3, 186, 30.

Śibis in Mbh 5, 106, 7.

Pārvatīya Mlecchas in Mbh 9, 1, 26.

In the same half-śloka: Āndhras in Mbh 3, 186, 30; further in BṇḍP 1, 2, 18, 44.

Barbaras in Mbh 12, 65, 13; 12, 200, 40; further in BṇḍP 1, 2, 18, 44; MP 121, 43; VāP 1, 45, 116.

Cīnas in Mbh 12, 65, 13; VM:BS 5, 78.80; BṇḍP 1, 2, 18, 44; VāP 1, 47, 42.

Daradas in Mbh 3, 48, 20; VM:BS 13, 9.

Gāndhāras in Mbh 11, 22, 11; 12, 65, 13; 12, 200, 40 [with yauna]; further in BṇḍP 1, 2, 16, 47; BP 25, 45; MkP 54, 36; MP 114, 41 & 144, 57; VāP 1, 45, 116 & 1, 58, 82.

Śabaras in Mbh 12, 65, 13 (Sabara in Apadāna 406, 13).

Sindhusauvīras in Mbh 11, 22, 11; further in BṇḍP 1, 2, 16, 47; BP 25, 45; MkP 54, 36; MP 114, 41; VāP 1, 45, 116.

Trīgarṭas in Mbh 6, 47, 7.

Those living around Mathurā in Mbh 12, 102, 5.

163 The Kirātas more properly belong to the north-east, but as a Himalayan people they are occasionally mentioned in a more westerly context, too.

164 Cf. Mbh 7, 95, 12 f. The division into ślokas is not always original, especially in the Purāṇas, where one often finds long passages in which the second half of a śloka forms a sentence with the first half of the next. It did not seem worthwhile to also collect such instances.
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dvandva an indication of the survival of Hellenistic culture among the Śakas (see Goblet d’Alviella 1926, 9), and it seems to be true that the two peoples did have rather close ties. There appears to be at least one attested case of royal intermarriage between the two.165

Occasionally some Yavana kings are mentioned and even named in Indian sources. But here we must first note that Bhagadatta was definitely not a Greek king.166 He is sometimes mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with the Yavanas, but not as their king. In one passage (Mbh 2, 13, 13), he is even said to have slain the Yavana kings Mura and Naraka. However, while these two may be Yavana kings, their names are Indian and give no further clue for identification. Mura is also a demon slain by Kṛṣṇa, while Naraka means ‘hell’, a suitable name for a barbarian heretic. In the same Mbh passage, it is also made clear that Bhagadatta is a (North-)Westerner (rāja pratīcyām). At least once (Mbh 2, 31, 9) he is also said to be the king of Prāgjyotisa (here probably not Assam, but rather in the north-west)167 and overlord (adhipa) of the barbarians. In the company of these barbarians, here also including Yavanas, he arrives at the royal consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira and brings as his present horses that are as fast as the wind (Mbh 2, 47, 12), an early predecessor of the Kābulivālā. The gift was probably appreciated; throughout history, Indians have highly esteemed north-western horses. But, as pointed out by Johnston, (1939, 221 f.) Bhagadatta fought in the Great War on an elephant, while the Yavanas had only chariots and cavalry (cf. Mbh 7, 6, 5 and especially 8, 31, 15 f.).

During the preparations for the Great War, Bhagadatta (5, 19, 14) came first to the aid of the Kauravas, bringing with him the Cīnas and Kirātas, while Yavanas came only somewhat later (5, 19, 21), together with Śakas, in the retinue of King

165 The Śaka king Maues was the son-in-law of an Indo-Greek king and himself the father of Artemidorus (see note 45 above).
166 Following A. von Gutschmid, Weber (1890, 907) identified Bhagadatta as Apollodotus. This was accepted by many (e.g. Lévi 1890a, 13 f. & 35 f., who carefully collected all references to Bhagadatta as Yavana evidence), but shown to be in error by Johnston (1939, 219 ff.). Tarn originally accepted the idea, but in the second edition rejected it in a supplemental note (Tarn 1951, 165, 527).
167 See also Mbh 6, 71, 18, where Prāgjyotisa is mentioned together with several western peoples. On the different locations of Prāgjyotisa, see Rönnow 1936, 115 f. and Johnston 1939, 219 ff. The alternative western location was suggested as early as Lassen 1837, 26 ff. Note, however, that in Mbh 5, 4, 11 Bhagadatta dwells by the Eastern Ocean (bhagadattāya rājīne pūrvasāgaravataśe). But Assam is not by the sea. Often the geography is quite confused. In the late Aśvamedhikaparvan (Mbh 14, 74 ff.), King Vajradatta, Bhagadatta’s son, is slain by Arjuna, then Saindhavas (!) and Maṇipūras, who seem to be neighbours. Later on, Prāgjyotisa came to be more or less synonymous with Assam, and Assamese inscriptions count Bhagadatta among the royal ancestors, as was shown by Jenkins as early as 1840.
Sudakṣiṇa of the Kāmbojas. Sudakṣiṇa\(^{168}\) is also mentioned in relation to the Śakas and Yavanas in Mbh 7, 6, 5. Later on, we hear that he fell in battle together with thousands of his allies, including Śakas and Yavanas (9, 2, 18).

In the Harivaṁśa (80, 15), the Yavana king and Bhagadatta are both allies of King Jarāsandha in his fight against Kṛṣṇa. It is not possible to make a single person out of these two, and a comparison to Harivaṁśa 84, 12 f. shows that the Yavana king (yavanādhīpata) is in fact none other than Kālayavana (cf. Hv 52, 41 & 44; see Chapter 10 below).

Another north-western king occasionally mentioned together with the Yavanas is King Jayadratha of Sindh (Sindhusauvīra), who in Mbh 5, 19, 19 arrives on the Kaurava side. He was the neighbour of the Yavanas and had Yavanīs among his wives, as well as women from other nearby peoples; together they all attended their fallen master, lying on the battlefield (Mbh 11, 22, 11).

A further spurious case is King Dattāmitra (Mbh add. 1, ch. 80), who in earlier literature is often identified with Demetrius (and the town with the same name as Demetrias). However, Mayrhofer has shown that this name is of Iranian origin, as a parallel form for Mithridates.\(^{169}\)

It is also questionable if Cāṇūra in the Mahābhārata (2, 4, 22) is really the name of the Greek king (yavanādhīpata), as was supposed by van Buitenen. It would be very difficult to explain it in Greek. But it also seems possible to take him as a different person than the Yavana king and translate the passage: “King Sumanas of the Kirātas, the overlord of the Yavanas, Cāṇūra, Devarata, Bhoja, and Bhūmaratha.” A little earlier in the same passage (2, 4, 20), Kampana, described as terrorizing the Yavanas, was mentioned immediately after the king of the Kāmbojas, a well-known north-western people. During the Great Battle, the Yavanas are also mentioned together with King Śūra Trigarta (6, 83, 10).

In a few further (late) passages, often unnamed Yavana kings or Yavana princes are mentioned.\(^{170}\) In the Brahmakhaṇḍa of the Skanda purāṇa (3, 3, 15), the wicked Yavana King Durjaya bears a conventional Indian royal name. Awasthi (1976, 83) supposes him to be an Arab ruler or governor (gopāṭ) of Sindh, here called Yavanārśtra because of the Muslim dominion. In light of the late date commonly ascribed to the printed Skandapurāṇa, this is indeed possible, but the name Durjaya remains purely Indian. Two further Yavana kings, Kālayavana and

\(^{168}\) Note that although Kāmbojas are probably Iranians, their king here has a purely Indian name. For this reason, it is difficult to accept him as a historical person.

\(^{169}\) The town Demetrias was identified by James Tod in the early 19th century (see Weber 1856, 222 f. & 1890, 906; Lévi 1890a, 31 & 36). For criticism, see Johnston 1939, 222 ff. Mayrhofer 1991 offers the Iranian derivation Dātā-mithra.

\(^{170}\) Mbh add. 1, 178, 1824*; Mbh add. 1, add. ch. 80. Note also Kāś on P. 4, 1, 173 and VDH p. 296.
Kaśerumat, will be discussed in Chapter 10 below. All kings thus far mentioned are characters of epic narratives without any equivalencies in history.

Bāna (Hc 6) briefly refers to a Yavana king (yavaneśvara) who perished because a deceitful servant was capable of reading the mirror image of a secret document reflected in a jewel ornament of the monarch. This story is attested nowhere else, and the commentator Śaṅkara makes it clear that he was not familiar with it. In the same passage, Bāna mentions the death of King Kākavarṇa, and Śaṅkara explains that he was killed by his enemies, the Yavanas. For Śaṅkara, if not already for Bāna, the Yavanas were Arabs.

A clear reference to the Indo-Greeks seems to be found in the “prophetic” accounts of the Purāṇas, where the Yavanas, together with other North-Westerners, are rulers of the Kali age. The first instance is found in the Mahābhārata (3, 186, 30), then included in the Purāṇas. In the standard account of the Purānic history, eight Yavana kings are mentioned as succeeding after Ābhīras, Gardabhiṇis and the ten (or eighteen) Śaka kings, before the fourteen Turuṣkas (or Tuṣāras, as apparently Kuṣāṇas are meant) and ten (or thirteen) Maruṇḍas (or Guruṇḍas). The Yavana dynasty is said to have ruled 160 (and Śakas 380, BṇḍP), 88 (MP) or 80 years (VāP; see Pargiter 1912, 44 ff.). It seems that the Śakas and Yavanas have changed places here.

A veiled reference to historical Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) is probably given in the Chinese Aśokāvadāna account of three kings – Śaka, Yavana, and Pahlava – all described as great conquerors and persecutors of Buddhism. The Chinese Saṃyuktāgama collection adds a fourth king, Tukhāra. With three kings, the account is also briefly mentioned in the Khotanese Saka Book of Zambasta (24, 393). When the Aśokāvadāna states that the Śakas lived in the south, the Yavanas in the north, and the Pahlavas in the west, the point of orientation seems to be in Central Asia rather than India, although then Yavanas seem to be out of place.

To return to the Great Epic, one passage (Mbh 12, 65, 13) mentions that in the Kali age the Yavanas and other barbarians will be living in India. They are wicked, of course, but they can be forced by a good king to follow good customs. According to the Purāṇas, their rule as sinful Mlecchas will be hateful and

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171 BhāgP 12, 1, 30; BṇḍP 2, 3, 74, 172; MP 273, 19 f.; VāP 2, 37, 354, briefly also 264 & 382; ViP 5, 24, 53. Different version in MP 50, 76.

172 See the note on the Aśokāvadāna text.

173 In Central Asia, Yavana was also used in Sogdian. Sundermann 1968, 400 f. gives a Sogdian Christian fragment, corresponding to a passage in the Gospel of John, with the words (19:19 f.) “hm ‘dy’n pylṭys mwhrgnḥyšt ‘bdhyyg ‘w yun’w ‘wd frwm’w” for Greek ἔγραψεν δή καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος…Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἡλληνιστί. Thus, yun (Yawan/Yōn) is here used for Greek language.
unbearable, but in the end they will be defeated by the Kalkī Avatāra of Viṣṇu (BṇḍP, VāP; see Chapter 10 below).

It is possible that the legend of Bāhu and Sāgara and their wars (see Chapter 10 below) is a result of what was originally an account of the Indo-Greek attack on India, which over the centuries became completely shrouded in legends. The same explanation is perhaps applicable to Kālayavana, too. However, it is important to keep in mind that vague historical reminiscences do not transform the epics and Purāṇas into historical sources and no historical conclusions can be made on the basis of their evidence. It is also important to note that almost all Yavana names mentioned in our sources (partly excluding epigraphy) are just conventional Indian names.

As a north-western people, Yavanas are included in the digvijaya of Raghu in the Rāghuvacarita of Kālidāsa. Another reference to them by the great poet of India is the well-known passage of the Mālavikāgnimitra (5, 14+), where Prince Vasumitra, following the Āśvamedha horse of his father, King Puṣpamitra Śuṅga, fights the Yavanas on the banks of the Indus. Puṣpamitra (or Puṣyamitra) is the real king, of course, who superseded the Mauryas in the early second century BCE and founded the dynasty. The passage has often been explained — and for good reason, I think — as a reference to the Indo-Greeks, but it is too much to reconstruct a historical battle solely on its testimony.\footnote{Keith 1924, 149 takes a meeting with the Yavanas in 178 BCE as possibly historical, but remarks that the play probably also contains a secondary allusion to Samudragupta’s horse-sacrifice. See also La Vallée Poussin 1930, 178 ff.}

Less convincing is Viśākhadatta (Mudrārākṣasa 2, 12+), who let the mountain king Parvateśvara, an ally of Candragupta, lay siege to Pāṭaliputra, together with the Yavanas and other North-Westerners. The attempt to identify Parvataka with King Porus of Alexander’s histories is fascinating, but it remains pure speculation; the most likely explanation for the name Porus remains the MIA form of the OIA Paurava as a dynastic name. A more interesting idea was suggested by van Buitenen (1978, 154 ff.), who pointed out a few passages of the Mbh (especially 2, 24, 13 ff. and 5, 4, 14) where a King Paurava is mentioned and apparently connected both with mountains and the north-west. Moreover, in the first passage he is mentioned close to the city of Abhisārī, which immediately brings to mind King Abisares, the neighbour and enemy of Porus in Alexander’s histories.\footnote{Suggested by Seth 1941, accepted by Tarn 1951, 46, and regarded as a possibility by Narain 1965, 162.}

\footnote{On Abisares, see Karttunen 1997, 33. Pauravas are also listed among north-western peoples in Rām 4, 42, 11. I must add that van Buitenens hypothesis escaped my notice when I discussed Porus in Karttunen 1997, 34.}
The second passage of Viśākhadatta (Mudrār. 5, 11), which this time lists the allies of Nanda, clearly shows how unhistorical such lists of peoples can be. In addition to Gāndhāras, Yavanas and Śakas, it even includes Cīnas and Hūṇas (Chinese and Huns), although it is an account of what was supposed to be the late 4th century BCE. This, of course, is a pure anachronism by an author writing several centuries later. Candragupta and the Mauryas were still remembered then, but Viśākhadatta was writing a play, a piece of entertainment, not history.

Works like the Mālavikāgnimitra, the Mudrārākṣasa and the Harṣacarita passage quoted above show that in classical India there existed a historical tradition extending over many centuries. Unfortunately, very little of this is preserved for us.

While it would perhaps seem natural to find Yavanas in the early history of Kashmir, thinking how close Kashmir was to Indo-Greek territories, they had apparently already been forgotten by the time of Kalhaṇa (12th century). The only occurrence of the word yavana in the Rājatarāṃgini clearly refers to Muslims. In the late Vīra carita of Anantadeva, King Śālivāhana (Sātavāhana) slays Śakas and Yavanas and founds the Śaka Era. The Yavanas are forced to withdraw to the Western Ocean (see Lévi 1890a, 41 f.). In the Matsyapurāṇa (144, 57), Yavanas and other North-Westerners are conquered by King Pramati.

A rare case of a real historical account (although meagre and partly legendary in style) is found in the case of the Yugapurāṇa account of the invasion of the Yavanas, allied with the Pañcālas and Māthuras, into Sāketa and Kusumadhvaja/ Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra). It was first made known by Kern as early as 1865 (Kern 1865, 36 ff.), and now the text exists in the critical edition by Mitchiner. With this is related the famous passage of Patañjali (Pat on P. 3, 2, 111), which briefly mentions the Yavanas as besieging Sāketa and the Mādhyamikā in the near past. The problems connected with this invasion, the Western classical evidence dealing with it, and the Bactrian revolt forcing Yavanas back from Pāṭaliputra (Yugapurāṇa 56 f.) have been much discussed and I do not need to go into detail here.

These examples of Patañjali, together with that given in connection with P. 3, 2, 123 (iha puṣyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ “here we conduct sacrifice on behalf of Puṣyamitra”), provide the classical argument for dating Patañjali to the mid-

177 The question of the founder of the Śaka Era (78 ce, also called the Śālivāhana Era) remains controversial; perhaps he was Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

178 For an early discussion of these examples, see Weber 1873, 302 ff. & 1875, 245 ff. & 1890, 908.

179 See the classic studies of Tarn (1951) and Narain (1957), and now also e.g. Widemann 2009.

It is curious that Weber (1890, 908 f.), usually so keen to see Greeks and Greek influence in India, explained the Yugapurāṇa account as a Kuṇa invasion, despite the parallel evidence offered by Strabo and Justinus.
second century BCE.\textsuperscript{180} It is true that such examples became a common tradition of grammatical literature (the very same Yavana examples were quoted in the Kāśikāvṛtti more than seven centuries later) and for that reason Barth in 1874 and following him La Vallée Poussin (1930, 199 ff.) in fact did question the date. However, it is rather unlikely that they were standard examples so early and there are no references to later times in the Mahābhāṣya, while the author seems to have known the Maurya dynasty well.\textsuperscript{181} While La Vallée Poussin found mention of the Śakas in the second century BCE to be unlikely in an Indian text, as both Central Asian Śakas and north-western Indians had been subjects of the Achaemenid Empire as early as the late 6th century BCE,\textsuperscript{182} this argument seems to me rather unconvincing.

While it is easy to imagine that the famous capital Pāṭaliputra attracted foreigners also in peaceful times, there are not many accounts of Yavanas residing there or visiting it, although numerous literary works used the old capital as their scene even long after its decline. The only passage in which I have found Yavanas and other North-Westerners living in Pāṭaliputra is the monologue play Pādatāḍitaka (24, see also 110+).

The most elaborate and convincing account of Indo-Greeks in Indian literature is certainly the Milindapañha, the discourse between the Buddhist sage Nāgasena and the Indo-Greek King Menander, which is extant in Pāli and Chinese versions. Only the first part of the Pāli text (books 1–3) is original, as the rest was added later. But while the Yavana King Milinda is easily identified as Menander\textsuperscript{183} and the famous town (puruttama) of Sāgala may well have been his capital – although it was not necessarily built according to the Hellenistic square pattern\textsuperscript{184} – the general tone of the text is simply Buddhist and there is no need to look for Hellenistic philosophy in Milinda’s arguments. Tarn’s (1951, 414 ff.) attempt to derive it from a Greek model was convincingly disproven by Gonda (1949) and others, and it does not warrant further discussion here.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{180} See, e.g. Bhandarkar 1872 and Weber 1873, 300 ff. For a more recent discussion, see Frauwallner 1960, 108 ff.
\textsuperscript{181} This was pointed out by Konow 1937 with a few further arguments.
\textsuperscript{182} This is amply testified by both Herodotus and Old Persian inscriptions.
\textsuperscript{183} Milinda is often called yona. For the derivation of his name from Menander, see Fussman 1993, 72 ff.
\textsuperscript{184} See the description in MilP 1, 2. It does not appear particularly Hellenistic, and it is easy to read it just as a conventional description, so common in Indian literature (this was even accepted by Tarn 1951, 247).
\textsuperscript{185} Also unnecessary was the earlier attempt (e.g. by Weber 1890, 927) to see some influence of the Platonic dialogue on the MilP. The dialogue form is extremely easy to invent, and philosophical dialogue was well established in Indian literature from the early Upaniṣads.
Menander is also the only recognizable Indo-Greek king mentioned in Indian literature, for the others are only known from inscriptions and coins. Aside from the Milindapañha, there is not much evidence of Buddhism among the Indo-Greeks. Instead of Buddhist symbols, their coins instead show Iranian and Indian gods beside the Hellenistic ones. Only in the Kuśāṇa period or slightly before did the North-West become known as an important centre of Buddhism (see also Chapter 8 below). A Western account (Plutarch, Moralia 821 D-E) refers to Menander’s burial conducted in a way resembling that of the Buddha (with ashes being divided between several cities), but still we cannot even be certain that the king was a Buddhist.\footnote{We may also note that there was a Buddhist tradition representing Yavanas and other North-Westerners as persecutors of Buddhism.}

The four ministers of Milinda (MilP 2, 1, 3 f.) – Devamantiya, Anantakāya, Maṅkura, and Sabbadinna – have often been identified as Greeks. Long ago, Trenckner suggested Demetrius, Antigonus and Hermagoras for the first three ministers.\footnote{The four ministers of Milinda (MilP 2, 1, 3 f.) – Devamantiya, Anantakāya, Maṅkura, and Sabbadinna – have often been identified as Greeks. Long ago, Trenckner suggested Demetrius, Antigonus and Hermagoras for the first three ministers. Tarn (1951, 422 f.) took Demetrius and Antigonus for granted, explained Maṅkura as the Parthian Pacorus, and hesitatingly accepted Sabbadinna as an Indian name. Lamotte (1958, 415) had Démétrios?, Antiochos, Pacoros and Sabbadotos? – including question marks. Accepting Milinda as Menander, it is possible that other Indo-Greeks were found on his council, but they may as well have been Iranians and Indians. In my opinion, Demetrius and Antigonus are possible explanations, but it is far from certain. Maṅkura remains unexplained, as the aforementioned guesses cannot be taken seriously, while Sabbadinna may well be Indian (at least, his name is Indian or wholly Indianized).}

The problem of Milinda’s birthplace will be taken up in Chapter 13. Here it is enough to note that wherever Alasanda was, King Milinda born in Alasanda must clearly be King Menander born in Alexandria.

\footnote{This has been often claimed; see, e.g. Lévi 1890a, 39 f.; Goblet d’Alviella 1926, 26; Foucher 1951, Narain 1957, Lamotte 1958, 462 ff. For Tarn (1951), the idea that Menander was a Greek who accepted a foreign religion seems to have been impossible to accept; this may be explained by his colonial prejudices, I suppose, but one can also note here that Heliodorus was a bhāgavata. Foucher took MilP almost as history, as a work written for the benefit of Yavanas, who also had Buddhist literature in Greek. We cannot follow either of these.}

\footnote{See the Asokāvadāna and other texts discussed above. In some Purāṇic passages, the impious North-Westerners may be Muslims, but these Buddhist sources are too early for this explanation.}

\footnote{Pāli Miscellany 70, referred to by Lévi 1890a, 33.}

\footnote{Fussman 1993, 70 ff. points out that all four names are in fact Indianized. He also notes that Lamotte’s Cappadocian *Sabbadotos is only an invention from God Sabba, while Sabbadinna can well represent OIA Sarvadatta or Sarvadatta (Śivadatta).}
The Milindapañha soon became rather popular among Buddhists. The expanded Pāli version spread to Sri Lanka and South-East Asia, and there is an early Chinese translation of the first (original) part of the work. It was quoted four times by Buddhaghosa. But the fame of King Milinda is also solely based on the Milindapañha. Outside of that work, the name Milinda is very rarely even mentioned (e.g. the Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra (AvKL 57, 15) and in a Sinhalese adaptation). The second part of the Pāli Milindapañha is a later addition and it does not contain any new information about Yavanas.

The epigraphical evidence of the Indo-Greeks is meagre, but at least it does exist in the inscriptions of the North-West. At least a few kings are mentioned by name (Antialcidas, Menander, Theodamas, and perhaps Demetrius). Other Greek names are Theodorus, Heliodorus and Dion and possibly Deinippus, but not Agesilaus. Connected with this, there are some particular issues: the use of the Macedonian calendar in the dates of a number of inscriptions, the Yavana Era (starting from 186 or 185 BCE; see Falk 2007, 135 f. and Salomon 2012, 219 ff.) used until the early Kuşāṇa period, the borrowing of a few Greek military and administrative terms (for astronomical terms, see Chapter 6 below) such as anaṁkaya < ἀναγκαῖος, merida(r)kha < μεριδάρχης, stratega < στρατηγός, and suruṅga < σύριγξ, and the use of Greek weights such as stater, drachma and obolos (satera/sadera and drakhma in north-western Prākrit, dramma in Sanskrit). Note also the monetary term dināra; although ultimately borrowed from the Latin denarius, it came to India from Greek, as is shown by the vowel of the first syllable.

190 See Rhys Davids’ and Horner’s introductions to their respective MilP translations.
191 According to Warder 2004, 808 f., in the 13th century Dhammasēna retold the story of Milinda and Nāgasena in his Sinhalese collections of narratives, the Saddhammaratnāvaliya. The Pāli Milindaṭīkā is a late work and contributes nothing new to the discussion of Yavanas. Still later, in the 17th century, is Tāranātha’s Tocharian King Minara (quoted by Lamotte 1958, 469).
192 See Antalikita in Heliodorus’ inscription (L 669), Minendra in EI 24 (and Miṇaṁdra in CII II:1, 70), Theudama in CII II:1, 3. I have already discussed these inscriptions in Karttunen 1997, 293 ff. To these we may add from Falk 2013, 145 Hermaeus as Kharoṣṭhī Hirmae, Dinisidora (Dionysidorus?), Zenuphila (Zenophilos) and Isāndra (Isandrus?) in seals. Furthermore, note Heliuphila (Heliophilus) in the Traṣaka Reliquary.
193 On merida(r)kha, see Thomas 1914; on stratega, see Falk 1998; on suruṅga, see Stein 1925 and Liebich 1931. To these we can now add episkopos < ἐπίσκοπος ‘oversee’ from the Gandhāra Gilded Bowl (Falk 2013, 171 f.). Quite often titles and epithets were also translated. Thus δίκαιος = dhramika, φιλοπάτωρ = priyapita, etc. (for a full list, see Karttunen 1997, 304 f.). Salomon 1981 has suggested that daṇḍanāyaka may correspond to στρατηγός.
195 The Latin long ē was transliterated with the Greek letter ēta as δηνάριον, originally pronounced as ē, but in the Hellenistic koine developed into i. Cf. Bactrian ḍīyāq. Liebich 1924 & 1931 suggested that kampana/kampanā as ‘army’ could be derived from the Latin campo ‘field, plain’.

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The South Asian evidence of the Macedonian calendar can be summarized as follows:196

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Indianized</th>
<th>Approximate time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Δίος = Dios</td>
<td>October</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Απελλαίος = Apellaios</td>
<td>November</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αὐδυναίος = Audynaios</td>
<td>December</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Περίτιος = Peritios</td>
<td>January</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δύστρος = Dystros</td>
<td>February</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ξανδικός = Xandikos</td>
<td>March</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αρτεμίσιος = Artemisios</td>
<td>April</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δαίσιος = Daisios</td>
<td>May</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Πάνημος = Panemos</td>
<td>June</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λώιος = Loos197</td>
<td>July</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γορπιαίος = Gorpiaios</td>
<td>August</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ὑπερβερεταίος = Hyperberetiaios</td>
<td>September</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early studies about Yavanas often mention the so-called Kaiṅkila Yavanas of the Viṣṇupurāṇa. Known from Wilson’s translation (ViP 5, 24, 55), they were a dynasty later than the real Yavanas or Indo-Greeks, but who were they? Although they were certainly not real Indo-Greeks, nevertheless they were called Yavanas. Some further information was given by Lévi (1890a, 11), who listed a number of variants for the name Kaiṅkila: Kailakila, Kailikila, Kilakila, Kaicchakila, and Kolikila. Lévi pointed out that the dynasty is also mentioned in several other Purāṇas.200 The individual names of these kings vary, but they are all Indian. The first king, however, is always named Vindhyaśakti. Only in the Viṣṇupurāṇa are they called Yavanas, while elsewhere the more correct dynastic name Vākāṭaka is used.201 Of course, Vākāṭakas are familiar to every student of ancient Indian history as the southern neighbours of the Imperial Guptas.202

The cause of the appearance of these Kaiṅkila Yavanas has been explained by Jayaswal (1933, 68 f.). According to him, the Viṣṇupurāṇa text here is in

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196 Note, however, that dates using Indian nakṣatra months are much more common than these, even among Konow’s Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, not to speak of those in Brāhmī.
197 Not found in Indian inscriptions, but used in a 2nd-century BCE Greek parchment from Bactria. See Rea, Senior & Hollis 1994.
198 This is also attested as γορπιαιου in a Bactrian inscription from Dasht-e Nawur (Davary 1982 s.v.).
199 This intercalary month is added when needed.
200 BṇḍP, BhāgP and VāP in Lévi 1890a, 11 ff. To this must be added MP 273, 24 ff.
201 This was already pointed out by Fleet 1895, 334, note 2.
202 See, e.g. Bakker 1997. Therefore we must reject Hein 1988, 231, who explains Kilakila Yavanas as followers of the “Yavana dharma”.
fact a paraphrasis of the corresponding account of the Matsyapurāṇa, in which Kilakilas are mentioned (273, 24). After that, the text immediately enters into an account of the impiousness of the Yavanas. Thus it seems that the author (or a later emendator) of the Viṣṇupurāṇa confounded the two.

Here we can clearly see how impossible it is to make any historical conclusions from the Purānic tradition, even when it actually is dealing with history. Even Lévi knew of one inscription\textsuperscript{203} mentioning Vindhyaśakti as the first ruler of the Vākāṭaka dynasty; afterwards, this was established beyond doubt. In this way, the king who actually ended the Kaiṁkila/Kilakila dynasty was made their first ruler in the Purānic tradition.

The 5th-century Tamil epic Cilappatikāram contains two curious passages about a Yavana kingdom. In the first (28, 141 f.), the Cēra (Kerala) king conquers this fertile kingdom, while in the second (29, 11 f.) the Cēra state is said to extend from the Yavana kingdom to Kanyakumari. This is certainly not enough evidence to construct the existence of an otherwise unknown Yavana kingdom in northern Kerala or southern Karnataka, an area where Cēra conquest could be possible. I would rather follow Meile (1941, 120 ff.), explaining this as poetic exaggeration – in a panegyric, a digvijaya can be ascribed even to petty kings. The Yavana kingdom was then probably the northernmost country known to the author.\textsuperscript{204} This can be compared with the Roman poets’ claim that the emperor will soon conquer India.

In this connection, we may also note the so-called Yavanas in Orissa. The frequent references to Yavanas in Orissan chronicles go back to ancient times, but even if there originally was some real early tradition, the texts have been completely rewritten and clearly speak of Muslims (see Chapter 12 below). Still, it is interesting to note the chronology: the Yavana dynasty of Orissa is claimed to have lasted 146 years, until Śaka 396 (474/475 CE).\textsuperscript{205}

\textsuperscript{203} Lévi 1890a, 40 referring to Bhau Daji in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 7 (apparently Bháú Dájí: “Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of the ‘Sah’ or Rudra Dáma Inscription on a Rock at Junagar; also of one of Skandagupta on the northern face of the Rock, with some brief Remarks on the Sah, Gupta, and Valabhi Dynasties”, JBRAS 7:22, 1863, 113–131).

\textsuperscript{204} Meile 1941, 121 f. further refers to the Puṟanānūru 39, 14 f. and the Patiṟṟuppattu 43, 4, both of which state that the Cēra king conquered the Himalaya.

\textsuperscript{205} According to Warder 1971, 135, the later Yavanas of the Purāṇas and Orissan chronicles are in fact “Muruṇḍas, a line of Śaka kings who ruled in Magadha, mostly as vassals of the Kuśāṇas, during the first three centuries CE”. Lévi 1890a, 41 & 64 was inclined to accept these Orissan traditions as a true history of the 4th/5th century CE. In a note, he quotes Hunter in regard to two further local Yavana traditions in Andhra. Ray 1928 certainly went too far in accepting the Orissan Yavana dynasty as Indo-Greeks ruling there from the 4th to the 7th centuries and in making the Central Indian Kaiṁkila Yavanas (above) descendants of this Orissan dynasty.
There have been some attempts to find some descendants of Yavanas in the modern or pre-modern North-West, partly based on local traditions, but they are all wholly unconvincing.206

206 Some early scholars were inclined to see the Jats of the Pañjāb as Yavanas. According to the far-fetched hypothesis of Khan (1991), the Kṣatriya tribe of Janjua descends from the Yavanas of the Purāṇas, whom he identified with the Hindu Śahi dynasty. Online sources offer other similar, wholly speculative theories about the origin of the Jats. Among the princely families of northern Pakistan and north-eastern Afghanistan, there are local genealogies that derive lineages ultimately from Alexander, but these are probably due to the popularity of Nizāmī’s Iskendernāme. Even earlier, the prominent place that Firdausū accorded to Alexander/Iskender in his Šāhnāme shows the popularity of the tradition among Iranians. Nevertheless, these traditions were taken as genuine history by some 19th-century scholars and still accepted as a reminiscence of the Indo-Greeks by Tarn (1952, 301 ff.). In an early article, Burnes (1833) lists the chiefs of Badakhshan, Darwaz, Wakhan, Chitral, Gilgit and Iskardo as such, and he refers to literary mentions of the tradition by Marco Polo, Bābar, Abul Fazl and Elphinstone. Bertil Tikkanen (oral communication) tells me that Tarn’s Indo-Greek theory was shared with him as historical fact by Burushaskis in the 1990s.
4. THE YAVANAS IN GEOGRAPHY

The most common type of occurrence in our collection of Yavana passages is a list of peoples in which Yavanas are mentioned together with other, mostly north-western and barbarian peoples (such as Śakas, Kāmbojas, etc.; see above). Indian geographical accounts are mainly found in the Purāṇas, which individually are often late, but the general agreement of different Purāṇas and some parallels from unquestionably early sources (such as Varāhamihira) here suggests relative antiquity. We have already seen that both Aśoka and the Buddhist Majjhimanikāya mentioned Yavanas together with the Kāmbojas, an unquestionably north-western people, while Patañjali was the first to connect them with the Śakas. There is also another tradition of the Yavanas coming from beyond the sea, but this will be discussed in the next chapter.

The north-western origin of the Yavanas is thus clearly seen in various geographical lists, starting with the Mahābhārata (especially 3, 48, 20 and many passages listing the Kaurava forces). Yet they occasionally include names from other parts of India, too. For example, in Mbh 7, 95, 12 f., the Tāmraliptakas of Bengal are mentioned together with Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Kirātas,207 Daradas and Barbaras.

More accurately defined is Bhīṣma’s short geography in Mbh 12, 200, 40, where the Yaunas (!), Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Kirātas, and Barbaras are given as Northerners (uttarapathajanmānaḥ). In the Rāmāyaṇa, where references to the Yavanas are much less common than in the Mahābhārata, they are mentioned in the account of the search for Sītā in the northern direction (Rām 4, 42, 11); the second passage cited in earlier literature about Yavanas living in the west is left out in the critical edition. The setting of the Rāmāyaṇa is clearly to the east and south of that of the Mahābhārata, and other north-western peoples are also rarely mentioned in it.

Knowledge about the points of the compass and the exact locations of the lands inhabited by distant peoples commonly considered as barbarians was not very clear in antiquity. Therefore, it should not worry us when the same north-western peoples are alternatively said to be living in the west or in the north. We may

207 The location of the Kirātas is somewhat problematic. In some sources, they clearly belong to the Eastern Himalayas (there is still a nation called Kiranti in eastern Nepal). But often the name seems to be used vaguely for all mountain peoples not fully accepted as members of Hindu society. Other sources (VM:BS) even describe Kirātas as living by the sea (on the Orissan or Bengali coast), which neatly explains the Kirrhadai of Ptolemy (7, 2, 2). The question is fully discussed by Rönnow (1936).
also note that although the cardinal directions are not always completely right in Sanskrit geographical accounts, the term used in this Rāmāyaṇa passage is uttarapatha or ‘the northern way’ (often opposed to the southern dakṣiṇapatha). The idea of two roads, northern and southern, is already found in the Vedas, and it is connected both with the annual course of the sun and the main trade routes. As a trade route, the uttarapatha connected the Gangetic plain with the North-West.

The majority of the Purāṇas²⁰⁸ contain the general statement that the Kirātas live in the east and the Yavanas in the west, while some add Andhras in the south and Turuṣkas in the north (GP 1, 55, 5). It seems that all of these, being barbarians, serve to confine the sphere of Aryan culture. Between them is the land of the traditional four varṇas of ancient Indian society (Āryāvarta), although some versions also locate Śūdras outside of it. Note also that Yavanas are here used as the general name for the West, corresponding to the later use of the word.²⁰⁹

In the Purāṇic Janapada list²¹⁰ that enumerates different countries and peoples, the Yavanas clearly belong to the west or north-west. This seems also to be the general idea in the confused Kūrmacakra geography, where India is imagined in the form of a tortoise facing east, and various peoples and places are located on the different parts of its body (head, tail, four feet, and two sides). Here Yavanas belong to the feet of the tortoise, but the sources differ greatly in their detail.²¹¹

A different type of Janapada list is given by Rājaśekhara (Kāvyam 17). The Yavanas are here found as the last member of the western list, apparently extending from Gujarat to Sindh. Considering Rājaśekhara’s relatively late date (around 900 CE), it is easy to explain them as Muslims of Sindh or even Persians, although a reminiscence of Indo-Greeks culled by Rājaśekhara from his sources is not impossible. Still later, Yādavaprakāśa (Vaijay 3, 1, 24) includes Yavanas in his long list of north-western peoples (udīcyā janapadāḥ). His viewpoint is rather southern, however, as Mathurā is located in the north.

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²⁰⁸ BṇḍP 1, 2, 16, 12 f.; BP 17, 8 f.; GP 1, 55, 5; KūP 1, 47, 26; LP 1, 52, 29; MkP 54, 8; MP 114, 11; VāP 1, 45, 82; ViP 2, 3, 8. These form the basis for Kirfel 3 I, 6 = 3 II, 9. Also related to this is AP 118, 6. See Rönnow 1936, 96.
²⁰⁹ Pai 1975, 517 sees them as Indo-Greeks. Curiously, we find a parallel definition for the Greek world in Ephorus F 30 (in Strabo 1, 2, 28 and Cosmas 2) with Aethiopians in the south, Celts in the west, Scythians in the north, and Indians in the east.
²¹⁰ BṇḍP 1, 2, 16, 47; MP 114, 41; VāP 1, 45, 116; this forms the basis for Kirfel 3 II, 40. See further BP 25, 45; MkP 54, 36.
²¹¹ VM:BS 14, 18 in the south-west; MkP 55, 52 in the north-east; GP 1, 55, 15 and VidhP 1, 9, 7 in the west; AVPś 56, 1, 5 in the south. I am preparing a special study of this Kūrmavibhāga. See also Lewis 1967.
In the Purānic riverine geography, peoples are listed according to the rivers by which they live. Here the Yavanas are mentioned as living along the Sītā, together with such peoples as the Cīnas, Barbaras and Kulindas. Awasthi (1976, 150) and Sircar (1971, 66) identify the Sītā as the Yarkand River, mainly on account of the Cīnas living by it. In contrast, Dey (1927, s.v.) holds it to be the Jaxartes, which at least accords better in terms of Yavanas. In any case, it was the westernmost river, according to the Indian idea of geography.

The Greeks (?) are also met in the Jaina lists of foreign peoples, where the Javana or Joṇiyas are listed together with the Sagas or Sakas, Palhavas or Parthians, and Āravas (Āravis) or Arabians. These lists are relatively late (in their present form, they are not earlier than the middle of the first millennium CE), but they seem to represent the same tradition of Yavanas being a northwestern people.

212 BṇḍP 1, 2, 18, 44; MP 121, 43; VāP 1, 47, 42; Kirfel 5 II, 43.
213 Nāyādh., Paṇhāvāg., etc.
Though the Indian references to the Yavanas are mostly brief and scanty, they nevertheless show them in many different roles and occupations. In this and the two following chapters, these different roles are analysed under three headings: Yavanas in practical occupations, Yavanas as scholars, and a special chapter on Yavana women.

In the Mahābhārata, the Yavanas are soldiers (Kṣatriyas) who are allied with the Kauravas and participating in the Great Battle of Kurukṣetra. According to the ancient legend mentioned above, they were originally created by the sage Vasiṣṭha in order to defend his cow Kāmadhenu against Viśvāmitra’s attacks. As soldiers, they are given the appropriate epithets. They are warriors (Mbh 7, 95), heroes (śūrāḥ, 8, 30, 80), and good at fighting with their bare hands (niyuddhuṣālāḥ, 12, 102, 5). The role of Yavanas as warriors matches both with Indo-Greeks being conquerors of north-west India and with the status of the Yavanas as fallen Kṣatriyas (see Chapter 2 above). In the Mudrārākṣasa as well, Yavana troops are mentioned among barbarian allies. The Yogapurāṇa refers directly to the Indo-Greeks, calling them valiant in battle (yuddhavikrāntāḥ 47) and infatuated by war (yuddhabadurmadāḥ 56).

As North-Westerners, the Yavanas also have purebred horses that are as fast as the wind (Mbh 2, 47, 13). According to other sources that mention horses, (north-)western breeds in general were very much appreciated in India. These swift north-western horses have been used as an explanation by those seeking to derive *yavana* from the verbal root *yu*- (e.g. Medinīkara; see Chapter 1 above). In the passage of Śrīharṣa (NC 1, 65) sometimes quoted in this context, the attribute given to Nala’s swift Saindhava horses is swift (javana), not yavana. The late Mānasollāsa (2, 3, 573) lists Saindhava, Yavana and Kāmboja horses as the best kinds for war, but Someśvara is late enough to have bought his horses from Muslim dealers.

In one Purāṇic legend, the Yavana warriors are part of the coalition that slays Sagara’s father, while in another the Yavana king Kālayavana or Kaśerumat (also Kaserumat) attacks Kṛṣṇa (see Chapter 10 below). It is easy to see in these stories

214 In the Milindapañha, King Milinda is described as a great hero and leader of a mighty army, but this is just a part of a conventional description of an Indian monarch and does not deserve the importance given to it by Dognini 2001, 95.

215 See also Mbh 7, 6, 5. BṇḍP 4, 16, 17 mentions a Yavanodbhūta breed of horses. On ancient horse trading in India, see Gupta 1984; on north-western horses, see Hein 1988, 224.
a vague memory of the Indo-Greek invasions, perhaps even that of Alexander, but this remains speculation and no certainty can be achieved. While a memory of the Indo-Greeks as such is quite acceptable, it does not add any historical value to these sources.

While the Yavanas were commonly located in the north-west, there are some occasions where they are represented as coming from beyond the sea. However, it is sometimes difficult to say which references definitively fall under this heading. Perhaps the best example is found in the Tamil classics, in which the Yavanas come in swift boats to South Indian ports for commercial purposes. The ancient sea trade between the west and south of India on one hand and South Arabia, Aethiopia and Roman Egypt on the other is well attested both in Western sources and in archaeology.

There were also Yavana warriors in South India. Among the Western sources, Pliny stated that the merchantmen sailing yearly to India carried on board companies of archers to protect them against pirates, who are mentioned as a danger of the Muziris region. Apparently some of these warriors remained in India and entered into service under local rulers. Used as guards, they are mentioned in several Tamil classics.

Some sea-going Yavanas are also met in Sanskrit sources, but they are late enough to also allow the later possibility of the Yavanas being Arabs or Muslims. Nevertheless, I think that the Yavanas described in the Daśakumāracarita as sea-going merchants dealing in slaves (cf. Periplus 49 on the export of slaves to India) and cultivating vineyards might be Greeks. Their captain, however, has the Indian (?) name Rāmeṣu. Kale’s suggestion (note ad loc.) that the Yavanas had an Indian captain is unnecessary. This is a narrative, not history, and it was a common habit in literary works to give Indian names to Yavanas and other foreigners. The remark about the rescued man’s ability to water a great number

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216 See, e.g. Weber 1890, 909 and Lévi 1890a, 36. The old idea was that Kaserumat could be derived from Caesar (whose name is perhaps attested in a Kuṣāṇa inscription), but this is doubtful.
217 This is most clearly seen in the Akanānūru 140, 7–11.
218 I use the Latin form to emphasize the fact that the ancient idea of this country was not the same as the modern state of Ethiopia.
219 See Tomber 2008 for a recent survey of this trade.
220 See Pliny N.h. 6, 26, 101 sagittario viribus impositis and 104 muzirim, non expetendum propter vicinos piratas. Cf. Patiṟṟuppattu 2, 7–10 on pirates, as well as De Romanis 1997a, 91 f. & 102 ff. and Dognini 2001, 96.
221 Cf. Paṭṭuppāṭṭu, Mp 59-62 and Cilappatikāram, 14, 66 f. Note Tieken 2003, however, who, with his late dates for Tamil poetry, explains the warriors as Arabs. It is true that Yavanas are not mentioned in early South Indian inscriptions (Ray 1995, 79 f.).
222 There are many similar examples in the literature of other countries (e.g. Greece). Therefore, we can forget the otherwise unlikely Romaeus (Ῥωμαῖος) hesitatingly suggested by Lévi 1890a, 33.
of vines is probably rightly explained by Meyer (note ad loc.). Vines were rare in India (except in the north-west), and as wine was a product imported from the West it was easy to make Yavanas vintners. With Arabs, the correspondence does not work so well.

In another passage of the Daśakumāracarita (3), there is mention of a Yavana named Khanati who traded in jewels. The name looks rather un-Indian, but it is also not Greek. According to the story, the Yavana was not very skilful in his dealings; he was offering a precious gem at a low price. In the Kathāsārītsgāra (7, 36), a merchant’s son Yavanasena (or rather Pavanasena) became shipwrecked when bound to Suvarṇadvīpa in South-East Asia. In the Kathārṇava of Śivadāsa, a merchant is described as travelling from Yavanadeśa to Lavaṇapura. But these are late texts.

In later Pāli sources, the Yonas are encountered in a similar context. In the Mahāniddesa, a conventional list of places to which traders sailed, which is given on two occasions, includes Yona, Paramayona, and Allasanda. In an Apadāna story, the house of a rich setṭhiputta is frequented inter alia by Yonakas and Alasandakas (and Cīnaraṭṭhas or Chinese).

Al(l)asanda is a clearly Indianized version of Alexandria. When used in connection with sea trade, it evidently refers to Alexandria in Egypt. Yona as a country is then perhaps the Hellenistic Near East in general, which was known as the Greek (yona) country since Aśoka. But what is Paramayona? Given that the Mahāniddesa is one of the latest additions in the Pāli canon, the “Remotest Yona” could perhaps be the Roman Empire, which actually was also the master of Yona or the Near East, but here is understood as the main area beyond it.

The terms Cīna and Mahācīna offer a parallel case.

223 I do not understand Wilson’s (note ad loc.) suggestion that instead of grapes, drākṣā should here be understood as raisins. Raisins were surely not watered. Meyer explains the sentence as a joke: he is so wet that he could easily water a thousand vines.

224 The interpretation of the testimony of literary works is not always easy. It is possible to see this passage as a sort of retribution. In truth, the Yavana dealers were known to be skilled enough, and therefore Daṇḍin made his hero sly enough to make a fool even of a Yavana merchant.

225 This is perhaps the right place to mention one misleading case I have come across: W.D.H. Rouse’s translation of Jātaka 198, verse 144: “When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war; / A monkey scents a monkey’s tricks afar. / Even a young one were too sharp by half; / But old birds never can be caught with chaff...” The metric form of the translation roused my suspicions, and a look at Fausbøll confirmed them. Indeed, the Pāli does not mention Greeks, only rougish merchants: yam vanejjo vanejjasu vañceyya kapino kapi / daharo pi taṁ ha sadbeyya na bi jinjo jarākapiti //. In fact, yonas seem to be completely missing in the Jātaka commentary.

226 According to Hinüber 1996, Lévi (1925) dated the work to the 2nd century CE. Norman (1983) suggests a much earlier date. According to Hinüber himself, it must come in any case after Aśoka.

227 Another possibility is that Yona refers to the Indo-Greek North-West and Paramayona to the
The Yavana merchants brought various Western commodities to India, although in South India the most important import seems to have been Roman silver coins. Of the Greek sources, the Periplus gives a full list of what can be sold or bought with profit at each port. A number of related passages are found in Pāli, Tamil and Sanskrit sources that mention Yavana/Yona merchandise, but these will be dealt with below in Chapter 9.

Both Tamil and Sanskrit sources describe these sea-going Yavanas as also living in India. In a story from the Brhatkathāślokasaṅgraha (18), a lady called Yāvanī, born in the Yavana land, is married to a merchant named Sāgara and living in Rājagṛha. They have two sons, both called gifts of the ocean, Sāgaradinna and Samudradinna, and they all become shipwrecked during a journey to Yavanadeśa. Earlier, a similar visit was recounted in the Pūrvaśīthikā of the Daśākumārakarita (3 f.). A minister’s son from Magadha went to the island of Kālayavana (literally, Black Yavana, otherwise a mythological king), where he married a merchant’s daughter. The obligatory shipwreck found in almost every sea-voyage narrative takes place on his trip back to India. The Mahāvaṁsa account (10, 90) of a separate area set apart for the Yonas in Anurādhapura (Sri Lanka) is certainly anachronistic in King Paṇḍukābhaya’s time (4th century BCE), but for the author of that chronicle (mid-first millennium CE) it was quite natural.

From our present viewpoint the Brhatkathāślokasaṅgraha is very late (around 1400?), but it contains material from the much earlier Brhatkathā. Even Daṇḍin is late enough for his use of yavana to refer to Arabs. But when we consider the situation a bit more closely, while an Arab merchant could as a Muslim very well have commercial dealings with a Hindu merchant, he would hardly give his daughter to someone of that different faith. Either we have here a recollection from earlier times or pure fiction.

In the Jaina Upāṅga 6 (Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti 52), the conquests of Bharata include the very pleasant land of Javanadīva where houses are illuminated by treasures of precious jewels, gems and gold, then the countries of Arabs, Romā, and Alasaṇḍā, and a little later also Joṇa (Yonaka). As Arabia, Rome and Alexandria are all beyond the sea, the Yavana island should also probably be accepted as such. In this context, it is hardly Java in South-East Asia.

Roman Near East (like Chinese Daqin). Then it can be said that Alexandria is beyond Paramayona. 228 The merchant and his daughter both have purely Indian names: Kālagupta and Suvṛttā. Hein 1988, 227 suggests that the island is Africa.

229 The idea of jewels emitting light in darkness is a common topos in Indian literature, which I intend to discuss on some future occasion.

230 An apparently related passage in the Āvaśyakacūrṇi has remained unavailable to me.
A different Bharatadigvijaya is described by another Jaina author, Jinasena (Harivamśapurāṇa 11, 66). Here Yavanas are found in their traditional company among north-western peoples.

Another Javaṇadīva, or Yavana island, is also found in the Vasudevahinīḍī (Cārudattacarita p. 148), in the Nammayāsundarīkathā (312) and in the Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotana (see Chapter 11 below). This time it seems that Javaṇadīva really is Java, but in the Vasudevahinīḍī, there is also subsequent mention of Western Javaṇas.

Some Yavanas residing in Maharashtra and giving gifts to Buddhist monasteries are mentioned in inscriptions found at early Buddhist sites. Scholars have long discussed whether these were Indian merchants dealing with Greeks or real Greeks residing in India. They are called yavanas or yonas, but their names, when recognizable, are purely Indian. The idea of merchants dealing with Yavanas being themselves called Yavanas seems rather unlikely, and even more is the notion that yavana here is not an ethnic label, but the title of a high civil or military rank (Laeuchli 1984). Indianized Greeks following an Indian religion (Buddhism or Hinduism), and therefore assuming Indian names, is not so impossible. But they can also be Indian merchants residing in (or coming from) the North-West, still thought of as Yavana country.\footnote{Karttunen 1997, 297 ff. No Greeks, according to Stein 1935. Indianized Greeks, according to Bhandarkar 1911, 12 f.; Kosambi (quoted and criticized by Ray 1988, 314 f. = 1995, 80 f.); and Vasant 1989 (who explains Junnar as Yavananagara, a Greek colony, even though Junnar is in fact Jirnagarag). Thosar 1991 identified Junnar as ancient Dhenukākaṭa; no less than six inscriptions elsewhere mention Yavanas from Dhenukākaṭa and three Junnar inscriptions mention Yavanas. From this he further concludes that a resident colony of Greek and Śaka merchants was located there. See also Chapter 1 above.}

Greeks, or Yavanas, were not only warriors and merchants. They were also known as skilled artisans and engineers, whose craftsmanship was much admired. Frequently residing in India, they were already mentioned in early Tamil sources.\footnote{Cilappatikāram 5, 10; Maṇimēkalai 1, 45 & 19, 107 f.; Cīvakacintāmaṇi 1, 101; etc. In addition to Meile 1941 and Zvelebil 1956, see also Nagaswamy 1995, 96 ff.} Later their talents became so legendary that in the narrative literature they were described as being capable of building such miracles as human-like mechanical servants, artificial birds and aerial cars – the three technological wonders often met in Indian literature.

The narrative of an engineer from Yavananīṣaya who built himself an artificial maid is found in the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādinaya (p. 166 ff., Tibetan version in Schiefner 1994). The robot is so life-like that a visiting painter makes passionate advances toward the supposed girl and in the process breaks the simulacrum. Another anecdote concentrates on practical jokes (Bhaiṣajyavastu...
Mechanical servants appear to also be mentioned in Saṅghadāsagāṇi’s Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya (Jain 1979, 3, but the text is not available to me). In the Vasudevahinḍī (p. 62), Kokkāsa learns his skills from the Yavanas and uses them to construct artificial doves and flying machines. The same story is also told in the Āvaśyaka (9, 44), but here Kokkāsa learns in Sopāra and Yavanas are not mentioned. Located on the west coast of India, Sopāra is one of the ports visited by Western merchants, so perhaps all there is a connection here, too.

In the Harṣacarita (6) of Bāṇa, a Yavana who was condemned to death constructed an aerial car and thereby carried away the overly credulous king. In the Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha (5), we learn that the construction of aerial cars is a speciality of Yavanas. It further recounts a complicated story of Viśvila, a skilled artisan and pupil of the Greeks, whose aerial car is made out of wood and resembles Garuḍa in appearance.

Warder (1974, 133 f.) points out that sometimes the secret of flying machines is ascribed to supernatural beings instead of Greeks. In the Kathāsaritsāgara, for instance, again and again we encounter Vidyādharas flying through the air and owning other fantastic mechanical devices. Occasionally these stories come very close to those about Yavanas. King Bhoja seems to have been fond of mechanical devices, but apparently he never mentioned Yavanas. In the Śṛṅgāramañjarī (after p. 7, as summarized by Warder 1992, 156), in the gardens of Dhārā ruled by Bhoja there are realistic and beautiful mechanical puppets or robot girls (yantraputrikā), from whose open palms pour streams of water. Some of these robots play drums. There are artificial trees, artificial mynas and other birds, monkeys, and even bees. In the water are artificial lotuses of various kinds, as well as artificial tortoises.

233 Bhandarkar 1935, 16 ff. identifies the king as Kākavarman, son of Śiśunāga. He takes (erroneously, in my opinion) the episode as an authentic history of the early 4th century BCE, with the Indian king attacking Gandhāra and slaying there an Achaemenid army. He further argues that Nagara should be taken as the name of a town in the Yavana country (Nagar by the Kabul), to which we can add that such a name is also attested in the Geography of Ptolemy (7, 1, 43) as “Nagara, also called Dionysopolis”.

234 This reminds me of the story “Der Weber als Viṣṇu” (Pañcākhyānaka 1, 5), which I read about forty years ago in Stenzler’s Elementarbuch. Here the skilled carriage-maker constructs an artificial Garuḍa so that his friend the weaver can secretly visit the princess (note that Viśvila, however, visits his own wife). We are not told where he has learned how to make this aerial machine.

235 See, e.g. KSS 6, 3 (29), 18 p. 257 (Tawney) on a Vidyādhara having wooden mechanical dolls (kāṣṭhamayiḥ svamāyayantraputrikāḥ). She is the daughter of the famous Asura Maya (v. 12). In the same chapter (p. 260), a Vidyādhara garden has many birds with golden and variegated plumage (v. 59 baimacitrakagākārṇan). In KSS 7, 9 (43), p. 390 ff. we are told of a carpenter in Maya’s tradition in Kāñcī who built robots, mechanical birds and aerial cars. There is no end of references to flying cars. A classic early case is Kubera’s chariot, which is seized by his brother Rāvaṇa, in the Rāmāyaṇa. Another flying chariot is described in BhāgP 8, 10, 16–18.
and fish. In another work discussed by Warder, the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra (31, 62 ff.), Bhoja actually mentions the building of robots. He explains that the details must be kept secret and taught orally from teacher to pupil, but in any case he divulges that they are moved by strings and wooden levers with leather joints, pins, wheels and cogs.

There are many other accounts of such mechanical devices in mediaeval literature, but the connection with Yavanas has been lost. It is understandable that the idea of high mechanical skill being a particular property of the Yavanas was eventually forgotten, especially after the name Yavana got the new meaning of Arabs or Muslims, who certainly were not capable of constructing flying machines and robots. In this way, the art was transferred to the mythical Vidyādharas.

It is curious to note that at least one Greek source (Philostratus, Vita Ap., 5, 12) lauds the skill of Indians in constructing automata. The sad truth is that our knowledge of the technical skills of ancient Indians is still very lacking. When we consider the possible background of the fame of the skilled Yavanas in Indian sources, we may at least note that Hellenistic engineers actually did have some interest in mechanics. Some extant authors (such as Hero) tell of ingenious devices using water or steam as sources of power for automatons, but these were constructed for show rather than for any practical use, and in any case robots and aeroplanes were far beyond the skills of any ancient engineers.\footnote{Huldén 1990 & 1994. It also seems that Indians had some renown of technical skills in the West. In his Vita Apollonii 5, 12, Philostratus says that when visiting India, Apollonius was not particularly impressed by Indian tripods, dumbwaiters and other automata. But according to Cedrenus (Hist. eccl. 1, p. 561 in Patrologia Graeca 121), Metrodorus, visiting India in the time of Constantine, “constructed for them water-mills and baths – things previously unknown in the country” (εἰργάζετο δὲ υδρομύλους καὶ λοετρὰ, μέχρι τότε μὴ γνωριζόμενα παρ’ οὕτως).}
6. SCHOLARS AND ASTROLOGERS

The Yavanas or Greeks (here the identification seems quite clear) were also known as scholars. They were especially famed as astrologers who introduced this pseudoscience to India. Some beliefs based on the nakṣatra system existed even before, but planetary and zodiacal astrology as such were imported as a Yavana science. Authors such as Yavana, Yavanarāja, Vṛddhayavana and Yavaneśvara are known from manuscripts and often quoted as authorities in later literature. The famous dictum of the Gargāsaṁhitā, also quoted by Varāhamihira in his Brhat samhita, lauds their skill in this area; notwithstanding their Mleccha origin, they are regarded as sages (ṛṣivat, VM:BS 2, 32). Even Varāhamihira clearly precedes the period when the Arabians could boast of any achievement in this field, and there are earlier sources, too.

The origins of astronomy lie in Mesopotamia. According to Pingree (and before him Kirfel 1920, 28* ff.), there was some direct Mesopotamian influence on India, but it became much more important during the early centuries of the Common Era through Greek intermediaries. The traditional Indian nakṣatra astrology continued side by side with the new system, as extensively studied by Pingree.

The early history of astrological literature in India and its relation to Greek sources was unravelled by Pingree (1963 & 1981, 81 ff.). A certain Yavaneśvara translated a Greek astrological work into Sanskrit around 150 CE. A versified version of this lost work was the Yavanajātaka compiled by Yavanarāja Sphujidhvaja. Along with another work translated from Greek, this was used by a certain Satya in the third century. Subsequently, Mīnarāja’s extant Vṛddhayavanajātaka was based on the Sphujidhvaja and Satya’s lost work. As the evidence of these early Yavana scholars seems to be concentrated in Gujarat, it seems plausible to consider the close commercial relations of the early centuries CE as their origin. In Gujarat was the famous port of Bharukaccha mentioned in Indian sources, known as Barygaza in Western sources. However, given that an earlier Indo-Greek presence in Gujarat

237 The first part of the name Sphujidhvaja is difficult to explain. However, its resemblance to Speusippus seems much too thin, not to speak of Aphrodisius. Both were suggested by early scholars: Speusippus by Bhau Daji (according to Lévi 1890a, 49 and also Weber 1890, 921) and Aphrodisius or Aphrodisius by Kern (1865). For a recent discussion of the Yavanajātaka and problems related to it, see Mak 2013, who, among other things, questions Pingree’s dates and instead suggests the vague range of between 22 CE (originally suggested by H. Falk in 2001; see Falk 2013, 433 ff.) and the early 7th century.

238 On Barygaza and trade, see, e.g. Karttunen 1997, 90 ff. and 333. The form Bhṛgukaccha is probably a secondary hypersanskritization. In passing may be mentioned an idea of Weber (first suggested in 1858 and again in Weber 1890, 911) that he himself wisely called “eine sehr kühl-
seems likely, this must not be completely left out of the picture. For instance, two sun-dials were found during excavations at Ai Khanum in Bactria.

The Greek origin of Indian astrology can also be seen in the great number of Greek loanwords in astrological terminology. This was noted by early Indologists and summarized with further material by Weber (e.g. 1852, 226 f.), referring to Varāhamihira. These words include the complete series of the signs of the zodiac (VM:B J, 8 lists all), with the Sanskritized Greek names being used beside the Indian translations of the same:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Sign</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kriya</td>
<td>&lt; Κριός</td>
<td>translated as</td>
<td>Meṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāvuri</td>
<td>&lt; Ταῦρος</td>
<td>Vṛṣabha</td>
<td>'Taurus'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jituma</td>
<td>&lt; Δίδυμοι</td>
<td>Mithuna</td>
<td>'Gemini'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kulīra/Karkin</td>
<td>&lt; Κόλουρος (?) / Καρκίνος</td>
<td>Karkaṭa</td>
<td>'Cancer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leya</td>
<td>&lt; Λέων</td>
<td>Sinīha</td>
<td>'Leo'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pāthona</td>
<td>&lt; Παρθένος</td>
<td>Kanyā</td>
<td>'Virgo'</td>
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<td>Jūka</td>
<td>&lt; Ζυγόν</td>
<td>Tulā</td>
<td>'Libra'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaurpi/Kaurpya</td>
<td>&lt; Σκορπίος</td>
<td>Vṛścika</td>
<td>'Scorpio'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taukṣika</td>
<td>&lt; Τοξότης</td>
<td>Dhanus</td>
<td>'Sagittarius'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ākokera</td>
<td>&lt; ᾿Αἰγόκερως</td>
<td>Makara</td>
<td>'Capricornus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hṛdroga</td>
<td>&lt; ᾿Ιχθύς</td>
<td>Mīna</td>
<td>'Pisces'</td>
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ne Vermuthung”. According to the Pāṇiniyaśikṣā, in Surāṣṭra the word of address was kherān, as Weber reconstructed it from the manuscript variants; this word he derived from the Greek χαίρειν 'hail, hello' (the infinitive is here used in the same way as the more usual imperative χαίρε).

Even though the North Italian ciao was capable of spreading all over the world in the mid-20th century, I find this kind of borrowing rather unlikely.

239 See Veuve 1982, 23 ff. (in Abstr. Iran. 6, 43 f.). That the Indo-Greeks participated in mediating the Greek astrology to India (Gujarat) was already suggested by Weber 1852, 225. Beside these very early sources, Michio Yano’s 1987 article mentioned by Mak 2013 would certainly be useful, but it is in Japanese, which I cannot read. For my discussion, I have first checked the Greek words in LSJ and, when it failed, in TGL.

240 For the names of zodiacal signs and planets, Weber refers to the article by C.M. Whish published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras vol. 1, London ed. 1827, 63–77 (I have only seen the German translation in ZKM 4, 1842, 302–328, with notes by Lassen). See also Lévi 1890a, 50 and Goblet d’Alviella 1926, 78 f.

241 Weber gives Κόλουρος (?), but perhaps he errs here (note his question mark). According to TGL and LSJ, the only use of Greek Κόλουρος 'stump-tailed' as an astronomical term is as the plural κόλουροι, colures, meaning ‘two great circles passing through the equinocial and solstitial points, intersecting at poles’. Perhaps Weber thought that ‘stump-tailed’ could have been used as an epithet for a crab and thus also for Cancer. The usual Greek term for Cancer is Καρκίνος, and kulīra is in my opinion an earlier word in Sanskrit (also found in Pāli; cf. Mayrhofer, EWA s.v.). Actually the Indian word for Cancer, karkaṭa, seems to be so close to the Greek Καρκίνος that no borrowed word was needed and thus Karkī, attested in Yavanajātaka, was soon forgotten.
A parallel set of names for the planets was introduced beside the traditional Indian ones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Indian Name</th>
<th>Greek Name</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heli</td>
<td>Sūrya</td>
<td>῾Ηλιος</td>
<td>‘Sun’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himna/Hemna</td>
<td>Budha</td>
<td>᾿Ερμῆς</td>
<td>‘Mercury’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āra</td>
<td>Maṅgala</td>
<td>ᾎΑρης</td>
<td>‘Mars’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koṇa</td>
<td>Śani</td>
<td>Κρόνος</td>
<td>‘Saturn’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyau</td>
<td>Bṛhaspati</td>
<td>Ζεύς</td>
<td>‘Jupiter’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āsphujit</td>
<td>Śukra</td>
<td>᾿Αφροδίτη</td>
<td>‘Venus’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that in some cases the borrowed names acquired curious secondary meanings in Sanskrit, such as the rendering of Aquarius as *hṛdroga* ‘heart illness’ (for the real illness, the word was already used in the Ṛgveda) and Saturn as *koṇa* ‘corner’. An additional odd example is the translation of Capricorn as *makara*, a ‘sea-monster’, but this is confirmed by its iconographical presentations.

Furthermore, one finds such terms as *horā* < ὥρα ‘hour’ and *kendra* < κέντρον ‘the centre of a circle’, which were already noted by Father Pons in the 18th century.243 To these Weber (1852, 227 & 1853b, 254) was able to add a number of others. Thus we have the four positions or yogas of the Moon, already found in Yavanajātaka 10. The first is *sunaphā* (from Greek ᾳναφή), which is either a ‘conjunction of planets’ or, following Pingree, the position (yoga) of the moon when a planet is immediately ahead of the moon and the moon is about to catch up with it. The second, Weber’s *anaphā* < ἀναφή (in TGL only as the name of an island of the Sporades), is apparently the same as Sphujidhvaja’s *anapharā*, derived by Pingree from Greek ἀναφορά, when the moon has just passed a planet.

The third yoga is *daurudhura* (Sph:YJ) or *durudharā* < δορυφορία, the position (yoga) of the moon when there are planets both ahead of and behind it (Pingree).

The fourth is *kemadruma*, which Weber derived through the earlier *kremaduma* from χρηματισμός. This is curious, as χρηματισμός is ‘negotiation, deed, record, etc.’ and LSJ gives no astrological uses for it, but the verb χρηματίζω is used for astrological influences. According to MW, it is the Greek κενοδρόμος. LSJ only knows κενοδρομία ‘being without attendant planets’, and this is the very word

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242 Occasionally also *mṛga* ‘deer’. *Makara*, for instance, in the Yavanajātaka in 1, 23; 2, 40; 18, 56 ff.; 30, 73 ff.; 60, 73 ff.; 72, 1 f. and *mṛga* in 2, 38; 15, 19; 16, 19; 17, 19; 19, 46; 62, 64. In 1, 23 the *makara* is explained as being a sea-monster whose front is like that of a deer, but whose hindquarters are like those of a fish (*mrgārdhapūrvo makaro ‘mbugārdho*).

243 Weber’s reference is to *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* 26, 1743, 236 f.

244 In my text of VM:BJ, both appear side by side: *daurudhura* [sic] in 13, 3 and *daurudhura* in 13. 4 (both together with *sunaphā* and *anaphā*). But it is not a critical edition.
given by Pingree as the origin of *kemadruma*. In this *yoga* there are no planets immediately before or behind the Moon and none in the cardines.

Further additions by Weber include *dṛkāṇa* < δέκανος ‘the third part of a sign of the zodiac’ (*Sph drekkāṇa*, later variant *dreskāṇa*); *liptā* < λεπτή/λεπτό ‘minute of arc’ (*Sph:Y J liptaka/liptika*); *āpoklima* < ἀπόκλιμα ‘cadent place’; *paṇapharā* < ἀπόφαρα ‘a topos which follows a kentron’ (*Sph:Y J pāṇapharā*); *trikōṇa* < τρίγωνος ‘triangular (of planets having a triangular aspect)’; *hibuka* < ὑπόγειον ‘the fourth lagna or astrological house’; *jāmitra* < διάμετρον ‘the seventh mansion’; *meṣūraṇa* < μεσουράνημα ‘the tenth astrological house’; *dyutam* < δυτόν ‘the seventh mansion’; and *meṣūraṇa* < μεσουράνημα ‘the fourth lagna or astrological house’. Finally, according to Weber, *vesi* < φάσις is ‘the second house from that in which the sun is situated’. According to Pingree (note on *Sph:Y J* 11, 1), however, φάσις is Sanskrit *vāśi* and means ‘heliacal rising’, also called *udaya*, while the analogous word *vesi* is ‘heliacal setting’ (*asta*), corresponding to Greek κρύψης.

A few more were briefly listed by Goblet d’Alviella (1926, 79, without translations). Thus, *riṣphā* (MW *riṣpha* or *riḥpha*) ‘name of the 12th astrological house’ is derived from Greek ῥιψή (see also Weber 1853b, 281, but TGL and LSJ have only ῥίψη = ῥῖψις ‘throwing, hurling’). He also adds *harija* < ὁρίζων ‘horizon’ and *dūṣikya* < τοχικόν. The last one is not found in the MW, and the Greek is equally unknown (not in TGL & LSJ). Perhaps *Toξίκον* as the Sagittarius is meant, but this is usually *Toξότης*.

It is mainly thanks to the fine work of David Pingree about the origins and history of Indian astronomy and astrology that I can offer some corrections and additions. Perhaps it is best to show all these loanwords alphabetically in a table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anaphā</td>
<td>ἀναφή</td>
<td>Weber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anapharā</td>
<td>ἀναφορά</td>
<td>Pingree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āpoklima</td>
<td>ἀπόκλιμα</td>
<td>Weber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dṛkāṇa, etc.</td>
<td>δέκανος</td>
<td>Weber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daurudhura &amp; durudharā</td>
<td>δορυφορία</td>
<td>Weber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūṣikya</td>
<td>τοχικόν</td>
<td>G. d’Alviella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyuta</td>
<td>δυτόν</td>
<td>Weber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harija</td>
<td>ὁρίζων</td>
<td>G. d’Alviella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hibuka</td>
<td>ὑπόγειον</td>
<td>Weber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

245 It is interesting to note that *Sphujidhvaja* in *Yavanajātaka* 1, 49 expressly states that the word *jāmitra* comes from the Yavana language. We are rarely favoured with this kind of testimony. The word is also found in Kālidāsa’s *KS* 7, 1.

246 As I am unfamiliar (especially in English) with many of these terms, the translations are founded on MW and LSJ.
Finally, we must briefly consider the occurrences of these names and words. As the number of passages quoted has already grown rather extensive, I have decided not to include all text passages in which these Greek loanwords are used (with a few important exceptions). Instead, I give them in a table, this time following the Indian alphabetical order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sph:YJ</th>
<th>VM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anapharā</td>
<td>ἀναφορά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphā</td>
<td>ἀναφή (not in LSJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ākokera</td>
<td>Αἰγόκερως 'Capricornus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āpoklima</td>
<td>ἀπόκλιμα 'cadent place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āra</td>
<td>ᾅΡης 'Mars'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āshphujit</td>
<td>᾿Αφροδίτη 'Venus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itha</td>
<td>᾿Ιχθύς 'Pisces'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karkin</td>
<td>Καρκίνος 'Cancer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulinā</td>
<td>Κόλοφος (?) 'Cancer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kondra</td>
<td>κέντρον 'centre of a circle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemadruma</td>
<td>κενοδρομία 'being without attendant planets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koṇa</td>
<td>Κρόνος 'Saturn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaurpi/kaurpya</td>
<td>Σκορπίος 'Scorpio'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kriya</td>
<td>Κριός 'Aries'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jāmitra</td>
<td>διάμετρον 'the 7th lunar mansion'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

247 Note that Sphujidhvaja usually uses Indian names or just numbers for the zodiacal signs.
248 In lexicography, this is also Saturn (pw).
249 As pointed out above, I take this as a pure Sanskrit word. In the list of signs in VM:BJ 1, 8, ten names are loanwords, but in addition Pisces is called antyabha, as the last sign (the name was originally given to the last nakṣatra). Aside from Cancer, kulīra is also used in the meaning of 'crab'.
250 He also used kaṇṭaka 'spike' (e.g. 1, 61).
251 These terms are rarely found outside astronomical and astrological texts, but this is attested
Among the five classical Siddhāntas of Indian astronomy, two of them – Pauliśa and Romaka (see VM:PS 1, 3 f.) – are probably of Western origin. The original Romakasiddhānta was apparently lost early on, while Pauliśa was still available to al-Bīrūnī. In both of these schools, the location of Yavanapura (Thibaut’s Alexandria), and in the latter also Romakaviṣaya, is used as a basis for reckoning. The identification is confirmed by al-Bīrūnī, who says that the Pauliśasiddhānta is written by Paulus al-Yūnānī, perhaps meaning the Eisagoge of Paulus Alexandrinus. Pauliśa’s home town is given as Saintra, which al-Bīrūnī probably rightly identifies as Alexandria.255

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252 See Dokhata in the Und Inscription (CII II: 1, 1929, 170 f.).
253 In fact, this could also be a pure Sanskrit word.
254 For this, PW refers to MkP 109, 39 and KāmNītis 4, 33.
255 Sachau’s translation, p. 153. The passage was already pointed out by Weber 1852, 226. The
In a curious passage in the Mahābhārata (8, 30, 80), the Yavanas are surprisingly (in comparison to other epic accounts) called omniscient (sarvajña). This matches rather well with the high opinion of the Yavanas expressed by some Indian astrologers, and it has often been explained as an echo of them. However, I wonder whether this passage is really meant as irony.\(^{256}\) Perhaps the meaning is that even if the Yavanas themselves think that they are omniscient and great heroes, it is a creation of their own fancy and other people cannot understand it. More unambiguous is the laud quoted from the Gargasaṁhitā by Varāhamihira (BS 2, 32). In the late Jaiminīṣṭhāra, they are honoured by other barbarians (27, 30 mlecchāpūjyaśair ... yavanair), but do violence to the holy tradition (śruti).

Sphujidhvaja and Minarāja referred to Yavanas as authorities in astrology. In later astrological literature, Yavana or Yavanācārya (Vṛddhayavana, Yavaneśvara) is often mentioned as an important ancient authority.\(^{257}\) Al-Bīrūnī refers to a large Indian manual of astrology called the Yavana. Perhaps the same is also mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala and other commentators, but the actual manuscripts of works ascribed to this Yavana are of late origin.\(^{258}\)

In the Bṛhajjātaka (7, 1), Varāhamihira also mentions among authorities in astrology Manīttha, who was earlier identified as the Greek astrologer Manetho.\(^{259}\) In fact, there is a work called the Varṣaphala that is ascribed to Maṇīttha, but it is much later than Varāhamihira.\(^{260}\)

It must be mentioned in passing here that according to such works as the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa and Varāhamihira’s Yogāyātrā, the moon is born among the Yavanas (i.e. in the West). In the Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Varāhamihira often notes the
influence of the planets and stars on various peoples, including the Yavanas.261 There is a nice parallel to this found in the more or less similar Greek astrological lists, where the supposed influence of the celestial bodies on Indians is occasionally mentioned.262

Aside from constructing robots and flying machines, the scholarship of Yavanas is always connected with astronomy and astrology. While there have been many attempts to find some connections (in either way) in the field of medicine, the texts only testify to the trade of some drugs. Indian physicians were occasionally lauded by the historians of Alexander, especially for their skill in treating snake bites, but they never came to the Greek West. In Indian literature, we once meet (in the Vasudevahiṇḍī p. 38 f.) an envoy from the Javaṇa country who knows a miraculous cure for leprosy, but this is hardly more than a narrative motif and definitely not a testimony of the medical skills of Yavanas. The method of the cure, a bath in the blood of a young horse, comes no more from Greek than from Indian medicine, but Indian narrative literature also contains other cases where a bath in blood is involved (e.g. the KSS).

261 See BS 4, 22; 5, 78,80; 9, 21,35; 10, 6,15,18; 13, 9; 18, 6. The related part of the AP does not mention the Yavanas.
262 See, e.g. Hephaestio, Apotelesmata 1, 21, 17 & 28, 1, 22, 6; Ioannes Lydus, De prodigis 26 & 57.
7. FEMALE GUARDS, COURTESANS, AND SLAVE-WOMEN

We must not forget the Yavanīs (or Yāvanīs), the Yavana women and girls.\(^{263}\) They are said to have formed the royal guard of ancient Indian kings, but they are also found as courtesans. In both cases, they probably arrived in India as slaves.\(^{264}\)

According to classical dramas and manuals of dramaturgy, the Indian king was surrounded by female servants and female bodyguards. In the Arthaśāstra, the king upon rising from his bed should be surrounded by female guards bearing bows.\(^{265}\) From Megasthenes\(^{266}\) we know that already in the Mauryan period, women were employed accordingly and that they were purchased from their parents for this purpose. In Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā, a text that does not mention Yavanas, we meet these female warriors as guards surrounding the king’s bed (śayanapālikāḥ), and it is made quite clear that they are different from his wives. A little later on in the same story, one of them carries his sword (pratihārīhastād asim ādāya). In another passage, the young women (yuvatijanam) around the prince are prepared to defend him against an attacker.\(^{267}\) In Manu, the women are just servants whose task it is to serve the king in his toilet, fan him and offer him water and incense (7, 219) for daily wages (7, 125, both passages quoted in Karttunen 1997, 91).

In most cases the ethnic origin of these women is not indicated, but in Kālidāsa they are Yavanīs. Both in the Śakuntalā (act 2, beginning) and in the Vikramorvaśī (act 5, beginning), they are carrying the king’s arms. We do not have much

\(^{263}\) Pāṇini’s feminine yavanānī was apparently never used for Yavana women.

\(^{264}\) I have not been able to find A.N. Kephallenos’s book Αἰ ἑλληνίδες ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ ἰνδικῷ δράματι (“On the Greek hetairas in Indian drama”, Athens 1887), but as it is called “inane quod-dam opusculum” by Lévi 1890a, 42, I do not think that it would have changed my discussion.

\(^{265}\) KAŚ 1, 21, 1 śayanād utthitaḥ strīgaṇair dhanvibhiḥ parigṛhīta.

\(^{266}\) F 32 in Strabo 15, 1, 55; from the same perhaps, see also Curtius 8, 9, 29f. (an Indian king is surrounded by women serving him). In Diodorus 2, 38, 6, Dionysus has female soldiers in his army. See also Rawlinson 1926, 46 ff., Thapar 1963, 88, and Schwarz 1966, 73.

\(^{267}\) See Jātakamālā story 28, p. 189 f. Kern (191f. Vaidya, 259f. & 261 Speyer); story 31, p. 210 Kern (219 Vaidya, 296 Speyer). In the Rāmāyaṇa 2, 14, 3, aged female guards watch at Rāma’s door, dressed in saffron-coloured robes, richly ornamented, holding their staffs; in 2, 59, 5, women guard Daśaratha’s bed. Armed female guards also appear in Rājaśekhara’s Karpūramañjarī 4, 9+ and Bāṇa’s Harṣacarita 4, p. 59 Kane (yāmikinī). Rājaśekhara’s pratihārī is guarding a prisoner, armed with bow, lance, sword and shield. See Lévi 1890b, 126 and Keith 1924, 61 f. I intend to discuss this in a separate article. In a personal letter (5.2.2014), Professor Schlingloff points out that the arms-bearing and brassiere-wearing woman painted on a scene identified as the legend of King Śibi (Jātakamālā 2) must be a foreigner, apparently a yavanī guard. See Schlingloff 2013, 234.
further evidence, but there are a few passages in Greek and Indian sources that perhaps could be connected with the importing of Greek girls to India. On his third voyage to India, Eudoxus had girl musicians (μουσικὰ παιδισκάρια) on board (Strabo 2, 3, 4). The Greek Periplus maris Erythraei, which lists the various trade articles bought and sold at a profit in Indian ports, points out that slave musicians and beautiful girls (μουσικὰ και παρθένοι εὐειδεῖς) were imported to Barygaza, where they were especially meant for the king. These must have been Western girls. If not strictly Greek, they would have been at least more or less Hellenized, and therefore in India called Yavanīs. In the Mahābhārata, the Śūdras of Bharukaccha presented as their tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira “a hundred thousand slave girls from Kārpāsika, dark, slender, and long-haired, decked with golden ornaments”. At least this confirms Bharukaccha’s significance as a place where female slaves were trafficked.

Weber mentions inscriptive evidence of Sasanids giving slave girls as tribute to Samudragupta. This appears to refer to a passage in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription (line 23 f.), of which it is stated that the peoples beyond the frontiers (daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi-śaka-muruṇḍaiḥ saimhalakādibhiś ca) showed their acceptance of the Gupta overlordship, inter alia, by conveying a gift of girls (kanyopāyanadāna). The authors of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. 3 translate this as “offering (their own) daughters in marriage”, but upāyana is not necessarily pradāna and the old interpretation may be correct. In any case,

268 In secondary literature, there are sometimes too many Yavanīs. For example, Kumar 2000, 213 finds them in the Mudrārākṣasa and Bhāsa, but he uses secondary references. For the Mudrārākṣasa (act 3), he correctly refers to Rawlinson 1926, 47, but in the text itself I can only find a female (but not Greek) servant (Mudr 3, 3+ pratihārī). For Bhāsa, see Keith 1924, 61, note 2, where he refers to Lindenau, Bhāsa-Studien (1918, p. 42). After a long search I found a copy of Lindenau’s dissertation in Vienna and read the note starting on p. 41. He claims that “bei Bhāsa treten bereits die yavanikās als Dienerinnen an indischen Königshöfen auf (im Trauerspiel Ūrubhaṅga)”. This is curious – especially with yavanikā as the name of Greek servants – but in the text (65+ just before the end) yavanikāstaraṇan karoti probably means that the dead king was covered with a cloth, not by a Yavanikā. There is a female servant (pratihārī) in Bhāsa’s Pratimānāṭaka 6, 4+.

269 Periplus Ch. 49. This passage was already noted by Weber 1890, 910 and Lévi 1890a, 42. See both Eudoxus and the Periplus in Kumar 2000, 214.

270 Mbh 2, 47, 71. śataṁ dāsīsahasrāṇāṁ kārpāsikanivāsinām / śyāmās tanvyo dīrghakeśyo hemābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ // śūdrā ... bharukachanivāsināḥ. One also finds slave girls as a present, this time to Kṛṣṇa, in Mbh 5, 84, 8. The gift of a large number of slave girls is quite common as a topos in Indian literature. Often they were also given to Brahmin sages (e.g. Rām 2, 29, 13 & 71, 3), although the question remains what these people did with them.

271 Weber 1890, 910, referring to Lassen; see also Kumar 2000, 214.

272 It is not clear whether this hails from Fleet’s original volume, from D.R. Bhandarkar’s revision, or from Chhabra and Gai, who completed the revision. The passage is found in Bhandarkar 1981, 218.
female guards were used, and it was perhaps deemed wise to use foreigners who had no family ties or political interests to interfere with their loyalty. It is not clear, however, whether the Šāhānuṣāhi kings really were Sasanids.

In several Jaina works, both canonical and post-canonical, we have a list of female slaves, and in most cases Yavanīs (as Joṇiyā, Joṇikā) are included together with Palhaviyās and Ārabīs (Parthians and Arabs). A different list is found in the Aṅgavijjā (9, 259; see Karttunen 2005), which was perhaps written in the mid-first millennium (Pingree 1981, 75 close to Varāhamihira).

A Yavana courtesan with coarse language is located in Pāṭaliputra in the monologue play Pādatāḍitaka (110+–111). Her name, Karpūraturīṣṭhā, means one who is very abundant in camphor; it is also Indian. The account is almost entirely conventional, and even the reference to drinking applies as well to a courtesan as to a Greek woman. This passage has been used as an argument for the early date of the play; for instance, the Kāmasūtra does not mention Yavanīs at all. But such an argument ex silentio does not have much force.

Kālidāsa (Rv 4, 61) described wine-drinking Yavana women in their northwestern (Indo-Greek) homeland, and King Jayadratha of Sind in the Mahābhārata (11, 22, 11) had Yavana wives. In the narrative literature, the Yavanas live beyond the sea. In the Brāhatkathāślokaśāṅkhyā (18, 277), we meet a Yanava woman married to an Indian merchant who then decides to visit his wife’s relatives in their country, here called Yavanī or Yavanadeśa, which is reached by the sea. The wife herself is simply called Yāvanī. Another Yavana wife of an Indian merchant is met in the Daśakumāracarita (Pūrvap. 4), but here the marriage is celebrated on Yavana Island. In another passage (BKŚś 17, 53), some Yavanīs are seen in the port of Campā in Bengal.

In the rather late Jaiminibhārata (17), the royal guard is composed of male Yavanas, not female ones. The king they are serving is Haṁsadhvaja of Campā (Bengal). These Yavanas are rather ruthless mercenaries sent by the king to fetch

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273 However, I do not follow Weber when he claims that Greek or Hellenized girls in India there taught the cult of Eros with the dolphin and thus created the standard cult and iconography of Kāma. Weber (1890, 917; see Lévi 1890a, 59 f.) further claimed that Kādambara and other romantic novels were influenced by Greek works carried to India by Yavana women. Of course, slave girls hardly had any luggage, and any comparison of Greek and Indian novels shows how completely different the two genres are. But Weber was often too keen to see Greek influences in ancient India.

274 Cf. Nāyādhammakahāo 1, 117; Uvavāya 55; Rāyapaseṇaśīyam; Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti 43; Nisīha 9, 29; and several later texts. The list also appears in Viyāhapaṇṇatti 9, 33, but without Yavanīs.

275 The scholiast gloss on the KS 2, 5, 32, stating that vanavāsikā means yavanī is very late (1788 CE) and, Vanavāsa being in the north of Karnataka, is either a mistake or a reference to Muslim women. Here we may also note that although so claimed by Jain 1979, 3, the Namayāsundarikathā of Mahendrasūri does not deal with Greek courtesans (see my note on the text).
his unwilling son when he fails to join his father in war. This seems to be a Southern custom, as male Yavana bodyguards are also mentioned much earlier in Tamil poetry (Cilappatikāram 14, 66 f.). Because of their outward appearance (sleeved jacket with no dhoti, boots or sandals, short curly hair and a fillet worn on the head), Harle identifies a number of male doorkeepers and other statues as Yavanas – though partly also accepting other Westerners under this name.\(^{276}\)

The Devībhāgavatapurāṇa (9) mentions Yāvanī yoni in a list of undesirable births, in this case connected with the supposed sinfulness and low social status of the Yavanas. Kālidāsa (Rv 4, 61) also disapproved of the wine-drinking habits of the north-western Yavana women. An extreme example of this is the late legend of the SkP (2, 7, 24) of a Kāśmīri girl married to a Brāhmaṇa from the Yavana country. Neglected by her husband, named Satyaśīla, this Mālinī forgot all of her duties and ended up giving poison to him. She was advised in this course of action by other women who had been abandoned by their husbands, and the poison was obtained from a yoginī. Ultimately, of course, Mālinī ended up in a hell-realm and was reborn as a bitch. While the story exploits age-old themes of the sinfulness of the North-Westerners and of women,\(^{277}\) it seems to me to allude to a period when the majority of the North-Westerners already were Muslims (and called Yavanas). Note, however, that the name Satyaśīla sounds rather Buddhist. It is also a bit curious to find a Brahmin living in a mleccha country, but perhaps it could apply to present Pakistan in mediaeval and early modern times, with Hindus and Brahmans living among the Muslim majority. Another late source (BdhP 6, 89) forbade intercourse with Yavanīs and other mleccha women, as it led to a loss of caste and being cursed by the gods.

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\(^{276}\) Harle 1971. Such dvārapālas have been found, i. al., at Aihole, Nagarjunakonda, Pithalkhora and Udayagiri, and other similar statues at Bharhut and Sanchi. Before Harle, Roberts 1959, 114 suggested that the spear-bearing girls guarding the harem in a Gandhāra relief representing the renunciation of the Bodhisattva are Yavanīs. In another relief, similar girls are also guarding Māyā as she sleeps.

\(^{277}\) Much earlier, Greek authors explained the custom of saṅh as a result of men’s fear of their unfaithful wives poisoning them (Diodorus 19, 30).
8. BUDDHIST MONKS AND LAYMEN

In Pāli sources, we meet both Greek (Yona) bhikkhus and Buddhist missionary activity in the Yona country (Yonaloka, Yonarattha). Often these seem to refer to the Indo-Greek country in the north-west, as is certainly the case with the Milindapañha, but occasionally the Hellenistic West is suggested. We know from inscriptions that as early as the third century BCE, Aśoka sent his Dhamma envoys there.

In several Pāli commentaries and chronicles quoted in the section of Buddhist texts, it is told how the wise bhikkhu Yonakamahādhammarakkhitatthera impressed Aśoka’s brother Tissa with his miraculous abilities and converted him to Buddhism. Seeing the miracles, Tissa immediately decided to go forth and with his brother’s permission received the pabbajā ordination from the same monk.

In the great council held in Pāṭaliputra under the patronage of Aśoka, Thera Moggaliputta Tissa (not the same as Aśoka’s brother Tissa) sent monks as missionaries to teach the Dhamma in various countries. Among them was Yonakadhammarakkhitatthera, who went to Aparantaka (Gujarat), and Mahārakkhitatthera, who went to the Yonaloka. In every country the mission was successful (of course, for what else could ecclesiastical history claim). The people of the Yonaloka were converted with the help of the Kāḷakārāmasuttanta (AN vol. 2) and the Aparantakas with the Aggikkhandopamasuttanta (AN 4). This account is found in a number of sources.

It is always entirely conventional, however, without any specific information about these countries or the monks who converted them. The much discussed question of the relation of the Indo-Greeks to Buddhism remains somewhat open; the coins and inscriptions do not corroborate a large-scale acceptance of Buddhism in the Indo-Greek period, while Buddhism is very prominently represented in the subsequent Kūṣāna period. The evidence of the Milindapañha was already discussed in Chapter 3 above, and Menander’s conversion may be a fictional account. There is no further evidence that the Indo-Greeks – who, after all, were a very small upper class soon mixed with others – accepted Buddhism, but they were certainly not averse to local Iranian and Indian cults.

278 Vin-C 1, p. 55; Itivuttaka-C 2, p. 154; Thg-C, 2, p. 227 f.; Mv 5, 160–165 with Mv-C.
279 There are other passages featuring monks with related names: the ascetic monk Yoṇatthera of the DN-C 3, Yonamahārakkhita coming from the Yonanagara Alasanda in the Mv (see below), and Yonadharmarakkhittha in the Sīhalavatthu pakkaraṇa 59.
280 Vin-C, Mv 12, Dv 8, Mahābodhi vāraṇaṇa, Thūpavaṇṇa 6, and the modern Sāsanavaṇṇa.
If Greece (as Yonaloka, or rather Greek north-west India) was converted (and we do know that Buddhism was rooted rather early in the area of modern Pakistan and Afghanistan), it is, of course, quite natural to meet Greek monks. In the Vinaya Commentary (Vin-C 7, p. 1336), four such monks come from Yonakavisa to Sri Lanka to visit a famous caitya. When the Sinhala King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was celebrating his victory over the Tamil king Elāra (around 100 BCE), Yonamahārakkhita came from Yonanagara Alasanda with no less than 30,000 bhikkhus in his retinue to attend the festivities. Alasanda is clearly Alexandria, but it is not quite clear which Alexandria is meant (see Chapter 13 below). Many centuries later, during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu I (1153–1186), the Yavanas (sic not Yonas) brought presents to Sri Lanka, but this seems to refer to Arabs (Cūlavārīsa 76). In fact, it seems that the word was again, and now in unchanged form as yavana, borrowed from Sanskrit into Pāli with its new meaning as Arab or Muslim without recognition of its relationship to the traditional yona. Another late text (the Saddhamopāyana from about 1150 CE) presents Yavanas as tormentors of cattle.

Another Yonakadhammarakkhitatthera, a learned monk mentioned in the Vibhaṅga commentary (p. 389) as teaching the monk Tissa from Sri Lanka, was apparently living in India (paratīraṁ from Sri Lanka). In the late Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa (59), Yonakadhammarakkhita is one of the pupils of Thera Kāḷakandaratissa, and he goes to Pāṭaliputra. Finally, a monk named Yona is said to have followed the ascetic custom of the early theras to go for years without lying down on a bed (DN-C 3, p. 736).

In an anachronistically early period, there should have been a Yona quarter in Anurādhapura, the ancient Sinhala capital (Mv 10). The passage was discussed by Ayrton (1915) as actually reflecting the situation in the sixth century, the time of the compilation of the Mahāvamsa. He also points out that a quarter inhabited by (South) Arabian merchants in Anurādhapura was mentioned somewhat earlier by Faxian. I definitely find Ayrton’s explanation more attractive than Weerakkody’s (1997, 38) idea “that during his [Paṇḍukābhaya’s] reign (377–307 BCE) Greeks from the north-western India might have made their way to Sri Lanka in some numbers”. However, Weerakkody goes on to note that the text is far from certain here. Instead of a separate Yona quarter, it is possible that King Paṇḍukābhaya only “fixed the common ground”.

281 Lamotte 1958, 328 locates Yonaloka in Gedrosia and Arachosia.
282 Mv 29; see also Thūpav 13.
283 Beal 1884, lxxiv. Beal reads the Chinese name as Sa-poh and explains it as Sabaean.
Much later, in the Sīhalavatthuppakarana (81), a mountain in Sri Lanka was called Yonakagiri. In some late Pāli sources, the Yonas were located in South-East Asia, but this will be discussed in Chapter 10 below.

We have already seen Yavanas being mentioned as Buddhists in inscriptions, and we have discussed the problem of which people gave donations to Buddhist monasteries in Maharashtra.

The expansion of Buddhism in Asia was a triumph indeed, and Buddhist historians did their best to reflect its glory. Nevertheless, the westernmost traces of active Buddhism are found in eastern Iran and western Central Asia. In the Graeco-Roman West, very little was known of Buddhism. One only finds short and inexact accounts by Clement of Alexandria and Jerome and an anti-Manichaean apocryphal story. Some Buddhists certainly visited western countries — we know of Aśoka’s envoys and of the Sri Lankan embassy to Claudius — but it seems that there were never Buddhist communities in the West. Therefore, the Yonas from Alexandria probably came from north-west India.
9. YAVANA LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT, YAVANA PRODUCTS

Following our basic hypothesis of equating the Yavanas and Yonas in early sources with the Greeks, it is only natural to find passages mentioning their language and script, which is to say Greek language and Greek script. These were certainly used in Indo-Greek principalities (as evidenced by coins and some inscriptions) and previously in Mauryan Arachosia, where Aśoka ordered his edicts to be carved both in Greek and in Aramaic. Even earlier, Greek script can be found in Greek coins circulating in the eastern parts of the Achaemenid Empire.

The Yavana or Yona language is mentioned in the conventional lists of languages in Buddhist sources.\textsuperscript{284} The shorter Pāli list mentions only Damila (Tamil), Kirāta and Yavana as barbarian languages. Kirāta is perhaps a Tibeto-Burman language. The Dīghanikāya subcommentary adds to these the Pārasika or Persian language. A longer list is given in the Vibhaṅga commentary. It has no less than eighteen languages, the five first being Oṭṭa (Orīya?), Kirāṭa, Andhaka (Āndhra, i.e. Telugu), Yonaka and Damila. They are all inferior to Māgadhabhāsā (i.e. Pāli), which is also said to be spoken in the heavenly Devaloka. In the Sanskrit Mahāvastu, Yavana – if the reading is correct – is mentioned together with the languages of the Śaka, Cīna, Ramaṭha, Pahlava and Darada peoples, and thus it belongs to the north-west.

Another list is found in Kumārilabhaṭṭa’s Tantravārttika, in which the barbarian languages of the Pārasikas (Persian), Yavanas (Greek or Arabic?), Raumakas (Latin or Greek?) and Barbaras (perhaps Turkish?) are mentioned.\textsuperscript{285} The contact between India and Rome had always been mainly through the Greek-speaking eastern part of the Roman Empire, and there is no clear evidence at all of any knowledge of the Latin language in India. In the time of Kumārila in the 7th century (or, according to some, the 8th century), Rome already belonged to the distant past. Both in Greece and the Near East, the name was commonly used for Byzantium. Therefore, it seems natural to take the raumaka language here to be Greek,\textsuperscript{286} which leaves only Arabic as the meaning of yavana. This is very well possible. Frequent contact with Greeks (the original Yavanas) had subsided as

\textsuperscript{284} DN-C 1, p. 176 (with the subcommentary) = AN-C 2, p. 289, further in the Vibh-C p. 387, Mohavicchedānī p. 186 and in the Sanskrit Mvst 1, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{285} The whole passage has been recently discussed in an interesting paper by Deshpande (2008), but the question of the identification of these languages is not tackled by him.

\textsuperscript{286} In Arabic and Persian, rūmī is the common word for Byzantine and Greek (later even for Turkish). It is also known in Urdu.
early as the fourth century and there were close commercial relations with Arabs even before the rise of Islām.

The farce Pādatāditaka mentions the coarse language of a Yavana courtesan living in Pāṭaliputra. She did not speak Greek, however, but Sanskrit (or rather Prākrit) with a broken (Greek?) accent. It must be noted that the piece is a bhāṇa, a monologue play, where the unseen characters do not speak for themselves, but are only quoted by the single actor, the viṭa, who always speaks Sanskrit. From manuals of dramaturgy, we further learn that characters who speak a foreign language must speak Prākrit on stage.\(^{287}\)

Yavana speech as being coarse is also mentioned in Tamil classics.\(^{288}\) The only passage where something is identified as being a Yavana word (yavanābhīdhāna) is found in Sphujidhvaja’s Yavanajātaka (1, 49), where the astrological term jāmitra is defined in that way (i.e. Greek διάμετρον mentioned above).

In addition to the famous Vārttika of Kātyāyana (yavanānī lipiḥ, on P 4, 1, 49, then quoted in many grammatical texts),\(^{289}\) Yavana writing is also mentioned in the Jaina Samavāyāṅga (18, 43) and Pannavanā (1, 107). The Jaina list begins with Brāhmī (Bairbhi) and has Javanīyā in the second place. A different list of eighteen writings is given by Śīlaṅka (Cauppanṇamahāpurisacarīṇī 124) in the late 10th century. Here again Brāhmī is the first, but Javanī only appears as the third from the end.

The Buddhist Mahāvastu (1, 135) also has a list of various scripts, in which Javanī is found immediately after Brāhmī, Puṣkarasārī and Kharoṣṭhī. There are more than 20 additional kinds of scripts mentioned, some of them quite difficult to explain. In fact, the whole list is rather problematic and does not have much force as evidence for the Yavana script. The form yavanī is just an emendation made by Senart (and yonānī by Edgerton), while the manuscripts seem to have yonārī (see de Jong 1999). A mention of Greek writing would be quite natural here, but it is not certain. It is also included in the corresponding list in the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the Lalitavistara, but only found in a single manuscript of the Sanskrit text.

It is difficult to say much here in way of conclusion. In any case, before the rise of Islām, Greek must have been the best-known form of foreign writing in India.

\(^{287}\) In a list assigned to a note on BhN 17, 45 (18, 44 Ghosh in text), some manuscripts list Barbaras, Kirātas, Andhras and Draviḍas and assign Śaurasenī to them. But Sāhityadarpaṇa 432 omits the rule and actually states that Draviḍas speak Drāviḍi. Note that the famous passage of VasDh (6, 41, below) clearly prohibits the learning of mleccha languages.

\(^{288}\) Patirruppattu 2, Cilappatikāram 28 and 29.

\(^{289}\) See, e.g. Pat. & Kāś. ad loc.; Laghukaum. 1364; Durgādāsa in ŚKDr; see also Cāndravy. 2, 3, 54 and Śākatāyana 1, 3, 56.
Despite its importance as the origin of Kharoṣṭhī, Aramaic script was never much used, even in north-west India. Greek writing, after the Aśokan Greek edicts and the Indo-Greeks, was still used in coins by Śakas, Kṣatrapas and Kuśāṇas (as well as by Kuśāṇas for writing their Iranian language, called Bactrian). Early astrologists in Western India were familiar with Greek technical texts. In early sources, therefore, references to Yavana writing likely mean Greek writing. But when Muslims arrived in India — and even before that, through scholarly contacts — Arabic writing became more familiar in India.

Although a late (around 1400) manual of dramaturgy (the Rasārṇavasudhākāra) explains that Yavanas on stage speak Apabhraṁśa (or, according to some, Māgadhī), this hardly indicates anything other than that Muslims in India were rarely capable of speaking Sanskrit. In an earlier source (see BhN above), non-Aryans in general were assigned Śaurasenī. A still later reference to Yavana language is discussed at the end of Chapter 12.

There are also some articles of commerce mentioned in Sanskrit sources by a word containing the name Yavana, though these sources are generally of a late date. Earlier evidence, however, is found in Tamil and Pāli classics, in the Periplus and in archaeological material. A comparison of these provides a more reliable picture.

In the ancient Tamilakam, the Yavaṉar are described as bringing gold (i.e. coins, Roman aurei) and wine in their swift ships and buying pepper and jewels. This is confirmed by parallel evidence from both Western literary accounts and archaeological finds. A great number of Western amphora fragments have been found in South Indian sites, along with even more numerous coin finds, while the Roman importation of pepper and jewels from India is attested in a great number of Western sources.

Alexandrian lamps have been found in Bagram, Ter (Maharashtra), Arikamedu, and South-East Asia. A Yona image holding a lamp is mentioned in Pāli commentaries. Tamil sources also mention various kinds of Yavana lamps. Although somewhat uncertain, one epigraphical source refers to a Yavana lamp shaped like

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290 See also the early discussion in Weber 1862, 5 ff. and Lévi 1890a, 46 f.
291 Wine in Puṟanāṉūru 56; gold and pepper in Akanāṉūru 149; jewels in Patiruppattu 2; trade in general in Cilappatikāram 5. The mention of gold speaks against Tüken’s late dates for Cankam poetry, as Roman gold was only imported in the first century. It is also difficult to accept wine as an important ware traded by Arabs. Without naming Yavanas, the gold and pepper trade in Muciṟi is also mentioned in the Puṟanāṉūru 343, 1–10, quoted by De Romanis 1997a, 94 f.
292 See Karttunen 1997, 328 ff. for further references.
293 MN-C 3, 19 & Udāna-C 410.
294 Maṇimēkalai 1, 45; Nakkiṟar, Neṭunalvāṭai 101 f.; Perumpāṉāṟṟuppaṭai 316 ff.; Perunkatāi 1, 38.
the mouth of a fish. In the Tamil South, also Yavana-made boxes were appreciated (Cīvakacintāmaṇi 1, 557; Peruṅkatai 1, 32, 76 & 3, 22, 213). A viṁśā made by Yavanas seems to indicate Yavana craftsmen residing in India (Peruṅkatai 3, 16, 22). In the Maṇimēkalai (19, 108), Yavana carpenters assist in the building of a pavilion for the Chola.

The Vinaya Commentary (5, 1084) mentions Yona footwear that covered the whole foot, up to the leg. Greek shoes were entirely different, of course, but perhaps some kind of soldiers’ boots were meant. White Yona cloth (setavattha) is mentioned in the Aṅguttaranikāya Commentary, and the Greeks certainly had a predilection for white clothes. Further in the Vinaya Commentary (5, 1086), Yonaka cloth is described as being similar to that woven by Damiḷas. The attire of Yavana soldiers is briefly described in the Tamil Pattuppāṭṭu (Mullaipp. 59–62).

Red coral comes from the Mediterranean, and it was among the important Western imports in India. As such, it is repeatedly mentioned in the Periplus (39 in Barbaricum, 49 in Barygaza, and 56 in South India). Pliny (31, 11, 23) knew that men in India appreciated coral as much as women in Rome appreciated pearls. The origin is probably reflected in the names of some varieties of coral (pravālaka, vidruma) mentioned in the Arthaśāstra (ālasandaka) and Garuḍapurāṇa (romaka). I shall return to these in the context of Alexandria (Chapter 13) and Rome (Chapter 14).

In Sanskrit lexicography – admittedly a late source as a whole, but often containing older traditions – there are several trade articles named after the Yavanas. The discussion here does not include very late sources, such as the Toḍaramalla.

The pepper (marica) is called yavanapriya ‘dear to Yavanas’ (also Tamil yavaṉappiriyam) and yavaneṣṭa ‘longed for by Yavanas’. Early on pepper became an important export from South India; from the first century CE, it came to be much sought after in the Roman Empire. In the Kashmirian Nīlamatapurāṇa (943), Yavanapriya is the name of a nāga. All of these instances are late enough to allow an explanation of Yavana as referring to Westerners in general (see Weber

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295 This is a very brief summary of Karttunen 2000. On the Alluru inscription (2nd/3rd century), see Ray 1988, 315 (= 1995, 81).
296 AN-C 1, 90 f. This is the colour of the monk’s robe used in the time of the Buddha Kassapa (instead of the usual orange).
297 KA 2, 11, 42; GP 1, 80, 2. See Scharfe 1968, 317 ff.; De Romanis 1997b, 227 f. (note 101); and Karttunen 1997, 246 f. According to Finot’s likely emendation, rāmaka (a sort of coral in Ratnaparīkṣā 250) is romaka.
298 Hemacandra, Abhidh. 3, 84; Tamil in Yāḻppāṇattu maṉippāyakarāti.
299 DhN, RN, Soḍhala 1, 2, 341.
300 It was known even earlier as a rare medicine, but only then did it become very common as a spice. See Karttunen 1997, 149 ff.
1890, 911 f.) or even Muslims (as probably understood by Hemacandra and others who mentioned them), but the Greeks in their time were as much interested in pepper as later Arabs. Thus, the origins of the word can be much earlier.

It is not so clear why lead (sīsa) is also known as yavaneṣṭa. In the Periplus (49 & 56), lead is mentioned among the Western exports to India. There is not much lead found in India and it can hardly have figured prominently among Indian exports bought by the Greeks.

Frankincense (silba) is called yavaneṣṭa ‘arising in the Yavana country’ and yāvana, but also turiṣka ‘Turkish’. Here Yavaneṣṭa is easily understood as Arabia, and in this sense the incense really is yavaneṣṭa, born in Arabia. One of the commentaries of the Amarakośa (Liṅgayasūri’s Amarapadavivṛti) actually glosses Yavaneṣṭa with Turiṣkadeśa, and a gloss on Hemacandra’s Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (3, 312) explains turiṣka (here also as a name for frankincense) as yavaneṣṭa, while Daḷhaṇa (on Suśruta 1, 13) explains Yavana as Turiṣkadeśa. Yāvana and turiṣka as names of olibanum are also found in the RN/DhN and the Soḍhalanighaṇṭu (1, 3, 376) and further in the Pāli Abhidhānapadipikā.

One wonders why bdellium (guggulu) was supposed to be hated by the Greeks or Arabs, as it is called yavanadviṣṭa (RN 12, 183). In Western sources, bdellium was appreciated as an aromatic substance (as Greek βδέλλιον, a word borrowed from Semitic). In India, bdellium was both locally produced and imported from Arabia, which was also the main source of bdellium for the Greeks (Karttunen 1997, 153 f.). According to Deb’s explanation (in ŚKDr), bdellium was hated by Yavanas because it was dear to Hindus. While he undoubtedly had Muslims in mind, even so his explanation can hardly be correct.

Betel as yāvanīpriya (DhN) was probably named thus because of being appreciated by Muslim women.

301 Hemacandra, Abhidh. 4, 107, RN/DhN.
302 Note that tin is also rare in India and it was imported both from the West and from Malacca. The famous 19th-century etymology deriving Greek κασσίτερος from Sanskrit kastīra, still sometimes quoted in literature, must be rejected also for chronological reasons, as κασσίτερος is already met in Homer, while kastīra is late (11th century) and rare (Karttunen 1989, 106 f.).
303 Pādacandrīkā on AK 2, 6, 128l; see also Bhpr 1, 2, 52.
304 AK 2, 6, 128; RN 12, 36; DhN 3, 7, 22.
305 See also the note on Vṛnda’s Siddhayoga in the analysis of that text. At the Edinburgh International Sanskrit Conference in 2006, James McHugh told me that yavana is also mentioned as a kind of frankincense in Gaṅgādhara’s Gandhasāra, a mediaeval (14th-century?) text on perfumery.
306 Albion M. Butters has suggested to me that perhaps it was just the Indian (false) bdellium, prepared of Commiphora mukul, that was hated by the Greeks or Arabs.
307 The tāmbūlabhoga seems to have had some attraction among foreign women. In the late 18th century, the Swedish botanist C.F. Hornstedt in his letters from Java strongly disapproved of the
According to lexicography, *yavaneṣṭa* may further signify a kind of onion and the wild date tree. The *Soḍhalanighaṇṭu* (1, 1, 119) in the 12th century uses the same word for the nimba tree (*Azadiractha indica*), but the corresponding passage in the *Rājanighaṇṭu* edition reads *pavaneṣṭa* (although it is quoted with *y* in the ŚKDr and a manuscript in the PW). It is a pity that we so rarely have really critical editions of later Sanskrit texts. In the 17th century, Śivadatta Miśra carefully collected the different meanings given to *yavaneṣṭa* and listed them as *pāribhadra* (probably the same as nimba), *laśuna* (garlic), *vṛttamūlaka* (onion?), *kharjūrī* (wild date), *marica* (pepper) and, as a neuter, *śisaka* (lead). It does not seem very useful to discuss why these articles were longed for by Greeks or Arabs, as neither shared the Indian suspicion of onion and garlic. In particular, onions were greatly appreciated by Greeks and dates by Arabs.

The *Rājanighaṇṭu* accepts *yavana* as a name for wheat (*godhūma*), but it seems to be related to *yava* ‘barley’ rather than to *yavana* ‘Greek, Arab’. However, wheat was eaten by Greeks and Arabs to a much greater degree than in India. In some early accounts of the sinful habits of the North-Westerners, eating wheat is mentioned together with meat-eating. In the *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu* (6, 27, 98), one of the names of wheat is *mlecchabhojana* ‘the nourishment of barbarians’.

In the Pāli lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā of Moggallāna (147), *yavanapuppha* ‘the yavana flower’ is explained as a kind of perfume.

It must be emphasized that all these words are only mentioned by lexicographers and never seem to actually be used in literature. The word *yavani/yavānī* used for various plants (e.g. *Trachyspermum ammi* and *Ptychotis ajowan/Carum copticum*) in medical and lexical works is rather a derivation of *yava* ‘barley’ and thus irrelevant here.

A nice piece of data, though not necessarily of primary importance, is given in the *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, where a classification of leeches includes a non-poisonous variety found in the Yavana country. The medical use of leeches was known both

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308 RN 7, 55 (cf. DhN 4, 9, 37) *grīñjana*, according to MW ‘a kind of onion or garlic’; RN 7, 103, DhN 4, 22, 71 *palāṇḍu* ‘an onion’; see also Soḍhalan. 1, 4, 519 (520 *śūdrapriya*). In Toḍaramalla 37, 28 and 30, *laśuna* ‘garlic’ and *palāṇḍu* are both explained as *yavaneṣṭa* (but in 29, *grīñjana* is not). For *laśuna*, see also Bhpr 1, 1, 217.

309 This is the *kharjūra* in RN 11, 65, on the date-palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*), see Karttunen 1997, 137 f.

310 Mbh 6 and Caraka 6, 30, 316.
in Hippocratic and in Ayurvedic medicine, but other Indian sources do not mention Yavanas in this connection.312

311 See, e.g. Pliny 8, 10, 29 and 32, 41, 123 f. He knew of the medical use of leeches for sucking blood (ad extrabendum sanguinem) and mentioned several kinds of them, some of which were poisonous. Among the works of Galenus, there is a brief, probably apocryphal text on leeches (De hirudinibus, K 11, 317–322).

312 See Caraka Ci 2, 39 on poisonous leeches and Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Sū 26, 35–45.
10. MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES

In literature such as that from India, which features a lot of myths but very little history, it is only natural that the Yavanas as well were enshrouded with and incorporated in mythology. Their role in the great wars of the Mahābhārata has been dealt with in Chapter 3, but there are numerous passages, especially in the Purāṇas, which we must briefly discuss here.

In a well-known Purāṇic legend, a coalition of Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, allied with five North-Western peoples – the Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, and Pahlavas – conquered Sagara’s father Bāhu, but were subsequently slain by the young King Sagara and condemned to various punishments that affected their appearance. The first version of the Purāṇic account is found in the Rāmāyaṇa (2, 102, 14 ff.), it briefly refers to the expedition of Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas against the father, here called Asita, along with Sagara’s birth, but it does not include any North-Westerners. In the Mahābhārata (3, 104, 6 f.), it is briefly mentioned that Sagara extirpated the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, but again no North-Western allies are included in this early version of the story.

In the Purāṇas, Yavanas were condemned to be either without moustaches (vigataśmaśrūn, BṇḍP) or to have their heads completely shaved (muṇḍayitvā ... śiraḥ sarvām). This curious custom was already discussed in Chapter 2 above. Here we may add that the underlying motif, the origin of non-orthodox peoples as the consequence of a punishment or curse, is very old in India. A parallel case of punishment is found in the Mahābhārata (3, 256, 9–11). As punishment for robbing Draupadī, the head of Jayadratha, the Sindhu king (a North-Westerner!), was shaved by Bhīma with a crescent arrow until only five tufts of hair were left. Jayadratha was further ordered to tell everybody that he was a slave of the Pāṇḍavas. In other sources, too, we find support for the general idea of shaving as a punishment.

Following the traditional mode of hair and beard was important, and deviations from it were often represented as a punishment. In the Dīghanikāya, Brahmins

313 In the Pañcalakṣaṇa: Hv 10, BhāgP 9, 8, BṇḍP 2, 3, 63, BP 6, 35 ff., ŚiP 38, 21 ff., VāP 2, 26, 120 ff.; a prose version in the ViP 4, 3; independent versions further in BṇḍP 2, 3, 48, BNP 7 f. and PP 6, 20.

314 Cf. Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 7, 18 where Viśvāmitra’s disobedient elder sons are cursed by their father to become the ancestors of the “Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, who live in large numbers beyond the borders; most of the Dasyus are the descendants of Viśvāmitra” (ta ete ʿndhrāḥ puṇḍrāḥ śabarāḥ pulindā mūtibā ity udayunāḥ bahavo vaisvāmitrā dasyūnāṁ bhīṣyitāḥ). Some further examples are given in Sircar 1962.
shave a Brahmin for some kind of offence. Much later, in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, we read that shaving of the head, seizure of property and expulsion are forms of capital punishment used in the case of fallen Brahmins, as corporal punishment was not enforced on them. Later on, we learn that such mutilations as shaving the moustache and the locks of a friend (in this case a Kṣatriya), as Kṛṣṇa did to the brother of his wife Rukmini, were as bad as killing him. Warder (1983, 158) refers to the Jaina epic Varāṅgacarita by Jaṭāsiṁhanandin (7th century). Here the emperor sends a letter to the king, demanding him to submit. Angrily, the king throws the letter down and crushes it with his foot. To further show his disrespect, he has the envoy’s head half-shaved.

There are additional earlier parallels. In the Mahāvaṁsa (6, 39 ff.), it is told how Vijaya and his brothers followed evil customs. People complained about this to their father, King Sīhabāhu of Lāṭa. As punishment, the king ordered Vijaya and his followers, seven hundred men, to be partially shaven (half of the head was shaved) and then put on a ship. In this way, they eventually arrived at Laṅkā. It seems that shaving in this case had a particular meaning connected with exile. They were not allowed to return, and if someone tried, he would be immediately recognized by his hair.

In South India, we have still another, admittedly late parallel. According to the Keralolpatti version of the Parasurāma legend, the new land between Western Ghats and the west coast, which had been claimed by Parasurāma from the ocean, was colonized by Brahmins from Ahicchatra. To prevent them from returning home, Parasurāma changed their hairstyle and dress code (Veluthat 2005, 89). Finally, a Greek text passage sometimes ascribed to Megasthenes mentions the shaving of hair as a shameful punishment among the Indians. This was perhaps the source for a second Greek account of the same.

315 DN 3 Ambaṭṭhasutta 1, 26 idha brāhmaṇā brāhmaṇam kismicid eva pakaraṇe khuramunḍam karitvā.
316 BhāgP 1, 7, 57 vapanaṁ draṇaṇādānānī sthānām nirvāpanaṁ tathā / esa ki brāhmaṇandhūnāmīnī vado vāśyo ‘sti daibikāḥ; 10, 54, 37 vapanaṁ śmaśrukesānāṁ vairūpyaṁ suḥstvā vadbhāḥ. Note, however, that Rukmī was not a friend of Kṛṣṇa.
317 Mv 6, 42 f. rājātha vijayaṁ taṁ ca parivāraṁ ca tassa taṁ / satya satāni puripe kāretvā adhāhamunḍake // nāvaya paṇkhipāpetvā vissajjāpesi sāgare / tathā tesāṁ ca bhipāyyo tathvā ca kamārake./. 318 In his note on this passage, Geiger says that the shaving of hair signifies a loss of freedom. He derives Sinhalese mīdi ‘slave’ from skr. munḍita ‘shaven’.
319 Nicolas Damascenus F 103y on Stobaeus, Anthol. 4, 2.
320 This was noted long ago by V.A. Smith (1905, 202 f.), who supposed it to be a Persian custom, following a 6th-century Chinese text (Wei Shu) that mentions shaving in Sasanid Persia as punishment for minor crimes, adding: “Sometimes one half of the scalp is shaved.”
321 In his 5th-century Greek epic, Nonnus recounts that Habrathoos had his hair cut off by...
After these parallels, it is doubtful that further comparison to Greek, Iranian or Central Asian modes of hair and beard would contribute much to our understanding of the Sagara legend.

Starting with the Mahābhārata, the Yavanas came to be particularly known as enemies of Kṛṣṇa. In Mbh 8, 31, 15, they stand at Kurukṣetra against Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. In another passage (7, 10, 18), Kṛṣṇa was briefly mentioned as the slayer of the Yavanas (plural). In the much later Jaina Harivamsapurana of Jinasena (50, 73), Yavanas and several other north-western peoples are on the side of Kṛṣṇa, but in this Jaina version Kṛṣṇa remains on the Kaurava side. A little later on (50, 84), Yavana (probably Kālayavana) is mentioned together with such Kaurava leaders as Śakuni, Duṣśāsana and Śiṅhaṇḍin.

The well-known Purānic legend of King Yavana or Kālayavana (‘Black Yavana’), who was slain by Kṛṣṇa, is also briefly mentioned in the Great Epic and fully told in several Purāṇas. In most versions, it is also made clear that Kālayavana was the king of the Yavanas and the overlord of many other north-western peoples. His story is summarized in Dikshitar’s Index: “Yavana – an asura who, induced by Nārada besieged Mathurā [Kṛṣṇa’s capital] with three crores of mlecchas, saw Kṛṣṇa and ran towards him when he fled to a cave. Yavana followed him and in the cave saw somebody sleeping; he thought it was Kṛṣṇa and kicked him, when he woke up and burnt the asura to ashes by his energy. The sleeping person was Mucukunda.”

It seems possible that Kālayavana was only later attached with Kṛṣṇa. Although he is mentioned once as Kṛṣṇa’s enemy in the Mahābhārata, the passage (12, 326, 88) seems late, while in the second book Jarāsandha is the cause of his flight from Mathurā. Kālayavana is not easily connected with the two Yavana kings, Mura and Naraka, here mentioned among Jarāsandha’s allies (2, 13, 13 f.).

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322 Mbh 12, 326, 88 (cf. 2, 13, 34 ff. without Kālayavana), then in Hv 25, 10 ff.; 31, 146; 105, 19; and more fully in 84–85. There is a still more elaborate version of the beginning of this story among the parts left out from the critical edition of the Hv (Add. 20). In the Pañcalakṣaṇa: BhāgP 10, 50 f.; BP 88; PP 6, 246; ViP 5, 23, 4 ff.; others only briefly. It is also referred to by Māgha, Śiśup 2, 98 and told in a poetic version in Vāsudeva’s Saurikathodaya 4, 29 ff. On the basis of the critical text of Hv, it is discussed by Hein 1988.

323 The story of King Mucukunda, who received ever-lasting slumber as a boon of the gods, is told in the BhāgP 10, 51, 14 ff., for example. A parallel figure is Kumbhakarṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa.

324 Mbh 2, 13, 65 āyam caiva mahārāja jarāśaṁdhabhayāt tadā / mathurāṁ saṁparityajya gatā dvāravatīṁ purīṁ. In Hv 52, 41 & 44 and 80, 15, Kālayavana is listed among Jarāsandha’s allies.
It seems that Kālayavana is identical in origin to Kaśerumat of Mbh 3, 13, 29. Several early scholars took Kālayavana’s supposed Indo-Greek identity for granted and connected the name Kaśerumat with the Latin Caesar.\textsuperscript{325} A recent attempt at a historical explanation of the Kālayavana episode is found in Mehta 1996. He even suggests that kāla comes from Greek καλός ‘good’, but without knowing the language he uses the feminine form with a and claims that it would be natural for a king to call himself “the good Greek”. Instead of this, it seems possible that we have here a case of parallelism, with the black (kāla) Yavana being the enemy of the black (kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva.

It has been suggested that this legend can perhaps be seen as a reflection of the real Indo-Greek invasion of Mathurā.\textsuperscript{326} In the Purāṇic versions, it is also explained as being the reason for the founding of the city of Dvārakā by the refugees from Mathurā under Kṛṣṇa. This story was also known to al-Bīrūnī (Chapter 49, p. 5 Sachau), who explains that a special Kālayavana era starts at the end of the Dvāparayuga, referring to a Yavana that, according to his Indian sources, “severely oppressed both their country and their religion”. Could it be that there was still some memory of the real Yavana era used in the North-West before Kaniṣka established his own era? At least we still meet the Yavana Era in the early Kuṣāṇa period (see Chapter 3 above). An invasion as the reason for emigration is very plausible, of course, but we are on a very shaky ground if we start reading historical events into Purāṇic narratives. As is often the case, the story of Kālayavana is too shrouded in legend to provide any real point of reference. Its Indo-Greek background is well possible, but that is all that can be said about it. As far as history is concerned, it contributes nothing.\textsuperscript{327}

The slaying of Kālayavana is also reflected among the epithets of Kṛṣṇa. See, for instance, the Yavanāri of Puruṣottamadeva (Trik. 1, 1, 31)\textsuperscript{328} and perhaps the Duryavana of Varadarāja (Laghukaum. 972). But these are late texts (post-1000 CE) where yavana can well refer to Arabs.

\textsuperscript{325} See, e.g. Lévi 1890a, 36 and Weber 1890, 909.
\textsuperscript{326} This theory is advanced, for example, by Lévi 1890a, 43 f. With his far-fetched idea of kāla as Greek καλός ‘good, noble’, Mehta 1996 made Kālayavana into an Indo-Greek king fighting against Jarāsandha Śuṅga. Unfortunately, there is no way to accept Kālayavana as a Greek name.
\textsuperscript{327} Hein 1988 interprets the story in a more general way, presenting the threat from the northwest. In the third century (his date for the original Hv) the word yavana already included other, more or less Hellenized north-western people. But he goes perhaps too far in making “Yavanism” an opposite force to the rising Brahmanism.
\textsuperscript{328} In the late 18th-century Śaṅkaracetovilāsa, the king of Vārāṇasī (who fought against Muḥammad Ghorī) is also called Yavanārī.
In the late Skandapurāṇa, Kālayavana is not a king; as plural Kālayavanas or Black Yavanas (kṛṣṇayavanāḥ), they are a people. They killed the king of Kāśī (SkP 6, 88, 8), but were later themselves exterminated by an army of fierce goddesses (SkP 6, 88, 36 ff.). Later on in the same text (SkP 6, 121, 37 ff.), we meet Yavanas among the various Daityas and Dānavas in the army of Mahiṣāsura fighting against Devī.

In the Kālakanyā (‘the black girl’) story of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (4, 27), the Yavanas are used in an allegorical way: their king is Fear (Bhaya), his brother Fever (Prajvāra) and their people are various diseases. It is of no use explaining this as ultimately going back to the fear caused by the Indo-Greek (or perhaps Muslim) invasion, as the story is just one of the many allegories found in Indian literature. It is clearly stated (BhāgP 4, 29, 22 f.) that Kālakanyā is in fact the personification of old age, while Bhaya is death. Perhaps some significance can be had in the fact that here Kālakanyā goes to the Yavanas, the people of Kālayavana. The idea of Yavanas as representing diseases accords well with their role as a scourge of the Kali Age. The Muslim invasions represented a very actual evil at the supposed time of the composition of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa.

Occasionally the Yavanas, together with other peoples living beyond the western, northern and southern boundaries of the Āryāvarta, are included in the digvijayas of Indian kings: Raghu (Rv 4, 61), Bharata (BhāgP 9, 20), and Pramati (MP 144, 57).

As Yavanas and other North-Westerners played an important part among the banes of the Kali Age, it is easy to see that at the end of this sinister age the Kalkī Avatāra will destroy them. Their appearance in the Pañcalakṣaṇa makes it difficult to see here just an account of Muslim invasions. Nevertheless, when the evils they caused — destroying āśramas, tīrthas and temples — are briefly mentioned in the Padmapurāṇa (6, 193, 35), it seems to suit Muslims (or even Huns) much better than Greeks, who usually honoured local cults and religions. But the evils of the Kali Age were due to the barbarian (mleccha) rule in general, which by its very nature was bound to destroy the varṇāśramadharma. In the Mahābhārata, there are some colourful descriptions of these evils (3, 186), but here Yavanas play little part in them. The development from tolerated barbarians into positively evil beings was rather easy. Thus Śakas and Yavanas were also listed, together

329 Weber 1852, 202, referring to Mbh 12, suggested Africans or Semites for Black Yavanas and, referring to the DKC account of Yavanas as seafarers, Arabs (with Wilson). In the Pūrvapīṭhikā (1 & 4) of the DKC, Kālayavana is the name of an island, reached from India by ship.
330 Pañcalakṣaṇa: BṛdhP 2, 3, 73; BdhdP 19, 43; VāP 1, 58, 82 = 2, 36, 107.
with several other barbarous tribes, among the Daityas and Dānavas fighting beside Mahiṣāsura (SkP 6, 121, 38 f.).

One can only wonder whether the late Kriyāyogasāra (appended to the PP as 7, 7, 62) refers to some specific story speaking of a Yavana killing his guest in the night or if it is just a reference to their supposed general sinfulness.

In fact, Paijavana has nothing to do with the Yavanas, but because of the erroneous reading in the Kāmandakīyanītisāra (1, 14; see the note there) he is occasionally mentioned in this connection. He is briefly mentioned in Manu 7, 41, as Paijavana and many later sources confirm the lection with p.\textsuperscript{331}

\textsuperscript{331} On Paijavana, see also Bhattacharya 1984.
11. YONAS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The transition of the Yavanas from Greeks to Arabs in South Asian usage was natural and can be easily explained, as we have seen. However, this was not the only way used to explain the early ethnonym Yavana in the texts of a period when direct contact with the Greeks and the identity of the original Yavanas had long been forgotten.

In late Pāli sources, especially those written in South-East Asia, there was a new Yonakaraṭṭha situated in northern Thailand. It was part of a general tendency to move early Buddhist geography to familiar ground. A long account of this Yonaka country is given in the Jinakālamālī of Ratanapañña, an early 16th-century Pāli text from Thailand. The modern Sāsanavarīsa explains all early references in Pāli sources, even in the Milindapañña, as referring to this Thai Yonakaraṭṭha.332 Today northern Thailand has a long history of being a Buddhist country, with numerous monasteries and a strong tradition of Pāli learning (see Hinüber 2013). Therefore, I suppose that the name Yonakaraṭṭha was given to it early on, when it still was not part of the Thai kingdom (i.e. before the late 13th century). Chiang Mai was founded as the administrative centre of northern Thailand in 1292.

But there is also another Yavana country in South-East Asia. According to Kern (1916), the Old Javanese verse chronicle Nāgarakṛtāgama (1365 CE) refers to Yavanas as a people living in what is now Central Vietnam (of course, Kern used the old name Annam). Referring to Maspéro (1915, 186), he connects this with the Khmer usage of Yavana or Yvana (pronounced yuon) as ‘barbarian’, especially used of Vietnamese.333 Kern explains this by supposing that OIA yavana had already become synonymous with mlechcha ‘barbarian’ and thus could have been borrowed as a general name for barbarians. I would suggest instead that it is due to the close connection of Yavanas and Kāmbojas in ancient north-west Indian geography, especially in Buddhist sources. Perhaps the whole situation was transferred to South-East Asia, with Kāmboja now signifying the Khmers and their country, Cambodia.334 Being unfamiliar with South-East Asian languages,

332 Another late work, the Sandesakathā (1801 CE), mentions a controversy among the monks of the Thai Yonaka country (Hinüber 1996, 204).
333 S. Pou confirmed (pers. comm.) to me in 1993 that Yavana is the Khmer name for Vietnam. From Maspéro, I also learned that the word can be written as yuon. Maspéro derived it from the Sanskrit yavana and gave the meaning as ‘barbare (annamite)’.
334 It seems that Kāmboja was moved on several occasions from its original north-west Indian location. Law 1973, 7f. quotes evidence from the 9th century CE onwards for a Kāmboja country in the neighbourhood of Bengal.
I cannot say whether there is any possible resemblance between the introduced Indian terms *Yavana* and *Kāmboja* and local names. This would, of course, make the identification more plausible.

It is unclear whether the island of Java was really called *Yavanadvīpa*, instead of the correct *Yavadvīpa* or 'Barley Island' (which is also attested as *Labadiu* in the Geography of Ptolemy). Perhaps it was, for in some late Jaina sources a Yavana island or country is mentioned together with *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, the gold country, which is usually identified as Burma or the Malay Peninsula. Commercial ventures to *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* are often mentioned in Sanskrit sources (e.g. in the KSS), but no Yavanas are connected with it there. According to Warder (2004, 755), a late Pāli text, the second Cūḷavaṁsa in the 14th century, uses the name *jāvaka* (v. 83) for Javanese.

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335 Howorth 1888 knew of Yavanas mentioned in Cambodian inscriptions, but erroneously thought that the word referred to Java. From more recent sources I find an inscription of Angkor dated 1191 CE mentioning the kings of Javana, Yavana (Annam) and Champa (Cœdès 1941, 267 & 299; see also Groslier 1973, 132, note 4).

336 Ptolemy 7, 2, 29: ᾿Ιαβαδίου (probably from MIA *yavadīva*) is rightly explained as κριθῆς νῆσος 'island of barley'. In the present context, it is not so important whether Ptolemy's *Labadiu* was Java or Sumatra.

337 Joṇagavisaya in Jinabhadra’s Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya and Śīlaṅka’s Cauppanṇamahāpurisacarī 127, *Javāṇḍīva* in Amradeva’s commentary on Nemicandra and in Uddyotana’s Kuvalayamālā.
12. MUSLIMS: ARABIANS, PERSIANS, AND TURKS

In the second half of the first millennium and later on, the Yavanas were commonly identified with Muslims (i.e. with Arabs, Persians, and Turks). Other names were used, too, such as āraba/ārava for Arabs (in Jaina canonical lists), pārada, pārasika and (later) tājika for Persians, and turuṣka/turukha for Turks, avagāna for Afghans, and also general names, such as mleccha and even asura. It was already mentioned above that the land of the Yavanas (yavanadeśa) was explained to be the same as the land of the Turks (turuṣkadeśa) in the Amarapadavivṛti (on AK 2, 6, 128) and by Dalhaṇa (on Suśruta 1, 13). In the 16th century, the lexicographer Harṣakīrti (ŚN 3, 38) gave a modernized list of north-western peoples, including Turks, Yavanas, Mlecchas, Persians, Sakas, Praṣṭānas (?), Mudgalas (perhaps Mongols) and those who have the Shah (sāhi) as their king.

Early accounts (such as the Mbh) of the Yavanas as Greeks hailed from the time when Western countries were more or less Hellenistic. Now they were Islamic, and with the new identification of Yavana as Muslim nothing much seemed to have changed. Kṣemendra in the 11th century applied the old idea of the barbarian rule of the Kali Age to the contemporary situation, listing Yavanas together with Turks and Afghans among these barbarians (DAC 10, 34). They were no longer fallen Kṣatriyas or not-excluded Śūdras, but entirely unclean barbarians with whom one was not allowed to eat or marry, and preferably not even converse.

The difficulty lies in chronology. It is impossible to say exactly when the change of the referent took place with the ethnonym yavana. We have already discussed the question of whether Kumārila in the 7th century meant Greek and Latin languages with his yavana and raumaka or whether they were already Arabic and Greek. And unclarity remains about whether the seafaring Yavana merchants of Daṇḍin (DKC 3 & 6), who wrote around 700 CE, were Greeks or

338 For an early discussion, see the note in Kern 1865, 32f. For the most part, early Indologists discussing Yavanas were so concentrated on the classical period and keen on finding Greeks that they hardly saw this later definition worth mentioning.
339 Note also pahlava (pahnava, pallava) for Parthians.
340 Awasthi 1976, 191 refers to the Bhojapraśaṣṭi of a Gwalior inscription; see also e.g. in Rājat., KSS and Prabodhacandrodaya. The old ethnonym tuṣāra/tukhāra ‘Tocharian’ was perhaps contaminated due to this.
341 For asura see Awasthi 1976, 168, with references to inscriptions.
342 The word raumaka for Byzantine Greeks is quite possible. Byzantium was very conscious of its role as the inheritor of the Roman Empire, and Byzantines commonly called themselves Romans and their capital (Constantinople) Rome. Consequently, the city was also known as Rūm in Arabic and Persian.
Arabs. In Somadeva’s Yaśastilakacampū (959 CE), the Yavanas are explained by the commentator Śrutadeva as being Persians from Chorasan.

The conquest of northern India by Muḥammad Ghorī appears to be mentioned in the Skandapurāṇa passage describing the mighty Lumpādhīpa, the King of Lampāka or Lamghan in Afghanistan, and his mleccha armies (Awasthi 1976, 228 f.). In addition, the Yavanarāja Gorī is actually mentioned by name in the late Śaṅkaracetovilāsa. In the early 13th century, Hemacandra praised King Kumārapāla. Being afraid of him, the Yavana (Javaṇa) was not capable of enjoying tāmbūlabhoga or anything else (Kumārapālapratibodha 6, 74). King Someśvara recommended the use of elephants against the Yavanas (Muslims) as the best way to train them also for battle shows (Mānasollāsa 4, 3, 206). In the Aśvaśāstra of Nakula (15, 41 f.), Yavana in the sense of Arab is listed among the various breeds of horses and deemed to be excellent in every respect. In the Middle Ages, Arab horses were an important part of Indian maritime imports.

It seems likely that Islam is meant in the Saurapurāṇa (38, 44), where the Yavanas are mentioned together with other sectarians, such as Cārvākas, Buddhists, Kāpālikas and Kaulikas, commenting on the doctrine (strongly condemned in the text) of Madhva. This is also a likely explanation for the Nāstikya Yavanas mentioned in the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa and the Nāstika Yavanas in the Garuḍapurāṇa.343 While earlier accounts occasionally referred to the Yavanas as having abandoned Vedic rituals, their heterodoxy was generally not emphasized in the way seen in these passages. After all, the Greek religion was never seen as a menace in ancient India, while Islam certainly was in the mediaeval period.

The Kashmiri Nīlamatapurāṇa list of Nāgas includes in verse 943 Nāga Yavanapriya. We have already learned that this word was a name for pepper (see Chapter 9 above), but here is likely another reference to Islam as a condemned foreign religion.

In the 12th century, Kalhaṇa refers to Yavanas (i.e. Muslims) as allies of King Jayasiṁha of Kashmir (1128–1149 CE). In the sequels of the Rājataraṅginī, Yavana is occasionally found as the name of Muslims, and in Gaṅgādevī’s Madhurāvijaya they speak Persian (pārasīkavāgbhyo).344

Mallinātha, who lived in South India in the 15th century, noted in his commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa 4, 60 that invading the Pārasīkas and Yavanas by sea would have been shorter for Raghu, but was forbidden for an Indian monarch. This is easy to understand in light of his time and home country.

343 GP 1, 55, 15; VidhP 1, 9, 7. In the late Śukranīti 4, 3, 29 & 63, one finds clear references to Islam.
344 Kalhaṇa, Rājat 8, 2264; Jonarāja, Rājat 653; Śrīvara 173. For the reference to the Madhurāvijaya, I am grateful to Lidia Sudyka.
In mediaeval inscriptions, Yavana is the common term used for the Muslim enemies of Hindu kings. Occasionally we also find it appended to the personal names of contemporary Muslim kings. In the textual analysis section of this work, a number of such inscriptions are presented (without any attempt at being complete).

In his heroic play Hammīramadamardana (act 4 prologue, summarized by Warder 2004, 515), Jayadeva reveals an exceptionally good knowledge of Muslims. He mentions Khalīpa (Caliph), the great king of the Turks, living in Bagadādi (Baghdad), and his vassal Khappara Khāṇa (Khafar Khan?), as well as Milacchikara Hammīra (Emir) and other names. Śubhaśilaṛaṇi, a Jaina author from the 15th century, knew Delhi as a Yavana city. A late drama, the Yavanīparinaṇa of Prabhākara, introduces the Mughal imperial family on stage as Yavanas.

Orissan chronicles summarized by Stirling mention several wars and squirmishes with the Yavanas as enemies and elaborate on a Yavana attack by sea, eventually leading to a period of Yavana rule in Kaliṅga (Stirling 263). While the historical context of these accounts is located in the early centuries CE, it seems to me that these late works simply use Muslims as a model of these Yavanas. Stirling pointed out that his Orissan assistants consistently translated Yavana (in fact Jaban) as ‘Mogul’. These chronicles were studied long ago by Fleet (1895, 334 ff.). According to his calculations, the Yavana rule would have taken place in 328–474 CE. Thus they correspond to the Gupta period and have nothing to do with the Indo-Greeks. Fleet (1895, 339) concluded that the story “simply embodied the conquest of Orissa by the Musalmāns in the thirteenth century CE, mixed up with the vague memory of the Early Gupta Kings”. In fact, Orissa remained free from Muslim power for a long time and it seems quite possible that the chronicle refers to the final conquest of Orissa by Bengal in 1567/68 CE.

The other Yavana accounts found in Orissan chronicles are no better. King Bhoja, who fought against the Yavanas of Sindh (Strirling 260), is claimed to have ruled for the considerable period of 180–52 BCE. However, as was already noted by Fleet (1895, 335 & 339), he is clearly King Bhoja of Dhārā (in Malwa, 11th century CE), the famous author and patron of poets, who actually fought against Muslims (Turuṣkas). On another occasion (Stirling 261), King Śālivāhana

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345 Warder 1971, 134 f. dates the earliest in the 16th century.
346 Howorth (1888) suggests that Javanese pirates attacked Orissa, but he presents no other evidence than a mere similarity of names. Stirling's paraphrase of the Orissan chronicles was noted in connection with Yavanas (e.g. by Lévi 1890, 19 f. and, following him, Goblet d'Alviella 1926, 11). Hunter's Orissa (1872) was not available to me, but after reading Fleet's (1895) account it no longer seemed necessary.
(Sātavāhana, who was also presented here as an Orissan king) in the first century conquered Yavanas, who had Delhi as their capital.

As Yavanas were sinful barbarians, so also was their language. According to an 18th-century astrological work, the Hāyanaratna of Balabhadra, it is forbidden in the śmṛti to read the Yavanaḥbāṣā (Persian). As a reference, Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra 6, 41 (na mlecchabhaṣāṁ śikṣet) is given. In the late Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, there is an express prohibition of the use of the Yavana language (yavanaḥbāṣā). The Brhadddharmapurāṇa (20, 15) also considers yāvanī bhāṣā as a source of sin.347 Here we probably have a reflection of the sociolinguistic situation of the medieval period, based on competition between the Persian used by the government and the administration and the Sanskrit used by Brahmins and in the practice of religion. The general sinfulness of the Yavanas as mlecchas is often emphasized in late śmṛti texts (see, e.g. Paribhāṣenduśekhara and Jātimālā).

Defying Balabhadra and the Purāṇas, many late astrologers actually did read yavanaḥbāṣā, as can be seen in the great popularity of Tājika or Islamic astrology. In this context, a Yavana was often referred to as an authority of this system, which was also discussed in Sanskrit treatises (Pingree 1981, 97 ff.).

In Pāli sources, the old designation yona(ka) was still used in South-East Asia for the local Yona country (see Chapter 11 above). In Sri Lankan Pāli, it seems that Yavana came to be used as a designation for Muslims, as in Sanskrit, and not recognized as the same as the old word Yona.348 In one passage (Cv 76), the Yavanas bring gifts to Parakkamabāhu (1153–1186). The Saddhamopāyana (160) accuses them of burning cattle alive. The yavanapuppha (yavana flower) mentioned in Mogallāna’s dictionary as a perfume was probably imported from Arabia.

In South India, the development was different. Here the old Tamil word yavaṇa (yavaṇam for country, yavaṇar for its inhabitants) was not accepted as a name for Muslims, but replaced by the new word cōṇaka, borrowed from MIA jōnaka.349 The semantic development of Yavana did not stop with Muslims. Finally, in the 19th-century massive Sanskrit encyclopaedia Śabdakalpadruma by Rāja Rādhākānta Deb, one meaning given for yavana is yavanaḥ mosalamānengarejobh ayajāttivācakah350 (i.e. ‘the name of both castes, the Musulmans and the English’).

347 Cf. Mahābhāṣya, introduction (Kielhorn 1, p. 2): tasmād brāhmaṇena na mlecchitavai nāpabhāṣitavai.
348 Note that Pāli yavana also occurs twice in the late additional part of the Milindapañha (4, 8, 88 and 5, 4) as the old-fashioned dvanda sakkayavana.
349 See TL and Pisharoti 1936. It is also found in Kannada as jōnega (Kittel). Note, however, that the Tamil lexicon Apitāṉacintāmaṇi explains Yavana as Arab.
350 mosalamān-英格are-ubbaya-jāti-vācakah. The same idea was earlier stated in Wilson’s dictionary, quoted in Ch. 1.
13. ALEXANDRIA IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

There are only two places in the Hellenistic West clearly mentioned by name in Indian sources: Alexandria and Rome.\textsuperscript{351} Alexandria always poses a difficult problem in these references, whether Alexandria in Egypt or an Indo-Greek Alexandria in North-West India is meant, or even one of several other towns so named (e.g. Alexandria Eschate in Sogdiana). The case of Rome is still more complicated, but it will be discussed in the next chapter.

While Alexander himself was soon completely forgotten in India,\textsuperscript{352} the most common name of his foundations, Alexandria, is certainly attested in Sanskrit and MIA – although it is relatively rare – mainly in the form Alasanda. It is found as Alasanda in several Pāli sources, including the Apadāna, Mahāvaṁsa and Milindapañha, and also in the Sanskrit Arthaśāstra. In Jaina Prākrit, the corresponding form seems to be Alasāṇḍā. Another variant in the Mahānīddesa is Allasanda. However, names such as Alimadra, etc., in the Purāṇas are probably not forms of Alexandria in disguise. Furthermore, a supposed Alacandra said to be in the Brahmapurāṇa (97, 46–50a) is not found in the Venkateshwar Press edition.

It is known from Alexander’s histories that he founded quite a number of colonies in different territories secured by his campaigns and left veterans to form a Greek core of the population. There were thus many Alexandrias, some Nicaeas, etc. Not all flourished. Many veterans did not like to live in a far-off country, and they wanted go home. After Alexander’s death, colonists actually came back from Bactria (Holt 1989, 81 ff.). A few years later, Indian satrapies were more or less evacuated (Diodor 19, 14) and thereafter formally ceded to the Mauryas. Several colonies completely disappeared from the sources. In fact, it seems that in the south-east of the Hindukush, only Alexandria sub Caucaso (Begram) and to some extent also Alexandria in Arachosia (Kandahar) were still known in later centuries as Alexandrias. Of the western Alexandrias, Alexandria in Egypt became the Ptolemaic capital and grew into a large city and great centre of culture and trade. It is certainly conceivable that its fame reached India.

\textsuperscript{351} Antiochia in the Mbh 2, 28, 49 is likely, but still remains a conjecture.
\textsuperscript{352} I am not much inclined to derive Skanda from Alexander (Weber 1890, 902 ff.). If Lévi’s (1937, 414 f.) interpretation of Bāṇa’s (HC 7) king alasaś caṇḍa(ko) as Alexander is right, it refers to Alexander Romance, not directly to the king. While van Buitenen’s interesting idea of Porus mentioned as Paurava in the Mahābhārata (see above) does not involve a reminiscence of Alexander, neither does Lamotte’s (1951, 352 ff.) derivation of Ādirājya and Bhadrāśva in the Mūlasarvāstivādinavāyana from Nicaea and Bucephala.
It is likely that an Indo-Greek Alexandria, probably that in the Paropamisadae (Begram), is meant in the Milindapañha (3, 7, 4), as the text is also otherwise closely connected with the Indo-Greeks. The island – or rather the doab – of Alexandria (alasando nāma dīpo) is here identified as the birthplace of Milinda (Menander). There is some difficulty caused by the different accounts of the distance of Alexandria from Sāgala given in Chinese and Pāli versions, but I still find the Egyptian Alexandria rather unlikely here. Alexandria sub Caucaso was already suggested by Lévi (1890a, 30 f.), who compared the village of Kalasi with the kariṣye nagara devata on a coin of Eucratides. Foucher saw this as a variant of Kapisa. However, even the Egyptian Alexandria was not unknown in ancient India.

In Chapter 5 above, a reference was made to two Pāli sources mentioning the Yonas living beyond the sea. Thus, in the Mahāniddesa a conventional list of places where traders sailed includes Yona, Paramayona, and Allasanda (see Lévi 1925, 37). In an Apadāna story, a rich seṭṭhiputta is frequented by many guests (i.al. by Yonakas and Alasandakas, as well as Cinaraṭṭhas, the Chinese). It is hardly a question that in both of these passages Al(l)asanda(ka) refers to Alexandria. Given the marine and commercial context, one may suppose that here the Egyptian Alexandria is meant. The flourishing trade between India and Roman Egypt is attested in Graeco-Roman sources and in archaeology (and to a lesser extent also in Tamil literature), and it is impossible to conceive that Indians had not heard of Alexandria. The ships coming from India went to Egyptian Red Sea ports, but from there wares were mainly transported to Alexandria. All other Alexandrias were inland cities with no connection to sea trade.

There are further passages in which the same interpretation is possible. In the later part of the Milindapañha (6, 21), Alasanda is included in a list of sea ports that contains several Indian locations, but also Cīna and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. The Indo-Greek Alexandria was probably long forgotten when the additional parts of the Pāli Milindapañha were written. The author of this addition probably had no idea of what Alasanda meant in the original text.

A different case is the Buddhist monks from the city of Alexandria in the Yona country (Yonanagara Alasanda) to Sri Lanka, when the Sinhala King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi

353 In the later parts of the MilP, Alexandria is mentioned in 4, 8, 88, 5, 4; and 6, 21.
354 MilP 3, 7, 4: Pāli 200 yojanas, Chinese 2000. Trusting in the Chinese version, Pelliot, Lévi (1937, 417) and Demiéville identified Menander’s birthplace as Alexandria in Egypt, while the Pāli text is explained as Alexandria being in Caucaso (e.g. Foucher 1941, 543 ff.; Lamotte 1958, 462; Fussman 1993; and briefly Karttunen 1997, 319, note 368).
355 When Aśoka sent his envoys to the five Hellenistic kings of the West, it may be supposed that, aside from the kings themselves, also their capitals were known.
was celebrating his victory over the Tamil King Elāra. Their number is stated
to have been no less than 30,000 bhikkhus, headed by Yonamahārakkhita.\textsuperscript{356} If
the tradition is true and such a delegation actually came (though certainly with
less than 30,000 members), then an Indo-Greek Alexandria must be meant.\textsuperscript{357}
There may have been some Buddhists in Egyptian Alexandria, but their number
was surely small. There is some evidence — in Greek literary sources, papyri and
inscriptions — of Indians residing in Egypt, but nearly nothing is particularly
connected with Buddhism. The dhamma envoys sent to the West by Aśoka had
no lasting influence. They are never mentioned in extant Western literary sources.

An Indo-Greek Alexandria thus seems a much more likely place of origin
for the Buddhist monks coming to Sri Lanka. The number of the monks is, of
course, pure exaggeration, but the account itself, if accepted, seems to indicate
an Alexandria with a considerable number of Buddhist monks and monasteries.
The instance described took place around 100 BCE, when commerce between
India and Egypt was still very modest and there were no relations at all between
Egypt and Sri Lanka. It seems very unlikely that there were any Buddhists so
early in Egyptian Alexandria. Although the situation in the Indo-Greek north-
west India is unknown, even here the date seems rather early for Buddhism to
be flourishing. That said, the chronicles were written much later and may here
also reflect the existing situation then. In any case, there is no question of Egypt,
which had few Buddhists.

In the \textit{Arthaśāstra} (2, 11, 42), \textit{ālasandaka} is one of the best kinds of coral. It is
also known that, historically speaking, red coral of good quality was an important
Western import (also mentioned as such in \textit{Periplus} 39, 49 & 56), as it is not
found in Indian waters. Another type of quality coral was \textit{vaivarṇika}, which a
commentary (Bhaṭṭasvāmin) glosses as coming from the Yavanadvīpa, perhaps
here referring to Arabia (the text being too late to have any idea of the Greeks).
It should be noted that there is not a single reference to the Yavanas in the
\textit{Arthaśāstra} itself.\textsuperscript{358}

In the \textit{Garuḍapurāṇa} (1, 80), even \textit{romaka} ‘Roman’ is mentioned as a kind of
coral. In the \textit{Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha} (18, 672), pearls and coral (\textit{muktāpravālādī})
are included among the products of Yavanadeśa. Romans imported pearls from
India — the famous pearl fisheries of Mannar were known to Pliny — but another

\textsuperscript{356} Mv 29, 39; see also Thūpavaṁsa 13.
\textsuperscript{357} In the past I have also suggested (Karttunen 1986, 193) the Alexandria of Egypt for this, but I
have long since changed my opinion. This article was one of my earliest, actually written in 1981,
and needs revision in many other respects. Lévi 1937, 418 also supported Alexandria in Egypt.
\textsuperscript{358} On coral, see Lévi 1937, 419–421 and Chapter 9 above.
important and very ancient producer was the Gulf area. Greek and Latin sources speak more of the Red Sea trade route to India, but there are also scattered notices about the second route via Palmyra to the Gulf and then by ship to India. In the Muslim times, the Gulf ports had an important role in maritime trade. In Budhasvāmin’s time (around 800), the ship was Arabian or Persian. Mediterranean coral and Gulf pearls could thus well arrive in India in the same ship.

Mayrhofer in EWA II quotes alasanda from a lexicographical source as a name for the cow-pea (Dolichos catjang). The canonical Jaina work Viyāhapaṇṇatti (21, 21) is likewise quoted (ālisandaga, a kind of corn) by Weber (1883, 303). Lévi (1890a, 42) explains this as wheat imported from Egypt, but the Periplus (56) expressly says that corn was taken only as food for the ship’s company, as it could not be traded in India.

If Edgerton (1938) is right with his emendation and Mahābhārata 2, 28, 49 really mentions Antiochia and Rome by name, then yavanānāṁ pura in the same passage must be Alexandria. This is corroborated to some extent by Varāhamihira in the Pañcasiddhāntikā, where Yavanapura and Romakaviṣaya stand for Alexandria and Rome. These names are also found in other astronomical texts.

In the Jaina Upāṅga 6 (Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti), the conquests of Bharata include Javanadīva, Romā, and Alasaṇḍā (but also Āraba). The context seems to involve the sea (see Chapter 5 above) and therefore the Indo-Greek Alexandrias in Afghanistan are not possible. Considering the late date of the final fixing of the Jaina canon, these three names may well refer to the Near East, Byzantium, and Egypt.

359 Gulf pearls are apparently meant by pāraśika pearls in Ratnaparīkṣā 76.
360 On pearl trade, see also De Romanis 1997a, 109 ff.
361 According to Sheth, it is also in the Thānaṁga. See Lévi 1937, 418 f.
362 VM:PS 1, 8; 3, 13; 15, 18 & 25. For an early discussion, see Kern 1865, 54.
363 This was suggested in the PPN 1, s.v. alasaṁḍa.
14. ROME AND ROMANS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

After the discussion of Indian references to Greece and the Greeks, it is only natural to give a similar consideration to Rome and the Romans. Unfortunately, the case of Rome is much more difficult. In addition to Roma(ka), Rome could have been referred to as Rāma, but then it is next to impossible to separate a rare Rome from the great number of Indian place-names named after the great mythic hero Rāma (such as e.g. modern Rampur, Ramnagar and Rameshwaram). Also the common Sanskrit word roman 'hair' must be taken into account with such place-names, which could be considered as possible references to Rome.

According to the emendation suggested by Edgerton (1938) to the Mahābhārata (2, 28, 49), this passage should mention both Antiochia and Rome by name. But while Edgerton reads romāṁ, a form otherwise unattested in OIA, the manuscripts have just rāmaṁ or rāmāṁ. In another passage of the Great Epic (6, 10, 54), romāṇah are mentioned in a context loosely connected with the North-West. Varāhamihira (BS 16, 6) mentions romaka immediately before tuṣāra.

A country called Rāmakadeśa is mentioned in the Skandapurāṇa. According to Awasthi (1976, 47 f.), this has been identified as the Salt Range or Sambhara Lake region by Moti Chandra and as the Salt Range by Sircar (1971, 69), but as the country is also included among Sahadeva’s conquests in the Mahābhārata (2, 28, 49), Awasthi believes that the Skandapurāṇa also refers to South India. The idea of Rome apparently never occurred to his mind. As the name of a people, Romaka is included among the inhabitants of the Indus country in the Purāṇic river list. It seems that these have nothing to do with Rome. The same is a likely explanation for Romavivara, a mythical region belonging to Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Kāraṇḍavyūha, although it is tentatively connected with Rome by Edgerton in his dictionary.

In the Garuḍapurāṇa (1, 80, 2), romaka ‘Roman’ is mentioned as a kind of coral (see Chapter 13 above on Alexandrian coral). According to the Mahāvaṁsa Commentary, the Sinhala king Bhātikābhaya, probably around the middle of the first century CE, is said to have imported red coral (surattapavāḷaṁ) for the Great

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364 See Aalto 1975 for the name of Rome in Central Asia, p. 11 ff., also briefly on India. I fully agree with my teacher that the connection of the Romakajātaka (J. 277) with Rome “looks rather enigmatic”, and thus I leave it out of my survey.
365 SkP 1, 2, 39, 152; note the variant Romakadeśa in the Lucknow edition.
366 Sircar 1972, 69. According to him, Romaka is the form that appears in BṇḍP and MP, while VāP has Robaka.
Stūpa (Mahāthūpa) of Anurādhapura from the country of Romanukharaṭṭha. This was used to prepare the precious coral net mentioned in Pāli commentaries. While the variant ropanukharaṭṭha exists, seeing that true red coral was a Mediterranean product and much appreciated in South Asia, it seems safe to assume that the commentary has preserved a rare reference to Rome.

Ancient Indian astronomers were unusually well informed about geography, while other authors at best had a very vague idea of countries outside India. In Varāhamihira’s Pañcasiddhāntikā (15, 23 & 25), Yavanapura and Romakaviṣaya stand for Alexandria and Rome. The famous verse 23 claims that when it is sunrise at Lāṅkā, it is sunset at Siddhapura, noon at Yamakoṭi (Yavakoṭi) and midnight in Rome. These four “cardinal cities” — two of which are mythical — were also defined by Bhāskara (Golādhyāya 17). Centuries later al-Bīrūnī (tr. Sachau 303) identified Romaka in the west as Rūm (i.e. Byzantium), as was natural in his time. For a Muslim, the mighty Byzantium was closer and much more important than distant Rome, which — although all Europe knew it as the seat of the Pope — was politically quite insignificant in the Middle Ages. In India, too, Romaka seems to have signified the Byzantines and later even the Muslims. This is apparently the reason why Romaka was given as the author’s name for several late astronomical works (six are mentioned in Pingree 1994, 517).

The actual Romakasiddhānta is a late work, perhaps written in the 16th century, and it shows “a strong Islamic influence” (Pingree 1994, 518). There is also early evidence of the existence of a Romakasiddhānta in India, but this early work is apparently lost.

The references to Rome in astrological and astronomical texts were long ago collected and discussed by Vidyabhushana (1906). As all of his additional references go back to Varāhamihira and Bhāskara, it is not necessary to explore them in detail here.

It was already mentioned in connection to Alexandria that in the Jaina Upāṅga 6 (Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti), the conquests of Bharata include Javanadīva, Romā, and Alasaṇḍā (but also Āraba).

367 Dv 21, 13 pavāḷamayajālañ ca kārāpesi; Mv and Mv-C on Mv 34, 47 quoted in the text part of this work. See Weerakkody 1997, 53 ff. and De Romanis 1997b, 188 ff. According to Hinüber 1996, 92, Mv-C was compiled before the 12th century.
368 Regarding Indian pearls in Rome, see Pliny n.b. 32, 11, 21 quantum apud nos Indicis margaritis pretius est tantum apus Indos curialio, again in 23.
369 Also in Āryabhaṭīya 4, 13, etc.
370 VM:PS 1, 3 f., cf. al-Bīrūnī, tr. Sachau 153. The extant text was first described by Kern 1865, 47 ff.
All in all, we may summarize that with the sole exception of astronomy, Rome seems to be almost unknown in ancient Indian literature. The recurrent boasting of Roman poets that the fame and might of the emperors was known and feared even in distant India\textsuperscript{371} seems indeed to be coarse exaggeration.

\textsuperscript{371} On this literary topos, see, e.g. Parker 2008, 207ff.
15. CONCLUSION

It is time to summarize the results of our study. The ethnonym *yavana*, which also appears in forms such as *yona(ka)* and *javana*, entered India in the period when Achaemenid Persia was ruling the Indus Valley. The origin of the word can be traced through Old Persian *yauna* to the Greek ethnic name Ionian. For about a millennium, it was used in Indian languages to signify Greek or Hellenized peoples. Thus, it properly presupposed people sharing the Greek culture, although many who used it had only a vague idea of what a Greek actually was. Some confusion was also caused by the fact that Greeks were encountered through two different routes. From the late fourth to the first century BCE (or even the first century CE), Graeco-Bactrians and Indo-Greeks were found in the far north-west. But the merchants sailing over the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea met a different breed of Yavanas, and soon Yavana merchants were also seen in the western and southern ports of India.

Generally speaking, Indian authors were not much interested in foreign countries. Evidence with even a bit of historical significance is rare, as usually foreigners are briefly listed in geographical and cosmographical accounts as examples of sinful and wicked barbarians. This was done in an attempt to include them in Indian mythology and to explain their origin and their strange customs and appearance.

From an Indian perspective, Greeks had always been quite marginal, but soon they moved even further to the fringe. The Indo-Greeks, a small elite at best, were soon amalgamated and disappeared. Parthia and Sasanian Persia more or less impeded direct land contact with the Greek West. For about two centuries, Roman Egypt had been very active in the sea trade with India, but the continuous Roman civil wars in the third century, of which Egypt had a fair share, soon ruined economy and trade. Red Sea commerce fell into the hands of the Aethiopian Axumites and Arabians – probably Indians still participated in it, too – and Greeks were rarely seen in the ports of the Indian Ocean.

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372 The Greeks and Romans had a similar difficulty with China. From the Geography of Ptolemy, we learn that behind the deserts and steppes of Central Asia lies Serike, the country of the Seres, where silk is produced. But if a ship sailed beyond India and around the coasts of South-East Asia, it would finally end up in the land of the Sinai. Both were in China, but for Europeans it took almost 1500 years to find this out.

373 The Chinese account of Parthia and Rome (Daqin), supposedly a year’s further voyage from Parthia, serves well as an example. See Hirth 1885, 39 (giving the duration from three months to two years) and Ferguson 1978, 593.

374 There were a few occasional travellers to India mentioned in Greek and Latin sources, but
From the 7th century on, the rising power of the Arabs with their new religion soon changed the picture. Now again there was a people met from both directions, as traders sailing from the west and as conquerors appearing from the north-west. The parallel with earlier Yavanas was so striking that it was no wonder that the name Yavana soon became to signify Arabians or Muslims in general. Again, few were interested in noting the actual differences between various barbarian nations, such as the Arabians, Persians, and Turks. Animosity towards Indian religion now became a staple characteristic of Yavanas. This caused some curious developments. In the lands of Theravāda Buddhism, the word *yavana* was borrowed anew with this different meaning, while the traditional *yona*, together with another vanished people, the *kāmboja*, was shifted to a new location in South-East Asia. Similar developments also took place in the Tamil South when the old word *yavana* became obsolete and its MIA form *jonaga* was borrowed again as Tamil *cōnaka* as the name of Muslims. In Sanskrit, however, the old word *yavana* served continuously as the name of Muslims, soon also including Indian Muslims, the Sultans of Delhi and the Great Mughals, and finally even the British.

We have thus established seven different, but related uses for Yavana/Yona (excluding the British of Deb): 1) Greeks in the exact sense, 2) Indo-Greeks, with their subjects, 3) inhabitants of the Roman East, 4) Arabs (including Arab horses), 5) Muslims in general, and in Buddhist parlance 6) the inhabitants of central Vietnam and 7) of northern Thailand.

The history of Yavanas is thus very long and many-sided. Whenever we meet the word in a text, we must stop and consider the date and the geographic orientation of that particular work. If these can be determined, the Yavana can usually be recognized as an Indo-Greek, as a merchant, or as a Muslim.

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375 These three were also listed by Ray 1995, 82 as meanings of Yavana in the early centuries CE.
ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS

AB  Aitareyabrāhmaṇa
Abhidh.c.  Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra
AK  Amarakośa
AN–C  Aṅguttaranikāya Commentary
AP  Agnipurāṇa
ĀtreyaDh  Ātreyadharmaśāstra (Atrismṛti)
AvKL  Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra
Avpś  Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa
BdhP  Bṛhadharmapurāṇa
BhāgP  Bhāgavatapurāṇa
BhavP  Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
BhN  Bhāratiyanāṭyaśāstra
Bhpr  Bhāvaprakāśa
BKLM  Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra
BKŚS  Bṛhatkathāślokaśāstra of Buddhasvāmin
BṇḍP  Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
BNP  Bhānāradīyapurāṇa
BP  Brahmapurāṇa
Cāndravy  Cāndravyākaṇa of Candragomin
CII  Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Cv  Cūlavārśa
DAC  Daśāvatāracarita of Kṣemendra
DhN  Dhanvantariyanighaṇṭu
DKC  Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin
DN–C  Dīghanikāya Commentary
Dv  Dīpavārṣa
EI  Epigraphica Indica
GDh  Gautamadharmasūtra
GP  Garuḍapurāṇa
HC  Harṣacarita of Bāṇa
Hc  Hemacandra
Hv  Harivarśīṣa (purāṇa)
KA  Kautāliyārthaśāstra
KāmNS  Kāmandakiyanāṭīśāra
Kāś  Kāśikāvṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana
<table>
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<tr>
<td>Kāvāyam</td>
<td>Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara</td>
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<td>Kāvyapr</td>
<td>Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa</td>
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<td>Kd</td>
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Abbreviations of journals

AAHu  Acta Antiqua Hungarica
ABORI  Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BDCRI  Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
BSO(A)S Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies
EI  Epigraphia Indica
IA  Indian Antiquary
IC  Indian Culture
IIJ  Indo-Iranian Journal
ISr  Indische Studien
JA  Journal Asiatique
JAIH  Journal of Ancient Indian History
JAOS  Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB  Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)
JESHO  Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JIH  Journal of Indian History
JNSI  Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JRAS  Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MDAFA  Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan
WZKS  Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens
ZDMG  Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII  Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

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AMgD: Ratnachandraji Maharaj, Shatavadhani Jain Muni Shri: An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary, with Sanskrit, Gujarati, Hindi and English Equivalents, References to the Texts and Copious Quotations. 1–4.


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