

**YONAS AND YAVANAS
IN INDIAN LITERATURE**



STUDIA ORIENTALIA 116

**YONAS AND YAVANAS
IN INDIAN LITERATURE**

KLAUS KARTTUNEN



Helsinki 2015

Yonas and Yavanas in Indian Literature

Klaus Karttunen

Studia Orientalia, vol. 116

Copyright © 2015 by the Finnish Oriental Society

Editor

Lotta Aunio

Co-Editor

Sari Nieminen

Advisory Editorial Board

Axel Fleisch (*African Studies*)

Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (*Arabic and Islamic Studies*)

Tapani Harviainen (*Semitic Studies*)

Arvi Hurskainen (*African Studies*)

Juha Janhunen (*Altaic and East Asian Studies*)

Hannu Juusola (*Middle Eastern and Semitic Studies*)

Klaus Karttunen (*South Asian Studies*)

Kaj Öhrnberg (*Arabic and Islamic Studies*)

Heikki Palva (*Arabic Linguistics*)

Asko Parpola (*South Asian Studies*)

Simo Parpola (*Assyriology*)

Rein Raud (*Japanese Studies*)

Saana Svärd (*Assyriology*)

Jaana Toivari-Viitala (*Egyptology*)

Typesetting

Lotta Aunio

ISSN 0039-3282

ISBN 978-951-9380-88-9

Juvenes Print – Suomen Yliopistopaino Oy

Tampere 2015

CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	XV
PART I: REFERENCES IN TEXTS	
A. EPIC AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT.....	3
1. Epics	3
Mahābhārata	3
Rāmāyaṇa.....	25
Harivaṃśa	27
2. Grammar	42
Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali	42
Other Works	44
Jayāditya & Vāmana: Kāśikāvṛtti	44
Pāṇini: Gaṇapāṭha.....	45
Candragomin: Cāndravyākaraṇa.....	45
Śakaṭāyana: Śakaṭāyanavyākaraṇa.....	46
Varadarāja: Laghukaumudī.....	46
Ujjvaladatta: Commentary on the Uṇādisūtras	47
Vopadeva: Mugdhabodha	47
3. Lexicography.....	48
Amarakośa.....	48
Rājanighaṇṭu – Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu.....	49
Other Works.....	53
Hemacandra: Abhidhānacintāmaṇi	53
Yādavaprakāśa: Vaijayantī	54
Toḍaramalla: Toḍarānanda.....	54

Soḍhala: Soḍhalanighaṇṭu	55
Harṣakīrti: Śāradīyākhyānāmamālā	57
Puruṣottamadeva: Trikāṇḍaśeṣa	57
Śivadattamiśra: Śivakoṣa	57
Medinikara: Nānārthaśabdakośa or Medinīkośa.....	58
4. Dharmasāstra	59
Gautamadharmasūtra.....	59
Mānavadharmasāstra	59
Atrismṛti (Ātreya dharmasāstra).....	60
Nāgojībhaṭṭa: Prāyaścittenduśekhara (Prāyaścittatattva).....	61
Jātimālā.....	61
5. Artha- and Nītiśāstra, Kāmasāstra.....	63
Kauṭalyārthasāstra.....	63
[Kāmandakīyanītisāra]	64
Śukranīti.....	64
Someśvara: Mānasollāsa	65
Vātsyāyana: Kāmasūtra	66
6. Kāvya.....	68
Kālidāsa: Raghuvamśa	68
Bāṇabhaṭṭa: Harṣacarita.....	69
Daṇḍin: Daśakumāracarita.....	71
Daṇḍin: Avantisundarīkathā	75
Kṣemendra: Daśāvātāracarita	75
Māgha: Śīsupālavadha	75
[Subandhu: Vāsavadatta].....	76
[Śrīharṣa: Naiśadhacarita].....	76
Vāsudeva: Śaurīkathodaya.....	77
Ananta: Vīracarita.....	78
Gaṅgādevī: Madhurāvijaya.....	79
Jonarāja's Commentary on Jayānaka's Pṛthvīrājavijaya	79
Śaṅkaracetovilāsa	80

Subhāṣita	80
Cāṇakyanīti	80
Vidyākara: Subhāṣitaratnakośa	81
7. Dramas	82
Kālidāsa: Mālavikāgnimitra	82
Kālidāsa: Śakuntalā	83
Kālidāsa: Vikramorvaśīya	84
Viśākhadatta: Mudrārākṣasa	85
Śyāmilaka: Pādatāḍitaka	85
Prabhākara: Yavanīpariṇaya	87
8. Narrative and Historical Literature	88
Kathā	88
Budhasvāmin: Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha	88
Kṣemendra: Bṛhatkathāmañjarī	93
[Somadeva: Kathāsaritsāgara]	94
Śivadāsa: Kathārṇava	94
History	95
Kalhaṇa: Rājatarāṅginī	95
Jonarāja: Rājatarāṅginī	96
Śrīvara: Rājatarāṅginī	96
Nīlamatapurāṇa	97
The Vamśāvalī of Orissa	97
9. Tantra and other Religious Literature	100
Māyātantra	100
Kāśyapaśaṁhitā of the Vaikhānasas	100
Sātvatantra	100
Jaiminibhārata	101
10. Dramaturgy and Aesthetics	104
Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra	104
Rājaśekhara: Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā	105

Siṃhabhūpala: Rasārṇavasudhākara	106
Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa on Kāvyaṇrakāśa	106
11. Philosophy	107
Kumārila Bhaṭṭa: Tantravārttika	107
12. Medicine.....	109
Suśrutasaṃhitā.....	109
Carakasamhitā	110
Kāśyapasamhitā.....	110
Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa	111
Bhāvaprakāśa.....	113
Vṛnda: Siddhayoga.....	113
Aśvaśāstra of Nakula	114
13. Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics and Minor Sciences.....	115
Yavana	115
Early Works	115
Sphujidhvaja: Yavanaajāta	115
Mīnarāja: Vṛddhayavanaajāta	119
Gargasamhitā: Yugapurāṇa.....	120
Gargasamhitā.....	121
Atharvaparīśiṣṭa.....	121
Varāhamihira.....	123
Bṛhajjātaka	123
Bṛhatsamhitā	126
Pañcasiddhāntikā.....	130
Yogayātrā.....	132
Utpala.....	132
On Bṛhajjātaka.....	132
On Bṛhatsamhitā	134
On Laghujātaka.....	137
Mathematicians	137
Āryabhaṭa: Āryabhaṭīya	137

Bhāskara: Siddhāntaśiromaṇi.....	138
Brahmagupta: Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta.....	138
Late Works on Astrology, etc.....	139
Jagaddeva: Svapnacintāmaṇi.....	139
Balabhadra: Hāyanaratna.....	139
Bhojasāgara: Ramalavidyā.....	140
Govindasvāmin: Prakaṭārthadīpikā.....	140
Romakasiddhānta.....	141
Tithyāditattva.....	141
Viśvanātha's Commentary on the Keśavajātaka.....	142
Other Works.....	142
Minor Sciences.....	143
Vagbhata: Rasaratnasamuccaya.....	143
Buddhabhaṭṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā.....	143
14. Purāṇas.....	145
Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa.....	145
Individual Purāṇas.....	149
Agnipurāṇa.....	149
Bhāgavatapurāṇa.....	150
Bhaviṣyapurāṇa.....	157
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.....	157
Brahmapurāṇa.....	164
Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa.....	167
Bṛhannārādīyapurāṇa.....	169
Devībhāgavatapurāṇa.....	170
Garuḍapurāṇa.....	170
Kūrmapurāṇa.....	171
Līngapurāṇa.....	172
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.....	173
Matsyapurāṇa.....	174
Padmapurāṇa.....	176

Saurapurāṇa	180
Śivadharmaṇapurāṇa	181
Śivapurāṇa	181
Skandapurāṇa	182
Vāmanapurāṇa	190
Vāyupurāṇa	191
Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa	195
Viṣṇupurāṇa	196
B. EPIGRAPHICAL, SECTARIAN, MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN	201
1. Inscriptions.....	201
Aśoka.....	201
Kharoṣṭhī.....	203
Inscriptions Containing Dates in Yavana/Yoṇa Era	208
Inscriptions Containing Dates in Macedonian Calendar	209
Brāhmī.....	210
Gupta and Later.....	216
2. Buddhist: Pāli.....	224
Canonical	224
Majjhimanikāya.....	224
Late Canonical: Apadāna.....	224
Late Canonical: Mahāniddeśa	225
Commentaries.....	226
Vinaya-Commentary	226
Dīghanikāya-Commentary, with Sub-Commentary.....	229
Majjhimanikāya-Commentary	231
Aṅguttaranikāya-Commentary	232
Udāna-Commentary	233
Itivuttaka-Commentary	234
Theraḡāthā-Commentary.....	234
Vibhaṅga-Commentary	235

Chronicles	236
Dīpavaṃsa	235
Mahāvamsa	238
Later Chronicles	241
Cūlavamsa	241
Mahābodhivamsa	241
Thūpavamsa	242
Vamsatthappakāsīnī	243
Sāsanavamsa	245
Milindapañha	245
Other Works	260
Sīhalavatthupparāṇa	260
Saddhamopāyana	261
Mohavicchedanī	261
Sārasaṅgaha	262
Ratanapañña: Jinakālamālī	262
Moggallāna: Abhidhānappadīpikā	263
3. Buddhist: Sanskrit and BHS	264
Canonical: Bhaiṣajyavastu	264
Canonical: Bhikṣunī-Vinaya	267
Mahāvastu	267
Divyāvadāna	268
Kṣemendra: Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā	269
Kāraṇḍavyūha	269
4. Buddhist: Tibetan and Chinese, Śaka	270
Aśokāvadāna	270
Lalitavistara	271
Narratives from the bKah-'gyur	271
The Book of Zambasta	273
5. Jaina: Canonical	274
Aṅga	274

Samavāyāṅga (A. 10)	274
Viyāhapaññatti (Vyākhyāprajñapti) = Bhagavaī (Bhagavatī) (A. 5)	274
Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātadharmakathāh) (A. 6)	275
Pañhāvāgaraṇāirī (Praśnavyākaraṇāni) (A. 10)	276
Upāṅga	277
Uvavāiya (Ovavāiya, Aupapātika) (Up. 1)	277
Rāyapaseṇāiyam (Rājaprasnīya) (Up. 2).....	277
Pannavaṇā (Paṇṇāpaṇa, Prajñāpanā) (Up. 4)	278
Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti (Jambūdvīpaprajñapti) (Up. 6).....	279
Nirayāvaliyāo (-valī) (Up. 8)	280
Chedasutta 1. Nisīhasuttam	280
6. Jaina: Commentarial, etc.	282
Āmradeva on Nemicandra.....	282
Aṅgavijjā	282
Candrasūri on Upāṅga	282
Nemicandra, Pravacanasāroddhara.....	283
Saṅghadāsaṅgi Kṣamāśramaṇa: Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya.....	283
7. Jaina: Narrative	284
Āvaśyakacūrṇi, etc.....	284
Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya.....	284
Hemacandra: Kumārapālacarira	285
Jinasena: Harivaṃśapurāṇa	285
Mahendrasūri: Nammayāsundarīkathā	287
Śīlaṅka: Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariam	288
Somadevasūri: Yaśastilakacampū	289
Śubhaśīlagaṇi: Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha.....	289
Uddyotana: Kuvalayamālā	289
Vasudevahiṇḍi of Saṅghadāsa	290
Vimalasūri: Paūmacariya (Padmacarita).....	293

APPENDIX 1: TAMIL SOURCES	294
1. Sangam Anthologies.....	294
Akanānūru	294
Puraṇānūru	294
Pattuppāṭṭu	295
Patirruppattu.....	295
2. Classical Epics.....	296
Cilappatikāram of Ilāṅkō Aṭikaḷ.....	296
Maṇimēkalai of Cāttaṅār	297
3. Other and Late Sources	297
Apitānacintāmaṇi.....	297
Cīvakacintāmaṇi of Tiruttakkatēvar	297
Naccinārkkiniyar	298
Nakkīrar: Neṭunalvāṭai	298
Perumpāṅāruppaṭai	298
Peruṅkatai of Koṅkuvēḷir	298
Tiruvēṅkaṭacatakam	300
Tivākaram	300
Yāḷppāṅattu Manippāyakarāti.....	300
APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLES OF TELUGU SOURCES	301
Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍa.....	301
Telugu Varāhapurāṇa and Pārijātāpaharaṇa.....	301
CONCORDANCE OF SOME OLD REFERENCES.....	302
CONCORDANCES OF DICTIONARY REFERENCES.....	304
PART II: STUDY	
1. THE NAME AND EARLY HISTORY OF YONA/YAVANA.....	325
2. IDEAS ABOUT THE ORIGIN, SOCIAL STATUS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE YAVANAS.....	338

3. NORTH-WESTERN PEOPLE: THE INDO-GREEKS	344
4. THE YAVANAS IN GEOGRAPHY	358
5. WARRIORS, ARTISANS, ENGINEERS, MERCHANTS, AND SEAFARERS	361
6. SCHOLARS AND ASTROLOGERS	368
7. FEMALE GUARDS, COURTESANS, AND SLAVE-WOMEN	376
8. BUDDHIST MONKS AND LAYMEN.....	380
9. YAVANA LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT, YAVANA PRODUCTS	383
10. MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	390
11. YONAS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA	396
12. MUSLIMS: ARABIANS, PERSIANS, AND TURKS	398
13. ALEXANDRIA IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE	402
14. ROME AND ROMANS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE.....	406
15. CONCLUSIONS.....	409
ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS	411
REFERENCES	414
Abbreviations of Journals.....	414
Dictionaries.....	414
Select Bibliography	416
INDEX LOCORUM CITATORUM.....	427
GENERAL INDEX	441

PREFACE

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/jona*). 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),

¹ Karttunen 1989 and 1997.

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

The Mahābhārata. Critically ed. for the first time by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, S.K. Belvalkar... and other scholars. 1–19. Poona 1933–59.

The Mahābhārata. Tr. J.A.B. van Buitenen. 1–3 [Books 1–5]. Chicago 1973–78.

Mahābhārata. Complete transl. by Kisari Mohan Ganguli. 1–15. Calcutta 1884–97 & reprints (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* sutāḥ /
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* śabarān śakān /
mūtrataś cāsṛjac cāpi *yavanān* krodhamūrcchitā //
36. puṇḍrān kirātān dramiḍān śimhalān barbarāms tathā /
tathaiva daradān mlecchān phenataḥ sā sasarja ha //
37. tair viśṛṣṭair mahatsainyaṁ nānāmlecchagaṇais tathā /
nānāvāraṇasaṁchannair nānāyudhadharais tathā /
avākīryata saṁrabdhair viśvāmitrasya paśyataḥ //
[After 35ab), the MSS \tilde{N}_2 , V_3 , D_n and S insert one verse:
1768* yonideśāc ca *yavanān* chakṛddeśāc chakāms 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, Śimhalas,*

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 kampanas ca mahābalaḥ /
 20. satataṁ kampayām āsa *yavanān* eka eva yaḥ /
 yathāsurān kālakeyān devo vajradharas tathā //
 21. jaṭāsuro madrakāntas ca rājā
 kuntīḥ kuṇindaś ca kirātārājaḥ /
 tathāṅgavaṅgau saha puṇḍrakeṇa
 pāṇḍyoḍḍrarājau saha cāndhrakeṇa //
 22. kirātārājaḥ sumanā *yavanādbhīpatis* tathā /
 cāṇūro devarātas ca bhojo *bhīmarathas* ca yaḥ //
 [After 20ab, the MSS V., B., D., T₁ and G₁₋₃, insert one verse:
 46* balapauruṣasampannān kṛtāstrān amitaujasah /]

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 Bhīmaratha.*

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 maṇiṁ bibhrad yaṁ taṁ bhūtamaṇiṁ viduḥ /
 13. muraṁ ca narakam caiva śāsti yo *yavanādbhīpau* /
 aparyantabalo rājā pratīcyāṁ varuṇo tathā //
 14. bhagadatto mahārāja vṛddhas tava pituḥ sakhā /
 sa vācā praṇatas tasya karmaṇā caiva bhārata //
 15. snehabandhas tu piṭṛvan manasā bhaktimāṁs tvayi / ...

Obs. in 13b, we read *-pau* according to the critical text, but the MSS K_{3,4}, V₁, B, D and G₂ read *-pab!* 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. dhanamjayasya vakṣyāmi vijayaṁ pūrvam eva te /
yaugapadyena pārthair hi vijiteyaṁ vasumdhara //
13. pūrvam kuṇḍaviṣaye vaśe cakre mahīpatin /
dhanamjayo mahābāhur nātītvreṇa karmaṇā //
14. ānartān kālakūṭāms ca kuṇḍāms ca vijitya saḥ /
sumaṇḍalam pāpa jitaṁ kṛtavān anusainikaṁ //
15. sa tena sahito rājan savyasācī paramtapaḥ /
vijigye sakalam dvīpam prativindhyaṁ ca pārthivaṁ //
16. sakaladvīpavāsāms ca saptadvīpe ca ye nṛpāḥ /
arjunasya ca sainyānām vighrahas tumulo 'bhavat //ü
17. sa tān api maheṣvāso vijitya bhatararṣabha /
tair eva sahitaḥ sarvaiḥ prāgjyotiṣaṁ upādravat //
18. tatra rājā mahān āsīd bhagadatto viśāṁ pate /
tenāsīt sumahad yuddham pāṇḍavasya mahātmanaḥ //
19. sa kirātaiś ca cīnaiś ca vṛtaḥ prāgjyotiṣo 'bhavat /
anyaiś ca bahubhir yodhaiḥ sāgarānūpavāsibhiḥ //

van Buitenen: *I shall tell you first of Dhanamjaya's conquest, for the Pārthas conquered the earth simultaneously. First he conquered, the strong-armed Dhanamjaya, the kings in the land of Kuṇḍa, with great severity. After conquering the Ānartas, the Kālakūṭas, and the Kuṇḍas, he made Sumaṇḍala 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 Prāgjyotiṣa. There was a great king there, Bhagadatta, O lord of the people, and with him the great-spirited Pāṇḍava fought a great battle. Prāgjyotiṣa 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. Prāgjyotiṣa: Assam."

But Śakala (unfortunately all MSS read *sakala*!) is in the Pañjāb, and the islands might refer to various Doabs of the Pañjāb. Prāgjyotiṣa, 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 Bāhlikas (in 2, 24, 21). A little earlier we encounter a name known from the histories of Alexander (2, 24, 18): *abhisārīm* tato ramyām vijigye 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. pāṇḍyāmś ca draviḍāmś caiva sahitāmś coḍrakeralaiḥ /
andhrāmś talavanāmś caiva kaliṅgān oṣṭrakarnikān //
49. antākhīm caiva romām ca yavanānām puram tathā /
dūtair eva vaśe cakre karam cainān adāpayat //
50. bharukacchaṁ gato dhīmān ...

Note that *antākhīm* 'Antioch' is an emendation by Edgerton (see Edgerton 1938 and Gurner 1956). The most common MS variant is *aṭavīm*, while for *romām* some MSS read *rāmām* or *rāmām*. 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 Talavanas, the Kaliṅgas and Uṣṭrakarnikas, 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. śūdrābhīragaṇās caiva ye cāsṛitya sarasvatīm /
vartayanti ca ye matsyair ye ca parvatavāsinaḥ //
- ...
13. tataḥ śākalam abhetya madrāṇām puṭabhedanaṁ /
...
15. tataḥ sāgarakuṣṭhān mleccchān paramadāruṇān /
pahlavān barbarāmś caiva tān sarvān anayad vaśam //

Some MSS read Pallava instead of Pahlava (here Dn₁ and M₁). In 15d), (Ś₁), K₃₋₄, V₁, Dn and Dc read *kirātān yavanāṇ śakān*, 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. prāgyotiṣādhipaḥ śūro mlecchānām adhipo balī /
yavanaiḥ sahito rājā bhagadatto mahārathaḥ //
13. ājāneyān hayān śīghrān ādāyānilaramhasaḥ /
baliṁ ca kṛtsnam ādāya dvāri tiṣṭhati vāritaḥ //
14. aśmasāramayaṁ bhāṇḍaṁ śuddhadantatsarūnasīn /
prāgyotiṣo 'tha tad datvā bhagadatto 'vrajat tadā //

van Buitenen: *The great warrior king Bhagadatta, gallant ruler of Prāgyotiṣa, 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 Prāgyotiṣa 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 Prāgyotiṣa, 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. dvyakṣāms tryakṣāml lalāṭākṣān ... puruṣādakān
16. ekapādāms (with horses, described in 17–18)
19. cīnān hūṇān śakān oḍrān ...
21. tribute from kṛṣṇagrīvān mākāyān rāsabhān (*black-throated, big-bodied asses*)
26. śakā tukhārāḥ kaṅkāś ca romaśāḥ śṛṅgiṇo narāḥ ...
The MSS B., D₁₋₅, G_{1,4-6} & M read *romakāḥ* (and G₃ 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, 7f.

7. śataṁ dāsīsahasrāṇāṁ kārpāsikanirvāsīnām /
yāmās tanvyo dīrghakeśyo hemābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ //
8. śūdrā ... baliṁ ca kṛtsnam ādāya bharukacchanivāsīnaḥ //

van Buitenen: *The Śūdras of Bharukaccha brought as their full tribute a hundred thousand slave girls from Kārpāsika, 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.).

Mbh 3, 13, 29

Arjuna lauds the past exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

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

29. indradyumno hataḥ kopād yavanaś ca kaśerumān /
hataḥ saubhapatīḥ śālvas tvayā saubhaṁ ca pātitam //

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

Mbh 3, 48, 20

Subjugated kings participate in Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājasūya.

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

19. ... simhalān barbarān mlecchān ye ca jāṅgalavāsinaḥ /
20. paścimāni ca rājyāni śataśaḥ sāgarāntikān /
pahlavān daradān sarvān kirātān yavanān śakān //
21. hārahūṇāms ca cīnāmś ca tūkhārān saindhavāms tathā /
jāguḍān ramathān 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...*

Mbh 3, 186, 30

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

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

29. bahavo mleccharājānaḥ pṛthivyām manujādhipa /
mithyānuśāsinaḥ pāpā mṛṣāvādaparāyanāḥ //
30. āndhrāḥ śakāḥ pulindās ca yavanās ca narādhipāḥ /
kāambojā aurṇikāḥ śūdrās tathābhīrā 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, Aurṇikas, serfs, and Ābhīras, best of men.*

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

Mbh 5, 19, 21

List of the allies of the Kauravas.

Mahābhārata 5, 19, 14 ff. (Calcutta 584 ff.; Bombay 19, 21):

14. tathaiva dhārtarāṣṭrasya harṣaṁ samabhivardhayan /
bhagadatto mahīpālāḥ senām akṣauhiṇīm dadau //
15. tasya cīnaiḥ kirātaiś ca kāñcanair iva saṁvṛta, /
babhau balamanādhṛyaṁ karṇikāraṇaṁ yathā //
- ...
19. jayadrathamukhāś cānye sindhusauvīravāsinaḥ /
ājagmuḥ pṛthivīpālāḥ kampayanta ivācalān //
20. teṣāṁ akṣauhiṇī senā bahulā vibabhau tadā /
vidhūyamānā vātena bahurūpā ivāmbhadāḥ //
21. sudakṣiṇāś ca kāmbojo *yavana*ś ca śakais tathā /
upājagāma kauravyam akṣauhiṇyā 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. aśvatthāmā śāntanavaḥ saindhavo 'tha jayadratha /
dākṣiṇātyāḥ pratīcyāś ca pārvatīyāś ca ye rathāḥ //
7. gāndhārarājaḥ śakuniḥ prācyodīcyāś ca sarvaśaḥ /
śakāḥ kirātā *yavanāḥ* śibayo 'tha vasātayaḥ //

van Buitenen: *Aśvatthāman, Śāntanava, 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

Sañjaya recounts to Dhārtarāṣṭra the countries and peoples of the Bhāratavarṣa.

Mahābhārata 6, 10, 54 (Calcutta 363; Bombay 9, 56):

54. vadhrāḥ karīṣakāś caiva kulindopatyakas tathā /
vānāyaso daśāpārśvā *romāṇaḥ* kuśabindavaḥ //

The context here includes Kāsmīra, 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. ... uttarās cāpare mlecchā janā bharatasattama //
 64. *yavanās ca sa kāmbojā dāruṇā mlecchajātayaḥ /*
śakṣadruhaḥ kuntalās ca hūṇāḥ paratakaiḥ saha //
 a) MSS B₄, D_n, D_{4.8} read yavanās cīnakāmbojā, while D₃ reads yavanāḥ śakakāmbojā.
 c) K₂₋₄, B_{1.4}, D_{a1}, D_{n2}, D_{3-5.8} sakṣdgrāhāḥ; B_{2.3}, D_{a2} sakṣdvahāḥ (B₂ varhāḥ).
 d) K₃, D₂ pāravakaiḥ; K₄, B, Da, D_n, D_{4.5.8} pārasikaiḥ; K₅, D_{3.7} pāradakaiḥ; T₁, G_{2.4}, M
yavanāḥ pāratāiḥ saha; T₂ yavanāḥ pādavaiḥ saha; G_{1.3} yavanāḥ pārakaiḥ saha.
 65. tathaiva *maradhās cīnās tathaiva daśamālikāḥ /*
kṣatriyopaniveśās 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 Paratakas, 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 cottaradhūr mahātmā
 maheṣvāso gautamaś citrayodhī /
 śakaiḥ kirātair *yavanaiḥ pahlavaiś ca*
sārdham camūm uttarato 'bhipāti //
 In c), the MSS Ś and K_{o-2} read ca bāhlikaiḥ, while D_{3.7} reads bāhlikaiś 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. samsthānāḥ sūrasenās ca veṅikāḥ kukurās tathā /
ārevakās trigartās ca madrakā yavanās 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 yavanās caiva śakās ca saha cucūpaiḥ /
dakṣiṇam pakṣam āsṛitya sthitā vyūhasya bhārata //

Just before this, in verse 18, the Prāgiyotiṣas (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 anantaram yatto bhagadattaḥ pratāpavān /
māgadhaiś ca kaliṅgaiś ca piśācaiś ca viśām pate //
9. prāgiyotiṣād anu nṛpaḥ kausalyo ’tha bṛhadbalaḥ /
mekalaiś tripuraiś caiva cicchillaiś ca samanvitaḥ //
10. bṛhadbalāt tataḥ sūras trigartaḥ prasthalādhipaḥ /
kāmbojair bahubhiḥ sārdham yavanaiś ca sahasraśaḥ //

Just after Droṇa was mighty Bhagadatta with Māgadhas and Kaliṅgas and Piśācas, O lord of peoples; then after (this) king of Prāgiyotiṣa (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. kṛpās ca kṛtavarmā ca citraseno vivimśatiḥ /
duḥśāsanamukhā yattāḥ savyam pārsvam apālayan //
5. teṣām prapakṣāḥ kāmbojāḥ sudakṣiṇapuraḥ sarāḥ /
yayur aśvair mahāvegaiḥ śakās ca yavanaiḥ saha //

For the Kāmboja King Sudakṣiṇa, see 5, 19, 21 above.

The left flank was guarded by Kṛpa, Kṛtavarman and Citrasena Vivimśati, led by Duḥśāsana. At their side marched Kāmbhojas, led by Sudakṣiṇa, 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. nānādīgḥyaś ca saṁprāptān vṛatān aśvaśakān prati /
jitavān puṇḍarīkākṣo yavanāms ca sahanugān //

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 siṁhalāḥ prācyāḥ śūrābhīrā daśerakāḥ /
śakā yavanakāmbhojās tathā haṁsapadās ca ye //
8. grīvāyām sūrasenās ca daradā madrakekayāḥ /
gajāśvarathapattyaughās tasthuḥ śatasahasraśaḥ //

In the neck (of this eagle formation) remained Bhūtavarman, Kṣemaśarman and valiant Karakarṣa, Kaliṅgas, Siṁhalas, Easterners, Śūras and Abhīras, Daśerakas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbhojas 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 asuramāyām ye sughorā ghoracakṣuṣaḥ /
yavanāḥ pāradās caiva śakās ca sunikaiḥ saha //
42. goyoniprabhavā mleccāḥ kālakalpāḥ prahāriṇaḥ /
dārvābhisārā daradāḥ puṇḍrās ca saha bāhlikaiḥ //

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. damśītāḥ krūrakarmāṇaḥ kāmbojā yuddhadurmadāḥ /
arubāṇāsanadharā *yavanāś* ca prahāriṇaḥ //
13. śakāḥ kirātā daradā barbarās tāmraliptakās /
anye ca *bahavo* mlecchā vividhāyudhapāṇayaḥ /
mām evābhimukhāḥ sarve tiṣṭhanti *samarārthinaḥ* //

Sūta's answer follows. The MSS Ś, K_{1-3,5}, D₁, D_{5,7,8} have 12a–13d) only after śloka 17ab), and K₄, B₁, D₁ 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 /
pratijñān pārasiṣyāmi kāmbojān eva mā vaha /
adyaiṣān kadanān kṛtvā *kṣipraṁ* yāsyāmi pāṇḍavaṁ //
21. adya drakṣyanti me vīryaṁ kauravāḥ susuyodhanāḥ /
muṇḍānīke 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.

30. evam uktas tadā sūtaḥ śikṣitān sādhuvāhinaḥ /
śāsaṅkasamnikāśān vai vājino 'cūcudad bhṛṣam //
31. te pibanta ivākāśām yuyudhānaṁ hayottamāḥ /
prāpayan *yavanān* śighraṁ manaḥpavanaramhasaḥ //
32. sātyakiṁ te samāsādyā pṛtanās~~vanivartinam~~ /
bahavo laghuhastās ca ...
[MS D, adds here 673* *yavanāḥ* sumahābalāḥ /
kebeti vādinaḥ sarve] ... śapavarṣair avākiran //
33. teṣām *iṣūn* athāstrāṇi vegavaṇ nataparvabhiḥ /
acchinat sātyakī rājan *nainam* te prāpnuvaṅ śarāḥ //
34. rukmapuṅkhaiḥ suniśitair *gārdhrapatir* *ajihmagaiḥ* /
uccakarta śirāṁsy ugro *yavanānām* bhujān api //
35. śaikyāyasāni varmāṇi kāmsyāni ca *samantataḥ* /
bhritvā dehāṁs tathā teṣāṁ śarā jagmur mahītalam //
36. te hanyamānā vīreṇa mlecchāḥ sātyakinā raṇe /
śataśo *nyapatams tatra* vyasavo vasudhātale //
37. supūrṇāyatamuktais *tān* avyavacchinnapiṇḍitaiḥ /
pañca ṣaṭ sapta cāṣṭau ca bibheda *yavanān* śaraiḥ //

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.

...
[Insertion 674* is given here by the MSS B₃, D_c, after the next śloka by K₄, B_{1,2}, D₁, after śloka 46 by B₄. This is Calcutta 4747 = Bombay 119, 46:

hatair *yavanakāambojaiḥ* kirātaiḥ saha barbaraiḥ /
padātibhiś ca vīreṇa sātvatena hate raṇe //
patitair abhavan rājan saṁvṛtā raṇabhūmayāḥ /
evam tad *yavanānikam* hatvā chittvā ca mādhavaḥ //]

The battlefield became covered with fallen Yavana, Kāmbōja, Kirāta and Barbara foot-soldiers, killed by Sātvata in battle, O king, and having thus slain and killed the Yavana army...

...
[Insertion 675* after śloka 42 is found in the Southern recension only:

teṣām astrāṇi bāṇāṁs ca śaineyo nataparvabhiḥ /
nicakarta mahārāja yavanānām śirodharān //
(2 ślokas)
kāmbojānām bhujaiś chinnaiḥ yavanānām ca bhārata /
tatra tatra mahī bhāti pañcāsyair iva pannagaiḥ //]

- ...
45. kāmbojasainyaṁ vidrāvya durjayaṁ yudhi bhārata /
yavanānām ca tat sainyaṁ śakānām ca mahadbalam //
46. sa tataḥ puruṣavyāghraḥ sātyakiḥ satyavikramaḥ /
prahṛṣṭas tāvakān jītvā sūtaṁ yāhīty acodayat //

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. jītvā yavanakāmbojān yuyudhānas tato 'rjunam /
jaḡāma tava sainyasya madhyena rathinām 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 sādīsaḥsrāṇi duryodhanapurogamāḥ /
śakāḥ kāmbojabāhlikā yavanāḥ pāradās tathā //
14. kuṇindās taṅgaṇāmbaṣṭhāḥ paiśācās ca samandarāḥ /
abhyadravanta śaineyaṁ 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, Bāhlikas, Yavanas and Pāradas, Kuṇindas, Taṅganas, Ambaṣṭhas and Paiśācas with Mandaras, 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 yavanā rājañ śūrās caiva viśeṣataḥ /
mlecchāḥ svasamjñāniyatā nānukta itaro janāḥ //

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 śūrās 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 kṛṣṇārjunajighāmsavaḥ /
teṣāṃ prapakṣaḥ kāmbojāḥ śakās ca yavanaiḥ saha //
16. nideśāt sūtaputrasya sarathāḥ sāśvapattayaḥ /
āhvayanto 'rjunam tasthuḥ keśavam ca mahābalaṃ //

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 āvarjitair aśvaiḥ kāmbojair yavanaiḥ śakaiḥ /
ṣoṇitāktais tadā raktaṃ sarvaṃ āśīd viśāṃ pate //

Everything was then red with broken and blood-smearred 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. ugrās ca krūrakarmāṇas tukhārā *yavanāḥ* khaśāḥ /
dārvābhisārā daradāḥ śakā ramaṭhataṅganāḥ //

K₃, V₁, D_{n1}, D_{3,4,7} read tuṣārā; Southern rec. śakāḥ.

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 /
śakās tukhārā *yavanās* ca sādinaḥ
sahaiva kāmbojavarair jighāmsavaḥ //

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

Samjaya laments to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the fall of Kaurava warriors and forces.

Mahābhārata 9, 1, 26 (Calcutta 27; Bombay 1, 27):

26. samśaptakā hatāḥ sarve kāmbojās ca śakaiḥ saha /
mlecchās ca pārvatīyās ca *yavanās* ca nipātītāḥ //

All Samśaptakas 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. mlecchās ca bahuśahasrāḥ śakās ca *yavanaiḥ* saha /
sudakṣiṇās 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 kṛtavarmā ca trigartaiḥ parivāritāḥ /
gautamo dakṣiṇe pārśve śakaiś ca *yavanaiḥ* saha //

25. aśvatthāmā pṛṣṭhato 'bhūt kāmbojaiḥ parivāritaḥ /

...

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 rakṣamāṇā mahābhujam /
sindhusauvīragāndhāarakāmbojayavanastriyaḥ //

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

Mbh 12, 65, 13

Śāntiparvan: Rājadharmā. 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 gāndhārās cīnāḥ śabarabarbarāḥ /
śakās tuṣārāḥ kuhlās ca pahlavās cāndhramadrakāḥ //
14. oḍṛāḥ pulindā ramathāḥ kācā mlecchās ca sarvaśaḥ /
brahmakṣatraprasūtās ca vaiśyāḥ sūdrās ca mānavāḥ //
15. katharṁ dharmarṁ careyus te sarve viṣayavāsinaḥ / ...

Note that 13a is hypermetric.

Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Cīnas, Śabaras and Barbaras, Śakas, Tuṣāras and Kuhlas and Pahlavas, Āndhras, Madrakas, Oḍras, Pulindas, Ramathas, 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: Rājadharmā. Bhīṣma explains the various arts and rules of battle. Mahābhārata 12, 102, 5 (Calcutta 3737; Bombay 101, 5):

5. tathā yavanakāambojā mathurām abhitaś ca ye /
ete niyuddhakuśalā 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 kuśalāḥ śaṭhayodhinaḥ //

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

Mbh 12, 200, 40

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

Mahābhārata 12, 200, 40 (Calcutta 7560; Bombay 207, 43):

39. dakṣiṇāpathajanmānaḥ sarve talavarāndhrakāḥ /
utsāḥ pulindāḥ śabarāś cūcupā maṇḍapaḥ saha //
40. uttarāpathajanmānaḥ kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api /
yaunakāambojagāndhārāḥ kirātā barbaraiḥ saha //
41. ete pāpakṛtas tāta caranti pṛthivīm imām /
vakākabalagr̥dhrāṇām sadharmaṇo narādhipa //
42. naite kṛtayuge tāta caranti pṛthivīm imām /
tretāprabhṛti vartante te janā bhāratarṣabha //

39b) Ś₁ & K₁ śavarāndhrakāḥ; K_{6,7}, V₁, Bo₆₋₉, Da_{3, 4}, Dn₁, Ds, D_{2,3,5,6,8} naravarāndhrakāḥ (D₅-dha-).

39c) K₆, Dn₁, Ds, D_{2,3,8} guhāḥ; B₆₋₈ -oḍrāḥ (V₁, Bo odrāḥ, B₉ oḍhrāḥ); Das uḍhrāḥ, D_{5,7}, M_{5,7} auḍrāḥ; M₁ auḍhrāḥ.

40c) K₁ śaya-; K₇, D_{4,9} śakāḥ; V₁, B₆₋₉, Da_{3, 4} paura-; D₅ paurāḥ; D₆ nara-, D₇, T, G_{1-3,6} ye tu; M₁ ye na; M₅ hūṇa-; M₆ ye ca, M₇ hūṇāḥ.

41c) K₆, Bo₆₋₉, Dn₁, n₄, Ds, D_{2,3,6,8} śvapākabala; D₄, T₂, M_{1,5,7} śvakākavaḷa; D₇, T₁, G_{1-3,6} 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 Barbbaras [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, *paṛa* and *paṛāḥ* 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 *kālayavanaḥ* khyāto gargatejobhisamvṛtaḥ /
bhaviṣyati 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 *yavanakā*mbojās tāstāḥ kṣatriyajātayaḥ /
vṛṣalatvaṁ parigatā brāhmaṇānām adarśaṇāt //

See the next excerpt.

Śakas, Yavanas, Kāambojas 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 dramiḍāḥ kāsāḥ paṇḍrāḥ kollagirās tathā /
auṇḍikā daradā darvās caurāḥ śabarabarbarāḥ //
18. kirātā *yavanās* 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 Śabarās, 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 Draupadī's svayamvara. A second list of the svayamvara guests is not included in the critical edition, but attested in the MSS K_{3,4}, Ñ, V₁, B and D.

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

sakarṇa-duryodhana-śālva-śalya-drauṇāyani-krātha-sunītha-vakrāḥ /
kalinga-vaṅgādhipa-pāṇḍya-pauṇḍrā videharājo yavanādhipaś ca //
anye ca nānā nṛpaputrapautrā ...

[Among the guests were included] Karṇa, Duryodhana, Śālva, Droṇa's son Śalya, Krātha, Sunītha and Vakra, the rulers of the Kalingas 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, D_{1,2}, and further in K₄, D_{4,5}, and S.

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

trivarṣakṛtayajñas tu gandharvāṇām upaplave /
[40] arjunapramukhaiḥ pāthaiḥ sauvīraḥ samare hataḥ /
na śasāka vaśe kartuṁ yaṁ pāṇḍur api vīryavān /
so 'rjunena vaśam nīto rājāsīd yavanādhipaḥ /
atīva balasampannaḥ sadā mānī kurūn prati /
vittalo* nāma Sauvīraḥ śastaḥ pārthena dhīmatā /
[45] Dattamītram* iti khyātaṁ saṅgrāmakṛtaniścayam /
sumitraṁ nāma sauvīram arjuno 'damayac charṇiḥ //

vittalo with variants (e.g. vipulo).

dattāmītram (with ā) only in Nilakaṇṭha (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 Sauvīras, 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.

vāruṇīm diśam āgamyā yāvanān barbarāṁs tathā / [obs. yāvana!]
nṛpān paścimabhūmiṣṭhān dāpayām āsa vai karān /

...

śakān yavanāṁś caiva vijigye sūtanandanaḥ /
[70] nagnajitpramukhāṁś caiva gaṇān jivā mahārathān /

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 Draupadī's svayamvara (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. pauṇḍrako vāsudevaś ca bhagadattaś ca vīryavān /
kaliṅgas tāmraliptaś ca pattanādhipatiś tathā //
13. madrarājas tathā śalyaḥ mahaputro mahārathah /

...

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 *Siṃhaladvīpa with its Rākṣasas, by envoys*; in 311*, after 49) in MSS T₁ and G₂₋₆), *Kānanadvīpa and Tāmraparṇi*.

Mbh 2 – 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. yajñasenaḥ saputraś ca śālvaś ca vasudhādhipaḥ /
prāgjyotiṣaś ca nṛpatīr bhagadatto mahāyaśāḥ //
10. saha sarvais tathā mleccaiḥ sāgarānūpavāsibhiḥ /
pārvatīyāś ca rājāno rājā caiva bṛhadbalaḥ //

van Buitenen: *Yajñasena 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 andhra (11); draviḍa, siṃhala, kāśmīra, kuntibhoja and suhma (12); bāhlīka, etc.

Mbh 14, 72, 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 'śidhanurdharāḥ /
mlecchāś cānye bahuvidhāḥ pūrvam vinikṛtā raṇe //

In 24a), for vikṛtā, the MSS.MSS K., B, D read *yavana*, but Ś and S (i.e. the Śaradā [together with the most of K = Kaśmīrī 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

Calcutta edition	Bombay edition	Critical edition
1, 3533	1, 85, 34	1, 80, 26
1, 5535	1, 139, ?	[1, add. ch. 80, line 42]
1, 6684	1, 175, 36	1, 165, 35
1, 7020	1, 187, ??	[1, 178, 1824*]
2, 117	2, 4, 23	2, 4, 20
2, 120	2, 4, 25	2, 4, 22
2, 578	2, 14, 14	2, 13, 13
2, 1175	2, 31, 72	2, 28, 49
2, 1199	2, 32, 16	[2, 29, 15]
2, 1834	2, 51, 14	2, 47, 12

Calcutta edition	Bombay edition	Critical edition
3, 491	3, 12, ??	3, 13, 29
3, 1990	3, 51, ??	3, 48, 20
3, 12839	3, 188, 35	3, 186, 30
3, 15257	3, 254, 8	[3, add. ch. 24, line 69]
5, 590	5, 19, 21	5, 19, 21
5, 7609	5, 195, 7	5, 196, 7
6, 363	6, 9, 56	6, 10, 54
6, 373	6, 9, 65	6, 10, 64
6, 753	6, 20, 13	6, 20, 13
6, 2097	6, 51, 7	6, 47, 7
6, 3297	6, 75, 21	6, 71, 20
6, 3856	6, 87, 10	6, 83, 10
7, 182	7, 7, 5	7, 6, 5
7, 399	7, 11, 18	7, 10, 18
7, 798	7, 20, 7	7, 19, 7
7, 3379	7, 93, 41	7, 68, 41
7, 4715 ff.	7, 119, 14 ff.	7, 95, 12 ff.
7, 4747	7, 119, 46	[7, 95, 674*]
7, 4758	7, 120, 6	7, 96, 1
7, 4818	7, 121, 13?	7, 97, 13
8, 2107	8, 45, 37	8, 30, 80
8, 2137	8, 46, 15	8, 31, 15
8, 2807	8, 56, 115	8, 40, 108
8, 3652	8, 73, 19	8, 51, 18
8, 4505	8, 88, 16	8, 64, 16
9, 27	9, 1, 27	9, 1, 26
9, 74	9, 2, 18	9, 2, 18
9, 393	9, 8, 25	9, 7, 24
11, 627	11, 22, 11	11, 22, 11
12, 2429	12, 65, 13	12, 65, 13
12, 3737*	12, 101, 5	12, 102, 5
12, 7560	12, 207, 43	12, 200, 40
12, 12958	12, 349, 26?	12, 326, 88
13, 2103	13, 33, 20	13, 33, 19
13, 2159	13, 35, 18	13, 35, 18

* 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

Rāmāyaṇa. Critical edition 1–7. Baroda 1960–75.

Ramāyana. Book One Boyhood. By Valmiki. Tr. Robert P. Goldman. Clay Sanskrit Library 2005.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. Book Four Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa. Introduction, tr., and annotation by Rosalind Lefebvre. Princeton NJ 1994.

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 humbhārvotsṛṣṭāḥ pahlavāḥ śataśo nṛpa /
nāśayanti balaṁ sarvaṁ Viśvāmitrasya paśyataḥ //

[The MSS Ś₁ and D_{1-3,5,7,12} insert here 1077*:

yavanāś ca sakāambojā vālhikā daradās tathā /]

19. sa rājā paramakruddhaḥ krodhavisphāritekṣaṇaḥ /
pahlavān nāśayām āsa śastrair uccāvarcāir api //

20. Viśvāmitrārditān dṛṣṭvā pahlavān śataśas tadā /
bhūya evāṣṛjad ghorāṁ śakān *yavanamiśritān* //

21. tair āsīt saṁvṛtā bhūmiḥ śakair *yavanamiśritaiḥ* /
prabhāvadbhir mahāvīryair hemakiṅjalkasamṇibhaiḥ //

22. dīrghāsipatṭīśadharair hemavarṇāmbārāvṛtaiḥ /

[The MSS Ś₁, B₄, and D_{1-3,5,7,12,13} insert here 1078*:

tair mlecchair vikṛtākārair bhīmavegaparākramaiḥ /]

nirdagdhaṁ tadbalaṁ sarvaṁ pradīptair iva pāvakaiḥ //

[The MSS Ś, V, B, and D_{10,11} insert here 1079*:

dahyamānaṁ balaṁ dṛṣṭvā sambhrāntāś calitendriyaḥ /]

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

[The MSS Ś₁ (after 1081*), V₄, and D_{1-3,5,7,11-13} insert here 1080*:

yeṣāṁ viśṛjyamānānāṁ trasyed api śatakratuḥ /

The MSS Ś₁ (marg.), Dt, and D_{4,6,8,9,14} and S insert here 1081*:

*tais te *yavanakā*ambojā paplavāś cākulīkṛtāḥ /]*

In 1081* paplava 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 Pāhlavas who destroyed Vishva-mitra’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 sṛja yogataḥ //
2. tasyā humbhāravāj jātāḥ kāmbojā ravisam nibhaḥ /
ūrdhvasas tv atha samjñātāḥ pahlavāḥ śastrapāṇayaḥ //
3. yonideśac ca yavanāḥ śakṛddeśac chakāś tathā /
romakūpeṣu mlecchāś ca hārītāḥ sakirātakāḥ //
4. tais tan niśūditaṁ sainyaṁ viśvāmitrasya tatkaṣaṇāt /
sapatātigajaṁ sāsvaṁ sarathaṁ raghunandana //

After 2cd), the MSS D_{3,7} insert three lines = 1082*.

Goldman: *Seeing her host stunned and overwhelmed by Vishva-mitra's weapons, Vasīshtha 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 pulindāmś ca śūrasenāmś tathaiva ca /
prasthalān bharatāmś caiva kurūmś ca saha madrakaiḥ //
11. kāmbojān yavanāmś caiva śakān āraṭṭakān api /
bāhlikān ṛṣikāmś caiva pauravān atha ṭaṅkaṇān //

12. cīnān paramacīnāmś ca nīhārāmś ca punaḥ punaḥ /
 anviṣya daradāmś caiva himavantaṁ vicinvatha //

Lefebvre: *When you have searched repeatedly through the countries of the Mlecchas, the Pulindas, and the Śūrasenas; the Prasthalas, the Bharatas, the Kurus, and Madrakas; the Kāmbojas, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Āraṭṭakas, the Bāhlikas, the Rṣikas, 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 Ś₁, Ś, V, B₁, D_{1-4,7,12,13}.

Line numbers are given in square brackets.

- [4] strīlokāḥ pahlavasthānaṁ dattāmitrām arundhatīm /
 purāṇi yavanānām ca vicinvatu vanaukasaḥ /

...

- [10] tatas takṣaśilām ramyām śākalam puṣkarāvātīm /

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

Harivaṁśa

The Harivaṁśa: Being the Khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata. Critically ed. first by Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya. 1–2. Poona 1969–71.

A Prose English Translation of Harivaṁśa: Translated Literally into English Prose. Ed. and publ. by Manmatha Nath Dutt. Calcutta 1897.

Hv 10, 23 ff.

The Purāṇic story of the origin of the Yavanas 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 /
rohitasya vṛkaḥ putraḥ vṛkāḍ bāhus tu jajñivān //
 [Insertion 207* in the MSS K₁, N̄_{2,3}, V, D₁₋₂, T₂₋₄, G_{1,4}.
 akair *yavanakāmbojaiḥ* pāradaiḥ pahlavaiḥ saha /]
24. hehayās tālajaṅghās ca nirasyanti sma taṁ nṛpam /
 nātyarthaṁ dhārmikas tāta sa hi dharmayuge ’bhavat //
25. sagaras tu suto bāhor jajñe saha gareṇa vai /
 aurvasyāśramam āsādya bhārgaveṇābhiraḥṣitaḥ //
26. āgneyam astram labdhvā ca bhārgavāt sagaro nṛpaḥ /
 jigāya pṛthivīm hatvā tālajaṅghān sahehayān //
27. śakānām pahlavānām ca dharmam nirasad acyutaḥ /
 kṣatriyānām kuruśreṣṭha pāradānām ca dharmavit //

Janamejaya uvāca

28. katham ca sagaro jāto gareṇaiva sahācyutaḥ /
 kimarthaṁ ca śakādīnam kṣatriyānām mahaujasām //
29. dharmam kulocitam kruddho rājā nirasad acyutaḥ /
 etan me sarvam ācakṣya vistareṇa tapodhana //

Vaiśampāyana uvāca

30. bāhor vyasaninas tāta hṛtam rājyam abhūt kila /
 hehayais tālajaṅghais ca śakaiḥ sārddham viśām pate //
31. *yavanāḥ* pāradās caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavāḥ khaśāḥ /
 ete hy api gaṇāḥ pañca hehayārthe parākraman //
 b. Most of the MSS (i.e. N (except Dn, Ds), T_{1,2}, G_{1,3,5}) read tathā.
 c. Obs. pañca!
32. hṛtarājyas tadā rājā sa vai bāhur vanam yayau /
 patnyā cānugato duḥkhī vane prāṇān avāśṛjat //
33. patnī tu yādavī tasya sagarbhā pṛṣṭhato ’nvagāt /
 sapatnyā ca garas tathā dattaḥ pūrvam abhūt kila //
34. sā tu bhartuś citām kṛtvā vane tām adhyarohata /
 aurvas tām bhārgavas tāta kāruṇyāt samavārayat //
35. tasyāśrame ca taṁ garbham gareṇaiva sahācyutam /
 vyajāyata mahābhūm sagaram nāma pāṛthivam //
36. aurvas tu jātakarmādi tasya kṛtvā mahātmanaḥ /
 adhyāpya vedaśāstrāṇi tato ’stram pratyapādayat /
 āgneyam taṁ mahābhāgam amarair api duḥsaham //
37. sa tenāstrabalenājau balena ca samanvitaḥ /
 hehayān nijaghānāśu kruddho rudraḥ paśūn iva *[sic]*
 ājahāra ca lokeṣu kīrtim kīrtimatām varaḥ //

38. tataḥ śakān sayavanān kāmbojān pāradāns tathā /
pahlavānīs caiva niḥśeṣān kartum vyavasīto nṛpaḥ //
39. te vadhyamānā vīreṇa sagareṇa mahātmanā /
vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā praṇipetur maṇiṣiṇam //
40. vasiṣṭhas tv atha tān dṛṣṭvā samayena mahādyutiḥ /
sagaraṁ vārayām āsa teṣāṁ dattvābhayaṁ tadā //
41. sagraḥ svam pratijñāṁ ca guror vākyaṁ niśamya ca /
dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ vai veṣānyatvaṁ cakāra ha //
42. dharmān śakānān śirasō muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat /
yavanānān śiraḥ sarvaṁ kāmbojānān tathaiva ca //
43. pāradā muktakeśās tu pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhariṇaḥ /
niḥsvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā //
44. śakā yavanakāmbojāḥ pāradās ca viśān pate /
kolisarpā mahīṣikā darvās colāḥ sakeralāḥ //
45. sarve te kṣatriyās tāta dharmas teṣāṁ nirākṛtaḥ /
vasiṣṭhavacanād rājan sagareṇa mahātmanā //

Dutt:² *Harishchandra had a powerful son Rohita...Ruruka who was...Ruruka's son was Vrika 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 Kshatryas.*

The text used by Dutt adds three additional generations between Hariścandra's son Ruruka (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.*

Vaiṣampayana 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) encienté and she followed her husband whose other wife had administered poison unto her before (her departure). When she, making a funeral pyre for her husband in that forest, got upon it Aurva, born in the family of Bhrigu, 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, Kolasapyas, 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.

Kṛṣṇa slays Kālayavana.

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

10. gopālī tv apsarās tasya gopastrīveṣadhārīṇī /
dhārayām āsa gārgyasya garbhaṁ durdharam acyutam //
11. mānuṣyāṁ gārgyabhāryāyām niyogāc chūlapāṇinaḥ /
sa kālayavano nāma jajñe rājā mahābalaḥ /
vṛṣapūrvārdhakāyās tam avahan vājino raṇe //
12. aputrasya sa rājñas tu vavṛdhe 'ntaḥpure śīsuḥ /
yavanasya mahārāja sa kālayavano 'bhavat //
13. sa yuddhakāmo nṛpatiḥ paryapṛcchad dvijottamān /
vṛṣṇyandhakakulaṁ tasya nārado 'kathayad vibhuḥ //
14. akṣauhiṇyā tu sainyasya mathurām abhyayāt tadā /
dūtaṁ ca preṣayām āsa vṛṣṇyandhakaniveśane //

15. tato vṛṣṇyandhakāḥ kṛṣṇaṁ puraskṛtya mahāmatim /
sametā mantrayām āsur jarāsamdhabhayena ca //
16. kṛtvā ca niścayaṁ sarve palāyanam arocayan /
vihāya mathurāṁ ramyāṁ mānayanataḥ pinākinam /
kuśasthalīm dvāravatīm niveśayitum īpsavaḥ //
17. iti kṛṣṇasta janmedaṁ yaḥ śucir niyatendriyaḥ /
parvasu śrāvayed vidvān nirṛṇaḥ sa sukhī 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. ... daityān mānuṣadehasthān sūdayām āsa vīryavān //
146. chinnaṁ bāhusahasraṁ ca bāṇasyādbhutakarmanāḥ /
narakaś ca hataḥ saṁkhye yavanaś ca mahābalaḥ //
147. hṛtāni ca mahīpānām 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.; BṛṇP 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.
Harivaṃśa 80, 15 (Calcutta 4969; Bombay 2, 34):

41. etat manujamātaṅgaturaṅgarathasaṃkaṭe /
sa *kālayavano* yuddhe niruddho vasudevajaiḥ //
42. teṣāṃ yasya ca saṃgrāmo yaśaḥsaṃgrahakāriṇām /
anyonyākṣepivākyānām pravṛtto vārtasaṃkatham //
43. channā tena kumārāṇām śirobhī rudhirāruṇaiḥ /
cakranārācanirbhinnaiḥ paṅkajair iva bhūr abhūt //
44. sāraṇena kumāreṇa sa *kālayavano* ruṣā /
nītaḥ khaḍgaprahāreṇa kālasya sadanaṃ 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.
Harivaṃśa 80, 15 (Calcutta 4969; Bombay 2, 34):

14. madrarājaś ca balavāms trigartānām atheśvaraḥ /
sālvarājaś ca vikrānto daradaś ca mahābalaḥ //
15. *yavanādhipatiś* caiva bhagadattaś ca vīryavān /
sauvīrarājaḥ śaibyaś ca pāṇḍyaś ca balinām varaḥ /
gāndhārarājaḥ subalo nagnajit ca mahābalaḥ //
16. ete cānye ca rājāno balavanto mahārathāḥ /
tam anvayur jarāsandham vidviṣanto janārdanam //

Dutt (ch. 89): *...the powerful king of Madra, the lord of Trigarta, the king of Shālwa endowed with prowess, the highly powerful Darada, the energetic Bhagadatta the lord of Yavanas, Saivya the king of Shoukira, Pāndya 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 Janārdana.*

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.

Hv 84, 12 ff.

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 *kālayavanaṁ* caiva śrutvaivaṁ pratipedire //
14. keśavaḥ punar evāha yādavān satyasaṅgarān /
adyaiva divasaḥ puṇyo niryāma sapaḍānugāḥ //
15. niścakramus te yadavaḥ sarve keśavaśāsanāt /
oghā iva samudrasya balaughaprativāraṇāḥ //
16. saṁgrhya te kalatrāṇi vasudevapurogamāḥ /
susāmniddhair gajair mattai rathair aśvaiś ca daṁśitaiḥ //
17. āhatya duṁdubhīn sarve sadhanajñātibāndhavāḥ /
niryayur yādavāḥ sarve mathurām apahāya vai //
18. syandanaiḥ kāñcanāpīḍair mattaiś ca varavāraṇaiḥ /
sṛtaplutaiś ca turagaiḥ kaśāpārṣṇipracoditaiḥ //
19. svāni svāni balāgrāṇi śobhayantaḥ prakarṣiṇaḥ /
pratyuṁmukhā yayur hr̥ṣṭā vṛṣṇayo bhatararṣabha //
20. tato mukhyātamāḥ sarve yādavā raṇaśobhinaḥ /
anīkāgrāṇi karṣanto vāsudevapurogamāḥ //
21. te sma nānālatācitraṁ nārikelavanāyutam /
kīrṇaṁ nāgavanaḥ kāntaiḥ ketakīṣaṇḍamaṇḍitam //
- ... [The place of Dvārāvātī is discovered and the town founded...]
35. kṛṣṇo 'pi *kālayavanaṁ* jñātvā keśiniśūdanaḥ /
jarāsaṁdhabhayaḥ cāpi purīm dvārāvātīm 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 Dvārāvātī is founded on the place selected by Kṛṣṇa (22–34).

Dutt: *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. bhagavañ śrotum icchāmi vistareṇa mahātmanaḥ /
caritaṁ vāsudevasya yaduśreṣṭhasya dhīmataḥ //
2. kimarthaṁ ca parityajya mathurāṁ madhusūdanaḥ /
madhyadeśasya kakudaṁ dhāma lakṣmyās ca kevalam //
3. śṛṅgaṁ pṛthivyāḥ svālakṣyaṁ prabhūtanadhadhānyavat /
āryāḍhyajanabhūyiṣṭham adhiṣṭhānavarottamam /
ayuddhenaiva dāsārhas tyaktavān dvijasattama //
4. sa *kālayavanaś* cāpi kṛṣṇo kiṁ pratyapadyata //
5. dvārakāṁ ca samāśritya vāridurgāṁ janārdanaḥ /
kiṁ cakāra mahābāhur mahāyogī mahāmanaḥ //
6. kiṁ vīryaḥ *kālayavanaḥ* kena jātaś ca vīryavān /
yamasahyaṁ samālakṣya vyapayāto janārdanaḥ //

vaiśāṁpāyana uvāca

7. kṛṣṇīnām andhakānām ca gurur gārgyo mahātapāḥ /
brahmacārī purā bhūtvā na sma dārān sa vindati //
8. tathā hi vartamānaṁ tam ūrdhvaretasam avyayam /
syālo 'bhiśaptavān gārgyaṁ apumān iti bhūpate //
9. so 'bhiśaptas tadā rājan nagare tvamitamjaye /
lipsuḥ putraṁ tato gatvā tapas tepe sudāruṇam //
10. tato dvādaśa varṣāṇi so 'yaścūrṇam abhakṣayat /
ārādhayan mahādevam acintyaṁ śūlapāṇinam //
11. rudras tasmai varam prādāt samarthaṁ yudhi nigrahe /
vṛṣṇīnām andhakānām ca sarvatejomayaṁ sutam //
12. tataḥ śuśrāva taṁ rājā *yavanādhipatir* varam /
putraprasatrajaṁ devād aputraḥ putrakāmukaḥ //
13. tam upānāyya sa nṛpaḥ sāntvayitvā dvijottama /
gopamadhye *yavanarād* gopastrīṣu samutsṛjat //
14. gopālī tv apsarās tatra gopastrīveśadhārīṇī /
dhārayām āsa gārgyasya garbhaṁ durdharam acyutam //
15. mānuṣyāṁ gārgyabhāryāyāṁ niyogāc chūlapāṇinaḥ /
sa *kālayavano* nāma jajñe śūro mahābalaḥ /
aputrasyātha rājñas tu vivṛdhe 'ntaḥpure śiśuḥ //

16. tasminn uparate rājan sa *kālayavano* nṛpaḥ /
yuddhābhikāmo rājā tu paryapṛcchad dvijottamam /
vṛṣṇyandhakakulam tasya nārado vai nyavedayat //
17. jñātvā tu varadānaṁ tan nāradān madhusūdanaḥ /
upapraikṣata tejasvī vardhantaṁ *yavaneṣu* tam //
18. sa vivṛddho yadā rājā *yavanānām* mahābalaḥ /
tata enaṁ nṛpā mlecchāḥ samśrityānuyayus tadā //
19. śakās tuṣārā daradāḥ pāradās taṅgaṇāḥ khaśāḥ /
pahlavāḥ śataśās cānye mlecchā haimavatās tathā //
20. sa taiḥ parivṛto rājā dasyubhiḥ śalabhair iva /
nānāveśadharair bhūmair mathurām abhyavartata //
21. gajavājikharoṣṭrāṇāṁ sahasrair ayutair api /
pṛthivīm kampayām āsa sainyena mahatā tadā //
22. reṇunā sūryamārgaṁ tu samavacchādya pāṛthivaḥ /
mūtreṇa śakṛtā caiva sainyena sasrje nadīm //
23. aśvoṣṭraśakṛto rāṣer niḥṣṛteti janādhipa /
tato 'śvaśakṛd ityeva nāma nadyā babhūva ha //
24. tatsainyaṁ mahad āyād vai śrutvā vṛṣṇyandhakāgraṇīḥ /
vāsudevaḥ samānāyā jñātīn idam uvāca ha //
25. idaṁ samutthitaṁ ghorāṁ vṛṣṇyandhakabhayaṁ mahat /
avadhyaś cāpi naḥ śatrur varadānāt pinākinaḥ //
26. sāmādayo 'bhyupāyās ca nihitās tasya sarvaśaḥ /
matto madanalābhyām ca yuddham eva cikīrṣati /
etāvān iha vāśās ca kathito nāradena me //
27. jarāsaṁdhaś ca no rājā nityam eva na mṛṣyate /
tathānye pṛthivīpālā vṛṣṇicakrapratāpitāḥ //
28. kecit kaṁsavadhāc cāpi viraktās tadgatā nṛpāḥ /
samāśritya jarāsaṁdham asmān icchanti bādhitum //
29. bahavo jñātayaś caiva yadūnām nihatā nṛpāiḥ /
vivardhitum na śakṣyāmaḥ pure 'sminn iti keśavaḥ /
apayāne matim kṛtvā dūtaṁ tasmai sasarja ha //
30. tataḥ kumbhe mahāsarpaṁ bhinnāñjanacayopamam /
ghoram āśīviṣaṁ kṛṣṇaṁ kṛṣṇaḥ prākṣepayat tadā //
31. tatas taṁ mudrayitvā tu svena dūtena hārayat /
nidarśanārthaṁ govindo bhīṣayāṇaś ca taṁ nṛpam /
sa dūtaḥ *kālayavanaṁ* darśayām āsa taṁ ghaṭam //
32. kālasarpopamaḥ kṛṣṇa ity uktvā bhāratarṣabha /
tatkālayavano budhvā trāsaṇaṁ yādavaih kṛtam /
pipīlikānām caṇḍānām pūrayām āsa taṁ ghaṭam //

33. sa sarpo bahubhiś tīkṣṇaiḥ sarvatas taiḥ pipīlikaiḥ /
bhakṣyamāṇaḥ kilāṅgeṣu bhasmībhūto 'bhavat tadā //
34. taṁ mudrayitvātha ghaṭaṁ tathaiva *yavanādhipaḥ* /
preṣayām āsa kṛṣṇāya bāhulyam upavarṇayan //
35. vāsudevas tu taṁ dṛṣṭvā yogaṁ vihitam ātmanaḥ /
utsṛjya mathurām āsu dvārakām abhijagmivān //
36. vairasyāntaṁ vidhitsams tu vāsudevo mahāyaśāḥ /
niveśya dvārakām rājan vṛṣṇīn āśvāsya caiva ha //
37. padātiḥ puruṣavyāghro bāhupraharaṇas tadā /
ājagāma mahāyogī mathurām madhusūdanaḥ //
38. taṁ dṛṣṭvā nirayau hṛṣṭaḥ sa *kālayavano* ruṣā /
prekṣāpūrvam ca kṛṣṇo 'pi niścakrāma mahābalaḥ //
39. athānvagacchad govindaṁ jighṛkṣur *yavaneśvaraḥ* /
na cainam aśakad rājā grahītum yogadharmiṇam //
40. māndhātus tu suto rājā mucukundo mahāyaśāḥ /
purā devāsura yuddhe kṛtakarmā mahābalaḥ //
41. vareṇa cchandito devair nidrām eva grhītavān /
rāntasya tasya vāg evaṁ tadā prādur abhūt kila //
42. prasuptaṁ bodhayed yo mām taṁ daheyam ahaṁ surāḥ /
cakṣuṣā krodhadīptena evam āha punaḥ punaḥ //
43. evam astv iti śakras tam uvāca tridaśaiḥ saha /
sa surair abhyanujñāto lokaṁ mānuṣam āgamat //
44. sa parvataguhām kāmcit praviśya śramakarśitaḥ /
suṣvāpa kālam etaṁ vai yāvat kṛṣṇasya darśanam //
45. tatsarvaṁ vāsudevasya nāradena niveditam /
varadānaṁ ca devebhyas tejas tasya ca bhūpateḥ //
46. anugamyamānaḥ kṛṣṇas ca tena mlecchena śatruṇā / [unmetrical]
taṁ guhaṁ mucukundasya praviveśa vinītavat //
47. śiraḥsthāne tu rājarṣer mucukundasya keśavaḥ /
saṁdarśanapathaṁ tyaktvā tasthau buddhimatām varaḥ //
48. anupraviśya *yavano* dadarśa pṛthivīpatim /
prasvapantaṁ kṛtāntābham āsāda sudurmatīḥ //
49. vāsudevaṁ tu taṁ matvā ghaṭṭayām āsa pāṛthivam /
pādenātmavināśāya śalabhaḥ pāvakaṁ yathā //
50. mucukundaś ca rājarṣiḥ pādasparśavibodhitaḥ /
cukopa nidrācchedena pādasparśena tena ca //
51. saṁsmṛtya ca varaṁ śakrād avaiḥṣata tam agrataḥ /
sa dṛṣṭamātraḥ kruddhena saṁprajajvāla sarvataḥ //

52. dadāha pāvakas taṁ tu śuṣkaṁ vṛkṣam ivāśaniḥ /
 kṣaṇena kālayavanaṁ netratejo vinirgataḥ //
53. taṁ vāsudevaḥ śrīmantaṁ cirusuptaṁ narādhipaṁ /
 kṛtakārya '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, earth 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 thou 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 undecaying 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 questioned 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 unslayable 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 successful in the war between gods and demons the former offered a boon to the highly powerful and illustrious king Muchukunda, the son of Māndhātā 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 ablaze. 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 Mucukunda and explains to him briefly what has happened during his long sleep. Discontented with the degraded state of the world, Mucukunda 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 mahāprājñaḥ sarvaśāstrārthatattvavit /	[715]
viditvā devam īśānaṁ na yodhayati keśavam //	
asti tasya raṇe jetā yavanādhipatir nṛpaḥ /	
sa kālayavano nāma avadhyāḥ keśavasya ha //	
taptvā sudāruṇaṁ ghoraṁ tapaḥ paramaduścaram /	
rudram ārādhayām āsa dvādaśābdānyayośinaḥ //	[720]
putrakāmena muninā toṣya rudrāt suto vṛtaḥ /	
māthurāṇām avadhyo 'yaṁ bhaved iti ca śaṁkarāt /	

evam astv iti rudro 'pi pradadau munaye sutam //
 evam gargasya tanayah śrīmān rudravarodbhavaḥ /
 māthurāṇām avadhyo 'sau mathurāyām viśeṣataḥ // [725]
 kṛṣṇo 'pi balavān eṣa māthure jātavān ayam /
 sa jeṣyati raṇe kṛṣṇam mathurāyām samāgataḥ //
 manyadhvam yadi vo yuktām nṛpā vācarīm mayeritām /
 tatra dūtam viśṛjadhvam *yavanendrapuram* prati //
 śrutvā saubhapter vākyaṁ sarve te nṛpasattamā / [730]
 kurma ity abравan hṛṣṭāḥ sālvarājam mahābalaṁ //
 sa teṣām vacanaṁ śrutvā jarāsaṁdho mahīpatiḥ /
 babhūva vimaṇā rājan brahmaṇo vacanaṁ smaran //

After the svayaṁvara 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 narendrāṇām samāgamam /
 vacanaṁ ca yathāsmābbhir dautyena kṛṣṇavigrahe //
 vaiśampāyana uvāca:
 punar evābravīd rājā saubhasya patimūrjitam /
 gaccha sarvanarendrāṇām sāhāyyaṁ kuru mānada // [755]
yavanendro yathābhyeti yathā kṛṣṇam vijeṣyati /
 yathā vayanā 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.

yavanānām balodagraḥ sa *kālayavano* nṛpaḥ /
 babhūva rājadharmeṇa rakṣitā puravāsīnām //
 trivargaviditaprajñāḥ ṣaḍguṇan upajīvakaḥ /
 saptavyasanasamūḍho guṇeṣv abhirataḥ sadā //
 śrutimān dharmāśīlaś ca satyavādī jitendriyaḥ / [775]
 sāmgrāmikavidhijñāś ca durgalābhānusāraṇaḥ /
 śūro 'pratibalaś caiva mantripravarasevakaḥ //
 sukhāsīnaḥ sabhām ramyām sacivaiḥ parivāritaḥ //
 upāsyamāno *yavanair* ātmavidbhir vipāścitaiḥ /
 vividhāś ca kathā divyāḥ kathyamānaiḥ parasparam // [780]

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 offering a ceremonial drink (*arghya*):

uvāca *yavanendro* vai mitraṃ pravadatām varaḥ / [795]
 tatrotthāya mahābāhuḥ svayam eva nṛpāsanāt /
 pratyudnamyārgham ādāya rathāvatarāṇe sthitaḥ //
 sālvo 'pi sumahātejā dṛṣṭvā rājānam āgatam /
 mudā paramayā yuktaḥ śakrapratimatejasam //
 avatūrya suvisrabdha eka eva rathottamāt /

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

yathā vadati rājendra magadhādhīpatis tava / [820]
 tathāhamāṃ sampravakṣyāmi śrūyatām *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.

evaṃ kathayamānaṃ taṃ sālvarājaṃ nṛpājñāyā /
 uvāca praramaprīto *yavanādhipatir* nṛpaḥ // [895]

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

yavanendraṃ pariṣvajya jagāma svapuram nṛpaḥ // [913]

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

- Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita: *The Siddhānta Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*. Ed. & tr. into English by Late Śrīśa Chandra Vasu. 1–2. Delhi n.d. (reprint, original edn Allahabad 1906).
- Pāṇini: *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Ed. & tr. into English by Late Śrīśa Chandra Vasu. 1–2. Delhi 1977 (reprint, original edn Allahabad 1891).
- Pāṇini: *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Roman transliteration and English transl. by Sumitra M. Katre. Delhi 1989.
- Patañjali: *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*. Ed. F. Kielhorn. 3rd revised edn by K.V. Abhyankar. 1–3. Poona 1962–72 (including Kātyāyana's Vārttikas).
- Patañjali commentaries: Śivarāmeṇdra Sarasvatī, Ratnaprakāśa, in *Mahābhāṣya Pradīpa Vyākhyānāni*. Ed. M.S. Narasimhacharya. PIFI 51:7. Pondichery 1980.
- Varadaraja: *The Laghukaumudī. A Sanskrit Grammar by Varadarāja*. With an English version, commentary and references by James R. Ballantyne. [c.1849] Repr. Delhi 1961.

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-mātulācāryā-ṇaṁ ānuk //

The feminine of the aforementioned words is formed with the formative ānuk (e.g. indrāṇī, varuṇāṇī...yavanāṇī).

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 / yavanāṇī lipiḥ //*

Pat. commentaries: Śivarāmeṇdra Sarasvatī, Ratnaprakāśa:

yavanāṇī lipir iti / anyā tu yavanasya yavanīti bhāvaḥ /

The feminine yavanāṇī 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*” / *yavanāṇāṁ lipir yavanāṇī //*

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 Dīkṣita 505 and in ŚKDr s.v. *yavanānī*: ...*yavanasya* lipiḥ / iti Mugdhabodhaṭīkāyām Durgādāsah //

Pat. on P 2, 4, 10

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-ādarśāt pratyak-kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam uttaraṇa pāriyātram / yady evaṁ kiṣkindhagandikaṁ śakayavanam śauryakrauñcam iti na sidhyati // evaṁ tarhy āryanivāsād aniravasitānām / kaḥ punar āryanivāsaḥ / grāmo ghoṣo nagaram saṁvāha iti / evaṁ api ya ete mahāntaḥ saṁstyāyās teṣv abhyantarāś caṇḍālā mṛtapās ca vasanti tatra caṇḍālamṛtapā iti na sidhyanti // evaṁ tarhi yājñāt karmaṇo 'niravasitānām / evaṁ api takṣyaskāraṁ rajakatantuvāyam iti na sidhyati // evaṁ tarhi pātrād 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 Ādarśa, to the west of Kālakavana, south of the Himalayas, north of Pāriyātra. If (it were) so, then (compounds such as) kiṣkindhagandika, śakayavana and śauryakrauñca 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) caṇḍālamṛtapa would not be valid. Then (if it is) like this: not excluded from sacrifices and ceremonies? But then even (compounds such as) takṣyaskāra (a carpenter and a blacksmith) and rajakatantuvāya (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.

Kāśīkā 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)

Kāśikā: Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇasūtravṛtti Kāśikā of Pt. Vāmana and Jayāditya. Ed. Śrī Nārāyaṇa Miśra. 1–2. Kashi Sanskrit Series 37. 5th edn. Varanasi 1983.

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 hetuḥ / dhātvarthavīṣeṣaṇam caitat / lakṣaṇe hetau cārthe varttamānāddhatoḥ parasya laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv ādeśau bhavataḥ, tau cel lakṣaṇahetū kriyāviṣayau bhavataḥ / lakṣaṇe – śāyānā bhujjate *yavanāḥ*, tiṣṭhanto 'nuśāsati gaṇakāḥ / hetau – arjayan vasati, adhīyāno 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 kambojaḥ [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. kambojādibhyo lugvaktavyaḥ / kiṁ prayojanam / coḍādyartham / coḍaḥ kaḍeraḥ keralaḥ //

Kāśikā ad loc. “janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyāt” ity anena vihitasyāñō lug ucyate / kambojāt pratyayasya lug bhavati / kambojaḥ / “kambojadibhyo lugvacanaṁ colādyartham [sic] / kambojaḥ / colaḥ / keralaḥ / śakaḥ / *yavanaḥ* / tasya rajanīty eva – kambojo rājā /

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 (nandigrahipacādibhyo lyu-ṇiny-acaḥ).

Gaṇa 128: nandi-vāśi-madi-dūṣi-sādhi-wardhi-śobhi-rocibhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ saṁjñāyām: nandanaḥ, vaśanaḥ, madanaḥ, dūṣaṇaḥ, sādhanāḥ, vardhanaḥ, śobhanaḥ, rocanaḥ; sahitapidamaḥ saṁjñāyām: sahanaḥ, tapanāḥ, damanaḥ, jalpanāḥ, ramaṇaḥ, darpaṇaḥ, saṁkrandanaḥ, saṁkarṣaṇaḥ, saṁharṣaṇaḥ, janārdanaḥ, *yavanaḥ*, madhusūdanaḥ, vibhīṣaṇaḥ, lavaṇaḥ, cittavināśanaḥ, kuladamaṇaḥ, śatrudamaṇaḥ //

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 (mayūrvayaṁsakādayaḥ) on Pāṇini 2, 1, 72 (mayūrvayaṁsakādayaś ca).

Gaṇa 178: (1) mayūrvayaṁsaka (2) chātrvayaṁsaka (3) kambojamuṇḍa (4) *yavanamuṇḍa* (5) chandasi hastegṛhya (6) pādegṛhya ... (71) pacaprakūṭa //

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

Candragomin: Cāndravṛyākaraṇa

Cāndravṛyākaraṇa of Candragomin. Ed. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji. 1–2. Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography 13. Poona 1953–61.

Cāndravṛy. 2, 3, 54

Yavana writing, from Pāṇinean tradition (P 4, 1, 49).

Cāndravṛyākaraṇa 2, 3, 54.

yavanāl lipyām

Vṛtti: *yavanāt* striyām nīṣ bhavaty ānuk ca, lipyām abhidheyāyām / *yavanānī* lipiḥ /

Śākaṭāyana: Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa

Sākaṭāyana-Vyākaraṇam of Ācārya Śākaṭāyana, with the Svopajña Commentary, Amoghavṛtti.

Ed. by Shambhunath Tripathi, English introduction by R. Birwé. Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī granthamālā, Sanskrit grantha 39. Delhi, 1971.

A 9th-century work.

Śākaṭ 1, 3, 56

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

yavanayavāl lipiduṣṭe

Translation: *From the words yavana 'Greek' and yava 'barley', (feminines are used in the sense of) writing and inferior quality.*

Autocommentary: *yavana yava ity etābhyām yathākramaṁ lipau duṣṭe cārthe striyām vartamānābhyāmān pratyayo bhavati / yavanānām lipir yavanānī / yavanānyā / duṣṭo yavo yavānī/ yavānyā /*

According to Lévi, the commentary of Yakṣavarman follows Patañjali.

Varadarāja: Laghukaumudī

The Laghukaumudī. A Sanskrit Grammar by Varadarāja. With an English version, commentary and references by James R. Ballantyne. [c.1849] Repr. Delhi 1961.

Laghukaum. n. 972 on P 2, 4, 84

Yavana in an avyayībhāva compound.

Laghukaumudī 972 on Pāṇini 2, 4, 84 (tṛtīyāsaptamyor bahulam).

upakṛṣṇam / upakṛṣṇena / madrāṇām suvṛddhiḥ sumadram / yavanānām vyṛddhir duryavanam / makṣikāṇām abhāvo nirmakṣikam / ...

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

Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Uṇādisūtras. Ed. Th. Aufrecht. Bonn 1859.

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 // ravaṇaḥ kokilaḥ / ravaṇaḥ śabdano
nāndīvādī nāndīkaraḥ samāv ity Amaraḥ // varaṇo varuṇo vṛkṣabhedaś ca / ṭāp
/ varaṇā nadī //

Yavana, a kind of barbarian.

Vopadeva: Mugdhabodha

The Mugdhabodha: A Sanscrit Grammar by Vopadeva. Published for the use of the Sanscrit
College. [Calcutta] 1820.

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

Paṇḍitavaraśrīmadamarasiṃhaviracitaḥ Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanaṃ nāma Amarakośaḥ.

Mahāmahopādhyāya-Śrībhaṭṭojidīkṣitātmaja-Vidvadvara-Śrībhānujīdīkṣita-kṛtayā ‘Rāmāśramī’ (vyākhyāsudhā) vyākhyayā vibhūṣitaḥ. Śrī Paṇ. Haragovindaśāstrīṇā prakāśopanāmaka ‘Sarala-Manīprabhā’ hindīvyākhyayā ṭippaṇyādibhiś ca susaṃskṛtya saṃpāditaḥ. Kāśī Saṃskṛta-granthamālā 198. Vāraṇasī 1970 (*Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana or Amarakośa of Amarasīṃha*, with the Rāmāśramī (Vyākhyāsudhā) Commentary of Bhānuji Dīkṣita (Rāmāśrama) ed. with the Easy Manīprabhā (Prakāśa) Hindī Commentary and notes by Pt. Haragovinda Śāstrī. The Kashi Sanskrit Series 198).

Amarakośaḥ. The Amarakośa with a short commentary and footnotes. 10th edn. Bombay 1969 (Nirnaya Sagar Prakashana).

Padacandrikā. A Commentary on the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanaṃ of Amara (Amarakośa) by Rāyamukūṭa (Text and the Commentary) ed. Kali Kumar Dutta, Sastri. 1–3. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series 48, 86, 126. Calcutta 1966–73–78.

Amarakośa, with the unpublished South Indian Commentaries Amarapadavivṛti of Liṅgayasūrin and the Amarapadapārijāta of Mallinātha. Critically ed. with Introduction by A.A. Ramanathan. Adyar Library Series 101. Madras 1971.

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

Yāvana listed among incenses.

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

128. bahurūpo ’py

atha vṛkadhūpakṛtrimadhūpakau / (1329)

турушкаḥ piṇḍakaḥ sihlo *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: turuška, piṇḍaka, sihla (silha), yāvana – lohabān ke nām haim /

NSP: turuškaḥ, piṇḍakaḥ, sihlaḥ, yāvanaḥ, iti 4 sihlākhyagandhadravasya

Pādacandrikā, Vol. 2 on 2, 6, 128 (here verse 386): *yavanadeśajatvād ‘yavanah’ /*

antasthādi / yāvante dravyāntareṇa miśrīkriyate / yu miśraṇe / ṇyantāt “kṛtyalyuṭo

bahulam” (Pā. 3, 3, 113) iti lyuṭi va // catvāri sihlākhyasugandhidravasya //

Amarapadavivṛti: *yavanadeśe turuškadeśe bhavo yāvanaḥ / sallakītvagādinā*

saṃpādītasya dhūpasya nāmāni //

Amarapadapārijāta: *yavanadeśyadhūpadravyanāmāni / [āndhrabhāṣayā]*

cillamaḍḍi /

The word in brackets, ‘in Telugu language’, is found in one MS only.

Rājanighaṇṭu–dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu

Rājanighaṇṭusahito Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭuḥ. Etat pustakaṁ Ve. Śā. Rā. Rā. “Purāṁdare” ityupanāmakai Viṭṭhalātmajajair Vaidyanārāyaṇaśarmabhiḥ saṁśodhitam. Ānandāśramasaṁskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 33. Tṛtīyeyam aṅkanāvṛttiḥ 1986 (repr. of 2nd edn. 1925).

[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 sutiktakaḥ /
ariṣṭaḥ sarvatobhadraḥ prabhadrāḥ pāribhadrakaḥ //

30. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau prabhadrādir navamo vargaḥ:

43. atha nigaditaḥ prabhadrāḥ picumandaḥ pāribhadrako nimbaḥ /
kākaphalaḥ kīreṣṭo netā ’riṣṭaś ca sarvatobhadraḥ //

44. dhamano viśīrapaparṇo *pavaneṣṭaḥ* pītasāraḥ śītaḥ /
varatikto ’riṣṭaphalo jyeṣṭhāmālakaś ca hiṅguniryāsaḥ //

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 (śatapuspādika) n. 35 maricam ‘pepper’, p. 87f.

88. maricam palitam śyāmarāṁ pallijam kṛṣṇamūṣanam /
yavaneṣṭam śirovṛttam kolakam dharmapattanam //

89. maricam kaṭu tiktoṣṇam pittakṛc chleṣmanāśanam / guṇāḥ
vāyurā nivārayaty eva jantusaṁtānanāśanam //

Rājanighaṇṭau pippalyādi ṣaṣṭho vargaḥ:

135. maricam palitam śyāmarāṁ kolaṁ vallijam ūṣanam /
yavaneṣṭam vṛttaphalam śakāṅgam 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.

DhN 3, 7, 22; RN 12, 36

The word *yāvana* ‘of Yavanas’ as a name for olibanum (frankincense).

DhN Varga 3 (candanādih) n. 7 *турушка* ‘olibanum’, p. 98.

22. *туруško yāvanaḥ* kalkaḥ piṇyākaḥ piṇḍitaḥ kapīḥ /
kapijaḥ kṛtrimo dhūmro dhūmravarṇaś ca sihlakaḥ //
23. *sugandhiḥ kṛtakaś caiva yuktivyuktaś ca piṇḍakaḥ /*
kapitailam iti khyātam tathā piṅgalanāmakam //
24. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau candanādi dvādaśo vargaḥ:

36. *туруško yāvano* dhūmro dhūmravarṇaḥ sugandhikaḥ /
sihlakaḥ sihlamāraś ca pītasāraḥ kapis tathā //
37. *piṇyāphaḥ kapijaḥ kalkaḥ piṇḍitaḥ piṇḍatailakaḥ /*
karevaraḥ kṛtrimako lepano munimūhvayaḥ //
38. ... (guṇāḥ)

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

[DhN 3, 41, 127;] RN 12, 183

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

DhN Varga 3 (candanādih) n. 41 *гуггулу* ‘bdellium’, p. 120.

127. *gugguluḥ kālaniryāso jaṭāyuh kauśikaḥ puraḥ /*
naktamcaraḥ śivo durgo mahiṣākṣaḥ palamkaṣā //
- 128.–131ab. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau candanādi dvādaśo vargaḥ:

183. *guggulur yavanadviṣṭo bhavābhīṣṭo niśāṭakaḥ /*
jaṭālaḥ kālaniryāsaḥ 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 ŚKDr explains *yavanadviṣṭa* (guggulu) from its “hindupriyatvāt”.

DhN 3, bahulā, 2

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

DhN Varga 3, Vargetarāṇi (editor’s note: *caturdaśasamkhyāmitapūgīphalasamba* dhatvād atra vargānte *bahulāyāḥ saṅgrahaḥ*) n. 1 *bahulā*, 1 ff. p. 131.

1. *bahulā ca balā ’nantā bhadrā pātālavāsini /*
mukharāgakarī saubhyā amṛtā tv amṛtodbhavā //
2. *kāmadā kāmajananī jīvantī yāvanīpriyā /*
āmodajananī hṛdyā devānām dānavapriyā //
3. *tāmbūlavallī tāmlūlī ... (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 (karavīrādih) n. 9 mūlakam 'radish, root', subn. 10. grñjanam (āṭavīmūlakam) 'kind of onion or garlic', p. 141.

37. tṛtīyaṁ mūlakam cānyan nirdiṣṭaṁ tac ca grñjanam /
pītaḥ ca madhuraṁ svādu tac ca nāradakandakam //

38. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau mūlakādi saptamo vargaḥ:

55. grñjanam śikhimūlaṁ ca *yavaneṣṭam* ca vartulam /
granthimūlaṁ śikhākandaṁ kandaṁ ḍiṇḍīramodakam //

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.

DhN Varga 4 (karavīrādih) n. 22 palāṇḍuḥ (ūliḥ, kandarpaḥ) 'onion', p. 148.

71. palāṇḍur *yavaneṣṭas* ca sukando mukhadūṣaṇaḥ /
harito 'nyaḥ palāṇḍus ca latārko dudrumaḥ smṛtaḥ //

72. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau mūlakādih saptamo vargaḥ:

100.–101. no yavanas, but śūdraptiyaḥ in 100.

102. ... (guṇāḥ)

103. anyo rājapalāṇḍuḥ syād *yavaneṣṭo* nṛpāhvayaḥ /
rājapriyo mahākando dīrghapatras 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 (āmrādih) n. 13 kharjūrī (kharjūram) 'wild date tree', p. 178.

53. kharjūrī tu kharaskandhā kaṣāyā madhurāgrajā /
duṣpradharsā durārohā niḥśreṇī svādumastakā //

54. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau āmrādir ekādaśo vargaḥ:

65. kharjūrī tu kharaskandhā duṣpradharaṣā durāruhā /
niḥśreṇī ca kaṣāyā ca *yavaneṣṭā* hariṣriyā //

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 (suvarṇādih) n. 6 sīsakam 'lead', p. 209 f.

21. sīsakam nāgam uragam kṣṇoragabhujamgamāḥ /
yavaneṣṭam viśiṣṭam ca yogiṣṭam cīnapiṣṭakam //

22. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau suvarṇādih trayodaśo vargaḥ:

20. sīsakam tu jaḍam sīsam *yavaneṣṭam* bhujamgamam /
yogiṣṭam nāgapuragam kuvaṅgam pariṣṭakam //

21. ... cīnapiṣṭam 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 (suvarṇādih) n. 27 godhūmaḥ 'wheat', p. 227.

97. godhūmo yavakaśraiva huḍambo mleccabhojanaḥ /
giriḥ satināmā ca rasikaś ca prakīrtitaḥ //

98. ... (guṇāḥ)

Rājanighaṇṭau śalyādih ṣoḍaśo vargaḥ:

151. godhūmo bahudugdhaḥ syād apūpo mleccabhojanaḥ /
yavano nistuṣaḥ kṣīrī rasāhaḥ sumanaś 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 *mleccabhojana*, however, this is not certain.

Concordance of RN passages quoted above under DhN

RN	DhN	
6, 135	2, 35, 88	pepper
7, 55	4, 9 (10), 37	onion
7, 103	4, 22, 71	onion
[9, 44	1, 8, 29	nimba]
11, 65	5, 13, 53	wild date

RN	DhN	
12, 36	3, 7, 22	olibanum
12, 183	3, 41, 127	bdellium
13, 20	6, 6, 21	lead
16, 151	6, 27, 98	wheat

For Roth's different MS references, see notes on individual passages.

The Rājanighaṇṭupariśiṣṭa (p. 319 ff. of the RN-DhN edition) contains no instances of Yavana.

Other works

Hemacandra: Abhidhānacintāmaṇi

Hemak'andra's Abhidhāna k'intāmani, ein systematisch angeordnetes synonymisches Lexicon.
Hrsg., übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von O. Boehling & Ch. Rieu.
St Petersburg 1847.

Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi of Śrī Hemacandrāchārya. Ed. with an introduction by Nemichandra
Śāstrī and the Maṇiprabhā Hindī. Commentary and notes by Haragovinda Śāstrī.
The Vidyabhawan Sanskrit Series 109. Varanasi 1964.

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 dhārmāpattanaṁ *yavanapriyam* /
8. śuṅṭhī mahauśadhaṁ 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. sīsan tu sīsapatrakam //
107. nāgaṁ gaṇḍūpadabhavaṁ vapraṁ sindhūrakāraṇam /
vardhraṁ svarnāriyogeṣṭe *yavaneṣṭam* 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)

312. 5. dhūpo kṛtāt kṛtrimāc ca turuṣkaḥ silhapiṇḍakau /
6. pāyasaḥ tu vṛkṣadhūpaḥ śrīvāsaḥ saraladravaḥ //
a. B.-R. vṛkat, Old Calcutta ed. vṛkṣāt, scholia kṛtāt

5. *Five names of frankincense*; 6. *four names of resin of the Pinus longifolia* (so B.-R.).

Scholia in Böhtlingk & Rieu: turuṣko *yavanadeśajaḥ* / *yāvano* 'pi

Vaijayantī of Yādavaprakāśa

The Vaijayantī of Yādavaprakāśa. For the first time ed. Gustav Oppert. Madras 1893.
11th century.

Vaijay. 3, 1, 24

Yavanas with other north-western peoples in a geographical account (*bhūmikāṇḍe deśādhyāya*).

Vaijay. 3, 1, 24.

23. āryāvarte brahmavedir madhyaṁ vindhyāhimāgayoḥ /
athodīcyā janapadās tatra cīnāḥ kharambharāḥ //
24. gāṁdhārās tu dihaṇḍās syur *yavanās* tu huruṣkarāḥ /
sambhālāḥ syuś śūrasenā api te śūrasenayaḥ //
25. madhye tu śūrasenānām madhurā nāma vai purī /
lampākās tu muruṇḍāḥ syuś 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 Cīnas, Kharambharas, and further Gandhārās, Dihaṇḍās, 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 Nighaṇṭu³

Vaidya Bhagwan Dash & Vaidya Lalitesh Kashyap: *Materia Medica of Ayurveda, based on Ayurveda Saukhyaṁ of Toḍarānanda*. New Delhi 1980.

16th century CE.

³ Yavānī 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 Rājanighaṇṭu), but those passages have not been included here.

Toḍara. 31 (90), 155, p. 490

The word *yavānī/yāvanī* as a name for olibanum (?). Toḍara. 31 (90), 155

155. *yavānī yāvanī tīvrā turuṣkā madakāriṇī /*
tilabhedah khasatilah śukrapuṣpo latatphalah //

Dash & Kashyap: *Khurāsānī yavānī: yavānī, yāvanī, tīvra, turuṣka and mada kāriṇī – these are synonymous. Khasakhasa: tila 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).

Toḍara. 37 (96), 28 f., p. 596

The word *yavaneṣṭa* as a name for garlic and onion.

Toḍara. 37 (96), 28 f.

28. *tatpuṣpaṁ madhuraṁ grāhi vātalaṁ kaphaśothajit /*
laśunaḥ syād ugragandho yavaneṣṭo rasonakaḥ //
 29. *grñjano 'nyo mahākando jarjjaro dīrghapatrakaḥ /*
palāṇḍur yavaneṣṭaś ca durgandho mukhadūśakaḥ //
 30. *palāṇḍukaḥ kṣīrapalāṇḍur uktaḥ sakṣīravān kṣaudraraso yadi syāt / ...*

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 grñjana, mahā kanda, jarjjara and dīrgha patraka. Palāṇḍu: Palāṇḍu, yavaneṣṭa, durgandha and mukha dūśaka – these are synonymous. Kṣīra palāṇḍu: Palāṇḍuka having a milky juice which tastes like honey is called kṣīra palāṇḍu.*

- Index, p. 667 śigru 'Moringa pterygosperma Gaertn.'
 p. 656 laśuna 'unidentified' [not garlic!? – KK]
 p. 662 palāṇḍu 'Allium cepa Linn.'
 p. 656 kṣīrapalāṇḍu 'unidentified'
 p. 6?? grñjana 'unidentified'

Soḍhalanighaṇṭu (Nāmasaṅgraha and Guṇasaṅgraha) of Vaidyācārya Soḍhala

Soḍhalanighaṇṭu (Nāmasaṅgraha and Guṇasaṅgraha) of Vaidyācārya Soḍhala. Ed. by Priya Vrat Sharma. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 164. Baroda 1978.

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 (Nāmasaṅgrahaḥ) n. 1 Guḍūcyādivargaḥ, 118 f., p. 96 ff.

nimba (*nīm̐ba*) ‘*Azadiractha indica*’

118. *nimbo niyamano netā picumandaḥ sutiktakaḥ /
ariṣṭaḥ sarvatobhadraḥ subhadraḥ pāribhadraḥ //*

119. *śukapriyaś cīrṇaparṇo yavaneṣṭo varatvacaḥ /
chardano hiṅguniryāsaḥ 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’.

Soḍhalan. Bhāga 1 (Nāmasaṅgrahaḥ) n. 2 Śatapušpādivargaḥ, 341, p. 289 ff.

marica (*miraca*) ‘pepper’

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

yāvānī (*yavānī*)

342. *yāvanyāṁ dīpyako dīpyo yavasahro yāvānakaḥ //*

...

Soḍhalan. 1, 3, 376

The word *yāvana* ‘of Yavanas’ as a name for *turuṣka* ‘olibanum’.

Soḍhalan. Bhāga 1 (Nāmasaṅgrahaḥ) n. 3 Candanādivargaḥ, 376, p. 356 ff.

turuṣka (*turaṣkadavalu*) ‘olibanum’

376. *turuṣke yāvānaḥ kalkaḥ piṇyākaḥ 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 (Nāmasaṅgrahaḥ) n. 4 Karavīrādivargaḥ, 519, p. 483 ff.

519. ...

palāṇḍu (*ḍūṅgalī*) ‘kind of onion’

palāṇḍau yavaneṣṭaś ca sukando sukhakāntidaḥ //

520. *śūdrapriyo dīpanīyaḥ kṛmighno sukhagandhakaḥ /
kṣīrapalāṇḍu*

...

Śāradīyākhyā-nāmamālā of Harṣakīrti

Śāradīyākhyā-nāmamālā of Harṣakīrti. Critically ed. Madhukar Mangesh Patkar. Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography 6. Poona 1951.

A Jaina work of the 16th century.

Harṣak., ŚN. 3, 38

Yavanas in a list of foreigners.

Harṣak. ŚN 3, 38 Rājavargaḥ, line 737f. of the edition.

38. turuṣkā yavanā mlecchāḥ pārasīkāḥ śakās tathā /
praṣṭānā mudgalās caiva sa sāhis teṣu yo 'dhipaḥ //

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

Trikāndaśeṣa of Puruṣottamadeva

The Trikāndaśeṣa. A collection of Sanskrit Nouns by Sri Puruṣottamadeva, King of Kalinga, India. With Sārārtha Candrikā, a Commentary by C.A. Seelakkhndha [sic] Mahā Thera. Bombay 1916.

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

Trik. 1, 1, 31

Yavanāri as a name of Kṛṣṇa.

Trik. 1, 1, 31 (p. 8. of the edition).

31. rantidevaśivakīrtanau tripātsomasindhur api rāhumūrdhachit /
kālanemiyavanāripāṇḍavābhīlasindhuvṛkṣakṛṣṇakeśinaḥ //

Rantideva and Śivakīrtana, Tripāt and Somasindhur, Rāhumūrdhachit, Kālanemi, Yavanāri, Pāṇḍava, Abhīla, Sindhuvṛkṣa, Kṛṣṇa, Keśin.

Śivakoṣa of Śivadatta Miśra

The Śivakoṣa of Śivadatta Miśra. Critically ed. R.G. Harshe. Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography 7. Poona 1952.

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 138 f.

138. gopaghoṇṭaḥ pūgaphale vikaṅkatamahīruhe /
 yavaneṣṭaḥ pāribhadre laśune vṛttamūlake //
139. kharjūryām marice cātho *yavaneṣṭam* ca sīsake /
 viṣamuṣṭir mahānimbe kṣudramuṣṭiḥ kapīlunī //

Author's Vyākhyā ad loc.

gopaghoṇṭa itī ... *yavaneṣṭa* itī ... kharjūrī durārohā / maricam uṣaṇam / sīsakam
 trapu / ...

Nānārthaśabdakośa or Medinīkośa of Medinīkara

Nānārthaśabdakośa or Medinī Kośa of Śrī Medinīkara. Ed. with an introduction, index, etc.,
 by Jagannāth Śāstrī Hoṣhīng. The Kashi Sanskrit Series 41. 3rd edn, Varanasi 1968.

Med. 20, 109.

The word *yavana* as the name of a country.

Medinīkośa 20, 109 (p. 90).

109. yamanam bandhane coparatī (-tau?) klībam yame pumān /
 yavano deśabhede nā vegivegādhikāśvayoḥ //
110. yavāny auśadhībhedo strī vācyavad vegini smṛtā /
 yāpanam ...

4. DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Gautamadharmasūtra

Gautama-Dharmasūtra: The Institutes of Gautama, ed. with an index of words by A.F. Stenzler. Sanskrit Text Society. London 1876.

Gautama-Dharmasūtra. Tr. G. Bühler: *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas*, Part 1. SBE 2. Oxford 1879.

Dharmasūtras. The Law Codes of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭha. Ed. & tr. Patrick Olivelle. Delhi 2000.

GDh 4, 21

Children of a Kṣatriya and a Śūdra woman are Yavanas.

Gautamadharmasūtra 4, 21.

21. pāraśavayavanakaraṇasūdrāṅ 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.

Mānavadharmasāstra

Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, ed. J.L. Shastri: *Manusmṛti, With the Sanskrit Commentary Manvartha-Muktāvalī of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa*. Delhi 1983.

Manu-Smṛti with the "Manubhāshya" of Medhātithi, ed. G. Jha. Bibl. Indica 256. Calcutta 1932.

Manu's Code of Law. A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra. [By] Patrick Olivelle. N.D. 2006.

The Laws of Manu. Tr. G. Bühler. SBE 25. Oxford 1886 (Repr. Delhi 1975).

MDh 10, 44

The Yavanas are Kṣatriyas who have fallen to the level of Śūdras.

Mānavadharmasāstra 10, 43 f.

43. śanakais tu kriyālopād imāḥ kṣatriyajātayaḥ /

vṛṣalatvaṁ gatā loke brāhmaṇadarśanena ca //

44. paṇḍrakāś coḍadavidāḥ kāmbojā yavanāḥ śakāḥ /

pāradāḥ pahlavāś cīnāḥ kirātā daradās tathā //

Note the variants cauḍradavidāḥ and daradāḥ khaśāḥ in 44.

Olivelle: *By neglecting rites and by failing to visit Brahmins, however, these men of Kṣatriya birth have gradually reached in the world the level of Śūdras – Puṇḍrakas,*

Coḍas, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, and Daradas.

Bühler's notes:

"43. Medh. and Gov. read brāhmaṇātikrameṇa '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. Pauṇḍhrakas. My reading Coḍas is a correction of Coṃdra, 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 Cāṃdra or Cāmḍra, 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, Rāghavananda, 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 Bühler'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 deṣeṣu bāhulyena cāturvarṇyam astīty etad ālambanaṃ vṛsalatvavacanam /

Atrismṛti (ĀtreyaDharmaśāstra)

Āngiraḥ prabhṛti-Baudhāyanāntānām saptaviṃśatisaṃkhyāmitānām smṛtīnām samuccayaḥ.
[Ed.] Vināyaka Gaṇeśa Āpaṭe. Ānandāśramasaṃskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 48. 2nd edn 1929, p. 28–34.

ĀtreyaDh 7, 2

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

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

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

In the case of having eaten with or having accepted women for intercourse from actors, dancers, singers, musicians, dog-eaters, artisans, vīśotkaṭas [?], lute-players [?], Śakas,

Yavanas, Kāambojas, 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: Prāyaścittenduśekhara (Prāyaścittatattva)

No edition available, quoted from dictionaries.

Prāyaścittenduś. 20a2 in the *PW*. Yavanas are included among the barbarians.

gomāmsakhādako yaś ca viruddham bahu bhāṣate /
sarvācāravihīnaś ca mleccha ity abhidhīyate //
sa eva *yavanadeśodbhavo 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.

yavanamlecchayāvanānām 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

4 Page 184 of vol. 2. in the first edition (1837).

“According to the Rudra-yāmala, the domestic priests of twenty of these tribes [i.e. of abject mixed castes] are degraded. *Avoid*, says the tantra, *the touch of the Chāṇḍāla, 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 Yāvanas.*” (Italics mine).

The Yāvanas are here easily understood as Muslims/Arabs/Persians. Note the parallel with the Prāyaścittenduśekhara quoted above.

5. ARTHA- AND NĪTISĀSTRA, KĀMAŚĀSTRA

Kauṭilyārthaśāstra

Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra, ed. & tr. R.P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*. 1. A Critical edn with a Glossary. 2. An English transl. with critical and explanatory notes, 2nd edn. Bombay 1969–72 (repr. Delhi 1986; first edn. 1960–63).

Two Commentaries on the Arthaśāstra: Jayamaṅgalā and Cāṇakyaṭīkā. Critically re-edited from Harihara Sastri's Fascicle Editions by Andreas Pohlus. *Studia Indologica Universitatis Halensis* 2. Halle 2011.

KA 2, 11, 42

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

42. pravālakam ālasandakam vaivarṇikam ca, raktam padmarāgam ca
karaṭagarbhinīkāvarjam 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:

C_j (fragment of a Sanskrit commentary, probably the Cāṇakyaṭīkā by Bhikṣu Prabhamati; ed. G. Harihara Sastri in the *JOR*, now also in Pohlus 143) reads *alatsāndradeśabhavam ālatsāndrakam raktam, vivalguke bhavam vaivalgukam*.

C_p (Pratīpadapañcīkā 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 dviyonim dvivarṇam dvidōṣam cāha *pravālakam* ityādi /
tatrālakamdo barbarakūle samudraikadeśaḥ, tatra jātam *ālakandakam*
raktavarṇakam, *yavanadvīpe* vivarṇo nāma samudraikadeśas tatrabhavam
vaivarṇikam, tat *padmarāgam* padmavarṇam, cakārād raktañ ca bhavati,
karaṭam kṛmibhir upabhakṣitam, *garbhinīkā* madhyesthūlāyaṣṭir iti / itisābdo
ratnaparīkṣāparīsamāptyarthaḥ /

C_b (the Old Malayālam Commentary Bhāṣavyākhyāna, 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.

[Kāmandakīyanītisāra]

[*Jayamaṅgalopādhyāyanirapekṣābhyām saṁvalitaḥ Kāmandakīyanītisāraḥ*. [Ed. the Pandits of Ānandāśrama] Ānandāśramasamskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 136. 1958 (= vol. 1; vol. 2 1964). *Kamandakiya Nītisara or the Elements of Polity*. (In English) ed. [i.e. tr.] Manmatha Nath Dutt. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 97. 2nd edn. Varanasi 1979.]

[KāmNS 1, 14]

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

[14. (16.) dharmād vaijavano rājā cirāya bubhujē mahīm /
adharmāc caiva Nahuṣaḥ pratipeḍe 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. Nāgarakh.*, Chapters 243–260. He has nothing to do with the Yavanas. On him, see Bhattacharya 1984.

Śukranīti

Śukranīti of Śrī Maharṣi Śukrācārya. Ed. with the ‘Vidyotinī’ Hindi Commentary by Brahmaśāṅkara Miśra. The Kashi Sanskrit Series 185. Varanasi 1968.

The Śukranīti. [Tr.] Benoy Kumar Sarkar. The Sacred Books of the Hindus 13. Allahabad 1914 (Repr. 1974).

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. Śukranīti 4, 3, 29 (56 in the SBH translation).

28. (55.) mīmāṁsātarkasāṅkhyāni vedānto yoga eva ca /
itihāsāḥ purāṇāni smṛtayo nāstikaṁ matam //
29. (56.) arthaśāstraṁ kāmāśāstraṁ tathā śilpam alaṅkṛtiḥ /
kāvyāni deśabhāṣā ’vasaroktir yāvanāṁ matam //
30. (57.) deśādidharmā dvātrīṁśad etā vidyābhisamjñitāḥ /
- ...

Sarkar: *The Mīmāṁsā, Tarka, Saṅkhyā, Vedānta, Yoga, Itihāsa, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, theory of Sceptics, Artha Śāstra, Kāma Śāstra, Alaṅkāra (Rhetoric), Kāvya, 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 (125 f.)

The 32 vidyās defined, including the Yavana theory (apparently Islam).

Śukranīti 4, 3, 63 (125 f. in the SBH translation).

62. ...

(125.) īśvaraḥ kāraṇaṁ yatrādīśyo 'sti jagataḥ sadā //

63. śrutismṛtī vinā dharmādharmaustas tac ca yāvanam / [?]

(126.) śrutyaḍibhinnadharmo 'sti yatra tad yāvanam matam //

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 //

38. vedabhinnapramāṇās te pratyuguttaravāsinaḥ /

(76.) tadācāryaiś ca tacchāstraṁ nirmitaṁ taddhitārthakam //

39. vyavahārāya yā nītir ubhayor avivādinī //

(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 Varṇāśramadharmā is unknown to them, their rules of ordinary business morality, vyavahāranīti and the standards of daily life are the same.

Mānasollāsa of Someśvara

Mānasollāsa of King Someśvara. Ed. Gajanan K. Shrigondekar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 28 & 84. Baroda 1925–39 (vols 1–2, vol. 3, not relevant here).

Mānas 2, 3, 573

On Yavanodbhūta horses.

Mānasollāsa 2, 3, 573 (see vol. 1, Preface p. XV).

saindhavair yavanodbhūtair kāmbojaprabhavair api /
śikṣitair bahubhir vāhaiḥ saṁyuktaṁ balam uttamam //

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.

saṅgrāmārthaṁ śramas teṣāṁ kāryo yavanayodhane /
madahīnā na dhāvanti na yudhyante mataṅgajāḥ //

*For the army's sake they must be trained for war against Yavanas, as elephants missing rut neither run nor fight.*⁵

Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana

Kāmasūtra: The Kāmasūtram of Śrī Vātsyāyana Muni. With the Jayamaṅgalā Sanskrit Commentary of Śrī Yaśodhara, ed. with Hindī Commentary by Śrī Devduṭṭa [sic] Śāstrī. Kashi Sanskrit Series 29. Varanasi 1964, 3rd edn. 1982.

Das Kāmasūtram des Vātsyāyana. Die indische Ars amatoria, nebst dem vollständigem Kommentare (Jayamaṅgalā) des Yaśodhara. From Sanskrit tr. Richard Schmidt. 6th edn. Berlin 1920.

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. sindhuṣaṣṭhānām ca nadīnām antarāliyā aupariṣṭakasātmyāḥ //

Yaśodhara: sindhuṣaṣṭhānām ceti / Sindhunadaḥ ṣaṣṭho yāsāṁ nadīnām / tadyathā – Vipāt Śatadrur Irāvati Candrabhāgā Vitastā ceti pañcanadyaḥ / tāsām antarāleṣu bhavaḥ / aupariṣṭakasātmyā iti / saty api pariṣvaṅgacumbanādaḥ mukhe jaghanakarmāṇaḥ / kharavegāḥ prīyanta ityārthaḥ /

Schmidt: *Die Bewohner des Binnenlandes der Flüsse, deren sechster der Sindhu ist, treiben den Koitus mit dem Munde. – 'Die Flüsse deren sechster Sindhu ist.' Das sind nämlich folgende fünf: Vipāt, Śatadru, Irāvati, Candrabhāgā und Vitastā. Die in den Binnenländern derselben Wohnenden. 'Treiben den Koitus mit dem Munde': wenn auch Umarmungen, Küsse usw. stattfinden, so fungiert doch der Mund an Stelle der Schamgegend, d.h. sie vergnügen sich in heissblütiger Weise.*

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 Pañjab is not mentioned.

26. caṇḍavegā mandasītkṛtā āparāntikā lātyas 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 sīt.*

Schmidt seems to err here. Aparānta is in Gujarat, not in the far West.

27. dṛḍhaprahaṇayoginyaḥ kharavegā eva, apadravyapradhānāḥ strīrājye kośalāyāṁ ca //
Yaśodhara: strīrājya iti / vajravantadeśāt 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. madhyamavegāḥ sarvaṁsahāḥ svāṅgapracchādinyaḥ paraṅgahāsinyaḥ kutsitāślīla-
paruṣaparihāriṇyo vānavāsikāḥ //

Schmidt: *Die Frauen von Vanavāsa sind mässig feurig, ertragen alles, verhüllen den eigenen Leib, spotten über den anderer und vermeiden Tadelnswertes, 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 striyas

schol. ad loc. *yavanyaḥ*"

For his 2, 5, 17 (our 27), he quotes schol. kāmārūpe for Strīrajya; for 2, 5, 15 (our 25), the explanation is vāhlikadeśyaḥ striyaḥ.

The late scholiast apparently errs in explaining the Vanavāsiniḥ as Yavanīḥ. Vātsyāyana and Yaśodhara do not mention any Yavanīḥ and, of course, Vanavāsa in North Karnataka had nothing to do with them.

6. KĀVYA

Kālidāsa: Raghuvamśa

Kālidāsa: *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa with The Commentary (the Sañjivinī) of Mallinātha*, ed. Kāśināth Pāṇḍurang Parab and Wāsudev Laxmañ Śāstrī Paṇśīkar. 10th edn. Bombay (NSP) 1932.

Kālidāsa: *Raghuvamśa: The R. of K. with the Commentary of Mallinātha*, ed. with English tr. by G.R. Nandargikar. 4th edn. Delhi 1971.

Kālidāsa: *Kālidāsa: The Dynasty of Raghu*, tr. from the Sanskrit by R. Antoine, Calcutta n.d. [c.1972].

Rv 4, 61

The digvijaya of Raghu. Raghuvamśa 4, 60 ff.

60. pārasīkāms tato jetuṁ pratasthe sthalavartmanā /
indriyākhyān iva ripūms tattvajñānena saṁyamī //
61. yavanīmukhapadmānām sehe madhumadaṁ na saḥ /
bālātapam ivābjānām akālalaladodayaḥ //
62. saṅgrāmas tumulas tasya pāścātyair aśvasādhanaiḥ /
rṅgakūjitavijñeyapratiyodhe rajasy abhūt //
63. bhallāpavarjitais teṣāṁ śirobhiḥ śmaśrulair mahīm /
tastāra saraghāvyāptaiḥ sa kṣaudrapaṭalair iva //
64. apanītaśirastrāṇāḥ śeṣās taṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ /
praṇipātapratīkāraḥ saṁrambho hi mahātmanām //
65. vinayante sma tadyodhā madhubhir vijayaśramam /
āstīrṇājīnaratnāsu drākṣāvalayabhūmiṣu //

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 unseasonable 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 jalapathena / samudrayānasya niṣiddhatvād iti bhāvaḥ (61) sa Raghur *yavanīnām yavanastrīṇām* / “jāter astrīviṣayādayopadhāt” iti nīṣ / mukhāni padmānīva mukhapadmāni / upamitasamāsaḥ / teṣāṁ madhunā madyena yo mado mada-rāgaḥ / kāryakāraṇabhāvayor abhedena nirdeśaḥ / taṁ na sehe / kam iva / ...

Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa

Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Biography of King Harshavardhana of Sthānvis 'vara with S 'anikara's commentary Sanketa. Ed. with critical notes by A.A. Führer. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 66. Bombay 1909.

Harṣacarita: The H. of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Text of Uchchhvāsas I–VIII, ed. P.V. Kane. Bombay 1918 (repr. Delhi 1986).

The Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa. Tr. E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas. Oriental Translation Fund N.S. 2. London 1897 (new edn Delhi 1961).

HC 6

Skandagupta consoles Harṣa by relating historical instances of untimely death. Harṣacarita ucchvāsa 6, p. 268 f. Führer, 105 Kane (50 f. Kale, 192 f. Cowell & Thomas).⁶

yathā nāgakulajanmanaḥ plāvitamantrasyāsīn (*v.l.* śārikāśrāvitamantrasya) nāšo Nāgasenasya Padmāvatyāṁ / śukaśrutarahasyasya ca śrīr aśīryata Śrutavarmanaḥ Śrāvastām / svapnāyamānasya ca mantrabhedo 'bhūn mṛtyave Mṛttikāvatyāṁ Suvarṇacūḍasya / cūḍamaṇilagnalekhapratibimbavācītākṣarā ca cārucāmīkaracāmaragrāhiṇī yamatām yayau *Yavaneśvarasya* / lobhabahulaṁ ca bahulaniśi nighānam utkhanantam utkhātakhadḡapramāthinī mamantha Māthuraṁ Vṛhadrathaṁ Vidūrathavarūthinī / nāgavanavihāraśīlaṁ ca māyāmātāṅgān nirgatā Mahāsenasainikā Vastapatim nyayamsiṣuḥ / (*p.* 269) atidayitalāsyasya ca śailūṣamadhyamadhyāsya mūrdhānam asīlatayā mṛṇālam ivālunād Agnimitrātmaṁjasya Sumitrasya Mitradevaḥ / priyatantrīvādasya (*v*)ālābūvīṇābhyantarasuśira(śuśira)nihitaniśitataravārayo gāndharvacchātracchadmānaś cicchidur Aśmakeśvarasya Śarabhasya śiro ripupuruṣaḥ / prajñādurbalaṁ ca baladarśanavyapadeśadarśitāśeśasainyaḥ senānīr anāryo Mauryaṁ Bṛhadrathaṁ pipeṣa Puṣyamitraḥ svāminam (*ca*) / kāryakutūhali (*v.l.* āścaryakut.) ca (*Kane adds* Caṇḍīpatir) daṇḍopanatayavananirmiteṇa

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, 15).

nabhastalayāyinā yantrayānenānīyata kvāpi /⁷ Kākavarṇaḥ Śaiśunārīr (-riś ca)
nagaropakaṅthe kaṅthe nicakṛte nistrimśena /

Cowell & Thomas: *Of disasters due to mistaken carelessness frequent reports come daily to your majesty's hearing. In Padmāvati there was the fall of Nāgasena, heir to the Nāga house, whose policy was published by a sārīkā bird. In Śrāvastī faded the glory of Śrutavarman, whose secret a parrot heard. In Mr̥ttikāvati a disclosure of counsel in sleep was the death of Suvarṇacūḍa. The fate of a Yavana king was encompassed by the holder 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 Bṛhadratha while he was digging treasure at dead of night. Vatsapati, who was wont to take his pleasure in elephant forests, was imprisoned by Mahāśena'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 Bṛhadratha, 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 Śaiśunāga⁸ 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 Vasudevahiṇḍī and Alsdorf 1935, note on p. 308.

Śaṅkara's commentary on the two Yavana incidents:

... *yavaneśvaraḥ* kenacic chatruṅāsādyā vyāpāditum iṣṭaḥ svasuhrdā śatrudrohaṃ
lekkena bodhito lekhaṅṣṭhe ca tena likhitam svayaṃ vācayitavyo lekha iti /
tato *yavaneśvarasya* svayaṃ vācayatacūḍāmaṅipratibimbitāny akṣarāṇi vācayitvā
tatprahitā cāmaragrāhiṇī prabhava nivedya tadājñayā taṃ jaghāneti / anena
sūkṣmo 'pi rahasyabhedahetū rakṣaṅīya ityuktam / ...

... *kākavarṇo yavanān* vijitva taiś ca svapurūṣānupāyanīkṛtya yantrayānais
tadvattaiḥ paradārādīn gacchan *yavanair* ātmadeśam prāpaya [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

- W *The Daśa Kumāra Charita or Adventures of Ten Princes. A Series of Tales in the Original Sanscrit, by Sri Daṇḍi.* Ed. H.H. Wilson. London 1979.
- B *Daśakumāracaritam of Mahākavi Dandī* with the ‘Bālavibodhinī’ Sanskrit Commentary by Pt. Tārāccharaṇa Bhattāchārya and the Bālakrida Hindī Commentary by Pt. Kedārnāth Śarmā. Haridas Sanskrit Series 92. Varanasi 1965.
- NSP *Mahākavidāṇḍiviracitain Daśakumāracaritam (pūrvottarapīṭhikāsamalaṅkṛtam).* Padadīpikā-Padacandrikā-Bhūṣaṇā-Laghudīpiketi vyākhyācatuṣṭaya-pāṭhāntara-ṭīppaṇyādibhiḥ ca sametam. [Ed.] Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya “Kāvyaṭīrtha”. 5th edn. Mumbāī (NSP) 1951.
- M *Dandin’s Dasakumāra Chārīta*, [text] with An Introduction, Translation and Notes in English by V. Satakopan, V. Anantacharya and N. Bhaktavatsalam. Madras 1963.
- K *The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin* with a Commentary, with various Readings, a Literal English Translation, Explanatory and Critical Notes, and an Exhaustive Introduction by M.R. Kāle. 4th edn. Delhi 1966 (repr. 1979).
- D *Daṇḍins Daśakumāracaritam, die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen. Ein altindischer Schelmenroman.* Zum ersten Male aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt von Johann Jakob Meyer. Leipzig [1902].

DKC Pūrvapīṭhikā 1

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

kālayavanānāmi dvīpe kālagupto nāma dhanāḍhyo vaiśyavaraḥ kaścid asti / tannandinīm nayanānandakāriṇīm suvṛttām nāmaitasmād dvīpād āgato magadhanāthamantrisambhavo ratnodhbavo nāma ramanīyaguṇālayo bhrānta-bhūvalayo manohārī vyavahāry upayamya suvastusarṇpadā śvaśureṇa saṁmānito ’bhūt / kālakrameṇa natāngī garbhiṇī jātā / tataḥ sodaravilokanakutūhalena ratnodbhavaḥ kathamcic chvaśuram anunīya capalalocanayā ’nayā saha pravahaṇam āruhya puṣpapuram abhipratasṭhe / kallolamālikābhīhitaḥ potaḥ samudrāmbhasy amajjat ...

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 Pūrvapīṭhikā.

DKC Pūrvapīṭhikā 4

The story of the shipwrecked merchant, continued from Ucchvāsa 1.

Daśakumāracarita Pūrvapīṭhikā ucchvāsa 4, p. 35 f. K.

magadhādhināthāmātyasya padmodbhavasyātmasambhavo ratnodbhavo
nāmāham / vāñjyarūpeṇa kālayavanadvīpam upetya kām api vañikkanyakām
pariñīya tayā saha pratyāgacchann ambudhau tīrasyānatidūre eva pravahaṇasya
bhagnatayā sarveṣu nimagneṣu katham katham api daivānukūlyena tīrabhūmim
abhigamya ... putra, kālayavanadvīpe kālaguptanāmno vañijaḥ kasyacid eṣā sutā
suvṛttā nāma ...

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).

pauravṛddhaś ca Pāñcālikaḥ Paritrātaś ca sārthavāhaḥ Kanatināmno yavanād
vajram ekam vasundharāmūlyam laghīyasārghena labhyam iti mamaikānte
'mantrayetām /

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 Karawanen Herr, 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 hīrakam / vasundharāmūlyam pṛthivīmūlyam / ...

Bhūṣaṇā by Śivarāma and Laghudīpikā (both in NSP) have no comment on the locus.

Bālabodhinī by Tārācaraṇa Bhaṭṭācārya (in B): khatanināmaḥ Khanatir iti nāma yasya tasmāt / vajraṁ hīrakam / ...

DKC 6

A Yavana merchantman rescues the shipwrecked and is attacked by pirates.

Daśakumāracarita ucchvāsa 6, p. 148 ff. W, 335 ff. B (ch. 16 ff.), 215 ff. NSP, 194 ff. M, 155 ff. K, 195 ff. D. Text according to NSP.

aham tu nirālambano bhujābhyām itas tataḥ spandamānaḥ kim api kāṣṭham
daivadattam urasopaśliṣya tāvad aploṣi, yāvad apāsaradvāsaraḥ śarvarī ca sarvā /
pratyusasy adṛśyata kim api vahitram / amutrāsan *yavanāḥ* / te mām uddhṛtya
Rāmeṣu-namne nāvikanāyakāya kathitavantaḥ – ko 'py ayam āyasanigaḍabaddha
eva jale labdhaḥ puruṣaḥ / so 'yam api siñcet sahasraṁ drākṣāṇām kṣaṇenaikena
iti / asminn eva kṣaṇe naikanaukāparivṛtaḥ ko 'pimadgurabhyadhāvat /
abibhayur *yavanāḥ* / tāvad atijayā naukāḥ śvāna iva varāham asmatpotam
paryarutsata / prāvartata samprahāraḥ / parājayiṣata *yavanāḥ* / tām akamagatīm
avasādataḥ samāśvāsyālapīṣam – apanayata me nigaḍabandhanam / ayam aham
avasādāyāmi vaḥ sapatnān iti / (ch. 17 B) amī tathā 'kurvan / sarvāms ca tām
pratibhaṭān bhullavarṣiṇā bhīmaṭam kṛtena śārṅgeṇa lavalavikṛtāṅgān akārṣam
/ avaplutya hatavidhvastayodham asmat asmatpotasamsaktapotam amutra
nāvikanāyakam anabhisaram abhipatya jīvagrāham agrahīṣam / asau cāsīt sa
eva Bhīmadhanvā / tam cāham avabudhya jātavṛḍam abravam – tāta / kim
dṛṣṭāni kṛtāntavilasitāni iti / (ch. 18 B) te tu samyātrikā madīyenaiva śṛṅkhalena
tam atigāḍham baddhvā harṣakilakilāravam akurvan mām cāpūjayan / durvārā
tu sā naur ananukūlavātanunnā dūram abhipatya kam api dvīpaṁ nibiḍam
āśliṣṭavati / tatra ca svādu pānīyamedhāmsi kandamūlaphalāni samjighṛkṣava
gāḍhapātitaśilāvalayam avātarāma / ...

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 dvijanmā / śatruhastād arṇavam arṇavād yavananāvam yavananāvaś citragrāvāṇam enaṁ parvatapravaram 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 Drākshā, it may be allowable to substitute 'raisins', which are articles of import into India from the Persian and Arabian gulphs."

Notes in M: "madgu 'a war ship', bhalla 'a high arrow with a crescent shaped blade', sāmyātrikāḥ 'sea-traders', śilāvalaya 'stone anchor'."

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..."

Extract from D with note: "Und er könne wohl, wie er jetzt ist, in einem Augenblick tausend Weinstöcke begiessen." – "Wie mir scheint, hat man diesen Ausdruck bisher nicht verstanden. Der in Indien nicht einheimische Wein kam von den Yavanas (urspr. Griechen, aber dann auch von andern Völkern gebraucht). Bei den Yavanas wuchsen also die Weinstöcke. Unser Autor thut sich vielleicht auch als Gelehrter und feiner Denker etwas darauf zu Gute, dass er die Yavanas ein Gleichnis aus ihrer eignen Welt wählen lässt. Dabei fällt ihm, dem Bewohner des trocknen Indiens, aber nicht ein, dass die Yavanas vielleicht ihre Weinstöcke gar nicht zu begiessen brauchten. Den Witz unsrer Seefahrer heisst also: 'Der Kerl tropft ja, als ob er in einem Augenblick u.s.w.'"

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

The Daśāvatāracarita of Kṣemendra. Ed. Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇdurang Parab. Reprinted from the 1930 edn of Nirnaya Sagar Press Bombay. Kāvyaṃālā no. 26. New Delhi 1983.

DAC 10, 34

Yavanas spread in the Kali Age.

Daśāvatāracarita 10, 34

34. daratturuṣkayavanāva(pha)gānaśakanandanaiḥ /
saṃkocam eṣyati mahī kuṣṭhair iva visarpibhiḥ //

Variant yavanāphagāna

Through the Dards, Turks, Yavanas, Afghans, Śakas and Nandanas the earth will shrink, like through the spread of leprosy.

See Warder 1992, § 5085.

Śīsupālavadhā of Māgha

The Śīsupālavadhā of Māgha with the Commentary of Mallinātha, ed. by Pt. Durgāprasād and Pt. Śivadatta of Jaypore. Rev. 11th edn. Bombay 1940.

Śīsup 2, 98

Śīsupāla's allies against Kṛṣṇa. Śīsupālavadhā 2, 98.

98. ye cānye kālayavanaśālvarukmidrumādayaḥ /
tamaḥsvabhāvās te 'py enaṃ pradoṣaṃ anuyāyinaḥ //

And those others – Kālayavana, Śālva, Rukmin, Druma, etc. – those of dark nature are followers of that wicked (king).

[*Vāsavadattā of Subandhu*]

The Tale of Vāsavadattā, by Subandhu. Ed. F.-E. Hall. Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta 1855.

Vāsavadattā: Subandhu's V. A Sanskrit Romance, tr. L.H. Gray. Repr. Delhi 1962.

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*]

Śrīharṣaviracitam Naiṣadhīyacaritam. Śrīmannārāyaṇaviracitayā Naiṣadhīya-prakāśākhya-vyākhyayā, Mallinātha-Vidyādhara-Jinarāja-Cāritravardhana-Narahari-vyākhyāntarīyaviśiṣṭāśāis tatpāṭhāntaraiḥ ṭippaṇyādibhiḥ ca samullasitam. Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya "Kāvya-tīrtha". Navamañ saṁskaraṇam Mumbaī 1952.

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 sindhujam sītamaḥṣadodaram harantam uccaiḥśravasaḥ śriyam hayam /
jitākḥilakṣmābhṛd analpalocanas tam āruroha kṣitipākaśāsanah //
65. nijā mayūkhā iva tīkṣṇadīdhitim sphuṭāravindānkitapāṇipāṅkajam /
tam aśvavārā javanāśvayāyinaṁ prakāśarūpā manujeśam anvayuh //

[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 ŚKDr, but instead of Yavanas the text and Handiqui's translation have *javana* 'swift'.

Śaurikathodaya of Vāsudeva

Vāsudeva: Śaurikathodaya. A Yamaka poem by Vāsudeva. Ed. with transl., notes and introd. by Carl Suneson. Stockholm studies in Indian languages and cultures 1. Stockholm 1986.

Śaurikathodaya 4, 29–41.

Kālayavana.

29. atha mahadasuro dhīmān yadūn prati sacāla kaścīd asuro dhīmān /
kālayavananāmā yañ manuṣyaloko bhayād avananāmāyam //
30. sa tvarito yavanānām balāni kampitasamudratoyavanānām /
ānayad ūnāntāni krudhhamanā vyāpade yadūnām tāni //
31. sainyam itaṃ svavalepi krauryaṃ kṛṣṇaḥ pradarsāyan svabale 'pi /
prati ripum āsarpanṭam ghaṭagaṃ prajighāya samahīma sarpaṃ tam //
32. ahim asitaṃ ghaṭayātaṃ prahitaṃ tena ca pipīlikāghaṭayā tam /
dṛṣṭvā tatrāsādyāḥ svayam aikṣata tadbalaṃ ca tatrāsādyā //
33. yavana upāyātītaḥ punar eṣyati māgadho 'py upāyātītaḥ /
sukhadā nāvastheyam tato janenānyato 'munāvastheyam //
34. itthaṃ tāvad dhyāyan nātho jagatāṃ dhiyā gatāvadhyaṃ /
aparasamudram ayāsīd yatra purāpi svayaṃ samud ramayāsīt //
35. śatrusanudrekaṅtā paramapurī paścime samudre kāntā /
kṛṣṇena dvāravatī nāmnā niramāyi kāñcanadvāravatī //
36. tasyām apratimāyāṃ tanvatyām asurapaṅktim apratimāyām /
nītvā yādavalokaṃ sa kālayavanasya punar ayād avalokam //
37. bhuvī vividhāvdhyantaṃ vīkṣya vibhur adhāvad āyudhāvdhyaṃ tam /
surasattamanud rutavān sa kālayavano 'pi taṃ drutam anudrutavān //
38. nidhanaṃ param asurebhyaḥ pradāya labdhvā varaṃ ca paramasurebhyaḥ /
yā mucukundenāpi svaptuṃ prāk sā guhā mukundenāpi //
39. so 'titapās cātyantaṃ mucukundo 'śeta yatra pāścātyaṃ tam /
tatra sa bhāgaṃ gatvā drutaṃ sthitim avāpa vinayabhāg aṅgatvāt //
40. satvaram etya padaiva svayam eva harī ripur mamety apadaivaḥ /
rājñe sa svāpāyaprapṭyai tāḍanam adāc ca sasvāpāya //
41. īkṣitamātras tena prabudhya sa nṛpeṇa sambhramāt trastena /
dadhad api sārāṃ bhasma prapatati bhūtvāśubheṣu sārāmbhaḥ 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 (Kṛṣṇa) 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 (Kṛṣṇa) went to the western ocean where he himself had earlier been happily together with Ramā (Śrī). A beautiful (and) excellent city called Dvāravatī was built by Kṛṣṇa 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 (Kṛṣṇa) went to see Kālayavana again. Kṛṣṇa 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 (Kṛṣṇa). Mukunda (Kṛṣṇa) 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 (Kṛṣṇa), 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”, *IS* 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 karadān kimkarān api /
udīcyān dakṣiṇātyāṁś ca paścimodadhivāsinaḥ //
78. śakān nihatya tarasā koṭīśaḥ Śālavāhanaḥ /
cāturvarṇyaṁ svadharme ca sthāpayitvā ’nṛṇāḥ prajāḥ //

79. vidhāya daivajñavaraiḥ śakam cakre mahīpatiḥ /
āgarbham nihatā tena yavanā mūlavāsinaḥ //
80. tyaktvā te pṛthivīm kṛtsnām udadhim paścimām gatāḥ /
yavanādhipatiḥ kaścit pañcaviṅśatikoṭibhiḥ //
81. mlechhānām nihatas tena śakakartte 'ty udāhṛtaḥ /
akānām kartanād rājā śakakarttā 'bhidhīyate //
82. jyotiḥśāstre prasiddhe 'yam niruktiḥ ...

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

On this Anmerkung 1: "Dass wirklich in astronomischen Lehrbüchern eine solche Erklärung gegeben wurde, beweist Jyotirvid. 10, 109, wonach ein Fürst, der 550 Millionen Çaka erschlägt, ein Aerenstifter wird. Es ist aber wohl nicht anzunehmen, dass unser Dichter auf das Jyotirvid. Bezug nimmt (obschon Jy. 10, 110 sich Virac. I init. findet), weil derselbe, wie nachher darzuthun, wahrscheinlich früher lebte. Uebrigens scheint der Pseudo-Kâlidâsa die ganze Stelle aus einem andern Buche ausgeschrieben zu haben, wahrscheinlich aus demselben andern Buche aus dem der Commentator die oben p. 99 angeführten Verse citirt, die durch die Gleichheit des Metrums mit den vorhergehenden des Jyotirvid. sich als zusammengehörig documentiren."

Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgādevī

Madhurāvijaya of Gaṅgādevī. Ed. S. Thiruvengkatachari. Annamalainagar 1957.

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 kaṭughūtḥkṛtāt vyathā me hṛdi jīṛṇopavaneṣu ghūkalokāt /
pariśīlitapārasīkavāgbhyo *yavanānām* bhavane yathā śukebhyaḥ //

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 Vārāṇasīae laudes
48–63 qua in urbe *Yavanāri* regnavit
64 Eius in aulam Kṛṣṇamiśra advenit
65–83 Huius (Kṛṣṇamiśri) stemma traditus
84–109 *Yavanāri*, cum Gorī, *Yavandarum* rege, congressus, occiditur.

“38–47 encomium of Vārāṇasī. 48–63 *Yavanāri* was the king of this city. 64 Kṛṣṇamiśra came to his court. 65–83 His (Kṛṣṇamiśra’s) lineage is explained. 84–109 *Yavanāri* is killed fighting with Gorī, the king of the Yavanas.” *Yavanāri* 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 *Yavanāri*’s successor and Cetasimha’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 *yāvanīm* bhāṣāṁ prāṇaiḥ kaṅṭhagatair api /

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

Cāṇakyanīti

Sternbach, L. *Cāṇakya-nīti text tradition*. Vol. 1. *Six versions of Cāṇakya’s Collections of Maxims*. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 27. Hoshiarpur 1963.

Vṛddha-Cāṇakya 8, 5

Yavanas as low-castes.

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

5. cāṇḍālānām sahasre ca sūribhis tattvadarśibhiḥ /
eko hi *yavanah* prokto na nīco *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 sahasraś 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.

Subhāṣitaratnaśośa of Vidyākara

The Subhāṣitaratnaśośa compiled by Vidyākara. Ed. D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale. Harvard Oriental Series 42. Cambridge, MA 1957.

An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry. Vidyākara's "Subhāṣitaratnaśośa". Tr. Daniel H.H. Ingalls. Harvard Oriental Series 44. Cambridge, MA 1965.

SRK 943

The rising moon compared to the flushed cheek of a wine-drinking yavanī girl. Also quoted in Śrīdharaḍāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta.

943. analasajavāpuṣpotpīḍacchavi prathamam talaḥ
samadayavanīgaṇḍacchāyam punar madhupiṅgalam /
tadanu ca navasvarṇādarśaprabham śaśinas tatas
taruṇatagarākāram bimbam vibhāti nabhastale //

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

Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa. Ed. with a complete translation into English by R.D. Karmarkar.
Revised 4th edn, Poona 1950 (orig. 1918).

Mālavikāgnimitra. A Sanskrit Play by Kalidāsa. Text with English translation by C.H. Tawney.
3rd edn by R.P. Dwivedi. Varanasi 1964 (2nd edn 1891).

Transl. in Barbara Stoler Miller (ed.), *Theatre of Memory: The Plays of Kālidāsa*. NY 1984.

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 Puṣpamitro Vaidiśasthaṁ putram āyuṣmantam
Agnimitraṁ snehāt pariṣvajyedam anudarsāyati / viditam astu – yo 'sau
rājayajñādīkṣitena mayā rājaputraśataparivṛttaṁ Vasumitraṁ goptāram ādiśya
saṁvatsaropavartanīyo nirargalas turaṅgo viśṛṣṭaḥ, sa Sindhora dakṣiṇarodhati
carann aśvānikena *yavanānām* prārthitaḥ / tata ubhayoḥ senayora mahān āsīt
saṁmardaha / ...

tataḥ parān parājitya Vasumitreṇa dhanvinā /
prasahya hriyamāṇe me vājirajo nivartitaḥ // 15 //

... so 'ham idānīm Amśumatā Sāgaraputreṇeva pratyāhṛtāśvo yakṣye / ...

Karmarkar: line 2 omisit *idam*; *rājasūyayajña-*; line 4 *dakṣiṇe 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 Rājapūts. 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 Amśumat brought back the horse to Sagara...

Śakuntalā of Kālidāsa

Śakuntalā: Kalidasa's Śakuntala, an ancient Hindu Drama, edited in the original Sanskrit and Prakrit of the Bengali recension by the late R. Pischel. Rev. 2nd edn. Harvard Oriental Series 16. Cambridge, MA 1922 (1st edn 1877).

Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna-Śakuntalā, translated from the Bengali recension by Murray B. Emeneau. Berkeley & Los Angeles 1962.

The Abhijñānaśakuntalam 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 Upadhyaya. 9th edn Bombay 1961 (1st edn 1898).

Michael Coulson, Three Sanskrit Plays. Śakuntalā by Kālidāsa. Rākshasa's Ring by Viśākḥadatta. Mālatī and Mādhava by Bhavabhūti. Translated with an introduction. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books 1981.

Transl. in Barbara Stoler Miller (ed.), Theatre of Memory: The Plays of Kālidāsa. NY 1984.

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 bāṇāsaṇahatthāhim javanīhim vaṇapupphamālādhāriṇīhim paḍibudo
ido evva ācchadi piavasso (chāyā: eṣa bāṇāsanahastābhir javanībhir
vanapuṣpamālādhāriṇībhiḥ parivṛta ita evāgacchati priyavayasyaḥ) /
[BengalRec.inPischel: esobāṇāsaṇahatthovianīhidapiaaṇovaṇapupphamālādhārī
ido jevva ācchadi piavaasso]

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 bāṇāsaṇam dhanur haste yāsām / tābhir vanapuṣpamālādhāriṇībhir iti mṛgayāveṣasūcanam / priyavayasyaḥ priyasakhaḥ / atha javanyo nāma saṁcārikāparyāyaḥ / tallakṣaṇam mātṛguptācāryair uktaṁ – “gṛhakakṣāvicāriṇyas tathopavanasaṁcāraḥ / yāmeṣu ca niyuktānām yām aśuddhivīsāradāḥ / saṁcārikās tu tā jñeyā javanyo 'pi matāḥ kvacit” / iti / yathānirdiṣṭaparivāraḥ / javanīvṛta 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 cāmaradhārī javanī śastradhārīṇī “the kirāta woman holds the royal fly-whisk and the javanī holds arms” and javanī yuddhakāle rājño 'straṁ dadāti “at the time of battle, javanī 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).

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

Devanāgarī Recension (Kale):

... (śārṅgahastā) Yavanī: bhaṭṭā edaṁ hatthāvāvasahidaṁ sarāsaṇaṁ (chāyā: bhartaḥ etad dhastāvāpasahitaṁ śarāsaṇam) /

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.

Vikramorvaṣīya of Kālidāsa

The Vikramorvaṣīya of Kalidasa, critically ed. H.D. Velankar. New Delhi 1961 (repr. 1981).

Tr. D. Gitomer in Barbara Stoler Miller (ed.), *Theatre of Memory: The Plays of Kālidāsa*. NY 1984.

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

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

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 Viśākḥadatta

The Mudra-Rakshasa. A Sanskrit Drama by Bisakḥadatta, ed. with translations into English and Bengali by Shrish Chandra Chakravarti. 2nd edn. Mymensingh & Calcutta 1919.
Michael Coulson, *Three Sanskrit Plays. Śakuntalā by Kālidāsa. Rākshasa's Ring by Viśākḥadatta. Mālatī and Mādhava by Bhavabhūti*. Transl. with an introduction. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books 1981.

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 chakayavanakirātakambojapārasīkavāhli
kaprabhṛtiś Cāṇakyam atipariḡhītaiś Candraguptaparvateśvarabalair udadhibhir
iva pralayoccalitasalilaiḥ samantād uparuddham 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. 381f.).

prasthātavyam purastāt khaśamagadhagaṇair mām anu vyūhya sainye
gāndhārair madhyayāne sayavanapatibhiḥ samvidheyāḥ prayatnaḥ /
paścāt tiṣṭhantu vīrāḥ śakanarapatayaḥ sambhṛtās cīnahūṇaiḥ
kīlūtādyās ca śiṣṭāḥ pathi pathi vṛṇuyād rājalokaḥ kumāram // 11 //

In 11d, kīlūta 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

Pādatādiṭaka, ed. & tr. in Manomohan Ghosh, *Caturbhāṇī. Glimpses of Sexual Life in Nanda–Maurya India*. Calcutta 1975.

The Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka. Part 2. Tr. G.H. Schokker and P.J. Worsley, with a complete word-index of the four Ancient Sanskrit Bhanas by G.H. Schokker. Dordrecht & Boston 1976.

Pādat. 24

The Yavanas, among other people, come to Pāṭaliputra.

Pādatāḍitaka 24 (Ghosh, p. 79).

śakayavanatuṣārapārasīkair magadhakirītakalimḡavamaṅgakāṅgaiḥ /
nagaram atimudāyutaṁ samantām mahiṣakacolakapāṇḍyakeralaiś ca // 24 //
variant in b vaṅgakāśaiḥ

Schokker & Worsley: *The Śakas, the Greeks, the Tocharas, the Persians, the Magadhas, the Kirātas, the Kalingas, the Vaṅgas, the inhabitants of Kāśī, 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 Hūṅas 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.

Pādatāḍitaka 110+–111+ (p. 109 f. Ghosh; 114+–115+ Schokker & Worsley).

(parikramya) iyam aparā kā / (vicārya) iyam hi sā tatrabhavataḥ sugr̥hītanāṁnaḥ
Śārdūlavarmaṇaḥ putrasya naḥ priyavayasyasya Varāhadāsasya priyatamā
yavanī Karpūratuṣīṣṭā nāma praticandābhimukhaṁ madhunaḥ kāṁśyam
aṅgulitrayeṇa dhārayantī kapotalaskhalitavimbam avalambya kuṇḍalaṁ
kiraṇaiḥ preṅkkolitam aṁśadeśe śāśinam ivodvahanṭī yaiṣā
cakoracikurekṣaṇā madhuni vīkṣamāṇā mukhaṁ
vikīrya yavanī nakhair alakavallarīm āyatām /
madhūkakusumāvadātasukumārayor gaṇḍayoḥ
pramāṣṭimadarāgam utthitam alaktakāśaṅkayā // 111 //
api ca yavanī gaṇikā, vānarī, nartakī, mālavaḥ kāmuko gardabho gāyaka iti guṇata
sādhāraṇam avagacchāmi / sarvathā sadṛśasaṁyogeshu nipuṇaḥ khalu Prajāpatiḥ
/ tathā hi
khadiratarum ātmaguptā paṭolavallī samāśritā nimbam /
liṣṭo vata saṁyogo yadi yavanī mālave saktā // 112 //
tat kāmam iyam api me sakhī / na tv enām abhibhāṣiṣye / ko hi nāma tāni
vānarīniṣkūjitopamāni cītkārabhūyiṣṭhāni apratyabhijñeyavyaṅjanāni kiñcit
kareṇāntarāṇi pradeśinīlālanamātrasūcitāni svayaṁ veśayavanīkathitāni śroṣyati
/ tad alam anayā /

Schokker & Worsley: ...Isn't this the Greek girl called Karpūratuṛiṣṭhā* 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.

115. [111.] After spreading out the long liana of her 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

116. [112.] 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-tuṛiṣṭā 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

Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṁgraha of Budhasvāmin

Budhasvāmin's Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṁgraha, ed. tr. Ram Prakash Poddar in collaboration with Mrs. Neelima Sinha. Prācyabhāratī Series 21. Varanasi 1986.

Abrégé versifié de la Bṛhatkathā par Budhasvāmin, Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṁgraha. Ed. par F. Lacôte. 1–2. Paris 1908–29.

The Emperor of the Sorcerers by Budhasvāmin. Vol. I–II. Ed. & tr. Sir James Mallinson. Clay Sanskrit Library. New York 2005.

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

BKŚS 5, 194 ff.

Yavana engineers know the art of constructing aerial cars.

Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṁgraha 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 saṁnipātya pracoditāḥ /
yantram ākāśasaṁcāri tvaritaiḥ kriyatām iti //
197. athotkramya ciraṁ sarve mantrayitvā ca śilpinaḥ /
Rūmaṇvantam abhāṣanta saṁtrāsapraskhaladgiraḥ //
198. caturvidhāni janīmo vayaṁ yantrāṇi tad yathā /
jalāśmapaṁśuyantrāṇi kāṇḍarāśīkṛtāni ca //
199. ākāśayantrāṇi punar *yavanāḥ* kila jānate /
asmākaṁ tu na yātāni gocaraṁ 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.⁹ 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).

224. iti śrutvā vanaṁ gatvā chittvā dārūṇi kānyapi /
yantrāṇi ghaṭayām āsa yāvanāny atha Viśvilaḥ //
225. vṛkṣāyurvedanirdiṣṭaiḥ pādapāṅgaiś cakāra saḥ /
āyurārogyakārīṇi pākopakaraṇāni ca //
226. sahasraguṇamūlyāṇi tāni vikrīya taddhanam /
śvaśurāya dadāti sma sa ca prītas tad ādade //

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).

248. ārabhya prathamād eva prayāṇād eṣa Viśvilaḥ /
yantrakukkuṭam āsthāya pradeśe kvāpi yātavān //
249. rātrau ca yāmaśeṣāyām pravṛtyāgatya mastakam /
avijñātaḥ kilāsmābhir adhyaśeta svasaṁstare //
250. kadācit pratibuddheṣu dūteṣu sa parāgataḥ /
pādeṣu patitas teṣāṁ ayācata viṣaṇṇakaḥ //
251. nedaṁ kasyacid ākhyeyaṁ śilpikasyetarasya vā /
ākāśayantravijñānaṁ durvijñānam ayavanaiḥ //
252. khaṭvāghaṭanavijñānam ivedaṁ pracurī bhavet /
lokena paribhūyeta kṣaṇarāgā hi mānuṣāḥ //

9 According to the MDh 10, 18, a Pukvasa is the offspring of a Niṣāda and a Śūdrī.

253. nindite vandanīye 'sminn āstām tāvac ca pātakam /
 dṛṣṭa eva mahān doṣo jīvanasyāpahāraṇam //
254. ahaṁ hi bhāryayā sārddham uṣitvā rajanī divā /
 kurvan narapater ājñām neṣyāmi divasān 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 māsamātre ca Viśvīlaṁ Pukvaso 'bravīt /
 adya mām āha nṛpatiḥ śanair utsārya sasmitam //
260. ākāśayantravijñānaṁ jāmātre kathitaṁ tvayā /
 yan mahyam api tat sarvam arthine kathyatām iti //
261. mayā tu kathitaṁ tasmai na tasmai kathitaṁ mayā /
 tasmai 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 (ἀναγκαιός) 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.

Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha 17, 53.

53. ayi māgadhi vaidehi malayāvati yāvanī /
yakṣikāmukam āyātam sakhyaḥ paśyata dhāvata //
Lacôte C āyātum

Poddar: *O Māgadhi, O Vaidehi, o Malayāvati, o Yāvanī, friends, hurry up, see Yakṣi's lover, he is here.*

BKŚS 18, 277 & 283

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

Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha 18, 276 ff.

276. sādhudharmārthasarvārthaḥ sārthavāho 'sti Sāgaraḥ /
rājarājagṛhākāragṛhe Rājagṛhe pure //
277. Yāvanī-nāmikā yasya jāyā yavanadeśajā /
yā prakṛṣṭe 'pi saubhāgye patim devam ivārcati //
278. tayoh Sāgaradinnākhyah putrah pitror guṇaiḥ samah /
jyeṣṭhaḥ Samudradinnaś ca tatsamānā ca kanyakā //
279. Campābhūṣaṇabhūtasya satpater Mitravarmaṇah /
sutāya Sānudāsāya sā ca pitrā pratiśrutā //
280. Sānudāśā ca rūpeṇa Smareṇa sadṛśah kila /
sakalam ca kalājālam jālam vedeti jagati śrutih // [unmetric]
281. athavā na kalājālam jālam veda sa kevalam /
ko hi nāma kalāśālī karma sādṛśaam ācāret //
282. sa hi veśyahṛtāśeṣaguṇadraviṇasamcayah /
samabrāhmaṇacaṇḍalāis cauraiḥ sārthavadhe hataḥ //
283. tac ca vaiśasam ākarṇya Sānudāsasya duḥśravam /
sāgarasya kuṭumbaṁ tat prasthitam yavanīm prati //
284. yānapātravipattau ca vipannaṁ lavaṇāmbhasi /
medinīmaṇḍaladhvamse jantūnām iva maṇḍalam //

Poddar: *In the city of Rājagṛha, 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 Sāgaradinnā who has all the good qualities of his father. Their second son's name is Samudradinnā 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).

Br̥hatkathāślokaśaṅgraha 18, 663 ff.

663. vaiśasaṁ duḥśravaṁ śrutvā tat sūnor Mitravarmaṇaḥ /
niṣpratyāsaṁ kuṭumbaṁ naḥ prasthitaṁ yavanān prati //
664. attha bohitham āsthāya pūjitaadvijadevatāḥ /
sambhāvyaavyasanadhvaṁsaṁ samagāhāma sāgaram //
665. tataḥ prajavinaṁ potaṁ taṁ pracaṇḍaḥ prabhañjanaḥ /
mṛgendra iva nāgendraṁ prasphurantaṁ prabhinnavān //
666. vayaṁ tu karmasāmārthyāt taraṅgaiḥ śragatvaraiḥ /
ārūḍhāḥ paṭṭapṛṣṭhāni prāpitā jaladhestaṭam //
667. vadhūs tv ekārṇavāmbhodhaub lolakallolasaṁkule /
bhrāntamegha ivodbhrāntā vyomni sārasakanyakā //
668. muktvā Samudradinnāśāṁ arthāśaṁ ca mahāśrubhiḥ /
yavanastham agacchāma mātāmahagṛhaṁ tataḥ //
669. tatrāsmākaṁ kuṭumbaṁ tad dūrād utsukam āgatam /
samṛddhe sarasīvāsīt tṛptaṁ haṁsakadambakam //
670. atha yāte kvacit kāle pitā vām ittham ādiśat /
āsāte kim udāsīnau bhavantau sthaviṛāv iva //
671. taruṇau sakalau svasthau vārttāvidyāvīśāradau /
svajanānna jīvantau kim ucyethe janair yuvām //

672. tasmān muktāpravālādi sārām sāgarasambhavam /
gṛhītvā yānapātreṇa sindhur uttāryatām iti //

Poddar: *Hearing of that unbearable tragedy concerning the son of Mitravarmā, 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

The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra. Ed. Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit S'ivadatta and Kāshināth Pāṇḍurang Parab. Kāvya-mālā 69. Bombay 1901.

[BKM 4, 46]

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

BKM 10, 285 f.

King Vikramāditya killed barbarians, taking a burden from the earth.

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 10, 285 f.

285. atha śrīvikramādityo helayā nirjitākhilāḥ /
mlecchān kāmbojayavanān nīcān hūṇān sabarbarān //
286. tuṣārān pārasīkāmīs ca tyaktācārān viśṛṅkhalān /
hatvā bhrūbhaṅgamātreṇa bhuvo bhāram avārayat //

Then Lord Vikramāditya 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*]

[*Kathā Sarit Sāgara. Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva. Buch VI. VII. VIII. Hrsg. von Hermann Brockhaus. AKM 2:5. Leipzig 1862 (Repr. Nendeln 1966).*

Kathāsaritsāgaraḥ. Kaśmīrapradeśavāsīnā Śrīrāmabhaṭṭatanūdbhavena Mahakaviśrīsomadeva-bhaṭṭena viracitaḥ. ... Paṇḍitajagaḍīśalālaśāstriṇā bhūmikānukramaṇībhyām alaṅkṛtya sampāditaḥ. Dillī 1970.]

[**KSS 7, 36, 73**]

[Personal name.]

[*Kathāsaritsāgara 7, 36, 73 (lampaka 7, taraṅga 36 = 7, 2).*]

73. tataḥ sa kliṣṭabahalakleśas tām puruṣo ’bravīt /
mugdhe Yavanasenākhyo baṅikputro ’smi māthuraḥ //

This is following Brockhaus, but the Indian edition reads dṛṣṭabahula in *a* and Pavanasenākhyo 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 Yavanasenākhyo 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 Yavanasena.”*

This man had been sailing on a merchantman to Suvarṇabhūmi 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° 63^a Mercator quidam, e *Yavanadeśa* Lavaṇapuram profectus, bona a Bhaṭṭa (vaiśyarataḥ kṣatriyas) mutuuum sumta, dolo recuperat.”

History

Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhaṇa

Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, ed. M.A. Stein. Bombay 1892.

Kalhaṇa: *Rājatarāṅginī*, tr. with an introduction, commentary and appendices by M.A. Stein. 1–2. Westminster 1900 (repr. Delhi 1961).

[Rājat 1, 107

Supposed reference to a Greek attack.

Rājatarāṅginī 1, 107.

107. mlecchaiḥ saṁcchādite deśe sa taducchittaye nṛpaḥ /
tapaḥ saṁtoṣitāl lebhe bhūteśāt sukṛtī sutaṁ //

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, 101*bc* athāvahad aśokākyaḥ satyasandho vasuṁdharām), 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 Jayasimha (1128–1149 CE).

Rājatarāṅginī 8, 2264.

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

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

Sañjayapāla is Jayasimha'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 turuṣkaśatādhiśān anīśaṁ poṣayan dhanaiḥ / nidhanāv adhi durbuddhir bubhujē grāmyasūkarān // *While continually supporting the Turuṣka captains of hundreds with money, this perverse-minded [king] ate domesticated pigs until his death.*

Rājatarāṅginī of Jonarāja

Rājatarāṅginī of Jonarāja, ed. with comparative and critical annotations and an elaborate introduction by Srikanth Kaul. Woolner Indological Series 7. Hoshiarpur 1967.

Rājat (Jonarāja) 571

Muhammadans serve King Sikandar (1389–1413 CE).

Rājatarāṅginī of Jonarāja 571.

571. aneke *yavanā* dānaprasiddham tam athāśrayan /
vihāyāparabhūpālāṅ puṣpāñivālayo 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.

Rājatarāṅginī of Jonarāja 652 f.

652. dvijātipīḍane tena prerito 'pi muhur muhuḥ /
śrīsikandharabhūpālāḥ karuṇākomalāśayaḥ //
653. *yavanā*bdhimahāvelāṅ yām akārṣīt kathañcana /
ullaṅghitā dvijātīnāṅ 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.

Rājatarāṅginī of Śrīvara

Rājatarāṅginī of Śrīvara and Śuka, critically edited and annotated by Srikanth Kaul. Woolner Indological Series 8. Hoshiarpur 1966.

Rājat (Śrīvara) 1, 7, 173

The Muhammadan fast.

Rājatarāṅginī of Śrīvara 1, 7, 173.

173. *yavanavratam* ahosāptau tyaktamāṅsāsano nṛpaḥ /
saṁdadhyau ca kuputro 'yaṅ yair ānīto digantarāt /
taiḥ svātmarakṣibhiḥ sarvaṅ rājyaṅ 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.

Nīlamatapurāṇa

Nīlamatapurāṇa: Nīlamata or Teachings of Nīla. Sanskrit text with critical notes, ed. K. de Vreese. Leiden 1936.

Nīlamatapur 943.

List of names of the Nāgas (881–946).

Nīlamatapurāṇa 943.

943. Kambhāṭās ca Subhāṭās ca Bahuputro Niśācaraḥ /
Mayūraḥ Kokilas Trātā Malayo Yavanapriyaḥ //
v.l. yauvanapriyaḥ

The Vamsāvalīs of Orissa

The Vamsāvalīs 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) Vamsāvali in Sanskrit, 3–4 centuries old [in 1825]; 2) a second palm-leaf of Vamsāvali 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 Jagannáth. In the reign of

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 *Jaban*, and the natives whom I have employed to translate both these and the Sanscrit Vansavalis, 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, Affghanistan, 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*¹¹ 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 Calidasa, 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 Vicramáditya, (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 Śālivāhana from the Deccan, who attacked and conquered Vicramáditya, put him to death, and assumed the reins of empire..."¹²

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 Śālivāhana.

(p. 261) “The author of the Vansavali states, ‘With the assistance (or at the instigation) of the *Yavanas*, a person named Nri [sic] Nikas Śālivāhana Saca Hara fought many battles with the Raja, and deposited him from the throne of Delhi. From that period begins the era called the Sacābda...’ (p. 262) The æra of Śālivāhana, 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 Jagannāth, hoping to take Pūri 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 Jagannāth 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 Sacābda.”

9. TANTRA AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LITERATURE¹³

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 Moslems 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

Kāśyapasamhitā of the Vaikhānasas. Ed. R. Parthasarathi. S.V. Oriental Series 12. Tirupati 1948 (an edition never seen by me).

Quoted from P.K. Gode, “Some Cultural Gleanings from the Jñānakāṇḍa of the KS”, *ALB* ??, 133–140, republished in his *Studies in Indian Cultural History* 1, 1961, 252–256.

In Gode (p. 255), Romaka is mentioned in Chapter 12 of the text (edition p. 15) in connection with Āsuradeśa:

pāṣaṇḍa-romaka-dhūrta-kirāta- ... -ākīrṇam
pāṣaṇḍa ‘sectarian’ (Aśoka’s pāsaṇḍa).

Sātvatantra

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

Sātvatantra 2, 54.

Kṛṣṇa’s feats listed, including Kālayavana’s death.

54. sām̐dīpanam mṛtasutaṁ gurudakṣiṇārthī dattvā jarāsutabalaṁ yavanam ca
hatvā /
śrīrukmiṇīprabhṛtidāraśataṁ vivāhya tābhyaḥ sutān daśadaśānu janīṣyati
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 Rukmiṇī, 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. *yavanāsurasamhartā mucukundeṣṭasādhakaḥ /
rukmiṇīdvijasammantrarathaikagatakunḍinaḥ //*

Destroyer of the demon Yavana, fulfiller of Mucukunda's wish, and advised by the twice-born, having gone alone in a chariot to Kuṇḍina for Rukmiṇī...

Jaiminibhārata

Jaiminibhārata: *Jaimini-Aśvamedha: atha jaiminikṛtāśvamedhaḥ prārabhyate*. Bombay 1863.

Jaiminiya Ashvamedha Parva. Transcreated śloka-by-śloka from the Sanskrit by Shekhar Kumar Sen. Ed. Pradip Bhattacharya. n.p., n.d. [Preface: Kolkata 2008].

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:

Weber p. 35, Anm. 2: "Ich finde nur zwei specielle Beziehungen auf die *Yavana* resp. *Mlecha*. Die eine klingt eher anerkennend, somit alterthümlich, bezeichnet dieselben jedenfalls nicht als Eroberer des Landes, sondern tadelt nur ihre Nichtachtung des *Veda*; in 27, 30 nämlich heisst es, dass 'die *ṛuti* zwar von dem halb-geschornen *Yavana*, welche unter den *Mlecha* eine ehrenwerthe Stellung einnehmen, getadelt werde' (*Mlechapūjyair ardhamuṇḍair Yavanair dūshyate ṛutiḥ*), deshalb aber doch nicht auch von den *Brāhmaṇa* im Stich zu lassen sei. – An der andern Stelle (17, 129.131.132) erscheinen *Yavanāḥ* als eine Art Leibgarde des *Campakā*-Königs *Haṁsadhvaḥ*, nach Art der *Yavani* in den Dramen des *Kālidāsa*. A. liest resp. das eine Mal hierbei *Javanāḥ*."

Jaiminibhārata 17, 129–132.

Haṁsaketu of Campā and his Yavana guard.

Jaiminibhārata 17, 126–136.

126. *tāvad raṇe Haṁsaketur balādhyakṣam uvāca ha /
sarve vīrā ihāyātāḥ śrutvā nādaṁ ca duṁdubheḥ //*
Haṁsadhvaḥ uvāca
127. *Sudhanvānaṁ na paśyāmi raṇamadhye samāgataṁ /
mamājñāṁ kiṁ na jānāti kaṭāho vismṛtaḥ kathaṁ //*

128. prayānaduṁdubhir ayaṁ laṁghitaḥ putrakeṇa kiṁ /
harayo me hariṁ prāptā gajā mattā Dhananjayaṁ //
129. Sudhanvanā pṛṣṭhataḥ kiṁ kriyate karmakutsitaṁ /
tasmād gacchaṁtu *yavanāḥ* sabalā mudgarānvitāḥ //
130. keśeṣv ākr̥ṣya taṁ duṣṭaṁ vikṛṣyaṁtu dharātale /
ānayaṁtu kaṭāhasya pārśve Kṛṣṇaparāṇmukhaṁ //
Jaiminir uvāca
131. tenājñaptās tato rājan *yavanāḥ* śighrakāriṇaḥ /
jagmus tan maṁdiraṁ ramaṁ ratnacitraṁ Sudhanvanaḥ /
dadṛśus taṁ samāyāntaṁ bhuktabhogaṁ nṛpātmajaṁ //
132. procus tac chāsanaṁ bhartur vajrapātopamaṁ tadā /
yavanā ūcuḥ
vayaṁ prāptā mahābāho grahaṇe tava māriṣa //
133. ājñābhaṅgaḥ kimarthaṁ hi nṛpates tasya kāritaḥ /
sthito 'si pṛṣṭhato nūnaṁ tvayā sarvaṁ hi vaṁcitaṁ //
134. pitrā tava vayaṁ sarve preṣitāḥ sma balād itaḥ /
netuṁ tvāṁ saṁgare maṁdaṁ vikṛṣya ca dharātale //
135. uttiṣṭha yāhi nṛpatiṁ pārthasainyanivāraṁ /
padmavyūhaṁ samāsṛitya yuddhaśaumḍaiḥ samāvṛtaṁ //
Jaiminir uvāca
136. kupitaṁ vacanāt teṣāṁ jñātvā svajanakaṁ vibhuṁ /
sahaiva taiḥ prayāto 'gre ratham āsthāya tadbalaṁ //

Sen: 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).

Jaiminibhārata 27, 30.

30. mlecchapūjyair ardhamuṇḍair yavanair dūṣyate śrutiḥ /
sā kiṃ tyājyādvijavarair 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 Brahmins?*

10. DRAMATURGY AND AESTHETICS

Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra

Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra: *The Nāṭyaśāstra ascribed to Bharata-Muni*. Vol. 1. (Chapters I–XXVII.)
Ed. with an Introduction and Various Readings by Manomohan Ghosh. Calcutta 1967.

Bharatamuniviracitām Nāṭyaśāstram Abhinavaguptakṛta-ṭīkāśāhitam. Vol. 4. Ed. M.
Ramakrishna Kavi & J.S. Pade G.O.S. 145. Baroda 1964.

Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni, with the Commentary Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavaguptācārya. Ed.
Ravi Sankar Nagar & Kanhaiya Lal Joshi. 1–4. Delhi 1987, repr. 1998–2001.

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 tośalās caiva kalingā yavanāḥ khasāḥ /
draviḍāndhramahārāṣṭrā 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. ...

kirātabarbarāndhrās ca dramilāḥ kāsīkosalāḥ //

105. pulindā dākṣiṇātyās ca prāyeṇa tvasitā smṛtāḥ /
śakās ca yavanās caiva pahlavā vāhlikādayaḥ //

106. prāyeṇa gaurāḥ kartavyā uttarām 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, Pahlava-s and Bāhlika-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

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 Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā, 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 (sañcārikā).

Bharatīyanātyaśāstra 34, 41 f. is referred to by Lévi 1890b, 126: sañcārikā 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 sañcārikās) as "maids in constant move"; apparently this has caused a misunderstanding or MS variant. See also Śakuntalā's commentary quoted above.]

Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara

The Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara, ed. with the Madhusūdanī Commentary by Sāhityāchārya Pandit Madhusūdana Mīśra. The Haridas Sanskrit Series 14. Benares 1934.

Kāvyaṁ 17.

The Yavanas in a list of Janapadas.

Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā Adhyāya 17 Deśakalavibhāvaḥ.

devasabhāyāḥ parataḥ paścāddeśaḥ / tatra devasabha-surāṣṭra-daśeraka-travaṇa-bhṛgukaccha-kacchīyā-'narta-'rbuda-brāhmaṇavāha-yavana-prabhṛtayo janapadaḥ / govardhana-girinagara-devasabha-mālyāsikharā-'rbudādayaś ca parvatāḥ / sarasvatī-svabhavatī-vārtagnī-mahāhiḍimbādya nadyaḥ / karīra-pīlu-guggulu-kharjūra-karabhādīnām utpādaḥ / (p. 28? f.)

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

Awasthi 1976, 37: Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā 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, 298) 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 Vam̐bhaṇavāhaka.

Rasārṇavasudhākara of King Śimhabhūpāla

Rasārṇavasudhākara by Śrī Singabhūpāla. Ed. T. Ganapati Sāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 50. Trivandrum 1916.

Singabhūpāla: Rasārṇavasudhākara. Ed. T. Venkatacharya. Adyar Library Series 110. Madras 1979 (copy in Gretil).

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

Śimhabhūpāla: Rasārṇavasudhākara 3, 310.

The language spoken by the Yavanas on stage.

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

309. adhame madhyame cāpi śaurasenī prayujyate /
dhīvarādy-atinīceṣu māgadhī ca niyujyate // (3.530)

310. rakṣaḥ-piśāca-nīceṣu paiśācī-dvitayaṁ bhavet /
apabhraṁśas tu caṇḍāla-yavanādiṣu yujyate // (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 Apabhraṁśa to Caṇḍālas, Yavanas, etc., but admits that others give Māgadhī”.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa on Kāvyaṣṛakāśa

Ācāryamamṣāpraṇītaḥ Kāvyaṣṛakāśaḥ Bhaṭṭakamalākaraṣṛakāśayā Kamalākaraivyaḥkhyayā
'nugataḥ prastāvanā-pāṭhāntara.ṭippanyanukramaṇikādibhiḥ samanvitaḥ, sampādakaḥ
Ācāryabābūlāśuklaḥ. Dillī 1995.

Around 1600.

Kamalākara on Kāvyaṣṛakāśa 4.

Yavanī in an example.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa 4, p. 115.

yavanī navanītakomalāṅgī śayanīye yadi nīyate kadācit /
avanītaḥ eva sādhu manye na vanī māghavanī vilāśahetuḥ //

If a Yavanī 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.

11. PHILOSOPHY

Tantravārttika of Kumāriḷa Bhaṭṭa

Śrīmājjaīminīpraṇīte Mīmāṃsādarśane/ prathamādhyāyasya dvitīyapādam ārabhya dvitīyādhyāyagataprathamapādānto vibhāgaḥ (Mīmāṃsākaṅṭhīrava Kumāriḷabhaṭṭapraṇīta-Tantrāvārtika-sahita-Śabarabhāṣyopetaḥ) etatpustakam Ma. Ma. Prādhyāpaka Kāśīnātha Vāsudevaśāstrī Abhyāmkara em.e. viśvasta, Ānandāśrama saṁsthā, tathā Paṁ. Gaṇeśaśāstrī Joṣī, “Āyurvedaviśārada”, “Sāhityaviśārada”/ ityetaiḥ pāṭhabhedaṭṭippanyādibhiḥ sahitaṁ punaḥsaṁśodhitam/ Tacca Śrīmān Gaṇapatarāva Yādavarāva Nātū, em.e. kāryakārī viśvasta, Ānandāśrama saṁsthā, ityetaiḥ puṇyākhyapatane/ Śrīmān Mahādeva Cimaṇāḷī Āpaṭe ityabhidheyaiḥ pratiṣṭhāpīte Ānandāśrama-mudraṇālaye āyasaḥṣaraiḥ punarmudrayitvā prakāśitam/ Dvitīyam idaṁ saṁskaraṇam/ Śālivāhana śakābdāḥ (1892) akṣayyatṭīyāyām (khrīstābdāḥ 1970) (asya sarve ’dhikārā rājasāsanānusāreṇa svāyattīkṛtāḥ) Ānandāśramasaṁskṛtagranthāvaliḥ granthakaḥ 97.

Kumāriḷa Bhaṭṭa. Tantravārttika. A commentary on Śabara’s Bhāṣya on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini. Translated into English by M.M. Gaṅgānātha Jhā. New edn. Sri Garib Das. Oriental Series 9. 1984.

Tantravārttika on MS 1, 3, 6, 10.

On Yavana language.

Tantravārttika on Mīmāṃsāsūtra 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 be 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.

anantamlecchadeśāṁś 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 Mleccha meaning happened to emerge. But if we reject Mleccha 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-śabdaṁ pakārāntaṁ sarpavacanam akārāntaṁ kalpayitvā satyaṁ pāpa evāsāv iti vadanti).

Here Kumārila arrives at our passage:

tadyadā draviḍādibhāṣāyām īdrśī svacchandakalpanā tadā pārasīka-barbaraya-
yavana-raumakādibhāṣāsu 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.

Colebrooke already refers to this passage in *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1st edn vol. 1, London 1837, 315, and 2nd edn vol. 2, London 1873, 340.

12. MEDICINE¹⁵

Suśrutasaṁhitā

- The Suśruta or System of Medicine taught by Dhanvantari and composed by his disciple Suśruta*. Vol. 1. Ed. Sri ' Madhusu ' dana Gupta. Calcutta 1835 (old references – like the *PW* – give the volume, page and line according to this edition).
- NSP *The Suśruta-Saṁhitā of Suśruta*, with various readings, notes and appendix, etc., edited with the co-operation of Vaidya Jādvaji Trikamji Āchārya by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya “Kāvyaṭīrth”. Bombay (NSP) 1945.
- Gh *Suśruta-Saṁhitā*, bhūmikā lekhak Śrībhāskar Govind Ghāṇekar, viśeṣ mantavya Lālācandra Vaidya. 5th edn. Dillī 1975 (text with Hindi commentary).
- D *Suśrutasaṁhitā of Suśruta. With the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Shri Dalhaṇāchārya*. Ed. Jādvaji Trikamji Āchārya. The Chaukhamba Ayurvijnan Granthamala 42. Varanasi 1994 (reprint).
- H *The Suśruta-Saṁhitā or The Hindu System of Medicine according to Suśruta*, tr. from the original Sanskrit by A.F.R. Hoernle. 1. Adhy. 1–3. B.I. Calcutta 1897.
- Bh *Suśruta-Saṁhitā*, tr. by Bhisagratna (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 jalaukasah /

10. tā dvādaśa; tāsām saviṣāḥ ṣaṭ tāvatyā eva nirviṣāḥ /

11. tatra saviṣāḥ ... /

12. atha nirviṣāḥ ... ityetā aviṣā vyākhyātāḥ /

13. tāsām yavanapāṇḍyasahyapautanādīni kṣetrāṇi; teṣu mahāśarīrā balavatyaḥ śighrapāyinyo mahāśanā nirviṣās ca viśeṣeṇa bhavanti /

H. *The leeches are called jal-āyuka because jala or 'water' is their āyuyā 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, Sahya, 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.

Dallaṇa on 1, 13, 13 (D): nirviṣāṇām praśastānikṣetrāṇyāha, – tāsām ityādi / *yavanaḥ* turuskadeśaḥ, pāṇḍyaḥ dakṣiṇadigvibhāge yo deśaḥ, (“kāmbojād dakṣabhāgo tu indraprasthāc ca paścime / pāṇḍyadeśo maheśāni mahāśūrattvakāraḥ” – iti śaktisamāgamatantre saptamaḥ paṭalaḥ /) sahyaḥ narmadāyāḥ pāre parvataviśeṣaḥ, pautanaḥ mathurāpradeśaḥ / *yavanādikṣetreṣu kīḍṛṣā jalaukā bhavantītyāha*, – teṣv ityādi / kecid *yavanādīni* kṣetrāṇi na paṭhanti / kutaḥ? saviṣāṇām saviśakīṭādikoṭhakṣetratvān nirviṣāṇām tu padmotpalādikoṭhasya kṣetratvād ayuktaṁ *yavanādikṣetrakathanam* iti vadanti //

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 Narbaḍā or Central India, and by *Pautana*, the country about Mathurā or Western India. Both Dallaṇa and Cakrapānidatta 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 *jalaukā* ‘a leech’. The neuter *teṣu* refers to *kṣetrāṇi* and clearly presupposes the existence of the passage in question.”

Carakasamhitā

Caraka-Samhitā, maharṣiṇā Bhagavatāgniveśena praṇītā mahāmuniṇā Carakeṇa pratisamśkr̥tā, Āyurvedācāryasīrījayadevavidyālaṅkāreṇa praṇītayā Tantrārthadīpikākhayā hindī-vyākhyayā ṭīpaṇyā ca samanvitā. 1–2. Dillī 9th edn 1975 (Repr. 1979).

Carakasamhitā 6, 30, 316,

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

Carakasamhitā 6 (Cikitsasthāna), 30, 316.

316. bāhlikāḥ pahnavaś cīnāḥ śūlikā *yavanāḥ* śakāḥ /
māmsagodhūmamādhvikaśāstravaiśvānarocitāḥ //

The Bāhlikas, Pahnavas (Pahlavas), Cīnas, Śūlikas, Yavanas and Śakas are commonly said to be used to meat and wheat (as food), to wine, fire and weapons.

Cf. Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha 1, 7, 19, 230 below.

Kāśyapasamhitā

The Kāśyapa Samhitā (or Vṛddhahjavakīya Tantra) by Vṛddha Jīvaka. Revised by Vātsya.

With Sanskrit Introduction by Nepal Rajaguru Pandit Hemarāja Śarmā with the Vidyotinī Hindi Commentary and Hindi Translation of Sanskrit Introduction by Āyurvedālaṅkāra Śrī Satyapāla Bhiśagācārya. The Kashi Sanskrit Series 154. Banaras 1953 (missing and mistaken diacritics are taken from the title page).

Kāśyapasamhitā: Kalpasthāna: Revatīkalpa 68

Barbarian and low-caste women infect women with Childsnatcher (miscarriage).

Kāśyapasamhitā: Kalpasthāna: Revatīkalpa passage 68 p. 195

sūta-māgadha-vena-pukkasāmbaṣṭha-prācyaka-caṇḍāla-muṣṭika-meta(da)
 ḍaumba-ḍavāka-drumiḍa-simhaloḍra-khaśa-śaka-yavana-pahlava-tukhā(ṣā)
 ra-kambojāvanty-anemakābhīrakuhūṇa-pāraśava-kulinda-kirāta-śavara-
 śambarajā jātahāriṇyo bhavanti / tām evainām (nā)stika-niṣāda-prabhṛtīnām
 varṇasamkarāṇām vāyā striyo jātahāriṇyā 'viṣṭā gṛhaṇīyus tāḥ striḥ pratyupasiṣṭate,
 abhivādayate, abhinandayate, samvayaharati, samvadati, samspṛṣati, sambhunkte
 'bhihantyaḥkrośati, upaśete padam ṛtunirmālyaṁ vā solaṅkāram ati vā tulyāḥ eṭā
 varṇasamkarajā 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, Ḍaumbas, Ḍavākas, Drumiḍas, Simhalas, Uḍras, Kaśas, Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, Tukhāras, Kambojas, Avantīs, Anemakas, Ābhīrakas, Hūṇas, Pāraśas, Vakulindas,*¹⁶
Kirātas, Śavaras, and Śambaras. 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.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha of Vāgbhaṭa

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha. Sūtra Sthāna, with Indu's Śaśilekhā Commentary, with notes, diagrams and appendices. Ed. Ramacandrasastri Kinjavadekara. Indian Medical Science Series 11. 2nd edn. Delhi 1990 (originally publ. Poona 1950).

Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha. Vol. 1. Sūtrasthāna. Text with English translation, notes, index and śloka index by P. Srinivas Rao. Krishnadas Ayurveda Series 106:1. Varanasi, Chaukhamba 2005.

Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha. Vol. 3. Uttarasthāna. Text with English translation, notes, appendices and index by K.R. Srikantha Murti. 8 + 654 p. Krishnadas Ayurveda Series 79. 4th edn. Varanasi, Chaukhamba 2005.

[Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha 1, 7, 56, 152.

Yavānī as a kind of drug.

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

tatra annasvarūpavijñānīyaḥ saptamo 'dhyāyaḥ

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

56. (450. of continuous enumeration) kuṭherādivargah (haritavargah)
 152. kuṭheraśigrusurasasumukhāsuriḥhūs tṛṇāḥ /
 dhānyatumburuśaileyayavānīśṛṅgivivekāḥ //
 153. parṇāso grṇjano 'jāḥ jīrakarṇiḥ gajapippalī /
 phaiṇṇir jāṛjakajambīrakharāhvākālamālikāḥ //

Ṭippanī: *yavānī* vātāriḥ śūlahantrī (omvā)

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 indicate). There are actually numerous references to this plant in the medical literature,¹⁷ 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.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha 1 (Sūtrasthāna), 7, 19 (524), 230 (Rao 234).

19. (524. of continuous enumeration) deśaviśeṣodāharaṇāni (in mātṛādivargah)
 228. bhūmisātmyaṁ dadhikṣīrakarīraṁ maruvāsiṣu /
 kṣārah prācyesu matsyās tu saindhaveṣv aśmakeṣu tu //
 229. tailāmlaḥ kandamūlāni malaye koṅkane punaḥ /
 peyā mantha udīcyesu godhūmo 'vantibhūmiṣu //
 230. bālhikā bālhavās cīnāḥ śūlikā *yavanāḥ* śakāḥ /
 māmsagodhūmamārdvīkaśastravaiśvānarocitāḥ //

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

Cf. Carakasamhitā 6, 30, 313 above.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha Uttara, 49, 438.

Iron pyrite found in Yavana country.

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha Uttara, 49, 438 (Murti 330).

438. suvarṇaśailaprabhavo Viṣṇunā kāñcano rasaḥ /
 tāpīkirātacīneṣu *yavaneṣu* ca nirmitaḥ //

¹⁷ I would here like to express my warmest thanks to Professor Rahul Peters Das, who kindly furnished me with about 130 references to passages containing forms of *yavānī* from a database concordance containing the texts of Suśruta, Caraka, Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha, Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, and the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta.

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 *tāpyām* in the third pada.

Bhāvaprakāśa

Bhāvaprakāśa, old Calcutta edition quoted in the *pw*.

Bhāvaprakāśa of Śrī *Bhava Miśra*. Ed. with the ‘Vidyotini’ Hindi Commentary, Notes and Appendix by Śrī *Brahmaśaṅkara Miśra* and Śrī *Rūpalālajī Vaiśya*. 1–2. Kashi Sanskrit Series 130. 8th edn. Varanasi 1997.

Bhpr 1, 2, 1, 217.

Yavaneṣṭa = garlic.

Bhāvaprakāśa 1, 2, 1, 217 (Nighaṅṭubhāga *Harītakyaḍivarga*; Calcutta ed. 1, p. 179).

217. laśunas tu rasonaḥ syād ugra<ga>ndho mahauśadham /
ariṣṭo mleccakandaś 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 (Nighaṅṭubhāga *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 *pārasīka yavānī* 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 *pārasīka yavānī* or ‘henbane’ is attested for the first time in the *Siddhayoga*. On p. 465, he gives *turuṣka* as a synonym for *pārasīka yavānī* ‘henbane’ and for *śilārasa* ‘storax’, noting that *Ḍallaṇa* 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

Aśvaśāstram by Nakula. Ed. S. Gopalan. Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series 56. Tanjore 1952.

Aśvaś. Kulalakṣaṇādhyāya 15, 41 f.

A description of the Yavana breed of horses.

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

15. *yavanāḥ*

41. cārunayanakapolās tanuhanuvaktrās turaṅgamāḥ śastāḥ /
yavanās turagā vipulāḥ pṛthughanavakṣolalāṭanayanāḥ syuḥ //
42. dīrghāḥ sukuṣṭhikāḥ sukhurā laḡhukramāḥ śastāḥ /
 priyadarśanāḥ suvarṇāḥ spaṣṭāyatatanumahākāyāḥ /
 tejaḥsattvopetāḥ tanutvacas̄ 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 *Kujavārarajasvalāśānti* by Yavanāci, the *Candrābharaṇahorā* 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 *Muddādaśāphala*, the *Yavanatājika*, etc.), the *Dvādaśarāśīphala* jointly written by Yavanācārya and Romakācārya, the *Nakṣatracūḍāmaṇi* by Yavana, the *Bṛhadyyavanajātaka* (for the edited version, see Pingree 1994, 327), the *Bhūpatibhāgyaratnāvali* or *Yavanajātakasamhitā*, the small *Yavanajātaka* (often edited),¹⁸ the *Yavanajyotiṣaśāstra*, the *Yavanapārijātaka*, the *Yavanasamhitā* (on omens), the *Yavanasāra*, the *Yavanollāsādi*, the *Yavanācāryapadāni*, the *Yavanācāryasiddhānta*, several Ramala works listed by Pingree 1994, 329, the *Lagnacandrikā* by Yavana, the *Strījātaka*, and the *Strīsāmudrikalakṣaṇa*.

Early works

Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja

The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja, ed., tr. & comm. by David Pingree. 1–2. HOS 48. Cambridge, MA 1978 (vol. 1. text of adhyāyas 1–79; vol. 2. tr., commentary and indices).

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 Yavandarāja (Yavananarendra) Sphujidhvaja put in the metrical form around 270

¹⁸ By a lucky turn of fortune, I do have a copy of this text (the Kalyāṇa-Mumbai edition of Sam. 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 *Vṛddhayanajātaka* (below).¹⁹

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 prāgbhavanam vilagnam taticaturtham *hipakākhyam* āhuḥ /
rasātalam tadvijalam ca vindyād grhāśrayam vṛddhipadam tadeva //
49. lagnād grham saptamam astagam nū *jāmitrasamjñam* *yavanābhidhānan* /
vilagnabhāvāt tu nabhastalastham *me[śūra]nākhyam* daśamam vadanti //
50. etac caturlagnam udāharanti horāvīdo lagnacatuṣṭayam ca /
sthānam tu candrasya catuṣṭayākhyam *menyaiva* samjñam *yavaneṣu* vindyāt //

Pingree: (48) *The ascendent, which is the first sign, they call horā (ὥρα), the fourth from it hipaka (ἵπυκειον); 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 meśūraṇa (μεσοῦράνημα). (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* niruktās cintāsamudbhūtiḡuṇāśrayārthāḥ /
sarūpaliṅgābharaṇānubandhair nidarśanair eva yathārthasamjñāḥ //

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.*

¹⁹ Pingree 1963.

Sph:YJ 3, 1

Yavanajātaka 3, 1. Greek term used.

1. ṣaṭ ṣaḍḡuṇā rāśitṛtīyabhāgā drekāṇasamjñā yavanākhyayā ye /
nānāvidhacchādanacitrarūpās tān sarvaliṅgādiguṇair vidhāsyē //

Pingree: *Thirty-six are the thirds of the zodiacal signs which are called Drekāṇas (δέκαυος) 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 horārthadharmasru[ti]vidbhir ādyaiḥ /
drekkābhidhānā bhavanatribhāgās cintāśrayaiḥ svaprakṛ[tā]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 vilagnasamsthe tasyādhipe ca pratipūrṇvīrye /
iṣṭair grahais triprabhṛti pradṛṣṭe rājñām 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. rāśitribhāgam yavanākhyayā yaṁ drekkāṇam ādyāḥ pravādanti sarvam /
ṣaṭ ṣaḍḡuṇān janmasamāśrayāṁs tān gṛhātmakair ātmaguṇaiś ca vakṣyē //

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

In other passages often *drekāṇa* (*drekkāṇa* also, e.g. in 42, 1). Further Greek terms are mentioned in several passages without mentioning the language.

Sph:YJ 36, 2

Yavanajātaka 36, 2. Greek opinion quoted.

1. samuddbhaveṣv induvilagnapūrvaiḥ śarīriṇām ṛkṣaguṇakramaiś ca /
samsthānasādṛśyakṛtātv itīme yogā niruktā yavanaiḥ purāṇaiḥ //

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.*

Sph:YJ 36, 44

Yavanajātaka 36, 44. More Greek opinions are cited.

1. sādṛśyayogā yavanair itīme ye vā viśeṣāḥ kathitāḥ prasūtau /
yogās tu rāśyāśrayasamsritā ye samkhyāphalāms tām aparāms tu vakṣye //

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.*

Sph:YJ 59, 3

Yavanajātaka 59, 3 Greek opinion.

1. mīnāmśake sthāvaramitrayoṣitpravāsacintām yavanā nirūcuḥ /
drekā navāmśaḥ <kurute> 'tra yādṛk tādṛgvikalpām sa karoti cintām //

Pingree: *If a navāmśa 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 navāmśa.*

Sph:YJ 77, 9

Yavanajātaka 77, 9. Greek opinion applied.

9. kriyāvidhir yo yavanapradhānaiḥ proktaḥ prajānām grahavāsaṛeṣu /
sa eva tadvāsarasaṁcarāsu horāsu tatsāmyavidhau vidhāryaḥ //

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.*

Sph:YJ 79, 1

Yavanajātaka 79, 1. Greek doctrine cited.

1. sarvasya <horā>vidhisāngrahasya cakṣuḥ param yad vibudhā vadanti /
samāsatas tad yavanopadeśād vakṣye pradṛṣṭam caritam grahāṇam //

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>matānuvṛṭṭyā keśāncid iṣṭam vidhitatparāṇām /
yavanottamānām ṣaṣṭiḥ śataṁ pañcayutaṁ 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 svabhāṣāracanābhiguptām viṣṇugraha ... kṣe /
mahīpamukhyair anuddaṣṭatattvāṁ horārtharatnākaraṁvāksamudrām //
61. sūryaprasāda[ā]gatattvaduṣṭir lokānubhāvāya vacobhir ādyaiḥ /
idaṁ babhāṣe niravadyavākyaḥ horārthaśāstraṁ yavaneśvaraḥ 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 genethliology for the instruction of the world by means of excellent words.*

Vṛddhayavanajātaka of Mīnarāja

Vṛddhayavanajātaka of Mīnarāja...ed. David Pingree. Vol. 1. Adhy. 1–39. GOS 162. Baroda 1976 (Vol. 2. Adhy. 40–71. Vol. 3. Introduction).

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

²⁰ Pingree 1963.

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

Mr:VYJ 67, 1

Vṛddhayavanajātaka 67, 1 (quoted in Pingree 1978, 24). Mīnarāja calls himself a Yavana.

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

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

Gargasamhitā: Yugapurāṇa

The Yuga Purāṇa. Critically edited, with an English Translation and a detailed Introduction by John E. Mitchiner. Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta 1986.

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 Māthurās tathā /
yavanā yuddhavikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam //
48. tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite /
ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na samśayaḥ //

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 pārvivāḥ /
Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddhadurmadāḥ //
57. teṣāṁ anyonyasāmbhāva bhaviṣyanti na samśayaḥ /
ātmacakrotthitaṁ ghorāṁ yuddhaṁ paramadāruṇam //
58. tato yugavaśāt teṣāṁ yavanānām parikṣaye /
Sākete 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.

Gargasamhitā

Quoted by H. Kern in VM:BS edition.

Gargasamhitā

The skill of the Yavanas in astrology.

Gargasamhitā quoted by Kern 1865, 35.

mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu samyak chāstram idaṁ sthitam /
ṛṣivat te 'pi pūjyante kimpunar 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 Brahman.*

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

Atharvaparīṣhṭa

The Parīṣhṭas of the Atharvaveda. Ed. George Melville Bolling and Julius von Negelein. Vol. 1, part 2. Leipzig 1910.

“Ein Atharvaparīṣhṭa über grahayuddha”, [hrsg. von] A[lbrecht] W[eber], *ISt* 10, 1868, 317–320.

AVps 50 Candraprātipadika 2, 4

People affected by the moon in human form.

Atharvaparīṣhṭa 50, Candraprātipadika 2, 4.

3. etāḥ janapadān hanti yadā syād dakṣinonnataḥ
puruṣaḥ strīṅṅraṃ hanti aparānto vinaśyati
4. bālhikān yavanakāmbojān chālvān madrān uśīnarān /
- ...
6. śastropajīvikudṛyāṃś 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 Brahmin 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.

Atharvaparīśiṣṭa 51, Grahayuddha 1, 1 ff.

1. kecid grahā nāgarān āśrayante, kecid grahā jyotiṣi saṅgrāhe ca /
graho graheṇaiva hataḥ kathaṁ syād vijñāya tat tvaṁ bhagavān bravītu //
2. evaṁ sa pṛṣṭo munibhir mahātmā provāca Garga grahayuddhatantram /
parājayaṁ caiva jayaṁ ca teṣāṁ śubhāśubhaṁ caiva jagaddhitāya //
3. arko jātaḥ kaliṅgeṣu, yavaneṣu ca candramāḥ /
aṅgārakas tv avantyāyāṁ, magadhāyāṁ budhas tathā //
4. bṛhaspatiḥ saindhaveṣu, mahārāṣṭre tu bhārgavaḥ /
śanaīścaraḥ surāṣṭrāyāṁ, rāhus tu giriśṛṅgajaḥ //
ketur malayake jāta ity etad grahajātakaṁ //
5. yasmin deśe tu yo jātaḥ sa grahaḥ pīdyate 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.

Atharvaparīśiṣṭa 51, Grahayuddha 3, 3.

3. dhanakanakarajatasamcayās ca sarve śamadamantraparās ca ye manuṣyāḥ /
śakayavanatukhārabālhikās 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.

Atharvaparīśiṣṭa 56, Kūrmavibhāga 1, 5.

5. āvantyakā vidarbhā matsyā cakorabhīma[gam]rathā *yavanavalayakāntisimhalal*
aṅkāpurī caiva draviḍā barbaratīrā dakṣiṇapārśve hate 'bhihanyāt /

AVpś 57 Maṇḍalāni 2, 5

Yavanas included in the circle of Vāyu with other North-Westerners.

Atharvaparīśiṣṭa 57, Maṇḍalāni 2, 5.

5. madrakā *yavanās* caiva śakāḥ kāmbojabālhīkāḥ /
gāndhārās ca vinaśyanti etaiḥ sārdham tathā kila //

Varāhamihira*Bṛhājātaka*

Varāhamihira: *The Bṛhājātakam of Varāha Mihira*, ed. & tr. Swami Vijayananda of Belur
Maṭh alias Hari Prasanna Chatterjee. The Sacred Books of the Hindus 12. Allahabad
1912 (repr. 1974).

VM:BJ 1, 8

The signs of the zodiac listed with their Greek names.

Bṛhājātaka 1, 8.

1. kriya-tāvuri-jituma-kulīra-leya-pāthona-jūka-kaurpyākhyāḥ /
tauksika ākokero hṛdrogaś cāntyabham 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.

Bṛhājātaka 7, 1 (Puṣpitāgra).

1. ma[ya]*yavanamaṇṭya* śaktipūrvair divasakarādiṣu vatsarāḥ pradiṣṭāḥ /
navatithiṣayāśvibhūtarudradaśasahitā daśabhiḥ 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, Maṇṭha [sic], Śaktipūrva and other Ācāryas on Astrology.*

VM:BJ 8, 9

Yavanas as authorities on Daśās and Antardaśās.

Bṛhajjātaka 8, 9 (śārdūlavikrīḍita).

9. ekaṁ dvau navaviṁśatir dhr̥tikṛtī pañcāsad eṣāṁ kramāc
candrārendujaśukrajīvadinakṛddaiṅkarīṇāṁ samāḥ /
svaiḥ svaiḥ puṣṭaphalāni sargajanitaiḥ paktir daśāyāḥ kramād
ante lagnadaśā śubheti *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 krūramatir mahīpatiḥ /
krūrais tu na jīvaśarmaṇaḥ pakṣe kṣityadhipaḥ 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 (Aupacchandāsika).

1. navadigvasavastrikāgnivedair guṇitā dvitricaturvikalpajāḥ syuḥ /
yavanais triguṇā hi ṣaṭṣatī sā kathitā vistarato 'tra tatsamāḥ syuḥ //

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.*

VM:BJ 21, 3

Yavanas as authorities on Āśrayayoga or the planets and the several vargas. Bṛhajjātaka 21, 3 (Upajātikā).

3. na kumbhalagnaṁ śubham āha satyo na bhāgabhedād yavanā vadanti /
kasyāṁśabhedo na tathāsti rāśer 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 Yavanāchārya's opinion Viṣṇugupta says which sign has not got such subdivisions as Aquarius Dvādaśāṁśas? Therefore the remarks of Yavanāchārya are not at all warranted.*

VM:BJ 27, 2, 19, 21

Yavanas as authorities on the Decanates of the zodiac (Drekkāṇa, here personified). Bṛhajjātaka 27, 2 (Indravajrā), 19 (va.ti.) & 21 (Vaiśāstha).

2. raktāmbarā bhūṣaṇabhakṣyacintā kumbhākṛtir vājimukhī tṛṣārtā /
ekena pādena ca meṣamadhye dreṣkāṇārūpaṁ yavanopadiṣṭam //

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 unmnānamān 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. vibhīṣayāṁs 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. purāṇayavanaiḥ (Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, 2nd ed. 3, 1873, 323).

Bṛhatsamhitā

Varāhamihira: *Bṛhat Samhitā*, ed. with English translation by M. Ramakrishna Bhat. 1–2. Delhi 1981–82.

Varāhamihira: *Bṛhat Samhitā*, tr. H. Kern: “The Bṛhat-Samhitā; or Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varāhamihira. Translated from Sanskrit into English”, *JRAS* 4, 1870, 430–479; 5, 1871, 45–90, 231–288; 6, 1873, 36–91, 279–338; 7, 1875, 81–134.

VM:BS 2, 32

Canons for an astrologer.

Bṛhatsamhitā 2, 32.

32. mlecchā hi *yavanās* teṣu samyak śāstram idam sthitam /
ṛṣivat te ‘pi pūjyante kim 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.

Bṛhatsamhitā 4, 22.

22. bhinnaḥ sitena magadhān *yavanān* pulindān
nepālabhṛṅgimarukacchasurāṣṭramadrān /
pāñcālakaikayakulūtakapuruṣādakān
hanyād uśīnaranān api saptamāsān //

Bhat: *When the lunar orb is cut asunder by Venus, the people of Magadha, the Yavanas, Pulindas, the Nepalese, the Bhṛṅgis, the Marwaris, the people of Cutch, Surat, and Madra, the Pāñcālas, the Kekayas, the Kulūtakas (people of Kulu valley?), the cannibals and the people of Uśīnara (Kandahar) will have great suffering, for seven months.*

VM:BS 5, 78, 80

On Rāhu’s course.

Bṛhatsamhitā 5, 78–80.

78. kāśmīrān sapulindaçīn*yavanān* hanyāt kurukṣetrajan
gāndhārān api madhyadeśahitān dṛṣṭo śrāvane /

- kāambojaikaśaphamś ca śāradam api tyaktvā yathoktān imān
 anyatra pracurānnaḥṣṭamanujair dhātrīm karoty āvṛtām //
79. kaliṅgavaṅgān magadhān surāṣṭrān mlecchān suvīrān daradāśmakāmś ca /
 strīṅām ca garbhān asuro nihanti subhikṣakṛd bhādrapade 'bhyupetaḥ //
80. kāambojacīnayanāḥ saha śalyaḥṛdbhir vāhlīkasindhutaṭavāsijanāmś ca
 hanyāt /
 ānartapaunḍrabhiṣajaś ca tathā kirātān dṛṣṭo 'suro 'svayuji bhūri subhikṣakṛc
 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 Kāamboja 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 Bhādrapada, 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 Kāamboja, 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.

Bṛhatsamhitā 9, 21.

21. atrārohec chūlikagāndhārāvantayaḥ prapīḍyante /
 vaidehavadhāḥ pratyuntayavanaśakadāsaparivṛddhiḥ //

Bhat: If Venus is attacked here by another planet, the Śūlikas and the people of Gandhāra and Avanti will be tormented; and people of Videha will be killed; but cavemen, Yavanas, Śakas and slaves will prosper.

VM:BS 9, 35

On the course of Venus.

Bṛhatsamhitā 9, 35.

35. āhirbudhnye phalamūlatāpakṛdyāyinām ca revatyām /
 āsvinyām hayapānām yāmye tu kirātayavanānām //

Bhat: While tenanting the star Uttarabhādrapada Venus will destroy roots and fruits; Revatī, travellers and marching troops; Āśvinī, keepers of horses; and Bharaṇī, Kirātas and Yavanas.

VM:BS 10, 6

On the course of Saturn.

Bṛhatsamhitā 10, 6.

6. āditye pāñcanadapratyantasurāṣṭrasindhusauvīrāḥ /
puṣye ghāṅṭikaghausīkayavanavaṇikkita vakusumāni //

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.

Bṛhatsamhitā 10, 15.

15. viśveśvare 'rkaputraś caran daśārṇān nihanti yavanāṁś ca /
ujjayinīm śabarān pāriyātrikān kuntibhojāṁś ca //

Bhat: *When Saturn moves through the star Uttarāṣāḍha, he destroys the people of the Daśārṇa, the Yavanas, Ujjayinī, the Śabarās, those who live on the Pāriyātra mountains, and the Kuntibhojas.*

VM:BS 10, 18

On the course of Saturn.

Bṛhatsamhitā 10, 18.

18. revatyām rājabhṛtāḥ krauñcadvīpāsritāḥ śaratsasyam /
abarāś ca nipīḍyante yavanāś ca śanaīscare carati //

Bhat: *When Saturn moves in Revatī, king's proteges, inhabitants of the Krauñcadvīpa, autumnal crops, the Śabarās and Yavanas come to have difficult times.*

VM:BS 13, 9

On the course of the Seven Sages (Ursa Major).

Bṛhatsamhitā 13, 9.

9. śakayavanadaradapāratakāambojāṁś tāpasān vanopetān /
hanti vasiṣṭho 'bhihato vivṛddhido raśmisampannaḥ //

Bhat: *Vasiṣṭha, when hurt, proves harmful to the Śakas, Yavanas, Daradas, Pāratas, Kāambojas, 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 pāratās caiva kāmbojā daradāḥ śakāḥ /
vasiṣṭhasya vinirdiṣṭās tāpasā vanam āśritāḥ //*

VM:BS 14, 18

On the south-western division.

Bṛhatsamhitā 14, 17f.

17. *nairṛtyāṁ diśi deśāḥ pahlavakāmbojasindhusauvīrāḥ /
vaḍavāmukhāravāmbaṣṭhakapilanārīmukhānartāḥ //*
18. *phenāgiriḥ yavanamārgarakarṇaprāveya pāraśavaśūdrāḥ /
barbarakirātakhaṇḍakavyādābbīracañcūkāḥ //*

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 Phenāgiri, Yavanas, Mārgaras, Karṇaprāveyas, Pāraśavas, Śūdras, Barbaras, Kirātas, Khaṇḍas, Kravyādas (eaters of raw meat), Ābhīras, Cañcūkas...*

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 Utpala) 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

On planetary rulership: the Sun.

Bṛhatsamhitā 16, 1.

1. *prāṇnarmadārdhāṣoṇoḍravaṅgasuhmāḥ kaliṅgabāhlikāḥ /
akayavanamagadhaśabaraprāgyotiṣacīnakāmbojāḥ //
... (4.) ity ... (5.) Bhāskarāḥ svāmī*

Bhat: *The sun presides over the eastern half of the Narmadā district, the Sone, Orissa, Vaṅga, Suhma, Kaliṅga, Balkh, Śakas, Yavanas, Magadha, Śabaras, Prāgyotiṣa, Cīna, Kamboja...*

VM:BS 16, 6

On planetary rulership: the Moon.

Bṛhatsamhitā 16, 6.

6. *girisaliladurgakosalabharukacchasamudraromakatuṣārāḥ /
vanavāsitaṅgaṇahalastrīrājyamahārṇavadvīpāḥ //*

... (8.) ... yajñavidāṁ cādhipas̄ 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.

Brhatsamhitā 18, 6.

6. ravijasya śaśī pradakṣiṇaṁ kuryāc cet parabhūbhṛtām jayaḥ /
śakabhlikasindhupahlavā mudbhājo yavanaiḥ samanvitāḥ //

Bhat: *Should the Moon traverse to the north of Saturn, kings defending a town would win victory, and the Scythians, Bāhlikas, people of Sindhu, Pahlavas and Yavanas would be happy.*

Pañcasiddhāntikā

The Pañcasiddhāntikā. The Astronomical Work of Varāhamihira, ed. tr. G. Thibaut and MM. Sudhākara Dvivedi. Repr. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 68. Varanasi 1968 [first publ. c.1888].

The Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira, ed. & tr. D. Pingree and O. Neugebauer. 1–2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 6:1. København 1970–71.

VM:PS 1, 3 f.

Introduction of the Five Siddhāntas.

Pañcasiddhāntikā 1, 3 ff.

3. *Paulīsa-Romaka-Vāsiṣṭha-Saura-Paitāmahās tu siddhāntāḥ /*
pañcabhyo dvāv ādyau vyākhyātau Lāṭadevena //
4. *Paulīsas tv atha sphuṭo 'sau tasyāsannas tu Romaka-proktaḥ /*
spaṣṭataraḥ Sāvitraḥ pariśeṣau dūravibhraṣṭau //

Pingree & Neugebauer: 3. *The Siddhāntas are the Paulīsa, the Romaka, the Vāsiṣṭha, the Saura, and the Paitāmaha; of these five the first two were commented by Lāṭadeva. 4. The Paulīsa is accurate; that which was pronounced by Romaka is near it; the Sāvitra (i.e. the Sūryasiddhānta) 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 Paulīsasiddhānta is mentioned in VM:PS 1, 11 and 7, 1 ff.

VM:PS 1, 8.

Yavanapura in the Romakasiddhānta.

Pañcasiddhāntikā 1, 8.

8. saptāśvivedasañkhyam śakakālam apāsyā caitraśukladau /
ardhāstam ite bhānau *Yavanapure* bhaumadivasādye //

Note: d. *bhauma* Dikshit, *soma* Utpala (i.e. Monday), MSS. *saumya*, *bhaumya*.

Pingree & Neugebauer: *Subtract the Śaka year 427 (from the given Śaka-year), at the beginning of the first half-month (śuklapakṣa) of Chaitra, which begins a Tuesday, when the Sun has half-set at Yavanapura.*

VM:PS 3, 13.

Yavanapura in the Paulīśasiddhānta.

Pañcasiddhāntikā 3, 13.

13. *yavanāntarajā* nāḍyaḥ saptavantyām tribhāgasamnyuktāḥ /
vārāṇasyām 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) Vārāṇasī. 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 dyugaṇo 'pi hi deśakālasambandhaḥ /
Lāṭācāryeṇokto *Yavanapure* 'rdhāstage sūrye //

19. ravyudaye Lañkāyām Simhācāryeṇa dinagaṇo 'bhihitaḥ /
yavanānām niśi daśabhir gatair muhūrtaiś ca tadguruṇā //

20.–22. ...

23. udayo yo Lañkāyām so 'stamayaḥ savitur eva Siddhapure /
madhyāhno Yamakotyām *Romakaviṣaye* 'rdharātraḥ saḥ //

24. ...

25. anyad *Romakaviṣayād* deśāntaram anyad eva *Yavanapurāt* /
Lañkārdharātrasamayād 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 Simhācārya (to begin) at*

sunrise at Laṅkā; for the Yavanas (it is said) by their guru (to begin) at night when 10 muhūrtas have passed...

23. *Sunrise at Laṅkā 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 Laṅkā, another from sunrise.*

N.B. VM:PS 15, 23 = Āryabhaṭīya 4 (= Golādhyāya), 13. The same is also quoted from the Paulīśasiddhānta by al-Bīrūnī (Ch. 26, p. 267 and Ch. 29, p. 303 of Sachau's translation).

Yogayātrā

“Die Yogayātrā des Varāhamihira”, [hrsg. und übersetzt von] H. Kern, *ISt* 10, 1868, 161–212.

Varāhamihira: *Yogayātrā of Varāha Mihira* [with] ‘Prakashika’ Sanskrit and “Richa” Hindi Commentaries tr. [in Hindi] and ed. Satyendra Mishra. Krishnadas Sanskrit Series 161. Varanasi 1999.

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 paripīḍitās te /
svajanmadeśān paripīḍayanti te 'to 'bhiyojyāḥ kṣitipena deśāḥ //
- Variants from Mishra: 19cd. *kaṭe ca*; 20ab. *yāto*; *paripīḍayanti*; 20cd *tato*.

Kern: *Die Sonne ist in Aṅga geboren, der Mond im Lande der Yavana, Mars in Avantī, Mercur in Magadha, Jupiter in Sindhu, Venus in Bhojakaṭa, Saturn im Lande Surāṣṭra; Ketu im Lande der Mlecha, und Rāhu in Kaliṅga. Daher kommt es, dass diese, wenn sie unglücklich stehen, ihren Geburtsländern Unglück bringen. In solch einem Falle soll ein Fürst diese Länder angreifen.*

Utpala on Varāhamihira

Utpala on Bṛhajjātaka

Whish, C.M.: “Ueber den Ursprung und das Alter der Indischen Thierkreises”, *ZKM* 4, 1842, 302–328 (translated from the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras* 1, 1827, 63–77, with notes by C. Lassen).²¹

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.

yavanopadiṣṭaṁ iti yavanācāryaḥ 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 purāṇayavanaiḥ /

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 Yavaneśvara²²

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 Bṛhatsamhitā

The Bṛihat Samhitā by Varāhamihira with the Commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala. Ed. Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākara Dvivedī. The Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series 10:1–2. Benares 1895–97.

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 Bṛhatsamhitā 2, 14 (2, 32 Bhat).

14. mlecchā hi ... (*above*)

hi yasmād *yavanāḥ* kila mlecchajātayas teṣu *yavaneṣu* idam jyotiḥśāstram samyak sphuṭataram āgamataḥ sthitam yataḥ pūrvācāryebhyas taiḥ prāptam / tathā ca yad dānavendrāya Mayāya Sūryaḥ śāstram dadau sampraṇatāya pūrvam / Viṣṇor Vasiṣṭhaś ca maharṣimukhyo jñānāmṛtam yat paramāśasāda // Parāśaraś cāpy adhigamya Somād guhyaṁ purāṇām [sic] paramādbhutam yat / prakāśayān cakrur anukrameṇa mahardhimanto *yavaneṣu* ta te – iti // te 'pi ṛṣivan munivat pūjyante abhyarcyante kiṁ 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 Bṛhatsamhitā 4, 22.

22. bhinnaḥ sitena ... (*above*)

sitena śukreṇa yadā bhinnāś candro madhyād vidāritas tadā magadhān janān / *yavanān* / pulindān / etān sarvān janān / ... etān sarvān pākakālād anantaram sapta māsān yāvan nihanyāt ghātayet /

Utpala on VM:BS 5, 78

On Rāhu's course.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 5, 78.

22. kāsmīrān sapulindacīnayavanān ... (above)
 śrāvaṇe māsi graho grahaṇām dṛṣṭaḥ kāsmīrān janān sapulindacīnayavanān
 pulindacīnajā janā yavanās taiḥ sahitaṅ / ... etān api hanti / ...

Utpala on VM:BS 9, 21

On the course of Venus.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 9, 21.

21. ... pratyuntayavanaśakadāsaparivṛddhiḥ //
 pratyantā gahvaravāsinaḥ / yavanāḥ / śakāḥ / dāsāḥ karmakarāḥ / eteṣāṃ
 parivṛddhir bhavati //

Utpala on VM:BS 9, 35

On the course of Venus.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 9, 35.

35. ... aśvinyām hayapānām yāmye tu kirātayavanānām //
 aśvinyām hayapānām aśvapatīnām tāpakṛt / yāmye bharaṇyām kirātānām
 yavanānām janānām ca tāpakṛt tāpakaraḥ //

There follows a quotation of ten śloka from Kāśyapa, which briefly discuss all Nakṣatras. The Yavanas are not mentioned, and at the end Bharāṇī is said to torment farmers (aśvinyām hayapīdākṛd bharaṇyām kṛṣijīvinām). There follows another quotation, but from Parāśara, again without any mention of Yavanas. Here Venus in Bharāṇī causes rain.

Utpala on VM:BS 10, 6

On the course of Saturn.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 10, 6.

6. ... puṣye ghāṅṭikaghauṣikayavanavaṇikkita vakusumāni //
 puṣye sthite saure ghāṅṭikā ghaṅṭāvādanaṃ śilpam asyeti ghāṅṭikāḥ / ghoṣaḥ
 śabdoccāraṇaṃ śilpam asyeti ghauṣikāḥ śrāvakā ityarthaḥ / athavā ghoṣe gahvare
 nivasanti te ghauṣikāḥ / yavanā janāḥ / vaṇijaḥ kirātāḥ²³ / kusumāni puṣpāni /
 etāni pīḍyante /

Utpala on VM:BS 10, 15

On the course of Saturn.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 10, 15.

15. viśveśvare 'rkaputraś caran daśārṇān nihanti yavanāṃś ca /
 viśveśvare uttarāṣāḍhāyām arkaputraḥ śanaīścaraś caramś tiṣṭhan daśārṇān janān
 yavanāṃś ca nihanti nāśayati / caśabdaḥ samuccaye / ...

²³ The editor refers here to his ṭippanī 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 Bṛhatsamhitā 13, 9.

9. śakayavanadaradapāratakāambojāṁs tāpasān vanopetān /
 śakayavaneti / śakā janāḥ / yavanāḥ / daradāḥ / pārataḥ / 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 marīceḥ parikīrtitāḥ //
 yavanāḥ pārataś caiva kāmbojā daradāḥ śakāḥ /
 vasiṣṭhasya vinirdiṣṭās tāpasā vanam āśritāḥ //
 dhīmanto brāhmaṇā ye ca jñānavijñānapāragāḥ /

Utpala on VM:BS 16, 1

On planetary rulership: the Sun.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 16, 1.

1. ... śakayavanamagadhaśabaraprāgyotiṣacīnakāmbojāḥ //
 ... śakāḥ / yavanāḥ / magadhāḥ / śabarāḥ / prāgyotiṣāḥ / cīnāḥ / kāmbojāḥ //

Utpala on VM:BS 16, 6

On planetary rulership: the Moon.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 16, 6.

6. girisaliladurgakosalabharukacchasamudraromakatuṣārāḥ /
 giridurgam parvatadurgam / saliladurgam jaladurgam / kośalā janāḥ /
 bharukacchāḥ / samudrāḥ sāgarāḥ / romakāḥ / tuṣārāḥ / ...

Utpala on VM:BS 18, 6

On the conjunction of the Moon with planets.

Utpala on Bṛhatsamhitā 18, 6.

6. ... śakabāhlikasindhupahlavā mudbhājo yavanaiḥ samanvitāḥ //
 ravijasya śanaīscarasya śaśī candraḥ pradakṣiṇam uttaragamanam ced yadi kuryāt
 tadā purabhūbhṛtām puranivāsinām rājñām jayo bhavati / tathā śakā janāḥ /
 bāhlikāḥ / saindhavāḥ / pahlavāḥ / ete sarve yavanaiḥ samanvitāḥ mudbhājo
 bhavanti / mudam harṣam bhajante sevante / prahṛṣṭā bhavantīyarthāḥ //

Quotations from Yavaneśvara 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 Bṛhatsaṁhitā 2, 9.

9. keśāṁcid ‘according to some teachers’, explained by Utpala as *yavanamaṇittādīnām* (Weber 1853b, 285).

Mathematicians

Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa

Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa, critically edited with introduction, English translation, notes, comments and indexes by Kripa Shankar Shukla in collaboration with K.V. Sarma. Āryabhaṭīya Critical Edition Series 1. New Delhi 1976.

Āryabhaṭīya 4, 13 (Golādhyāya)

The four cardinal cities.

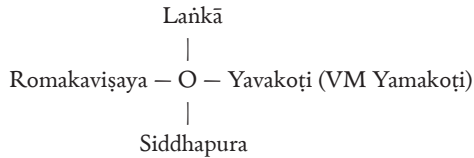
Āryabhaṭīya 4 (Golādhyāya), 13.

13. udayo yo Laṅkāyāṁ so ’stamayaḥ savitur eva Siddhapure /
madhyāhno Yavakoṭyāṁ *Romakaviṣaye* ’rdharātraḥ 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.



Golādhyāya of the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara

Śrībhāskarācāryaviracitaḥ Siddhāntaśiromaṇiḥ Vāsanābhāṣyasahitaḥ. The Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. A treatise on astronomy by Bhāskarācārya, with his own exposition, the Vāsanābhāṣya. Ed. Bāpū Deva Śāstrī. The Kāshi Sanskrit Series (Haridās Sanskrit Granthamālā) 72. Benares 1929.

Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya 17

The four cardinal cities.

Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara, Golādhyāya 17.

17. laṅkā kumadhye yamakoṭir asyāḥ prāk paścime romakapattanāṁ ca /
adhas tataḥ siddhapuraṁ sumeruḥ saumyo 'tha yāmye vaḍavānalaś ca //

Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, Golādhyāya 44

The four cardinal cities.

Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara, Golādhyāya 44.

44. laṅkāpure 'rkasya yadodayaḥ sāt [sic]
tadā dinārdhaṁ yamakoṭipurāyam /
aḡhas tadā 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.

Samjñādhyāya of the Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta of Brahmagupta

Shri Brahmaguptaviracita Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta with Vāsanā, Vijñāna and Hindi Commentaries. Vol. 4. Ed. a Board of Editors headed by Acharyavara Ram Swarup Sharma. New Delhi 1966.

Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta: Samjñādhyāya 24

Puliśa, Romaka and Yavana mentioned as authorities.

Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta of Brahmagupta, Samjñādhyāya 24, 1–3, also quoted by Weber 1886, 297 (Nr. 1733).

yasmāt sampratipattinaṁ na samjñayā samjñīno vinā tasmāt /
lokaprasiddhasamjñā rūpādīnāṁ śaśāṅkādyāḥ // 1 //

...

ayaṁ eva kṛtaḥ sūryendupuliśaromakavaśiṣṭhayavanādyaiḥ / 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

Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva. Ein Beitrag zur indischen Mantik. Hrsg. und übers. von J. von Negelein. Giessen 1912.

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 striyaṃ yo vinihanti marttyaḥ svapne gajaṃ pāpaṃdi (?) śūkaraṃ vā /
sa mucyate mṛtyubhayair vikārair nīrogadehaḥ satataṃ sukhī syāt // [iti]
Yavanaḥ //

Negelein: *Wenn ein solcher Mann eine Frau, einen Elefanten oder einen Eber im Traume niederschägt, bleibt er von lebensgefährlichen Erkrankungen frei, dürfte einen gesunden Leib behalten und immer glücklich sein [sagt Yavana].*²⁴

2, 78a yas tāḍyate vastravivarjitāṅgaiḥ svapne naro yo 'sitavastrakair vā /
sa jīvabhāgī munibhiḥ pradiṣṭaḥ saṃjāyate vimśati 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* Tājika (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 Smṛti (cf. VāsiṣṭhaDh

²⁴ Words in square brackets here and in the next translation added by me.

6, 41 *na mlecchabhāṣāṃ śikṣet*), 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 *Romakaṣura*. Weber gives the text:

keśaviṣṇumukhanirgataśāpān mlecchatādhigatatigmamarīce *romakena* puri ladhām (labdham?) aśeṣaṃ ta(d)dvijādibhir ato 'dh(y)ayanīyam iti / puri *romakaṣattane* yakṣyatu tad eva prameyam /

Weber 1853b, 250: Romaka and Romakatājika are also mentioned in ff. 27b, 30b, 68ab, 69a, 76a, 150a, 170a (as mleccha), and 217a.

Weber 1853b, 251: In f. 39b one finds the atiprācīnācārya Maṇittha (the ancient master Manetho), who (f. 40a) refers to *yavanāḥ* purāṇāḥ, the ancient Yavanas.

Weber 1853b, 252: atha pravakṣye *yavanāditattvam*, quoted from the *Jātakapadmakośa* (f. 119a) and *Yavaneśvara*, quoted from the *Jīrṇatājika* (f. 133b).

Weber 1853b, 258: proktā *yavanācārasūribhiḥ*, quoted in the Chapter dealing with the zodiac.

Weber 1853b, 263: Ya(va)na quoted on f. 24 for the *ḍṛṣṭis* or *aspectus planetarum*:

mukāriṇā* syād aikarkṣe saptame syān mukāvilā* /
taravī* ḍṛk caturthe tu tisraḥ proktā bhayapradāḥ //
ṛṭīyaikādaśe ḍṛṣṭis tasdī* proktā mahottamā /
navapañcamator ḍṛṣṭis taślī* proktā mahāśubhā // iti

Weber was able to identify the terms here marked by * as Arabic: muqārinat, muqābilat, tarbī, tasdīs, 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 sāhitya kā bṛhad itihās* 5, 219 f.

Prakaṭārthaḍṛīpikā of Govindasvāmin

This apparently unpublished work is discussed by Pingree (1981, 88 f.), 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 Romakasiddhānta²⁵ is discussed by Aufrecht (1864, 338b–340b, MS 796), according to a manuscript in Oxford. In addition, see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue* 1061 & Bendall, *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: Dhūmaputraṁ prati Romakācāryō vadati /

In an ethnic list: ...Samarakanda, Tuṣāra, Ṣarājīma, Uterijā, Uḍidṛṣatāla, Roma, Gṛhadroma (l. *Bṛhadroma*), Andulīsa, Ājūma,...

At the beginning of another list, one finds: Udayagiri, Ṣoṇanadu, Kaliṅgadeśa, Śakadeśa, Yavana, Magadha, Cīna, Mahācīna, Bhoṭa, Mahābhoṭa, ...Hindusthāna, Āraba – all these are ādityavibhāge. By contrast, Koṣala, Kacchadeśa, Romaka, Tuṣāra, Turaṣkasthāna, Tagara, ... – these are candravibhāge (eteṣāṁ candro 'dhipaḥ).

It is unnecessary to quote all of these. However, we may note *inter alia* that Pipīlika is included among those as budhavibhāge, and Kamboja and Tāmalipta are dhanurāśivibhāge. Mithunavibhāge contains again some very interesting names: Aramīka, Ipāhana [Esfahan], Kīramāṇa [Kerman], Guāsī, Romakapaṭṭana, Antākṣī, Balanga, Tisanga, Tabirasāna, Kāśmīra, Cīna, Hūngarasthāna, Maphira, Halūāṇa, Paścimadeśa, Pārāsa, Samarakanda [Samarkand], Mugalasthāna, Barbarasthāna, Ādimalabāra, Vṛhadromapaṭṭana, Prabhāsakṣetra, Kurukṣetra...

atha karkaṭakīṭajhaṣāḥ, i.al. ... Strīrājya, Vanavāsa, Sucīmukha, Aśvamukha, Śvamukha, Kīrnaramukha, 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 janna and to Marīyamīputro yonisaṁbhavo jātaḥ.

There is an (unchecked) article on this by Balkrishna Dikshit in *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 yavano daśāham /
janmākhyamāsaṁ kila bhāguriś ca vrate vivāhe kṣurakarṇavedhe //

²⁵ As we see from Aufrecht's note, this is not the old Romakasiddhānta, but a late work translated from Persian into Hindustani and from this into Sanskrit in the 18th century. Colebrooke 1837:2, 386, 388 & 476 refers to this as the Romakasiddhānta of Śrīṣena.

Viśvanātha's Commentary on the Keśavajātaka

Viśvanātha's commentary on the Keśavajātaka, a late work on genethliology, was discussed by Aufrecht (1864, 338a, MS 794), according to a manuscript in Oxford.

f° 62^b refers to *Yavaneśvara* and quotes the following line from the Sārāvalī:
 śuklapratipad-daśake madhyabalaḥ kīrtyate *yavanavṛddhaiḥ* /

f° 85^a quotes a śloka from *Yavana*:

khecaro jāyater yo 'rddham aṁśayor apahāraḥ /
 āyusaḥ sa hared arddha aṁśaḥ śukraśanaiścarāv //
 iti *Yavanaḥ*

Other works

Aufrecht 1864, 332 f. Tājakaśārasudhānidhi of Nārāyaṇa 1, 4: tasmāl labdhavaraḥ paropakṛtaye nārāyaṇo 'ham bruve tārtyaikasudhānidhim gaṇitavittuṣṭyai camatkāritam / śrīmat-Khindhika-Romakādi-racitāt saṁgrhya saram param, yasya jñānalavena mukhyapadaṁ prāpnoti niḥśaṁśayam // Khindhika is the Arabic scholar al-Kindī (c.801–873), here mentioned together with Romans.

Aufrecht 1864, 336: Keśavārka in the Vivāhavṛndāvanam²⁶ 4, 10 refers to *Yavaneśvara*.

Pingree 1981, 109: In his Vidyāmādhavīya 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 genethliological 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 Udayadevasūri (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 Śakeśvaram jivā grhītvōjjayinīm mahāhave /
ānīya saṁbhrāmya mu taṁ tvaḥ śrīvikramārkaḥ samasahyavikramah //
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: Gretil text based on the edn Kalikata 1927, input by Oliver Hellwig.

Rasaratnasamuccaya 2, 73

Origin of iron pyrite (*mākṣika/tāpya*).

73. suvarṇasāilaprabhavo viṣṇunā kāñcano rasaḥ /
tāpyām kirātacīneṣu yavaneṣu ca nirmitaḥ /
tāpyaḥ sūryāṁśusaṁtāpto mādhave māsi drśyate //

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.

Buddhabhaṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā

Ed. L. Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens*. Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études 111. Paris 1896, 1 ff.

Ratnaparīkṣā 221

Where chrysoberyl is found.

Buddhabhaṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā 221, Finot p. 49.

221. vāyur nakhān daityapater grhītvā
cikṣepa samyag javaneṣu hr̥ṣṭaḥ /
tataḥ prasūtaṁ javanopapannaṁ
karketanaṁ pūjyatamaṁ pṛthivyām //

Finot: *Vāyu saisit les ongles du roi des Daityas et, joyeux, des jeta juste dans le pays des Yavanas. Le chrysobéryl en naquit, produit au pays des Yavanas, très estimé sur la terre.*

Ratnaparīkṣā 246

Where rock crystal is found.

Buddhabhaṭṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā 246, Finot p. 56.

246. kāverīvindhyayavanacīnanepālabhūmiṣu /
lāṅgalī vyakiran medo dānavasya 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
guñjāvāpuṣpanibhaṁ praśastam /
samlāsakaṁ devakaromake 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. PURĀṆAS

*Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*²⁸

Kirfel, Willibald. *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa. Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Bonn 1927.

Kirfel, Willibald. *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude (Bhuvanavinyāsa). Die kosmographischen Traktate der Purāṇas. Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Bonner Orientalistische Studien N.S. 1. Bonn 1954.

Kirfel 1927, 2 IB, 29 & 37 & 45 & 49

The story of Sagara.

Kirfel 1927: 2. Kapitel, Textgruppe I B (BṇḍP, BP, Hv, LP, ŚivadhP, VāP),²⁹ 28 ff.

28. Rurukas tanayas tasya rājā dharmārthakovidah /
Rurukasya Vṛkaḥ putro Vṛkād Bāhus tu jajñivān //
BP, Hv, ŚivadhP BṇḍP, VāP
29. Haihayās Tālajaṅgās ca 29. Haihayais Tālajaṅghaiś ca
nirasyanti sma taṁ nrpaṁ / nirasto vyasanī nrpaḥ /
tatpatnī garbham ādāya Śakair Yavana-Kāmbojaiḥ
Aurvasyāśramam āviśat // Pāradaiḥ pahlavaiḥ saha //
30. nātyartham dhārmikāś caiva 30. nātyartham dhārmiko 'bhūt sa
sa hi dharmayuge 'bhavat / dharmye satyayuge tathā /
sagaras tu suto Bāhor jajñe sahaḡareṇa vai //
- LP ends here.
31. Aurvasyāśramam āsādyā Bhārgaveṇābhirakṣitaḥ /
āgneyam astram labdhvā ca Bhārgavāt Sagaro nrpaḥ //
32. jigāya pṛthivīm hatvā Tālajaṅghān sa-Haihayān /
akānām Pahlavānām ca dharmam nirasad acyutaḥ //
33. kṣatriyāṇām tathā teṣām Pāradānām ca dharmavit /
ṛṣaya ūcuḥ:
34. katham sa Sagaro jāto ḡareṇaiva sahācyutaḥ /
kimartham ca Śakādīnām kṣatriyānām mahaujasām //
35. dharmān kulocitān krudhho rājā nirasad acyutaḥ /
BP, Hv, ŚivadhP ī etan naḥ sarvam ācakṣva vistareṇa mahātmate //
sūta (Lomaharṣaṇa) uvāca:

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 hr̥taṁ rājyam abhūt kila /
 Haihayais Tālaṅghais ca Śakaiḥ sārḍham samāgataiḥ //
37. *Yavanāḥ* Pāradās caiva Kāmbojāḥ Pahlavās tathā /
 BP, Hv, ŚivadhP BṇḍP, VāP
 ete hy api gaṇāḥ pañca Haihatyārtham parākṛāntā
 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 kīrtim̐ kīrtimatām̐ varaḥ //
45. tataḥ Śakān sa-*Yavanān* Kāmbojān Pāradāms̐ tathā /
 Pahlavāms̐ caiva niḥśeṣān kartum̐ vyavasito nṛpaḥ //
46. te vadhyamānā vīreṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā /
 Vasiṣṭham̐ śaraṇam̐ gatvā praṇipetur manīṣiṇam //
47. Vasiṣṭhas tv atha tān dṛṣṭvā samayena mahādyutiḥ /
 Sagaram̐ vārayām̐ āsa teṣām̐ dattvābhayam̐ tadā //
48. Sagaraḥ svām̐ pratijñām̐ ca guror vākyam̐ nisāmya ca /
 dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣām̐ vai veśānyatvam̐ cakāra ha //
49. ardham̐ Śakānām̐ śirasō muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat /
Yavanānām̐ śiraḥ sarvam̐ Kāmbojānām̐ tathaiva ca //
50. Pāradā muktakeśās ca Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ /
 niḥsvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā /
51. Śakā *Yavana*-Kāmbojāḥ Pāradāḥ Pahlavās tathā /
 BP, Hv BṇḍP, VāP
 Kolisarpāḥ sa-Mahiṣā Kalisparśā Māhiṣikā
 Dārvās Colāḥ sa-Keralāḥ // Dārvās Colāḥ Khasās tathā //
52. sarve te kṣatriyaganā, dharmas teṣām̐ nirākṛtaḥ /
 Vasiṣṭhavacanād rājñā Sagareṇa mahātmanā //

Kirfel 1927, 4 E I, 70-6 & 70-9

The story of Kālayavana.

Kirfel 1927: 4. Kapitel E, Textgruppe I (BP, Hv), 71.

1. jijñāsam̐ pauraṣe cakre, na caskande ca pauraṣam̐ /
 kṛṣṇāyāsamapṛakhyo varṣe dvādaśame tathā //
2. mithyābhisāsto Gārgyas tu manyunābhisamīritaḥ /
 gopakanyām̐ upādāya mainthunāyopacakrame //
3. gopālī tv apsarās tasya gopastrīveśadhāriṇī /
 dhārayām̐ āsa Gārgyasya garbham̐ durdharam̐ acyutam̐ //

4. mānuṣyām Gārgyabbhāryāyām niyogāc Chūlapāṇinaḥ /
sa *Kalayavano* nāma jajñe rājā mahābalaḥ //
5. vṛṣapūrvārdhakāyās tam avahan vājino rane /
aputrasya sa rājñas tu vavṛdhe 'ntaḥpure śiśuḥ //
6. *Yavanasya* muniśreṣṭhāḥ sa *Kālayavano* 'bhavat /
yuddhakāmo nṛpatiḥ paryapṛcchad dvijottamān //
7. Vṛṣṇy-Andhakakulaṁ tasya Nārado 'kathayad vibhuḥ /
akṣauhiṇyā tu sainyasya Mathurām abhyayāt tadā //
8. dūtaṁ saṁpreṣayām āsa Vṛṣṇy-Andhaka-niveśanam /
tato Vṛṣṇy-Andhakāḥ Kṛṣṇaṁ puraskṛtya mahāmatim //
9. sametā mantrayām āsur *Yavanasya* bhayāt tadā /
kṛtvā ca niścayaṁ sarve palāyanam arocayan //
10. vihāya Mathurām ramyām mānayantaḥ Pinākinam /
Kuśasthalīm Dvāravatīm niveśayitum īpsavaḥ //

Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 88

Deeds of Kṛṣṇa.

Kirfel 1927: 5. Kapitel C (BṇḍP, Hv, VāP), 88.

88. chinnaṁ bāhusahasraṁ ca Bāṇasyādbhutarmaṇaḥ /
Narakaś ca hataḥ saṁkhye *Yavanaś* ca mahābalaḥ //

Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 92-2

Deeds of Kalkī.

Kirfel 1927: 5. Kapitel C (BṇḍP, VāP), 92.

1. nātyarthaṁ dhārmikā ye ca ye ca dharmadviṣaḥ kvacit /
udīcyān madhyadeśāṁś ca tathā Vindhyaṅparāntikān //
2. taithaiva Dākṣiṇātyāṁś ca Draviḍān Siṁhalaiḥ saha /
Gāndhārān Pāradāṁś caiva Pahlavān *Yavanāñ* Śakān //
3. Tuṣārān Chabarāṁś caiva Pulindān Daradān Khasān /
Lampakān Andhrakān Puṇḍrān Kirātāṁś caiva sa prabhuḥ //
4. pravṛttacakro balavān Mlecchānām antakṛd balī /
adṛśyaḥ sarvabhūtānām pṛthivīm vicariṣyati.

Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6

Janapada list.

Kirfel 1954: 3. Kapitel, Textgruppe I (AP, BP, GP, KūP, Śivadhp, Śu [?], ViP), 6f.

The same passage is also given in Kirfel's *Bhāratavarṣa* (Stuttgart 1931).

6. pūrve kirātā yasya syuḥ paścime *yavanāḥ* sthitāḥ /
andrā dakṣiṇato, Rudra, turuṣkās tv api cottare //

7. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye śūdrās ca bhāgaśaḥ /

...

Kirfel 1954, 3 II, 9 & 40

Janapada list.

Kirfel 1954: 3. Kapitel Textgruppe II (BṇḍP, LP, MP, [KūP], VāP), 9 ff.

9. dvīpo hy upaniviṣṭo 'yaṁ Mlecchair anteṣu sarvaśaḥ /
pūrve Kirātā hy asyānte, paścime Yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ //

10. ab = 7ab above

...

39. Bāhlikā Vātadhānās ca Ābhīrāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ /
Aparāntās ca śūdrās ca Pallavās carmakhaṇḍikāḥ //

40. Gāndhārā Yavanās caiva Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ /
akā Druhāḥ Kulindās ca Pāradā Hāramūrtikāḥ //

41. Ramathāḥ Kaṇṭakārās ca Kekayā Daśamālikāḥ /
kṣatriyopaniveśās ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca //

41. BṇḍP, VāP:

Kāmojā Daradās caiva Barbarā Aṅgalaukikāḥ /

Cīnās caiva Tuṣārās ca Pahlavā Bahyatodarāḥ //

42. Ātreyaś ca Bharadvājāḥ Prasthalās ca Daserakāḥ /
Lampakās Talagānās ca Sainikāḥ saha Jāṅgalaiḥ //

42. BṇḍP, VāP:

Apagās c-Ālimadrās ca Kirātānām ca jātayaḥ /

Tomarā Haṁsamārgās ca Kāśmīrās Taṅgaṇās tathā //

43. Cūlikās Cāhukās caiva Hūṇa-Darvās tathaiva ca /
ete deśā udīcyās tu, prācyān deśān nibodhata //

Kirfel 1954, 5 II, 43

List of rivers.

Kirfel 1954: 5. Kapitel Textgruppe II (BṇḍP, MP, VāP), 42 f.

42. nānādeśān plāvayantyo Mlecchaprāyānīs ca sarvaśaḥ /
BṇḍP, VāP:

upagacchanti tāḥ sarvā, yato varṣati Vāsavaḥ //

MP BṇḍP, VāP

saśailān Kukurān Raudhrān Sirīndhvān Kuntalāmīs Cīnān

Barbarān Yavanān Khaśān / Barbarān Yavanān Druhān /

Pulindāmīs ca Kulindāmīs ca, Aṅgalokavarās ca ye //

Individual Purāṇas³⁰

Agnipurāṇa

The Agnimahāpurāṇam. Delhi 1985 (Nag Publishers reprint of the Venkateshwar Press edn).

Śrīmadvaipāyanamunipraṇītam agnipurāṇam (tattadadyāgataviṣayān uktam asanāthikṛtam) etat pustakam ānandāśramasya paṇḍitaiḥ saṁśodhitam / tac ca rāvabahādūre ity upapadadhāribhiḥ – gaṅgādhara bāpūrāva kāle, je. pī. ity etaiḥ puṇyākhyapattane śrīmān ‘mahādevacimaṇājīāpaṭe’ ityabhidheyamahābhāgpratiṣṭhāpīteānandāśramamudraṇālaye āyasākṣarair mudrayitvā prakāśitaḥ. Ānandāśramasaṁskṛtagranthāvaliḥ granthāṅkaḥ 41. Śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1879, khristābdāḥ 1957 (originally publ. Poona 1900).

The Agnipurana. Tr. and annotated by N. Gangadharan. Parts 1–4. AITMS 27–30. Delhi 1984–87.

AP 12, 34

Kṛṣṇa killed Kālayavana

Agnipurāṇa 12, 34.

34. jivā pañcajanam daityam yamena ca supūjitaḥ /
avadhīt kālayavanam mucukundena pūjitaḥ //

Gangadharan: *After conquering the demon Pañcajana and well-worshipped by Yama he killed Kālayavana and was worshipped by Mucukunda.*

AP 118, 6

Yavanas in the Bhāratavarṣavarṇana.

Agnipurāṇa 118, 3–6 (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I 6).

3. vindhyaś ca pāriyātraś ca saptātra kulaparvatāḥ /
indradvīpaḥ kaseruś ca tāmravarṇo bhagastimān //
4. nāgadvīpas tathā saumyo gāndharvas tathā vāruṇaḥ /
ayaṁ tu navamas teṣāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgarasaṁvṛtaḥ //
5. yojanānām sahasrāṇi dvīpo ’yam dakṣiṇottarāt /
navabhedā bhāratasya madhyabhede ’tha pūrvataḥ //
6. kirātā yavanāś cāpi brāhmaṇādyāś ca madhyataḥ /
vedasmṛtimukhā nadyaḥ pāriyātrodbhavāś 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. Indradvīpa, Kaseru, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimān, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva,*

³⁰ Passages already included in the previous chapter are here given in small type. No Yavanas were found in the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa, Nāradaipurāṇa and Varāhapurāṇa.

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 brahmins and others devoted to the Vedas and smṛtis are in the central part. The rivers rise from the Pāriyātra (mountains)...

Bhāgavatapurāṇa

Maharṣivedavyāsapraṇītām Śrīmadbhāgavatapurāṇam (mūlamātram). Gītāpres edition, 11th edn. Gorakhpur, samvat 2037.

The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. Tr. and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare. 1–5. AITMS 7–11. Delhi 1976–78.

BhāgP 2, 4, 18

Laud of Kṛṣṇa.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa 2, 4, 18.

6. kirātahūṇāndhrapulindapulkaśā 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 pralambakharadardurakeśyariṣṭa-
mallebhakaṁsayavanāḥ kujapaṇḍrakādyāḥ /
anye ya śālvakapibalvaladantavaktra-
saptokṣaśambaravidūratharukmimukhyāḥ //
35. ye ca mṛdhe samitiśālina āttacāpāḥ
kāambojamatsyakurukaikayasṛñjayādyāḥ /
yāsyanty adarśanamalaṁ balapārthabhīma-
vyājāhvayena hariṇā nilayaṁ tadīyaṁ //

Tagare: *And other evil persons such as Pralamba, Khara, Dhenuka, Dardura, Keśi, Ariṣṭa, the mallas (athletes) like Cāṇūra, the elephant Kuvalayāpīda, Kaiṁsa, Kālayavana, Narakāsura and Paṇḍraka and others of whom Śālva, Kapi, Balvala, Dantavaktra and the Daityas in the form of seven bulls (of Naṅgajit), Śambarāsura, Vidūratha, Rukmi and those kings who boastfully take up bows on the battlefield such as Kāamboja, Matsya, Kuru, Kaikaya, Sṛñjaya and others, would be*

killed by Hari in the form and names of Balarāma, Arjuna and Bhīma, and will go to his holy abode (Vaikuṅṭha), 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 /
ajghanat svayaṁ divyaṁ svapuṁsām 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 yavaneśvaram /
mayopadiṣṭam āsādyavavre nāmnā bhayaṁ patiṁ //*
24. *ṛṣabhaṁ yavanānām tvām vṛṇe vīrepsitaṁ patiṁ /
saṅkalpas tvayi bhūtānām 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 yavaneśvaraḥ /
cikīrṣur devaguhyam ca sasmitam tām 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. tayopabhujyamānām vai yavanāḥ sarvato diśam /
dvārbhiḥ praviśya subhṛṣam prārdayan sakalām purīm //

Tagare: *The Yavanas (i.e. diseases) entered the city through all the gates from all directions 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 naṣṭasrīḥ kṛpaṇo viṣayātmakaḥ /
naṣṭaprajñō hrtaśvāryo gandharvayavanair balāt //

Tagare: *Clasped in the arms of the daughter of Kāla, bereft of his splendour and affluence, the wretched Purañjana, whose mind was engrossed in sense-pleasure, lost his power of judgment and was forcibly deprived of his powers (viz. of making physical movements) by Gandharvas and Yavanas.*

10. gandharvayavanākrāntām kālakanyopanarditām /
hātuṁ pracakrame rājā tām 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. yavanoparuddhāyatano grastāyām kālakanyayā /
puryām prajvārasaṁśṛṣṭaḥ 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 hr̥tapauruṣaḥ /
yavanair aribhī rājann uparuddho ruroda ha //

Tagare: *Oh King! When his limbs became weak and disabled and his prowess was thwarted by Gandharvas and he was surrounded by the inimical Yavanas, he verily wept bitterly.*

23. paśuvad *yavanais* eṣa nīyamānaḥ svakaṁ kṣayam /
anavadravam 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* balīyasā /
nāvindat tamasā 'viṣṭaḥ sakhāyaṁ suhṛdaṁ puraḥ //

Tagare: *Though Purañjana was forcibly dragged by the powerful Yavana [King Bhaya], 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 sāksāt lokas tām nābhinandati /
svasāraṁ jaṅghe mṛtyuḥ kṣayāya *yavaneśvaraḥ* //
23. āghaso vyāghayas tasya sainikā yavanās carāḥ /
bhūtopasargāsūr ayaḥ prajvāro dvididho 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. sagarāś cakravarty āsīt sāgaro yat sutaḥ kṛtaḥ /
yas tālajaṅghān *yavanān* chakān haihayabarbarān //
6. nāvadhīd guruvākyena cakre vikṛtaveṣiṇaḥ /
muṇḍān chmaśrudharān kāmścin muktakeśārdhamuṇḍitān //
7. anantarvāsasaḥ kaṁscid abahirvāsaso 'parān /
so 'śvamedhair 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. kirātahūṇān *yavanān* andhrān kaṅkān khaśān chakān /
abrahmaṇyān nr̥pāṁś cāhan mlecchān digvijaye 'khilān //

Tagare: *During his expedition for the conquests of the world, he defeated the tribes Kirātas, Hūṇas, Yavanas, Andhras, 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 śaṅkhayavanamurāṇāṁ narakasya ca /
pārijātāpahāraṇam indrasya ca parājayam //

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. aṣṭādaśamasamgrāme āgāmini tadantarā /
nāradapreṣīto vīro *yavanaḥ* pratyadr̥śyata //
45. rurodha mathurām etya tisṛbhir mlecchakoṭibhiḥ /
nr̥loke cāpratidvandvo vṛṣṇīn chrutvātmasammitān //
46. taṁ dr̥ṣṭvācintayat kṛṣṇaḥ samkarṣaṇasahāyavān /
aho yad ūnāṁ vṛjinaṁ prāptaṁ hy ubhayato mahat //
47. *yavano* 'yam nirundhe 'smān adya tāvan mahābalaḥ /
māgadho 'py adya vā śvo vā paraśvo vāgamiṣyati //
48. āvayor yudhyator asya yady āgantā jarāsutaḥ /
bandhūn vadhiṣyaty athavā neṣyate svapuraṁ balī //
49. tasmād adya vidhāsyāmo durgam dvipadadurgamam /
tatra jñātīn samādhāya *yavanaṁ* ghātayāmahe //
50. iti sammantrya bhagavān durgam dvādaśayojanam /
antaḥsamudre nagaram kṛtsnādbhutam 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 Yadus 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 parānmukham /
anvadhāvaj jighṛkṣus taṁ durāpam api yoginām //
7. hastaprāptam ivātmānaṁ hariṇā sa pade pade /
nīto darśayatā dūraṁ *yavaneśo* 'drikandaram //
8. palāyanaṁ yadukule jātasya tava nocitam /
iti kṣipann anugato nainaṁ prāpāhatāśubhaḥ //
9. evaṁ kṣipto 'pi bhagavā prāviśad girikandaram /
so 'pi praviṣṭas tatrānyaṁ śayānaṁ dadṛṣe naram //
10. nanv asau dūram ānīya śete mām iha sādhuvat /
iti matvācyutaṁ mūḍhas taṁ padā samatāḍayat //
11. sa utthāya ciramsuptaḥ śanair unmīlya locane /
diśo vilokayan pārśve tam adrākṣīd avasthitam //
12. sa tāvat tasya ruṣṭasya dṛṣṭipātena bhārata /
dehajanāgninā dagdho bhasmasād abhavat kṣaṇāt //
rājovāca
13. ko nāma sa pumān brahman kasya kiṁ vīrya eva ca /
kasmād guhām gataḥ śiśye kiṁ tejo *yavanārdanaḥ* //
śrīśuka uvāca

14.–22. The story of Mucukunda and his long sleep is told.

23. *yavane* bhasmasān nīte bhagavān sātvarṣabhaḥ /
ātmānaṁ darśayām āsa mucukundāya dhimate //

24.–41. Conversation of Kṛṣṇa and Mucukunda. Kṛṣṇa presents himself and his deeds.

42. kālanemir hataḥ kaṁsaḥ pralambādyāś ca saddviṣaḥ /
ayaṁ ca *yavano* dagdho rājāns te tigmacakṣuṣā //

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 Yadu 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 Suka 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 Kaiṁsa, 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 purīm yavanaveṣṭitām /
hatvā mlecchalaiṁ ninye tadīyaṁ dvārakām 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 their wealth as spoils to Dārakā.*

BhāgP 12, 1, 30

Dynasties of the Kali Age.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa 12, 1, 29 f.

29. saptābbīrā āvabhṛtyā daśagardabhino nṛpāḥ /
kaṅkāḥ ṣoḍaśa bhūpālā bhaviṣyanty atilolūpāḥ //
30. tato 'ṣṭau yavanā bhāvyāś caturdaśa turuṣkakāḥ /
bhūyo daśa guruṇḍāś ca maunā ekādaśaiva tu //
31. ete bhokṣyanti pṛthivīm daśavarṣaśatāpi ca /
navādhikām ca navatīm maunā ekādaśa kṣitim //

Tagare: *At their capital Avabhṛti, seven Ābhira princes will rule the earth, ten kings of Gardabhī dynasty and sixteen of the Kaiṅka (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 Gurunḍa (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 bahuśo vadhaḥ /
ghātanam yavanendrasya 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

Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvar sṭim-pres, Bambaī, reprinted by Nag Publishers, New Delhi 2003.

BhavP 3, 28, 53

Prohibition to speak the Yavana language.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa Pratisargarparvan 28, 53 ff.

53. na vadet yāvanīm bhāṣām prāṇaiḥ kaṅṭhagatair api /
gajair āpīdyamāno 'pi na gacchej jainamandiram //
54. ity evam smṛtīvākyāni muninā paṭhitāni 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 Veṅkaṭeśvar sṭim-pres, Bambaī.

The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, tr. and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare. 1–5. AITMS 22–26. Delhi 1983–84.

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 mlecchair aṁteṣu sarvaśaḥ /
pūrve kirātā hy asyante paścime yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ /

13. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye sūdrās ca bhāgaśaḥ /
ijyāyudhavanijyābhir 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 Sūdras (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.*

Bṛ̥ḍP 1, 2, 16, 47

Janapada list of Western peoples.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 1, 2, 16, 46 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954: 3 II, 9 ff. above).

46. bāhlikā vātadhānās ca ābhīrā kālatoyakāḥ /
aparāntās ca śūhmās ca pāñcālās carmamaṇḍalāḥ //
47. gāndhārā yavanās caiva sindhusauvīramaṇḍalāḥ /
cīnās caiva tuṣārās ca pallavā girigahvarāḥ //
48. śakā bhadraḥ kulindās ca pāradā vindhyacūlikāḥ /
abhīsāhā ulūtās ca kekayā daśamālikāḥ //
49. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyās caiva vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca /
kāambojā daradās caiva barbarā aṅgalauhikāḥ //
50. atrayaḥ sabharadvājā prasthalās ca daserakāḥ /
lamakās talaśālās ca bhūṣikā ṛjikaiḥ saha //
51. ete deśā udīcyā vai prācyān deśān nibodhata /

...

As this is a mere list of names (and, furthermore, is full of obvious corruptions), a translation is unnecessary.

Bṛ̥ḍP 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 mlecchaprāyāms tu sarvaśaḥ //
44. upagacchanti tāḥ sarvā yato varṣati vāsavaḥ /
ilīndhrān kuntalāmś cīnān barbarān yavanāndhrakān //
45. puṣkarāmś ca kulindāmś ca aṅcoladvicarās ca ye //
kṛtvā tridhā simhavantam sītā 'gāt paścimodadhīm //
46. atha cīnamarūmś caiva tālāmś ca samamūlikān /
bhadramś tuṣārāmś lāmyākān bāhlavān pāraṭān khaśān //
47. etān janapadāmś cakṣuḥ plāvayantī gatodadhīm /
daradās ca sakāsmīrān gāndharān raurasān kuhān //
48. śivaśailān indrapadān vasatīs ca visarjamān /
saindhavān randhrakarakān chamaṭhābhīrarohakān //

49. śunāmukhānś corddhvararūn 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 Vāsava (Indra) showers, namely the lands of Śilīndhras, Kuntalas, Cīnas, Barbaras, Yavanas, Andhakas, Puṣkaras, Kulindas and Añcolavicaras.* After dividing the land of simhavān in three parts, the river Sitā flowed into the western ocean. The river Cakṣus flows over the following climes, viz. Cinamarus, the Tālas, the Camasamūlikas, the Bhadras, the Tuṣāras, the Lāmyākas, the Bāhlavas [sic], the Pāraṭas and the Khaśas. Then it falls in the sea. The Sindhu flows over the following territories, viz. the Daradas, along with the Kāśmīras, the Gāndharas, the Raurasas, the Kubas, the Śivaśailas, the Indrapadas, the Vasati, the Visarjamas,* the Saindhavas, the Randhrakarakas, the Samaṭhas, the Ābhīras, the Rohakas, the Śunāmukhas and the Ūrddhvararus.*

* VāP 48, 43a aṅga-loka-varāś ca ye

* VāP 48, 45 vadātīnś ca visarjayan

BṇḍP 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. vijitya haihayān sarvān samare Sagaro balī /
samkṣubdhasāgarākāraḥ kāmbojān abhyavartata //
23. nānāvāditraghoṣāhatapaṭaharavākarṇanadhvastadhairyāḥ
sadyaḥ samtyaktarājyasvabalapurapuramdhṛisamūhā vimūḍhāḥ /
kāmbojās tālajaṅghāḥ śakayavanakirātādayaḥ sākamete
bhremur bhūryastrabhītyā diśi diśi ripavo yasya pūrvāparādhāḥ //
24. bhītās tasya nareśvarasya ripavaḥ kecit pratāpānalajvālāmuṣṭadṛśo
visṛjya vasatiṁ rājyaṁ ca putrādibhiḥ /
dviṭṣainsyaiḥ samabhidrutā vanabhuvam samprāpya tatrāpi te
'staimityam samupāgatā giriguhāsuptotthitena dviṣaḥ //
25. tālajaṅghān nihatyājau rājā sa balavāhanān /
krameṇa nāśayām āsa tad rājyam arikarṣaṇaḥ //
26. tato yavanakāmbojakirātādīn anekaśāḥ /
nijaghāna ruṣāviṣṭaḥ palhavān pāradān 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, Tālajaṅghas, 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 drums 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 kopadagdham nṛpakulavihitāśeṣadharmād apetāṁ kṛtvā
teṣāṁ Vasiṣṭhaḥ samayam avanipālapratijñānivr̥tṭyai /
gatvā taṁ rājavyayaṁ svayam atha śanakaiḥ sāntvayitvā yathāvat
saprāñānām ar̥ñām apagamanavidhāv abhyanujñām yayāce //
43. sakrodho 'pi mahīpatir guruvacaḥ sambhāvayaṁs tān ar̥n dharmasya
svakulocitasya ca tathā veśasya samtyāgataḥ /
rautasamārtavibhinnakarmaniratān vipraiś ca dūroñjhitān sāsūn
kevalam atyajan mṛtasamān ekaikaśaḥ pārthivān //
44. ardhamuñḍān chakāṁs cakre palhavān śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ /
yavanān vigataśmaśrūn kāmbojāṁs cabukān vitān //
45. evaṁ virūpān anyāṁs ca sa cakāra nṛpānvyān /
vedoktakarmanimuktān vipraiś ca parivarjitān //
46. kṛtvā samsthāpya samaye jīvatas tān vyasarjayat /
tatas te ripavas tasya tyaktasvācāralakṣaṇāḥ //
47. vrātyatām samanuprāptāḥ sarvavarṇavininditāḥ /
dhikkṛtāḥ satataṁ sarve nṛśamāsā nirapatrapāḥ //
48. krūrāś ca saṁghaśo loke babhūvur mlecchajātayaḥ //
49. muktās tenātha rājñā śakayavanakirātādayaḥ sadya eva tyaktasvācāra-
veṣā girigahanaguhādyāśrayāḥ sambabhūvuḥ /
etā adyāpi sadbhiḥ satatam avamatā jātayo 'satpravṛtṭyā vartante
duṣṭaceṣṭā jagati narapateḥ pālayantaḥ 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 Brāhmanas. 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 outcastes. 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.

BṛṇḍP 2, 3, 63, 120 ff.

The story of Sagara (shorter version, part of the Ikṣvāku dynastic history in the Pañcalakṣa account).

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 2, 3, 63, 119 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1927, 2. I B, 28 ff. above).

119. Rurukas tanayas tasya rājā dharmārthakovidāḥ /
Rurukāt tu Vṛkaḥ putras tasmād Bāhur vijajñivān //
120. haihayais tālajaṅghais ca nirasto vyasanī nṛpaḥ /
śakair yavanakāmbojaiḥ pāradaih 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 tālajaṅghais ca śakaiḥ sārddham samāgataih //
127. yavanāḥ pāradaś caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavās tathā /
haihatyārtham parākrāntā ete pañca gaṇās tadā //

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 kāmbojān pāradaims tathā /
pahlavāms caiva niḥśeṣān kartum 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. ardhm̐ śakānām śirasō muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat /
Yavanānām śiraḥ sarvaṁ kāmbojanām tathaiva ca //
139. pāradā muktakeśās ca pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ /
niḥsvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā /
140. śakā Yavanakāmbojāḥ pahlavāḥ pāradaiḥ saha /
kalisparśā māhiṣikā dārvās colāḥ khasās tathā //
141. sarve te kṣatriyagaṇā dharmas teṣāṁ nirākṛtaḥ /
Vasiṣṭhavacanād pūrvaṁ 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 Vaṣaṭkāra Mantras by that noble-souled king. The Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, Pāradas, Kalisparśas, Māhiṣikas, Dārvas, 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 saṁkhye Yavanaś ca mahābalaḥ /
hṛtāni ca mahīpānām sarvaratnāni 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.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 2, 3, 73, 106–109 (cf. Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 92-1 ff. above).

106. pragṛhītāyudhair vipair pravṛtaḥ śatasahasraśaḥ /
nātyarthaṁ dhārmikā ye ca ye ca dharmadviṣaḥ kvacit //
107. udīcyān madhyadeśāṁś ca tathā vindhyāparāntikān /
taithaiva dākṣiṇātyāṁś ca draviḍān siṁhalaiḥ saha //
108. gāndhārān pāradāṁś caiva pahlavān pavanān chakān /
tubārān chabarāṁś caiva pulindān baradān vasān //
109. lampakān āndhrakān puṇḍrān kirātāṁś caiva sa prabhuḥ /
pravṛttacakro balavān mleccchānām antakṛd balī //

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 Vindhya [?], Dākṣiṇātyas (Southerners), Draviḍas along with the Siṁhalas, 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 /
yavanāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti tuṣārās tu caturdaśa //

Tagare: *Gardabhin kings are seven. Then the Śaka rulers are ten. There will be eight Yavana families and fourteen Tuṣāras...*

175. śatāni trīṇy aśītim ca bhokṣayanti vasudhām śakāḥ /
āśīti dve ca varṣāṇi bhoktāro yavanā mahīm //

Tagare: *Śakas will enjoy the Earth for three hundred and eighty years. Yavanas will enjoy the Earth for one hundred and sixty years...*

200. alpapasādā hy anṛtā mahākrodhā hy adhārmikāḥ /
bhaviṣyantiha yavanā 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. vanāyujās ca kāmbojāḥ pāradāḥ sindhudeśajāḥ /
ṭaṅkaṇāḥ parvatīyās ca pārasīkās tathāpare //
17. ajāneyā ghaṭṭadharā daradāḥ kālavandijāḥ /
vālmīkayāvanodbhūtā gāndharvās cātha ye hayāḥ //

Different breeds of horses named according to their country of origin, including those arising from Vālmīkas 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 saṃkruddho bhaṇḍradānavāḥ /
dharmaviplāvakaṃ ghoraṃ kalyastraṃ samamuñcata //

131. tataḥ kalyastrato jātā āndhrāḥ puṇḍās ca bhūmipāḥ /
kirātā śabarā hūṇā yavanā pāpavṛttayaḥ //

Tagare: *When they were destroyed, Asura Bhaṇḍa 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

atha brahmamahāpurāṇa prārābhyate. Shrivenkateshwar Steam Press, Bombay, saṁvat 1963,
śake 1828 (also repr. by Nag Publishers, N.D. 1985).

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 vyasaninaḥ sarvaṁ hr̥taṁ rāṣṭram abhūt kila /
haihayais tālajaṅghais ca śakaiḥ sārḍhaṁ dvijottamāḥ //
36. *yavanāḥ* pāradaś caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavās tathā /
ete hy api gaṇāḥ pañca haihatyārthe parākraman //

AITMS: *Bāhu was indulging in vice. Hence, he was entirely deprived of his kingdom, o excellent brahmins, 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 Śakānīs ca *yavanān* kāmbojān pāradaṁs tathā /
pahlavānīs caiva niḥśeṣān kartuṁ vyavasito nṛpaḥ //
45. te vadhyamānā vīreṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā /
Vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā praṇipetur maṇiṣiṇam //
46. Vasiṣṭhas tv atha tān dṛṣṭvā samayena mahādyutiḥ /
Sagaraṁ vārayām āsa teṣāṁ dattvā 'bhayaṁ tadā //
47. Sagaras tāṁ pratijñān tu guror vākyaṁ niśamya ca /
dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ ca veṣān anyānīs cakāra ha //
48. arḍhaṁ śakānāṁ śirasō muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat /
yavanānām śiraḥ sarvaṁ kāmbojānām tathaiva ca //
49. pāradaḥ muktakeśās ca pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ /
niḥsvādhyāvaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā /

50. śakā yavanakāambojāḥ pāradaś ca dvijottamāḥ /
kālasarpā mahiṣakā dāryāś colāḥ sakeralāḥ //
51. sarve te kṣatriyā viprā dharmas teṣāṃ nirākṛtaḥ /
Vasiṣṭhavacanād 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 f. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 f. above), also referred to as BP 19, 9.

8. yojanānām sahasraṃ ca dvīpo 'yaṃ dakṣiṇottarāt /
pūrve kirātās tiṣṭhanti paścime yavanāḥ sthitāḥ //
9. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye śūdrāś ca bhāgaśaḥ /
ijyāyuddhavaṇijyādyair 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. Kirātās 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.

Brahmapurāṇa 25, 16 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 f. above).

16. ...
yojanānāś ca sāhasraṃ dvīpo 'yaṃ dakṣiṇottaraḥ //
17. pūrve kirātās yasyāsan paścime yavanāḥ tathā /
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cātra sthitā dvijāḥ //
18. ijyāyuddhavaṇijyādyaiḥ karmabhiḥ kṛtapā vanāḥ / ...

AITMS: *In the east of it, Kirātās 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...*

BP 25, 45

Janapada list of lands with three varṇas.

Brahmapurāṇa 25, 45–47 (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 II, 9 ff. above)

45. aparāntās ca śūdrās ca bāhlikās ca sakeralāḥ /
gāndhārā *yavanās* caiva sindhusauvīramadrakāḥ //
- ...
47. kṣatriyopamadeśās ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca //

BP 25, 61

Janapada list of Vindhya peoples.

Brahmapurāṇa 25, 61–62.

61. tumburās tu carās caiva *yavanāḥ* pavanaiḥ saha /
abhayā ruṇḍikerās ca carcarā hotradhartayaḥ //
62. ete janapadāḥ sarve tatra vindhyanovāsinaḥ /
...

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 tumberās caiva ṣaṭpurā naiṣadhailḥ saha /
anūpās tuṇḍikerās ca vīthotrā hy avantayaḥ //
55. ete janapadāḥ sarve vindhyapṛṣṭhanivāsinaḥ /

See also Kirfel 1920, 76.

BP 88, 4 ff.

Kālayavana, the son of Yavaneśa.

Brahmapurāṇa 25, 4 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1927, 4 E I).

4. saṁbhāvayām āsa sa tam *yavaneśo* hy anātmajaḥ /
tad yoṣitsaṅgamāc cāsya putro 'bhūd analaprabhaḥ //
5. taṁ *kālayavanaṁ* nāma rājye sve *yavaneśvaraḥ* /
abhiṣicya vanaṁ yāto vajrāgrakaṭhinorasam //
6. sa tu vīryamadonmattaḥ pṛthivyām balino nṛpān /
papuraccha nāradaś cāsmāi kathayām āsa yādavān //
7. mlecchakotīśahasrāṇām sahasraiḥ so 'bhisāmvṛtaḥ /
gajāśvarathasaṁpannaiś cakāra paramodyatam //
8. prayayau cāvyavacchinnaṁ cintayāno dine dine /
yādavān prati sāmarṣo munayo mathurām purīm //
9. kṛṣṇo 'pi cintayām āsa kṣapitaṁ yādavaṁ balam /
yavanena samālokya māgadhaḥ prahariṣyati //

10. māgadhasya balaṁ kṣīṇaṁ sa *kālayavano* balī /
hantā tad idam āyātaṁ yadūnāṁ vyaśanaṁ dvidhā //
11. tasmād durgam̐ kariṣyāmi yadūnām atidurjayam /
striyo 'pi yatra yudhyeyuḥ kiṁ punar vṛṣṇipuṅgavāḥ //
- ...
16. bahir āvāsīte sainye mathurāyā nirāyudhaḥ /
nirjagāma sa govindo dadarśa *yavanaś* ca tam //
17. sa jñātvā vāsudevaṁ taṁ bāhupraharāṇe nṛpaḥ /
anuyāto mahāyogicetobhiḥ prāpya te na yaḥ //
18. tenānuyātaḥ kṛṣṇo 'pi praviveśa mahāguhām /
yatra śete mahāvīryo mucukundo nareśvaraḥ //
19. so 'pi praviṣṭo *yavano* dṛṣṭvā śayyāgataṁ naram /
pādena tāḍayām āsa kṛṣṇaṁ matvā sa durmatīḥ //
20. dṛṣṭamātraś ca tenāsau jajvāla *yavano* 'gninā /
tatkrodhajena munayo bhasmībhūtaś ca tatkṣaṇāt //

AITMS: *The Yavaneśa (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 adamantine 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 Māgadha 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.

Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa

Bṛhaddharma Purāṇam. Ed. M.M. Haraprasad Shastri. Bibl. Indica Work 120. Calcutta 1897 (Repr. Krishnadas Sanskrit Series 18. Varanasi 1974).

According to Hazra 1963 (but see also Rocher 1986!), this is a non-sectarian Bengali Upapurāṇa 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 Uttarakhaṇḍa 6, 89

Mleccha women forbidden.

Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa Uttarakhaṇḍa 6, 89 (also quoted by Hazra 1963, 433 from a MS).

89. mlecchāñ ca *yavanīñ* caiva gatvā jātyāḥ parityajet /
kaulo py etāsu saṅgamyā devatāśāpam āpnuyāt //
90. durvahañ śaktyanuṣṭhānañ tatra muhyanti sūrayaḥ /
alaṅghyañ śivavākyañ ca yogapanthānam uttamam //
91. tasmād yogapriyāñ devīñ 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 nāśaiṣyate /
...
43. tatas tyakṣanti vai varṇā *yavanasya* balañ sadā /
devās tyakṣanti pṛthivīñ 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-saṁsarsāñ niḥśvāsāt saha-bhojanāt /
eka-yānāsanābhyāñ ca pāpañ saṁkramate nṛṇāñ //
15. saṁsargo *yāvanaś* caiva bhāṣā ca *yāvanī* tathā /
surā-tulyañ dvayañ proktañ *yavanānnañ* 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.”

Bṛhannārādīyapurāṇa

Bṛhannārādīyapurāṇam ed. Pandit Hrishikesh Shastri. Krishnadas Sanskrit Series 17. Varanasi 1975 (first published 1891).

A Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇa.

BNP 8, 36 & 39

The story of Sagara.

Bṛhannārādīyapurāṇa 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 tālajaṅghais ca ripubhiḥ sa parājitaḥ /
sajāyo vipinaṁ bheje sahasā bhraṣṭapiṣṭapaḥ //

41. tair eva ripubhir tasya bhāryāyām vibuddhottamāḥ /
datto garo mahāghoro garbhastambhāya 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 vikīrṇakeśās ca valmīkopari saṁsthitā /
tṛṇāny abhakṣayan kecit nagnās ca viviśur jalam //

36. śakās ca *yavanās* caiva tathā cānye mahībhṛtāḥ /
tadguruṁ śaraṇaṁ jagmur Vasiṣṭhaṁ prāṇalolupāḥ //

37. jītakṣitir bāhuputro ripūn gurusamīpagān /
cārair vijñātavān sadyaḥ prapede gurusannidhim //

38. tam āgataṁ bāhusutaṁ niśamya munir Vasiṣṭhaḥ śaraṇāgatāms tān /
trātuṁ ca śiṣyābhimataṁ ca kartuṁ vicārayām āsa tadā kṣaṇena //

39. cakāra pārṣṇikān muṇḍān *yavanān* lambamūrdhajān /
anyāms ca śmaśrulān muṇḍān anyān vedavahiṣṭkṛtān //

40. Vasiṣṭhamuninā tena hataprāyān nirīkṣya saḥ /
prahasann āha Sagaras taṁ guruṁ tapasām nidhim //

For 39b, Hazra quotes the more correct variant *yavanān* from the Vaṅgavāsī Press edition (1316 B.S.).

Devībhāgavatapurāṇa

Śrīkṛṣṇadvaiṇāyānavyāsapraṇītam Devībhāgavatam (mahāpurāṇam). [Ed.] P. Rāmatejapāṇḍeya.
Kāśī saṁvat 2016.

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. ...
sakeśaṁ pārthivaṁ liṅgaṁ yo vārcayati bhārate //
45. sa tiṣṭhati keśakuṇḍe mṛdreṇumānavarṣakam /
tadante yāvanīm yonim prayāti harakopataḥ //
- ...
70. mahākleśena tanmṛtyuḥ sarpeṇa bhakṣitād dhruvaṁ /
vidhipradattajīvyānīs ca kṣudrajanātūnīs ca hanti yaḥ //
71. sa daṁśamaśayoḥ kuṇḍe jantumānābdam eva ca /
divānīsaṁ bhakṣitas tair anāhāraś ca śabdavān //
72. hastapādādibaddhaś ca yamadūtana tāḍitaḥ / [-dūtais??]
tato bhavet kṣudrajanatur 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

Garuḍapurāṇam of Mahārṣi Vedavyāsa. Ed. with introduction and textual criticism [in Hindi] by Ramshankar Bhattacharya. Kashi Sanskrit Series 165. Varanasi 1964.

The Garuḍa Purāṇa, tr. and annotated by a board of scholars. 1–3. AITMS 12–14. Delhi 1978–80.

³¹ See Hazra 1963, 320. A parallel version is found in adhyāya 33 of the Prakṛtikhaṇḍa 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 apī cottare //
6. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cāntaravāsinaḥ /
In the translation, these are ślokaś 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 mleccā nāstikā *yavanās* tathā /
paścimena ca vijñeyā māthurā naiśadhāiḥ saha //

AITMS: *The people in the west are Strīrajyas, Saindhavas, Mleccas, Atheists, Yavanas, Māthuras and Naiśadhas.*

GP 1, 80, 2

On corals.

Garuḍapurāṇa 1, 80, 1 ff.

1. ādāya śeṣas tasyāntraṁ balasya keralādiṣu /
cikṣepa tatra jāyante vidrumāḥ sumahāguṇāḥ //
2. tatra pradhānaṁ śeśalohitābhaṁ guñjāvāpūṣpanibhaṁ pradiṣtam /
sunīlakaṁ devakaromakaṁ ca sthānāni teṣu prabhavaṁ surāgam /
anyatra jātaṁ ca na tatpradhānaṁ mūlyam bhavec chilpiviśeṣayogāt //

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

atha kūrmamahāpurāṇam prārabhyate. Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvar (stīma)yantrālay, Mumibāi.

Śrīmanmaharṣi-Kṛṣṇadvaiṇyāna-Vyāsa-praṇītam Kūrmapurāṇam. Sampādaka Ḍā.
Rāmaśaṁkarabhaṭṭācāryaḥ. Vārāṇasī 1967.

The Kūrma-Purāṇa, tr. and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare. 1. AITMS 20. Delhi 1981.

KūP 1, 44 (42), 22³²

Description of Pātāla (the subterranean world).

nitalaṃ *yavanā*dyaiś ca tārakāgnimukhais tathā /
mahāntakādyair nāgaiś ca prahmādenāsuraṇa ca //

The Nitala region (is populated) by Yavanas, etc., and by (demons) such as Tāraka and Agnimukha, by Mahāntaka and other Nāgas and by Asura Prahāda.

KūP 1, 47 (46), 26

Description of Bhāratavarṣa.

Kūrmapurāṇa 1, 47, 26 f. (Venkateshwar edition; 1, 46, 26 f. of the Varanasi edition; cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 f. above).

24. List of continents:

indradvīpaḥ kaserumān tāmraparṇo gabhastimān

...

26. yojanānām sahasran tu dvīpo 'yaṃ dakṣiṇottaraḥ /
pūrve kirātās tasyānte paścime *yavanās* tathā //
27. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cāntaravāsinaḥ /
ijyāyuddhavaṇijyābhir varttayanty atra mānavāḥ //

Tagare (26.): *This continent extends from the south to the north for a thousand Yojanas. To the east of it there are the Kirātās and to the west are Yavanas.*

This passage is followed by the list of rivers.

Liṅgapurāṇa

Liṅgamahāpurāṇam with Sanskrit Commentary Śivatoṣiṇī of Gaṇeśa Nāṭu. Delhi, Nag Publishers 1989.

The Liṅga-Purāna. Tr. a Board of Scholars. 1. AITMS. Delhi 1973.

LP 1, 52, 29

Description of Bhāratavarṣa.

Liṅgapurāṇa 1, 52, 29

29. pūrve kirātās tasyante paścime *yavanāḥ* smrtāḥ /
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ madhye śūdrāś ca sarvaśaḥ //
30. ijyāyuddhavaṇijyābhir vartayanto 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 Prahāda (or Prahāda) 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 Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Śūdras are everywhere.*

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa

Atha sabhāṣaṭīkam śrīmārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam. Mudrak aur prakāśak Khemarāja Śrīkṣṇadāsa. Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara śīm mudraṇālaya. [Bombay n.d.]

The Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, tr. with notes by F.E. Pargiter. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1904.

MkP 54, 8 (57, 8)

Description of Bhāratavarṣa.

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 54, 8 (Venkateshwar edition; 57, 8 of Pargiter; cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6f. above).

8. pūrve kirātā yasyānte paścime *yavanās* tathā /
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrās cāntaḥsthitā dvija //

Pargiter: *At its east end are the Kirātas, and at the west end the Yavanas. Within it dwell brāhmanas, kshatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, O brāhman.*

MkP 54, 36 (57, 36)

Janapada list of Western peoples.

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 54, 36 (Venkateshwar edition; 57, 36 of Pargiter; cf. Kirfel 1954: 3 II, 9ff. above).

36. aparāntās ca śūdrās ca pahlavās carmakhaṇḍikāḥ /
gāndhārām *yavanās* caiva sindhusauvīramadrakāḥ /

Pargiter's manuscripts actually read here *gabalās*, but he points out that *yavanās* 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 *sayavanā* himḡās cīraprāvaraṇās ca ye /
trinetrāḥ pauravās caiva gandharvās ca dvijottama //

The text seems to be very corrupt. Perhaps the mysterious Himḡas stand for Hūṅas. Cīra could be Cīna or, rather, Cīraprāvaraṇa for Karṇaprāvaraṇa. 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 kulam 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

Śrīmaddvaiṣṇavānamuniṣṭhānam Matsyapurāṇam. Etat pustakam Ānandāśramasthapaṇḍitaiḥ
saṁśodhitam. Ānandāśramah saṁskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 54. Śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1903,
Khrīstābdāḥ 1971.

MP 34, 30

Yayāti's sons and their offspring.

Matsyapurāṇa 34, 30.

30. yados tu yādavā jātā turvasor *yavanāḥ* sutāḥ /
druhyoś 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. tebhyo 'pare 'pi ye tv anye hy utpatsyante nṛpāḥ punaḥ /
kṣatrāḥ pārasāvāḥ sūdrās tathā 'nye ye bahīscarāḥ //
76. andhāḥ śakāḥ pulindās ca cūlikā *yavanās* tathā /
kaivartābhīrasābarā ye cānye mlecchasāmbhavāḥ /
paryāyataḥ pravakṣyāmi nāmataś caiva tān nṛpān //
A mere list of the names of barbarian peoples.

MP 114, 11

Description of Bhāratavarṣa.

Matsyapurāṇa 114, 11 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3, II, 9 ff. above).

11. dvīpo hy upaniviṣṭo 'yaṁ mlecchair anteṣu sarvaśaḥ /
yavanās ca kirātās ca tasyānte pūrvapaścīme //
12. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye sūdrās ca bhāgaśaḥ /
ijyāyutavanijyādi vartayante vyavasthitāḥ // ...

MP 114, 41

Janapada list.

Matsyapurāṇa 114, 40 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3. II, 39 ff. above).

40. bāhlikā vātdhānās ca ābhīrāḥ kālatoyakāḥ /
purandhrās caiva sūdrās ca pallavās cāttakhaṇḍikāḥ //
41. gāndhārā *yavanās* caiva sindhusauvīramadrakāḥ /
akā druhyāḥ pulindās ca pāradā hāramūrtikāḥ //
42. samathāḥ kaṇṭakārās ca kaikeyyā daśanāmakāḥ /
kṣatriyopaniveśyās ca vaiśyāḥ sūdrakulāni ca //
43. atrayo 'tha bharadvājāḥ prasthalāḥ sadaserakāḥ /
lampakās talagānās ca sainikāḥ saha jāṅgalaiḥ /
ete deśā udīcyās tu, prācyān deśān nibodhata //

MP 121, 43

List of rivers.

Matsyapurāṇa 121, 42 f. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 5. II, 42 f. above)

41. ...
sītā cakṣuś ca sindhuś ca tisras tā vai praṭicyagāḥ //
42. sapta caitāḥ plāvayanti varṣaṁ tu himasādvayam /
prasūtāḥ sapta nadyas tu śubhā bindusarodbhavāḥ //
43. tān deśān plāvayanti sma mleccapṛāyānīs ca sarvaśaḥ /
saśailān kukurān raudhrān barbarān *yavanān* khasān //
44. pulikāmś ca kulatthāmś ca aṅgalokyān varāmś ca yān /
kṛtvā dvidhā himavantaṁ praviṣṭā dakṣiṇodadhim //

MP 144, 57

As the incarnated Viṣṇu of the Kali age, King Pramati conquers all peoples.

Matsyapurāṇa 144, 57.

57. gāndhārān pāradāmś caiva pahnavān *yavanān* chakān /
tuṣārān barbarān chvetān halikān daradān khasān //

MP 273, 19 ff.

Dynasties of the Kali Age.

Matsyapurāṇa 273, 18 ff.

18. saptavāndhrā bhaviṣyanti daśābhīrās tathā nṛpāḥ /
sapta gardabhilās cāpi śakās cāṣṭādaśaiva tu //
19. *yavanāṣṭau* bhaviṣyanti tuṣārās ca caturdaśa /
trayodaśa guruṇḍās ca hūṇā hy ekonaviṁśatiḥ //
20. *yavanāṣṭau* bhaviṣyanti saptāśītim mahīm imām /
sapta gardabhilā bhūyo bhokṣyantīmām vasumḍharām //

21. saptavarṣasahasrāṇi tuṣārāṇāṃ mahī smṛtā /
atāni trīṇy aśītiṃ ca śatāny aṣṭādaśaiva tu //
22. śatāny ardhacatuṣkāni bhavitavyās trayodaśa /
guruṇḍā vṛṣalaiḥ sārḍham bhokṣyante mlecchasambhavāḥ //
23. śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante varṣāny ekādaśaiva tu /
āndhrāḥ śrīpārvatīyās ca te dvipañcāsataṃ samāḥ //
24. saptaṣaṣṭis tu varṣāni daśā 'bhīrās tathaiva ca /
teṣūtsanneṣu kālena tataḥ kilakilā nṛpāḥ //
25. bhaviṣyantīha *yavanā* dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ /
tair vimiśrā janapadā āryā mlecchās ca sarvaśaḥ //

This is followed by an account of their impiety.

Cf. BṛṇP 2, 3, 74, 172 ff., and VāP 2, 37, 353 ff.

Padmapurāṇa

[*Padmapurāṇa*. Śrī Venkaṭeśvar sṭim-pres, Bambaī; 2 parts, in the beginning:] atha śrīpadme mahāpurāṇe prathamam sṛṣṭikhaṇḍam prārabhyate / [and at the end:] idam brahmakhaṇḍam mumbayyām śrīkrṣṇadāsātmaajena khemarājena svakīye śrīvenkaṭeśvarayantrālaye 'nkitvā prakāśitam / saṃvat 1951 śake 1816.

Mahāmuniśrīmadvyāsapranītam Padmapurāṇam. [Ed.] Mahādeva Cimaṇājī Āpaṭe. Ānandāśramah saṃskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 131:1–4. Śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1815–1816, Khristābdāḥ 1893–1894.

The Padma Purāṇa. Tr. and annotated by N.A. Deshpande. 1–10. AITMS 39–48. Delhi 1889–92.

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 (Svargakhaṇḍa), 6, 60 ff.

60. uttarās cāpare mlecchā janāhi munipuṃgavāḥ /
yavanās ca sakāmbojā dāruṇā mlecchajātayaḥ //
61. sakṛgrhāḥ kulatyās ca hūṇā pārasikaiḥ saha /
stathaiva [!] tamaṇās cānyās tathā ca daśamālikāḥ //

Deshpande: *O best sages, the others at the north are Mlecchas, the Yavanas with Kāmbojas are terrible Mleccha tribes, Śakṛgrhas, Kulatyas, Hūṇas with Pārasikas, also Ramaṇas and others (like) Daśamālikas are other tribes.*

Cf. Mbh 6, 10, 64.

PP 5, 81, 20

All are entitled to worship Kṛṣṇa.

Padmapurāṇa 5 (Pātālakhaṇḍa), 81, 19–21.

19. sarve 'dhikāriṇaś cātra caṁdālāmtām munīśvara /
striyaḥ sūdrādayaś cāpi jaḍamūkādipaṁgavaḥ //
20. anye hūṇāḥ kirātāś ca puliṁdāḥ puṣkarāś tathā /
ābhīrā yavanāḥ kaṁkāḥ khasādyāḥ pāpayonayaḥ //
21. daṁbhāhaṁkāraparamāḥ pāpāḥ paśuṇyatatparāḥ /
gobrāhmaṇādihantāro mahopapātakānvitāḥ //

Deshpande: *O best Sage, all are entitled to it (even) up to a cāṇḍāla. So also women, sūdra[s] and others, the dull, the dumb and the lame. Others (like) the Hūṇas, Kirātas, Pulindas and Puṣkaras, Ābhīras, Yavanas, Kaṁkas, Khasa[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 hr̥taṁ rājyaṁ abhūt kila //
20. haihayais tālajaṅghādyaiḥ śakaiḥ sārddham ca nārada /
yavanāḥ pāradāś caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavāś tathā //
21. ete pañcaguṇā brahman haihayārthe parākramān /
hr̥tarājyas tato rājā sagaro 'tha vanaṁ yayau //

Deshpande: *One to a calamity of (i.e. befalling) Gara, his kingdom was taken away by Haihayas, Tālajaṅghas and Śakas, o Nārada. These tribes – Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas and Śakas (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 saṁkruddhaḥ svabalena ca /
ājahāra ca lokeṣu sa ca kīrtim avāpa saḥ //
30. tataḥ śakāḥ sayavanāḥ kāmbojāḥ pallavāś [!] tathā /
hanyamānāś tadā te tu vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ //
31. vasiṣṭho 'pi ca tān kṛtvā saayena mahādyutiḥ /
sagaraṁ vārayām āsa teṣāṁ dattvā 'bhiyaṁ nṛpaḥ //
32. sagraḥ svām pratijñāṁ tu guror vākyaṁ niśamya ca /
dharmair jaghāna tāṁś caiṣāṁ vikṛtatvaṁ cakāra ha //
33. arddham śakānāṁ śirasas muṇḍaṁ kṛtvā visarjayat /
yavanānaṁ śiraḥ sarvaṁ kāmbojānāṁ tathaiva ca //

34. pāradā muṁḍakeśās ca pallavāḥ śmaśrurakṣakāḥ /
evam vijitya sarvān vai kṛtavān dharmasaṁgraham //

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 mathurām praviveśa ha /
sakālayavanaṁ prāpya mahāvīryaṁ balānvitam //
34. putrayor vasudevasya samācaṣṭaparākramaṁ /
dānavānām vadhaṁ caiva kaṁsasya nidhanaṁ tathā //
35. akṣauhiṇīnām ca vadhaṁ tathā svasya parājayaṁ /
sarvaṁ nivedayām āsa kṛṣṇasya caritaṁ mahat //
36. tac chrutvā yavanaḥ kruddho mahābalaparākramaḥ /
mlecchakoṭisahasrais tu saṁvṛto madasaṁyutaiḥ //
37. magadhādhipates tasya sahāyārthaṁ mahābalaḥ /
tenaiva sahitas tūrṇaṁ jagāma mathurām purīm //

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 akṣauhiṇīs, 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.

46. ...
yavanena tadā yoddhum rāmakṛṣṇau mahābalau //
47. viniryayatur ātmesau mathurāyā bahis tadā /
 rāmo lāṅgalam ādāya muśalaṁ ca mahārathaḥ //
48. jaghāna samare kruddho *yavanānām* mahadbalam /
 kṛṣṇas tu śārṅgam āsajya bāṇair agniśikhopamaiḥ //
49. nirdadāha balaṁ sarvaṁ mlecchānām devakīsutaḥ /
 nihataṁ svabalaṁ dṛṣṭvā sa *kālayavano* balī //
50. yuyudhe vāsudevena gadayā *yavaneśvaraḥ* /
 kṛṣṇo 'pi kadanam tena kṛtvā ciramanāmayaḥ //
51. vimukhaḥ prādravat tasmāt saṁgrāmāt kamalekṣaṇaḥ /
 so 'nuyāto 'tivedena tiṣṭha tiṣṭheti cābruvan //
52. vegāt kṛṣṇo giriguhām praviveśa mahāmatih /
 tatra prasupto rājāsau mucukunḍo 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 nrpateḥ saṁsthito bhagavān hariḥ /
yavano 'pi mahāvīro gadām udyamya pāṇinā //
54. kṛṣṇaṁ haṁtuṁ samārabdho guhām tāṁ praviveśa ha /
 dṛṣṭvā śayānaṁ rājānaṁ matvā kṛṣṇaṁ janārdanam //
55. pādena tāḍayām āsamucukunḍaṁ mahāmuniṁ /
 tataḥ prabuddho bhagavān mucukunḍo mahāmuniḥ //
56. krodhāt saṁraktanayano humkāraṁ kṛtavān asau /
 tasya humkāraśabdena tathā krodhanirīkṣaṇāt //
57. nirdagdho bhasmatām prāpa *yavanas* tyaktaḥvitaḥ / ...

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.*

PP 7, 7, 62

How the great sinner finds bliss through the water of the Gaṅgā.

Padmapurāṇa 7 (Kriyāyogasārakhaṇḍa), 7, 62.

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.

62. gṛham āyāntam atithim dhanalobhena sattama /
ahanniśi śitaiḥ khaḍgair niśāyam yavanopamaḥ //

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 Kriyāyogaśāra 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

Vyāsakṛtam Saurapurāṇam. Ānandāśramasaṁskṛtagraṅthāvaliḥ 18. 2nd edn 1924.

Saurapurāṇa 38, 54

Impious Yavanas (Muslims).

Saurapurāṇa 38, 51–56ab.

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 hīnajīvanāṁ ko viśeṣo yadā śrutiḥ /
pramāṇayati tattvena vayanī devā yad ājñayā //
 52. purohita tava prajñā śobhanā pratibhāti me /
pūrvām cārvākabauddhādīmārgāḥ saṁdarśitās tvayā //
 53. tena mārgeṇa vibhrāntā vedamārgabahiṣkṛtāḥ /
daityāś ca dānavāś caiva tathā kuru dvijottama //
- gurur uvāca
54. na cārvāko na vai bauddho na jaino yavano 'pi vā /
kāpālikaḥ kauliko vā tasmin rājye viśet kvacit //

55. vedāḥ pramāṇam ity eva manyamānā prajā śubhā /
katham sā cālyate tāta na śakyaṁ hi śubhā 'dhunā //
56. vidhidattavarasyāham ucchettum 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 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 śrīśivamahāpurāṇam bhāṣāṭīkāśahitam prārabhyate. 1–2. Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara mudraṇālaya.
[Bambāi 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.).³³

21. hariścandrasya hi suto rohito nāma viśrutaḥ /
rohitasya vṛkaḥ putro vṛkāḍ bāhus tu jajñivān //
22. haihayās tālajaṅghās ca nirasyanti sma taṁ nṛpaṁ /
nātmārthe dhārmiko vipraḥ sa hi dharmaparo 'bhavat //
23. sagaram sasutaṁ bāhur jajñe saha gareṇa vai /
aurvyaśramam āsādy bhārgavenābhirakṣitaḥ //

³³ The unexplained reference to ŚiP 6, 61 also seems to refer to this passage.

24. āgneyam astram labdhvā ca bhārgavāt sagaro nṛpaḥ /
jigāya pṛthivīm hatvā tālajaṅghān sahaihayān //
25. śakān bahūdakāmś caiva pāradān tagaṇān khaśān /
sudharam sthāpayām āsa śasāsa 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 tālajaṅghais ca śakais sārddham viśān pate //
30. *yavanāḥ* pāradās caiva kāmbojāḥ pāhlavās tathā /
bahūdakās ca pañcaiva gaṇāḥ proktās ca rakṣasām //
31. ete pañca gaṇā rājan haihayārtheṣu rākṣasām /
kṛtvā parākramān bāho rājyaṁ tebhyo dadur balāt //

32.–39. The birth and youth of Sagara.

40. sa tenāstrabalenaiva balena ca samanvitaḥ /
haihayān vijaghānāśu saṁskruddho 'strabalena ca //
41. ājahāra ca lokeṣu kīrtim kīrtimatām varaḥ /
dharmaṁ saṁsthāpayām āsa sagaro 'sau mahītale //
42. tatas śakās *sayavanāḥ* kāmbojāḥ pāhlavās tathā /
hanyamānās tadā te tu vasiṣṭham śaraṇam yayuḥ //
43. vasiṣṭho vaṁcānām [*sic*] kṛtvā samayena mahādyutiḥ /
sagaram vārayām āsa teṣāṁ datvābhayaṁ nṛpam //
44. sagaras svām pratijñām tu guror vākyaṁ niśamya ca /
dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ vai keśānyatvaṁ cakāra ha //
45. arddham śakānām śiras muṇḍam kṛtvā vyasarjayat /
yavanānām śiras sarva kāmbojānām tathaiva ca //
46. pāradā muṇḍakeśās ca pāhlavās śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ /
nissvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā //

In 42 and 46, the printed text seems to read Pāhna, 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 mahāpurāṇam prārabhyate. Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara (stīṁ) mudraṇālaye, [Bambaī] saṁvat 1966, śake 1831, ī. sa. 1910 = [vol. I].³⁴ This has been reprinted by Nag Publishers in 7 vols. Delhi 1986–87.

34 Vol. I. Maheśvarakhaṇḍa, Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa (1); II. Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa (2), Brāhmakhaṇḍa; III. Kāśīkhaṇḍa, Āvanyakhaṇḍa (1); IV. Āvanyakhaṇḍa (2), Nāgarakhaṇḍa; V. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa.

The Skanda-Purāna. Tr. and annotated by G.V. Tagare. AITMS 49–68. Delhi 1992–2009
(further volumes not used here).

SkP 1, 2, 39, 152 & 161

The list of 72 Pradeśas (Barbareśvaramāhātmya).

Skandapurāna 1, 2 (Kaumārikakhaṇḍa), 39, 151 ff.

151. śaṭtrimśaca sahasrāṇi smṛtau caṭavirāṭakau /
śaṭtrimśaca sahasrāṇi yamakoṭiḥ prakīrtitā //
152. aṣṭādaśa tathā koṭyo rāmako deśa ucyate /
tomaraś cāpi karṇāṭo yugalaś ca trayas tv ime //
153. sapādalakṣagrāmāṇāṃ pratyekaṃ parikīrtitaḥ /
pañcalakṣāś ca grāmāṇāṃ strīrājyaṃ parikīrtitam //
154. pulastyaviśayaś cāpi daśalakṣaka ucyate /
pratyekaṃ lakṣadaśakau deśau kāmbojakośalau //
155. grāmāṇāṃ ca caturlakṣo bāhlikaḥ parikīrtiyate /
śaṭtrimśac ca sahasrāṇi laṅkādeśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ //
156. catuḥṣaṣṭisahasrāṇi kurudeśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ /
sārdhalakṣas tathā proktaḥ kirātavijayo jayaḥ //
157. pañca prāhus tathā lakṣān vidarbhāyāṃ ca grāmakān /
caturdaśasahasrāṇi vardhamānaṃ prakīrtitam //
158. sahasradaśakaṃ cāpi simhaladvīpam ucyate /
śaṭtrimśac ca sahasrāṇi grāmāṇāṃ pāṃḍudeśakaḥ //
159. lakṣaikaṃ ca tathā proktaṃ grāmāṇāṃ tu bhayāṇakam /
śaṣṭiṃ ca sahasrāṇi deśo māgadha ucyate //
160. ṣaṣṭisahasrāṇi tathā grāmāṇāṃ pāṃgudeśakaḥ /
trimśatsāhasra uktaś ca grāmāṇāṃ ca vireṃdukaḥ //
161. pañcaviṃśasāhasraṃ mūlasthānaṃ prakīrtitam /
catvāriṃśatsahasrāṇi grāmāṇāṃ yavanaḥ smṛtaḥ //
162. catvāry eva sahasrāṇi pakṣabāhur udīryate /
dvāsaptatir amī deśāḥ grāmasaṃkhyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ //
163. evaṃ bharatakhaṇḍe 'smin ṣaṇṇavaty eva koṭayaḥ /
dvāsaptatis tathā lakṣāḥ pattanānāṃ prakīrtitāḥ //

Variants. 152c puṃgalaś, 154a mūlastya°, 154d uttarakośalau, 159b °nakam, 160b pāṃḍu°, 161b mūlasthānaṃ 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 Yugala (Piṅgala) 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*

million (villages). 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 one hundred fifty thousand (villages). They say that there are five hundred thousand villages in Vidarbha. It is proclaimed that Vardhamāna has fourteen thousand (villages). It is said that the island of Sīmhala has ten thousand (villages). The land Pāṅḍudeśaka has thirty-six thousand villages. Bhayānaka is said to have a hundred thousand villages. The land Magadha is said to have sixty-six thousand (villages). The land Pāṅḍudeśaka has sixty thousand villages. It is said that Varenduka has thirty thousand villages. Mūlasthāna is declared as having twenty-five thousand villages. Yavana is known as having forty thousand villages. Pakṣabāhu is mentioned as having four thousand villages. These are the seventy-two lands (regions or territories). The numbers of villages have already been recounted.

Cf. Awasthi 1976, 47 & 52.

SkP 2, 7, 24, 24

The story of the Yavana Brahmin and his wife.

Skandapurāṇa 2, 7, 24, 22 ff.

22. ...
 purā kāśmīradeśe tu dvijo devavratāhvayaḥ //
 23. tasya 'sīn mālinīnāma tanayā cārurūpiṇī /
 dadau tām satyaśīlāya vipravaryāya dhimate //
 24. tām udvāhya yayau dhīmān svadeśam yavanāhvayam /
 rūpayauvanasaṁpannā tasya naiva priyābhavat //
 25. sadā vidveśasaṁyuktas tasyām tiṣṭhati niṣṭhuraḥ /
 nānyasya kasyacid dveṣṭi tām vinā nṛpate patiḥ //
 26. tasmin sā krodhasaṁyuktā vaśīkaraṇalaṁpaṭā /
 aṛcchat pramadā rājan yās tyaktāḥ patibhiḥ purā //
 27. tābhir uktā tu sā bhūpa vaśye bhartā bhaviṣyati /
 asmākaṁ pratyayo jāto bhartṛtyāgāvamāninām //
 28. pratyujya bheṣajam vaśyam nītā hi patayaḥ purā /
 yoginīm tvaṁ tu gacchādya dāsyate bheṣajam śubham //
 29. na vikalpas tvayā kāryo bhavitā dāsavat patiḥ /
 yoginīmandire gatvā tāsām vākyena bhūpate //
 30. prasādam atulaṁ tasyā lebhe duścāriṇī satī /
 atastambhasamāyuktām kuṭīm bheje svarānvitā //
 31. bhuvī stṛtām suvarcaskām tathaivāyātayāmikām /
 prāvṛtā dīrghavastreṇa sannidhiṁ tena yoginī //
 32. dīrghābbis ca saṭābhis tu prāvṛtā dīptisaṁyutā /
 paricārasamopetā vīkṣamāṇā śanaiḥ śanaiḥ //
 33. akṣasūtrakarā sā tu japantī prārthitā tayā /
 dadau vaśyakaraṁ mantraṁ kṣobhakaṁ pratyayātmakam //
 34. tataḥ sā praṇatā bhūtvā dadyād dravyāṅgulīyakam /
 vajramāṅkīyasaṁyuktam atiraktaprabhānvitam //

35. mṛdukāñcanasaṃyuktaṃ bhānuraśmisamadyuti /
tato dṛṣṭvā tu saṃtuṣṭā pādasthaṃ cāṅgulīyakam //
36. hṛdayaṃ ca tayā jñātaṃ tatpater avamānajaṃ /
tadoktā hi tayā bhūpa tāpasyāhitayuktayā //
37. cūrṇo rakṣānvito hy eṣa sarvabhūtavaśaṃkaraḥ /
cūrṇaṃ bhartari saṃyujya rakṣāṃ grīvāśrayāṃ kuru //
38. bhaviṣyati patir vaśyo nānyaṃ yāsyati sundarīm /
nāpriyaṃ vadati kvāpi duścāriṇyās tavāpi ca //
39. cūrṇarakṣāṃ gr̥hītṵā sā prāpa bhartṛgr̥haṃ punaḥ /
pradoṣe payasā yuktaś cūrṇo bhartari yojitaḥ //
40. grīvāyāṃ hi kṛtā rakṣā na vicāraḥ kṛtas tayā /
tadā sa pītacūrṇas tu bhartā nṛpavarottama //
41. taccūrṇāt kṣayarogo 'bhūt patih kṣiṇo dinedine /
guhye tu kṛmayo jātā ghorā duṣṭavraṇodbhavaḥ //
42. dinaih katipayai rājan patyur naiva vyavasthitiḥ /
uvāsa svecchayā sāpi puṃścalī duṣṭacāriṇī //
43. halatejās tato bhartā tām uvāca 'kulendriyaḥ /
krandamāno divārātrau dāso 'smi tava śobhane //
44. trāhi mām śaraṇaṃ prāptaṃ necche 'haṃ aparāṃ striyam /
tat tasya viditaṃ jñātvā bhītā sā medinīpate //
45. alaṃkāraḥ patyur jīvanecchur na vai hitā /
yoginīm ca yayau śiḡhraṃ tasyai sarvaṃ nyavedayat //
46. tayā ca bheṣajaṃ dattaṃ dvitīyaṃ dāhaśāntaye /
datte ca bheṣaje tasmin svastho 'bhūt tatkṣaṇāt patih //
47. tiṣṭhaty upapatir gehe gr̥hakṛtṵyāpadeśataḥ /
sarvavarṇasamudbhūtā jārās tiṣṭhanti vai gr̥he //
48. na kiṃcid vacane śaktir bhartur jātā kathāñcana /
tatas tenaiva doṣeṇa sarvāṅgeṣu ca jajñire //
49. karma yaś cāsthibhektāraḥ kālāntakayamopamāḥ /
tair nāsājihvayoś cāsīc chedaḥ karṇadvayasya ca //
50. stanayoś cāṅgulīnām ca puṃgatvaṃ cāpi cāgatam /
tena pañcatvam āpannā gatā narakayātanāḥ //

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 [sic], 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 refulgent. 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 kaṣṭhāṁ gatim avāptavān //
rākṣasa uvāca
21. rākṣaso 'ham itaḥ pūrvam pañcaviṁśatime bhava /
goptā yavanarāṣṭrasya durjayo nāma vīryavān //
22. so 'ham durātmā pāpīyān svairacārī mahotkaṭaḥ /
daṇḍadhārī durācāraḥ pracaṇḍo nirghrṇaḥ khalaḥ //
23. yuvā bahukalatro 'pi kāmāsakto 'jitendriyaḥ /
imāṁ pāpīyasīm ceṣṭhāṁ punar ekāṁ gato 'smy aham //
24. pratyahaṁ nūtanām anyām nārīm bhoktumanāḥ sadā /
āhṛtāḥ sarvadeśebhyo nāryo bhṛtyair madājñayā //
25. bhuktvā bhuktvā parityaktām ekām ekām dine dine /
antargṛheṣu saṁsthāpya punar anyāḥ striyo dhṛtāḥ //
26. evaṁ svarāṣṭrāt pararāṣṭrataś ca deśāgaragrāmapuravrajebhyaḥ /
āhṛtya nāryo ramitā dine dine bhuktā punaḥ kāpi na bhujyate mayā //
27. athānyaiś ca na bhujyante mayā bhuktās tathā striyaḥ /
antargṛheṣu nihitāḥ śocante ca divānīśam //
28. brahmaviṭkṣatraśūdrāṇām yadā nāryo madā hṛtāḥ /
mama rājye sthitā viprāḥ sahadāraiḥ pradudruvuḥ //
29. sabhartṛkāś ca kanyāś cavidhavāś ca rajasvālāḥ /
āhṛtya nāryo ramitā mayā kāmahatātmanā //
30. dviśataṁ dvijanārīṇām rājastriṇām catuḥśatam /
ṣaṣṭatam vaiśyanārīṇām sahasraṁ śūdrayoṣitām //
31. śataṁ cāṇḍālanārīṇām pulindīnām sahasrakam /
ailūṣīṇām pañcaśataṁ rajakīnām catuḥśatam //
32. asaṁkhyā vāramukhyāś ca mayā bhuktā durātmanā /
tathāpi mayi kāmasya na tṛptiḥ samajāyata //
33. evaṁ durviśayāsaktaṁ mattaṁ pānarataṁ sadā /
yauvane 'pi mahārogā viviśur yakṣmakādayaḥ //
34. rogārdito 'napatyāś ca śatrubhiś cāpi pīḍitaḥ /
tyakto 'mātyaiś ca bhṛtyaiś ca mṛto 'ham svena karmaṇā //

Durjaya enim, Yavanarum rex, qui propter vitam libidinosam varias metamorphoses subierat, et denique in Rākshasam mutatus erat, quum Vāmadevam tetigisset, sceleribus liberatus est.

35. āyur vinaśyaty ayaśo vivardhate bhāgyaṁ kṣayaṁ yāty atidurgatiṁ vrajet /
svargāc cyavante pitarāḥ 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 Sūdra 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 Sūdra maidens, a hundred Caṇḍāla 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 Kāśī.

Skandapurāṇa 6, 88, 8 ff.

8. kasyacit tv atha kālasya kāśirājasya bhūpateḥ /
taiḥ kālayavanaiḥ sārdham abhavat saṅgaro mahān //
9. atha tair nihataḥ saṁkhye sabhrtyabalavāhanaḥ /
haralabdhavarai raudraiḥ kāśirājaḥ pratāpavān //
- ...
18. asmākaṁ dayito bharttā kāśirājaḥ pratāpavān /
nihataḥ saṅgare krudhair yavanaiḥ kālipūrvakaiḥ //

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 tābhyām tathākārṇya tāḥ sarvā harṣasaṁyutāḥ /
prasthitās tatra tā yatra te *kālayavanāḥ* sthitāḥ //
37. tatas te tat samālokyā balaṁ devīsamudbhavam /
raudrarūpadharam tīvraṁ vikṛtaṁ vikṛtair mukhaiḥ //
38. viṣaṇṇavadanāḥ sarve bhayabhītāḥ samantataḥ /
dhāvanto bhakṣitās tābhir devatābhiḥ sunirdayam //
39. bālavṛddhasamopetaṁ teṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ durātmanām /
strībhiḥ ca sahitaṁ tābhir devatābhiḥ prabhakṣitam //
40. evaṁ nirvāsya tadrāṣṭraṁ sarvās tā harṣasaṁyutāḥ /
bhūya eva nijaṁ sthānaṁ saṁprāptā dvijasattamāḥ //
41. tataḥ procuḥ praṇamyoccais tābhyām vinayapūrvakam /
hatās te *yavanāḥ* kṛṣṇāḥ saputrapaśubāndhavāḥ //
42. udvāsitas tathā sarvo deśas teṣāṁ sa vai mahān /
sāṁprataṁ dīyatām kaścīd āhāras tṛptihetave /
nivāsāya tataḥ sthānaṁ kiṁcic cāvedyatām 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 Daityas and Dānavas of Mahiṣāsura slain by Devī.

Skandapurāṇa 6, 121, 37 ff.

37. etasminn antare devī sāṭṭahāsakṛtasvanā /
trailokyavivaram sarvaṃ yac chabdena prapūritam //
38. evaṃ tasyā hasantyāś ca vaktrāntād atha nirayauḥ /
pulindā śabarā mlecchās tathānye 'raṇyavāsinaḥ //
39. śakāś ca *yavanāś* caiva śataśas tu vapurdharāḥ /
varmasthagitagātrās ca yamadūtā ivāpare //
40. te procur devi no brūhi yena sṛṣṭā vyaṃ kṣitau /
kāryeṇa kriyate kṛtsnaṃ yena śīghraṃ varānane //

Devy uvāca

41. etān asya suduṣṭasya sainikān balagarvitān /
sūdayadhvaṃ dantaṃ vākyād asmadīyād 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, Śabarās, 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."*

Devī 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.), Devī'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 Bhāratavarṣa

Vāmanapurāṇa 13, 11 (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 f. above).

11. pūrve kirātā yasyānte paścime *yavanāḥ* smṛtāḥ /
āndhrā dakṣiṇato vīra turuṣkās tv api cottare //

VāmP 13, 38

List of the inhabitants of Jambūdvīpa: Western division.

Vāmanapurāṇa 13, 36–43 (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 II, 9 ff. above).

38. aparāntās tathā śūdrāḥ pallavās ca sakhetākāḥ /
gāndhārā *yavanās* caiva sindhusauvīrabhadrakāḥ //

Vāyupurāṇa

atha śrīmadvāyumahāpurāṇam prārabhyate. Mudrak aur prakāsak Gaṅgāviṣṇu Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa.
Bambāī śakābdāḥ 1855, sarīvadabdāḥ 1990, sansamjñākābdāḥ 1933.

The Vāyu Purāṇa. Tr. and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare. 1–2. AITMS 37–38. Delhi
1987–88.

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 nityasaḥ /
pūrve kirātā 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.

Vāyupurāṇa 1, 45, 115 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 II, 9 above).

115. bāhlikā vāḍhadhānās ca ābhīrāḥ kālatoyakāḥ /
aparītās ca śūdrās ca pahnavās carmakhaṇḍikāḥ //
116. gāndhārā *yavanās* caiva sindhusauvīrabhadrakāḥ /
akā hradā kulindās ca pāritā hārapūrikāḥ //
117. ramaṭā raddhakaṭakāḥ kekayā daśamānikāḥ /
kṣatriyopaniveśās ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca //
118. kāmbojā daradās caiva barbarāḥ priyalaukikāḥ /
pīnās caiva tuṣārās ca pahlavā bāhyatodarā //
119. ātreyaś ca bharadvājāḥ prasthalās ca kaserukāḥ /
lampākā stanapās caiva pīḍikā juhuḍaiḥ saha //
120. apagās *cālimadrās* ca kirātānām ca jātayaḥ /
tomarā haṁsamārgās ca kāśmīrās taṅgaṅās tathā //

Tagare: *The colonies of Kṣattriyas are Vāhlikas,...Yavanas,...and Daśamāṅikas. 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 bindusarodbhavāḥ /
nānādeśān bhāvayantyo mlechchaprāyāms ca sarvaśaḥ //
42. upagacchanti tāḥ sarvā yato varṣati vāsavaḥ /
sirindhrān kuntalāms cīnān barbarān *yavanān* druhān //
43. ruṣāṇāms ca kuṇindāms ca aṅgalokavarās ca ye //
kṛtvā dvidhā sindhumaruṁ sītā 'gāt paścimodadhim //
44. atha cīnamarūms caiva naṅgaṇān sarvamūlikān /
sādhraṁs tuṣārāms tampākān pāhnavān daradān śakān //
etān janapadān cakṣuḥ srāvayantī gatodadhim /

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, Kuntalas, Cīnas, Barbaras, Yavasas [sic], Drubas, Ruṣāṇas, 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?), Naṅganas, Sarvamūlikas, Sādhras, Tuṣāras, Lampākas, Pahlavas, Daradas 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 BṛṇḍP), 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 dākṣiṇātyāms ca draviḍān simhalaiḥ saha /
gāndhārān pāradāms caiva pāhnavān *yavanāms* tathā //
83. tuṣārān barbarāms cīnān śūlikān daradān khasān /
lampākān atha ketāms ca kirātānāms 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 Sagarā.

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).

120. ... tasmād Bāhur ca jajñivān //
 121. haihayais tālajaṅghais ca nirasto vyasanī nṛpaḥ /
 śakair yavanakāambojaiḥ pāradaīḥ pahlavais tathā //

Tagare: ...*Bāhu was born of him. The king (viz. Bāhu) who was addicted to vice was defeated by the Haihayas, 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 Sūta.

126. Bāhor vyasaninas tasya hṛtaṁ rājyam purā kila /
 haihayais tālajaṅghais ca śakaiḥ sārddham samāgataiḥ //
 127. yavanāḥ pāradaś caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavās tathā /
 haihayārtham parākṛantā ete pañca gaṇās 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 sayavanān kāmbojān pāradaims tathā /
 pahlavāms caiva niḥśeṣān kartum vyavasito nṛpaḥ //
 136. te vadhyamānā vireṇa sagareṇa mahātmanā /
 vasiṣṭham śaraṇam sarve prapannāḥ śaraṇaiṣiṇaḥ //
 137. vasiṣṭhas tān tathaity uktvā samayena mahāmuniḥ /
 sagaram vārayām āsa teṣān dattvā bhayam tadā //
 138. sagaraḥ svām pratijñās ca guror vākyaṁ niśamya ca /
 dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ vai veśānyatvaṁ cakāra ha //
 139. ardham śakānām śirasō muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat /
 yavanānām śiraḥ sarvaṁ kāmbojānām tathaiva [-] //
 140. pāradaḥ muktakeśās ca pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ /
 niḥsvādhyāvaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā //
 141. śakā yavanakāmbojāḥ pahlavāḥ pāradaīḥ saha /
 kalisparsā māhiṣikā dārvās colāḥ khasās tathā //
 142. sarve te kṣatriyagaṇā dharmas teṣāṁ nirākṛtaḥ /
 vasiṣṭhavacanād pūrvaṁ sagareṇa mahātmanā //
 143. sa dharmavijayī rājā vijityemām vasundharām /
 aśvaṁ vicārayām āsa vājimedhāya dīkṣitaḥ //

Tagare: ...*the infuriated king killed Haihayas like Rudra destroying Paśus (individuals). 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 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. Remembering 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 Vasīṣṭha. Concluding his conquests righteously, 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 bāhusahasraṁ ca bāṇasyādbhutakarmanāḥ /
narakaś ca hutaḥ saṅkhye yavanaś ca mahābalaḥ //

Tagare: *The thousand arms of Bāṇa 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.

Vāyupurāṇa 2, 36, 107 f. (cf. Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 92-1 ff. above).

Identical with 1, 58, 82 f. (see above), with the following variants:

107d pahlavān yavanāṅ chakān
108a barbarāṁś caiva
b pulindān (instead of śūlikān)
cd lampākān andhakān rudrān kirātāṁś 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 śūdrās tathā ye ca dvijātayaḥ /
andhṛāḥ śakāḥ pulindāś ca tūlikā yavanaiḥ saha //
N.B. śūdra = maurya, dvijāti (brāhmaṇa) = kāṇva
320.–330. Nandas and Mauryas
353. saptaiva tu bhaviṣyanti daśābhīrās tato nṛpāḥ /
sapta gardabhinaś cāpi tato 'tha daśa vai śakāḥ //
354. yavanāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti tuṣārās tu caturdaśa /
trayodaśa maruṇḍāś ca maunā hy aṣṭādaśaiva tu //

355. andhrā bhokṣyanti vasudhām śate dve ca śataṃ ca vai /
 śatāni trīny aśītiṃ ca bhokṣyanti vasudhām śakāḥ //
 356. aśītiṃ caiva varṣāṇi bhoktāro *yavanā* mahīm /
 pañcavarṣaśatānīha tuṣārāṇām mahī smṛtā //
 Cf. BṛṇP 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. alpapasādā hy anṛtā mahākrodhāḥ hy adharmikāḥ /
 bhaviṣyantīha *yavanā* dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ //
 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*³⁶

atha viṣṇudharmottaramahāpurāṇaprārambhaḥ. Śrīveṅkaṭeśvar (sṭīm) yantrālaya, Mumbaī n.d.

VidhP 1, 9, 7

Kūrmacakra (Janapadavarṇana).

Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 1, 9, 1–10.

vajra uvāca

1. śrotuṃ janān ihecchāmi sāgaradvīpavāsinaḥ /
 prādhānyena bhṛguśreṣṭha vistarād vistarō yataḥ //

Mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

2. pāñcālāḥ kuravo matsyā yaudheyāḥ savaṭaścarāḥ /
 kuntayaḥ śūrasenās ca madhyadeśajanāḥ smṛtāḥ //
 3. vṛṣadhvajāmjanāḥ pannāḥ suhmā māgadhacedayaḥ /
 kāsayaś ca videhās ca pūrvasyām kosalās tathā //
 4. kaliṅgavaṅgapuṇḍrāṅgavaidarbhā mūlakās tathā /
 vindhyāntanilayāḥ proktā pūrvadakṣiṇataḥ 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 sarvamlecchagaṇāvṛtaiḥ*, and in 1, 17, 14 that Sagara *haihayāms tālajaṅghāms ca nijagbhāna parantapaḥ*.

5. pulindāśmakajīmūtanararāṣṭranivāsinaḥ /
karṇāṭakā bhojakaṭā dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ //
6. ambaṣṭhā draviḍā nāgāḥ kāmbojāḥ strīmukhāḥ śakāḥ /
ānantavāsinaś caiva jñeyā dakṣiṇapaścime //
7. strīrājyaṃ saindhavā mleccā nāstikyā yavanās tathā /
paścimena ca vijñeyāḥ paṭumānuṣadhaiḥ saha //
8. māṇḍavyāś ca tuṣārās ca mūlikās ca mukhāḥ khaśāḥ /
mahākeśā mahānāsā deśās tūttarapaścime //
9. lampagās tālanāgās ca marugāndhārajāhutāḥ /
himavannilayā mleccā hy udīcīm diśim āśritāḥ //
10. trigartamīnakaulūtā brahmaputrās satīgaṇāḥ /
abhisārās ca kāśmīrās codakpūrveṇa kīrtitāḥ //

In 4c, MS kha reads nilayā deśā.

Viṣṇupurāṇa

atha śrīviṣṇumahāpurāṇaṃ viṣṇucityātmaprakāśākhyasrīdharīya vyākhyādvayopetaṃ prārabhyate.

Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara (sṭīm) mudraṇayantrālaye, Mumbaī saṃvat 1967, śake 1832.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa. A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition. Tr. from the original Sanskrit and illustrated by notes derived chiefly from other Purāṇas by H.H. Wilson. Reprint of the 2nd edn [London 1888] Calcutta 1961 [1st edn London 1840].

ViP 2, 3, 8

Description of Bharatavarṣa.

Viṣṇupurāṇa 2, 3, 6 ff. (cf. Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6 above).

6. bhāratasyāśya varṣasya navabhedān niśāmaya /
indradvīpaḥ kaseruś ca tāmravarṇo gabhastimān //
7. nāgadvīpas tathā saumyo gandharvas tv atha cāruṇaḥ / [sic]
ayaṃ tu navamas teṣāṃ dvīpaḥ sāgarasaṃvṛtaḥ //
8. yojanānām sahasraṃ tu dvīpoyaṃ dakṣiṇottarāt /
pūrve kirātā yasyānte paścime yavanāḥ sthitāḥ //
9. brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā madhye śūdrās ca bhāgaśaḥ /
ijyāyudhavaṇijyādyair vartayanto vyavasthitāḥ //

Wilson p. 142 (1840, 175): *The Varsha of Bhārata is divided into nine portions, which I will name to you; they are Indra-dvīpa, Kaserumat, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimat, Nāga-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 Bhārata dwell the Kirātas (the barbarians); on the west, the Yavanas; in the centre reside Brahmans, Kshatriyas, 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 mālavās caiva pāriyātranivāsinaḥ /
sauvīrāḥ saindhavā hūṇāḥ sālvaḥ kosalavāsinaḥ //
18. mādrārāmās tathāmbaṣṭhāḥ pārasīkādayas tathā /
āsān pibanti salilān vasanti sahitāḥ sadā /
samīpato mahābhāga dṛṣṭapuṣṭajanākulāḥ //

Wilson p. 143: *In the extreme west are the Saurāshtras, Śūras, Bhīras [= Ābhīras], Arbudas, the Kārushas and Mālavas, dwelling along the Pāripātra mountains, the Sauvīras, the Saindhavas, the Hunas, the Sālvas, the people of Śākala [?], the Madras, the Rāmas, the Ambashtas, and the Pārasikas 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 vṛkasya bāhuḥ yo 'sau haihayatālajaṅghādibhiḥ parājitoṃtarvatnyā
mahīṣya saha vanarṇ praviveśa /
- 27.–40. The birth and youth of Sagara.
41. prāyaśās ca haihayatālajaṅghān jaghāna /
42. śakayavanakāmbhojapāradapaplavāḥ [sic] hanyamānās tatkulagurum
vasiṣṭham śaraṇam jagmuḥ /
43. athainān vasiṣṭho jīvanmṛtakān kṛtvā sagaram āha /
44. vatsālam ebhir jīvanmṛtakair anumṛtaiḥ /
45. ete ca mayaiva tvatpratijñāparipālanāya nijadharmadvijasaṅgaparityāgam
kāritāḥ /
46. tathete tadguruvacanam abhinandya teṣāṃ veṣānyatvam akārayat /
47. yavanān muṇḍitaśirasō 'rdhamuṇḍitān chakān pralambakeśān pāradān
paplavān śmaśrudharān nissvādhyaḥyavaṣaṭkārān etān yāmś ca kṣatriyāmś cakāra /
48. ete cātmadharmaparityāgād brāhmaṇaiḥ parityaktā mlecchatām yayuḥ /
49. sagaro 'pi svam adhiṣṭhānam āgamya askhalitacakras saptadvīpavatīm imām
urvīm praśāśāsa /

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 Pahnavaś, but that they applied to Vaśiṣṭha, the family priest of Sagara, for protection. Vaśiṣṭha*

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 Śakas he compelled to shave (the upper) half of their heads; ...the Páradas wore their hair long; and the Pahnavas 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 /
tadyoṣitsaṅgamāc cāsyā putro 'bhūd alisannibhaḥ //
5. taṁ kālayavanaṁ nāma rājye sve yavaneśvaraḥ /
abhiṣicya vanaṁ yāto vajrāgrakaṭhinorasam //
6. sa tu vīryamadonmattaḥ pṛthivyām balino nṛpān /
apṛcchan nāradas tasmai kathayām āsa yādavān //
7. mlecchakoṭīśahasrāṅgāṁ sahasraiḥ so 'bhisamvṛttaḥ /
gajāśvarathasampannaiś cakāra paramodyamam //
8. prayayau as vyavacchinnam chinnayāno dine dine /
yādavān prati sāmarṣo maitreya mathurām purīm //
9. kṛṣṇo 'pi cintayām āsa kṣapitaṁ yādavaṁ balam /
yavanena raṇe gamyaṁ māgadhasya bhaviṣyati //
10. māgadhasya balaṁ kṣīṇaṁ sa kālayavano balī /
hantaitad idam āyātaṁ yadūnām vyasanaṁ dvidhā //
11. tasmād durgam kariṣyāmi yadūnām aridurjayam /
striyo 'pi yatra yudhyeyuḥ kiṁ punar vṛṣṇipuṅgavaḥ //
12. mayi matte pramatte vā supte pravasite 'pi vā /
yādavābhibhavaṁ duṣṭā mā kurvaṁs tvarayodhikaḥ //
13. iti sañcintya govindo yojanānām mahodadhim /
yayāce dvādaśa purīm dvārakām tatra nirmame //
14. mahodyānām mahāvaprām taḍāgaśataśobhitām /
prasādagṛhasambādham indrasyevāmarāvātīm //
15. mathurāvāsino lokāṁs tatrānīya janārdanaḥ /
āsanne kālayavane mathurān ca svayaṁ yayau //

16. bahirāvāsite sainye mathurāyā nirāyudhaḥ /
nirjagāma sa govindo dadarśa yavanaś ca tam //
17. sa jñātvā vāsudevaṁ taṁ bāhupraharaṇaṁ nṛpaḥ /
anuyāto mahāyogi-cetobhiḥ prāpyate na yaḥ //
18. tenānuyātaḥ kṛṣṇo 'pi praviveśa mahāguhām /
yatra śete mahāvīryo mucukundo nareśvaraḥ //
19. so 'pi praviṣṭo yavano drṣṭvā śayyāgataṁ nṛpam /
pādena tāḍayām āsa matvā kṛṣṇaṁ sudurmatīḥ //
20. utthāya mucukundo 'pi dadarśa yavanaṁ nṛpam //
21. dṛṣṭamātraś ca tenāsau jajvāla yavanogninā /
Tatkrodhajena maitreya bhasmībhūtaś ca tatkṣaṇāt //
22. sa hi devāsura yuddhe gato jivā mahāsurān /
nidrārtaḥ sumahākālaṁ nidrāṁ vavre varaṁ surān //
23. proktaś ca devaiḥ saṁsuptaṁ yas tvām utthāpayiṣyati /
dehājēgninā sadyaḥ sa tu bhasmībhaviṣyati //

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 overcome 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, Amarāvati. 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,*

he 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."

ViP 5, 24, 53 & 55

Dynasties of the Kali Age.

Viṣṇupurāṇa 5, 24, 51 ff.

51. āndhrabhṛtās saptābhīraprabhṛtayo daśagardabhinaś ca bhūbhujō bhaviṣyanti /
52. tataṣ ṣoḍaśa śakā bhūpatayo bhavitāraḥ /
53. tataṣ cāṣṭau yavanāś caturdaśa turuṣkārā muṇḍāś ca trayodaśa ekādaśa maunā ete vai pṛthivīpatayaḥ pṛthivīm daśavarṣaśatāni navatyadhikāni bhokṣyanti /
54. tataṣ ca maunā ekādaśa bhūpatayo 'bdaśatāni trīṇi pṛthivīm bhokṣyanti /
55. teṣūtsanneṣu kaimkilā yavanā bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanty amūrddhābhiṣiktāḥ /
56. teṣām apatyam vindhyaśaktis tataḥ puramjayas tasmād rāmacandras tasmād dharmavarmā tato vaṅgas tato bhūnnindanas tatas sunandī tadbhrātā nandiyāśāś śukraḥ pravīra ete varṣaśatam ṣaḍvarṣāṇi bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti /

Wilson p. 380 ff. (1840, 474 ff.): *Andhrabhṛitya kings...After these, various races will reign, as seven Ābhīras, ten Gardhabas, 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 Kailakila** Yavanas will be kings; the chief of whom will be Vindhyaśakti; his son will be Puranjaya; his son will be Rāmachandra; his son will be Adharma, from whom will be Varānga, Kritanandana, Śudhinandi, Nandiyāśas, Śīśuka, and Pravīra; these will rule for a hundred and six years.*

The names of the Kaimkila 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 Mahārāshṭra, according to Jones's pandit (As.Res. 11, 142). An inscription mentions Kilagila as the capital of Nārasinha 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

BLOCH, Jules 1950. *Les Inscriptions d'Aśoka*. Collection Émile Senart. Paris.

SCHNEIDER, U. 1978. *Die grossen Felsen-Edikte Aśokas*. Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Analyse der Texte. Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie 11. Wiesbaden.

ANDERSEN, Paul Kent 1990. *Studies in the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka*. 1. Critical edn. Freiburg.

R.E. II

Yona King Antiochus in the West.

Major Rock Edict II (Schneider).

savata/ā vijitasi devānaṃpiyasa piyadasine lājine e ca (/vāpi) am̐tā athā coḍā, paṃḍiyā, satiyapute, kelalapute, taṃbapaṃi/ī, am̐tiyog(k)e nama yonalājā e ca am̐ne (/vāpi) tasa am̐tiyog(k)asa sāmaṃtā lājāno(e), savata/ā devānaṃpiyasa/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.

Schneider: *Überall im Reiche des Königs Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi sowie (in den Reichen derer,) welche (seine) Nachbarn sind, nämlich [oder: wie z. B.] die Coḍas, die Paṃḍiyas, der Satiyaputa, der Keralaputa, die Taṃbapaṃi, der Yavana-König namens Anti-yoga und ferner (am̐ne) (in den Reichen derer), welche diesem Am̐tiyoga benachbarte Könige sind – überall (sind durch den König Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi zwei (Arten von) Heilbehandlung eingerichtet worden, Heilbehandlung für Menschen und Heilbehandlung für (domestizierte) Tiere. [Und] für Menschen und Tiere nützliche Kräuter sind, wo immer sie nicht vorhanden waren, überall auf seine Veranlassung beschafft und angepflanzt worden. Ganz ebenso sind Wurzeln und Früchte, wo immer sie nicht vorhanden waren, überall auf seine Veranlassung beschafft und angepflanzt worden.*

R.E. V

Yonas and Kambojas hear of the dhamma.

Major Rock Edict V (Schneider).

... dhammamamahāmātā nāma. se tēdasavasābhisitena mamayā dhammamamahāmātā kaṭā. te savapāsaṃḍesu viyāpaṭā dhammādhithānāye ca dhammavaḍḍhiyā hita-sukhāye ca dhammayutasa yonakamboca(y/j)gaṃdhālānaṃ laṭhikapetiniḱānaṃ e vā pi aṃne āpalamtā

Schneider: ...*Dhammamamahāmātas. Sie sind mit sämtlichen Religionsgemeinschaften befasst, sowohl um sie auf den Dhamma zum Heil und Glück der Dhamma-Anhänger unter den Yonas, Kambocas, Gaṃdhālas, 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 aṃnatā yonesu: bābbhane ca samane ca. nathi ca kuvāpi janapadasī, ata nathi, munisānaṃ ekatalasī pi pāsaṃḍasī no nāma pasāde

Schneider: *Und es gibt weder ein Land, wo diese Klassen, Brāhmaṇas und Śramaṇas, nicht sind, ausser bei den Griechen. Noch gibt es in irgendeinem Lande, wo sie nicht sind, nicht (doch) eine Zuneigung der Menschen zu irgendeiner Religionsgemeinschaft.*

R.E. XIII Q–R

Five Yona kings of the West.

Major Rock Edict XIII, Q–R (Schneider).

... se [ca] mana ladhe devānaṃpiyasa hida ca (Gi. om.) savesu ca aṃtesu ā sasu [pi] yojanasatesu ata aṃtiyoke nāma yonalājā palaiṃ ca tena (tenā) aṃtiyokenā (Gi. om.) catāli lājāne tulamāye nāma (ca) aṃtekine nāma (ca) mak(g)ā nāma (ca) alikasudale nāma (Gi. defekt) nitiyaṃ coḍā paṃḍiyā ā taṃbapaṃniyā. (R) hemeva hida lājavīsavasi yonakambojesu nābhakanābhapaṃtisu bhojapitiniḱesu aṃdhapāladesu savata devānaṃpiyasa dhammānusathi anuvataṃti.

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 Paṃḍiyas sind bis nach Tambapaṃni hin. Ganz ebenso hier, im Gebiet des Königs, bei den Griechen und Kambocas, bei den Nābhakas und*

Nābhapantis, bei den Bhojas und Pitinikas, bei den Amdhas und Pāladas – überall befolgen sie die Dhamma-Unterweisung des Göttergeliebten.

Kharoṣṭhī

KONOW, Sten 1929. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, with the exception of those of Aśoka*. CII II: Part 1. Calcutta (repr. Varanasi 1969).

STEIN, Otto 1935. "Yavanas in early Indian inscriptions", *IC* 1, 1934–35, 343–357 (repr. in Stein 1985, 351–365).

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[ti]stavito matapitupuyae aghadakṣo(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[e*] 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. *Theütaras(y)a Thavaraputras(y)a*

CII: (Gift) of Theodoros, the son of Thavara.

2. Identical with 1.

3. *Mumjukritas(y)a s(y)a 20 dra 1*

CII: (Gift) of Mumjukrita, 20 staters, 1 drakhm.³⁷

4. *Mimjukritasa sa 20 10 dha 2*

CII: (Gift) of Mimjukrita, 30 staters, 2 drakhms.

7. *Denipasa*

CII: of Deinippos (?).

CII II: 1, 70

Peshawar Sculpture No. 1938, representing two wrestlers.

Miṇamdrasa

CII: (Gift?) of Menandros.

[CII II: 1, 72

Kaniṣka 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][haraja*]sa Kani(ṇi)[skhasa*]. imaṇa(na)g(r)ar[e] [dha]..g(r)aryaka
2. deyadharme sarvasatvana[m̄](ṇaṁ) hidasuhartha[m̄] bhavatu
3. dasa Agisāla ṇa(na)vakarmia [Ka*]ne(ṇe)ṣkasa vihare Mahasena(ṇa)sa saṁgharame
4. acharyana(ṇa) sarvastivatina(ṇa) pratigrahe

CII: *In the year 1 of (the mahārāja) Kanishka, in the town .ima, connected with the...mansion, this religious gift – may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings, – the slave Agisāla was the architect, – in Kanishka’s Vihāra, in Mahāsena’s Saṁghārāma, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādīn teacher.*

Konow has suggested that Agisāla 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).

38 Burrow, T.: “The term Agisāla in two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions”, *Journal of the Greater India Society* 11, 1944, 13–16 (the first to reject the name Agesilaos); Mukherjee, B.N.: “Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī casket inscription”, *British Museum Quarterly* 27, 1964, 39–46; and Fussman, G.: “Numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the chronology of early Gandharan art”, Yaldiz, M. & W. Lobo (eds), *Investigating Indian Art*. Veröff. des Museums für Indische Kunst 8. Berlin 1987, 67–88.

a completely different interpretation (while also reading the lines, which do not follow each other, in a different order):

kaniṣkapure nagare ayaṃ gaṇḍha-karaṇḍe .. ta/I (mahara)jasa kaṇi
 ṣkasa vihare mahasenasa saṅgharakṣidasa aṅgiśala-ṇavakarmiana
 deyadharme(.) sarvasatvana hitasuhartha bhavatu(.)
 avaryana sarvastivatina pratigrahe

Falk: *In the town Kaniṣkapura this perfume box...is the pious donation of the architects of the fire-hall, viz. Mahāsena (and) Saṅgharakṣita, 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 devaputrasa [ka]i[sa]rasa
2. Vajheṣkaputasa Kaniṣkasa saṃbaratāśarae ekachapar[i]-
3. [śa]i saṃ 20 20 1 Jeṭhasa masasa di 20 4 1 iś[e] divasakṣuṇami kha[de]
4. kupe [Da]ṣavhareṇa Poṣapuriaputraṇa matrapitarāṇa puya[e]
5. atmanasa sabharya[sa] saputrasa aṇugra[ha]rthae sarva[sapa]ṇa
6. [ja]tiṣ[u] [hi]tae [i]mo cha[li]khiya m[e] [dhama]...

CII: *(During the reign) of the Mahārāja, Rājātīrāja, Devaputra, Kāisara 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. saṃ 20 20 20 1 chetrasa mahasa divase aṭhami 4 4 iśa kṣuṇami dokhatanakha[tre]
2. parvaṣaḍe

Here dokhata is supposed to represent τοξότης (i.e. Sagittarius).

Bajaur Casket Inscriptions (EI 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 maharajasa kaṭiyasa divasa 4 4 4 11 praṇa[sa]meda .. (thavi) da

The name can also be read as *Menedrasa*. 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 aṇaṁkayena lakhit(r)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 Davilī.

3. ... putrehi [patrehi] ca idraseneṇa menaṁdrena ca [gra]

Falk: *...and with his sons Indrasena and Menander.*

The Indravarman Casket (Falk 1998, 99 ff.)

With the commander Vaga,³⁹ 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 Viśpavarman.*

Taxila Silver Saucer (Marshall, ASIAR 1929–30)

Aśpavarasa *strategasa* 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 Gudophara.

... gupharasa bhratuputrasa avakaśasa rajami iṁtravarmaputre *statree* aśpavarmame rajami

Sadakata: *durant le règne d'Abdagasès, neveu (fils du frère) de Gondopharès, durant le règne du strategos Aśpavarma, fils d'Indravarma.*

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.)

Şaravaṇa, son of a Yona, in a list of Buddhist laymen.

12 f. *yonaputre şaravaṇe*

Inscription of Seṇavarma (Bailey, JRAS 1980, 21 ff. & Salomon, IJ 29:4, 1986, 261 ff.)

Inscription of Seṇavarma, King of Oḍi.

8. ... maharaja rayatiraya Kuyula Kataphśa-putra sadaşkaṇo devaputra(tro)

9. sadha *aṇakaeṇa* suhasomeṇa aşmaṇakareṇa ... puyita

Bailey: *Honoured is the Great King, King of Kings, Kuyula Kataphśa's son Sadaşkaṇo the devaputra (son of god(s)) (9) with the anankaios (royal kinsman) Suhasoma the protector...*

Salomon: *Sadaşkaṇa, the son of the Gods, son of the Great King, King over Kings, Kuyula Kataphsa, (9) with his royal kinsman Suhasoma, the aşmaṇakara...is honored.*

13. ... sia(t)i likhita ya śarira praīṭhavaṇia saṅghamitreṇa laliaputreṇa *aṇakaeṇa* (;) karavita ya şaḍi-

14. eṇa sacaka-putreṇa *meriakheṇa* (;) ...

Bailey: *And the body-relics (śarīra-) to be deposited were painted to the life by Saṅghamitra son of Ali'a the anankaios (royal kinsman), and were ordered by Şaḍi'a (14) son of Sacaka the meridarkhēs (district officer)...*

Salomon: *And this body-deposit was written by Saṅghamitra, son of Lalia the royal kinsman; and it was executed by Şaḍia, (14) son of Sacaka the meridarch.*

The Gandhāra Gilded Bowl

Found in 2007 in a private collection in the U.K., published by Falk 2013, 170 ff. (originally published 2009):

samagakeṇa *epesukupēṇa* 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 varşaya ekaviśatiśadamaye 1-100-20-1 *gu*

2. *rpīeyasa* masasa diasammi tridaśamami 10-3 utarehi proṭhavadahi nakşetra[mi]

3. iśa kşunami helaüte *demetriapute* 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 Gorpiaiōs, (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 śarira praṭiṭhapita sava-budhana puyae aprakhasat (?) *heliuphila*-putrasa
2. dua-sataṭi-śadama *gurpiya* yambulima maṣa saste 4-4

Falk: *These relics of the Lord are (deposited) in veneration of all the Buddhas for Aprakha, son of Heliophilos. (Year) one hundred and seventy-two, intercalary month of Gorpiaiōs, 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 f. and Fussman 1993, 111 ff.). From Maghera, U.P., 73 km from Mathura, found in 1988. Three lines in sanskritizing Prākṛit about digging a well. Mukherjee dates it to the second half of the first century CE, but if the Yavana Era of 185/185 BCE is accepted, the real date is 70/69 BCE.

1. *yavanarājyasya* ṣoḍasuttare varṣaṣate 100 [+] 10 [+] 6 hema[n]ta māse 4
divase 30 et[ā]ye 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 f. 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 (*yoṇana* 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.*⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The inscription appeared in O. Bopparachchi & M.-F. Boussac (eds), *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Brepols 2005: R. Salomon, "The Indo-Greek era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist reliquary inscription", 359–402. Unfortunately this is currently not available to me.

*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:

pa[ne]masa masasa

CII II: 1, 74

Sui Vihār Copper-Plate Inscription of the year 11 (of Kaniṣka):

daīsi(m)kasya masas[y]a

CII II: 1, 79

Box-lid Inscription of the year 18 (of Kaniṣka?):

masye arthamisiya

CII II: 1, 80

Kurram Casket Inscription of the year 20 (of Kaniṣka):

[... 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):

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):

mase avaduṇagasya

Salomon 2011

The Incense Burner Inscription of the year 24.

saṃ khsaṃdikas[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):

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):

arsamiasa masasa

Mathura Brāhmī Inscription of the year 28

Ed. Konow, *EI* 21, 1931–1932 (1933), 55–61.

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.

siddham̐ samvatsare 20 8 gurppīya divasē / ...

Brāhmī⁴¹

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* 19–23, 1927–36.

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.

SENART, Émile 1903. “The Inscriptions in the caves at Karle”, *EI* 7, 1902–03, 47–74.

SENART, Émile 1906. “The Inscriptions in the caves at Nasik”, *EI* 8, 1905–06, 59–96.

STEIN, Otto 1935. “Yavanas in early Indian inscriptions”, *IC* 1, 1934–35, 343–357 (repr. in Stein 1985, 351–365).

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 ayam̐
2. kārīte i[a] *Heliodoreṇa* bhāga-
3. vatena *Diyasa* putreṇa Takhkhasilākēna
4. *Yona*-dūtena [ā]gatena mahārājasa
5. *Antalikitasa* upa[m̐]tā sakāsam raṇo
6. [Ko]sipu[tra]sa [Bhā]gabhadrasa trātārāsa
7. vasena ca[tu]daserīna rājēna vadhamānasa
8. trini amuta-padāni [ia] [su]-anuṭhitāni
9. neyam̐ti [svagam̐] dama cāga apramāda

Narain: *This Garuda 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. 11, 1980, 86–88.

(*Kautsiputra*) *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

Ed. D.R. Bhandarkar, “Excavations at Besnagar”, *ASIAR* for 1914–15, 77f.

1. *Ṭimitra*-dātṛsya[sa]- ho[tā]-
2. p[o]tā-mamtra-sajuna [ʔ]

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

Lüders’ List No. 965, ed. F. Kielhorn, “Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman, the year 72”, *EI* 8, 1905–06, 36 ff. (with orthography partly normalized). Also Sircar 1965, 175 ff. (No. 67).

8. ...[s]y=[â]rthê Mauryasya rājñāḥ Chamdrag[u][pta]*[s][ya]* [r]āṣṭriyeṇa [v]aiśyena Puṣyaguptēna kārītaṃ Aśōkasya Mauryasya tē *Yavanarājēna* Tuṣ[â] sphēnādhiṣṭhāya
9. pañca-saptatiṃ hastān-avagāḍhēna bhēdēna nissṛta-sarvva-tōyaṃ marudhaṃ avakalpam-atibhṛṣaṃ durd[d]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 Tuṣāṣpa 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 *Sainpupa 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.

siddhaṃ *yavanena* naṃdinā ... vihāre śilāpaṭaḥ

Stone slab set up in the monastery by Yavana Nandi.

Nāgārjunakonda Buddhist Inscriptions: the Second Apsidal Temple Inscription

Ed. J.Ph. Vogel, “Prākṛit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa”, *EI* 20, 1929–30 (1933), 1–36. Also in Sircar 1965, 233 ff. (No. 101).

Vogel p. 22 The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F, perhaps from the late 3rd century CE.

1. ... [rā]jacariyānaṃ Kasmira-Gaṃdhara-Cīna-Cilāta-Tosali-Avaraṃta-Vaṅga-Vanavāsi-Yava[na]-Da[mila-Pa]lura-Tambapaṃṇi-dīpa-pas[ā]dakānaṃ theriyānaṃ Tambapa[ṃ]ṇakānaṃ suparigahe...

Vogel: *For the benefit of the...masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tambapaṃṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, Cīna, Cilāta (= Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaraṃta (Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and the Isle of Tambapaṃṇi (Ceylon).*

Vogel initially suggested the reading bhadaṃta-rājaccariyānaṃ. In *EI* 33, 1959–60 (1963), 248, Sircar instead argued for acaṃtarājaccariyānaṃ, referring to a parallel case in another Nāgārjunakonda inscription and translating it as “the teachers of the Achantaraja school”.

Nāgārjunakonda Buddhist Inscriptions: of year 30

Ed. D.C. Sircar, “Nagarjunikonda Inscription of the time of Abhira Vasushena, year 30”, *EI* 34, 1961–62 (1963), 197–204. Also in Sircar 1965, 525 f., no. 104-B. Six lines, from the late 3rd century CE.

1. ... rājño Vāsē(si)shṭhīputrasya Ābhīrasya Vasushēṇasya...
2. ... Śīvasēbēna, Saṃjayapur[ī]ṇa – yo[na]rājibhi[h]
3. āva[nta]kēna śakēna Rudradāmena...

The lection yo[na]rājibhi[h] is suggested by Sircar.

Sircar: *...in the thirtieth year of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Vasuṣeṇa, the Ābhīra...is installed...by Śīvasēpa..., [and by] the Yavana-rājas of Saṃjayapura, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti and...*

Nāgārjunakonda Buddhist Inscriptions: Footprint slab

Ed. D.C. Sircar & A.N. Lahiri, “Footprint slab inscription from Nagarjunikonda”, *EI* 33, 1959–60 (1963), 247–250 (text on p. 250). About mid-3rd century CE, in Prākṛit.

1. ācariyānaṃ theriyānaṃ vibhajavādānaṃ kasmira-gaṃddhara-yavana-vanavāsa-tambapaṃnidīpa-pasādakanaṃ
2. mahāviharavāsinaṃ...
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 Tāmrapaṃṇi-dvīpa, who are the residents of the Great Monastery...]*

Sanchi Inscription No. 364 Bühler

G. Bühler, "Further Inscriptions from Sanchi", *EI* 2, 1894, 366–408 (No. 364 on p. 394):

1. setapathiyasa
2. yonasa dānaṃ

Bühler: *The gift of Yona (Yavana), inhabitant of Setapatha (Śveta-)*.

Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela

Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela, end of the first century BCE, Lüders' List No. 1345. Text quoted from Sircar 1965, 213–221 (No. 91),⁴² translation from K.P. Jayaswal & R.S. Banerji, "Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela", *EI* 20, 1929–30, 71–89.

7. ... Gorathagirim
8. ghātāpayitā Rājagahaṃ upapīḍapayati (/*) etin[ā] ca kaṃmapadāna-sa[m]
nādena ... sena-vāhena vipamocitum madhuram apayāto yavānarā[ja]
[ḍimita?] ...

Banerji & Jayaswal: *...having sacked Goradhagiri [he] causes pressure on Rajagaha (Rajagriha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dimi[ta] retreated to Mathura having extricated his demoralized army and transport.*

Sircar's Sanskrit rendering: Gorathagirim ghātayitvā (=gharṣaṇānantaram) Rājagṛham upapīḍayati (=upāpīḍayat); etena Karmāpadāna-saṃnādena (=duṣkarakarmasampādana-śabdena)...Senāvāhanam vipramoktum [bhayāt] Madhuram (=Mathuram) apayātaḥ (=palāyitaḥ) yavānarājaḥ Ḍimitaḥ (?) ...

Sircar adds: "The reading of Yavānarāja is clear, but Dimita or Ḍimita 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 Mathurā."

Buddhist Cave Inscriptions: Junnar

Originally ed. J. Burgess & G. Bühler, *Archaeological Survey of Western India* 4. Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions. London 1883. See also Laeuchli 1984.

Junnar: Lüders' List No. 1154

yavānasa irilasagatāna deyadhama be poḍhiyo

Burgess & Bühler: *The meritorious gift of two cisterns by the Yavana Irila of the Gatā (country).*

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 caṃdānam gabhadā[ra]

Burgess & Bühler: *The meritorious gift of a hall-front by Chanda, the Yavana*.

Junnar: Lüders' List No. 1182

yavanasa citasagatānaṃ bhojaṇamaṭapo deyadhama saghe

Burgess & Bühler: *The meritorious gift of a refectory for the community (saṃgha) by the Yavana Chīṭa (Chaitra) of the Gatas (or of the Gatā country)*.

Konow 1912: ...*Cīṭa, the Goth*.

Laeuchli 1984: *The gift of a dining hall to the Saṃgha by the Yavana Citasagata*.

Buddhist Cave Inscriptions: Karle

Ed. E. Senart, *EI* 7, 1902–03, 47–74 & M.S. Vats, *EI* 18, 1925–26, 325–329.

Karle: Lüders' List No. 1093 (Senart No. 7)

Identical with Vats No. 7.

dhenukākaṭā yavanasa sihadhayāna thaṃbho dānaṃ

Senart: *(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhenukākaṭa*.

Karle: Lüders' List No. 1096 (Senart No. 10)

1. *dhenukākaṭā*
2. *dharma-yavanasa*

Senart: *Of Dhamma, a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭa*.

Karle: Vats No. 1

1. *umēhanākaṭā yavanasa*
2. *viṭasa[m*]gatānaṃ dānaṃ thabho*

Laeuchli 1984 reads *ciṭasagatānaṃ*.

Vats: *(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Viṭasaṃgata from Umēhanākaṭa*.

Karle: Vats No. 4

1. *dhēnukākaṭā ya[va]nasa dhamadha-*
2. *yānaṃ thabho dānaṃ*

Vats: *(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Damadhaya from Dhēnukākaṭa*.

Karle: Vats No. 6⁴³

1. dhēnukākaṭā chulayakhan[ām]
2. [ya]vaṇasa thabhō dāna X⁴⁴

Vats: *(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Chulayakha from Dhēnukākaṭā.*

Karle: Vats No. 7

1. dhēnukākaṭā yavaṇasa
2. sihadhayāna[īm*] thambho dānam

Vats: *(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhēnukākaṭā.*

Karle: Vats No. 10

1. dhēnukākaṭā yavaṇasa
2. yasavadhanāna[īm]
3. thabhō dāna[īm*]

Vats: *(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Yasavadhana from Dhēnukākaṭā.*

Buddhist Cave Inscriptions: Nasik

Ed. E. Senart, *EI* 8, 1905–06, 59–96.

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 Vāsiṭhīputasa Siri-Puḷumāyisa savīchare ekunavīse 19
... rājaraño Gotamīputasa...
5. ... sakayavanapalhavanisūdanasa ...
9. ... Siri Sātakaṇisa mātuya mahādevīya Gotamīya Balasiriya ...
10. ... kārita ... leṇa eta ...

Senart: *In the nineteenth – 19th – year of king Siri-Puḷumāyi Vāsiṭhīputa...the mother of king of kings Siri-Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa, who...destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas...the great queen Gotamī Bālasiri...caused...this cave to be made...*

Nasik: Lüders' List No. 1140 (Senart No. 18)

1. sidham otarāhasa dātāmitiyakasa yoṇakasa Dhammadevaputasa
Īdrāgnidatasa dhammātmanā
2. imam leṇam pavate tiramṇhumhi khānitam abhamtaram ca leṇasa
cetiyaḅharo poḅhiyo 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 kāritaṃ savabudha-pujāya cātudīśasa bhikhūsaṃghasa niyātitaṃ sa-
4. ha putena Dhammarakhitena

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 Tiraṅhu, and inside the cave a Caityagr̥ha 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 Saṃgha of monks, together with his son Dhammarakhita.*

Gupta and later⁴⁵

Bhubaneswar: EI 13, 1915–16, 150–155

Bhubaneswar Inscription of the 13th century, written with north-eastern characters in Sanskrit. Bhandarkar's List No. 1115, ed. L.D. Barnett, "Bhubaneswar Inscription in the Royal Asiatic Society", *EI* 13, 1915–16, 150–155:

2. ... subhaṭo 'naṅkabhīmaḥ ...
3. ... svant-ōpasarpaj-javam api Ja(Ya)vanam saṅgarē saṅjahāra...

Barnett: *The heroic Anaṅkabhīma...With good fortune he destroyed in battle the Yavana, although he possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced (to the attack).*

Anaṅkabhīma II of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty ruled around 1219–1253.⁴⁶ The Yavana slain by him was probably a Muslim king.

Bikaner Praśasti of Rāya Simha

L.P. Tessitori, "Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana. Appendix. The Bikaner praśasti of Rājā Rāya Siṅgha", *JASB* N.S. 16, 1920, 262–279. Bhandarkar's List No. 926. Panegyric of the Rāṭhōra dynasty of Bikaner, written down in 1650 CE, but apparently composed earlier. Line 73f.

... yadā hakīmair yavanādhipataiś ca svatejasā lābhapurī svasainyaiḥ /
saṁmudritā tyaktaparākramām vai kṛtvā jhaṭattām mumucen nṛpendraḥ //

Tessitori: [*And*] *when Hakīma and the leaders of the Yavanas with their power subjugated with their forces Lābhapurī 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 *EI*. 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

B.Ch. Chhabra, “Chatesvara Temple Inscription”, *EI* 29, 1951–52 (1957), 121–133. A 13th century CE inscription from Chatesvara, Cuttack district, Orissa, first published by N.N. Vasu in *JASB* 67, 1898. Verse 15 describes the fight of Viṣṇu, the minister of King Anaṅgabhīma III, with the Muslim ruler called Yavanāvanīndra.

15. karṇṇottasitasāyakasya subhaṭanēkākino nignataḥ kimbrūmo
 yavanāvanīndra-samare tattasya vīravratam /
 yasyālokanakautukavyasanināṁ vyomāṅgaṇe nākināma-svapnair
 animesavṛttibhir abhūn netrair mmohānutsavaḥ //

Chhabra: *How are we to describe the heroism of his (Viṣṇu’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. 764.⁴⁷ Metrical inscription of 1428/29 CE in Kielhorn p. 409: Lakṣmaṇasimha, 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 yavananarapatim lumṭitāśeṣasenam
 perojam kīrttivallīkusumam urumatir yo ’karot samgarasthaḥ /
 pallīśākrāntivārttā kalayati kalayakīrttitā yasya helām
 pañcāsyaasyeva mādyadgajadalanarucer līlayā raṁkubharaṅgaḥ //

According to Kielhorn, pallīśākrāntivārttā is “not quite clear in the original”, and helām 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, he, 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.

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-
nikaṭavastaradeśe
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 Jayasimha II

This is published in J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*. Bombay 1897, p. 243 & 361f. 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 Jayasimha II, who defeated a Yavana force near Jhimjharakōṭa.

Gun Inscriptions

1. Rākhāla Dāsa Bandyopādhyāya, "Two Inscribed Guns from Assam", *JASB N.S.* 5, 1909, 465 f. Bhandarkar's List No. 1152. An inscription on a gun in Assam dated Śaka 1604 (1682 CE), when Gadādhara Siṁha expelled the Muslims from Gauhāti.

śrī-śrī-surgga-nārāyaṇa-deva śaumāreśvara gadādhara siṁhena *ja/vanam* jitvā
Guvākahāṭyām idam astraṁ prāptaṁ śake 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. Rakhāl 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 Siṁha, the Ahom king, and dated to Śaka 1580 (1657–58 CE).

śrī-śrī-śvarggadeva-jayadhvajena-mahārājena *yabanam* jitvā Gubākahāṭṭyām
idam astraṁ prāptaṁ saka 1580

The illustrious great king Svarggadeva Jayadhvaja, having conquered the Yabana, obtained this weapon at Guvākhāṭi Śaka 1580.

Jagannatharaya Temple Inscription in Udaipur

Akshaya 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 mlechapatiṁ tṛṇasya puruṣaṁ kṛtvānyabhūbhṛnmṛgān vidrāvya
 kṣitimaṇḍale dvijagaṇāt kṣetrāṇy abhoktuṁ daduḥ /
 jñātvā tān yavanān nigṛhya kṛṣikān sa kṣetrabhūpaḥ krudhā kṣetrāṇi
 svavaśāni tāni dayayā kiṁ na dvijebhyo dadau //

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 Sallakṣaṇasimha

F. Kielhorn, “Jhansi Stone Inscription of Sallakṣaṇasimha (?)”, *EI* 1, 1892, 214–217. A very fragmentary inscription. Line 30. on p. 215, remains of a sragdharā verse, apparently shows Sallakṣaṇasimha fighting with the cavalry troops of the Yavanas or Muslims.

30. ... yavanaturagasainyair 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. māsānā viśrutā
 yasya khyātir=atīva-dāna-janitā yasy=āti bhūp-ā
3. darah
 yasya dvāri ca dāna-māna-mahitāḥ santaḥ śubh-āśaṁsinaḥ
 kīrtiḥ
4. s(ś)rī-yuta-Rūpadāsa-sudhiyas=tāsy=āstu kalp-āvadhi
 enām kīrtim=apā
5. karoti yadi ko=’py=ajñāna-jālavṛto
 varṇṇas=tasya nivāraṇāya śapa
6. nam go-bhakṣaṇam vartatām
 dharm-āndho=yavano=bhaved=anuyugam bhūpo=
7. pi sambhāvyaate
 tatr=āyam vinayo=yath-ā(?)khyā-śapanam c=āstām varāh-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 Sāmāsānā, 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 (anuyugam) 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 Vindhya, a Yavana-Śaka, Hūsaṅga Gōrī (Hūshang Alp Khān Ghūri), who secured Vindhya elephants from Naganātha, and defeated Kādirasāhi (Abdul Kādir), ruler of Kālapriyapattana (Kālpī), 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 Khālji), who desolated Dhillī (Delhi), subjugated Utkala (Orissa) and defeated Chōla and Draviḍa kings, and for whom Salaha destroyed eighty elephants of the Gujarāt Sultān; his successor, Gayāsa (Ghiyās Shāh Khālji), in whose reign *Baharī*, being sent by his adoptive father Salaha, quelled a Śabara revolt at Khaḍāvadā on the Charmaṇvatī, excavated a stepwell and tanks there, defeated Kshēmakaṛṇa at Śaṁkhōddhāra on the Chambal and destroyed Ibarāhim, a thorn to the Sultān 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 son, Ghuḍāi, who assumed the name *Salaha* after being made a Muhammadan by Kādira Sāhi. Salaha made Baharī a yavana who was originally a Kshatriya."

Khālīmpur Plate of Dharmapāladeva

F. Kielhorn, "Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva", *EI* 4, 1896–97, 243–254. From the early 9th century CE, by King Dharmapāladeva of the second Pāla dynasty of Bengal. Verse 12.

12. bhojair matsyaiḥ samadraiḥ kuru-yadu-yavan-āvantī-gandhāra-kirair
bhūpair vyālola-mauli-praṇati-pariṇataiḥ sādhu saṅgīryamāṇaḥ /
hr̥ṣyat pañcāla-vṛddh-oddhṛta-kanakamaya-svābhiṣekodakakumbho dattaḥ
śrī-kanya kuvj(bj)as sa-lalita-chalita-bhrūlatā-lakṣma yena //

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 *samudraiḥ* 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 Pañchāla.

Kielhorn p. 246 suggests that Yavana here stands for Mleccha.

Kumbhalgarh Inscription of Maharana Kumbhakarna

R.R. Halder, “The fourth slab of the Kumbhalgarh Inscription of the time of Maharana Kumbhakarna of Mewar; Vikrama-Samvat 1517”, *EI* 21, 1931–32, 277–288. A praśaṣṭi of the Guhila rulers of Mewar, dated 1517 (1460/61 CE), found in the Viṣṇu temple of Kumbhalgarh in Mewar, Rajasthan. Verses 192 and 208 have Yavana for Muslims, while verse 193 calls them Śakas.

Hammīra’s son Kṣetrasin̄ha destroys Amī Shah’s Muhammadan army near Chitor:

192. yenānargalabhalladīrṇṇahṛdayā śrīcitrakūṭām̄tike
tattatsainikaghoravīraninadapradhvastadhairyodayā /
manye yāvanavāhinī nijaparitrāṇasya hetor alaṁ bhūnikṣepamiṣeṇa
bhīparavaśā 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.

Kṣetrasin̄ha’s son Lakṣasena conquers Gayā from the Muslims:

208. ravir iva nalinīm̄ niśātuṣārāt vidhur iva yāmavātīm̄ mahāmdhakārā[t] /
pavana iva ghanān̄ navārkabhāsaṁ yavanakarāc ca gayām̄ amocayad yaḥ //

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 Venkaṭa II (if not Venkaṭa I) (c.1585–1613) destroys the Yavanas.

33. yathā raghukulodvaha[ḥ] svayam aruṁdhatījānin[ā] svagotraguruṇā
sudhitilaka tātayāryena yaḥ /
yathāvidhiyaśasvinā viracitābhiṣeka[ḥ] kṣaṇ[ā]d vibhidya yavanāśarān̄
praśāsan mahīm̄ //

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 (Vasishṭha) 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 Veṅkaṭapatidevarāya-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 Veṅkaṭa being crowned by Tātayāya.

T.A. Gopinatha Rao, “Vellangudi Plates of Venkatapati-Deva-Maharaya I: Śaka-Samvat 1520”, *EI* 16, 1921–22, 298–329, again with the same verse.

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 sabbhis samtānavac chritaiḥ /
yavanair avanīcakram āndhram atrāntare 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-sthāpanācāriya*, “the establisher of the kingdom of the Yavanas”

Three versions give the variant *–rājya*.

Rohtāgarh Rock Inscription of Pratāpa

F. Kielhorn, “Three Inscriptions from Northern India”, *EI* 4, 1896–97, 309–318 (inscr. B. “Rōhtāsgaḥh Rock Inscription of Pratāpa Vikrama-samvat 1279”, 310–312). From Shāhābād district, Bengal, 1223 CE, verse 2.

2. *ja(ya)vana-dalana-līlā-māmsalaiḥ svair yaśobhir ddhavalayati dharitrīm śrī-Pratāpa-kṣitīndre / idam udakam...*

Kielhorn: *While the illustrious king Pratāpa was whitening (dhavalayati) 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

Akshaya Keerty Vyas, "Srngi-Rishi Inscription of Prince Mokala", *EI* 23, 1935–36 (1940), 230–241. The beginning of this metrical inscription lauds the ancestors of Prince Mocala (who ascended to the throne before 1421 CE). Verse 6 on p. 235.

6. ājāv amīsāham asiprabhāvāj jītvā ca hutvā *yavanān* aśeṣān /
yaḥ kośajātaṁ turagān asaṁkhy[ā]n samānayat svām kila 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

N. Venkataramanayya, "Rajahmundry Museum Plates of the Telugu Choda Annadeva", *EI* 26, 1941–42 (1952), 14–18. From Tuni, East Godavari dt., 1416 CE. Unnumbered verses, third plate, side 1, lines 8–10.

prānte yuvaiva gulapūmḍipurasya śūrān yo boggarādiyavanādhipatīm ajaiṣīt /
prācyam ca koppulapatir ddiśi yena pañcadhārāṅgaṇe gajapatiṁ jayatābhyāseci //

Venkataramanayya: *Even in his youth, Bhaktirāja won a victory over the heroes, Boggara and other Yavana chiefs, in the neighbourhood of the town Gulapūmḍi; in the eastern direction, after winning a victory over the Gajapati in battle at Pāñchadhāra, 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

Majjhimanikāya: The Majjhima-Nikāya. Vol. 2. Ed. R. Chalmers. London, PTS 1898 (repr. 1960).
The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya). Vol. 2. Tr. I.B. Horner. London, PTS 1957.

MN 93 Assalāyanasutta

Assalāyana and the Buddha discuss the position of Brahmins.
Majjhimanikāya (PTS) 2, p. 149 (tr. p. 341).

Tam kim maññasi, Assalāyana? Sutan te: *Yona*-Kambojesu [si *Yonaka*-K'] aññesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu dveva vaṇṇā, ayyo c'eva dāso ca; ayyo hutvā dāso hoti, dāso hutvā ayyo hotīti? Evaṃ bho sutam me; *Yona*-Kambojesu aññesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu dveva vaṇṇā, ayyo c'eva dāso ca; ayyo hutvā dāso hoti, dāso hutvā ayyo hotīti. Ettha, Assalāyana, brāhmaṇānaṃ kiṃ balaṃ ko assāso yad ettha brāhmaṇā evaṃ āhaṃsu: Brāhmaṇā vai satṭho vaṇṇo, hīno añño vaṇṇo – pe – brahmadāyādāti.

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 brahmins speak thus: ‘Only brahmins form the best caste, all other castes are low...heirs to Brahmā?’*”

Late Canonical: Apadāna

The Apadāna of the Khuddaka Nikāya, ed. Mary E. Lilley. 1–2. London, PTS 1926–27.

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.
Apadāna 406 (409), p. 357 ff.

13. oḍḍakā damiḷā c'eva sākuḷā malayāḷakā
sabarā yonakā c'eva āgacchanti mamaṃ gharāṃ.
14. andhakā muṇḍakā sabbe kolakā sānuvindakā
ārā va cīnaraṭṭhā ca āgacchanti mamaṃ gharāṃ.
15. *alсандakā* pallavakā babbarā bhagga-kārusā
bāhikā cetaputtā ca āgacchanti mamaṃ gharāṃ.

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: Mahānidessa

Mahānidessa, ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin & E.J. Thomas. 1–2. London, PTS 1916–17 (repr. 1978).

Mahānidessa on Suttanipāta 820

Yona, Paramayona and Allasanda visited by a merchant.

Mahānidessa on Suttanipāta 820 Tissametteyyasuttaniddeso, p. 154 f.

athavā kāmataṇhāya abhibhūto pariyādiṇṇacitto bhoge pariyesanto nāvāya mahāsamuddarṃ pakkhandati, sītassa purakkhato, uṇhassa purakkhato, daṃsama kasavātātapasirimāpasamphassehi rissamāno khuppipāsāya pīḷiyamāno Gumbaṃ gacchati, Takkolaṃ gacchati, Takkasilaṃ gacchati, Kālamukhaṃ gacchati, Maraṇapāraṃ gacchati, Vesungaṃ gacchati, Verāpathaṃ gacchati, Javaṃ gacchati, Tamaliṃ gacchati, Vaṅgaṃ gacchati, Eḷavaddanaṃ gacchati, Savaṇṇakūṭaṃ gacchati, Suvāṇṇabhūmiṃ gacchati, Tambapaṇṇiṃ gacchati, Suppāraṃ gacchati, Bharukacchaṃ gacchati, Suraṭṭhaṃ gacchati, Aṅgaṇekaṃ gacchati, Gaṅgaṇaṃ gacchati, Paramagaṅgaṇaṃ gacchati, *Yonaṃ* gacchati, *Paramayonaṃ* gacchati, *Allasandaṃ* gacchati, Marukantāraṃ gacchati, Jaṇṇupathaṃ gacchati, Ajapathaṃ gacchati, Meṇḍapathaṃ gacchati, Saṅkupathaṃ gacchati, Chattapathaṃ gacchati, Vaṃsapathaṃ gacchati, Sakuṇapathaṃ gacchati, Mūsikapathaṃ gacchati, Daripathaṃ gacchati, Vettādhāraṃ gacchati; evaṃ 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.

Mahāniddeśa on Suttanipāta 939

Yona, Paramayona and Allasanda visited by a merchant. In spite of some different lections, the passage is the same as the one quoted before.

Mahāniddeśa on Suttanipāta 939 Attadaṇḍasuttaniddeśo, p. 414 f.

athavā rāgasallena otiṇṇo viddho phuṭṭho pareto samohito samannāgato bhoge pariyesanto nāvāya mahāsamuddaṃ gacchati, sītassa purakkhato daṃsamakasaṅgavātāpasirimsapasamphassehi rissamāno, khuppiṇāsāya miyyamāno Gumbaṃ gacchati, Takkolaṃ gacchati, Takkasilaṃ gacchati, Kālamukhaṃ gacchati, Maraṇapāraṃ gacchati, Vesungaṃ gacchati, Verāpathaṃ gacchati, Javaṃ gacchati, Tamaliṃ gacchati, Vaṅgaṃ gacchati, Eḷavaddhanaṃ gacchati, Savaṇṇakūṭaṃ gacchati, Tambapaṇṇiṃ gacchati, Suppāraṃ gacchati, Bharukacchaṃ gacchati, Suratṭhaṃ gacchati, Aṅgaṇekaṃ gacchati, Gaṅgaṇaṃ* gacchati, Paramagaṅgaṇaṃ* gacchati, Yonaṃ gacchati, Paramayonaṃ gacchati, Allasaṅgaṇaṃ gacchati, Marukantāraṃ gacchati, Jaṇṇupathaṃ gacchati, Ajapathaṃ gacchati, Meṇḍapathaṃ gacchati, Saṅkupathaṃ gacchati, Chattapathaṃ gacchati, Vaṃsapathaṃ gacchati, Sakuṇapathaṃ gacchati, Mūsikapathaṃ gacchati, Daripathaṃ gacchati, Vettādhāraṃ gacchati. Pariyesanto na labhati, alābhamūlakaṃ pi dukkhadomanassaṃ paṭisaṃvedeti. Pariyesanto labhati, laddhā ārakkhamaṃ pi dukkhadomanassaṃ paṭisaṃvedeti: kin ti me bhoge n' eva rājāno hareyyuṃ, na corā hareyyuṃ na aggi ḍaheyya, na udakaṃ vaheyya, na appiyā dāyādā hareyyuṃ ti

* v.l. Taṅgaṇaṃ * vv.ll. Śtaṅgaṇaṃ, Śtaṅkanaṃ

Commentaries

Vinaya-Commentary

Vinaya-Commentary: Samantapāsādikā. Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka. Ed. J. Takakusu and M. Nagai. 1. London 1924 (repr. 1975); 5. 1938 (1966); 7. 1927.

Vin-C 1, p. 55

Prince Tissa and the monk Yonakamahādharmarakkhita.

Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 1, p. 55.

so puna ekadivasaṃ migavaṃ nikkhamitvā araṇṇe anuvicāramāno addasa Yonakamahādharmarakkhitattheraṃ aṇṇatarena hatthināgena sālasākhaṃ gahetvā vījayamānaṃ nisinnaṃ. disvā pāmujjajāto cintesi: kadā nu kho aham pi ayaṃ mahatthero viya pabbajeyyaṃ, siyā nu kho so divaso ti.

thero tassa ajjhāsayam veditvā tassa passantass' eva ākāse uppatitvā Asokārāme pokkharāṇiyā udakathale ṭhatvā cīvaraṇ ca uttarāsaṅgaṇ ca ākāse laggetvā nahāyitum āraddho, kumāro therassānubhāvaṁ disvā ativiya pasanno, ajj' eva pabbajissāmīti nivattitvā rañño ārocesi: pabbajissām' aham devā '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. 63f. & 67

Missions sent from Aśoka's council.

Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 1, p. 63f. & 67

p. 63f. Moggaliputtatissathero kira imam tatiyam dhammasaṅgītiṁ katvā evam cintesi: kattha nu kho anāgate sāsanaṁ suppatiṭṭhitaṁ bhaveyyā 'ti. ath' assa upaparikkhato etad ahoṣi: paccantimesu kho janapadesu suppatiṭṭhitaṁ bhavissatīti. so tesam tesam bhikkhūnam bhāram katvā te te bhikkhū tattha tattha pesesi. Majjhantikatheraṁ Kasmīragandhāraratṭhaṁ pesesi, tvaṁ etaṁ ratṭhaṁ gantvā ettha sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpehīti. Mahādevattheraṁ tath' eva vatvā Mahisakamaṇḍalaṁ pesesi, Rakkhitattheraṁ Vanavāsīṁ, Yonakadhammarakkhitattheraṁ Aparantakaṁ, Mahādhammarakkhitattheraṁ Mahāratṭhaṁ, Mahārakkhitattheraṁ Yonakalokaṁ, Majjhimattheraṁ Himavantapadesa-bhāgaṁ, Sonakattheraṇ ca Uttarattheraṇ ca Suvaṇṇabhūmiṁ, attano saddhivihārikaṁ Mahindattheraṁ Iddhiyattherena Uttiyattherena Sambalattherena Bhaddasālattherena ca saddhiṁ Tambapaṇṇidīpaṁ pesesi ...

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 Maharashtra, Thera Mahārakkhita to Yonakaloka, Thera Majjhima to the Himalayas, Thera Sonaka and Thera Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma?) and his companion, Thera Mahinda, together with Thera Uttiya, Thera Sambala and Thera Bhaddasāla, to Sri Lanka.

p. 67. *Yonakadhammarakkhitatthero pi Aparantakaṃ gantvā Aggikkhandhūpamasuttantakathāyā Aparantake pasādetvā sattatimsapāṇasahassāni dhammāmataṃ pāyesi. khattiyakulato yeva parisasahassāṃ pabbajimsu samadhikāni cha itthisahassāni. evaṃ so tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi.*

*Aparantaṃ vigāhitvā Yonako Dhammarakkhito
Aggikkhandhūpamen' ettha pasādesi jane bahū ti*

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.*

... Mahārakkhitatthero pi *Yonakarattṭhaṃ* gantvā Kālakārāmasuttantakathāyā *Yonakalokaṃ* pasādetvā sattatimsasahassādhikassa pāṇasatasahassassa maggapaḷālākāraṃ adāsi, santike c' assa dasasahassā pabbajimsu. evaṃ so pi tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi.

*Yonakarattṭhaṃ tadā gantvā so Mahārakkhito isi
Kālakārāmasuttena te pasādesi Yonake ti*

Going to Yonaka country, Thera Mahārakkhita gladdened the Yonakaloka with the sermon of the Kālakārāmasuttanta, gave...(?) to thirty-seven thousand and more hundreds of thousands of people, and ten thousand went forth in his presence. In this way, he established the doctrine there.*

*Going then to Yonaka country, this sage Mahārakkhita
Gladdened the Yonakas with the Kālakārāmasutta.*

*Instead of the incomprehensible *maggapaḷālākāraṃ*, Mv 12, 40 has *maggaphalaṃ* 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 nīccapūtinā 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.

pūṭabaddhā 'ti yonakaupāhanā vuccati, yāva jaṅghato sabbapādaṃ paṭicchādeti

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.

paṭalikā 'ti ghanapupphako uṇṇāmayattharako, Yonaka-Damiḷa-paṭo ti vuccati

“A woven cloth” – *a woollen covering, festooned with many flowers, called the garment of Yonakas and Damiḷas (Greeks and Tamils).*

Vin-C 7, p. 1336

Yonaka monks as pilgrims.

Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Commentary), 7, p. 1336 on Vinaya: Parivāra 6, 5.

paracittaṃ paśīdatī ti ettha imāni vatthūni, Tisso nāma daharabbhikkhu Jambukolacetiyaṅgaṇaṃ sammajjivā saṅkārachaḍḍaniṃ hatthena gahetvā va aṭṭhāsi. tasmim khane Tissadattathero nāma nāvāto orūyha cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ olokeno bhāvitacittena sammatṭhaṭṭhānan ti nāvā pañhā sahasaṃ pucchi. itaro sabbaṃ vissajjesi. aññatarasmiṃ pi vihāre thero cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ sammajjivā vattaṃ paricchindi. Yonakavisayato cetiyavandanakā cattāro therā āgantvā cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ disvā anto appavisitvā dvāre yeva ṭhatvā eko thero aṭṭha kappe anussari. eko soḷasa, eko vīsati. eko tiṃsa kappe anussari.

“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

Dīghanikāya-Commentary: The Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya. Part 1. Ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter. London, PTS 1886.
Part 3. Ed. W. Stede from materials left unfinished by T.W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter. London, PTS 1932.

Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā. Vol. 1. Ed. Lily de Silva. London (PTS) 1970.

DN-C 1, p. 176

On barbarian languages. Sumaṅgalavilāsini (Dīghanikāya Commentary), 1, p. 176⁴⁸ on DN 2, 40 (Sāmaññaphalasutta).

Yassa pana desanā eka-vyañjanādi-yuttā vā sabba-niroṭṭha-vyañjanā vā sabba-visaṭṭha-sabba-niggahīta-vyañjanā vā, tassa Damiḷa-Kirāṭa-Yavanādi-Millakkhānaṃ* bhāsā viya, vyañjana-paripūriyā abhāvato avyañjanā nāma desanā hoti

*The Burmese MS of the Indian Office reads savarādi-milakkhunāṃ

*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, Kirāṭa 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. Sumaṅgalavilāsini (Dīghanikāya Commentary), 3, p. 736 on DN 22, 2, 5 (Sakkapañhasutta).

Sāriputta-tthero kira tiṃsa vassāni mañce piṭṭhiṃ na pasāresi. tathā Mahāmogallā-tthero Mahākassapa-tthero ca vīsaṃ vassa-sataṃ mañce piṭṭhiṃ na pasāresi. Anuruddha-tthero pañca-paññāsa vassāni, Bhaddiya-tthero tiṃsa-vassāni, *Yona-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 Mahāmogallāna 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*.

ekavyañjan’ ādiyuttā vā ti sithil’ ādibhedesu vyañjanesu ekappakāren’ eva vippakāren’ eva vā byañjanena yuttā vā Damiḷabhāsā viya. Viraṭakaraṇatāya oṭṭhe aḥusāpetvā uccāretabbato sabbaniroṭṭhavyañjanā vā Kirātabhāsā viya. Sabbath’ eva vissajjanīyayuttatāya sabbavisatṭhavyañjanā vā Yavanabhāsā viya. Sabbath’ eva sānuṣṣaratayā sabbaniggahītavyañjanā vā Pārasik’ādimilakkhabhāsā viya. Sabbā p’ eṣā vyañjan’ ekadesa-vasen’ eva pavattiyā aparipuṇṇavyañjanā ti katvā avyañjanā ti vuttā.

“Combined of single sounds, etc.” – sounds with original difference as unaspirated combined with coinciding or wrongly pronounced sounds,⁵⁰ 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”.⁵¹

Majjhimanikāya-Commentary

Majjhimanikāya-Commentary: Papañcasūdanī Majjhimanikāyattṭhakatṭhā of Buddhaghosācariya.

Ed. I.B. Horner. Part 3. London (PTS) 1933 (repr. 1976; parts 1–2, ed. J.H. Woods & D. Kosambi, L. 1922–28; part 4, ed. Horner L. 1937–38).

The Papañca Sūdanī or the Commentary of the Majjhimanikāya. Rev. and ed. Dhammakitti Siri Dhammānanda. Vol. 2. Colombo 1926 (the Aluvihāra edition).⁵²

MN-C 3, p. 19 (Aluvihāra 2, 575)

On hanging up oil lamps.

Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya Commentary), 3, p. 19 on MN 53 (Sekhasutta, ed. p. 354).

Telappadīpaṃ āropetvā ti rajatasuvaṇṇādīmayadaṇḍāsu dīpikāsu *yonaka-* rūpakhacīnarūpakhādīnāṃ hatthe ṭhapitasuvaṇṇarajatādīmayakapallakādisu ca telappadīpe jālayitvā ti attho.

50 This follows the interpretation of von Hinüber (1994, 219), but note that Gornall (2014, 26) reads dvīppakāren’ 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 *yonakarūpakiratarūpakādīnāṃ*, and the Thai edition (1920, vol. 3) *yonakarūpakinnararūpakādīnāṃ*. 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]).

ayyo hutvā dāso hoti, dāso hutvā ayyo hotīti brāhmaṇo sabhariyo vaṇijjaṃ payojento Yonarattṭham vā Kambojarattṭham vā gantvā kālaṃ karoti. Tassa gehe vayappatte putte asati brahmaṇī dāsena vā kammakarena vā saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ kappeti. Ekasmiṃ dārake jāte so puriso dāso va hoti. Tassa jātadārako pana dāyajasāmiko hoti. Mātito suddho pitito asuddho. So vaṇijjaṃ payojento majjhimapadesaṃ gantvā brāhmaṇadārikaṃ gahetvā tassā kucchismiṃ puttaṃ paṭilabhati. So pi mātito va suddho hoti pitito asuddho. Evaṃ brāhmaṇasamayasmaṇī ñeva jātisambhedo hotīti dasanattham etaṃ vuttaṃ.

“Having been a master, one becomes a slave; having been a slave, one becomes a master” – 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.

Āṅguttaranikāya-Commentary

Āṅguttaranikāya-Commentary: Manorathapūraṇī. Buddhaghosa’s Commentary on the Āṅguttara-Nikāya. Vol. 1 after the manuscript of Edmund Hardy, ed. Max Walleser. [1924] 2nd edn rev. H. Kopp. London (PTS) 1973. Vol. 2, ed. Max Walleser and H. Kopp [1930]. Revised 2nd edn London (PTS) 1967 (or 1930).

AN-C 1, p. 90 f.

Monks in ancient times clad in white robes like Yonakas.

Manorathapūraṇī (Aṅguttaranikāya Commentary), 1, p. 90 f. on AN 1, 10, 42.⁵³

Tato gacchante kāle nānāvidhāni kammāni karontā ‘papañco esa, kiṃ iminā amhākan’ ti kāsāvakaṅṭharā chinditvā araññe khipanti. Etasmiṃ kāle liṅgaṃ antarahitaṃ nāma hoti. Kassapadasabalassa kira kālato paṭṭhāya *Yonakānaṃ* setavatthaṃ pārupitvā caraṇaṃ cārittaṃ jātan ti. Idaṃ liṅga-antaradhānaṃ nāma.

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.

AN-C 2, p. 289

Yavanabhāsā listed among the barbarian languages.

Manorathapūraṇī (Aṅguttaranikāya Commentary), 2, p. 289 on AN 3, 7, 3.

Sātthaṃ sabyañjanaṃ ti yassa hi yāgubhatta-itthipurisādi-vaṇṇanānissitā desanā hoti, na so sātthaṃ deseti. Bhagavā pana tathārūpaṃ desanaṃ pahāya catusatipaṭṭhānādinissitaṃ desanaṃ deseti, tasmā sātthaṃ desetīti vuccati. Yassa pana desanā ekabyañjanādiyuttā vā sabbaniroṭṭhabyañjanā vā sabbavissatṭha-sabbaniggaḥītabyañjanā vā, tassa Daṃḍakirāṭayavanādi-milakkhānaṃ bhāsā viya byañjanapāripūriyā abhāvato nāma desanā hoti.

Cf. DN-C 1, p. 176 above.

“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-Commentary

Udāna-Commentary: *Paramattha-Dīpanī Udānaṭṭhakathā* (Udāna Commentary) of *Dhammapālācariya*. Ed. F.L. Woodward. London, PTS 1926.

⁵³ This corresponds to Malalasekera 1, 51, referring to S. Hewavitarne’s edition.

Udāna-C, p. 410

On hanging up an oil lamp.

Paramatthadīpanī (Udāna Commentary), p. 410 on Udāna 8, 6.

Telappadīpaṃ āropetvā ti rajatasuvaṇṇādi-maya-daṇḍa-dīpakāsu ca yonaka-rūpavilāsa-khacita-rūpakādīnāṃ hatthe ṭhapita-suvaṇṇa-rajatādi-maya-kapallakāsu tela-ppadīpe jālayitvā.

“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-Commentary: *Paramattha-Dīpanī Iti-Vuttakaṭṭhakathā (Iti-Vuttaka Commentary) of Dhammapālācariya*, ed. M.M. Bose. 1–2. London (PTS) 1934–36 (repr. 1977).

Itivuttaka-C 2, p. 154

Prince Tissa and the monk Yonakamahādhammarakkhita.

Paramatthadīpanī (Itivuttaka Commentary), 2 p. 154 on Itivuttaka 1, 5.

Vuttanayena pabbajitesu pana Mahākassapatherassa tāva anupabbajjaṃ pabbajitā sataśahassa mattā ahesuṃ. Tathā therass’ eva Saddhivihārikassa Candaguttattherassa, tassāpi Saddhivihārikassa Suriyaguttattherassa, tassāpi Saddhivihārikassa Assaguttattherassa, tassāpi Saddhivihārikassa *Yonakadhammarakkhitattherassa*. Tassa pana Saddhivihāriko Asokarañño kaniṭṭhabhātā Tissatthero nāma ahoṃ.

But in the same way, as soon as Thera Mahākassapa had renounced the world, there were as many as a hundred thousand renunciators 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 Yonakadhammarakkhita. But his pupil was Thera Tissa, the younger brother of King Aśoka.

Theragāthā-Commentary

Theragāthā-Commentary: *Paramattha-Dīpanī Theragāthā-Atṭhakathā. The Commentary of Dhammapālācariya*, ed. F.L. Woodward. Part 2. London, PTS 1952.

Thg-C 2, p. 227 f.

Prince Tissa and the monk Yonakamahādhammarakkhita.

Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthā Commentary), 2, p. 227 f. on Theragāthā 10, 2, 537–546 (Ekavihāriya).

Asoka-mahārājā kira Satthu parinibbānato dvinnam vassa-satānam upari atthārasame vasse sakala-Jambudīpe eka-rajjābhisekam patvā, attano kaniṭṭham Tissa-kumāram uparajje ṭhapetvā, kena upāyema tam sāsane abhippasannam akāsi? So ekadivasaṃ migavaṃ gato araṇṇe *Yonakamahādhammarakkhita*-ttheraṃ hatthi-nāgena sālasākham gahetvā vījayamānam nisinnam disvā sañjāta-pasādo ‘Aho vat’ aham pi mahāthero viya pabbajitvā araṇṇe vihareyyan’ ti cintesi. Thero tassa cittācāram nītvā tassa passantass’ eva ākāsam abbhuggantvā Asokārāme pokkharāṇiya abhijjamāne udake ṭhatvā cīvaraṃ ca uttarāsaṅgaṃ ca ākāse olambetvā, nahāyitum ārabhi. Kumāro therassa ānubhāvam disvā, abhippasanno araṇṇato nivattitvā, rājageham gantvā; ‘pabbajissāmi’ ti raṇṇo ārocesi. Rājā tam anekappakāram yācitvā pabbajjādhippāyam nivattetum nāsakhi.

Now, two centuries after the Master’s parinirvāṇa, the great King Asoka – 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 Yonakamahādhammarakkhita 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 Asoka’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-vinodanī Abhidhamma-piṭake Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta Thero. London, PTS 1923 (repr. 1980).

Vibhaṅga-C, p. 240

Local languages are subject to change, Māgadhī (i.e. Pāli) is not.

Sammoha-vinodanī p. 240 quoted in von Hinüber 1994, 80 f.

tattha sesā oṭṭakirāta-andhakayonakadamiḷabhāsādikā atthārasa bhāsā parivattanti. ayam ev’ ekā yathābhuccabrahmavohāra-ariyavohārasamkhātā māgadhābhāsā va na parivattati.

von Hinüber: *There the rest of the eighteen languages such as Oṭṭa, Kirāta, Andhaka, Yonaka, Damiḷa, etc., are subject to change. Only this Māgadhā language, rightly called the language of Brahṃā, the labguage of the Aryans, it alone does not change.*

Vibhaṅga-C, p. 387f.

Yonabhāsā listed among the barbarian languages.

Sammoha-vinodanī (Vibhaṅga Commentary), p. 387 (Paṭisambhidāvibhaṅgo).

Tattha dhammanirutthābhilāpe nāṇan ti ... Niraye, tiracchānayoniyam, petti-visaye, manussaloke, devaloke ti sabbattha Māgadhabhāsā va ussannā. Tattha sesā Oṭṭa-Kirāta-Andhaka-Yonaka-Damiḷa-bhāsādikā aṭṭhārasa bhāsā parivattanti, ayam ev' ekā yathābhuccha-brahmavohāra-ariyavohārasankhātā Māgadhabhāsā na parivattati.

Alwis, p. 58:⁵⁴ *Māgadhi. 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, Kiráthá, Andhaka, Yonaka, Damila etc. undergo changes – but not the Māgadhi, which alone is stationary, as it is said to be the speech of Brahmas and Ariyas.*

Vibhaṅga-C, p. 389

On Yonakadhammarakkhita

Sammoha-vinodanī (Vibhaṅga Commentary), p. 389 (Paṭisambhidāvibhaṅgo).

so [Tissatthero] kira Tambapaṇṇidīpe Buddhavacanam uggāṇhitvā paratīram gantvā Yonaka-Dhammarakkhitattherassa santike Buddhavacanam uggāṇhitvā āgacchanto nāvam abhiruhanatithe ekasmin pade uppannakankho yojanasatamaggam nivattitvā ācariyassa santikam gacchanto antarāmagge ekassa kuṭumbikassa pañham kathesi.

Now, this Thera Tissa, having learned the Buddha's words on the island of Tambapaṇṇi, went to the other shore, learning the Buddha's words with Thera Yonakadhammarakkhita. 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*Dīpavamsa*

The Dīpavamsa. An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record. Ed. & tr. H. Oldenberg, 1879 (repr. New Delhi 1982).

The Chronicle of the Island of Ceylon or the Dīpavamsa. Ed. [and tr.] B.C. Law. *The Ceylon Historical Journal* 7:1–4, 1957–58.

⁵⁴ James Alwis, "On the Pali Language", *JPTS* 1883, 39–68.

Dv 8

The missions sent by Moggaliputta from Aśoka's council.
Dīpavaṃsa 8, 1–13.

1. Moggaliputto dīghadassī sāsanassa anāgate
paccantamhi patitṭhānaṃ disvā dibbena cakkhunā
2. Majjhantikādayo there pāhesi attapañcame:
sāsanassa patitṭhāya paccante sattabuddhiyā
3. paccantakānaṃ desānaṃ anukampāya pāṇīnaṃ
pabhātukā balappattā desetha dhammam uttamaṃ.
4. gantvā Gandhāraṃvisayaṃ Majjhantiko mahā isi
kupitaṃ nāgaṃ pasādetvā mocesi bandhanā bahu.
5. gantvāna raṭṭhaṃ Mahisaṃ Mahādevo mahiddhiko
coditvā nirayadukkhena mocesi bandhanā bahu.
6. athāparo pi Rakkhito vikubbanesu kovido
vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvāna desesi anamataggiyaṃ.
7. *Yonakadhammarakkhitathero* nāma mahāmati
aggikkhandhopamasuttakathāya Aparantakaṃ pasādayi.
8. Mahādhammarakkhitathero Mahāraṭṭhaṃ pasādayi
Nāradaḥkassapajātakakathāya ca mahiddhiko.
9. Mahārakkhitathero pi *Yonakalokaṃ* pasādayi
kālākārāmasuttantakathāya ca mahiddhiko.
10. Kassapagotto ca yo thero Majjhimo Durabhisaro
Sahadevo Mūlakadevo Himavante yakkhagaṇaṃ pasādayuṃ,
11. kathesuṃ tattha suttantaṃ dhammacakkappavattanaṃ.
12. Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ gantvāna Soṇuttarā mahiddhikā
niddhametvā pisācagaṇe mocesi bandhanā bahu.
13. Laṅkādīpavaraṃ gantvā Mahindo attapañcamo
sāsaṇaṃ thāvaraṃ katvā mocesi bandhanā bahu.
bhāṇavāraṃ aṭṭhamaṃ

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 Yonakadhammarakkhita converted the Aparantaka country by preaching the Aggikkhandhopama Sutta.

8. The Thera Mahādhammarakkhita who possessed the great (magical) powers, converted Mahāratt̥ha 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 Kassapa tribe, Majjhima, Durabhisara, Sahadeva, Mūlakadeva, 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 Suvaṇṇabhūmi; there they conquered the multitudes of Pisācas 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.

Dīpavaṃsa 15, 49–50.

49. dubbuṭṭhiyo tadā āsi dubbhikkhi āsi yonakā
dubbhikkhadukkhite satte macchā v'appodake yathā
50. āgate lokadidur̥hi devo sammābhivassati
khemo 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.

Mahāvamsa

The Mahāvamsa, ed. W. Geiger. London, PTS 1908 (repr. 1958).

The Mahāvamsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, tr. into English by W. Geiger. London, PTS 1964 (originally publ. 1912).

Mv 10, 90

King Paṇḍukābhaya in the 4th century BCE builds Anurādhapura and gives a separate area to the Yonas.

Mahāvamsa 10, 88–90.

88. ...
 Dvārāgame ca caturo 'bhayavāpim ca kārayi
 89. mahāsusānaghātanam pacchimarājini tathā
 Vessavaṇassa nigrodham vyādhivevassa tālakam
 90. yonasabhāgavatthum ca mahejjaghāram eva ca:
 etāni pacchimadvāradisābhāge 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.

Mahāvamsa 12, 1 ff.

1. Thero Moggaliputto so jinasāsanajotako
 niṭṭhāpetvāna saṅgītim pekkhamāno anāgataṃ
2. sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhānaṃ paccantesu apekkhiya
 pesesi kattike māse te te there tahiṃ tahiṃ.
3. Theram Kasīragandhāram Majjhantikaṃ apesayi,
 apesayi Mahādevattheram Mahisamaṇḍalam.
4. Vanavāsam apesesi theram Rakkhitanāmakam,
 tathāparantakam Yonam Dhammarakkhitanāmakam.
5. Mahāratṭham Mahādharmarakkhitattheranāmakam
 Mahārakkhitatheram tu Yonalokam apesayi.
6. Pesesi Majjhimaṃ theram Himavantapadesakam,
 Suvaṇṇabhūmim there dve Soṇam 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 Kasmīra and Gandhāra, the thera Mahādeva he sent to Mahisamaṇḍala. To Vanavāsa he*

sent the thera named Rakkhita, and to Aparantaka the Yona named Dhammarakkhita; to Mahāraṭṭha (he sent) the thera named Mahādhammarakkhita, but the thera Mahārakkhita he sent into the country of the Yona. He sent the thera Majjhima to the Himalaya country, and to Suvannabhūmi he sent the two theras Soṇa and Uttara.

Mv 12, 34

The Aparantaka mission of Yona Dhammarakkhita.

Mahāvamsa 12, 34–36.

34. Gantvāparantakaṃ thero *Yonako* Dhammarakkhito
aggikkhandhopamaṃ suttaṃ kathetvā janamajjhago
35. so satta tiṃsasahassāni pāṇe tattha samāgate [sic]
dhammāmataṃ apāyesi dhammādhammesu kovido.
36. Purissānaṃ sahasā ca itthiyo ca tato 'dhikā
khattiyānaṃ kulā yeva nikkhamitvāna pabbajurū
Some MSS. apply different ways of correction to restore the metre in 35ab.

Geiger: *The thera 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.*

*Geiger's note: "Aparānta 'the western ends', comprising the territory of northern Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Kachchh, and Sind. Fleet, *JRAS* 1910, 427."

Mv 12, 39

The Yona mission of Mahārakkhita.

Mahāvamsa 12, 39 f.

39. Gantvāna *Yonavisayaṃ* so Mahārakkhito isi
kālākārāmasuttantaṃ kathesi janaajjhago.
40. Pāṇasatasahassāni sahasāni ca sattati
maggaphalaṃ pāpuṇṇsu, dasasahassāni pabbajurū. [sic]

Geiger: *The wise Mahārakkhita who went to the country of the Yona* delivered in the midst of the people the Kālākārāma-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, *Asoka* 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 Elāra.

Mahāvamsa 29, 38 f.

38. cattāri satasahassāni sahasān' atha saṭṭhi ca
bhikkhū Pallavabhoggamhā Mahādeva mahāmati,
39. *Yonānagarālasandā* Yonamahādhammarakkhito
thero tiṃsasahassāni bhikkhū ādāya āgamā.

Geiger: *The wise Mahādeva came from Pallavabhogga* with four hundred and sixty thousand bhikkhus and from Alasanda** the city of the Yonas came the thera Yonamahādhammarakkhita with thirty thousand bhikkhus.*

*Geiger's note: "Pallava is the name of the Persians = Skt. Pallava or Pahlava. Bhoggam 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***Cūlavamsa**

Cūlavamsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvamsa, ed. W. Geiger. 1–2. London, PTS 1925–27.

Cūlavamsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvamsa, 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.

Cūlavamsa 76, 264.

264. Paṇṇākāraṃ tadā nītaṃ 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.*

Mahābodhivamsa

The Mahā-Bodhi-Vamsa, ed. S. Arthur Strong. London, PTS 1891.

Mbv p. 113–115

Missions sent by Moggaliputtatissa from Aśoka's council.

Mahābodhivamsa p. 113–115.

Tadā Moggaliputtatissatthero taṃ tatiyaśaṅgītiṃ niṭṭhāpetvā , “Kattha nu kho anāgate sāsanaṃ suppatitṭhitaṃ bhaveyyāti? upaparikkhanto, “Paccantimesu kho pana janapadesu suppatitṭhitaṃ bhavissatīti,” disvā, Majjhantikattheraṃ Kasmīra-Gandhāraṭṭhaṃ pesesi, tathā Mahādevattheraṃ Mahimsakamaṇḍalaṃ, Rakkhitattheraṃ Vanavāsīṃ, *Yonakadhammarakkhitattheraṃ Aparantakaṃ*, Mahādhammarakkhitattheraṃ Mahāraṭṭhaṃ, Mahārakkhitattheraṃ *Yonakalokaṃ*, Majjhimattheraṃ Himavantadesabhāgaṃ, Soṇattheraṃ ca Uttarattheraṃ ca Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ ... Mahāmahindattheraṃ Laṅkāsaṅkhātaṃ Tambapaṇḍīpaṃ pesesi. Te sabbe taṃ taṃ disābhagaṃ gacchantā attapañcamā āgamiṃsu ...

[p. 114] *Yonakadhammarakkhitatthero* pi Aparantaṃ gantvā, aggi-kkhandhopamasuttantakathāya Aparantake pasādetvā, sattatiṃsapāṇasahasāni Dhammāmetaṃ pāyevā, khattiyakuḷato yeva purisahasassaṃ cha itthisahasāni ca pabbājetvā, tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi ...

Mahārakkhitatthero pi *Yonakaraṭṭhaṃ* gantvā, Kāḷa- [p. 115] kārāmasuttanta-kathāya *Yonakalokaṃ* pasādetvā, sattatiṃsahasasādhikassa pāṇasahasasassa maggaphalālaṅkāraṃ datvā, dasahasāni pabbājetvā, tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi.

Slightly abridged, but otherwise identical with Vin-C 1, p. 63 f. & 67 above.

Thūpavaṃsa

Thūpavaṃsa: *The Chronicle of the Thūpa*, ed. & tr. N.A. Jayawickrama. London 1971.

Thūpav. 6, p. 192

Missions sent by Moggaliputtatissa.

Thūpavaṃsa 6, p. 192 (Jayawickrama, tr. p. 57 = p. 43 in B.C. Law's edition).

Moggaliputtatissatthero ... bhikkhū tattha tattha pesesi. Majjhantikattheraṃ Kasmīragandhāraṭṭhaṃ pesesi, tvaṃ etaṃ raṭṭhaṃ gantvā tattha sāsanaṃ patiṭṭhāpehīti, Mahādevattheraṃ tath' eva vatvā Mahimsakamaṇḍalaṃ pesesi, Rakkhitattheraṃ Vanavāsīṃ, *Yonaka*-Dhammarakkhitattheraṃ Aparantakaṃ, Mahādhammarakkhitattheraṃ Mahāraṭṭhaṃ, Mahārakkhitattheraṃ *Yonakalokaṃ*, ...

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 Mahimsaka, the Elder Rakkhita to Vanavāsi, the Elder Dhammarakkhita the Yona to the Western Lands, the Elder Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha, the Elder Mahārakkhita to the Yona World,...*

Thūpav. 13, p. 224

Commencement of the Thūpa.

Thūpavaṃsa 13, p. 224 (Jayawickrama, tr. p. 102 = p. 72 f. in B.C. Law's edition).

Yonakaraṭṭhe Alasandanagarato Yonakadhammarakkhitatthero timsa bhikkhusahassāni...gahetvā āgañhi

Jayawickrama: *The Elder Dhammarakkhita the Yonaka [came] with 30000 monks from the city of Alasandā in the Yonaka kingdom.*

Cf. Mv 29.

Vaṃsatthappakāsini

Vaṃsatthappakāsini: *Vaṃsatthappakāsini. Commentary on the Mahāvamsa*, ed. G.P. Malalasekera. 1–2. London, PTS 1935 (repr. 1977).

Mv-C on Mv 5, 161

Conversion of Aśoka's brother Tissa.

Vaṃsatthappakāsini on Mahāvamsa 5, 161 (to give the context of the story, the whole passage Mv 5, 160–165 is given).

160. iccevaṃ bhātara vutto sāsanasmim pasīdi so.

Kālena migavaṃ gantvā theram adakkhi saññatam

161. nisinnam rukkhamūlasmim so Mahādhammarakkhitam

sālasākhāya nāgena vijiyantam anāvasam.

Commentary: Mahādhammarakkhitan ti *Yonakamahādhammarakkhitattheram* nāgena ti aññatarena hatthināgena...

162. "Ayaṃ thero viyāham pi pabbajja jinasāsane

viharissam kadā 'raññe?' iti cintayi paññivā.

163. Thero tassa pasādatham uppativā vihāyasā

gantvā Asokārāmassa pokkharāññā jale t̥hito

164. ākāse t̥hapayitvāna cīvarāni varāni so

ogāhitvā pokkharāṇim gattāni parisīncatha.

165. Tam iddhim uparājā so disvā 'tīva pasīdiya

"ajj 'eva pabbajissan" ti buddhim cākāsi 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.

Vaṃsathappakāsinī on Mahāvamsa 29, 39 (for the Mv passage, see above).

yonanagarā ’lasandā ti *Yonavisayamhi Alasandā* nāma nagaraparivatto ti vuttaṃ 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.

Vaṃsathappakāsinī on Mahāvamsa 34, 47 (to give the context of the story, the whole passage Mv 34, 46–48 is given).

46. sakaṭasatena muttānaṃ telena saddhiṃ sādhukaṃ
maddāpetvā sudhāpiṇḍaṃ sudhākammaṃ akārayi.
47. Pavāḷajālaṃ kāretvā taṃ khipāpiya cetiye
sovaṇṇayāni padumāni cakkamattāni sandhisu
48. laggāpetvā tato muttākalāpā yāva heṭṭhimā
padumā lambayitvāna Mahāthūpaṃ apūjayi.

Commentary: Pavāḷajālaṃ kāretvā ti paratīre Romanukharatṭhaṃ nāma pesetvā surattapavāḷaṃ āharāpetvā sabbāvantaṃ parikkhepārahaṃ mahantaṃ pavāḷacchikajālaṃ kārāpetvā.

v.l. ropanukharatṭhaṃ

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.

Sāsanavaṃsa

Sāsanavaṃsa: *The Sāsanavaṃsa of Paññasāmi*, ed. C.S. Upasak. Nalanda, Patna 1961.

The History of the Buddha's Religion (Sāsanavaṃsa), tr. Bimala Churn Law. London 1952.

As this text is quite modern (written in the 19th century), full quotations seem unnecessary, even though there are several references to Yonakas and their country. Pariccheda IV is entitled Yonakaraṭṭhasāsanavaṃsakathāmaggo. In Chapter 1, it is told how the Buddha himself visited the Yonaka country (*Yonakaraṭṭha*) with his monks, along with the town of Labhuṅja. 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, Haribhuṅja 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-ma-ṇa-ra, and how relics were brought from Sihalaḍīpa to Labhuṅja.

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 Sihalaḍīpa and then the town Sakkata 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 Labhuṅja 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 Hamsāvātī, who set his eldest son, prince Anuruddha, as viceroy of the conquered Yonakaraṭṭha and send monks there to purify the religion.

Milindapañha

The Milindapañho, being Dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist Sage Nāgasena. The Pāli Text, ed. V. Trenckner. 1880 (repr. with *Milindaṭṭhā*, Oxford, Pali Text Society 1997).

Milindapañha (Questions of Milinda), ed. Swami Dwarikadas Shastri. Bauddha Bharati Series 13. Varanasi 1979 (based on Trenckner).

The Questions of King Milinda, tr. T.W. Rhys Davids. SBE 35–36. 1890–94.

Milinda's Questions. Tr. from the Pali by I.B. Horner. 1–2. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 22–23. Oxford, Pali Text Society, repr. 1996–99.⁵⁵

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 Sāgalāyaṃ puruttame /
upagañchi Nāgasenaṃ Gaṅgā va yathā sāgaraṃ //
2. āsajja rājā citrakathim ukkādhāraṃ tamonudaṃ /
apucchi nipuṇe pañhe ṭhānāṭhānagate puthū //
3. pucchā visajjanā ceva gambhīratthūpanissitā /
hadayaṅgamā kaṇṇasukhā abbhuta lomahaṃsanā //
4. abhidhammavinayogālhā suttajālasamatthitā /
nāgasenakathā citrā opammehi nayehi ca //
5. tattha nānaṃ paṇidhāya hāsavitvāna mānasaṃ /
suṇātha nipuṇe pañhe kaṅkhāṭhānavidālane 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. 1 f. Trenckner).

2. taṃ yathānusūyate – atthi yonakānāṃ nānāpuṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalaṃ nāma nagaraṃ
nadīpabbatasobhitaṃ ramaṇīyabhūmippadesabhāgaṃ ārāmuyyānopavanataḍḍaga-
pokkharāṇisampannaṃ nadīpabbatavanarāmaṇeyyakaṃ sutavantanimmitaṃ
nihatapaccatthikapaccāmittaṃ anupapīlitaṃ vividhavicitradaḷhamaṭṭālakoṭṭhakaṃ
varagopuroraṇaṃ gambhīraparikhāpaṇḍarapākāraparikkhattanteपुराṃ
suvibhattavīthiccacaracatukkasiṅghāṭakaṃ suppasāritānekavidhavarabhaṇḍa-
paripūritantarāpaṇaṃ vividhadānaggasatasamupasobhitaṃ himagirisikhara-
saṅkāsavarabhavanasatasahassappaṭimaṇḍitaṃ gajahayarathapattisamākulaṃ
abhīrūpananarīgaṇānucaritaṃ ākiṇṇajanamanussaṃ puthukhattiyabrāhmaṇa-

vessasuddaṃ vividhasamaṇabrāhmaṇasabhājanasaṅghaṭṭitaṃ bahuvīdhavijjāvanta-
 naravīranisevitaṃ kāsikakoṭumbarakādīnānāvīdhavatthāpaṇasampannaṃ
 suppasāritarucirabahuvīdhapupphagandhāpaṇaṃ gandhagandhitāṃ āsimsaniya-
 bahuratanaparipūritaṃ disāmukhasuppasāritāpaṇaṃ siṅgāravāṇijagaṇānucaritaṃ
 kahāpaṇarajatasuvaṇṇakaṃsapattharaparipūraṃ pajjotamānanidhiniketaṃ
 pahūtaḍhanadhaññāvittūpakaraṇaṃ paripuṇṇakosakoṭṭhāgāraṃ bahvannaṇānaṃ
 bahuvīdhakhajjabhojjaleyyapeyyasāyaṇīyaṃ uttarakurusāṅkāsaṃ sampannasassaṃ
 Ālakamandā viya devapuraṃ /

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, brahmans, merchants and workers; resounding with a variety of salutations to ascetics and brahmans, 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 kahāpaṇas [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 Ālakamandā, 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).

9. tesu sāmaṇero Jambudīpe Sāgalanagare Milindo nāma rājā ahoṣi paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī paṭibalo / atītānāgatapaccuppannānaṃ mantayogavidhānakiriyānaṃ karaṇakāle nisammakārī hoti / bahūni cassa satthāni uggahitāni honti: suti sammuti saṃkhyā yogo nīti visesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikicchā catubbedā purāṇā itihāsā jotisā māyā ketu mantanā yuddhā chandasā buddhavacanaena ekūnavīsati / vitaṇḍavādī durāsado duppasaho puthutitthakarānaṃ aggam akkhāyati / sakalajambudīpe Milindena raññā samo koci nāhoṣi yad idaṃ thāmena javena sūrena paññāya, aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo anantabalavāhanaṃ /

10. athekadivasarū Milindo rājā anantabalavāhanaṃ caturaṅginīnaṃ balaggasenāvīyūhaṃ dassanakamyatāya nagarā nikkhamitvā bahinagare senāṅgadassanaṃ katvā sāretvā so rājā bhassappavādako lokāyatavitaṇḍajanasallāpaplavacittakotūhālo visārado vijambhako sūriyaṃ oloketvā amacce āmantesi: bahu bhaṇe tāva divasāvaseso / kiṃ karissāma idāneva nagaraṃ pavisitvā / atthi ko pi paṇḍito samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā saṅghī gaṇī gaṇācariyo api arahantaṃ sammāsambuddhaṃ paṭijānamāno yo mayā saddhīnaṃ sallapitūnaṃ sakkoti kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinodetūnaṃ / taṃ upasaṅkamitvā pañhaṃ pucchissāma kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinayissāma 'ti /

11. evaṃ vutte pañcasatā *yonakā* rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad avocūna: atthi mahārāja cha satthāro Purāṇo Kassapo Makkhali Gosālo Nigantho Nāṭaputto Sañjayo Belaṭṭhaputto Ajito Kesakambalo pakudho Kaccāyano / te saṅghino gaṇino gaṇācariyākaṃ nātā yasassino titthakarā sādhusammaṭā bahujanassa / gaccha tvamaṃ mahārāja te pañhaṃ pucchassu kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinayassū 'ti /

12. atha kho Milindo rājā pañcahi *yonakasatehi* parivuto bhadravāhanaṃ rathavaram āruya yena Pūraṇo Kassapo ten' upasaṅkami / ...

14. atha kho Milindassa rañño etad ahoṣi: tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo / natthi koci samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhīnaṃ sallapitūnaṃ sakkoti kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinodetūnaṃ ti / atha kho Milindo rājā amacce āmantesi: ramaṇīyā vata bho dosinā ratti / kaṃ nu khv ajja samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā upasaṅkameyyāma pañhaṃ pucchitūnaṃ / ko mayā saddhīnaṃ sallapitūnaṃ sakkoti kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinodetūnaṃ ti / evaṃ vutte amaccā tuṅhībhūtā rañño mukhaṃ olokayamānā aṭṭhaṃsu /

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

Advised by his five hundred Yonakas, he goes on to beat Āyupāla in disputation. Milindapaṇḥa 1, 37–39 (1, 21 [17] Shastri; p. 19–21 Trenckner).

37. tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Āyupālo Saṅkheyyapariveṇe paṭivasati / atha kho Milindo rājā amacce etad avoca: ramaṇīyā vata bho dosinā ratti / kaṁ nu khv ajja samaṇaṁ vā brāhmaṇaṁ vā upasaṅkameyyāma sākacchāya paṇhapucchanāya ko mayā saddhiṁ sallapituṁ ussahati kaṅkhaṁ paṭivinetuṁ ti / evaṁ vutte pañcasatā yonakā rājānaṁ Milindaṁ etad avocuṁ: atthi mahārāja Āyupālo nāma thero tepiṭako bahussuto āgatāgamo / so etarahi Saṅkheyyapariveṇe paṭivasati / gaccha tvaṁ mahārāja āyasmantaṁ Āyupālaṁ paṇhaṁ pucchassū 'ti / tena hi bhāṇe bhadantassa āroceyā 'ti / atha kho nemittiko āyasmato Āyupālassa santike dūtaṁ pāhesi: rājā bhante Milindo āyasmantaṁ Āyupālaṁ dassanakāmo ti / āyasmā pi kho Āyupālo evaṁ āha: tena hi āgacchatū 'ti / atha kho Milindo rājā pañcamattehi yonakasatehi parivuto rathavaram āruyha yena Saṅkheyyapariveṇaṁ yenāyasmā Āyupālo ten' upasaṅkami / upasaṅkamtivā āyasmatā Āyupālena saddhiṁ sammodi / sammodanīyaṁ kathaṁ sāraṇīyaṁ vītisāretvā ekamantaṁ nisīdi / ekamantaṁ nisinno kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṁ Āyupālaṁ etad avoca:

38. kim atthiyā bhante Āyupāla tumhākaṁ pabbajjā / ko ca tumhākaṁ paramattho 'ti / thero āha: dhammacariyasamacariyatthā kho mahārāja pabbajjā sāmaññaphalaṁ kho pana amhākaṁ paramattho ti / atthi pana bhante koci gihī pi dhammacārī samacārī 'ti / āma mahārāja atthi gihī pi dhammacārī samacārī / Bhagavati kho mahārāja Bārāṇasiyaṁ Isipatane migadāye dhammacakkaṁ pavattente aṭṭhārasannaṁ brahmakoṭṭinaṁ dhammābhisamayo ahoṣi / devatānaṁ pana dhammābhisamayo gaṇanapathaṁ vītivatto / sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā / puna hi paraṁ mahārāja Bhagavato kho Mahāsamayasuttante desiyamāne Mahāmaṅgalasuttante desiyamāne Samacittapariyāyasuttante desiyamāne Rāhulovādasuttante desiyamāne Parābhavasuttante desiyamāne gaṇanapathaṁ vītivattānaṁ devatānaṁ mahābhisamayo ahoṣi / sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā 'ti / tena hi bhante Āyupāla niratthikā tumhākaṁ pabbajjā / pubbe katassa pāpakammaṁ nissandena samaṇā sakyaputtiyā pabbajjanti dhutaṅgāni ca pariharanti / ye kho te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū ekāsanikā nūna te pubbe paresaṁ bhogahārakā corā / te paresaṁ bhoge acchinditvā tassa kammaṁ nissandena etarahi ekāsanikā bhavanti / na labhanti kālena kālaṁ paribhuñjituṁ / natthi tesāṁ sīlaṁ natthi tapo natthi brahmacariyaṁ / ye kho pana te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū abbhokāsikā nūna te pubbe grāmaghātakā corā / te paresaṁ gehāni vināsetvā tassa kammaṁ nissandena etarahi abbhokāsikā bhavanti / na labhanti senāsanāni paribhuñjituṁ / natthi tesāṁ sīlaṁ natthi tapo natthi brahmacariyaṁ / ye kho pana te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū nesajjikā nūna te pubbe panthadūsakā corā / te paresaṁ pathike jane gahetvā bandhitvā nisīdāpetvā tassa kammaṁ nissandena etarahi nesajjikā bhavanti / na labhanti seyyaṁ kappetuṁ / natthi tesāṁ sīlaṁ natthi tapo natthi brahmacariyaṁ ti āha /

39. evaṃ vutte āyasmā Āyupālo tuṅhī ahosi / na kiñci paṭibhāsi / atha kho pañcasatā yonakā rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad avocum: paṇḍito mahārāja thero / api ca kho avisārado na kiñci paṭibhāsati 'ti / atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṃ Āyupālaṃ tuṅhībhūtaṃ disvā apphotetvā ukkuṭṭhiṃ katvā yonake etad avoca: tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo / palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo / natthi koci samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum ussahati kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinetum ti / atha kho Milindassa rañño sabbaṃ taṃ parisam anuvilokentassa abhīte amaṅkabhūte yonake disvā etad ahosi: nissamsayaṃ atthi maññe añño koci paṇḍito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum ussahati yonakā na maṅkubhūtā 'ti / atha kho Milindo rājā yonake etad avoca: atthi bhaṇe añño koci paṇḍito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum ussahati kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinetum ti /

Horner: 37. Now at that time the venerable Āyupāla was dwelling in Saṅkheyya Pariveṇa. 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 Pariveṇa. 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 Pariveṇa 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.

Milindapañha 1, 42 f. (1, 23 [19] Shastri; p. 22 f. Trenckner).

42. atha kho Devamantiyo rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad avoca: āgamehi tvaṃ mahārāja / atthi mahārāja Nāgaseno nāma thero paṇḍito vyatto medhavī vinīto visārado bahussuto citrakathī kalyāṇapaṭibhāno atthadhammaniruttipaṭibhāna- paṭisambhidāsu pāramippatto / so etarahi Saṅkheyyapariveṇe paṭivasati / gaccha tvaṃ mahārāja āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ pañhaṃ pucchissu / ussahati so tayā saddhiṃ sallapitum kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinetum ti / atha kho Milindassa rañño sahasā Nāgaseno ti saddaṃ sutvāva ahud eva bhayaṃ ahud eva chambhitattaṃ ahud eva lomahaṃso / atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyaṃ etad avoca: ussahati so Nāgaseno bhikkhu mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum ti / ussahati mahārāja api indra- yamavarūṇakuveraprajāpatisuyāmasantusitalokapālehi pi pitupitāmahena Mahā- brahmunā pi saddhiṃ sallapitum kimaṅga pana manussabhūtenā 'ti / atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyaṃ etad avoca: tena hi tvaṃ Devamantiya bhadantassa santike dūtaṃ pesehī 'ti / evaṃ devā 'ti kho Devamantiyo āyasmato Nāgasenassa santike dūtaṃ pāhesi: rājā bhante Milindo āyasmantaṃ dassanakāmo ti / āyasmā pi kho Nāgaseno evam āha: tena hi āgacchatū 'ti / atha kho Milindo rājā pañca- mattehi *yonakasatehi* parivuto rathavaram āruyha mahatā balakāyena saddhiṃ yena Saṅkheyyapariveṇaṃ yenāyasmā Nāgaseno ten' upasaṅkami /

43. tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahas- sehi saddhiṃ maṇḍalamāle nisinno hoti / addasā kho Milindo rājā āyasato Nāgasenassa parisā dūrato va / disvāna Devayantiyaṃ etad avoca: kassesā Devamantiya mahatī parisā ti āyasmato kho mahārāja Nāgasenassa parisā ti / atha kho Milindassa rañño āyasmato Nāgasenassa parisā dūrato va disvā ahud eva bhayaṃ ahud eva chambhittaṃ ahud eva lomahaṃso / atha kho Milindo rājā khaggarivārito viya gajo garuḷaparivārito viya nāgo ajagaraparivārito viya kotthuko mahimsaparivuto viya accho nāgānubandho viya maṇḍūko saddulānubandho viya migo ahituṇḍikasamāgato viya pannago majjārasamāgato viya undūro bhūtavejjasamāgato viya pisāco Rāhumukhagato viya cando pannago viya peḷantaragato sakuṇo viya pajjarantaragato maccho viya jālantaragato vāḷavanam anuppaviṭṭho viya puriso Vessavaṇāparādhiko viya yakkho parikkhīṇāyuko viya devaputto bhīto ubbiggo utraṣṭo saṃviggo lomahaṭṭhajāto vimano dummano bhantacitto vipariṇatamānaso mā maṃ ayaṃ

pariyojano paribhavī ti satim̄ upaṭṭhapetvā Devamantiyaṃ etad avoca mā kho tvaṃ Devamantiya āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ mayhaṃ ācikkheyyāsi / anakkhātāñ ñevāhaṃ Nāgasenaṃ jānissāmī ti / sādhu mahārāja tvañ ñeva jānāhī ti /

Horner: 42. *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.*

43. *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’ upasānkami / upasānkamitvā āyasmatā Nāgasenena saddhim sammodi / sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sāraṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekam antaṃ nisīdi / āyasmā ’pi kho Nāgaseno paṭisammodanīyen’ eva Milindassa rañño cittaṃ ārādhesi / atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad avoca: kathaṃ bhadanto nāyati kiṃ nāmo si bhante ti / Nāgaseno ti kho ahaṃ mahārāja nāyāmi / Nāgaseno ti kho maṃ mahārāja sabrahmacārī samudācaranti / api ca mātāpitaro nāmaṃ karonti Nāgaseno ti vā Sūraseno ti vā Vīraseno ti vā Sīhaseno ti vā / api ca kho mahārāja saṅkhā samaññā paññatti vohāro nāmamattaṃ yad idaṃ Nāgaseno ti / na hettha puggalo upalabbhatī ’ti / atha kho Milindo rājā evam āha: suṇantu me bhonto pañcasatā *yonakā* asītisahassā ca bhikkhū / ayaṃ Nāgaseno evam āha: na hettha puggalo upalabbhatī ’ti / kallaṃ nu kho tad abhinanditum ti / atha kho Milindo rājā āyusmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad avoca ...⁵⁶ tam ahaṃ mahārāja pucchanto pucchanto na passāmi rathaṃ / rathasaddo yeva nu kho mahārāja ratho ti / na hi bhante ti / ko pan’ ettha ratho / alikaṃ tvaṃ mahārāja bhāsasi musāvādaṃ natthi rattho / tvaṃ ’si mahārāja sakalajambudīpe aggarājā / kassa pana tvaṃ bhāyitvā musāvādaṃ bhāsasi / suṇantu me bhonto pañcasatā *yonakā* asītisahassā ca bhikkhū / ayaṃ Milindo rājā evam āha: rathenāhaṃ āgato ’smi ti / sace tvaṃ mahārāja rathenāgato ’si rathaṃ me ārocehī ’ti vutto samāno rathaṃ na sampādeti / kallaṃ nu kho tad abhinanditum ti / evaṃ vutte pañcasatā *yonakā* āyasmato Nāgasenassa sādhu kārāṃ datvā Milindaṃ rājānaṃ etad avocum: idāni kho tvaṃ mahārāja sakkonto bhāsassū ’ti / atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad avoca: nāhaṃ bhante Nāgasena musā bhaṇāmi / īsaṃ ca paṭicca cakkāni ca paṭicca rathapañjaraṃ ca paṭicca rathadaṇḍakaṃ ca paṭicca ratho ti saṅkhā samaññā paññatti vohāro nāmamattaṃ pavattatī ’ti / sādhu kho tvaṃ mahārāja rathaṃ jānāsi / ...

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.*

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 Vīrasena or Sihasena, 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: ...⁵⁷ “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 rājāh 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...”

MilP 2, 1, 3 f.

The four ministers of Milinda are presented. One of them is converted by Nāgasena.

Milindapañha 2, 1, 3 f. (2, 1, 4 Shastri; p. 29–31, Trenckner)

3. ... atha kho Milindassa rañño etad ahoṣi: paṇḍito kho ayaṃ bhikkhu paṭibalo mayā saddhiṃ sallapitum / bahukāni ca me ṭhānāni pucchitabbāni bhavissanti / yāva apucchitāni yeva tāni ṭhānāni bhavissanti / atha suriyo atthaṃ gamissati yannūnāha sve antepure sallapeyyaṃ ti / atha kho rājā Devamantiyaṃ etad avoca: tena hi tvaṃ Devamantiya bhadantassa āroceyyāsi sve antepure raññā saddhiṃ sallāpo bhavissatī ti / idaṃ vatvā Milindo rājā uṭṭhāyāsanā therāṃ Nāgasenaṃ āpucchitvā rathaṃ abhirūhitvā Nāgaseno Nāgaseno ti sajjhāyaṃ karonto pakkāmi / atha kho Devamantiyo āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ 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.

rājā bhante Milindo evam āha: sve antepure raññā saddhiṃ sallāpo bhavissatī ti / suṭṭhū ti thero abbhanumodi / atha kho tassā rattiyā accayena Devamantiyo ca Anantakāyo ca Maṅkuro ca Sabbadinno ca yena Milindo rājā ten' upasaṅkamim̐su / upasaṅkamitvā rājānaṃ Milindaṃ etad avocum̐: āgacchatu mahārāja bhadanto Nāgaseno ti āma āgacchatū ti / kittakehi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ āgacchatū ti yattake bhikkhū icchati tattakehi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ āgacchatū ti / atha kho Sabbadinno āha: āgacchatu mahārāja dasahi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ ti dutiyaṃ pi kho rājā āha: yattake bhikkhū icchati tattakehi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ āgacchatū ti / dutiyaṃ pi kho Sabbadinno āha: āgacchatu mahārāja dasahi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ ti tatiyaṃ pi kho rājā āha: yattake bhikkhū icchati tattakehi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ āgacchatū ti / tatiyaṃ pi kho Sabbadinno āha: āgacchatu mahārāja dasahi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ ti / sabbo panāyaṃ sakkāro paṭiyādito / ahaṃ bhaṇāmi: yattake bhikkhū icchati tattakehi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ āgacchatū ti / ayaṃ bhaṇe Sabbadinno aññathā bhaṇati / kinnu mayaṃ nappaṭibalā bhikkhūnaṃ bhojanaṃ dātum̐ ti / evaṃ vutte Sabbadinno maṅku ahosi /

4. atha kho Devamantiyo ca Anantakāyo ca Maṅkuro ca yenāyasmā Nāgaseno ten' upasaṅkamim̐su / upasaṅkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad avocum̐: rājā bhante Milindo evam āha: yattake bhikkhū icchati tattakehi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ āgacchatū ti / atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno pubbaṇhasamayāṃ nivasetvā pattacīvaram ādāya asītiyā bhikkhusahasseehi saddhiṃ Sāgalaṃ pāvīsi / atha kho Anantakāyo āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ nissāya gacchanto āyasmantaṃ Nāgasenaṃ etad avoca: bhante Nāgasena yaṃ pan' etaṃ brūsi Nāgaseno ti katamo ettha Nāgaseno ti / thero āha: ... thero abhidhammakathaṃ kathesi / atha Anantakāyo upāsakattaṃ paṭivedesī ti /

Horner: 3.... 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 revered 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. ... taṃ kiṃ maññasi mahārāja yā tā santi yonakasukhumāliniyo pi khattiyasukhumāliniyo pi brāhmaṇasukhumāliniyo pi gahapatisukhumāliniyo pi kiṃ nu tā kakkhaḷāni khajjakāni maṃsāni khādantī ti / āma bhante khādantī ti / kiṃ pana tāni tāsāṃ kucchiyaṃ koṭṭhabbhantaragatāni vilayaṃ gacchantī ti / āma bhante vilayaṃ gacchantī ti / yo pana tāsāṃ kucchiyaṃ gabbho so pi vilayaṃ gacchatī ti / na hi bhante ti / kena kāraṇena ti / maññāmi bhante kammādhikatena na vilayaṃ gacchatī ti / evam eva kho mahārāja kammādhikatena nerayikā sattā anekāni pi vassasahassāni niraye paccamānā na vilayaṃ gacchanti / ...

Horner: “What do you think about this, sire? Do not the delicately nurtured women among the Bactrian Greeks, the nobles, the brahmins 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. ... thero āha: kuhiṃ pana mahārāja tava jātabhūmī ti / atthi bhante *Alasando* nāma dīpo tatthāhaṃ jāto ti / kīva dūro mahārāja ito *Alasando* hotī ti / dvimattāni bhante yojanasatānī ti / abhijānāsi nu tvaṃ mahārāja tattha kiñcid eva karaṇīyaṃ karitvā saritā ti / āma bhante sarāmī ti / lahuṃ kho tvaṃ 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?"* – *"The distance is two hundred yojana, revered sir."* – *"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."* – *"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."*

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 ciratarāṃ ko sīghatarāṃ ti / samakaṃ mahārāja ti / opammaṃ karohī ti / kuhiṃ pana mahārāja tava jātanagaraṃ ti / atthi bhante Kalasigāmo nāma tatthāhaṃ jāto ti / kīva dūro mahārāja ito Kalasigāmo hotī ti / dvimattāni bhante yojanasatānī ti / kīva dūraṃ mahārāja ito Kasmīraṃ hotī ti / dvādasa bhante yojanānī ti / iṅgha tvaṃ mahārāja Kalasigāmaṃ cintehī ti / cintito bhante ti / iṅgha tvaṃ mahārāja Kasmīraṃ cintehī ti / cintitaṃ bhante ti / katamaṃ nu kho mahārāja cirena cintitaṃ katamaṃ sīghatarāṃ ti / samakaṃ bhante ti / evam eva kho mahārāja yo idha kālaṅkato Brahmaloke uppajjeyya yo ca idha kālaṅkato Kasmīre uppajjeyya samakaṃ yena uppajjantī ti / ...

Horner: *The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, if someone died here and arose in the Brahma-world, and if someone died here and arose in Kashmir, which of them is the longer, which the quicker (in uprising)?"* – *"They are equal, sire."* – *"Make a simile."* – *"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."* – *"How far is Kashmir from here, sire?"* – *"Twelve yojanas, revered sir."* – *"Please do you, sire, think of the village of Kalasi."* – *"I have thought of it, revered sir."* – *"Please do you, sire, think of Kashmir?"* – *"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."* – *"Even so, sire, he who*

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. therō āha: jānāsi kho mahārāja sampatti kā velā ti / āma bhante jānāmi sampatti paṭhamo yāmo atikkanto majjhimo yāmo pavattati ukvā padīpiyanti cattāri paṭākāni āṇattāni gamissanti bhaṇḍato rājadeyyāni ti / *yonakā* evam āhaṃsu: kallosi mahārāja paṇḍito therō ti / āma bhāṇe paṇḍito therō /

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. 327f. Trenckner)

88. ... sīlaṃ mahārāja ṭhānaṃ sīle patiṭṭhahitvā yoniso manasikaronto Sakka-yavane pi Cīnavilāte pi *Alasande* pi Nikumbe pi Kāsikosale pi Kasmīre Gandhāre pi nagamuddhani pi Brahmaloke pi yattha katthaci pi ṭhito sammāpaṭipanno nibbānaṃ sacchikaroti / yathā mahārāja yo koci cakkhumā puriso Sakkayavane pi Cīnavilāte pi *Alasande* pi Nikumbe pi Kāsikosale pi Kasmīre pi Gandhāre pi nagamuddhani pi Brahmaloke pi yattha katthaci pi ṭhito ākāsam passati / evameva kho mahārāja sīle patiṭṭhito yoniso manasikaronto Sakkayavane pi ... pe° ... yattha katthaci pi ṭhito sammāpaṭipanno nibbānaṃ sacchikaroti /

Lines 1 & 4 Trenckner: perhaps sakayavane (if not °yone)

l. 2 Trenckner. Referring to Lévi, Horner reads cilāta (i.e. Kirāta).

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 Kashmīr, 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. ... Sakkayavana-cīnavilātā Ujjenikā Bhārukacchakā Kāsikosālā Parantakā Māgadhakā Sāketā Soreyyakā Pāveyyakā Koṭumvaramādhurakā Alasanda-kasmīragandhārā taṃ nagaraṃ vāsāya upagatā nānāvisayino janā navam suvibhattam adosamanavajjam ramaṇīyam taṃ nagaraṃ 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 Suratt̥ha, from Pāva, from Koṭumbara and Madhura, from Alexandria, Kashmīr 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. ... padumasamaṃ mahārāja dhutaḡaṇam visuddhikāmānaṃ sabbakilesamalehi anupalittathena / catujjātiyavaragandhasamaṃ mahārāja dhutaḡaṇam visuddhikāmānaṃ kile sadugandhapaṭivīnodanaṭṭhena /

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-jātiya-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).

MilP 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 katasuñko mahāsamuddaṃ pavisitvā Vaṅgaṃ Takkolaṃ Cīnaṃ Sovīraṃ Suratṭhaṃ *Alasandaṃ* Kolapaṭṭanaṃ Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ gacchati aññaṃ pi yaṃ kiñci nāvāssañcaraṇaṃ, 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, Suratṭha, Alexandria, or Kolapaṭṭana or Suvaṇṇabhūmi or any other centre for ships – even so...*

Other works

Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa

Le Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa, texte pāli et traduction par Jacqueline Ver Eecke. PEFEO 123, Paris 1980.

Sīhalavatthupp. 59

The story of the nun (*therī*) of Sīhaladīpa.

Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa 59 (p. 135, tr. p. 149)

... tadā Kālakandaratisattherassa sissānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ janānaṃ Paṭhavīcālaka-dhammarakkhito piṇḍāya Uttarakuruṃ gato *Yonakadhammarakkhito* Pāṭaliputtaṃ Mahādhammarakkhito imissā therikāya puññaṃ bhavatū ti tassā purato aṭṭhāsi ...

Ver Eecke: *Alors des trois disciples du Thera Kālakandaratisa, Paṭhavīcālaka-dhammarakkhita était allé quêter dans l’Uttarakuru, Yonakadhammarakkhita à Pāṭaliputta et Mahādhammarakkhita, disant: “Puisse-t-il y avoir du mérite pour cette Therī”, se tint en face d’elle.*

Sīhalavatthupp. 81

The story of two young Arahants.

Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa 81 (p. 157, tr. p. 176)

Sīhaladīpe yeva *Yonakagirivatthabbatthere* dve bhātikā pabbajitā Mahānāgo ca Cūlanāgo ca ...

Ver Eecke: *Dans l’île des Sīhala, chez le Thera qui devait habiter à Yonakagiri, deux frères sortis du monde, Mahānāga et Cūlanāga ...*

Saddhamopāyana

“*Saddhamopāyana*”, ed. the Rev. Richard Morris, JPTS [2,] 1887, 35–98.

“*Saddhamopāyana*. The Gift-offering of the True *Dhamma*”, tr. Ann Appleby Hazelwood, JPTS 12, 1988, 65–168.

Didactic poem (epistle) in 629 verses, about 1150 CE.

Saddhamopāyana 160

Verses describing the suffering of animals.

Saddhamopāyana 160

160. Jīvadāhaṃ vidayhantā *yavane* gāvi-ādayo
mahādāhparissanto passanto pāpajam phalam

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

**Mohavicchedanī Abhidhammātikathavaṇṇanā by Kassapathera of Chola*, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta and A.K. Warder. London, PTS 1961 (not seen by me).

Abhidhamma text, about 1200 CE.

Mohavicchedanī p. 186

All languages are developed from Māgadhi (i.e. Pāli).

Mohavicchedanī p. 186 quoted in von Hinüber 1994, 82 f.

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 Oṭṭa, Kirāta, Andhaka, Yonaka, Damīla, etc., are subject to change. Only this Māgadha 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 *ṭikā* (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.”

Sārasaṅgaha

* *Sārasaṅgraha*, ed. Genjun H. Sasaki. Oxford 1992 (not seen by me).

Sārasaṅgaha on Caityas

Yonaka monks as pilgrims.

Sārasaṅgaha quoted in Minayeff 1872, 72 f.

Yonakavisayato cetiyatṭhāne vandanakāmā cattāro therā āgantvā cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ disvā anto apavisitvā dvāre yeva ṭhatvā eko thero aṭṭha kappe anussari eko soḍasa eko viṃsati eko tiṃsa 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.

Sārasaṅgaha on Buddhapadas

Buddha's footprint in the Yonaka country.

Sārasaṅgaha quoted in Minayeff 1872, 79.

tīni kho pana bhagavato padacetiyaṇi Laṅkādīpe ekaṃ Jambūdīpe Yonakarattṭhe dve 'ti /

Well, there are three footprint caityas of the Lord, one on the island of Laṅkā and two in Jambūdīvīpa and one in the Greek country.

Ratanapañña: Jinakālamālī

Jinakālamālī of Ratanapañña, transcribed from a Siamese text and ed. Aggamahāpandita A.P. Buddhadatta, Mahāthera of Aggārāma, Ambalangoda, Ceylon. London, PTS 1962.

The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror. Being a Translation of Jinakālamālīpakaraṇaṃ of Ratanapañña Thera of Thailand, by N.A. Jayawickrama. PTS Transl. Series 36. London 1968.

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 Mahāvamsa, Thūpavamsa, Bodhivamsa, Dāṭhāvamsa, and Lalāṭadhātuvasa as sources), and in Thailand (including what are now Cambodia and Laos). This text contains several references to the Yona country (*yonakarattṭha*) 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 and Ekakkharakosa (with Sanskrit Hindi Translation), ed. Dwarikadas Shastri. Bauddha Bharati Series 14. Varanasi 1981.

Abhidhānappadīpikā or Dictionary of the Pāli Language, by Moggallāna Théro. [Ed.] with English and Sinhalese Interpretations, notes and appendices by Waskaduwe Subhūti. 3rd edn. Colombo 1900.

Abhidhānappadīpikā 1, 6, 147

Yavana flower listed among perfumes.

Abhidhānappadīpikā 1 Saggakaṇḍo, 6. Girāvaggo, 147 kunkumādīgandhā

147. kuṅkumaṃ ceva *yavanapupphaṃ* ca tagaraṃ ca tathā /
turukkho ti catujjātīgandhā ete pakāsītā //

W. Subhūti: *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 of the Mūlasarvāstivādinaya. Gilgit Manuscripts, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt. Vol. III, Part 1. The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 71, E. Srinagar, Kashmir & Calcutta 1947.

Le congrès du lac Anavatapta (vies de saints bouddhiques). Extrait du Vinaya des Mūlasarvāstivādin Bhaiṣajyavastu. 1. Légendes des anciens (Sthavirāvadāna). Par Marcel Hofinger. Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain 28, Louvain-la-Neuve 1982 (Sanskrit fragments with the Tibetan and Chinese texts and French translation).

Chung, J. & K. Wille, "Fragmente aus dem Bhaiṣajyavastu der Sarvāstivādins", *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen IV*, Göttingen 2002 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 9), p. 105–124.

Bhaiṣajyavastu p. 166 ff.

Story of a painter going to the Yavana land.

Part of the Śāriputramaudgalyāyanavarga; Bhaiṣajyavastu p. 166–168 (§ 26–35 Hofinger).⁶⁰

(p. 166) bhagavān āha // na [bh]i[kṣava etarhi atīte 'dhvany api śilpakuśalena parājitaḥ /
bhūtapūrvam madhya]deśe 'nyataraś citrakarācāryo 'bhūt sa k[ena]c[i]d [ar]th[a]karaṇīyena madhyadeśād yavanaviṣayam gataḥ sa tatra yantrācāryasya niveśane 'vatīrṇaḥ tena tasya yantr[apuṭṭalikām kṛtvā praveśitā / sā tasya pādaudhāvitvā sthitā / atha sa tasyā gamanasamaye kathayati / sā] tūṣṇīm avasthitā / sa saṃlakṣayati nūnam mamaiṣā paricārikā preṣitā sa tām haste gṛhītvā ākraṣṭum ārabdhaḥ yāvac chaṅkalikāpumjo [vyavasthitaḥ / sa lajjitaḥ saṃlakṣayati / aham anena lajjāpitaḥ / aham apy enam sarāja(p. 167)-parijanam lajja]yiṣyāmīti tena dvārābhimukham ātmapratibimbakam udbandhakaṃ likhitaṃ kavāṭasandhau ca nilīyāvasthitaḥ tasya yo vyutthānakāla[h] so '[t]i[krāntaḥ / atha yantrācāryaḥ saṃlakṣayati / dūrāgata eṣaḥ / kasmād dvāram idam anavaruddham / sa praviśya paśyati yāvad u]dbadhya mṛtaṃ sa saṃlakṣayati kimkāraṇam anenātmā jīvitād vyavaropitaḥ paśyati tām dāruputrikām śaṃ[kalikām puṅjībhūtām / sa saṃlakṣayati / eṣa lajjāpitaḥ / samayocitam ācāram anuṣṭhāya atithi]ḥ kālam

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 Yavanaviṣaya, the Tibetan has here Yavaviṣaya (Yul nas čan), i.e. the island of Java, and the Chinese just "a foreign country".

karoti sa taṃ tāvan na satkaroti yāvad rajñe niveditam iti / tatas tena rājñ[ah sakāśam] gatvā niveditam de[va āsīd yavanaviṣaye citrācāryaḥ / sa matsakāśam āgataḥ / tasya paricaryārthāya mayā dāruputrikā praveśitā / tena tasyā hastau] gṛhītvā ākr̥ṣṭā śamkalikāpuñjo 'vasthitaḥ tena prabhinnenātmā udbaddhaḥ tad arhati devas taṃ pratyavekṣitum tato [haṃ satkaromi / atha rājñā rājapuruṣaḥ preṣitāḥ / bhavanto yūyam adya prāk pratyavekṣadhvam / atha te tatra gatvā pratyavekṣante / teṣāṃ etad abhavat / asmābhiḥ ka]tham asmān nāgadantakād avatārayitavyam iti | apare kathayanti pāśas chettavya iti te kuṭhāraṃ [g] ṛ[hītvā chettum ārabdhāḥ / yāvat paśyanti citrācāryam / atha citrakalācāryaḥ] kavātāntarikāyā nirgatya kathayati / bhoḥ puruṣa tvayāham ekākī prabhinnas tvam punaḥ sarā[jikāyām] parśado madhye mayā prabhe[d]i[ta / kim many- adhve bhikṣavas tena kālena tena samayena yo 'sau yantra]kalācārya eṣa ev[āsau] maudgalyāyano bhikṣus tena kālena tena samayena [yo 'sau citrakarācārya eṣa evāsau śāriputro bhikṣus tena kālena tena samayena] tadāpy anenaiṣa śi[lpena pa] rājitaḥ etarhy apy anenaiṣa [rddhyā parājitaḥ] /

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 f.

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).

yathā punar apy anena śilpena parājitas tac chrūyatām / madhyadeśād dantakalācāryō dantataṇḍulānām prastham ādāya yavanaviṣayaṁ gataḥ sa citrakarācārya-
gṛhe 'vatīrṇaḥ sa ca śūnyaḥ sa tasya bhāryām uvāca / vayasabhārye ta[ṇ]ḍu[lapra]
sthā .. (p. 171) sādhayitvānuprayaccheti / sa sthāpayitvā prakrāntaḥ sā sādhayitum
ārabdhā / kāṣṭhakṣayaḥ samivṛtto na ca siddhās tato 'syā[ḥ] svāmī āgataḥ kathayati
bhadre kim etat* tayā vistareṇa samākhyātām sa vyavalokayitum ārabdhaḥ [/] paśyati
dantataṇḍulām sa tām vipra[laṁbhayaṁ] kathayati bhadre kṣāram etat pānīyaṁ
anyad ghaṭam ānaya tenaite taṇḍul[āḥ sādhai]śyantīti / tayāsau dantakalācāryō
'bhihitāḥ mṛṣṭāṁ pānīyaṁ ānayetī [/] tena tām uktvā anyatamasmin pradeśe vāpī
likhitā tasyām ca kukkuro vyādhmāta[ko] likhitāḥ [/] ta[to da]ntakarācāryō ghaṭam
gṛhītva taṁ pradeśam anuprāptaḥ [/] paśyati kukkuraṁ mṛ[taṁ vyādhmā]takaṁ [/]
sa ghrāṇaṁ pidhāya nirīkṣitum ārabdho yāvat tasya tad udakabhājanam bhagnaṁ ḥ
dantakarācāryaḥ pratibhinnaḥ [/] kim manyadhve bhikṣavo yo 'sau dantakarācārya
eṣa evāsau maudgalyāyano bhikṣuḥ yo 'sau citrakarāc[ārya e]ṣa evāsau śāriputro
bhikṣuḥ [/]

* Thus Hofinger, Dutt has tena sā uktā.

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

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

Bhikṣunī-Vinaya including Bhikṣunī-Prakīrṇaka and a summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin. Ed. Gustav Roth. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 12. Patna 1970.

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) (Saṃhātīśeṣa-Dharma 8, p. 141).

mallānām śākyānām ca go-pāṭikāya pāṭiyati / kṣatriyāṇām palālena śarehi ca veṭhayivā dahyati / abhīrāṇām vālukāya ghaṭam kaṅṭhe badhvā udake prakṣipati / śaka-yavanānām śīrṣam pradhamīyati / karṇa-nāsā vā chidyanti / taptam vā phālam anuśrote vraṇa-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

Le Mahāvastu. Texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introduction et d'un commentaire par É. Senart. 1–3. Paris 1882–97.

The Mahāvastu. Tr. from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J.J. Jones. 1–3. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 16[, 18, 19]. London 1949[–56].

Mvst I p. 135

Various sorts of writing.

Mahāvastu I, p. 135 Senart (p. 107 Jones)

yā vā imā loke saṃjñā brāhmī puṣkarasārī kharostī yāvanī brahmavāṇī puṣpalipī kutalipī śaktinalipī vyatyastalipī lekhalipī mudrālipī ukaramadhura-daradacīṇahūṅpīrā vaṅgā sīphalā tramidā durdurā ramathabhayavaicchetukā

gulmalā hastadā kasūlā ketukā kusuvā talikā jajarideṣu akṣabaddham sarvā eṣā bodhisattvānām 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 *yonāmī* (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 Kharostī (-ṣṭhī), the Greek, the brahmavānī, the puṣpā, the kutā, the śaktinā, the vyatyastā, the lekhā, the mudrā, the style of Uttarakuru (corrected to this), of Magadha, that of the Daradas, of the Chinese, of the Hūnas, of the Abhīras, and of the Vaṅgas, the sīphalā style, the Dravidian, the Dardura, the Ramaṭha, the bhayā, the vaicchetukā, 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-cīṇa-ramaṭha-pahlava-daradeṣu dasyupariṣyām /
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

Ed. P.L. Vaidya: *Divyāvadāna*. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 20. Darbhanga 1958, repr. 1999.

Divy 33

Astrological notes.

Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna. Quoted according to pages and lines in Vaidya's edition.

341, 26. pūrvabhādrapadā gandhikānām yavanakāambojānām ca /

(Of the nakṣatras,) the Pūrva Bhādrapadā relates to perfume-sellers, Yavanas and Kāmbojas.

345, 23. yadī pūrvabhādrapadāyām somo gṛhyate, gāndhikānām yavana-kāambojakānām ca piḍā 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 //
 vaṇijyajīvinō vaiśyān śūdrāṃś ca karītīn api /
 yavanān mālavādyaṃś ca gandhibhedāṃś 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

Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra. Ed. P.L. Vaidya. Vol. 2. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 23. Darbhanga 1959.

AvKL 57, 15

King Milinda will raise a stūpa on the spot visited by the Buddha.
 Stūpāvādānam. Avadānakalpalatā 57, 13–15

15. tatra saṃdarśanāyātāṃ bhagavān indram abravīt /
 milindo nāma rājāsmin deśe stūpaṃ 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

Kāraṇḍavyūha. According to Edgerton, *BHS Dictionary*, referring to the text published in *The Hindu Commentator*, vol. 5, 1872.

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, ṛṣis, Bodhisattvas, etc.) specified: Kv 59.13 ff.; 60.3 ff.; 62.3 ff.; 64.8 ff., 65.12 ff.; 67.7, colophon (read romavivara-varṇanaṃ for text °vivarāṇa-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 *romavivaraṇāvārṇanaṃ dvitīyaṃ prakaraṇam*. This refers to the golden country of Romavivaraṇa, 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, ŚAKA⁶¹

Aśokāvadāna

Aśokāvadāna (Chinese), quoted in J. Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka (Aśoka-Avadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois*. Paris 1923 (N.B. *The Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts*. Tr. D.K. Biswas. Calcutta 1967. This edition does not contain part 2 of the original, containing the French translation of the text).

Translated by An Faqin of Parthia around 300 CE.

Aśokāvadāna, Przyluski p. 400 f.

On the threshold of his parinirvāṇa, the Buddha addresses the four Devarājas, explaining the dangers to the Dharma in the future.

Aśokāvadāna (Ayuwangzhuan), p. 400 f. Przyluski (text in the Tokyo Tripiṭaka XXIV, 10, p. 25a or No. 2042).

Przyluski: *Dans le temps à venir, trois rois cruels paraîtront: le premier nommé Che-kiu (Çaka), le second nommé Yen-wou-na (Yavana), le troisième nommé Po-lo-jao (Pahlava). Ils persécuteront le peuple, détruiront la Loi de Buddha, l'usṇīṣa du Tathāgata ainsi que les dents du Buddha. Ils envahiront l'Inde orientale. Le roi nommé Çaka sera dans la région du Sud. A la tête de ses cent mille vassaux, il détruira les stūpa et les monastères et massacrera les membres du Saṅgha. Le roi nommé Pahlava sera dans la région de l'Ouest. A la tête de ses cent mille vassaux, il détruira également les stūpa et les monastères et tuera les religieux. Le roi nommé Yavana sera dans la région du Nord. A la tête de ses cent mille vassaux, il détruira également les demeures du Saṅgha, les stūpa et les monastères et tuera les religieux. En ce temps-là, les démons qui n'ont pas la forme humaine persécuteront ainsi les hommes. Les pillards et autres brigands seront aussi très nombreux. Les rois cruels également de toute façon molesteront, châtieront et épouvanteront (les gens).*

See Przyluski's note 1 on page 400: "Tsa A-han:⁶² 'Alors il y aura le roi Che-kia (Çaka), le roi Ye-p'an-na (Yavana), le roi Po-lo-p'o (Pahlava), le roi Teou-cha-lo (Tukhāra).' Cf. Sylvain Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, dans *Journ. As.* 1897, I, p. 10. Les traducteurs chinois travaillaient sans doute sur des manuscrits où plusieurs de ces noms étaient défigurés par les scribes ou remplacés par des mots sanskrits analogues et plus connus. C'est ainsi que Yen-wou-na de A-yu-wang-tchouan paraît fait sur original Yamunā et Teou-cha-lo de Tsa A-han sur Tuṣāra." – note 1 on page 401: "Dans Tsa A-han, le roi Pahlava est à l'ouest, le roi Yavana au nord, le roi Çaka au sud, le roi Tukhāra à l'est."

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.

62 See *Zaahan-jing*, Nanjio, n. 544 for the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama, translated by Guṇabhadra in 435/468 CE (text in the Tokyo Tripiṭaka XIII, 3, p. 49a, col. 5).

These same passages are also quoted in the study, p. 162 f. (168 f. Biswas). Przyluski notes here that as the *Ayuwangzhuān* 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

Lalitavistara. Tibetan version according to Edgerton, *BHS Dictionary*, referring to Foucaux's edition, Paris 1847.

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-ḥi yige* ("writing of the Yavanas") 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 sakāri°, but the Tibetan has śa-ka-ni. This is perhaps the same as śaktina-lipi in the Mv[st], for which Senart suggested *Lalitavistara's* sakāri° (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 *yāvakiṃ* and also in the Chinese translation by Divākara (AD 823)."

Narratives from the bKah-'gyur (the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādinaya)

A. Schiefner, "Indische Künstleranedoten", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg* 21, 1876, 193–197.

Tibetan Tales Derived from Indian Sources. Tr. from the Tibetan of the Kah-gyur by F. Anton Schiefner and from German into English by W.R.S. Ralston, 1906. New edn with a preface by C.A.F. Rhys Davids. London (repr. *Bibl. Indo-Buddhica* 52. Delhi 1988).⁶³

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 Holzstückchen. 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 Holzstückchen verwandelt. 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 Könige 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 verwandelt, er aber aus Verdruss darüber, dass man ihn 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. Bhaiṣajyavastu 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, koche dieses Maass Reis und setze es mir vor.” Die Frau fing an den Reis zu kochen, allein, obwohl 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 vermuthete, 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. Bhaiṣajyavastu above.

The Book of Zambasta

Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus. Text und Übersetzung von E. Leumann, aus den Nachlass hrsg. von M. Leumann. AKM 20. Leipzig 1933–36.

The Book of Zambasta. A Khotanese poem on Buddhism. Ed. and tr. R.E. Emmerick. London 1968.

In Khotanese Saka.

The Book of Zambasta 24, 393

Barbarian kings will act against the true religion.

The Book of Zambasta 24, p. 393–395 Emmerick = 25, p. 393–395 Leumann, fol. 418^r.

393. Śśakaunə ṣu nāma yavanā palvalā draya
ustamye kāli mlecha rrunde hāmāre
394. ttā biśśā saṁkhārama padajsīndā u balsa
cu ro samai-dṛṣṭya ttā nā tvīṣṣe yanīndā
395. padāmjsī vīrā kāḍāna śśāsanu balysā
biśśu baje vīndā uttarāvātā ttīyā

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

Āṅga

Āṅga 4. Samavāyāṅga

Jainācārya-Ja[i]nadha[r]madivākara-Pūjyaśrī-Ghāsīlālajī-Mahārāja-viracitayā Bhāvabodhinyākhyayā samalaṅkṛtaṁ hindī-gurjara-bhāṣā ’nuvādasahitam Śrī-Samavāyāṅgasūtram. Niyojakaḥ Saṁskṛta-prākṛta-jaināgama-niṣṇāta-priyavyākhyāni Paṇḍitamuni-Śrīkanhaiyālālajī-Mahārājaḥ. Prakāśakaḥ Jāmajojapuranivāsi-Śreṣṭhīśrīpopaṭalāla Māvajībhāi Mahetā pradatta-dravyasāhāyyena A. Bhā. Śve. Sthā. Jainaśāstrodhārasamitipramukhaḥ Mu. Rājakoṭa. Dvitiya āvṛttiḥ vīra-saṁvat 2500, vikrama-saṁvat 2030, īsavīsan 1973.

Samavāyāṅga 18, 43

Javaṇalivi as one of the 18 kinds of writing.

Samavāyāṅga 18, 43.

āyārassa ṇaṁ bhagavao sacūliāgassa aṭṭhārasapayasahassāṇi payaggeṇaṁ paṇṇattāiṁ baṁbhīe ṇaṁ libīe aṭṭhārasavihe lehavihāṇe paṇṇattaṁ / taṁ jahā – baṁbhī *javaṇīyā* dosā ūriā kharoṭṭiā kharasāviā pahārāiā uccaytariā akkharapuṭṭhiyā bhogavayatā veṇatiyā ṇiṇhāiyā aṁkalivi gaṇialivi gaṁdhavvalivi [bhūyalivi] ādaṁsalivi māhesarīlivi dāmilivī* colimḍilivī /

Here dāhilivī is corrected according to the commentary and the Hindī version.

Āṅga 5. Viyāhapañṇatti (Vyākhyāprajñapti = Bhagavāi/Bhagavatī)

Quoted from Weber 1883, 302. See also:

Illustrated Shri Bhagavati Sutra (Vyākhyā Prajñapti). Original Text with Hindi and English Translations, Elaboration and Multicoloured Illustrations. Editor-in-chief Shri Amar Muni ji Maharaj, associate editor Shri Sanjay Surana ‘Saras’. 1–3. Illustrated Agam Series 18–19, 23. Delhi 2005–08.

Jozef Deleu: *Viyāhapañṇatti (Bhagavai), the fifth Āṅga of the Jaina canon. Introduction, critical analysis, commentary and indices*. Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitg. door de Fac. van de lett. en wijs. 151. Brugge 1970, new edn. Lala Sundar Lal Jain Res. Series 10. Delhi 1996.

[Viyāhapañṇatti 9, 33

List of female slaves. Viyāhapañṇatti 9, 33.]

[bahūhiṁ khujjāhiṁ cilātiyāhiṁ vāmaṇiyāhiṁ vaḍahiyāhiṁ babbariyāhiṁ isigaṇiyāhiṁ vāsagaṇiyāhiṁ palhaviyāhiṁ hlāsiyāhiṁ laūsiyāhiṁ ārabīhiṁ damilāhiṁ siṁthalīhiṁ pulimḍīhiṁ pukkalīhiṁ bahalīhiṁ muramḍīhiṁ (marumḍīhiṁ) saṁvarīhiṁ (savarīhiṁ) pārasīhiṁ nānādesīvidesaparipimḍiyāhiṁ]

In a note, Weber refers to Bhagavaī 12, 2 and Nāyādhamakahāo 1, 117 (Steinthal p. 28) and Ovavāiya 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 Joṇiyas, though they are included in the parallel versions. From Weber 1888, 431, we note that the Benares edition of the *Bhagavaī* (saṁvat 1938 = 1882) actually adds *joṇiyāhiṁ* 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

Javaṇas listed among foreign peoples.

Viyāhapaññatti 14, 1.

Bhagavaī 3, 2 lists Sabara, Babbara, Ṭamkaṇa, Cuccuya, Palhaya, and Puliṁda, but no Javaṇa.

Viyāhapaññatti 21, 21 (Bhagavaī 6, 7)

On a sort of corn called ālisandaga.

Viyāhapaññatti 21, 21.

kalāya-masūra-tila-mugga-māsa-nippāva-kulattha-ālisandaga-sāṇa-palimarṁthagamāṇaṁ eesiṁ ṇaṁ thannāṇaṁ

Mentioned by Weber (1883, 303) as “aus Alexandrien commend”.

Āṅga 6. Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātadharmakathāḥ)

Nāyādhammakahāo. The Sixth Āṅga of the Śvetāmbara Canon. Critically ed. N.V. Vaidya. Poona 1940.

Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātadharmakathāṅgasūtram). Ed. Muni Jambuvijaya. Jaina-Āgama-Series 5:1. Bambaī 1989.

Quoted by Weber 1883, 313.

Nāyādhammakahāo 1, 1, 20/117

List of female slaves.

Nāyādhammakahāo 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 cilāiyāhiṁ khujjāhiṁ vāvaṇi(!)-vaḍabhi(!)-babbari-vaūsi-*joṇiya*-palhavi-isiṇi-thāruḅiṇi-lāsiya-laūsiya-damili-siṁhali-āravi-puliṁdi-pakkaṇi-bahali-murumḅi-sabari-pārasīhiṁ

Jambuvijaya’s text has the following variants: vāmaṇi ... baūsi ... siṁhali ... vahali. The same passage is also quoted in the Abhidhānarājendu, with many different readings.

⁶⁴ However, I have been unable to find this in Vaidya’s edition. Page 23 corresponds to Nāyādhammakahāo 1, 25, but without any mention of yavanas.

[Nāyādhammakahāo 18

Javaṇas as listed among foreign peoples??

Nāyādhammakahāo 18.

Weber 1888, 469 (No. 1792) mentions Queen Javaṇiyāntariyā. In a note, he explains javaṇiya as yavanika, thus (in his opinion) yavana. Yavanika, however, is most probably *not* yavana.]

Āṅga 10. Pañhāvāgaraṇāim (Prašnavyākaraṇāni)

Quoted from Weber 1883, 332. See also:

Amulyachandra Sen, *A critical Introduction to the Pañhāvāgaraṇāim, the tenth Āṅga of the Jaina Canon*. Diss. Würzburg 1936.

B.C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*. Bombay Branch of R.A.S. Monograph 2. Bombay 1949.

Pañhāvāgaraṇāim 1, 1, 4

Javaṇas in a list of foreign peoples.

Pañhāvāgaraṇāim 1, 1, 4.

Weber: ime ye bahave Milukkha(mile^o)jātī, kiṃ te, Saga-*Javaṇa*-Sabara-Vavvara-Kāya-Murumḍo-’ḍḍa-Bhaḍaga-Tiṇṇiya(Bhittiya)-Pakkaṇiya-Kulakkha-Goḍa(Gomḍa)-Sihala-Pārasa-Komca-Amḍha-Daviḍa-Villala(Cillala)-Pulimḍa-Ārosa-Ḍomva(Ḍova)-Pokkāṇa-Gamdhahāraga(!)-Vahalīa-Jallāra-Māmāsa-Vaüsa-Malayā ya Cuṃcuā ya Cūliyā Kāmkaṇika(Komkanagā)-Meya-Palhava-Mālava-Maggara-Ābhāsiyā Aṇakkha-Cīṇa-Nhāsiya(Lāsiya)-Khasa-Khāsiya-Nidura(Netṭara)-Marahaṭṭha-Muṭṭhiya (Mauṣṭikāḥ *schol.*) -Ārava-Ḍomvilaga-Kuhaṇa-Kekaya-Hūṇa-Romaga-Bharu-Maruga-Cilātavisayavāsī ya⁶⁵

Instead of Marahaṭṭha, Upāṅga 4 has Ramaṭha.

Weber adds that “ihre Träger werden sämtlich als pāvamatiṇo und kūrakammā bezeichnet”.

Law p. 59: Śakas, Yavanas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Kāyas, Muruṇḍas, Udas, Bhaḍakas, Tittikas, Pakkanikas, Kulākṣas, Gauḍas, Simbalas, Pārasas, Kroñcas, Andhras, Drāviḍas, Bilvalas, Pulindras, Arosas, Dambas, Pokkaṇas, Gandhārakas, Vālhikas, Jallas, Romas, Māsas, Bakusas, Malayas, Cuñcukas, Cūlikas, Koṅkanakas, Medas, Pahlavas, Mālavas, Mahuras, Ābhāsikas, Ānakkas, Cīnas, Lāhsikas, Khasas, Hāsikas, Neharas, Mahārāṣṭras (Maustikas), Ārabas, Ḍavilakas, Kuhaṇas, Kekayas, Hūṇas, Romakas, Roravas, Marukas and Cirātas (Kirātas).

65 Sen p. 59 quotes the list slightly differently (from p. 13b, section 4, Chapter 1 of the Āgamodayasamiti edition, Bombay 1919): ime ya b. milakkhu-jātī, ke te? Saka-J.-S.-Babbara-Gāya-M.-Oḍa-B.-Tittiya-P.-K.-G.-S.-P.-K.-A.-Davila-B.-P.-A.-Ḍoba-Pokkaṇa-G.-Bahaliya-Jalla-Roma-Māsa-Bausa-Malayā Cuñcuyā ya C. Koṅkaṇagā M.-P.-M.-Mahura-Ā. A.-C.-Lhāsiya-Kh.-Khāsiyā Nékura-Marahaṭṭha-M.-Āraba-Ḍobilaga-Kuhaṇa-K.-H.-R.-Ruru-Marugā, Cilāya-visaya-vāsīya. Some notes on this are found on p. 60 f.

Upāṅga

Upāṅga 1. Uvavāiṃya (Ovavāiṃya, Aupapātika)

Das Aupapātika Sūtra, erstes Upāṅga der Jaina. 1. Einleitung, Text und Glossar von Ernst Leumann. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes VIII: 2. Leipzig 1883.

Uvavāiṃya 55

List of female slaves, serving Queen Subhaddā (“Wärterinnen des Knaben” (i.e. of the incarnation of the wise Ambaḍa)).

Uvavāiṃya 55 (p. 60 Leumann) = ch. 33 Lalwani.

bahūhim khujjāhim cilāhim vāmaṇihim vaḍabhīhim babbarīhim pausiyāhim
joṇiyāhim palhaviyāhim /siṇiyāhim cāruṇiyāhim (vāru°, thāru°) lāsīyāhim
 lausiyāhim damilīhim simhalīhim ārabīhim pulindīhim pakkaṇīhim bahalīhim
 māruṇḍīhim sabarīhim pārasīhim nānādesīhim videsa-parimaṇḍiyāhim ingiya-
 cintīya-patthiya-viyāṇiyāhim sa-desā-nevagaccha-gahiya-vesāhim cediya-
 cakkavāla-kancuijja-mahattara-vanda-parikhittāo anteurāo niggajjhanti

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 Samvat 1936 (1880). In some editions, the passage also seems to have the number 105.

Upāṅga 2. Rāyapaseṇaiyyam (Rājaprasnīya)

Quoted in Weber 1888, 547 (no. 1829).

Illustrated Rai-Paseniya (Raj-prashniya Sutra) (The Second Upanga). Original Text with Hindi and English Translations, Elaboration and Multicoloured Illustrations. Editor-in-chief Shri Amar Muni, editor Shrichand Surana “Saras”, co-editor Shri Varun Muni “Amar Shishya”, English Translation Rajkumar Jain. 2nd edn. Illustrated Agam Series 13. Delhi/Agra/Jaipur 2007.

Rāyapaseṇaiyyam 281

Javaṇas included in a list of foreign slave women.

Rāyapaseṇaiyyam in Weber 1888: “Wärterinnen des Kindes, Teil von Daḍhapaiṇna”.

tae ṇam Daḍhapaiṇṇe dārage paṃcadhāiparikkhitte: khīradhāie maṃḍaṇadhāie
 majjaṇadhāie amkadhāie kilāvaṇadhāie annāhi bahūhim khujjāhim cilāyāhim
 vāmaṇiyāhim vaḍabhīyāhim babbarāhim baūsiyāhim *joṇhiyāhim* paṇṇaviyāhim
 īsiṇiyāhim vāruṇiyāhim lāsīyāhim lāūsiyāhim damilīhim simhalīhim
 pulimḍīhim ārabīhim pakkaṇīhim bahalīhim puramḍīhim sabarīhim
 pārasīhim nānādesīvidesaparimaṇḍiyāhim imgiyacimtiyapatthiyaviyāṇiyāhim
 sadesaṇevatthagahiyavesāhim

Note *joṇiyāhim* among Weber's variants.

Then this child Daḍḍhapaiṇṇa 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, Bakushas, Greeks, Pahlavas, Isimikas, Varunikas, Lasikas, Lakushas, Dravidians, Sinhallas, Pulindas, Arabs, Pakkanas, Bahalas, Purandas, Sabaras, and Persians – all dressed in the way of their diverse countries...

Upāṅga 4. Pannavaṇā (Paṇṇāpaṇā, Prajñāpanā)

Sivisāmajjavāyagaviraiyam *Paṇṇavaṇāsuttam* mūlagranthātmakaḥ prathamō bhāgaḥ. Sampādakaḥ Puṇyavijayo Munih, Paṇḍita Dalasukha Mālavaniyā Paṇḍita Amṛtalā Mohanalāla Bhojaka ityetau ca. Jaina-Āgama-granthamālā 9 (bhāga 1). Bambaī 1969. Jainācārya-Jainadharmadivākara-Pūjyāsrī-Ghāsīlālajī-Mahārāja-viracitayā Prameya-bodhiniyākhyayā vyākhyayā samalaṅkṛtaṁ hindī-gurjara-bhāṣā 'nūvādasahitam Śrī-Prajñāpanāsūtram. (prathamō bhagaḥ) Niyojakaḥ Saṁskṛta-prākṛta-jaināgamaniṣṇāta-priyavyākhyāni Paṇḍitamuni-Śrīkanhaiyālālajī-Mahārājaḥ. Prakāśakaḥ Pālanapurāniviśi-Śreṣṭhīśrīamulakhacāndra Malukacāndrabhāi Koṭhārī pradatta-dravyasāhāyena A. Bhā. Śve. Sthā. Jainaśāstrodhārasamitipramukhaḥ Śreṣṭhi-Śrīśāntilāla Maṅgaladāsabhāi-Mahodayaḥ. Mu° Rājakoṭa prathama-āvṛttih vīra-saṁvat 2500, vikrama-saṁvat 2030, īsavīsan 1974.

Pannavaṇā 1, 37

Javaṇas in a list of foreign peoples. Pannavaṇā 1, 37.

se kiṁ taṁ kammabhūmagā? kammabhūmagā pannarasavihā paṇṇattā, taṁ jahā – paṁcahiṁ bharahehiṁ (5), paṁcahiṁ eravaehiṁ (5), paṁcahiṁ mahāvīdehiṁ (3x5=15) / te samāsao duvihā paṇṇattā, taṁ jahā – āriya ya milikkhū ya / se kiṁ taṁ milikkhū? milikkhū aṇegavihā paṇṇattā, taṁ jahā – sagā, [*javaṇā*,] cilāyā, sabara-babbara-muramḍo-ṭṭa-bhamḍaga-niṇṇaga-pakkaṇiyā-kalakka-goda-sihala-pārasagāmdhā koṁca-ambaḍagadamila-cillala-pulimda-ārosa-doba-pokkāṇa-gamdhahārayā bahaliya-ajjhala-roma-lapaūsa-malayā ya cumcuyā ya baṁdhuyā ya, cūliya-koṁkaṇaga-meyapalhava-mālava-maggara-ābhāsiyā kaṇṇavīra-lhasiya-khasā khāsiya ṇedūra momḍhaḍomvila galaosa paosa kakkoya akkhāgahūṇa romagabhamararuya cilāya visayavāsī ya evamāi / se taṁ milikkhū //

In Weber 1883, 396f., the list shows several changes and must be therefore quoted in full: sagā *javana* cilāya savara pappara (babbara) kāya murumḍo 'dda(ḍḍha) bhaḍaga niṇṇaga pakkaṇiyā kulakka koṁḍa (gomḍa) sihara (sīhala) pārasa godhova (gādhodam̐ba, godhāi) damila villala (villaṇa, cillala) pulimda hārosā domva (ṭova, doca) boṭṭhakāṇa bahaliya (pahal-iya) ayyala *rāma* pāsa paūsā nalayā (navayā) ya baṁdhuyā ya baṁdhuyā ya sūyali koṁkaṇaga meya (mopaṁya) palhava mālava maggarī (°ra) ābhāsiyā ṇakvaviṇā (kaṇavīra) lhasiya (lhā°)

khagga (kkhasa) ghāsiya (khā°) ṇoha (nedū, ṇaddu) ramaḍha (°ṭha) dombilaga (ḍo°) laüsa (laosa) paosa kvokvaṭā (! kakkveyā, kakveya) arakāga (°vāga) hūṇa *romagā* bharu maruya visālāpavāsī (cilāya visavāsī ya, vilāyavisayavāsī yā) evamādī / se ttaṃ milakkhā //

The omission of the Yavanas in the Rajkot edition is perhaps a printing error, as the chāyā (as well as the ṭikā and the Hindi and Gujarati versions) includes it: śakāḥ, *yavanāḥ*, cīlatāḥ, śabara-barvara-muruṇḍa-uḍḍaka-bhaṇḍaga ...

In note 3, Weber quotes Malayagiri's commentary: śakadeśanivāsinaḥ śakāḥ, *yavanadeśanivāsino yavanāḥ*, evaṃ sarvatra, navaram amī nānādeśā lokato vijñeyāḥ.

Cf. the Pañhāvāgaraṇāim above and Nemicandra's Pravacanasāroddhara below.

Pannavaṇā 1, 107

Javaṇa included in a list of writing systems.

Pannavaṇā 1, 107.

se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriya? bhāsāriyā jeṇaṃ addhamāgāḥie bhāsaē bhāsīnti, jatthaviya ṇaṃ baṃbhī livī pavattaī / bambhīe ṇaṃ livīe ṇaṃ livīe aṭṭhārasavihe lekkhavihāṇe paṇṇatte / taṃ jahā – baṃbhī 1 javaṇaliya 2 dosāpuriya 3 kharoṭṭhī 4 pukkhayasāriyā 5 bhogavāyā 6 paharāyāo ya 7 aṃtakkhariyā 8 akkharapuṭṭhiyā 9 veṇāyā 10 ṇiṇhāyā 11 aṃkalivī 12 gaṇṭalivī 13 gaṃdhavvalivī 14 āyaṃsalivī 15 māhesarī 16 dāmilī 17 poliṃdī 18 / se ttaṃ bhāsariyā

The word javaṇaliya is elsewhere found as javaṇāniyā; for dosāpuriya, the variant dāsāpuriya is given.

Upāṅga 6. Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti (Jambūdvīpaprajñapti)

Suttāgame. Vol. 2. Critically edited by Muni Śrī Phūlchandī Mahārāj. Bombay 1954.

Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti 43

List of foreign slave women in service to King Bharata.

Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti ch. 43, quoted in Weber 1883, 412 f. (and 1888, 582)

Weber: tate naṃ tassa Bharahassa raṇṇo bahūo khuyya-cilāti-vāmaṇi-vaḍabhū babbari-vaüsiyāo *joṇiyā*-palhaviyāo isiṇiyā-thāruṇiyā (thārukiṇiā, cāru(ū)bhaṇiyā) lāsiya laüsiya damilī sīhalī taha āravī puliṃdī ya pakvaṇī vahali maruṃḍī (mura°, muru°) savarīu pārasīu ya appigatiyāo caṃḍaṇakalasaḥatthayayāo

Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti 52

Conquests of Bharata (Bharaha).

Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti ch. 52 (*Suttāgame* 2, p. 571 f.).

tao mahāṇaīm uttarittu Sindhum appaḍihayasāsaṇe seṇāvāi kahiṃci gāmāgaranagarapavvayāṇi kheḍakabbaḍamaḍambāṇi paṭṭaṇāṇi siṃhalaē babbarae ya savvaṃ ca aṃgaloyam balāyāloyam ca paramarammaṃ *javanādīvaṃ* ca pava

ramaṇirayaṇakaṇagakoṣāgārasamiddhaṃ ārabae romae ya alasaṇḍavisayavāsī ya pukkhare kālamuhe joṇae ya uttaraveyaḍḍhasamsiyāo ya mecchajāī bahuppagārā dāhiṇāāvareṇa jāva sindhusāgaramto tti savvapavarakacchaṃ ca oaveūṇa paḍiṇiyatto bahusamaram aṇijje ya bhūmibhoge tassa kacchassa suhaṇisaṇṇe

A reference to the Jambuddivapaṇṇattivṛtti p. 191 & 220 probably covers the two passages quoted above.

...the very pleasant island of the Javanas, rich with many gems, jewels, gold and treasure houses, Arabs, Romans living in the country of Alasanda, Puṣkaras, Kālamukhas, Joṇas (Yavanas)...

[*Upāṅga. 8. Nirayāvaliyāo (-vatī)*

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).]

Chedasutta 1. Nisība

Nisihajjhayanam (The Nisītha Sutra). Vacanapramukha: Acarya Tulasi. Ed. with text, variant readings, index, etc. by Muni Nathmal. Calcutta 1967.

Suttāgame. Vol. 2. Critically ed. Muni Śrī Phūlchandjī Mahārāj. Bombay 1954 (p. 849 ff.).

Nisīha 9, 29

List of foreign slave women.

Nisīhasutta 9, 29 (9, 600).

je bhikkhū raṇṇo khattiyāṇaṃ muddiyāṇaṃ muddhā-bhisittāṇaṃ asaṇaṃ vā parassa nīhaḍaṃ paḍiggāheti, paḍiggāheṃtaṃ vā sātijjati, taṃ jahā – khujjāṇa vā, cilāiyāṇa vā, vāmaṇīna vā, vaḍabhīṇa vā, babbarīna vā, paūsīna vā, joṇiyāṇa vā, palhaviyāṇa yā, īsiṇīna vā, thārugiṇīna vā, lāsīna vā, laūsīna vā, sihalīna vā, damilīna vā, ārabīna vā, pulimḍīna vā, pakkaṇīna vā, bahalīna vā, marumḍīna vā, sabarīna vā, pārasīna vā – taṃ sevamaṇe āvajjai cāummāsiyaṃ parihāraṭṭhāṇaṃ aṇugghātiyaṃ //

There is a further reference to Nisīhasuttaṃ 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:

Nisīth Sutam, with Bhāṣya by Sthavir Pungava Shri Visahgani Mahattar and Vishesh Churny by Acharya Pravara 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, bhāito jāi hoī jāūnarāyā u /
taṃ puṇa atisayaṇṇī, dikkharitadhikāraṇaṃ nāūm //

However, Jāūnarāya is not Yavanarāja (as supposed by Sircar 1973, 171 f.), but Yamunarāja!

6. JAINA: COMMENTARIES, ETC.

Āmradeva on Nemicandra

Ācārya Nemicandra's Ākhyānakamaṇikośa with Ācārya Āmradeva's Commentary, ed. Muni Shri Punyavijayaji. With English Introduction by U.P. Shah. Prakrit Text Society Series 5. Varanasi 1962.

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 Cārudattacariu).

kappāsu tetthu laīyau mahatthu, āvaṁtaha davi duḍḍhaū samatthu / māūlāi viūttaū atthakāmu, velāūlu pattu piyaṁgunāmu / piusittim periu tahirṁ akīvi, gaū jāṇavatti lahu *javaṇadīvi* / tattha vi ya mukavāṇijji khoḍi, tiṇi aṭṭha viḍhatta suvaṇṇakoḍi / āvaṁtaha phuṭṭaūm jāṇavattu, thīgujjhu jeva hāravivavittu / diṇasattagi phalahim tarevi nīru, āsamapaū pāviu kahavi tīru /

U.P. Shah, Introduction, p. 9 points out that Javaṇadīva (Yavanadvīpa), here as well as in the parallel version in the Vasudevahiṇḍi, probably denotes modern Java in Indonesia.

Aṅgavijjā

Aṅgavijjā (Science of Divination through Physical Signs and Symbols). Ed. Muni Shri Punyavijayaji. Prakrit Text Society Series 1. Banaras 1957.

Aṅgavijjā 9, 259

A brief list of slave women.

Aṅgavijjā 9, 259.

259. lāḍi [vā] *joṇikā* va tti cilātī babbari tti vā /
sabari tti pulindī tti aṅghī dimilitti vā //

Lāṭī and Yavanī and Kirātī and Barbarī and Śabarī and Pulindī and Aṅgī and Ḍamiṭī.

Candrasūri on Upāṅga 8 (Nirayāvalī)

Candrasūri on Upāṅga 8, quoted in Weber 1883, 422 and 1888, 606.

Candrasūri on Nirayāvalī

List of foreign slave women.

Candrasūri on Nirayāvalī (in Sanskrit)

vahūhim khuyyāhim jāvetyādi kubjikābhiḥ vakrajaṅghābhiḥ, cilātībhir anārya-
deśotpannābhiḥ, vāmanābhir hrasvaśarīrābhiḥ vaḍabhābhir maḍahakoṣṭhābhiḥ,
varvarībhir varvaradeśasambhavābhiḥ, vakuśikābhiḥ yonakābhiḥ paṅhavikābhiḥ
isinikābhiḥ cārukinikābhiḥ lāsikābhiḥ draviḍībhiḥ simhalībhiḥ āravībhiḥ
pakvaṅbhiḥ vahalībhiḥ murumḍībhiḥ śavarībhiḥ pārasībhiḥ nānādeśābhir vahu
 vidhānāryaprāyadeśotpannābhir ity arthaḥ⁶⁶

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara, quoted by Weber 1883, 397. See his note (with some explanations).

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara 274, 1594

List of foreign peoples.

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara § 274, verses 1594–1596.

1594. sagā *javaṇa* sabara vavvara kāya (kāyāḥ)

marumḍo 'ḍḍa (murumḍāḥ uḍrāḥ) goḍa pakkaṇāya /

aravāga (aukhāga, akṣāgāḥ!) hoṇa *romaya*

pārasa khasa khāsiyā ceva //

1595. ḍumvilaya laūsa (lakuśāḥ) bhokkasa bhillimḍha (bhillā āmḍhrāḥ)

pulimḍa kuṇca bhamararuyā (!! bhrāmararucāḥ) /

kovāya (korpakāḥ) cīṇa-caṁcuya (cīnāḥ caṁcukāḥ)

mālava ḍamilā (draviḍāḥ) kulaggha (kulārghāḥ!) ya //

1596. kekaya kirāya hayamuha kharamuha

gaya-turaya-mimḍhayamuhā (mimḍhakamukhāḥ) ya /

hayakannā gayakannā anne vi anāriyā bahave //

Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamaśramaṇa: Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya

Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamaśramaṇa: Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya (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 (jantapaḍimā) 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.”

⁶⁶ Weber 1888, 660 (no. 1891) quoted the Kalpāntarvācyāni, a Kalpasūtra commentary dated later than Hemacandra, in which the dāsī list of the Nāyādhammakahāo is quoted in Chapter 16.

7. JAINA: NARRATIVES

Āvaśyakacūrṇi, etc.

*Āvaśyakacūrṇi, ed. Ratlam 1928–29.

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. Alasaṃḍa.

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 Vasudevahiṇḍī 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

Ācārya Jinabhadra's *Viśesāvaśyakabhāṣya with Auto-Commentary*. Part 1–2. Ed. Pt.D. Malvania. L.D. Series 10. Ahmedabad 1966.

Viśesāvaśyakabhāṣya 262 f. (1701 f.)

Ṛṣabha visits Yavana country, Suvarṇabhūmi, Yavanas and Pahlavas and other barbarians.

Viśesāvaśyakabhāṣya 261–264 (1700–1703, p. 305 Malvania)

- 261./1700. kallaṃ savviḍḍīe pūhamadaṭṭhu amma cakkam tu /
viharati saḥassam egaṃ cchatumattho bhāradhe vāse //
- 262./1701. bahaḷī ya aḍamba ilā *joṇaga visayā* suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ ya /
āhiṇḍitā bhagavatā usabheṇa tavaṃ caraṃteṇaṃ //
- 263./1702. vahaḷī ya *joṇagā* paṇhava* ya je bhagavatā samaṇusatthā /
aṇṇe ya mecchajātī te tāiyā bhaddayā jātā //
- 264./1703. titthakarāṇaṃ paḍhamo usabhariṣī viharito ṇiruvassaggaṃ /
aṭṭhāvato ṇagavaro aggabhūmī jiṇavarassa //

*Variants include paṅhagā, 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 Pūrṇakalaśagaṇi.
Ed. the late Shankar Pandurang Pandit. Second edn revised by P.L. Vaidya. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 60. Bombay 1936.

Kumārapālacarita of Hc 6, 74

Being afraid of Kumārapāla, the Yavana king did not enjoy his tāmbūlabhoga. Kumārapālacarita of Hemacandra 6, 73 f. with Pūrṇakalaśagaṇi's commentary.

73. sindhu-vāi tuha camaḍhaṇa-velillo tumāi dinna-caḍḍaṇao /
na jimaī divase jemaī nisāi pacchima-disāi taha //
74. tambolaṅ na samāṇai kammaṇa-kole vi naḥhae javaṇo /
visae a novabhuñjai bhaeṇa tuha vasuha-kammavaṇa //

Depending on you for the dining hour, the lord of Sindh 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 jīvāt asau varāka ity anukampayā vitīrṇagrāsamātrajanakadeśaḥ paścimadiśaḥ sindhupatiḥ pratīcīdiksambandhisvāmī divase na bhuṅkte niśāyām bhuṅkte / svāmyasākṣātkāre velādharā rātrau bhuñjata iti sthitiḥ //

74. he vasudhopabhojaka pṛthivīpālaka, tava bhayena hetunā javanaḥ javanadeśādhiśaḥ tāmbūlaṅ na bhuṅkte / bhojanakāle 'pi na bhuṅkte / viśayāms ca śabdādīn deśān vā nopabhuṅkte / sarvaṃ tāmbūlāsādanādi muktavā kevalatvadārāadhanopāyān adhīta ity arthaḥ //

King Kumārapāla of Aṅhilwar lived in 1092/1149–1172/1229 and ruled from 1142/1199. He was Hemacandra's patron. He is lauded here because of his might.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena

Harivaṃśa Purāṇa of Jinasena. With Hindi translation, introduction and appendices by Pannalal Jain. Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevi Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha 27. New Delhi 1978.

A Sanskrit Kāvya from 784 CE.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 11, 66

List of Northern kings and peoples in the Bharatadigvijayavarṇana.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 11, 65 ff.

65. solvāvṛṣṭatrigartās ca kuśāgro matsyanāmakaḥ /
kuṇḍīyān kośalo moko deśās te madhyadeśakāḥ //
66. bāhlikātreyakāambojā yavanābhīramadrakāḥ /
kvāthatoyaś ca śūras ca vāṭavānaś ca kaikeyaḥ //
67. gāndhāraḥ sindhusauvīrabhāradvājadaśerukāḥ /
prāsthālās tīrṇakarṇās 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 Sūrparakas, Bharukacchas, Saurāṣṭras, and Narmadaś).

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 73

Kings arriving at Kurukṣetra.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 73.

73. barbarā yamanābhīrāḥ kāmbojā draviḍā nṛpāḥ /
anye ca bahavaḥ ṣūrāḥ śauripakṣam upāśritāḥ //

The kings of Barbaras, Yamanas, Ābhīras, Kāmbojas, Draviḍas and many other heroes took the side of Śauri (Kṛṣṇa).

It seems very likely that Yamana is just an error for Yavana. Note that unlike in the Mahābhārata, here Kṛṣṇa remains on the side of the Kauravas.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 84

List of kings in the Cakragaruḍavyūhavarṇana.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 50, 84.

84. śakunir yavano bhānur duśśāsanaśikhaṇḍinau /
vāhlikasomadattaś ca devaśarmā vakas tathā //

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 52, 29

Kālayavana fighting on the side of Jarāsandha.

Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinasena 52, 29.

29. sa kālayavanaḥ kāla iva svayam upāgataḥ /
gajaṃ malayanāmānam ārūḍho yuyudhe 'dhikam //

That Kālayavana arrived like death himself, mounted on an elephant named Malaya, which was excellent in battle.

Nammayāsundarīkathā of Mabendrasūri

Śrīmahendrasūri-viracitā (prākṛtabhāṣā-nibaddhā) Nammayāsundarī Kathā (Devacandrasūrikṛta saṁkṣipta prākṛta kathā, Jinaprabhasūrikṛta apabhraṁśabhāṣāmāyā Namayāsundarī sandhi, tathā Merusundarakṛta gūjarabhāṣāgadyamāyā bālāvabodhasamanvitam). Saṁpādanakartrī Kumārī Pratibhā Trivedī. Siṅghī Jainasāstra Granthamālā 48. Bambaī vikramābda 2016 / 1960 khristābda.

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 Vīradāsa 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 Vīradāsa would not accept her invitation: he gave the maid-servant 500 dramma and dismissed her. Hariṇī sent another maid-servant who succeeded to persuade Vīradāsa 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 ujjāṇe kīlaṃto bhaṇṇo siṇiddhamittehiṃ – kim amha kūpa
daddureṇevādiṭṭhadesaṃtarāṇa jīvieṇa ? kiṃ vā ... kiṃ bahunā

312. hosu tumaṃ amhāṇaṃ (savvāṇaṃ) uggaṇī *javaṇaḍḍivāṃ* /
vaccāmo nāṇāvihamaṇimottiyarayaṇapaḍḍihatthā //

313. evaṃ bahuppayāraṃ vayaṃsayāṇaṃ suṇettu vinnattiṃ /
āha mahesaradatto – kim ajuttaṃ hou evaṃ ti //

tao āpucchiūṇa niyaniyajaṇae pāraddhā saṃjattī – gahiyāiṃ taddīvapāuggāiṃ
bhamḍāiṃ, paūṇīkayāiṃ jāṇavattāiṃ, sajjiyā nijjāmayā, nirūvīyaṃ patthāṇa-
divasaṃ / etthaṃtare pucchiyā bhattuṇā Nammayāsuṃdarī – pie! vaccāmo
vayaṃ *javaṇaḍḍivāṃ* /

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariyaṃ of Śīlāṅka

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariyaṃ by Ācārya Śrī Śīlāṅka. Ed. Pt. Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak. Prakrit
Text Society Series 3. Ahmadabad & Varanasi 1961.

Samvat 925.

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariyaṃ of Śīlāṅka 124

List of various scripts.

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariyaṃ of Śīlāṅka, 1. Risahasāmi – 2. Bharahacakkavatti-
cariyaṃ § 124, p. 38.

puṇo bhagavayā bambhīe darisiyā akkharalivī / tīe livīe 'paḍḍhamāṃ bambhīe
darisiya 'tti kāūṇa bambhī ceva nāmaṃ jāyaṃ / tao pacchā bambhippabhīo
aṭṭhārasa livīo jāyāo, taṃ jahā – bambhī haṃsī uḍḍī domilī [*sic*] jakkhī khasāṇiyā
āyarisī bhūyalivī gandhavvī ṇandīṇayarā saṇṇāmatā parakammī babbarī kharoṭṭhī
khaḍaviyaḍā *javaṇī* pokkharī loyapayāsa ttī (tti) /

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariyaṃ of Śīlāṅka 127

Joṇagavisaya with Suvaṇṇabhūmi included among barbarian countries.

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariyaṃ 1. Risahasāmi – 2. Bharahacakkavatticariyaṃ §
127, p. 41.

sāmī vi bahulī aḍambaillaṃ *joṇagavisayaṃ* suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ ca aṇṇe ya
ṇāṇāvihamecchajāidese dhammasuivivajjīe gahiyavivihābhiggaho ṇāṇāvihata-
vaccaraṇarao varisahasassaṃ viharamāṇo saṃpatto purimatālassa ṇagarassa
puvvuttare disābhāge, sagaḍamuhābhīhāṇe ujjāṇe ṇaggohavarapāyavacchāyāe
aṭṭhameṇaṃ bhaṭṭeṇaṃ paḍimaṃ ṭhio /

Yaśastilakacampū of Somadevasūri

The Yaśastilaka of Somadeva Sūri with the Commentary of Śrutadeva Sūri. Part 1. Ed. MM.Pt. Śivadatta and K.P. Parab. Kāvyaṃālā 70. Bombay 1901.

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

... keralakulakuliśapātaḥ *yavanakujavajrānalaḥ* caidyasundarīvinodakandalāḥ ...

...*(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: *yavanakujavajrānalaḥ yavano nāma khurāśānadeśas tasya svāmy api yavanaḥ* sa eva kujo vṛkṣas tasya dāhane jvālāne vajrānalaḥ pavipāvakah /

“*The fire caused by lightning in the tree of the Yavana king.*” – *Yavana is the name of the country of Chorasan. Its master is also called Yavana, and he is the tree burnt by this fire.*

Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha of Śubhaśīlagāṇi

A collection of legends and anecdotes in 4 adhikaraṇas (saṃvat 1521) quoted by Weber 1888, 1114 (n. 2020).

Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha 1

Adhikaraṇa 1, passage quoted by Weber.

ekadā suratrāṇena Kānnaḍagrāmo bhagnaḥ, tatradyaḥ Śrī Vīrapratimām ānīya *yavanair* Ḍhīlyā musītadvāre* sopānakasthāne sthāpitā, tata ekadā...

*Weber: “an der Thür des Moschee von Delhi?” (i.e. *Yavanas took the statue of Śrī Vīra and put it there*).

Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotana

Dākṣiṇyaciṅṇāvika śrīmad Uddyotanasūriviracitā Kuvalayamālā (prākṛtabhāṣānobaddhā campūsvarūpā mahākathā) atidurlabhaprācīnapustakadvayādhāreṇa saparīśodhya bahuviladhapāṭhabhedādibhiḥ pariṣkṛtya ca saṃpāditam. Saṃpādaka Ādinātha Neminātha Upādhye. Dvītiyabhāḡaḥ. Ratnaprabhasūrikā Kuvalayamālākathā. Mumbāi 1970. (Unfortunately I have not been able to find the first volume.)

Christine Chojnacki: *Kuvalayamālā. Roman jaina de 779 composé par Uddyotanasūri. Vol. 1. Étude. Vol. 2. Traduction et annotations. 393 + 784 p. Indica et Tibetica 50:1–2. Marburg 2008.*

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,⁶⁷ but perhaps it refers to the corresponding page in vol. 1. In *Kuvalayamālākahā kā saṃskṛtik 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 Javaṇadīva 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.

Vasudevahiṇḍi of Saṅghadāsa

Vasudevahiṇḍi: Pūjyaśrīsaṅghadāsagaṇivācakavinirmitam Vasudevahiṇḍiprathamakhaṇḍam. [Ed.] Caturvijaya & Puṇyavijaya. Śrī Ātmānanda Jainagrantharatnamālā 80. Bombay 1930.

VDH: Dhammillahiṇḍi p. 38 f.

A Javaṇa envoy as a skilled physician.

Vasudevahiṇḍi: Dhammillahiṇḍi p. 38 f.

atthi iheva kosambīe nayaṛīe hariseṇo nāma rāyā / tassa ya aggamahisī dhāraṇī devī / tassa ya raṇṇo amacco subuddhī nāma / tassa ya bhajjā simhalī nāma / tīse ya putto āṇando nāma, yo ya ahaṃ āsī / tattha ya mama asuhakammaḍaṇaṃ kuṭṭharogo jāto / tato teṇa rogeṇaṃ saṃtappamāṇo appāṇaṃ ca nimdanto [nidanto?] āūm aṇupālemi / tato aṇṇayā keṇāi kāleṇaṃ *javaṇavisayā*dhiveṇaṃ saṃpesio dūo āgato imaṃ nayaṛaṃ / rāyakulaṃ ca pavitṭho dūyāṇurūveṇaṃ sakkāreṇaṃ mahānteṇaṃ sakkārio / tato annayā kayāi amhaṃ piṇṇā sabbavaṇaṃ neūṇa nānavibhavasariṃ saṃpūio, uvavitṭhā ya ālāva-saṃkahāhiṃ rāyadesa-kusalavaṭṭamāṇīhiṃ acchaṃti / ahaṃ va ṇeṇa niyagharaṃ pavisanto diṭṭho / teṇa ya pucchiyaṃ – kassesa dārao? / tāteṇa bhaṇiyaṃ – mamaṃ ti / tato teṇa laviyaṃ – kim iha visae osahī natthi? vejjā vā natthi? tti / tāteṇa bhaṇio – atthi

⁶⁷ Part 2 contains an introduction, Ratnaprabha's Sanskrit chāyā, and an index. Page 109 is part of the index.

osahū, vejjā vi tti. eyassa puṇa mandabhāgayā aṇosahiṃ ceva bhavaī. natthi ya se uvasamo / tato tena laviyaṃ – jo navasaṃjātajovvaṇo āsakisoro tassa ruhire muhuttaṃ pakkhinto acchāi / evaṃ vadittā gato so /

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).

aṇṇayā ya dhaṇavaīsathavāhassa putto dhaṇavasū nāmā / tassa ya jāṇavattaṃ *javaṇavisayagamaṇajoggaṃ sajjiyaṃ* / teṇa ya piyā viṇṇavio – esa me kokkāso dijjau, mae samayaṃ *javaṇavisayaṃ* vaccau tti / tao teṇa visajjio / saṃpatthio vahaṇo samuddavāyāṇuvvāyaṇeṇaṃ icchiyaṃ paṭṭaṇaṃ saṃpatto / laṃbiyāo naṃgarāo disāsuraṃ, osāriesu siyavaḍesu oinnā saṃjattayavāṇi (granthāgram – 1600) yayā / antevāsiṇo ya bhaṇḍayaṃ oyāriyaṃ, diṇṇā ya rāyadāṇā / tattha ya saṃjattayavāṇiyayā vavahariyaṃ payattā /

Alsdorf 1935, 298: In Tāmralipti: *Nun hatte der Kaufherr Dhanapati einen Sohn namens Dhanavasū. Für den baute er einst ein Schiff zur Fahrt ins Land der Griechen. Und jener sprach zu seinem Vater: ‘Gib mir diesen Kokkāsa mit, er soll mit mir ins Land der Griechen reisen.’ Da liess jener ihn ziehen. Das Schiff fuhr ab, und den Winden des Meeres folgend kam es an seinem Bestimmungsort an. Die Haltetaue wurden nach allen Seiten gestreckt, und nach dem die Segel herabgelassen waren, gingen die Seekaufleute und die Diener von Bord. Die Ladung wurde gelöscht, die Geschenke für den König wurden dargebracht und die Seekaufleute begannen dort Handel zu schreiben.*

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 (āgāsagamaṃ jantaṃ). Being overweight because of the queen, the car landed in Tosali, where Kokkāsa built additional flying machines for the local king.

Cf. BKŚS 5, 190 ff.

VDH: Cārudattacarita p. 148

Javaṇa island identified as Java and Javaṇas (Greeks) as Western people.

Vasudevahiṇḍi: Cārudattacarita p. 148 (text is also given in Alsdorf 1935, 280).

tato niyagaghare iva vasanteṇaṃ sajjīyaṃ jāṇavattaṃ, bhariyaṃ bhaṇḍassa, gahiyā kiṃkarā saha saṃjattachim, pesiyā ya khemavaṭṭamāṇī savvaṭṭhassa, gahio ya rāyasāsaṇeṇa paṭṭao, aṇukūlesu vāta-saiṇesu ārūḍho mi jāṇavattaṃ, ukkhitto dhāvo, cīṇathāṇassa mukkaṃ jāṇavattaṃ, jalapahaṇa jalamao viva paibhāi logo, pattā mu cīṇatthāṇaṃ / tattha vaṇijjeuṇa gao mi suvaṇṇabhūmim / puvvadāhiṇḍi paṭṭaṇṇi hiṇḍiṇḍi kamalopuraṃ *javaṇadīvaṃ* siṃhale ya valaṇjeuṇa, pacchime ya babbara-*javaṇe* [ya] ajjīyāo aṭṭha koḍīo / bhaṇḍalaggāo tāo jalapahagayāo duguṇāo havanti, tao jāṇavatteṇa soraṭṭhakūleṇa vaccamaṇo āloiyakālassa [ya]me uppāyamārūyāhao viṇaṭṭho so poo, ...

line 5 vaṇijjeuṇa, Alsdorf valaṇjeuṇa, from valaṇjei '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 bestände. 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 Krores. Diese legte ich wieder in Waren an und verdoppelte sie durch Seehandel. Darauf, als ich in Sicht der Küste am Gestade Kathiawars 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.

Vasudevahiṇḍi 18 (aṭṭhārasamo piyaṅgusundarīlambho, kāmapaḍāgāsambandhe aṇuvvayāṇaṃ guṇadesā), p. 296.

mahurāe ajjīyaseṇo nāma rāyā, tassa aggamahisī mittavati / aṇṇayā ya *javaṇarañṇā* Ajjīyaseṇassa raṇṇo neuram ekkaṃ suṭṭhu-suddha-mahallayaṃ pāhuḍam vasiṇṇiyam / taṃ rañṇā mittavati diṇṇam / mittavati rāyam bhaṇṇā – sāmi! bīyam erisaṃ ghaḍāveha / raṇṇā suvaṇṇakārasenī sahāvitā / taṃ paḍicchandaḍo diṇṇo – bīyam erisaṃ ghaḍeha /

In Mathurā there was a king named Ajitasena. His head queen was Mitravati. Once the Yavana king sent to King Ajitasena a very bright and large anklet. The king gave it

to *Mitravatī*. *Mitravatī* 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.'

Paūmacariya (Padmacarita) of Vimalasūri

Ācārya Vimalasūri's Paūmacariyam with Hindi translation. Part 2. Ed. H. Jacobi. 2nd edn rev. Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, tr. into Hindi by S.M. Vora. Prakrit Text Society Series 12. Ahmedabad 1968.

Paūmacariya 98, 64

Javaṇas 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

- Arokiaswami, M. 1966. "Yavanas in Tamil Literature", *Indica* (Heras Institute, Bombay) 3, 107–112.
- De Romanis, Federico 1997a. "Rome and the *Nótia* of India: Relations between Rome and Southern India from 30 BC to the Flavian Period", De Romanis & Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*. New Delhi, 80–160.
- Kanakasabhai [Pillai], V. 1904. *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (repr. Madras 1966).
- Meile, Pierre 1941. "Les yavanas dans l'Inde tamoule", *JA* 232, 1940 = *Mélanges Asiatiques* 1940–1941, 85–123.
- Zvelebil, Kamil 1956. "The Yavanas in Old Tamil Literature", *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia...Ioanni Rypka sacrum*. Praha, 401–409.

1. Sangam Anthologies

Akanānūru

Akanānūru 149, 7–11

Muciri, a port visited by Yavanas and conquered by Pāṇḍya.

Meile 1941, 90 & Zvelebil 1956, 403 & De Romanis 1997a, 98 f. & 107 f.

... cēralat / cuḷḷiyam pēriyārru veṇṇurai kalaṅka / *yavaṇar* tanta viṇaimāṇaṅkalam / ponnoṭu vantu kaṛiyōṭu peyarum / vaḷaṅkelu muciri yārppela vaḷai

Zvelebil: ...*the flourishing town of Muciri, where the large beautiful ships built by the Yavanas came with gold, disturbing the white foams of the fair Pēriyāru* (= 'big river') *called Cullī of the Cēralar, (and) returned with pepper.*

Puṛānānūru

Puṛānānūru 56, 17–20

Wine brought by Yavanas.

Meile 1943, 103 & Zvelebil 1956, 402 & De Romanis 1997a, 119 with note 164.

... iravalarkk aruṅkalam arukād iyā / *yavaṇar* naṅkalam tanta taṅkamaḷ tēral / poṅcai puṇaikalatt ēnti nāḷum / oṇṇōṭi makaḷir maṭuppa makilciran ...

Zvelebil: [...*may you*] *therefore, having distributed without limit costly vessels to the iravalark, 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 Yavaṇas in beautiful bowls.

In a note, Zvelebil explains *iravalār* as suppliants or beggars. According to the Vaidehi translation 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 Yavaṇas.

Meile 1943, 107 & Zvelebil 1956, 404 f. & De Romanis 1997a, 104 with note 106. Translation also in N. Raghunatha, *Six Long Poems from Sangam Tamil*. Madras 1978.

mattikai vaḷaiya maṛintu vīṅku cerivuṭai / meyppai pukka veruvarun tōrrattu / valipuṇar yākkai vaṅkaṇ yavaṇar / pulittoṭar viṭṭa puṇaimā ṇallir

Zvelebil: *the hard-eyed Yavaṇas 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.

Patirruppattu

Patirruppattu 2, 7–10

Yavaṇas are taken prisoners.

Meile 1943, 118 & Zvelebil 1956, 404 & De Romanis 1997a, 105 with note 108.

pēricai marapin āriyar vaṇakki / nayanil naṅcol yavaṇar piṇittu / ney-talaip peytu kai-pir koḷī / yaruvilai naṅkalam vayiramoṭu koṇṭu

Zvelebil: [The Cera King]...*having captured the uncivilised Yavaṇas of harsh speech, poured oil on (their) heads, tied (their) hands to (their) backs and took (their) precious beautiful vessels (naṅkalam ‘amphorae?’) and diamonds.*

2. Classical Epics

Cilappatikāram of Ilar̥ikō Aṭikaḷ

Cilappatikāram. Puliyūrta Kēcikaṅ teḷivuraiyūṅ. Ceṅṅai 1958 (repr. 1982).

Cilappatikāram 5, 10

Flourishing Yavana houses.

Meile 1943, 113 & Zvelebil 1956, 405.

payaṅ aṛavu aṛiyā yavaṅar irukkaiyūṅ

Zvelebil: *The dwellings of Yavaṅas who do not know cessation of profit* [in Kāvērippūmpaṭṭiṅam].

Cilappatikāram 14, 66 f.

Yavana guardians.

Meile 1943, 112 & Zvelebil 1956, 405 & De Romanis 1997a, 104.

kaṭimatiḷ vāyil kāvaliṛ ciṛanta / aṭalvāḷ yavaṅark

Zvelebil: *The Yavaṅas of murderous sword, best in guarding the gates of the fortified wall.*

Cilappatikāram 28, 141 f.

Yavana kingdom attacked by the Cēra King.

Meile 1943, 120 & Zvelebil 1956, 406.

vaṅcol yavaṅar vaḷanāṭāṅṭu / poṅ paṭu neṭuvarai pukuntōṅ

Zvelebil: [The Cēra King...] *penetrated the golden region of the high mountain in the fertile kingdom of the Yavaṅas of barbarous speech.*

Cilappatikāram 29, 11 f.

Yavana country as part of the Cēra kingdom.

Meile 1943, 120 & Zvelebil 1956, 406.

vaṅcol yavaṅar vaḷanāṭu vaṅperuṅkar / reṅkumari yāṅṭa ceruviṛ kayar puliyāṅ

Zvelebil: [Our king rules the earth] *from the fertile country of the Yavaṅas of harsh tongue to Kumari in the South with large and rude rocks...*

Maṇimēkalai of Cāttanār

Maṇimēkalai. Ed. U.Vē. Cāminātaiyār. 1898 (repr. 1981).

Maṇimēkalai 1, 45

Lamps made by Yavanas.

Zvelebil 1956, 406 f.

pāvaiṣṭakku ... *yavaṇar* iyaṛṛiya viṇaimāṇ pāvai kaiyēn taiyakal

Zvelebil: *The bowl of an earthen lamp held in the hand of a statue of beautiful workmanship made by the Yavaṇas.*

Maṇimēkalai 19, 107 f.

Yavana carpenters.

Meile 1943, 115 f. & Zvelebil 1956, 406.

makata viṇaiṇaru marāṭṭa kammarum

avantik kollarum *yavaṇat* taccarum

Zvelebil: *Magadha artisans, Maratha goldsmiths, blacksmiths of Avanti, and Yavaṇa carpenters* (collaborated on building a pavillion for the Cholas).

3. Other and Late Sources*Apitāṇacintāmaṇi (Abhidhānacintāmaṇi)***Apitāṇacintāmaṇi 1, 45**

Yavana means Arab.

Meile 1943, 101.

According to Meile's brief comment, 'Arab' is here the first definition given to the word *yavaṇaṇ*.

*Cīvakacintāmaṇi of Tiruttakatēvar***Cīvakacintāmaṇi 1, 101**

On Yavanas possessing mechanic skills.

Zvelebil 1956, 408.

tam pulankaḷāl *yavaṇar* tāṭpaṭutta poriyē

Zvelebil: [A] *machine, invented by the Yavaṇas, made by the help of their intelligence.*

See also 1, 557 *yavaṇappēli* ‘yavana chest, small ornamental box as made in *yavaṇam*’ (Zvelebil *ibid.* quoting TL).

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar

Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar 62

On Yavanas being hard-eyed.

Meile 1943, 109.

vaṅkaṇ yavaṇar taṛukaṇmaiṇaiyūṭaiya

Meile: *Les Sonaguers possédant un regard terrible.*

Nakkīrar: Neṭunalvāṭai

Nakkīrar: Neṭunalvāṭai 101 f.

On a Yavana lamp.

Meile 1943, 114; Arokiaswami 1966, 109

yavaṇar iyarriya viṇaimāṇ pāvai / kaiyēn taiyaka nīraianay 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.”

Perumpāṇārṛuppaṭai

Perumpāṇārṛuppaṭai 316–318

On a Yavana lamp.

Zvelebil 1956, 405.

“A kingfisher is compared to a ‘yavaṇa swan-lamp on the mast’ of a boat (*yavaṇar* *ōtima viḷakku*).”

Peruṅkatai of Koṅkuvēḷir

Peruṅkatai 1, 17, 175

Mention of a Yavana lamp.

Zvelebil 1956, 407.

yavaṇap *pāvaiyaṇai viḷakku* “the ornamented lamp (held by) a Yavaṇa statue”

Peruṅkatai 1, 32, 76

Mention of Yavana-made box.

Zvelebil 1956, 407.

yavaṇa mañcikai “Yavaṇa trunk, box”

Peruṅkatai 1, 38, 233

Mention of a Yavana-made cart.

Zvelebil 1956, 407.

yavaṇak kaiviṇai yāriyar puṇaintatu tamaṇiyattiyaṇṇa 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 taccaṇṇam avantik kollarum makatattu piranta maṇiviṇaikkāraṇṇam
pāṭalip piranta pacumpon viṇaiṇarum kōcalat tiyaṇṇa vōvīyat tolilarum vattanāṭṭu
vaṇṇak kammarum

After Meile: *Yavaṇa carpenters, blacksmiths of Avanti, pearl-workers of Magadha,
goldsmiths of Pāṭalīputra, painters of Kośala, decorators of Vatsa.*

Peruṅkatai 3, 4, 8

Yavana villages.

Zvelebil 1956, 407.

aimpatiṇiraṭṭi *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 kaiviṇai maṇap puṇarntatōr makara vīṇai
“a vīna 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.

yavaṇaṇ pēḷai “Yavaṇa 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 *Cēntaṇ Tivākaram* edition. Cēntaṇar 1904).

cōṇakam – the Yavana language

cōṇakaṇ – a foreigner from the Yavana country

*Yālppāṇattu maṇippāyakarāti***Yālppāṇattu maṇippāyakarāti**

Referred to in the *TL* (using the *Yālppāṇattu maṇippāyakarāti* edition. Cantiracēkarap pullar. American Mission Press, Jaffna 1842).

yavaṇāri – Kṛṣṇa as the slayer of Kālayavana

yavaṇappiriyam – pepper

APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLES OF TELUGU SOURCES

Kāśikhaṇḍa of Śrīnātha

Referred to by G.V. Ramamurti, “Konkuduru plates of Allaya-Dodda, Saka-Samvat 1352”, *EI* 5, 1898–99, 53–69.

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

Referred to by J. Ramayya, “Devulapalli plates of Immadi-Nrisimha, Saka-Samvat 1427”, *EI* 7, 1902–03, 74–85.

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 Nṛsiṃhārya, 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

Old Reference	Current (our) reference
Aufrecht, <i>Oxford MSS.</i> 1864	
74 b 15	<i>Skandapurāṇa</i> 3, 3, 15
154 b 9 No. 328	<i>Kathārṇava</i> of Śivadāsa story 30
217 No. 517	<i>KS</i> 2, 5, 32
217 b 20 f.	Bhāskara Nṛsimha on <i>KS</i> 2, 5, 32
325 b N. 1	<i>Āryabhaṭṭiya</i> 4, 13
329 a No. 780	Utpala on <i>BJ</i> 6, 1 Yavanavṛddha
329 a No. 781	[780] Utpala on <i>BJ</i> 2, 5
333 a 9	Nārāyaṇa: <i>Tājakasārasudhānidhi</i> 1, 4
336 b 16 No. 791	Keśavārka: <i>Vivāhavṛndāvanam</i> 4, 10
338 a 14 No. 794	Viśvanātha's paddhati on <i>Keśava-jātaka</i>
338 b No. 796	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i>
338 b 1	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i> beg.
338 b 3	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i> beg.
339 a 1	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i>
339 a 34	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i>
340 a 7	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i>
340 a 11	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i>
Colebrooke, <i>Miscellaneous Essays.</i> 1–2. London 1837 (2nd ed. 1–3. L. 1873)	
1, 315 (2, 340)	Kumārila, <i>Tantravārttika</i> 1, 3, 6, 10
2, 194	<i>Rudrayāmalatantra</i>
2, 365	VM:BJ 27, 2
2, 367	VM: BJ 27, 19
2, 368	VM: BJ 27, 21
2, 373	VM: BJ 27 in general
2, 386	<i>Romakasiddhānta</i>
2, 388	VM: PS 1, 3; Brahmagupta
2, 411	VM: PS 1, 3; VM: BJ 27; Brahmagupta
2, 476	VM: PS 1, 3
Lévi, <i>Theatre</i> 126 (2, 20 note)	Rāghavabhaṭṭa & Kaṭavema on Kd: Śak 2, Pr.
167	Kd: Mālav. 5, 14
388	BhNŚ 23, 105
Reinaud, <i>Mém. sur l'Inde</i> 332	al-Bīrūnī 14 (p. 153 Sachau)
341fg.	al-Bīrūnī 26 (p. 266f. Sachau) & 29 (p. 303f. Sachau)
Weber, <i>Berlin Hss.</i>	
1, 835	<i>Brahmasiddhānta</i> 3
1, 862	<i>Nārādīyasamhitā</i>
1, 865	Bhūdhā's comm. on Śrīpati's <i>Jātaka-paddhati</i>
1, 881	<i>Hāyanaratna</i>
1, 939 (p. 287f.)	Jñānabhāskara

- 1, 1403
 2, 1497 (p. 91f.)
 2, 1733 (p. 297)
 2, 1741 (p. 309)
 2, 1787 (p. 431)
 2, 1792 (p. 469)
 2, 1827 (p. 537)
 2, 1829 (p. 547)
 2, 1844 (p. 582)
 2, 1859 (p. 606)
 2, 1891(p. 660)
 2, 2020 (p. 1114)

Weber, *Indische Studien*

- 1, 105
 1, 141ff.
 1, 467

 2, 247
 2, 274
 2, 276

 2, 281
 13, 1873, 305

- Purāṇa extracts etc.
Atharvaparīṣiṣṭa 52, 2 & 53, 1-3
 Brahmagupta: *Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta* 24
 Udayaprabhadevasūri: *Āraṁbha-siddhi* 2
Bhagavatī dāsī list
Nāyādhammakahāo 18
Aupapātika 60 Leumann
Rāyapaseṇāiyyam
Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti 43
 Candrasūri on the *Nirayāvalī*
Kalpāntarvācyāni on the *Kalpa-sūtra*
 Śubhaśīlagani: *Pañcaśatiprabodha-*
sāmbandha 1

- Bṛhaddevatā* 3, 10⁶⁸
 P 4, 1, 49 with Kātyāyana
 A ms. of the *Lagnacandrikā* of Yavanācārya
 and of the *Vṛddha-yavanajātaka* kept
 in Benares and here briefly mentioned.
Hāyanaratna by Balabhadra
Hāyanaratna by Balabhadra, ch. 4
Hāyanaratna by Balabhadra, ch. 6 with
 Greek terms
 VM: *Laghujātaka* 1, 15–19
 Pat. on P 3, 2, 111

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.

CONCORDANCES OF DICTIONARY REFERENCES

Lemma given in bold letters, an asterisk * signifies a quotation. Some of the abbreviations are explained in square brackets.

PW	PW ref.	present ref.
yavana	Uṇādis. 2, 74	Ujvaladatta on Uṇ. 2, 74
1) <i>ein Grieche, ein Fürst der Griechen</i>	gaṇa kamvojādi zu P 4,1,175 Vārtt.	Kāśikā on P. 4, 1, 175
pl. <i>die Griechen, die griechischen Astrologen</i>	Med. n. 109	Medinīk. 20, 109 (sg. country)
	AV.Par. in <i>Verz. d. B. H.</i> 93	APariś. 51, 1, 3
	P. 4, 1, 49	id.
	M[Dh]. 10, 44	id.
	*Mbh 1, 3533	Mbh 1, 80, 26
	*Mbh 1, 5535	Mbh 1, add. ch. 80, l. 42
	*Mbh 1, 6683	Mbh 1, 165, 35
	Mbh 2, 578	Mbh 2, 13, 13
	Mbh 6, 373	Mbh 6, 10, 64
	Mbh 7, 399	Mbh 6, 10, 64
	*Mbh 8, 2107	Mbh 8, 30, 80
	Mbh 12, 2429	Mbh 12, 65, 13
	Mbh 13, 2103	Mbh 13, 33, 19
	Mbh 13, 2159	Mbh 13, 353, 18
	Hariv. 760	Hv ins. 207* after 10, 23
	Hariv. 768, 776, *780	Hv 10, 31; 10, 38; 10, 42
	Hariv. 2362	Hv 31, 146
	Hariv. 4969	Hv 80, 15
	R[ām]. 1, 54, 20 (55, 20 Gorr.)	Rām 1, 53, 20
	R[ām]. 1, 55, 3 (56, 3 Gorr.)	Rām 1, 54, 3
	R[ām]. 4, 43, 20	Rām ins. 867* to 4, 41
	R[ām]. 4, 44, 13	Rām 4, 42, 11
	*Pat. bei Gold. Mân. 230a	Pat. on P. 3, 2, 111
	*Suçr. 1, 41, 6	Suśruta 1, 13, 13
	Varâh. Bṛh.S. 2, 15 (aus Garga)	VM: BS 2, 32

Varâh. Bṛh.S. 4, 22	VM: BS id.
Varâh. Bṛh.S. 5, 78, 80	VM: BS id.
Varâh. Bṛh.S. 9, 21, 35	VM: BS id.
Varâh. Bṛh.S. 10, 6, 15, 18	VM: BS id.
Varâh. Bṛh.S. 13, 9; 14, 18	VM: BS id.
Varâh. Bṛh.S. 16, 1; 18, 6	VM: BS id.
Bṛh. 7, 1; 8, 9; 11, 1; 12, 1	VM: BJ id.
Bṛh. 21, 3; 27, 2, 19, 21	VM: BJ id.
Bhaṭṭotp. zu [VM:BJ] 7, 9	id.
*Prâjaçk 'ittend. 20 a 2	quoted from the <i>PW</i>
*Prâjaçk 'ittend. 57 a 1	quoted from the <i>PW</i>
V[iṣṇu]P. 175	ViP 2, 3, 8
V[iṣṇu]P. 374	ViP 4, 3, 42 & 44
Bhâg.P. 2, 4, 18	BhâgP id.
Bhâg.P. 4, 27, 23 fg.	BhâgP id.
Bhâg.P. 9, 8, 5	BhâgP id.
Bhâg.P. 12, 1, 28	BhâgP 12, 2, 30
Mârk.P. 58, 52	MkP 55, 52 (Venk. = 58, 52 Parg)
Daçak. 111, 8 [Wilson]	id. etc.
Daçak. 148, 15; 149, 1, 2	id. etc.
Verz. d. B. H. 287 [No. 939]	Jñānabhāskara (astrological)
— No. 857	VM: BJ
— No. 862	Nārādīsāmhītā (astrological)
— No. 865	Commentary of Śrīpati's Jātaka
— No. 1403	Purāṇa extracts
Verz. d. Oxf. H. 74 b 15	Skandapur. 3, 3, 15
— 154 b 9 [No. 328]	Kathārṇava of Śīvadāsa story 30
— 329 a No. 780	Utpala on BJ 6, 1 Yavanavṛddha
— 338 a 14 [No. 794]	Viśvanātha on Keśavajātaka
Ind. St. 2, 251 fg.	Balabhadra: Hāyanaratna
*Vṛddha-K'āṇ[akya] 8, 5	id. (<i>Ind. Spr.</i> 2273)
*P. 4, 1, 49, Sch.	id.
Yavanâcārya	VM: BJ 27, 2 & 19
Colebr. <i>Misc. Ess.</i> 2, 365, 367	VM: BJ in general
— 2, 411	

	<i>Ind. St.</i> 1, 467	late reff. on Yavana astrologers ⁶⁹
	<i>Verz. d. B. H.</i> 881	Balabhadra: Hāyanaratna
Yavaneśvara	Bhaṭṭotp. zu Varāh. Bṛh. 7, 9	id. on VM:BJ 7, 9
	– zu Bṛh. S. 104	?? ⁷⁰
	<i>Verz. d. Oxf. H.</i> 329 a No. 781	[780] Utpala on BJ 2, 5
	– 336 b 16 [No. 791]	Keśavārka, Vivāhav. 4, 10
	– 338 a 15 [No. 794]	Viśvanātha on Keśavajātaka
	<i>Z. f. d. K. d. M.</i> [ZKM] 4, 342 fg.	Horāśāstra 1, 4 [= VM:BJ]
-jātaka	<i>Ind. St.</i> 2, 247	Balabhadra: Hāyanaratna
Vṛddhayavanajātaka	– 1, 467	late reff. on Yavana astrologers ⁶⁹
	Hall in der Einl. zu Vāsavad. 12	HC 6, 268f. Führer
yavanāḥ eine Dynastie	V[iṣṇu]P. 474, 477	ViP 4, 24, 53 & 55
	N[ote] 66	Wilson's note on ViP 4, 24, 55 ⁷¹
	Bhāg.P. 12, 1, 28	BhāgP 12, 1, 30
yavanī f. eine Griechin	Ragh. 4, 61	Kd: Rv id.
	Çāk. 93, 17	Kd: Śak 6, 31, 6 (?)
	Vikr. 77, 5	Kd: Vikr Act 5, beg.
	*Cit. beim Schol. zu Çāk. 20, 16	quoted from the PW
yavanyaḥ = vānavāsikāḥ striyaḥ	<i>Verz. d. Oxf. H.</i> 217 b 20 f.	Bhāskara Nṛsiṃha on KS 2, 5, 32
Heutigen Tages bezeichnet yavana nach Molesw[orth, <i>Marathi Dict.</i>] <i>einen Muhammedaner</i> und überh. <i>einen Mann fremden Stammes</i> . Vgl. kāla[yavana]		
2) Waizen	–	RN 16, 151
3) Möhre	–	??
4) Olibanum	Rāg 'an. im ÇKDr	RN 12, 36
2. yavana nom. ag. von yu		
	gaṇa nandyādi zu P. 3, 1, 134	G. 128 on id.

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 Lagnacandrikā 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 Kailakila Yavanas.

- 2) f. *ā der wilde Dattelbaum*
 Râg '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*
 Râg 'an. im ÇKDr RN 6, 135
- 1. yāvana** (von 1. yavana)
 1) adj. *im Lande der Javana geboren*
 Prâjaçk '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
 gaṇa 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*
 Siddhāntaçir. Golādhj. Bhuvanak. ??
 (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: Hāyanaratna
 — No. 939 Jñānabhāskara

- Verz. d. Oxf. H. 333 a 9 Nārāyaṇa: Tājakasārasudhānidhi
 1, 4
 Ind. St. 2, 247fg. Balabhadra: Hāyanaratna
 -tājika – 274 Balabhadra: Hāyanaratna
 2) n. a) *salzhaltige Erde und das aus ihr gezogene Salz* (Suśruta, RN, = pāmsulavaṇa, kind of
 salt, not relevant here.
 b) *eine Art magnet* (ayaskāntabheda)
 Rāg'an. im ÇKDr. RN
romakapattana n. *die Stadt Rom*
 Verz. d. Oxf. H. 325 b N. 1 Āryabhaṭīya 4, 13
 – 340 a 7 Romakasiddhānta
 Siddhāntaṭṭī. Golādhj. Siddh.sir. 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)
 Ueber ein späteres Machwerk unter demselben Namen s[ieh]
 Kern, Vorrede zu Varāh. Bṛh.S. late "Romakasiddhānta"
 47fg
 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
romakāyaṇa 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 Mbh 6, 10, 54
 192)
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 udīcyagrāma) **raumaka** 1) adj. oxyt. von romaka (einem udīcyagrāma) *römisch, von den Bewohnern des Römerreichs gesprochen*

Colebr. *Misc. Ess.* I, 315

Kumārila, *Tantravārtika* on MS
1, 3, 6, 10

vom Astronomen Romaka herrührend

gaṇita *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.

bṛhadroma (bṛhant + 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.

ViP 5, 23, 5

*Hariv. 9801

Hv 105, 19

(vgl. Bhāg.P. 3, 3,1 o)

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 Grieche, ein Fürst der Griechen**, als Bez. einer best. Kaste

Gaut

GDh 4, 21

pl. **die Griechen, die griechischen Astrologen**; auch Name einer Dynastei. 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 pajavana
- yavanaka** 1) *m. *eine best. Getreideart*
- 2) f. -nikā **eine Griechin**
- yavanajātaka** n. Titel eines G'ātaka
- yavanadeśaja** Adj. **aus dem Lande der Javana stammend**
Bhāvapr. 1, 187 Bhpr Nighaṇṭubhāga 2, 52
- *yavanadviṣṭa** n. **Bdellium**
Râg'an. 12, 108 RN 12, 183
- yavanapura** n. N.pr. einer **Stadt**, wohl **Alexandrien**
- *yavanapriya** n. **Pfeffer**
- *yavanamuṇḍa** m. **ein kahl geschorener Javana**
- yavanasena** m. N.pr. eines Mannes
- yavanācārya** m. N.pr. eines **Lehrers**
- *yavanānī** f. **die Schrift der Javana**
- yavanāri** m. 1) *Bein. Kṛshṇa's
2) N.pr. eines Fürsten
- yavaneśvara** m. N.pr. 1) **eines Fürsten der Javana**
Harshak'. (Çaka 1936) 420, 12 Hc 6, 268f. Führer
2) eines Astrologen
- *yavaneṣṭa** 1) m.
a) **Zwiebel, Schalotte** oder dgl. Râg'an. 7, 51. 58 RN 7, 55 & 103 (?)
Bhāvapr. 1, 179 Bhpr Nighaṇṭubhāga 1, 217
b) **Azadirachta indica** Râg'an. 9, 8 RN 9, 44
2) f. ā
der wilde Dattelbaum Râg'an. 11, 56 RN 11, 65
3) n.
a) **Blei** Râg'an. 13, 24 RN 13, 20
b) **Zwiebel** Râg'an. 6, 31 RN 7, 55 or 103
c) **Pfeffer** Râg'an. 13, 24 probably error for RN 6, 135
1. **yāvana** 1) Adj. **im Lande der Javana geboren**

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

ViP 2, 3, 17 Rāma?

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*

Ārjabh. 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 Römerreichs gesprochen*

c) *vom Astronomen Romaka herrührend*

2) n. *eine Art Salz...*

***raumakīya** Adj. von romaka.

kālayavana m. N.pr. 1) eines Fürsten der Javana.

2) eines Dvīpa

Daçak. 9, 23

DKC Pp 1 & 4 (?)

Nachträge 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, deśaviśeṣaḥ /		
deśaviśeṣaḥ /yathā	*Mātsye 120, 43	MP 121, 43
vegaḥ / vegādhikāśvaḥ iti	Medinī	Medinīk. 20, 109
godhūmaḥ / garjaratṛṇam / turuṣkaḥ / iti	Rājanighaṇṭaḥ	RN 16, 151; [7, 98?]; ⁷² 12, 36
(yauti miśrībhavaṭīti / yu + “suyuruvṛṇo yuc” / iti yuc /)	Uṇā. 2, 74	Uṇ 2, 74 with Ujjvaladatta
jātivīśeṣaḥ / iti	Śabdaratnāvalī	??
sa tu yavanasēśodbhavay ayātirājaputtraturvvasuva mśaḥ / yathā	*Mātsye 34 adhyāyaḥ	MP 34, 3of.
sagararājenaśāṁ sarvvaśiromuṇḍaṁ sarvvdharmmarāhityāṁ ca kṛtaṁ te cātmadharmmaparityāgāt mleccatvaṁ yayur iti	Viṣṇupurāṇoktatvāt	ViP 4, 3
yavanaḥ mosalamāneṅgarejobhayajātivācakaḥ / ⁷³ yavanaśabdaś ca vargatṛṭiyādir iti Raghunandanabhaṭṭācāryeṇa (??) likhitam //		
javanādīnān tu sarvvdharmmarāhityam uktaṁ	*Harivaṁśe	Hv 10, 41–45ab
śakānāṁ śakadeśodbhavanāṁ kṣatriyānāṁ evaṁ javanādīnāṁ iti / atra javanaśabdastaddeśodbhavavācī cavargatṛṭiyādīḥ /		
javano deśaveginor iti	Trikāṇḍaśeṣābhīdhānadarśanāt	??
teṣāṁ mleccatvam apy uktaṁ	Viṣṇupurāṇe	ViP 4, 3
tathā kṛtān javanādīn upakramya / te cātmadharmmaparityāgāt mleccatvaṁ yayur iti	Baudhāyanaḥ	??
iti	*Prāyaścittatattvam	Prāyaścittenduśekhara 20a2
yavanādīnāṁ rājyakālo		

72 garjara = gr̥ñjara in RN 7, 98 (DhN 4, 21), but not yavana.

73 mosalamāna-iṅgareja-ubhaya-jāti-vācakaḥ ‘name of both castes, the Muslims and the English’.

yathā iti	Brahmāṇḍapurāṇe 39 adhyāyaḥ	BṛḥP 2, 3, 74, 172ff. (differs much from the Venkateshwar text)
muniviśeṣaḥ		
yathā	*Tithyāditattvam	Quoted from ŚKDr
kālayavanotpattir		
yathā	*Viṣṇupurāṇe 5 aṁśe 23 adhyāyaḥ	ViP 5, 23
yavanaḥ tri (yotīti / yu + nandigrahīti / 3, 3, 134 / iti lyuḥ /)		
vegī / iti	Medinī / ne 111	Medinīk. 20, 109
yathā	*Naiśadhacarite 1, 65	Naiśadhac. 1, 65
yavanadviṣṭaḥ puṁ (yavanair dviṣṭaḥ / hindupriyatvāt tathātvam /)		
guggukuh / iti	Rājanighaṇṭaḥ	RN 12, 183
yavanapriyam klī (yavanānām priyam /)		
maricam / iti	Hemacandraḥ	Hemacandra: Abhidh.c. 3, 84
(vivarāṇam asya maricaśabde jñātavya /)		
yavanācāryyaḥ puṁ (yavano namācāryyaḥ /) jyotiḥśāstrakartṭṛmuniviśeṣaḥ		
iti	Varāhamihirau	
yavanānī strī		
yavanānām lipiḥ	*4, 1, 49 iti vārttikokyā	Kāty. v. 3 on P. 4, 1, 49
nīṣ ānuḡāgamaś ca	Mugdhobodhaṭikāyām	Quoted from ŚKDr
yavanasya lipiḥ / iti	Durgādāśaḥ	
yavanāriḥ puṁ (yavanānām ariḥ / yavanaḥ kālayavano 'rir yasyeti vā /)		
śrīkṛṣṇaḥ / iti	Trikāṇḍaśeṣaḥ	Puruṣottamadeva, Trik. 1, 1, 31
yavanī strī (yūyate pacyate bhuktam anayā / yu + lyuḥ / nīṣ /)		
yavānīnāmakauśadhibhedaḥ / iti	Medinī / ne 112	Medinīk 20, 110
(yavanasya strīti / yavana + nīṣ /) yavanabhāryyā // yathā	Raghuḥ 4, 61	Kd: Rv 4, 61
yavaneṣṭam klī (yavanānām iṣṭam /)		
sīsakam / iti	Hemacandraḥ 4, 107	Hc: Abhidh.c. 4, 107
marīcam / gṛñjanam / iti	Rājanighaṇṭaḥ	RN 6, 135 & 7, 55
yavaneṣṭaḥ puṁ (yavanānām iṣṭaḥ /)		

lašunaḥ / rājapalāṇḍuḥ / nimbaḥ / palāṇḍuḥ / iti	Rājanighaṇṭaḥ	RN 7, 55; 7, 103; 9, 44; 7, 103
	*Bhāvaprakāśasya pūrvvakhaṇḍe prathame bhāge	Bhpr Nighaṇṭubhāga 1, 217
yāvanaḥ puṁ (yavane yavanadeśe bhavaḥ / yavana + aṇ /)		
sihlākhyagandhadravayam (vivṛtir asya sihlakaśabde jñātavya) / ity	Amaraḥ 2, 6, 128	AK 2, 6, 128
roma [n] klī ... śarīrajātānkuraḥ ... janapadaviśeṣaḥ / taddeśavāsini / puṁ bhūmni / yathā	*Mahābhārate 6, 9, 55	Mbh 6, 10, 54
romakaṁ klī (rome kāyatī / kai + kaḥ /)		
pāmśulavaṇam	Suśrute 1, 42	'salt', here unnecessary
ayaskāntabhedāḥ ...	Rājanighaṇṭaḥ	also irrelevant
romaiva / janapadaviśeṣaḥ / taddeśavāsini / puṁ bhūmni / yathā	*Mahābhārate 2, 50, 14	Mbh 2, 47, 26
romakapattanaṁ klī (romakaṁ pattanam iti karmmadhārayaḥ /) deśaviśeṣaḥ / Rum iti pārasya bhāṣā / ⁷⁴		
yathā	*Siddhāntaśiromaṇau Golādhyāyaḥ	Bhāskara, Siddh.śir., Golādhy. 17

TTV

yavana pu' yu – yu /

1. deśabhede so 'bhijano 'sya tasya rājā vā aṇ bahuṣu tasya luk / 2. taddeśastheṣu janeṣu		
3. tannṛpeṣu yeṣu	ya°va°	??
4. vege 5. adhivēgayutāśve	Medi°	Medinīk. 20, 109
6. godhūme 7. garjaratṛṇe	Rājani°	RN (cf. ŚKdR)
8. turuṣkajātau		
yayātīsapṭamya tatputrasya turvasor vaṁśe ca puṁ strī° striyām nīṣ		
10. vegavati	tvi°	??
yavanadvīṣṭa pu° yavanair dviṣṭaḥ dviṣṭa–kta /		
guggulau	Rājani°	RN 12, 183

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 /

marice Hemaca° Hc: Abhidh.c. 3, 84

yavanācāryya pu° tājakādijyotiḥśāstrakārake paṇḍitabhede**yavanānī** strī yavanānām lipiḥ nīṣ ānuk ca /

yavanānām lipyām Si° Kau° Siddhāntakaumudī 505

yavanāri strī yavanasyāriḥ /

Śrīkṛṣṇe Trikā° Trik. 1, 1, 31

yavanī strī yu–syuṭ nīṣ /

1. yavānīnāma oṣadhau Medī° Medinīk. 20, 110

2. yavanabhāryyāyās 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. rājapalāṇḍau 6.

nimbe ca pu° kharjūryām

strī

romaka na° romeva nividdham krāyati kai–ka / (ruma)

1. nagare Sū° Si° Sūryasiddhānta 12, 39

2. pāmśulavaṇe ‘salt’, not relevant here.

3. ayaskānte ca Rājani° RN 13, 29

romakapattana naś karmaś / (ruma)

nagarabhede Sū° Si° Sūryasiddhānta? (not in Gretil text)

Abhidhānarājendra**javaṇam** deśī

halaśikhāyām De°nā° 3 varga Deśīnāmamālā 3, 41

javaṇa = javana – puṇ° /

vege Ā° ma° pra° ??

śīghre, javanaśabdaḥ Bha° 14 Bhagavatīsūtra

śīghravacanaḥ /

°a° 1, 49 ??

vegavati śīghrage ghoṭake vāca° ??

paramotkṛṣṭavegapari– Ā° ma° pra° ??

ṇāmopetā javanāḥ

= javana – puṇ°

m[]ecchajātibhede Sū° pra° 20 pāhu° Sūryaprajñapti

	Prava° sūtra°	Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhāra 274. 1594
deśabhede, taddeśasthe jane ca / vege, adhikavegavaty aśve godhūme, garjaratṛṇe, turuṣkajātau, yayātisaptasya tatputrasya turvasor vaiśyē jātibhede ca / vegavati	Tri° vāca°	??
= yāpanā ...		
javaṇaddīva = yavanadvīpa – puṁ° / yavanānām nivāsabhūte dvīpabhede	Ā° cū°	Āvaśyakacūrṇi
javaṇā = yāpanā ...		
javaṇāṇiyā = yavanānikā – strī° / brāhmyā liper lekhyavidhānabhede	Prajñā° 1 pāda	Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 107
joṇa = yona – puṁ° / anāryaprāye deśabhede	Jñā°	Jñātadharmakathā 18
	Jñā° 1	Jñātadharmakathā 1, 1, 117
	Śru° 1 a°	Ācāradaśa
roma = romaka mlecchadeśabhede		
	Praśna 1 āśru° dvāra	Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra 1, 1, 4?
romakadeśodbhave	Jam° 3 vakṣa°	Jambudvīpaprājñapti 52
tatrajāte anāryajātibhede	Sūtra° 2 śru° 1 a°	Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra
	Ā° cū°	Āvaśyakacūrṇi
AMgD⁷⁵		
javaṇa puṁ° (-javana) swiftness; velocity	Bhaga° 14, 1	Bhagavatīsūtra
javaṇa puṁ° (-yavana) an out cast; one residing in a foreign country		
	Paṇha° 1, 1	Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra 1, 1, 4
	Panna° 1	Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 37
	Sū° 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.

— dīva puṁ° (-dvīpa) A country inhabited by non-Āryans		
	Jam°pa°	Jambudvīpaprajñapti 52
javaṇāṇiyā strī° (yavanānikā) A kind of script or character		
	Panna° 1	Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 107
javaṇāliyā strī° (yavanālikā) A kind of breast-coat for a girl ...		
(2) one of the 18 scripts		
	Sama° 18	Samavāyāṅga 18, 43
joṇa puṁ° (yona) One of the Anārya countries		
	Nāyā° 1	Jñātadharmakathā ?
joṇaa puṁ° (yaunaka) Name of a country in Uttara Bharata...		
joṇiya tri° (yaunika) Born in a womb...		
(2) produced or born in the country named Yona		
	Nāyā°	Jñātadharmakathā 1, 1, 117
joṇiyā strī° (yaunikā) A maid servant born in the Anārya country named Yona		
	Ova° 33	Aupapātikasūtra 105
	Jam°pa°	Jambudvīpaprajñapti 43
	Nāyā° 1	Jñātadharmakathā 1, 1, 117
	Bhaga° 9, 33	Bhagavatīsūtra 9, 33 (not in text)
roma na° (roman) ... The hair, feathers ...		
(2) A country named Roma		
(3) tri° An inhabitant of that country		
	Panna° 1	Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 37
romaka puṁ° (romaka) A country in Uttara Bharata		
(2) tri° An inhabitant of that country		
	Jam°pa°	Jambudvīpaprajñapti 52
romaga tri° (romaka) Vide 'romaka'		
	Paṅha° 1, 1	Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra 1, 1, 4
	Panna° 1	Prajñāpanāsūtra 1, 37
romaya puṁ° (romaka) Vide 'romaka'		
	Prava° 1597	Nemicandra, Pravacanasāroddhāra 274, 1597

AMgD 5**(Māhārāṣṭrī-prākṛta-koṣaḥ)****javaṇa** strī (yavanī)

(1) yavan kī strī – a wife of Yavana

(2) yavan kī lipi – Yavani language

Više° 464 ṭī⁶

Višeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya

javaṇī strī (yavanī) paradā; ācchādaka paṭa – a veil, a curtain

(2) saṁcārikā, dūtī – a female messenger, a female go-between

Abhi° 57

Kd.: Śak. 2, Prelude

Sheth**javaṇa** vi (javana)

1 veg se jānevālā

Upa 768 ṭī

Upadeśapadaṭīkā (ms.)

2 puṁ. veg, śīghra gati

Āvama

Āvaśyakasūtra Malayagiriṭīkā (ms.)

javaṇa puṁ (javana)

1 mlecccha deśa-višeṣa

Paūma 98, 64

Vimalasūri: Paūmacariya 98, 64

2 us deś meṁ rahanevālī manuṣya-jāti

Paṇha 1, 1

Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra (Bombay 1919) 1, 1, 4

3 yavan deś kā rājā

Kumā (Bombay 1900)

Hc, Kumārapālarita 6, 74

javaṇāṇiyā strī (yavanānikā)

lipi-višeṣ

Rāja

Abhidhānarājendra (above)

javaṇī strī (yavanī) paradā ...

2 saṁcārikā, dūtī

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 ṭī

Višeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya (Benares 2421)

joṇa puṁ (yona, javana)

mlecccha deś-višeṣ

Nāyā 1, 1

Jñātadharmakathā (Bombay 1919)

76 Višeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya. Taragovindadāsa saṁpādita. Banāras V.S. 2441.

joṇiya vi (yonika, yavanika) anārya deś-viśeṣ se utpann
strī °yā

Ika	Kirfel, <i>Kosmographie</i> 1920, 227, i.e. Jñātadharmakathā 1, 1, 117 and parallel lists
Aupa	Aupapātikasūtra (E. Leumann, Leipzig 1883) 105
Ñāyā 1, 1 — patra 37	Jñātadharmakathā 1, 1, 117

romaka/romaya

1 anārya deś-viśeṣ, rom deś	Pava 274	Nemicandra, Pravacanasāroddhāra (s. 1934)
2 rom deś meṇ rahanevālī manuṣya-jāti	Paṇha 1, 1 — patra 14	Praśnavyākaraṇasūtra (Bombay 1919) 1, 1, 4

TL⁷⁷

yavaṇam 1. n. < *yavana*. A country variously identified with Ionia, Greece, Bactria and more recently with Arabia, one of 56 *tēcam*, q.v.; aimpattāru tēcaṅkaḷuḷ onṇrum kīrīcu arēpīyā mutaliya mēlaināṭukaḷu ḷonṇākak karutappaṭuvatumākiya nāṭu.

yavaṇat taccarum Maṇi. 19, 108 Maṇimēkalai 19, 108

yavaṇar n. < *yavana*. 1. Natives of Yavaṇam; yavaṇatēcattār.

*yavaṇar tanta viḷai mā
ṇaḷkalam* Akanā. 149 Akanānūru 149, 8

2. Artificers; kaṇṇaḷar Cūṭā. Cūṭāmani

3. Sculptors, painters;
cittirakkārar Cūṭā. Cūṭāmani

4. Drummers; tōrkaruvi
vācippavar Nāmatīp. 176 Nāmatīpanikaṇṭu

yavaṇa-t-taccar n. < *yavaṇam* 1.+ Yavana carpenters; yavaṇatēcattut takkar.

*avantik kollarum yavaṇat
taccarum* Maṇi. 19, 108 Maṇimēkalai 19, 108

yavaṇappiriyam n. < *yavana-priya*. Pepper milaku.

Yāḷ. Aka. Yāḷppāṇattu maṇippāyakarāti

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.

yavaṇa-p-pēlai n. < *yavaṇam* 1. +. Small ornamental box, as made in *yavaṇam*;
yavaṇatēcattu vēlaiṇṇāṇṇamainta ciṇṇuṇṇi.

irāyiram yavaṇappēlai ... Cīvaka. 557 Cīvakacintāmaṇi 1, 557
koḷkaveṇṇāṇ

yavaṇāri n. < *yavaṇāri*. Kṛṣṇa, as the slayer of Kāla-yavana [Kālayavaṇaṇaik koṇṇavaṇ]
kaṇṇapirāḷ

Yāl. Aka.

Yālppāṇattu maṇippāyakarāti

cōṇakam n. < *yavana*. 1. A country, one of 56 *tēcam*, q.v.; aimpattāṇu tēcaṇkaḷuḷ oṇṇu.

Tiruvēṇ. Cata. 98

Tiruvēṇkaṭa Catakam

2. The language of Cōṇakar, one of 18 languages; paṇṇeṇ moḷikaḷuḷ oṇṇu

Tivā.

Tivākaram

cōṇakan n. < *yavana*. [M. cōṇakan] Foreigner, especially Greek, Arab or Moor;

yavaṇatēcattāḷ

Tivā.

Tivākaram

cōṇakar malaiyir ṇūy

Kamparā. Ūrtēṭu. 112

Kamparāmāyaṇam

cōnaka⁻⁷⁸

Kittel

yavana = javana

1. speed, velocity

2. a fast horse, a courser

3. an Ionian,⁷⁹ a Greek; a Mahomedan, an individual of a foreign race (turuka, turuṣka,
jōnaga)

Mr. 382

Maṅgarāja's Nighaṇṭu (ms.)

yavanaka = jōnaga. a Greek, a Turk

See Mr. s. yavana

Maṅgarāja's Nighaṇṭu (ms.)

yavanadēśa the country of the Yavanas, Ionia, Bactria, Turkisthān [*sic*], Arabia

My.

Mysore dialect

yavani a Yavana woman

My.

Mysore dialect

78 The combinations beginning with *cōnaka* listed in the TL are hardly relevant for the present purpose and are therefore not discussed. They include *cōnakaṇ-keḷutti* 'a river-fish, Macrones punctatus', *cōnaka-c-ciṭukku* 'an ornament for women', *cōnaka-t-tirukkai* 'sting-ray, Trygon war-nac', and *cōnaka-vālai* 'a sea-fish, Trichiurus muticus'.

79 Here Kittel made sort of inverted anachronism, giving the ultimate etymology of the word as its meaning in Kannaḍa.

joṇega T[ad]bh[ava] of yavanaka, an Ionian, a Turk, an Arab

Mv.

must be My[sore dialect]

Te., T. M.

Telugu, Tamil, Malayālam

PART II

STUDY



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. *javaṇa, joṇa*) 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’.⁸⁰ 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).⁸¹ 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*.⁸²

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,⁸³ 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

80 The derivation of *yavana* from the Greek *Ἰάονες* ‘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 **Ἰάϝονες* 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 Alemanni, Finnish *Saksa* for Germany from Saxony, and Latin *Graecia* (and from this English Greece) from the name of a Western Greek tribe.

82 The *yona/yavana* problem has been discussed *inter alia* by Lévi 1890a, 26 ff.; Sircar 1935; Stein 1935; Chattopadhyaya 1974, 37 ff. (first published in 1949); Chaudhuri 1950, 120 ff.; Töttösy 1955 & 1974, 129 ff.; Narain 1957, 165 ff.; Law 1973, 153 (apparently only a reprint of the 1943 edition); Mukherjee 1984; Hein 1988; and Dognini 2001.

83 I have used the original Calcutta edition, now easily available through the Internet. The Discourse is also found in the London 8^o-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 Achárya*, 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 Jática*, 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 Tóttösy'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, Tóttösy 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 regrettably 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 Tóttösy 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, Raghuvamśa, Bṛhatsamhitā 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'.⁸⁴ 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)⁸⁵ 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 lai*) – 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 sāketaṃ* and *aruṇad yavanaḥ mādhyamikān*, 'the Yavana besieged Sāketa/the Mādhyamikas'. Comparisons with the somewhat later Yūgapurāṇa and Western sources make clear that the Indo-Greek invasion must have been meant.

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.⁸⁶ 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 *amtiyoke 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 *Amtiyoka*/'Αντίοχος (Antiochus II Theos, 261–246 BCE), *Tulamaya*/Πτολεμαῖος (Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285–247 BCE), *Amtekina*/'Αντίγονος (Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, 276–239 BCE), *Maka*/Μάγας (Magas of Cyrene, died before 250 BCE), and *Alika-sudala*/'Αλέξανδρος (Alexander of Epirus, 272–255 BCE).⁸⁷

These five kings, together with some well-known South Indian peoples (*Coḍa*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Satīyaputa*, *Keralaputa*) and the *Tambapaṇṇi* (Sri Lanka, Greek Taprobane),⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰

The RE XIII and RE V contain the dvandva *yonakāmboja*, 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.⁹¹ From Sanskrit geographical lists (see Chapter 4),

86 In GDh 4, 21 Pāraśavas and Yavanas are mentioned as Śūdras; in MDh 10, 43 f., 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, Tāmrapaṇṇi/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 f.

89 Karttunen 1997, 266 f.; 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 (*yonesu*). 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 *Ἰωνάκος). 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 Yuezhi" (Kuṣāṇa) instead of Yonas and Kambojas.

93 Njammasch 1989, 363 ff. mentions the KAŚ 3, 13, 3 ārya, dāsa and mlecca, Aṅgavijjā 57, p. 218, ajja and pessa (i.e. ārya and preṣya 'servant'); Aṅgavijjā 24, p. 149 also gives ajja and milakkha (i.e. mlecca as jātivijaya), with the first including the three higher varṇas, 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 Vinayaṭṭaka and Suttaṭṭaka (leaving out later parts of the Khuddakanikāya) as originating in the Mauryan period (but not necessarily earlier than that). When Njammasch (1989, 365) supposes that the Assalāyanasutta passage reflects the situation in the Kuṣāṇa 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 *Mahāniddeśa* 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 Ἰωνάκος in line 3 of the Rabatak inscription (Sims-Williams & Cribb 1996).

formant often added to many ethnonyms without changing their meaning.⁹⁹ We can further note that in some cases the uncontracted *yavana* is also found in post-canonical Pāli, where it is used to refer to the Yavana language.¹⁰⁰ It seems that this *yavana* in Pāli was a new borrowing from Sanskrit and not usually understood as a variant of *yona* (see Chapter 11 on *yona*). As to the Prākṛit, in Jaina canonical sources both *joṇ(iy)a* and *javaṇa* (also *javana*) are found in lists of foreign peoples, the latter often together with *saga*, thus corresponding to the common OIA dvandva *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 *yona* is unquestionably attested in the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, the envoy of King Antialcidas. In Sanskrit sources (e.g. Patañjali and the *Yugapurāṇa*), they are called Yavanas (see Chapter 3 below).

In ancient Tamil Sangam literature, there are several references to the Yavanas (*yavaṇar*), which have been analysed by Meile and Zvelebil.¹⁰¹ Arriving on beautiful ships, these Yavanas came bringing wine and gold and returned with pepper (the *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 *yavaṇar*, or more frequently *cōṇakar* (corresponding to MIA *joṇaka*), referred to the Arabians.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

99 Tarn 1951, 416–418 (and notes on 538); for criticism, see, e.g. Gonda 1949, Johnston 1939 and Tóttösy 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 **Yōnak* as the supposed model of *yonaka* (Tóttösy 1977, 131), although the aforementioned Rabatak example could perhaps be taken as supporting it.

100 In the DN-C, p. 176 (on 2, 4), see *damīla-kirāta-yavanādi-milakkhānaṃ bhāsā* (note that the Burmese MSS reads *savarādi* instead of *yavanādi*); the AN-C 2, p. 289 (on 3, 7, 3) gives the same list, but with *yona*. In some late sources (e.g. the *Cūlavamsa*, the *Saddhamopāyana*) where the word already denoted Arabs, the form *yavana* is also used.

101 Meile 1941 and Zvelebil 1956; see also Selby 2008.

102 Meile 1941, 101 f.

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

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,¹⁰⁵ 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.¹⁰⁶ 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 darics 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.¹⁰⁷ 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, Ἰάπωνες (*Iápones*), had developed by around 800 BCE into Ἰάονες (*Iáones*) and then Ἴωνες (*Íōnes*), 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.¹⁰⁸ In Achaemenid inscriptions, the Old Persian version has *yauna* and the Akkadian *yamanu* (which is considered to be a graphic variant for *yavanu*),¹⁰⁹ 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, 55 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 *Graecus*, 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.* Ἰάονα by Hesychius.

109 Tóttösy 1955, 302 and 307ff. 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 *rūkṣa* < MIA *rukṣa* < OIA *vṛkṣa*. 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 *sagajavaṇa* of Jaina sources corresponding to the common dvandva *śakayavana* 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 *Iávones* for *yavana* can be excluded, since no contact can be demonstrated at such an early age. As was stated above, the Greek digamma φ 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 Tóttösy).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

110 The relation *au* > *o* can be explained both from Iranian, where a colloquial form may already have had the Middle Iranian *ō*, 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 Tóttösy 1954, 312. The OP derivation was already known to Weber 1856. 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 Töttösy 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’.¹¹³ On the other hand, *yu-* and *yavana* as its derivation were defined as ‘quick’ and applied particularly to quick north-western horses.¹¹⁴ 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).¹¹⁵ 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 Uṇ. 2, 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 yavanah*.

114 Medinikośa 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-* (*junāti/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.

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 Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription. This text deals with reparation of the Sudarśana Lake, originally constructed under Candragupta and earlier repaired under Aśoka by Yavandarāja Tuṣāspa, who is variously described as a local governor or a sub-king from the north-west.¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷

The old hypothesis of Lassen¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹ 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 lipi*). 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

116 For his being a governor, see Kielhorn 1906; Stein 1935, 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 Raychaudhuri 1919 identifies the Kuṣāṇa ruler Vāsudeva as having a Hindu name, as well as other instances of names including ethnicity. Pingree 1963, 235 suggests that *yavandarāja* – 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 *yavandarāja* makes Tuṣāspa 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.

yavanastrī.¹²⁰ The *vṛddhi* formation *yāvana* ‘pertaining to the Yavanas, coming from the Yavana land’ is occasionally used for Yavana products and glossed with *yavanadeśaja*.¹²¹ 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 “Philellenes”), 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.¹²² 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)¹²³ or known to be a subject of the

120 OIA *yavanī* in Mbh 11, 22, 11; Kd: Rv 4, 61 & Śak 6, 31+ & Vikr 5 beginning; Pādat 110+–111+; MIA *javanī* in Kd: Śak 2 beginning, *joṇiyā* in Jaina lists of slave women. OIA *yavanastrī* in Mbh 11, 22, 11 and Mallinātha on Kd: Rv. Note also *Yāvanī* as the personal name of a Yavana woman in the BKŚS 18, 277. See further in Chapter 7 below.

121 Pādacandrikā on AK 2, 6, 128; Prāyaścittenduśekhara 20a2.

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, 26f.) 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 Dramiḍas, 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” (*abrahmaṇyān*). 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

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. BṛṇP 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. Awasthi 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 Vālmīkī, the robber turned into a saint and poet, but

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.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.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 *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.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.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 *śakayavana* would not be correct. According to him, these two must thus live outside Āryāvarta. The definition of

although the geographical context here is indeed the north-west, the only people actually named in the Venkateshwar Press edition are the Ābhīras (5, 1, 24, 7). What is interesting, however, is that Agniśarman (the future Vālmīkī), when associated with the Ābhīras and living on the spoils of robbery, gradually forgot his birth as a Brahmin and also forgot all the Vedas (5, 1, 24, 8).

131 For example, see Medhātithi on MDh 10, 44.

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).

133 For the Sagara legend, see also Chapter 10 below.

134 e.g. Śakas and Kuṣāṇas 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 Sūtras,¹³⁵ 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 open¹³⁶ – and he concludes that it means the right of commensality.¹³⁷ 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.¹³⁸ 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 Prāyaścittenduśekhara (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,¹³⁹ the Yavanas, together with other North-Westerners,¹⁴⁰ 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 Rāmāyaṇa, the Yavanas were

135 This is discussed at length by Brucker 1980, as well as by Frauwallner 1960, 109 f.

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 Prāyaścittenduśekhara 57a1 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 Mbh, a couple of Southerners, Dramiḍa and Siṃhala, 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 Purāṇic 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 *dharmā*.¹⁴² The same is confirmed also in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, but here they are granted the opportunity of taking refuge in Kṛṣṇa 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).

141 Mbh 1, 165, 35; the second passage (Mbh 7, 68, 42) follows the Rām account (*goyoniprabhavāḥ*). In Mbh 7, 87, 36 f., *goyonayaḥ* 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 f.; Atrismṛti; BṛḥP 2, 3, 74, 200. According to Jaiminibhārata 27, 30 they do violence to the holy tradition (*yavanair dūṣyate śrutih*).

143 BhāgP 2, 4, 18; cf. PP 5, 81, 20, which also asserts that even the Yavanas and other barbarians are entitled to worship Kṛṣṇa.

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 Pañhāvāgaṇāḥ 1, 1, 4 and Pannavaṇā 1, 37 (N.B. the note on the text), then in Nemicandra's Pravacanasāroddara 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.¹⁴⁷ 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 (Puranānūru). Much of Karṇa's rebuke of north-western habits in Mahābhārata 8, 27 ff. is focused on wine drinking, although the Yavanas are not mentioned here. The same is apparently alluded to in the Carakasamhitā,¹⁴⁸ 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, Raghu¹⁴⁹ 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.¹⁵⁰ 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.¹⁵¹

147 On wine in India, see Aalto 1963 and Karttunen 1989, 207 ff.

148 Caraka 6, 30, 313, then also Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha 1, 7, 19, 230.

149 Kd: Rv 4, 60 ff. See also Sircar 1935, 37 f.

150 Hair is mentioned in Hv 10, 42, the BṛṇḍP shorter version, BP, ŚiP, and VāP (*muṇḍayitvā ... śiraḥ sarvam*; these also combined in Kirfel 1927), as well as in the PP and in a slightly different form in the ViP (*muṇḍitaśirasah*); descriptions of beards appear in the BṛṇḍP longer version (*vigataśmaśrūn*). 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 Jaiminibhārata 27, 30). The truth, however, is that Greeks did not shave their heads, and I doubt that *yavanamuṇḍa* 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).¹⁵²

and Kāmbojamuṇḍa were derisive names. On a later occasion (in “Nachträge” in *ISt* 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 *Kāvyaṅkārā* (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 *Trik* 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, 12 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, 196, 7; 6, 20, 13; 7, 68, 41; 7, 97, 13; 8, 64, 16. For further examples, see Rām 1, 53, 20 f.; 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; Viś. Mudrār. 2, 12+; Pādat. 24; VM:BS 13, 9; 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, 2, 18; 9, 7, 24; in the same half-śloka 7, 97, 13;

Kāambojas, 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 Kāambojas.¹⁵⁷ In addition to these two peoples, the Yavanas are mentioned eight times together with the Kirātas,¹⁵⁸ five times with the Tukhāras or Tuṣāras,¹⁵⁹ and eight times with the Pāradas, Pārasikas and Pahlavas.¹⁶⁰

These combinations can also be put in chronological order. The Kāambojas represent an early Iranian population in present-day Afghanistan, which was already known in the late Vedic period.¹⁶¹ 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 (Aśoka). 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

8, 31, 15; 8, 64, 16. See also the dvandva in Aśoka R.E. V.; MN 93; AVpś 50, 2, 4; later in BṛṇP 2, 3, 48, 26; PP 3, 6, 60. See also Rām 4, 42, 11; Gaṇa 178 on P 2, 1, 72; MDh 10, 44; Viś. Mudrār. 2, 12+; AVpś 57, 2, 5; BṛṇP 2, 3, 48, 23; 2, 3, 63, 127.138; BP 6, 36.44.48; PP 6, 20, 20.

157 Mbh 5, 19, 21; 7, 19, 7; 8, 40, 108; 9, 2, 18; 9, 7, 24; MDh 10, 44. In the Purāṇas, see: BṛṇP 2, 3, 63, 120.134.140; BP 6, 50; PP 6, 20, 30; ViP 4, 3, 42.

158 In the Mbh, Yavanas are mentioned immediately before or after Kirātas in 2, 4, 22; 3, 48, 20; 5, 196, 7; 12, 65, 13; 13, 35, 18; in the same half-śloka 12, 200, 40 (with yauna). For their being in the same dvandva, see also Viś. Mudrār. 2, 12+; VM:BS 9, 35; BṛṇP 2, 3, 48, 23 & 49. In the Purāṇas, there is an oft-repeated passage that locates Kirātas in the east, Yavanas in the west, and four varṇas in the area between them. The Kirātas are traditionally identified as Tibeto-Burmans from the Himalayas, although some sources – Indian as well as Greek – seem to also locate them on the Orissan coast (see VM:BS 14, 18 for their location in the South-West, although they have north-western neighbours, and then 14, 31 for the North-West besides *āna*; see also Ptolemy 7, 2, 2, the Periplus 62).

159 In the Mbh, they are mentioned immediately before or after 6, 71, 20; 8, 51, 18; 8, 64, 16. See further Pādāt 24 and AVpś 51, 3, 3. The word seems to correspond to the Τόχαροι, a Central Asian people mentioned by Strabo, for example.

160 In the Mbh, they appear immediately before or after 7, 68, 41; 7, 97, 13 (Pāradas); 6, 20, 13 (Pahlavas); in the same half-śloka 3, 48, 20 (Pahlavas); see further BhN 23, 105 (Pahlavas). Kd: Rv 4, 60 f. seems to call the wives of the Pārasikas Yavanis. Pārasika is further mentioned together with Yavana in Viś. Mudrār. 2, 12+ and Pādāt. 24. Both Pāradas and Pahlavas (with variants such as Pahnava) are often mentioned in the same half-śloka as Yavanas in the Purāṇas: BṛṇP 2, 3, 63, 120.127.134.140; BP 6, 36.44; MP 144, 57; PP 6, 20, 20; VāP 1, 58, 82. Pahlava is Parthian, while Pārasika and probably also Pārada denote Persians.

161 They are mentioned in the late Vedic Vamśabrāhmaṇa. A famous passage of the Nirukta (2, 2) refers to their language, which seems to be Iranian. Kāamboja has often been connected with Old Persian Kambujiya (see, e.g. Charpentier 1923).

(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 Kuṣāṇas (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, Bāhlikas/Bālīkas (Bactrians), Barbaras, Cīnas, Daradas (Dards), Gāndhāras, Khaśas, Madrakas, Pulindas, Śabarās, Śibis, Sindhusauvīras, Trigartas, the Mlecchas of the mountains (Pārvatīya Mlecchas), and those living around Mathurā.¹⁶² Only two of these, the Āndhras and Śabarās, have nothing to do with the North-West.¹⁶³ 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.¹⁶⁴ 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: Bāhlikas 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.

Khaśas 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, 196, 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.

Śabarās 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.

Trigartas 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.

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 (rājā pratīcyām). At least once (Mbh 2, 31, 9) he is also said to be the king of Prāgyotiṣa (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, 221f.) 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, 15f.).

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, 13f. & 35f., who carefully collected all references to Bhagadatta as Yavana evidence), but shown to be in error by Johnston (1939, 219ff.). 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 Prāgyotiṣa is mentioned together with several western peoples. On the different locations of Prāgyotiṣa, see Rönnow 1936, 115f. and Johnston 1939, 219ff. The alternative western location was suggested as early as Lassen 1837, 26ff. Note, however, that in Mbh 5, 4, 11 Bhagadatta dwells by the Eastern Ocean (*bhagadattāya rājñe pūrvasāgaravāsine*). But Assam is not by the sea. Often the geography is quite confused. In the late Aśvamedhikaparvan (Mbh 14, 74ff.), King Vajradatta, Bhagadatta's son, is slain by Arjuna, then Saindhavas (!) and Mañipūras, who seem to be neighbours. Later on, Prāgyotiṣa 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. Sudakṣiṇa¹⁶⁸ 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 (yavanādhipati) 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 (yavanādhipati), 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 Bhīmaratha.” A little earlier in the same passage (2, 4, 20), Kampana, described as terrifying 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 Skandapurāṇa (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 (gopṭṛ) of Sindh, here called Yavanarāṣṭra 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, 175 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.

Bāṇa (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, Bāṇa mentions the death of King Kākavarṇa, and Śaṅkara explains that he was killed by his enemies, the Yavanas. For Śaṅkara, if not already for Bāṇa, the Yavanas were Arabs.

A clear reference to the Indo-Greeks seems to be found in the “prophetical” 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 Purāṇic history, eight Yavana kings are mentioned as succeeding after Ābhīras, Gardabhins 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).¹⁷¹ The Yavana dynasty is said to have ruled 160 (and Śakas 380, BṛṇP), 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 collection¹⁷² adds a fourth king, Tukhāra. With three kings, the account is also briefly mentioned in the Khotanese Saka Book of Zambasta (24, 393).¹⁷³ 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

171 BhāgP 12, 1, 30; BṛṇP 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 pyltys mwhrnbyšt ’bdhygg ’w ywn’w ’wd frwm’w” for Greek ἔγραψεν δὴ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος... Ὁρωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί. Thus, ywn (Yawan/Yōn) is here used for Greek language.

unbearable, but in the end they will be defeated by the Kalkī Avatāra of Viṣṇu (BṛṇP, VāP; see Chapter 10 below).

It is possible that the legend of Bāhu and Sagara 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 Raghuvamśa 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 Aśvamedha 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.¹⁷⁴

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 Parvatāka with King Porus of Alexander's histories¹⁷⁵ 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.¹⁷⁶

174 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.

175 Suggested by Seth 1941, accepted by Tarn 1951, 46, and regarded as a possibility by Narain 1965, 162.

176 On Abisares, see Karttunen 1997, 33. Pauravas are also listed among north-western peoples in Rām 4, 42, 11. I must add that van Buitenen's 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 *Rājatarāṅginī* clearly refers to Muslims. In the late *Vīracarita* of Anantadeva, King Śālivāhana (Sātavāhana) slays Śakas and Yavanas and founds the Śaka Era.¹⁷⁷ 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 (Pāṭalīputra). 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.¹⁷⁸ The problems connected with this invasion, the Western classical evidence dealing with it, and the Bactrian revolt forcing Yavanas back from Pāṭalīputra (*Yugapurāṇa* 56 f.) have been much discussed¹⁷⁹ 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 puṣyamitraṃ 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 f. & 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 Kuṣāṇa invasion, despite the parallel evidence offered by Strabo and Justinus.

second century BCE.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.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,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 Menander¹⁸³ and the famous town (puruttama) of Sāgala may well have been his capital – although it was not necessarily built according to the Hellenistic square pattern¹⁸⁴ – 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.¹⁸⁵

180 See, e.g. Bhandarkar 1872 and Weber 1873, 300 ff. For a more recent discussion, see Frauwallner 1960, 108 ff.

181 This was pointed out by Konow 1937 with a few further arguments.

182 This is amply testified by both Herodotus and Old Persian inscriptions.

183 Milinda is often called yona. For the derivation of his name from Menander, see Fussman 1993, 72 f.

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).

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 Kuṣāṇa 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.¹⁸⁶ We may also note that there was a Buddhist tradition representing Yavanas and other North-Westerners as persecutors of Buddhism.¹⁸⁷

The four ministers of Milinda (*MilP* 2, 1, 3 f.) – Devamantiya, Anantakāya, Mañkura, and Sabbadinna – have often been identified as Greeks. Long ago, Trenckner suggested Demetrius, Antigonus and Hermagoras for the first three ministers.¹⁸⁸ Tarn (1951, 422 f.) took Demetrius and Antigonus for granted, explained Mañkura 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. Mañkura 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).¹⁸⁹

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.

186 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.

187 See the *Aśokāvadāna* 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.

188 *Pāli Miscellany* 70, referred to by Lévi 1890a, 33.

189 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 Śarvadatta (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.¹⁹⁰ 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).¹⁹¹ 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).¹⁹² 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 Kuṣāṇa period, the borrowing of a few Greek military and administrative terms (for astronomical terms, see Chapter 6 below) such as anamkaya < ἀναγκαιός, merida(r)kha < μεριδάρχης, stratega < στρατηγός, and suruṅga < σύριγγις,¹⁹³ and the use of Greek weights such as stater, drachma and obolos (satera/sadera and drakhma in north-western Prākṛit, dramma in Sanskrit).¹⁹⁴ Note also the monetary term dīnāra; although ultimately borrowed from the Latin denarius, it came to India from Greek, as is shown by the vowel of the first syllable.¹⁹⁵

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 Milindañikā 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 Amālikita in Heliodorus' inscription (L 669), Minendra in *EI* 24 (and Miṇandra 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 Isaṇdra (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 *epesukopa* < ἐπίσκοπος 'overseer' from the Gandhāra Gilded Bowl (Falk 2013, 171 f.). Quite often titles and epithets were also translated. Thus *dikaioς* = *dhramika*, *φιλοπάτωρ* = *priyapita*, etc. (for a full list, see Karttunen 1997, 304 f.). Salomon 1981 has suggested that *danḍanāyaka* may correspond to *στρατηγός*.

194 These terms are often discussed in literature. See, e.g. Agrawala 1953 & 1955, Gupta 1978, Konow 1928, Rapson 1920, Thomas 1924, Töttössy 1977, 131 f. and Falk 2001, 309 ff.

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 *ī*. Cf. Bactrian *διναρο*. Liebich 1924 & 1931 suggested that *kampana/kampanā* as 'army' could be derived from the Latin *campus* 'field, plain'.

The South Asian evidence of the Macedonian calendar can be summarized as follows:¹⁹⁶

Greek	Indianized	Approximate time
Δίος = Dios		October
Ἀπελλαῖος = Apellaios	Apela	November
Ἀύδυναῖος = Audynaios	Avadunaka/Avaduṇaga	December
Περίτιος = Peritios		January
Δύστρος = Dystros		February
Ξανδικός = Xandikos	Kṣāntika (Salomon 2011)	March
Ἀρτεμῖσιος = Artemisios	Arthamisiya/Arsamia	April
Δαῖσιος = Daisios	Dāisi(m)ka	May
Πάνημος = Panemos	Panema	June
Λώτος = Loos ¹⁹⁷		July
Γορπιαῖος = Gorpiaios	Gurppiya/Gurpieya ¹⁹⁸	August
Ὑπερβερεταῖος = Hyperberetaios (Εμβόλιμος = Embolimos) ¹⁹⁹		September

Early studies about Yavanas often mention the so-called Kaimkila 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 Kaimkila: 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 Kaimkila Yavanas has been explained by Jayaswal (1933, 68f.). According to him, the Viṣṇupurāṇa text here is in

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 γορπιου in a Bactrian inscription from Dasht-e Nawur (Davary 1982 s.v.).

199 This intercalary month is added when needed.

200 BṇḍP, BhāḡP and VāP in Lévi 1890a, 11 ff. To this must be added MP 273, 24 f.

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 Purāṇic tradition, even when it actually is dealing with history. Even Lévi knew of one inscription²⁰³ 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 Kaimkila/Kilakila dynasty was made their first ruler in the Purāṇic 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.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).²⁰⁵

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).

204 Meile 1941, 121 f. further refers to the *Purānānūru* 39, 14 f. and the *Patirruppattu* 43, 4, both of which state that the Cēra king conquered the Himalaya.

205 According to Warder 1971, 135, the later Yavanas of the Purāṇas and Orissan chronicles are in fact "Murunḍas, a line of Śaka kings who ruled in Magadha, mostly as vassals of the Kuṣāṇas, 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 Kaimkila 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 Shahi 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 Iskandernāme. Even earlier, the prominent place that Firdausī 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 (*uttarapathajanmānah*). 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 Kirrhadaï 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 Āndhras 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 (Kāvyaṃ 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 (Vaijaya 3, 1, 24) includes Yavanas in his long list of north[-west]ern peoples (*udīcyā janapadāḥ*). His viewpoint is rather southern, however, as Mathurā is located in the north.

208 BṛṇḍP 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 BṛṇḍP 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 Purāṇic riverine geography,²¹² 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 Javaṇas or Joṇiyas are listed together with the Sagas or Sakas, Palhavas or Parthians, and Āravas (Āravis) or Arabians.²¹³ 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 north-western people.

212 BṛṛP 1, 2, 18, 44; MP 121, 43; VāP 1, 47, 42; Kirfel 5 II, 43.

213 Nāyādh., Paṇhāvāg., etc.

5. WARRIORS, ARTISANS, ENGINEERS, MERCHANTS, AND SEAFARERS

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 (*nīyuddhakuśalāḥ*, 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 Yugapurāṇa refers directly to the Indo-Greeks, calling them valiant in battle (*yuddhavikrāntāḥ* 47) and infatuated by war (*yuddhadurmadāḥ* 56).²¹⁴

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.²¹⁵ 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. BṛṇP 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,²¹⁶ 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.²¹⁷ The ancient sea trade between the west and south of India on one hand and South Arabia, Aethiopia²¹⁸ and Roman Egypt on the other is well attested both in Western sources and in archaeology.²¹⁹

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.²²⁰ 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.²²¹

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* (6) 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.²²² The remark about the rescued man's ability to water a great number

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* 149, 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 *sagittariorum cohortibus impositis* and 104 *muzirim, non expetendum propter vicinos piratas*. Cf. *Paṭṭiruppattu* 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 *Romaues* (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.²²³ 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.²²⁴ In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (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 *Mahāniddeśa*, 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 *Cīnarattṭhas* or Chinese).²²⁵

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 *Mahāniddeśa* is one of the latest additions in the Pāli canon,²²⁶ 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.²²⁷ 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 out 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 roguish merchants: *yam vanejjo vanejjassa vañceyya kapino kapi / daharo pi tam ha sadheyya na hi jīṇṇo jarākapīti //*. 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 Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha (18), a lady called Yāvanī, born in the Yavana land, is married to a merchant named Sāgara and living in Rājagrha. They have two sons, both called gifts of the ocean, Sāgaradīna and Samudradīna, and they all become shipwrecked during a journey to Yavanadeśa. Earlier, a similar visit was recounted in the Pūrvapīṭhikā of the Daśakumāracarita (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.²²⁸ The obligatory shipwreck found in almost every sea-voyage narrative takes place on his trip back to India. The Mahāvamsa 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 Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha is very late (around 1400?), but it contains material from the much earlier Bṛhatkathā. 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,²²⁹ then the countries of Arabs, Romā, and Alasaṇḍā, and a little later also Joṇaa (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.²³⁰

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 Vasudevahiṇḍī (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 Vasudevahiṇḍī, 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.²³¹

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.²³² 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 Yavanaviṣaya who built himself an artificial maid is found in the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādinaya (p. 166 ff., Tibetan version in Schiefner 194). 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

231 Karttunen 1997, 297f. 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 Jirṇanagara). 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.

232 Cilappatikāram 5, 10; Maṇimēkalai 1, 45 & 19, 107 f.; Cīvakaṇṭamaṇi 1, 101; etc. In addition to Meile 1941 and Zvebil 1956, see also Nagaswamy 1995, 96 ff.

170 f., Schiefner 194). Mechanical servants appear to also be mentioned in Saṅghadāsagaṇi's Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya (Jain 1979, 3, but the text is not available to me). In the Vasudevahiṇḍī (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 after 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.²³³ In the Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha (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.²³⁴

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 Vidyādhara flying through the air and owning other fantastic mechanical devices. Occasionally these stories come very close to those about Yavanas.²³⁵ 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 Śisunāga. 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 Vidyādhari having wooden mechanical dolls (*kāṣṭhamayīḥ 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 *haimacitrakhaḡākīrṇam*). In KSS 7, 9 (43), p. 390 ff. we are told of a carpenter in Maya's tradition in Kāñci 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 BhāḡP 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 Vidyādhara.

It is curious to note that at least one Greek source (Philostratus, *Vita Ap*, 5, 12) lauds the skill of Indians in constructing automatons. 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.²³⁶

236 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 ὑδρομύλους καὶ λοετρά, μέχρι τότε μὴ γνωρίζόμενα παρ’ οὐτοῖς).

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 Gargāsamhitā, also quoted by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhatsamhitā, 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.²³⁷ 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.²³⁸ 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 Aphroisius 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 f. and 333. The form Bhrgukaccha 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 küh-

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.²³⁹

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 Indologists²⁴⁰ 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:BJ 1, 8 lists all), with the Sanskritized Greek names being used beside the Indian translations of the same:

Kriya	< Κριός, translated as	Meṣa	'Aries'
Tāvuri	< Ταῦρος	Vṛṣabha	'Taurus'
Jituma	< Δίδυμοι	Mithuna	'Gemini'
Kulīra/Karkin	< Κόλουρος (?) / Καρκίνος	Karkaṭa	'Cancer' ²⁴¹
Leya	< Λέων	Siṃha	'Leo'
Pāthona	< Παρθένος	Kanyā	'Virgo'
Jūka	< Ζυγόν	Tulā	'Libra'
Kaurpi/Kaurpya	< Σκορπίος	Vṛścika	'Scorpio'
Taukṣika	< Τοξότης	Dhanus	'Sagittarius'
Ākokera	< Αιγόκερως	Makara	'Capricornus'
Hṛdroga	< Ὑδροχόος	Kumbha	'Aquarius'
Ittha	< Ἰχθύς	Mīna	'Pisces'

ne Vermuthung". According to the Pāṇinīyaśikṣā, 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 equinoctial 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 Yavanajāta, was soon forgotten.

A parallel set of names for the planets was introduced beside the traditional Indian ones:

Heli	< ἥλιος, corresponding to Indian	Sūrya	‘Sun’
Himna/Hemna	< Ἑρμῆς	Budha	‘Mercury’
Āra	< Ἄρης	Maṅgala	‘Mars’
Koṇa	< Κρόνος	Śani	‘Saturn’
Jyau	< Ζεὺς	Bṛhaspati	‘Jupiter’
Āsphujit	< Ἀφροδίτη	Śukra	‘Venus’

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’,²⁴² 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 συναφή), 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*²⁴⁴ < 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

242 Occasionally also *mrga* ‘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 *mrga* 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 (*mrgārdharpūro 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: *durudharā* [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 *drekkaṇa*, later variant *dreṣkāṇa*); *liptā* < λεπτή/λεπτά ‘minute of arc’ (Sph:YJ *liptaka/liptika*); *āpoklima* < ἀπόκλιμα ‘cadent place’; *paṇapharā* < ἐπαναφορά ‘a topos which follows a kentron’ (Sph:YJ *pāṇapharā*); *trikoṇa* < τρίγωνος ‘triangular (of planets having a triangular aspect)’; *hibuka* < ὑπόγειον ‘the fourth lagna or astrological house’; *jāmitra* < διάμετρον ‘the seventh lunar mansion’;²⁴⁵ *dyutam* < δυτόν ‘the seventh mansion’; and *meṣūraṇa* < μεσουράνημα ‘the tenth astrological house’.²⁴⁶ Finally, according to Weber, *veśi* < φάσις is ‘the second house from that in which the sun is situated’. According to Pingree (note on Sph:YJ 11, 1), however, φάσις is Sanskrit *vāśi* and means ‘heliacal rising’, also called *udaya*, while the analogous word *veśi* is ‘heliacal setting’ (*asta*), corresponding to Greek κρύψις.

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 ῥιφή (see also Weber 1853b, 281, but TGL and LSJ have only ῥιφή = ῥῆψις ‘throwing, hurling’). He also adds *harija* < ὀρίζων ‘horizon’ and *dūṣikya* < τοχικόν. The last one is not found in the MW, and the Greek is equally unknown (not in TGL & LSJ). Perhaps Τοξικόν as the Sagittarius is meant, but this is usually Τοξότης.

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:

<i>anaphā</i>	ἀναφή	probably same as next?	Weber
<i>anapharā</i>	ἀναφορά	a position (<i>yoga</i>) of the moon	Pingree
<i>āpoklima</i>	ἀπόκλιμα	cadent place	Weber
<i>dṛkāṇa</i> , etc.	δέκανος	3rd part of a sign of the zodiac	Weber
<i>daurudhura</i>	δορυφορία	a position (<i>yoga</i>) of the moon	Weber
<i>ἢ durudharā</i>			Pingree
<i>dūṣikya</i>	τοχικόν	??	G. d’Alviella
<i>dyuta</i>	δυτόν	the seventh mansion	Weber
<i>harija</i>	ὀρίζων	horizon	G. d’Alviella
<i>hibuka</i>	ὑπόγειον	the fourth lagna or astrological house	Weber

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.

<i>horā</i>	ώρα	hour	Weber & before
<i>jāmitra</i>	διάμετρον	the seventh lunar mansion	Weber
<i>kemadruma</i>	κενοδρομία	a position (<i>yoga</i>) of the moon	Weber
<i>kendra</i>	κέντρον	centre of a circle	Weber & before
<i>liptā/aka/ika</i>	λεπτή/λεπτά	minute of arc	Weber
<i>menyaiva</i>	μηνιαῖος	the place of the moon and its square	Pingree
<i>mezūraṇa</i>	μεσουράνημα	the tenth astrological house	Weber
<i>raṇapharā</i>	ἐπαναφορά	a topos which follows a kentron	Weber
<i>riṣphā (riḥphā)</i>	ρίφη (?)	the 12th astrological house	G. d'Alviella
<i>sunaphā</i>	συναφή	conjunction of planets, or with moon	Weber
<i>trikoṇa</i>	τρίγωνος	triangular (triangular planetary aspect)	Weber
<i>vāśi</i>	φάσις	heliacal rising	Pingree

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:

		Sph:YJ ²⁴⁷	VM
anapharā	< ἀναφορά	10, 1	
anaphā	< ἀναφή (not in LSJ)		BJ 13, 3 f.
ākokera	< Αἰγόκερος 'Capricornus'		BJ 1, 8
āpoklima	< ἀπόκλιμα 'cadent place'	1, 53	LJ 1, 18; BJ 1, 18
āra	< Ἄρης 'Mars' ²⁴⁸		BJ 2, 2
āsphujit	< Ἀφροδίτη 'Venus'		BJ 2, 2
ittha	< Ἰχθύς 'Pisces'		
karkin	< Καρκίνος 'Cancer'	1, 17	
kulīra ²⁴⁹	< Κόλουρος (?) 'Cancer'		BJ 1, 8
kendra	< κέντρον 'centre of a circle'	1, 53 ²⁵⁰	BJ 1, 19; 13, 3; LJ 1, 18
kemadruma	< κενοδρομία 'being without attendant planets'	10, 2	BJ 13, 3
koṇa	< Κρόνος 'Saturn'		BJ 2, 2
kaurpi/kaurpya	< Σκορπίος 'Scorpio'		BJ 1, 8
kriya	< Κριός 'Aries'		BJ 1, 8
jāmitra ²⁵¹	< διάμετρον 'the 7th lunar mansion'	1, 49	LJ 1, 17; BJ 1, 18

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 *antyaḥbha*, 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

		Sph:YJ	VM
jituma (jitma)	< Δίδυμοι ‘Gemini’		BJ 1, 8
jūka	< Ζυγόν ‘Libra’		BJ 1, 8
iyau	< Ζεύς ‘Jupiter’		
tāvuri	< Ταῦρος ‘Taurus’		BJ 1, 8
tauḥṣika ²⁵²	< Τοξότης ‘Sagittarius’		BJ 1, 8
trikoṇa ²⁵³	< τρίγωνος ‘triangular (of planets)’	1, 51; etc.	LJ 1, 16
durudharā /daurudhura	< δορυφορία ‘?’	10, 1	BJ 13, 3 f.
dyuta	< δυτόν ‘the seventh mansion’		LJ 1, 17
dṛkāṇa/drek(k)āṇa	< δέκανος ‘the 3rd part of a zodiacal sign’		LJ 1, 9
& dresḥkāṇa		1, 34; 3, 1; etc.	BJ 1, 9; 1, 11 f.; 27
rāṇapharā, raṇaph.	< ἐπαναφορά ‘a topos which follows a kentron’	1, 53	LJ 1, 18
pāthona	< Παρθένος ‘Virgo’		BJ 1, 8
meṇyaiva	< μηνιαῖος ‘the place of the moon and its square’	1, 50	
meṣūraṇa	< μεσουράνημα ‘the 10th lagna’	1, 49	BJ 1, 18
riṣphā (riḥpha)	< ῥιφή (?) ‘the 12th lagna’		BJ 1, 15; LJ 1, 17
liptā/liptaka/liptika	< λεπτή/λεπτά ‘minute of arc’	1, 38; 1, 43	
leya	< Λέων ‘Leo’		BJ 1, 8
vāśi	< φάσις ‘heliacal rising’	11, 1	
sunaphā	< συναφή ‘certain conjunction of planets’	10, 1	BJ 13, 3 f.
harija	< ὀρίζων ‘horizon’		
hīpaka/hibuka	< ὑπόγειον ‘the 4th lagna’	1, 48	BJ 1, 18
hīmna/hemna	< Ἑρμῆς ‘Mercury’		BJ 2, 2
hṛdroga	< Ὑδροχόος ‘Aquarius’		BJ 1, 8
heli	< Ἥλιος ‘Sun’		BJ 2, 2
horā ²⁵⁴	< ὥρα ‘hour’	1, 34; 1, 48; 2, 1; etc.	
			BJ 1, 2; LJ 1, 2; etc.

Among the five classical Siddhāntas of Indian astronomy, two of them – Paulīśa and Romaka (see VM:PS 1, 3 f.) – are probably of Western origin. The original Romakasiddhānta was apparently lost early on, while Paulīśa 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 Paulīśasiddhānta is written by Paulus al-Yūnānī, perhaps meaning the Eisagoge of Paulus Alexandrinus. Paulīśa’s home town is given as Saintra, which al-Bīrūnī probably rightly identifies as Alexandria.²⁵⁵

in Kumārasambhava 7, 1.

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 KāmNitis 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 Gargasamhitā by Varāhamihira (BS 2, 32). In the late Jaiminibhārata, they are honoured by other barbarians (27, 30 *mlecchapūjyair ... yavanair*), but do violence to the holy tradition (*śruti*).

Sphujidhvaja and Mīnarāja 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 Bṛhājātaka (7, 1), Varāhamihira also mentions among authorities in astrology Maṇittha, who was earlier identified as the Greek astrologer Manetho.²⁵⁹ In fact, there is a work called the Varṣaphala that is ascribed to Maṇittha, 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 Yogayātrā, the moon is born among the Yavanas (i.e. in the West). In the Bṛhatsamhitā, Varāhamihira often notes the

identification of Pauliśa is not clear. Although he accepts his Greek origin, Kern (1865, 49) is strongly opposed to the identification with Paulus. Carra de Vaux (1917, 451–453) suggested Ptolemy, but his case is far from convincing. More important criticism is found in Pingree 1963, 237. At least in more recent times, according to Pingree, there are several works known with these names (viz. at least three Pauliśasiddhāntas and no less than five Romakasiddhāntas). The extant ones, however, are clearly late apocrypha. See also Pingree 1981, 11 & 32.

256 It has been pointed out to me by a colleague that irony is not common in the Mbh, but I am inclined to believe that this is by far the easiest explanation of the passage.

257 See VM:BJ and Utpala's commentary on it. Some later sources are listed in the text part.

258 See al-Bīrūnī Chapter 14, p. 158 Sachau. Pingree 1978, 24 identifies al-Bīrūnī's Yavana as Mīnarāja. See Weber 1852, 225 and especially Pingree 1994, 325 ff. summarized above in the introduction to astronomical and astrological texts.

259 See Weber 1852, 278 and Kern 1865, 52, then Lévi 1890a, 49, now also Pingree 1981, 84. The same passage (BJ 7, 1) also names *Maya*, who is perhaps the same as the epic *Asura Maya*, the Daitya architect. However, I am not ready to follow Weber's far-fetched identification, deriving *Asura Maya* from **Turamaya* as an Indian form of Ptolemaeus (Πτολεμαῖος; see Weber 1852, 226), although it was accepted, for example, by Lévi 1890a, 49 f.

260 Pingree 1981, 98; see also Pingree 1978, 39 f.

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. 38f.) 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 prodigiis* 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 Megasthenes²⁶⁶ 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 (*pratihārībastād 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 *Αἱ ἐλληνίδες ἑταῖραι ἐν τῷ ἰνδικῷ δράματι* ("On the Greek hetaeras in Indian drama", Athens 1887), but as it is called "inane quoddam opusculum" by Lévi 1890a, 42, I do not think that it would have changed my discussion.

265 KĀŚ 1, 21, 1 *śayanād utthitah strīgaṇair dhanvibhiḥ parigrhīta*.

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. 185 f. Kern (193 f. Vaidya, 259 f. & 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 Rājasekhara's Karpūramañjarī 4, 9+ and Bāṇa's Harṣacarita 4, p. 59 Kane (*yāmikini*). Rājasekhara'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,²⁶⁸ 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 (μουσικά 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 (μουσικά καὶ παρθένοι εὐειδέεις) were imported to Barygaza, where they were especially meant for the king.²⁶⁹ 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”.²⁷⁰ At least this confirms Bharukaccha’s significance as a place where female slaves were trafficked.

Weber²⁷¹ mentions inscriptional 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 sainḥalakādibhiḥ 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”,²⁷² 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. 41). 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) *yavanikāstarāṇan 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, 7f. *śataṃ dāsīsaḥasrāṇāṃ kārpāsikanivāsīnāṃ / śyāmās tanvyo dṛghakeśyo hemābharāṇabhūṣitāḥ // śūdrā ... bharukacchanivāsīnaḥ*. 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.²⁷³ It is not clear, however, whether the Śāhānuṣāhi 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).²⁷⁴ A different list is found in the *Āṅgavijjā* (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, *Karpūratuṛiṣṭhā*, 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.²⁷⁵ But such an argument *ex silentio* does not have much force.

Kālidāsa (Rv 4, 61) described wine-drinking Yavana women in their north-western (Indo-Greek) homeland, and King Jayadratha of Sindh in the *Mahābhārata* (11, 22, 11) had Yavana wives. In the narrative literature, the Yavanas live beyond the sea. In the *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha* (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 (BKŚS 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 Hamsadhvaja of Campā (Bengal). These Yavanas are rather ruthless mercenaries sent by the king to fetch

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 *Kādambarī* 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; *Uvavāiya* 55; *Rāyapaseṇaiyyam*; *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 *Nammayāsundarīkathā* 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 Kāśmīrī 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 Brahmins 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.

276 Harle 1971. Such dvārapālas have been found, i. al., at Aihole, Nāgarjunakonda, 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 satī 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*, *Yonaratt̥ha*). 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,²⁷⁸ 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,²⁷⁹ 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.²⁸⁰ 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. 227f.; 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 Yonadhammarakkhita in the Sihalavatthupparāṇa 59.

280 Vin-C, Mv 12, Dv 8, Mahābodhivaṃsa, Thūpavaṃsa 6, and the modern Sāsanavaṃsa.

If Greece (as Yonaloka, or rather Greek north-west India)²⁸¹ 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 Yonakavisaya to Sri Lanka to visit a famous caitya. When the Sinhala King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was celebrating his victory over the Tamil king Eḷāra (around 100 BCE), Yonamahārakkhita came from Yonanagara Alasanda with no less than 30,000 bhikkhus in his retinue to attend the festivities.²⁸² 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 (Cūlavamsa 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 (*paratīraṃ* from Sri Lanka). In the late Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa (59), Yonakadhammarakkhita is one of the pupils of Thera Kālakandarātissa, 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.²⁸³ 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 Sabaeen.

Much later, in the *Sīhalavatthupparakaṇa* (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.²⁸⁴ The shorter Pāli list mentions only *Damiḷa* (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* (*Oṛiyā?*), *Kirāta*, *Andhaka* (*Āndhra*, i.e. Telugu), *Yonaka* and *Damiḷa*. 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.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,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

284 DN-C 1, p. 176 (with the subcommentary) = AN-C 2, p. 289, further in the *Vibh-C* p. 387, *Mohavicchedanī* p. 186 and in the *Sanskrit Mvst* 1, p. 171.

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.

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 Prākṛit) 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 Prākṛit 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 jāmītra is defined in that way (i.e. Greek δίαμετρον 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 (*Baṁbhī*) and has Javaṇīyā in the second place. A different list of eighteen writings is given by Śīlaṅka (Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariam 124) in the late 10th century. Here again Brāhmī is the first, but Javaṇī only appears as the third from the end.

The Buddhist Mahāvastu (1, 135) also has a list of various scripts, in which Yavanī 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 Drāviḍī. 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 Kuṣāṇas (as well as by Kuṣāṇas for writing their Iranian language, called Bactrian). Early astrologists in Western India were familiar with Greek technical texts.²⁹⁰ 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 Rasārṇavasudhākara) 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 Yavaṇar are described as bringing gold (i.e. coins, Roman *aurei*) and wine in their swift ships and buying pepper and jewels.²⁹¹ 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.²⁹²

Alexandrian lamps have been found in Begram, Ter (Maharashtra), Arikamedu, and South-East Asia. A Yona image holding a lamp is mentioned in Pāli commentaries.²⁹³ Tamil sources also mention various kinds of Yavana lamps.²⁹⁴ Although somewhat uncertain, one epigraphical source refers to a Yavana lamp shaped like

290 See also the early discussion in Weber 1862, 5 ff. and Lévi 1890a, 46 f.

291 Wine in Puṛānānūru 56; gold and pepper in Akanānūru 149; jewels in Patirruppattu 2; trade in general in Cilappatikāram 5. The mention of gold speaks against Tieken'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 Muciṛi is also mentioned in the Puṛānānūru 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; Nakkīrar, Neṭunalvāṭai 101 f.; Perumpāṇāruppaṭai 316 ff.; Peruṅkatai 1, 38.

the mouth of a fish.²⁹⁵ In the Tamil South, also Yavana-made boxes were appreciated (Cīvakacintāmaṇi 1, 557; Peruṅkatai 1, 32, 76 & 3, 22, 213). A vīṇā 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 Chōlas.

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,²⁹⁶ 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 (32, 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*).²⁹⁷ 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 *yavanappiriyam*)²⁹⁸ and *yavaneṣṭa* 'longed for by Yavanas'.²⁹⁹ 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.³⁰⁰ 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

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 Hemaçandra, Abhidh. 3, 84; Tamil in Yālpāṇattu maṇippāyakarāti.

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*.³⁰¹ 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.³⁰²

Frankincense (*silha*) is called *yavanadeśaja* ‘arising in the Yavana country’³⁰³ and *yāvana*,³⁰⁴ but also *uruṣka* ‘Turkish’. Here Yavanadeśa is easily understood as Arabia, and in this sense the incense really is *yavanadeśaja*, born in Arabia. One of the commentaries of the Amarakośa (Liṅgayasūri’s Amaraṇḍavivṛti) actually glosses Yavanadeśa with Turuṣkadeśa, and a gloss on Hemacandra’s Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (3, 312) explains *uruṣka* (here also as a name for frankincense) as *yavanadeśaja*, while Ḍalhaṇa (on Suśruta 1, 13) explains Yavana as Turuṣkadeśa. Yāvana and *uruṣka* as names of olibanum are also found in the RN/DhN and the Soḍhalanighaṇṭu (1, 3, 376) and further in the Pāli Abhidhānappadīpikā.³⁰⁵

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 produced³⁰⁶ 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.³⁰⁷

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 *kaṣṭīra*, still sometimes quoted in literature, must be rejected also for chronological reasons, as κασσίτερος is already met in Homer, while *kaṣṭīra* is late (11th century) and rare (Karttunen 1989, 106 f.).

303 Pāḍacandrikā on AK 2, 6, 1281; 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 *yāvana* 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 onion³⁰⁸ and the wild date tree.³⁰⁹ The Soḍhalanighaṅṭu (1, 1, 119) in the 12th century uses the same word for the nimba tree (*Azadiractha indica*), but the corresponding passage in the Rājanighaṅṭu 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 Mīśra 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 Rājanighaṅṭu 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 accounts³¹⁰ of the sinful habits of the North-Westerners, eating wheat is mentioned together with meat-eating. In the Dhanvantarinighaṅṭu (6, 27, 98), one of the names of wheat is *mlecchabhōjana* ‘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 *yavanī/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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, where a classification of leeches includes a non-poisonous variety found in the Yavana country. The medical use of leeches was known both

idle life of the Dutch ladies of the colony, and he made a special point about their attachment to betel chewing (which he found very disgusting).

308 RN 7, 55 (cf. DhN 4, 9, 37) *grījāna*, 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, *grījāna* is not). For *laśuna*, see also Bhpr 1, 2, 217.

309 This is the *kharjūra* in RN 11, 65; on the date-palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*), see Karttunen 1997, 137f.

310 Mbh 6 and Caraka 6, 30, 316.

in Hippocratic³¹¹ and in Āyurvedic 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 extrahendum 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,³¹³ 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*, BṛṇḍP) or to have their heads completely shaved (*muṇḍayitvā ... śiraḥ sarvaṁ*). 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.³¹⁴

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, BhāḡP 9, 8, BṛṇḍP 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 BṛṇḍP 2, 3, 48, BNP 7 f. and PP 6, 20.

314 Cf. Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 7, 18 where Viśvāmītra’s disobedient elder sons are cursed by their father to become the ancestors of the “Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarās, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, who live in large numbers beyond the borders; most of the Dasyus are the descendants of Viśvāmītra” (*ta ete ’ndhrāḥ puṇḍrāḥ śabarāḥ pulindā mūtibā ity udantyā bahavo vaiśvāmītrā dasyūnām bhūyiṣṭhāḥ*). Some further examples are given in Sircar 1962.

shave a Brahmin for some kind of offence.³¹⁵ 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 Rukmiṇī, were as bad as killing him.³¹⁶ Warder (1983, 158) refers to the Jaina epic Varāṅgarita by Jaṭāsīmhanandin (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 Mahāvamsa (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.³¹⁷ 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.³¹⁸

In South India, we have still another, admittedly late parallel. According to the Keraḷōlpatti version of the Paraśurāma legend, the new land between Western Ghats and the west coast, which had been claimed by Paraśurāma from the ocean, was colonized by Brahmins from Ahicchatra. To prevent them from returning home, Paraśurāma changed their hairstyle and dress code (Veluthat 2005, 89). Finally, a Greek text passage sometimes ascribed to Megasthenes³¹⁹ mentions the shaving of hair as a shameful punishment among the Indians.³²⁰ This was perhaps the source for a second Greek account of the same.³²¹

315 DN 3 Ambaṭṭhasutta 1, 26 *idha brāhmaṇā brāhmaṇaṃ kismicid eva pakaraṇe khuramuṇḍaṃ karitvā.*

316 BhāgP 1, 7, 57 *vapaṇaṃ draviṇādānaṃ sthānāt niryāpanaṃ tathā / eṣa hi brahmabandhūnāṃ vadho nānyo 'sti daibikaḥ*; 10, 54, 37 *vapaṇaṃ śmaśrukeśānāṃ vairūpyaṃ subhdo vadhaḥ*. Note, however, that Rukmī was not a friend of Kṛṣṇa.

317 Mv 6, 42 f. *rājātha vijayaṃ taṃ ca parivāraṃ ca tassa taṃ / satta satāni purise kāretvā aḍḍhamuṇḍake // nāvāya pakkhīpāpetvā vissajjāpesi sāgare / tathā tesāṃ ca bhariyāyo tatheva ca kumārake //*.

318 In his note on this passage, Geiger says that the shaving of hair signifies a loss of freedom. He derives Sinhalese *miḍi* 'slave' from skr. *muṇḍita* 'shaven'.

319 Nicolaus 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 *Harivamśapurāṇa* 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 Śākuni, Duśśāsana and Śikhaṇḍin.

The well-known Purāṇic 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.³²² 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."³²³

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.³²⁴ Kālayavana is not easily connected with the two Yavana kings, Mura and Naraka, here mentioned among Jarāsandha's allies (2, 13, 13 f.).

Deriades (Dionysiaca 26, 152 ff.). In verse 156, he explains that this is a bitter insult to an Indian (Ἰνδοῖς ρικρὸν ὄνειδος). Wilson (1832, 616) promptly connected this with the Sagara story, but I am not so sure of this. It has been repeatedly proven (first by Wilson himself) that the Dionysiaca has very little genuine Indian material, all of which comes from sources used by Nonnus.

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 Śaurikathodaya 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 *vayam caiva mahārāja jarāsaṁdhabbayāt tadā / mathurām saṁparityajya gatā dvāravatīm purīm*. 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.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 (*kr̥ṣṇa*) Vāsudeva.

It has been suggested that this legend can perhaps be seen as a reflection of the real Indo-Greek invasion of Mathurā.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.³²⁷

The slaying of Kālayavana is also reflected among the epithets of Kṛṣṇa. See, for instance, the Yavanāri of Puruṣottamadeva (Tri. 1, 1, 31)³²⁸ and perhaps the Duryavana of Varadarāja (Laghukaum. 972). But these are late texts (post-1000 CE) where *yavana* can well refer to Arabs.

325 See, e.g. Lévi 1890a, 36 and Weber 1890, 909.

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.

327 Hein 1988 interprets the story in a more general way, presenting the threat from the north-west. 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.

328 In the late 18th-century Śaṅkaracetovilāsa, the king of Vārāṇasī (who fought against Muḥammad Ghori) is also called Yavanāri.

In the late Skandapurāṇa, Kālayavana is not a king; as plural Kālayavanas or Black Yavanas (*kṛṣṇayavanāḥ*), they are a people.³²⁹ 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.³³⁰ 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 varṇāśramadharmas. 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 Pūrvapīthikā (1 & 4) of the DKC, Kālayavana is the name of an island, reached from India by ship.

330 Pañcalakṣaṇa: BṇḍP 2, 3, 73; BdhP 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*.³³¹

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 Jinakālamāli of Ratanapañña, an early 16th-century Pāli text from Thailand. The modern Sāsanavaṃsa explains all early references in Pāli sources, even in the Milindapañha, 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 *mleccha* ‘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 *Kāmbōja* and local names. This would, of course, make the identification more plausible.

It is unclear whether the island of Java was really called Yavanadvīpa,³³⁵ instead of the correct Yavadvīpa or 'Barley Island' (which is also attested as Iabadiu in the Geography of Ptolemy).³³⁶ Perhaps it was, for in some late Jaina sources a Yavana island or country is mentioned together with Suvaṇṇabhūmi,³³⁷ 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 Cūḷavaṃsa in the 14th century, uses the name *jāvaka* (v. 83) for Javanese.

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 Iabadiu was Java or Sumatra.

337 Joṇagavisaya in Jinabhadra's Viṣeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya and Śīlaṅka's Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacaria 127, Javaṇadīva in Āmradeva'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).³³⁸ Other names were used, too, such as *āraba/ārava* for Arabs (in Jaina canonical lists), *pārada*, *pārasika* and (later) *tājika* for Persians,³³⁹ and *туруška/turukha* for Turks,³⁴⁰ *avagāna* for Afghans, and also general names, such as *mleccha* and even *asura*.³⁴¹ It was already mentioned above that the land of the Yavanas (*yavanadeśa*) was explained to be the same as the land of the Turks (*туруškadeśa*) 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, Praṣṭhānas (?), 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.³⁴² 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, 32 f. 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* (*pālmava*, *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 Chorasān.

The conquest of northern India by Muḥammad Ghori appears to be mentioned in the *Skandapurāṇa* passage describing the mighty Lumpādhipa, the King of Lampāka or Lamghan in Afghanistan, and his mleccha armies (Awasthi 1976, 228f.). In addition, the Yavanarāja Gorī is actually mentioned by name in the late Śāṅkaracetovilāsa. 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 in wars against the Yavanas (Muslims) as the best way to train them also for battle shows (*Mānasollāsa* 4, 3, 206). In the *Aśvāśāstra* of Nakula (15, 41f.), 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 Jayasimha of Kashmir (1128–1149 CE). In the sequels of the *Rājatarāṅginī*, Yavana is occasionally found as the name of Muslims, and in Gaṅgādevī's *Madhurāvijaya* they speak Persian (*pārasīkavāgbhṛyo*).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 Mīlacchīkara Hammīra (Emir) and other names. Śubhaśīlagaṇi, a Jaina author from the 15th century, knew Delhi as a Yavana city. A late drama, the *Yavanīpariṇaya* 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 works³⁴⁵ simply use Muslims as a model of these Yavanas.³⁴⁶ 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 (Stirling 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

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 smṛti to read the Yavanabhāṣā (Persian). As a reference, Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra 6, 41 (*na mlecchabhāṣāṁ śikṣet*) is given. In the late Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, there is an express prohibition of the use of the Yavana language (*yavanabhāṣā*). The Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa (20, 15) also considers *yāvanī bhāṣā* as a source of sin.³⁴⁷ Here we probably have a reflection of the sociolinguistic situation of the mediæval 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 smṛti texts (see, e.g. Paribhāṣenduśekhara and Jātimālā).

Defying Balabhadra and the Purāṇas, many late astrologers actually did read *yavanabhāṣā*, 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 *yavana* (*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 *jonaka*.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 mosalamāneṅgarejobh ayajātivācakaḥ*³⁵⁰ (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 Kannaḍa as *jōnega* (Kittel). Note, however, that the Tamil lexicon Apitānacintāmaṇi explains Yavana as Arab.

350 *mosalamāna-iṅgareja-ubhaya-jāti-vācakaḥ*. 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.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,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, Mahāvamsa and Milindapañha, and also in the Sanskrit Arthaśāstra. In Jaina Prākṛit, the corresponding form seems to be Alasaṅḍā. Another variant in the Mahāniddeśa 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 to 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.

351 Antiochia in the Mbh 2, 28, 49 is likely, but still remains a conjecture.

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 caṅḍa(kośo)* 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, 152 ff.) derivation of Ādirājya and Bhadrāsva in the Mūlasarvāstivādinaya 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.³⁵³ The island – or rather the doab – of Alexandria (*alāsando 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,³⁵⁴ 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 *karīṣiye 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.³⁵⁵

In Chapter 5 above, a reference was made to two Pāli sources mentioning the Yonas living beyond the sea. Thus, in the Mahāniddeśa a conventional list of places where traders sailed includes Yona, Paramayona, and Allasanda (see Lévi 1925, 37). In an Apadāna story, a rich setṭhiputta is frequented by many guests (i.al. by Yonakas and Alasandakas, as well as Cīnaraṭṭhas, 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 Suvanṇabhūmi. 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 Eḷāra. Their number is stated to have been no less than 30,000 bhikkhus, headed by Yonamahārakkhita.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.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 Arthaśāstra (2, 11, 42), *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 *Periplus* 39, 49 & 56), as it is not found in Indian waters. Another type of quality coral was *vaiivarṇika*, 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 Arthaśāstra itself.³⁵⁸

In the Garuḍapurāṇa (1, 80), even *romaka* ‘Roman’ is mentioned as a kind of coral. In the Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha (18, 672), pearls and coral (*muktāpravālādi*) are included among the products of Yavanadeśa. Romans imported pearls from India – the famous pearl fisheries of Mannar were known to Pliny – but another

356 Mv 29, 39; see also Thūpavaṃsa 13.

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.

358 On coral, see Lévi 1937, 419–421 and Chapter 9 above.

important and very ancient producer was the Gulf area.³⁵⁹ 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.³⁶⁰

Mayrhofer in *EWA II* quotes *alasāndra* from a lexicographical source as a name for the cow-pea (*Dolichos catjang*). The canonical Jaina work *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* (21, 21) is likewise quoted (*ālīsandaga*, a kind of corn) by Weber (1883, 303).³⁶¹ 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 *yavanānām pura* in the same passage must be Alexandria. This is corroborated to some extent by Varāhamihira in the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*,³⁶² 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.³⁶³ 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 *pārasīka* pearls in *Ratnaparīkṣā* 76.

360 On pearl trade, see also De Romanis 1997a, 109 ff.

361 According to Sheth, it is also in the *Ṭhānāṅga*. 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. *alasaṇḍā*.

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.³⁶⁴ 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), *romāṇaḥ* 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.³⁶⁵ According to Awasthi (1976, 47f.), 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.³⁶⁶ 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 Mahāvārṇasa Commentary, the Sinhala king Bhātikābhaya, probably around the middle of the first century CE, is said to have imported red coral (*surattapavāḷam*) for the Great

364 See Aalto 1975 for the name of Rome in Central Asia, p. 11ff., 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 *Rohaka*.

Stūpa (*Mahāthūpa*) of Anurādhapura from the country of Romanukharatṭha. This was used to prepare the precious coral net mentioned in Pāli commentaries.³⁶⁷ While the variant *ropanukharatṭha* exists, seeing that true red coral was a Mediterranean product and much appreciated in South Asia,³⁶⁸ 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 Laṅkā, 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).³⁶⁹ 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,³⁷⁰ 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 *pauālamayajālāṅ ca kārāpesi*; Mv and Mv-C on Mv 34, 47 quoted in the text part of this work. See Weerakkody 1997, 53 f. 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.h.* 32, 11, 21 *quantum apud nos Indicis margaritis pretius est tantum apud Indos curalio*, again in 23.

369 Also in Āryabhaṭṭīya 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 f.

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 India³⁷¹ seems indeed to be coarse exaggeration.

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.³⁷²

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.³⁷³ 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.³⁷⁴

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 *yavaṇa* became obsolete and its MIA form *joṇaga* 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,³⁷⁵ 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.

they used Axumite ships.

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	Ātreyadharmasāstra (Atrismṛti)
AvKL	Avadānakalpatā of Kṣemendra
Avpś	Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa
BdhP	Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa
BhāgP	Bhāgavatapurāṇa
BhavP	Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
BhN	Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra
Bhpr	Bhāvaprakāśa
BKM	Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra
BKŚS	Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha of Buddhasvāmin
BṇḍP	Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
BNP	Bṛhannārādīyapurāṇa
BP	Brahmapurāṇa
Cāndravy	Cāndravyākaraṇa of Candragomin
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Cv	Cūlavamsa
DAC	Daśāvātāracarita of Kṣemendra
DhN	Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu
DKC	Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin
DN–C	Dīghanikāya Commentary
Dv	Dīpavamsa
EI	Epigraphica Indica
GDh	Gautamadharmasūtra
GP	Garuḍapurāṇa
HC	Harṣacarita of Bāṇa
Hc	Hemacandra
Hv	Harivamsa(purāṇa)
KA	Kautaliyārthaśāstra
KāmNS	Kāmandakīyanītisāra
Kās	Kāśikāvṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana

KāvyaM	KāvyaMīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara
KāvyaPr	KāvyaPrakāśa of Mammaṭa
Kd	Kālidāsa
KS	Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana
KSS	Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva
KūP	Kūmapurāṇa
Laghukaum	Laghukaumudī of Varadarāja
LP	Liṅgapurāṇa
Lv	Lalitavistara
Mālav	Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa
Mbh	Mahābhārata
Mbv	Mahābodhivaṃsa
MDh	Mānavadharmasāstra
Med	Medinīkośa
MilP	Milindapañha
MkP	Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa
MN	Majjhimanikāya
MN-C	Majjhimanikāya Commentary
MP	Matsyapurāṇa
Mr:VYJ	Mīnarāja: Vṛddhayavanajātaka
Mudr	Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta
Mv	Mahāvāṃsa
Mv-C	Mahāvāṃsa Commentary
Mvst	Mahāvastu
NC	Naiṣadhacarita of Śrīharṣa
Nīlamatapur.	Nīlamatapurāṇa
P	Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī of
Pādat	Pādatādiṭaka of Syāmilaka
Pat	Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya of
PP	Padmapurāṇa
Rājat	Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhaṇa (and Jonarāja, etc.)
Rām	Rāmāyaṇa
RE	Rock Edict of Aśoka
RN	Rājanighaṇṭu
Rv	Raghuvāṃsa of Kālidāsa
Śak	Śakuntalā (Abhijñānaśakuntalam) of Kālidāsa
ŚiP	Śivapurāṇa
ŚivadhP	Śivadharmapurāṇa

SkP	Skandapurāṇa
ŚN	Śāradīyākhyānāmamālā of Harṣakīrti
Soḍhalan	Soḍhalanighaṇṭu
Sph:YJ	Sphujidhvaja: Yavanajāṭaka
Śukran	Śukranīti
Thg-C	Theragāthā Commentary
Thūpav	Thūpavaṁsa
Toḍara	Toḍarānanda of Toḍaramalla
Trik	Trikāṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottamadeva
Uṇ	Uṇādisūtra
VāP	Vāyupurāṇa
VasDh	Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra
VDH	Vasudevahiṇḍī
Vibh-C	Vibhaṅga Commentary
VidhP	Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa
Vikr	Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa
Vin-C	Vinaya Commentary
ViP	Viṣṇupurāṇa
Vism	Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa
VM:BJ	Varāhamihira: Bṛhajjātaka
VM:BS	Varāhamihira: Bṛhatsamhitā
VM:PS	Varāhamihira: Pañcasiddhāntikā
VM:YY	Varāhamihira: Yogayātra

REFERENCES

Abbreviations of journals

AAHu	<i>Acta Antiqua Hungarica</i>
ABORI	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute</i>
BDCRI	<i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute</i>
BSO(A)S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
IC	<i>Indian Culture</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
ISt	<i>Indische Studien</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAIH	<i>Journal of Ancient Indian History</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JIH	<i>Journal of Indian History</i>
JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
MDAFA	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan</i>
WZKS	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik</i>

Dictionaries

- Abhidhānarājendū: Śrīmad Vijayarājendusūtrīśvaraviracitaḥ Abhidhānarājendūḥ koṣaḥ*. 4. Ratlām V.S. 2440 = Vikr. 1970 = 1913 Khristābdah (then reprinted).
- 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.
- Apte: Apte, Vaman Shivram: *The Practical Sanskrit–English Dictionary*. Rev. and enl. 2nd edn 1912, repr. as 3rd edn Delhi 1965 (N.B. the larger edition rev. Gode and Karve and publ. in three volumes in Poona does not contain anything additional on Yavanas).
- Dey: Dey, Nundo Lal: *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*. (The so-called 4th edn Delhi 1984 was used, but it is a repr. of the revised 2nd 1927 [Calcutta Oriental Series 21 E 13]; the 1st edn was publ. in 1899, also in Calcutta).

- Dikshitar: Dikshitar, V.R. Ramachandra: *The Purāṇa Index*. Vol. 3. Madras 1955 (repr. Delhi 1995).
- Edgerton: Edgerton, Franklin: *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. 2: *Dictionary*. New Haven 1953 (repr. Delhi 1993).
- EWA: Mayrhofer, Manfred: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 1:1–. Heidelberg 1986–.
- Gundert: Gundert, H.: *A Malayālam and English Dictionary*. Mangalore 1872 (repr. New Delhi 1982).
- Kittel: Kittel, F.: *Kittel's Kanaḍa–English Dictionary in 4 Vols*. Rev. and enlarged by M. Mariappa Bhat. Madras 1971.
- LSJ: Liddell, Henry George & Robert Scott & Henry Stuart Jones: *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Rev. and augmented...Reprinted from the 9th edn (1940) with a Supplement (1968). Oxford 1976.
- Malalasekera: Malalasekera, G.P.: *Dictionary of Pāli proper names*. 1–2. 1937 (repr. New Delhi 1983).
- Mani: Mani, Vettam: *Puranic Encyclopaedia. A comprehensive dictionary with special reference to the Epic and Purāṇic literature*. Tr. from the Malayalam by a committee of scholars. Delhi 1975 (from the 4th Mal. edn 1974, 1st edn Kottayam 1964).
- MW: Monier-Williams, Monier: *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary. Etymologically and philologically arranged*. New edn, greatly enlarged and improved. Oxford 1899 (repr. Delhi 1963/84).
- PPN: Mehta, M. & K.R. Chandra: *Prakrit Proper Names*. Part 1. Agamic Index Vol. 1. L.D. Series 28. Ahmedabad 1970.
- PTS Dict.: Rhys Davids, T.W. & W. Stede: *The Pali Text Society's Pali–English Dictionary*. London 1921–25 (repr. 1972).
- PW: The larger “Petersburger Wörterbuch” = Böhtlingk, O.N. & R. Roth: *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch nebst allen Nachträgen*. 1–7. Saint Petersburg 1852–75 (repr. Delhi 1991).
- pw: The smaller “Petersburger Wörterbuch” = Böhtlingk, O.N.: *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*. 1–7. Saint Petersburg 1879–89 (repr. Delhi 1991).
- Schmidt, Nachtr.: Schmidt, R.: *Nachträge zum sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk*. 1924–28 (repr. Delhi 1991).
- Sheth: Sheth, Hargovind Das: *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo. A Comprehensive Prakrit–Hindi Dictionary*. Enlarged edn. Prakrit Text Society Series 7. Varanasi 1963.
- ŚKDr: Deb, Raja Radhakanta. *Śabdakalpadruma*. Calcutta 1821–57 (and many reprints).
- Sørensen: Sørensen, S.: *An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*. 1904–25 (and many reprints).
- TGL: Stephanus, Henricus: *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*. Editio III post editionem Anglicam ediderunt C.B. Hase, G.R.L. de Sinner et Th. Fix. 1–9. Parisiis 1831–65, repr. Montellae 2000–08.
- TL: *Tamil Lexicon*. 1–7. Madras 1924–39 (repr. Madras 1982).

- TTV: Tarkavachaspati, Taranatha: *Vāchaspatyam (A Comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary)*. 1–6. Calcutta 1873–84 (repr. in 1 vol., Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 94. Varanasi 1991).
- Wilson: *A Dictionary, Sanscrit and English transl., amended and enlarged from an original compilation prepared by learned natives for the College of Fort William* by Horace Hayman Wilson. Calcutta 1819.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY³⁷⁶

- AALTO, Pentti 1963. “Madyam apeyam”, Claus Vogel (ed.), *Jñānamuktāvalī. Commemoration Volume J. Nobel*. Delhi, 17–37.
- AALTO, Pentti 1975. “Nomen Romanum”, *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* 47, 1–9.
- AGRAWALA, R.C. 1953. “Greek Stater in Ancient Indian Epigraphs and Literature”, *JNSI* 15, 153f.
- AGRAWALA, R.C. 1955. “Dramma in Ancient Indian Epigraphs and Literature”, *JNSI* 17:2, 64–82.
- Aitareyabrāhmaṇam*. Śrīmatsāyaṇācāryaviracitabhāṣyasametam. Etat pustakaṁ Ve. Śā. Rā. Rā. Kāśīnāthaśāstrī Āgāṣe ityetaiḥ saṁśodhitam, 1–2. Ānandāśramasaṁskṛtagranthāvaliḥ 32. Vol. 1, new edn 1979, vol. 2. 3rd edn 1977.
- Aitareyabrāhmaṇam: Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda*, tr. from the original Sanskrit by Arthur Berriedale Keith. Harvard Oriental Series 25. Cambridge, MA 1920 (repr. Delhi 1971).
- AROKIASWAMI, M. 1966. “Yavanas in Tamil Literature”, *Indica* (Heras Institute, Bombay) 3, 107–112.
- Āryasūra, *Jātakamālā* (Jm): *Jātakamālā by Āryasūra*. Ed. P.L. Vaidya. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 21. Darbhanga 1999 (1st edn 1959).
- Āryasūra: *The Jātakamālā or garland of birth-stories of Āryasūra*. Tr. Jacob Samuel Speyer. S.B.B. 1.L. 1895 (repr. Delhi 1990).
- AUFRECHT, Th. 1864. *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars octava codices sanscriticos complectens*. Oxonii.
- AWASTHI, A.B.L. 1976. *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*. Part 1. Geography, History, Polity & Society. Lucknow.
- AWASTHI, A.B.L. 1992. *Purāṇa Index*. New Delhi.
- AYRTON, Edward R. 1913. “A Note of the ‘Mahawansa’”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch* 23:66, viii–x.
- BAKKER, Hans 1997. *The Vākātakas. An Essay in Hindu Iconology*. Gonda Indological Studies 5. Groningen, Egbert Forsten.
- BEAL, Samuel 1880. “Branchidae”, *IA* 9, 68–71.

³⁷⁶ Editions and translations of Indian texts quoted in the text part are listed in the Material Collection under each text. A few Sanskrit sources not included in the Yavana text corpus but mentioned in the study, are given here.

- BEAL, Samuel 1884. *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (AD 629)*. London (repr. Delhi 1981).
- BHANDARKAR, Devadatta Ramakrishna 1911. "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population", *IA* 40, 7–37.
- BHANDARKAR, Devadatta Ramakrishna 1935. "Notes on ancient history of India (2) Kākavarṇa, Son of Śiśunāga; (3) Śaka-Yavanam", *Indian Culture* 1, 1934–35, 16–19 & 275–280.
- BHANDARKAR, Devadatta Ramakrishna 1981. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*. [On the basis of J.F. Fleet's edn] rev. D.R. Bhandarkar, ed. Bahadurchand Chhabra & Govind Swamirao Gai. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 3. New Delhi.
- BHANDARKAR, Ramkrishna Gopal 1872. "On the Date of Patañjali and the King in whose Reign he lived", *IA* 1, 299–302.
- BHATTACHARYA, J. 1984. "Paijavana or Pailavaka: a śūdra yogin", *Purāṇa* 26, 206–208.
- BHATTACHARYA, Sibesh 1984. "Absorption of Yavanas and Sakas in Indian society and some aspects of social mobility", *Graeco-Arabica* 3, 77–83.
- AL-BIRŪNĪ: *Alberuni's India. An Account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, astronomy, customs, laws and astrology of India about AD 1030*. Ed. [= tr.] with Notes and Indices by Edward C. Sachau. London 1910 (repr. Delhi 1992).
- VON BOHLEN, Peter 1829. Review of Lassen 1827 and other works, *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1829:1, 8–24.
- BROUGH, J. 1965. "Comments on third-century Shan-shan and the History of Buddhism", *BSOAS* 28, 582–612.
- BRUCKER, Egon: *Spätvedische Kulturepoche nach den Quellen der Śrauta-, Gṛhya- und Dharmasūtras. Die Siedlungsraum*. Alt- und neuindische Studien 22. Wiesbaden 1980.
- VAN BUITENEN, J.A.B. 1978. *The Mahābhārata. 4. The Book of Virāṭa. 5. The Book of the Effort*. Chicago & London.
- BURNES, A. 1833. "On the reputed descendants of Alexander the Great, in the Valley of Oxus", *JASB* 2, 305–307.
- CARRA DE VAUX, B. 1917. "Notes d'histoire des sciences", *JA* 11:10, 449–461.
- CHARPENTIER, Jarl 1923. "Der Name Kambyses (Kanbūjiya)", *ZII* 2, 140–152.
- CHATTOPADHYAYA, Sudhakar 1974. *The Achaemenids and India*. Rev. 2nd edn, Delhi (orig. 1950).
- CHAUDHURI, S.B. 1950. "Hūṇs, Yavanas and Kāmbojas", *Indian Historical Quarterly* 26, 118–127.
- CÆDÈS, G. 1941. "La stèle de Prāḥ Khān d'Ankor", *BEFEO* 41, 255–302.
- COLEBROOKE, H.T. 1837. *Miscellaneous Essays*. 1–2. London.
- COLEBROOKE, H.T. 1873. Second edn of Colebrooke 1837 (with new paging).
- DAS GUPTA, Nalini Nath 1936. "Pāṇini and the Yavanas", *IC* 2, 1935–36, 356–358.
- DAVARY, G. Djelani 1982. *Baktrisch. Ein Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg.

- DE ROMANIS, Federico 1997a. "Rome and the *Nóvia* of India: Relations between Rome and Southern India from 30 BC to the Flavian Period", De Romanis & Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*. New Delhi, 80–160 (slightly modified translation of the Italian original of 1988).
- DE ROMANIS, Federico 1997b. "Romanukharaṭṭha and Taprobane: Relations between Rome and Sri Lanka in the First Century AD", De Romanis & Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India*. New Delhi, 161–237 (slightly modified translation of the Italian original of 1987).
- DESHPANDE, Madhav 2008. "Mīmāṃsā on the Linguistic Usage of the Mlecchas as an aid to Vedic Interpretation", C. Sinopoli & G. Parker (eds), *Ancient India in its Wider World*. Ann Arbor, 129–142.
- DOGNINI, Cristiano 2001. "Gli Yavana e l'Europa 'indianizzata' nella letteratura sanscrita e pāli", Marta Sordi (ed.), *Studi sull'Europa antica*. 2, Alessandria, 91–99.
- EDGERTON, Franklin 1938. "Rome and (?) Antiochia in the Mahābhārata", *JAOS* 58, 262–265.
- FALK, Harry 1998. "Notes on Some Apraca Dedicatory Texts", *Berliner Indologische Studien* 11–12, 85–108 (repr. in Falk 2013, 9–32).
- FALK, Harry 2001. "Names and weights inscribed on some vessels from the silver hoard", annexe to François Baratte, "Orient et occident: le témoignage d'une trouvaille d'argenterie d'époque parthe en Asie centrale", *Journal des Savants* 2001, 308–319 (repr. in Falk 2013, 47–58).
- FALK, Harry 2002. "Appendix: The inscription on the so-called Kaniṣka casket", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8, 111–113 (appended to E. Errington's article "Numismatic evidence for dating the 'Kaniṣka' reliquary", *ibid.* 101–120, and repr. in Falk 2013, 59–63).
- FALK, Harry 2007. "Ancient Indian Eras: An Overview", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21, 131–145 (repr. in Falk 2013, 156–159).
- FALK, Harry 2013. *Hariśyena-lekhapañcāśikā. Fifty Selected Papers on Indian Epigraphy and Chronology*. Bremen.
- FALLER, Stefan 2000. *Taprobane im Wandel der Zeit. Das Śrī-Laṅkā-Bild in griechischen und lateinischen Quellen zwischen Alexanderzug und Spätantike*. Geographica Historica 14. Stuttgart.
- FERGUSON, John 1978. "China and Rome", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II:9:2, 581–603.
- FLEET, J.F. 1895. "Records of the Somavamsi Kings of Katak", *Epigraphia Indica* 3, 1894–95, 323–359.
- FOUCHER, Alfred 1941. "Le lieu de naissance du roi indo-grec Ménandre", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1941, 541–557.
- FOUCHER, Alfred 1951. "À propos de la conversion au bouddhisme du roi indo-grec Ménandre", *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* 43:2, 259–295.
- FRASER, P.M. 1980. "The son of Aristonax at Kandahar", *Afghan Studies* 2, 1979/80, 9–21.
- FRAUWALLNER, Erich 1960. "Sprachtheorie und Philosophie im Mahābhāṣyam des Patañjali", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 4, 92–118.

- FUSSMAN, Gérard 1993. "L'indo-grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité", *JA* 281, 61–138.
- GHOSH, Bhramar 1935. "Did not Yavana denote Persians even before the second century AD?", *IC* 1, 1934–35, 519 f.
- GHOSH, Jogendra Chandra 1931. "Some additional notes on 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population'", *ABORI* 12, 1930–31, 164–170 (on Bhandarkar 1911).
- GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, Eugène, le comte 1897. *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce*. Paris (2nd edn = repr. Paris 1926).
- GONDA, Jan 1949. "Tarn's hypothesis on the origin of the Milindapañha", *Mnemosyne* 4, 44–63 (repr. in *Opera minora* IV, 496–514).
- GORNALL, Alastair 2014. "How Many Sounds Are in Pali", *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 42, 511–550 (online-version at <link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10781-014-9221-z#>).
- GOUDRIAAN, T. & S. Gupta 1981. *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature*. HIL II:2. Wiesbaden.
- GROSLIER, Bernard-Philippe 1973. *Le Bayon*. Histoire architecturale du temple par J. Dumarcay; Inscriptions du Bayon par B.-Ph. Groslier. PEFEO Mém. archéologiques 3:2. Paris.
- GUPTA, Chandrashekhar 1978. "Foreign Denominations of Early Indian Coins", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 16, 79–95.
- GUPTA, Chitrarekha 1984. "Horse Trade in North India: Some Reflections on Socio-Economic Life", *JAIH* 14, 186–206.
- GURNER, Walter 1956. "Note on Mahābhārata II 28", *JRAS* 1956, 201 f.
- HARLE, James C. 1971. "Two yavana Dvarapalas at Aihole", *Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*. Madras, 210–213.
- HAZRA, R.C. 1948. *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*. Vol. I. (Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas). Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series 2 (Studies 1). Calcutta.
- HAZRA, R.C. 1963. *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*. Vol. II. (Śākta and non-sectarian Upapurāṇas). Ibid. 22 (Studies 10). Calcutta.
- HEIN, Norvin 1988. "Kālayavana. A Key to Mathurā's Cultural Self-Perception", D. Meth-Srinivasan (ed.), *Mathurā. The Cultural Heritage*. Delhi, 223–235.
- VON HINÜBER, Oskar 1994. *Selected Papers on Pāli Studies*. Oxford.
- VON HINÜBER, Oskar 1996. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 2. Berlin & New York.
- VON HINÜBER, Oskar 2013. *Die Pali-Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang in Nord-Thailand*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Indologischen Kommission 2. Wiesbaden.
- HIRTH, Friedrich 1885. *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their ancient and medieval relations as represented in Old Chinese records*. Shanghai & Hong Kong (repr. Chicago 1975).
- HOLT, Frank L. 1989. *Alexander the Great and Bactria. The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia*. Leiden.
- HOWORTH, Henry H. 1888. "The Yavanas of Orissa", *IA* 17, 60.
- HULDÉN, Bjarne 1990. *Antiken och tekniken*. Andra rättade uppl. Helsingfors.
- HULDÉN, Bjarne 1994. *Grekisk och romersk ingenjörkonst*. Helsingfors.

- JAIN, Jagdishchandra 1979. "Some Popular Jain Tales and Episodes – Compared to World Literature", *Glory of India. A Quarterly on Indology* 3:3, 1–5.
- JAIN, Jagdishchandra 1981. *Prakrit Narrative Literature*. New Delhi.
- The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. Tr. from the Pāli by various hands under the editorship of E.B. Cowell. Vol. II. Tr. W.H.D. Rouse. Cambridge 1895 (repr. Delhi 1997).
- JAYASWAL, K.P. 1933. *History of India 150 AD to 350 AD* (repr. Delhi 1990).
- JENKINS, F. 1840. "Paper on ancient Land-grants on Copper, discovered in Assam", *JASB* 9:2, 766–782.
- JOHNSTON, Edward Hamilton 1939. "Demetrius in Sind?", *JRAS* 1939, 217–240.
- DE JONG, Jan Willem 1999. Review of Karttunen 1997, *IJ* 42, 1999, 362–367.
- KANE, P.V. 1946. *History of Dharmasāstra*. Vol. III. Government Oriental Series B6. Poona.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 1986. "On the contacts of South India with the Western world in ancient times, and the mission of the Apostle Thomas", A. Parpola & B. Smidt Hansen (eds), *South Asian Religion and Society*. Studies on Asian Topics (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies), Copenhagen & London, 189–204.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 1989. *India in early Greek literature*. Studia Orientalia 65. Helsinki.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 1994. "Yonas, Yavanas, and related matter in Indian Epigraphy", A. Parpola & P. Koskikallio (eds), *SAA 1993*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B:271. Helsinki 1994, 329–336.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 1997. *India and the Hellenistic World*. Studia Orientalia 83. Helsinki.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2000. "Ex Occidente Lux. Hellenistic Lamps in Asia", M. Taddei & G. De Marco (eds), *South Asian Archaeology 1997*. Serie Orientale Roma 90:2. Rome 2000, 933–942.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2003. "Origin of Yona/Yavana", A. Agrawal (ed.), *Sarupa Saurabham: Tributes to Indology. Prof. Lakshman Sarup Centenary Volume*. Varanasi, 298–304.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2005. "Graeco-Roman Goddesses in the Aṅgavijā", *The Indian Historical Review* 32, 189–196.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2009. "Aśoka and the Mauryas: A Graeco-Roman Perspective", Patrick Olivelle (ed.), *Asoka in History and Historical Memory*. Delhi, 103–108.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2012. "Aśoka, the Buddhist Saṅgha and the Graeco-Roman World", *Studia Orientalia* 112, 2012, 35–40.
- KARTTUNEN, Klaus 2014. "India and World Trade: From the Beginnings to the Hellenistic Age", Markham J. Geller (ed.), *Melammu. The Ancient World in an Age of Globalization*. Max Planck Research Library for History and Development Studies. Proceedings 7 (Proceedings of the 6th Symposium of the Melammu Project, held in Sofia, Bulgaria, September 1–3, 2008). Berlin 2014, 329–339.
- KEITH, A.B. 1924. *The Sanskrit Drama*. Oxford.
- KERN, H. 1865. *The Bṛhat Saṅhitā of Varāha-Mihira*. Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta (with a long and important introduction).

- KERN, H. 1916. "Yavana als naam van Annam", *Bijdragen voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 72, 399 f.
- KIELHORN, F. 1878. "Aruṇad yavano madhyamikām", *IA* 7, 266 f.
- KHAN, Husain 1991. "Janjuas, their early life", *Ancient Pakistan* 7, 178–185.
- KIRFEL, Willibald 1920. *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Bonn & Leipzig.
- KIRFEL, Willibald 1927. *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa. Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Bonn.
- KIRFEL, Willibald 1954 *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude (Bhuvanavinyāsa). Die kosmographischen Traktate der Purāṇas. Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Bonner Orientalistische Studien N.S. 1. Bonn.
- KONOW, Sten 1912. "Goths in ancient India", *JRAS* 1912, 379–385.
- KONOW, Sten 1928. "Stater and drakhme in old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions", *Acta Orientalia* 6, 255 f.
- KONOW, Sten 1929. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, with the exception of those of Aśoka*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II:1. Calcutta (repr. Varanasi 1969).
- KONOW, Sten 1936. "Notes on the Sakas", *IC* 2, 1935–36, 189–198.
- KONOW, Sten 1937. "Professor Poussin on śakayavanam", *IC* 3, 1936–37, 1–7.
- KUMAR, Rakesh 2000. *Ancient India and the World*. New Delhi.
- KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M. 1974 (1937). *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Delhi.
- LACÔTE, F. 1908. *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Br̥hatkathā*. Paris.
- LAEUCHLI, Samuel Clark 1984. "Yavana inscriptions of Western India", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* 56–59, 1981–84, 207–221.
- LAMOTTE, Étienne 1951. "Alexandre et le bouddhisme", *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient* 44, 1947–50 (1951), 147–162.
- LAMOTTE, Étienne 1958. *Histoire du bouddhisme indien. Des origines à l'ère śaka*. Bibliothèque du Muséon 43, Louvain.
- LASSEN, Christian 1827. *Commentatio Geographica atque historica de Pentapotamia Indica*. Diss. Bonnae ad Rhenum.
- LASSEN, Christian 1837. "Beiträge zur Kunde des indischen Alterthums aus dem Mahābhārata I. Allgemeines über das Mahābhārata", *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1, 61–86.
- LASSEN, Christian 1840. "Beiträge zur Kunde des indischen Alterthums aus dem Mahābhārata II. Die altindischen Völker", *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 3, 183–217.
- DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Louis 1930. *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des barbares grecs, scythes, parthes et Yue-tchi*. Histoire du Monde VI. Paris.
- LAW, B.C. 1973. *Tribes in Ancient India*. 2nd edn Poona (apparently a mere repr. of the 1st edn of 1943).
- LÉVI, Sylvain 1890a. *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*. Diss. Paris.
- LÉVI, Sylvain 1890b. *Le théâtre indien*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Paris.
- LÉVI, Sylvain 1928. *L'Inde et le monde*. Paris.

- LÉVI, Sylvain 1937. *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*. Paris (413–423: “Alexandre et Alexandrie dans les documents indiens”, from *Mélanges Maspero* II, Mémoires de l’Institut français du Caire 67, 155–164).
- LEWIS, C.A. 1967. “The shorter Kūrma-vibhāga texts of the Purāṇas”, *Purāṇa* 9, 84–97.
- LIEBICH, Bruno 1924. “Lateinisch *campus* als Lehnwort im Indischen?”, *Streitberg-Festgabe*, Leipzig, 230–233.
- LIEBICH, Bruno 1931. “Griechische Militärische Wörter Im Indischen”, *BSOS* 6:2 (Rapson Vol.), 431–434.
- LINDENAU, Max 1918. *Bhāsa-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des altindischen Dramas*. Leipzig.
- 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 *Epigraphia Indica* 10. Calcutta.
- MAK, Bill M. 2013. “The Date and Nature of Sphujidhvaja’s *Yavanajātaka* Reconsidered in the Light of Some Newly Discovered Materials”, *History of Science in South Asia* 1, 1–20.
- MASPÉRO, Georges 1915. *Grammaire de la langue Khmère (Cambodgien)*. Paris.
- MAYRHOFER, Manfred 1991. “Ein iranischer Fürstennamen im Mahābhārata?”, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 103, 195–197.
- MEHTA, Ramanlal Nagarji 1996. “Migration of Yādavas from Mathura to Dwaraka: Chronology of the myth”, *Journal of the Oriental Institute (Baroda)* 46:1/2, 77–81.
- MEILE, P. 1941. “Les yavanas dans l’Inde tamoule”, *JA* 232, 1940 = *Mélanges Asiatiques 1940–1941*, 85–123.
- MINAYEFF, Joh. 1872. “Buddhistische Fragmente”, *Bulletin de l’Académie impériale des sciences de St-Petersbourg* 17, 70–85.
- MITRA, Rajendra Lala 1874. “On the supposed identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas of Sanskrit writers”, *JASB* 43, 246–279.
- MUKHERJEE, Bratindra Nath 1979. “An alleged evidence of the presence of the Indo-Greeks in the Indo-Gangetic valley”, *JAIH* 12, 1978–79, 150–155.
- MUKHERJEE, Bratindra Nath 1984. “Yona = Yavana: The Earliest Connotation of the Term”, *JAIH* 14, 234–237.
- MUKHERJEE, Bratindra Nath 1986. “The Problem of Attribution of the Reh Inscription”, *International Association for the Study of the Central Asia, Information Bulletin* 11, 43–48.
- MUKHERJEE, Bratindra Nath 2004. *Kuṣāṇa Studies: New Perspectives*. Kolkata.
- NAGASWAMY, R. 1995. *Roman Karur*. Madras.
- NARAIN, Awadh Kishore 1957. *The Indo-Greeks*. Oxford (repr. Delhi 1980).
- NARAIN, Awadh Kishore 1965. “Alexander and India”, *Greece & Rome* 12, 155–164.
- NARAIN, Awadh Kishore 1992. Review of Karttunen 1989, *JAOS* 112, 515–517.
- NJAMMASCH, Marlene 1989. “Brahmanische Varnatheorie und soziale Mobilität im Kuṣāṇareich (1. bis 3. Jahrhundert u. Z.)”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16, 361–369.
- PAI, G.K. 1975. *Cultural History from the Kūrmapurāṇa*. Cochin.
- PARGITER, Frederic E. 1912. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. Repr. Varanasi 1962.
- PARGITER, Frederic E. 1913. “Visvāmītra and Vasīṣṭha”, *JRAS* 1913, 885–904.

- PARGITER, Frederic E. 1919. "Sagara and the Haihayas, Vasistha and Aurva", *JRAS* 1919, 353–367.
- PARKER, Grant 2008. *The Making of Roman India*. Greek Culture in the Roman World. CUP. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Text with introduction, translation and commentary by Lionel Casson. Princeton 1989.
- PINGREE, David 1963. "Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran", *Isis* 54, 229–246.
- PINGREE, David 1978. *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*. Ed., transl. & commentary. 1 & 2. Harvard Oriental Series 48. Cambridge, MA (while Sph:YJ refers to the text, Pingree 1978 refers to the introduction).
- PINGREE, David 1981. *Jyotiḥśāstra. Astral and Mathematical literature*. History of Indian Literature 6:4. Wiesbaden.
- PINGREE, David 1994. *The Census of Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*. A:5. Philadelphia.
- PISHAROTI, K. Rama 1936. "A note on Yavana", *IC* 2, 1935–36, 575 f.
- Pliny: *Natural History*. With an English transl. by H. Rackham (et al.). 1–9. Loeb Classical Library, London 1938–1952 (repr. 1967–68).
- RAO, M. Kulasekhara 1988. *A History of Telugu Literature*. Hyderabad.
- RAPSON, E.J. 1920. "Notes on the history of the word 'drachma'", *JRAS* 1920, 151 f.
- RAWLINSON, Hugh George 1926. *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. 2nd edn, Cambridge (first edn 1916; repr. New York 1971).
- RAY, Himanshu P. 1988. "The Yavana Presence in Ancient India", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 31, 311–325 (cf. Ray 1993).
- RAY, Himanshu P. 1993. "La présence des *yavana* en Inde ancienne", *Topoi. Orient – Occident*. 3, 455–477 (French transl. of Ray 1988).
- RAY, Himanshu P. 1995. "The Yavana Presence in Ancient India (reprint from JESHO 1988 with an addendum)", Marie-Françoise Boussac & Jean-François Salles (eds) 1995. *Athens, Aden, Arikamedu. Essays on the interrelations between India, Arabia and the Mediterranean*. New Delhi, 75–95.
- RAY, Nihar Ranjan 1928. "Some Additional Notes on Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population", *IHQ* 4, 740–750.
- RAYCHAUDHURI, Hemachandra 1919a. "Tushâspha, the Yavandarâja", *IA* 48, 145 f.
- REA, J.R., R.C. SENIOR & A.S. HOLLIS 1994. "A Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria", *ZPE* 104, 261–280.
- REINAUD, J.T. 1849. "Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement au milieu du XI^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, d'après les écrivains arabes, persans et chinois", *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 18:2, 1–399.
- ROBERT, L. 1968. "De Delphes à l'Oxus. Inscriptions grecques nouvelles de la Bactriane", *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1968, 416–457.
- ROBERTS, Eileen 1959. "Greek deities in the Buddhist art of India", *Oriental Art* N.S. 5, 114–119.
- ROCHER, Ludo 1986. *The Purāṇas*. A History of Indian Literature 2:3. Wiesbaden.

- ROLLINGER, Robert 1997. "Zur Bezeichnung von 'Griechen' in Keilschrifttexten", *Revue d'Assyriologie* 91, 167–172.
- RÖNNOW, Kasten 1936. "Kirāta. A study on some ancient Indian tribes", *Le Monde oriental* 30, 90–170.
- SADAKATA, Akira 1996. "Inscriptions Kharoṣṭhī provenant du marché aux antiquités de Peshawar", *JA* 284, 301–324.
- SALOMON, Richard 1981. "The Spinwam (North Waziristan) Kharoṣṭhī Inscription", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 7, 11–20.
- SALOMON, Richard 2011. "The Macedonian month Xandikos in Gandhāran inscriptions", Bertil Tikkanen & Albion M. Butters (eds): *Pūrvāparaprajñābhīnandanam. Indological and Other Essays in Honour of Klaus Karttunen*. Studia Orientalia 110. Helsinki 2011, 165–170.
- SALOMON, Richard 2012. "The Yoṇa Era and the End of the Maurya Dynasty: Is There a Connection?", P. Olivelle, J. Leoschko & H.P. Ray (eds), *Reimagining Aśoka. Memory and History*. New Delhi, 217–228.
- SCHARFE, Hartmut 1968. *Untersuchungen zur Staatsrechtslehre des Kauṭalya*. Wiesbaden.
- SCHLINGLOFF, Dieter 2013. *Ajanta. Handbook of the Wall Paintings*. 1. *Narrative Wall-paintings*. 1–3. New Delhi (CD reproduced from his 2000 book, with added bibliography).
- SCHLUMBERGER, Daniel 1953. "L'argent grec dans l'empire achéménide", R. Curiel & D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan 14, Paris, 1–64.
- SCHWARZ, Franz Ferdinand 1966. "Griechenland und Indien im Spiegel der antiken Literatur", *Jahresbericht des Bundesgymnasium Fürstenfeld* 36, 62–86.
- SELBY, Martha Ann 2008. "Representations of the Foreign in Classical Tamil Literature", G. Parker & C.M. Sinopoli (eds). *Ancient India in Its Wider World*. Ann Arbor, 79–90.
- SENART, E. 1885. "Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi", *JA* 8:5, 269–320 & 357–414 (part of a long series of articles).
- SETH, H.C. 1941. "Identification of Parvataka and Porus", *Indian Historical Quarterly* 17, 172–179.
- SHARMA, G.R. 1980. *The Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Ganga Valley*. Allahabad.
- SHARMA, P.V. 1976. "Drugs as landmarks of the history of Indian medicine", *Actes du XXIXe Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris Juillet 1973*. Section: Inde ancienne, Paris, 463–472.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas & Joe CRIBB 1996. "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kaniska the Great", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, 1995/96, 75–142.
- SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra 1935. "Yavana and Pārasīka", *JIH* 14, 34–38.
- SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra 1962. "Sagara's Adversaries", *JASB* 4th series 4:2, 49–54.
- SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra 1965. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*. Vol. 1. From the Sixth Century BC to the Sixth Century AD Rev. and enlarged 2nd edn Calcutta.

- SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra 1971. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. 2nd edn Delhi (original edn 1960).
- SIRCAR, Dinesh Chandra 1973. "Indological Notes", *JAIH* 6, 1972–73, 166–178.
- SMITH, V.A. 1905. "Aśoka Notes", *IA* 34, 200–203.
- STEIN, Otto 1925. "Συριγξ und suruṅgā", *ZII* 3, 280–318, 345–347 (repr. in his *Kleine Schriften* 1985, 1–42).
- STEIN, Otto 1935. "Yavanas in early Indian inscriptions", *IC* 1, 1934–35, 343–357 (repr. in his *Kleine Schriften* 1985, 351–365).
- Strabo: *The Geography of Strabo*. With an English translation by Horace Leonard Jones. 1.–8. Loeb Classical Library, London 1917–32 (repr. used).
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 1968. "Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 14, 386–415.
- TARN, W.W. 1951. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. 2nd edn (1st edn 1938) Cambridge (repr. New Delhi 1980).
- TEDESCO, Paul 1945. "Sanskrit *muṇḍa*- 'shaven'", *JAOS* 65, 82–98.
- THAPAR, Romila 1961. *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*. New Delhi.
- THOMAS, F.W. 1914. "A Greek official title in a Khoroṣṭhi inscription", *Festschrift Ernst Windisch zum siebzigsten Geburtstags...dargebracht*. Leipzig, 362–365.
- THOMAS, F.W. 1921. "Drakhme and Stater in Khotan", *JRAS* 1924, 671f.
- TIEKEN, Herman 2003. "The Yavanas' clothes in Old Tamil literature", *IJJ* 46, 261–271.
- THOSAR, H.S. 1991. "Dhenukākāṭa — the Earliest Metropolis of the Deccan with a Yavana Settlement", U.P. Arora (ed.), *Graeco-Indica. India's Cultural Contacts with the Greek World. In Memory of Demetrius Galanos (1760–1833), A Greek Sanskritist of Benares*. Heritage of Ancient India 26. New Delhi, 172–178.
- TOMBER, Roberta 2008. *Indo-Roman Trade. From pots to pepper*. Duckworth Debates in Archaeology. London.
- TORREY, C.J. 1904. "'Yāwān' and 'Hellas' as Designations of the Seleucid Empire", *JAOS* 25, 302–311.
- TÖTTÖSSY, Cs. 1955. "The name of the Greeks in Ancient India", *AAHu* 3, 301–319.
- TÖTTÖSSY, Cs. 1977. "Graeco-Indo-Iranica", *AAHu* 25 (Fs. J. Harmatta), 129–135.
- VASANT, Suresh 1989. "Yavanas in Western India", *BDCRI* 47–48, 1988–89, 331–338.
- VELUTHAT, Kesavan 2005. "Evolution of a Regional Identity: Kerala in India", Irfan Habib (ed.), *India — Studies in the History of an Idea*. Aligarh & New Delhi, 82–97.
- VEUVE, S. 1982. "Cadrans solaires gréco-bactriens à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)", *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 106, 23–51.
- VIDYĀBHŪṢANA, Satis Chandra 1906. "Romaka, or the City of Rome, as mentioned in the Ancient Pali and Sanskrit works", *JASB N. S.* 2, 1–7.
- WARDER, A.K. 1971. *An Introduction to Indian Historiography*. Bombay.
- WARDER, A.K. 1974. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. 2. Delhi.
- WARDER, A.K. 1983. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. 4. Delhi.

- WARDER, A.K. 1992. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. 6. Delhi.
- WARDER, A.K. 2004. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. 7. Delhi.
- WEBER, A. 1849. "Skizzen aus Pāṇini's Zeit", *ISt* 1, 141–157.
- WEBER, A. 1852. *Akademische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte*. Berlin.
- WEBER, A. 1853a. *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*. 1. Berlin.
- WEBER, A. 1853b. "Zur Geschichte der indischen Astrologie", *ISt* 2, 236–287.³⁷⁷
- WEBER, A. 1856. "Der name Ιαονες Yavana", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 5, 221–223.
- WEBER, A. 1862. "Zur Frage über das Zeitalter Pāṇini's", *Indische Studien* 5, 1–176.
- WEBER, A. 1873. "Das Mahābhāshya des Patañjali", *ISt* 13, 293–496.
- WEBER, A. 1875. "On the Yavanas, Mahābhāshya, Rāmāyaṇa, and Kṛṣṇajñānmashtami", *IA* 4, 244–251.
- WEBER, A. 1883. "Ueber die heiligen Schriften der Jaina", *ISt* 16, 211–479.
- WEBER, A. 1886. Vol. 2:1 of Weber 1853a (Nos 1405–1772).
- WEBER, A. 1888. Vol. 2:2 of Weber 1853a (Nos 1773–1994).
- WEBER, A. 1890. "Die Griechen in Indien", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin), Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1890, 901–933.
- WEBER, A. 1892. Vol. 2:3 of Weber 1853a (Nos 1929–2304).
- WEERAKKODY, D.P.M. 1997. *Taprobanē. Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greeks and Romans*. Turnhout.
- WIDEMANN, François 2009. *Les successeurs d'Alexandre en Asie centrale et leur héritage culturel*. Paris.
- WILSON, H.H. 1832. "Remarks on the portion of *the Dionysiaca* of Nonnus relating to the Indians", *AsRes* 17, 607–620
- ZVELEBIL, Kamil 1956. "The Yavanas in Old Tamil Literature", *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentes...Ioanni Rypka sacra*. Praha, 401–409.

377 *ISt* 2 was apparently published in fascicles, as we see Weber 1852 referring to Weber 1853b.

INDEX LOCORUM

Sanskrit

- Abhidhānacintāmaṇi → Hemacandra
Abhijñānaśakuntalā → Kālidāsa
Agnipurāṇa
12, 34: 149
118, 6: 149f, 359
Aitareyabrāhmaṇa
7, 18: 390
Amarakośa
2, 6, 128 (2, 7, 1330): 48, 335, 387
Amarapadavivṛti → Liṅgayasūri
Ananta:Vīracarita
4, 77–81: 78f, 351
Ārambhāsiddhi → Udayadevasūri
Āryabhaṭa: Āryabhaṭīya (Golādhyāya)
4, 13: 132, 137, 407
Aṣṭādhyāyī → Pāṇini
Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya → Vāgbhaṭa
Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha → Vāgbhaṭa
Aśvaśāstra → Nakula
Atharvaparīśiṣṭa
50 Candraprātipadika 2, 4: 121f, 345, 346
51 Grahayuddha 1, 1–5: 122, 374
51 Grahayuddha 3, 3: 122, 344, 345, 346
56 Kūrmavibhāga 1, 5: 123, 359
57 Maṅḍalāni 2, 5: 123, 344, 345
Atrismṛti (Ātreyadharmasāstra)
7, 2: 60f, 340, 341
Avantisundarikāthā → Daṇḍin
Āyurvedasaukhya → Toḍaramalla
Balabhadra: Hāyanaratna
Quoted by Weber: 139f, 401
Bāṇabhaṭa: Harṣacarita
4, p. 59 Kane: 376
6, p. 105 Kane: 69f, 349, 366
7, p. 114 Kane: 402
Bhāgavatapurāṇa
1, 7, 57: 391
2, 4, 18: 150, 341
2, 7, 34f: 32, 150f
3, 3, 10: 151
4, 27–29: 151ff, 394
8, 10, 16–18: 366
9, 8, 5: 153, 390
9, 20, 30: 154, 338, 394
10, 37, 6f: 32, 154
10, 50, 44–51, 42: 154ff, 392
10, 51, 14ff: 392
10, 52, 5: 156
10, 54, 37: 391
12, 1, 30: 156f, 349
12, 12, 36: 157
Bharatīyanātyaśāstra
13, 39 N & J: 104
18, 44 Gh: 384
23, 104–106 Gh: 104f, 343, 344, 345, 346
34, 41f Lévi: 105
Bhāsa: Pratimānāṭaka
6, 4+: 377
Bhāsa: Ūrubhaṅga
65+: 377
Bhāskara: Siddhāntaśiromaṇi
Golādhyāya 17: 138, 407
Golādhyāya 44: 138
Bhaṭṭasvāmin: Pratipadapañcikā
on KA 2, 11, 42 63, 404
Bhāvaprakāśa
Nighaṅṭubh. Harītakyaḍiv. 217: 113, 388
Nighaṅṭubh. Karpūrādiv. 52: 113
Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
3, 28, 53f: 157, 401
Bhoja: Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra
31, 62ff quoted by Warder 1992: 367
Bhoja: Śṛṅgāramañjarī
Quoted by Warder 1992: 366
Bhojasāgara: Ramalavidyā
Quoted by Jain: 140
Brahmagupta: Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta
Samjñādhyāya 24: 138

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa

- 1, 2, 16, 12: 157f, 359
 1, 2, 16, 47: 158, 346, 359
 1, 2, 18, 44: 158f, 346, 360
 2, 3, 48, 22–49: 159f, 338, 342, 344, 345, 390
 2, 3, 63, 119–141: 161f, 345, 390
 2, 3, 73, 102: 32, 162, 394
 2, 3, 73, 106–109: 162f
 2, 3, 74, 172, 175 & 200: 163, 341, 349
 4, 16, 16f: 163, 361
 4, 29, 131: 163f, 341

Brahmapurāṇa

- 6, 35–51: 164f, 342, 344, 345, 390
 17, 8f (19, 9f): 165, 359
 25, 17f (17, 17f): 165
 25, 45: 166, 346, 359
 25, 61: 166
 88, 4–20: 166f, 392
 97, 46–50?: 402

Brahmasiddhānta

Quoted by Vidyabhushana: 142f

Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta → Brahmagupta

Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa

- Uttara 6, 89–91: 167f, 379
 Uttara 19, 16 & 43: 168, 394
 Uttara 20, 15: 168, 340, 401

Bṛhājñātaka → Varāhamihira

Bṛhannārādīyapurāṇa

- 7, 7–8, 40: 169, 342, 390

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī → Kṣemendra

Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha → Budhasvāmin

Bṛhatsaṁhitā → Varāhamihira

Buddhabhaṭṭa: Ratnaparīkṣā

- 76: 405
 221: 143f
 246: 144
 250: 144, 386

Budhasvāmin: Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha

- 5, 194–270: 88ff, 366
 17, 53: 91, 378
 18, 276–284: 91f, 336, 364, 378
 18, 663–672: 92f, 404f
 23, 107: 93

Cāṇakyanīti (Vṛddha-Cāṇakya)

- 8, 5: 80f, 341

Cāndravyākaraṇa → Candragomin

Candragomin: Cāndravyākaraṇa

- 2, 3, 54: 45f, 384

Carakasāṁhitā

- 6, 2, 39: 389
 6, 30, 316: 110, 341, 342, 344, 388

Dalhaṇa on Suśrutasaṁhitā

- 1, 13: 110, 387, 398

Daṇḍin: Avantisundarīkathā

Quoted by Nagaswamy: 75

Daṇḍin: Daśakumāracarita

- Pūrvap. 1 p. 17 Kale: 71f, 394
 Pūrvap. 4 p. 35f Kale: 72, 364, 378, 394
 3 p. 120 Kale: 72f, 363, 398f
 6 p. 155f Kale: 73f, 362f, 398f

Daśakumāracarita → Daṇḍin

Daśāvātāracarita → Kṣemendra

Devībhāgavatapurāṇa

- 9, 33, 45 & 70–72: 170, 379

Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu

- 1, 8, 29: 49
 2, 35, 88f: 49, 386
 3, 7, 22f: 50, 387
 3, 41, 127: 50, 387
 3, bahulā 2: 50f, 387
 4, 9 (10), 37: 51, 388
 4, 22, 71: 51, 388
 5, 13, 53: 51
 6, 6, 21: 52, 387
 6, 27, 97: 52, 388

Gandhasāra → Gaṅgādharma

Gaṅgādevī: Madhurāvijaya

- 8, unnumbered: 79, 399

Gaṅgādharma: Gandhasāra

Ref. given by J. McHugh: 387

Gargasāṁhitā

Quoted by Kern: 121, 368

Quoted by Bhat: 129

Gargasāṁhitā: Yugapurāṇa

- 47–58: 120ff, 330, 351, 361

Garuḍapurāṇa

- 1, 55, 5f: 171, 359

- 1, 55, 15: 171, 359, 399
 1, 80, 1f: 171, 386, 404, 406
 Gautamadharmasūtra
 4, 21: 59, 328, 340
 Golādhyāya → Āryabhaṭa, Bhāskara
 Govindasvāmin: Prakaṭārthadīpikā
 Quoted by Pingree: 140
 Hammīramadamardana → Jayadeva
 Harivaṃśa
 10, 23–45: 27ff, 339, 342, 390
 25, 10–17: 30f, 392
 31, 145–147: 31f, 392
 52, 41–44: 32, 348, 392
 80, 14–16: 32, 348, 392
 84, 12–21, 35: 33f, 348, 392
 85, 1–53: 34ff, 392
 105, 19: 39, 392
 Add 20, 715–913 excerpts: 39ff, 392
 Harṣacarita → Bāṇabhaṭṭa
 Harṣakīrti: Śāradyākhyā-nāmamālā
 3, 38: 57, 398
 Hāyanaratna → Balabhadra
 Hemacandra: Abhidhānacintāmaṇi
 3, 84 (420 B.-R.): 53, 386f
 3, 312 (648 B.-R.): 53f, 387
 4, 107 (1041 B.-R.): 53, 387
 Comm. on 3, 312 (648 B.-R.): 53f
 Jagaddeva: Svapnacintāmaṇi
 2, 49b: 139
 2, 78a: 139
 Jaiminibhārata (Jaimini-Aśvamedha)
 17, 126–136: 101ff, 378
 27, 30: 103, 341, 374
 Jaṭāsīmhanandin: Varāṅgacarita
 Quoted by Warder 1983: 391
 Jātimālā of Rudrayāmala
 Quoted by Colebrooke: 61f, 340, 401
 Jayadeva: Hammīramadamardana
 act 4 prologue: 400
 Jayāditya & Vāmana: Kāśikāvṛtti
 on P 3, 2, 111: 44
 on P 3, 2, 126: 44, 341
 on P 4, 1, 49: 42, 384
 on 4, 1, 175: 44f, 348
 Jayamaṅgalā → Yaśodhara
 Jonarāja: Commentary on Jayānaka's
 Pṛthvirājaviṅaya 6, 7 (Warder 2004): 79
 Jonarāja: Rājatarāṅginī
 571: 96
 652f: 96, 399
 Jyotirvidābharaṇa → Kālidāsa
 Kalhaṇa: Rājatarāṅginī
 1, 107: 95
 7, 1149: 95
 8, 2264: 95, 351, 399
 Kālidāsa: Jyotirvidābharaṇa
 35, quoted by Vidyabhushana: 143
 Kālidāsa: Kumārasambhava
 7, 1: 370
 Kālidāsa: Mālavikāgnimitra
 5, 14+: 82, 350
 Kālidāsa: Raghuvamśa
 4, 60–65: 68f, 335, 342, 345, 350, 378,
 379, 394
 Kālidāsa: Śakuntalā
 2, 0 DR: 83, 376
 6, 31+ BR = 26+ DR: 84
 Kālidāsa: Vikramorvaśīya
 5, 0: 84, 376
 Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa on Mammaṭa
 on Kāvyaṅprakāśa 4: 106
 Kāmandakīyanīṭisāra
 1, 14 (16): 64, 395
 Kāmasūtra → Vātsyāyana
 Karpūramañjarī → Rājaśekhara
 Kāśikāvṛtti → Jayāditya & Vāmana
 Kāśyapasamhitā
 Kalpasth. Revatīkh. 68: 110f
 Kāśyapasamhitā of the Vaikhānasas
 Quoted by Gode: 100
 Kathārṇava → Śivadāsa
 Kathāsaritsāgara → Somadeva
 Kātyāyana
 V 2 on P 3, 2, 111: 44
 V 3 on P 4, 1, 49: 42, 327, 335f, 384
 V 1 on 4, 1, 175: 44
 Kauṭalyārthaśāstra
 1, 21, 1: 376

- 2, 11, 42: 63, 386, 404
 3, 13, 3: 329
 Kāvyaḷamkāra → Vāmana
 Kāvyaḷamānsā → Rājaśekhara
 Keśavajātaka, see → Viśvanātha
 Keśavārka: Vivāhavṇḍāvana
 4, 10 quoted by Aufrecht: 142
 Kṣemendra: Bṛhatkathāmañjarī
 4, 46: 93
 10, 285f: 93f
 Kṣemendra: Daśavatāracarita
 10, 34: 75, 398
 Kumārasambhava → Kālidāsa
 Kumārila Bhaṭṭa: Tantravārttika
 on MS 1, 3, 6, 10: 107f, 383f, 398
 Kūrmapurāṇa
 1, 44 (42), 22: 172
 1, 47 (46), 26f: 172, 359
 Laghujātaka → Varāhamihira
 Laghukaumudī → Varadarāja
 Liṅgapurāṇa
 1, 52, 29f: 172f, 359
 Liṅgayasūri: Amarapadavivṛti
 on AK 2, 6, 128: 48, 387, 398
 Madhurāvijaya → Gaṅgādevī
 Māgha: Śiśupālavadhā
 2, 98: 75, 392
 Mahābhārata
 1, 79, 11ff: 338
 1, 80, 26: 3, 338
 1, 165, 35–37: 3, 340f
 1, 177, 12f: 7, 22
 2, 4, 19–22: 4, 345, 348
 2, 13, 13–15: 4, 347, 392
 2, 13, 34ff: 392
 2, 13, 65: 392
 2, 23, 12–19: 5f
 2, 24, 13ff: 350
 2, 28, 48–50: 6, 22, 402, 405, 406
 2, 29, 9 & 15: 6f
 2, 31, 9f: 23, 347
 2, 47, 7f: 7, 377
 2, 47, 12–14: 7, 344, 347, 361
 3, 13, 29: 8, 393
 3, 48, 19–21: 8, 344, 345, 346, 358
 3, 104, 6f: 390
 3, 186, 29–30: 8, 346, 349, 394
 3, 256, 9–11: 390
 5, 4, 11: 347
 5, 4, 14: 350
 5, 19, 14f, 19–21: 8f, 344, 345, 348
 5, 84, 8: 377
 5, 196, 6f: 9, 344, 345, 346
 6, 10, 54: 9f, 344, 406
 6, 10, 63–65: 10, 344
 6, 20, 13: 10, 344, 345
 6, 47, 7: 10f, 344, 346
 6, 71, 18: 347
 6, 71, 20: 11, 344, 345
 6, 83, 8–10: 11, 344, 348
 7, 6, 4f: 11f, 344, 347, 348, 361
 7, 10, 18: 12, 392
 7, 19, 6–8: 12, 344, 345
 7, 68, 41f: 12f, 340f, 344, 345
 7, 87, 36f: 341
 7, 95, 12f, 30–37, 45f: 13ff, 344, 346, 358, 361
 7, 96, 1: 15, 344
 7, 97, 13–14: 15, 344, 345, 346
 8, 27, 71ff: 341, 342
 8, 30, 80: 16, 361, 374
 8, 31, 15f: 16, 344, 345, 347, 392
 8, 40, 108: 16, 344, 345
 8, 51, 18: 16f, 344, 345, 346
 8, 64, 16: 17, 344, 345
 9, 1, 26: 17, 344, 346
 9, 2, 18: 17, 344, 345, 348
 9, 7, 24f: 17f, 344, 345
 11, 22, 11: 18, 336, 344, 346, 348, 378
 12, 60, 39: 64
 12, 65, 13–15: 18, 341, 345, 346, 349f
 12, 102, 5f: 18f, 344, 346, 361
 12, 200, 39–42: 19f, 333, 341, 344, 345, 346, 358
 12, 326, 88: 20, 392
 13, 33, 19: 20, 60, 338, 344
 13, 35, 18: 20, 60, 338, 345
 14, 29, 14ff: 338

- 14, 72, 24: 23
 14, 74ff: 347
 Add. 1, 178, 1824*: 21, 348
 Add. 1, add. ch. 80: 21f, 348
 Add. 3, add. ch. 24: 22
 Add. 7, 95, 673*–675*: 15, 22
 Mahābhāṣya → Patañjali
 Mālavikāgnimitra → Kālidāsa
 Mallinātha
 on Rv 4, 60f: 69, 399
 Mānasollāsa → Someśvara
 Mānavadharmasāstra
 7, 41: 395
 7, 125: 376
 7, 219: 376
 10, 43f: 59, 338, 344, 345
 Mañittha: Varṣaphala
 Quoted by Pingree: 142
 Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa
 54, 8 (57, 8): 173, 359
 54, 36 (57, 36): 173, 346, 359
 55, 31: 129
 55, 52 (58, 52): 173, 359
 131, 30 (134, 30): 173f
 Matsyapurāṇa
 34, 30: 174, 338
 50, 75f: 174, 349
 114, 11f: 174, 359
 114, 40–43: 175, 346, 359
 121, 41–44: 175, 346, 360
 144, 57: 175, 344, 345, 346, 351, 394
 273, 18–25: 175f, 349, 355
 Māyātāntra
 Quoted by Goudriaan & Gupta: 100
 Medhātithi
 On Manu 190, 44: 60, 339
 Medinikara: Medinikośa
 (Nānārthaśabdakośa)
 20, 109: 58, 334, 361
 Medinikośa → Medinikara
 Mīnarāja: Vṛddhayanajātaka
 67, 1: 120
 Mudrārākṣasa → Viśākhadatta
 Mugdhabodha → Vopadeva
 Nāgojībhaṭṭa: Prāyaścittenduśekhara
 (Prāyaścittatattva)
 20a2: 61, 336, 401
 57a1: 61, 340
 Naiṣadhacarita → Śrīharṣa
 Nakula: Aśvaśāstra
 15, 41f: 114, 399
 Nānārthaśabdakośa → Medinikara
 Nāradasamhitā
 Quoted by Weber: 142
 Nārāyaṇa: Tājakaśārasudhānidhi
 Quoted by Aufrecht: 142
 Nīlamatapurāṇa
 943: 97, 386, 399
 Orissan chronicles
 Quoted from Stirling: 97ff, 356, 400f
 Pādacandrikā on Amarakośa
 2, 6, 128: 48, 334, 336, 387
 Pādātāḍīṭaka → Śyāmilaka
 Padmapurāṇa
 3, 6, 60f: 176, 345
 5, 81, 19–21: 177, 341
 6, 20, 19–34: 177f, 345, 390
 6, 193, 35: 178, 394
 6, 246, 33–57: 178f, 392
 7, 7, 62: 180, 395
 Pañcākhyānaka → Pūrṇabhadra
 Pañcasiddhāntikā → Varāhamihira
 Pāṇini: Aṣṭādhyāyī
 2, 4, 10: 43
 3, 2, 111: 43f
 3, 2, 126: 44
 4, 1, 49: 42, 327, 335f
 4, 1, 175: 44
 Pāṇini: Gaṇapāṭha
 Gaṇa 128 on P 3, 1, 134: 45, 334
 Gaṇa 178 on P 2, 1, 172: 45, 342, 345
 Pāṇinīyaśikṣā
 Quoted by Weber 1890: 369
 Patañjali: Mahābhāṣya
 Introduction: 401
 on P 2, 4, 10: 43, 328, 339f, 344, 358
 on P 3, 2, 111: 43f, 327, 330, 351
 on 3, 2 123: 351f

- on P 4, 1, 49: 42, 384
 on 4, 1, 175: 45
 Prabhākara: Yavanīpariṇaya
 Quoted by Krishnamachariar: 87, 400
 Prakaṭārthadīpikā → Govindasvāmin
 Pratimānāṭaka → Bhāsa
 Pratipadapañcikā → Bhaṭṭasvāmin
 Prāyaścittenduśekhara (Prāyaścittatattva) →
 Nāgojībhaṭṭa
 Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa
 Kirfel 1927, 2 IB, 28–52: 145f, 338
 Kirfel 1927, 4 E I, 71 & 70: 146f
 Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 88: 147
 Kirfel 1927, 5 C, 92–2:1–4: 147
 Kirfel 1954, 3 I, 6f: 147f, 338, 351
 Kirfel 1954, 3 II, 9f & 39–43: 148, 359
 Kirfel 1954, 5 II, 42f: 148, 360
 Pūrṇabhadra: Pañcākhyānaka
 1, 5: 366
 Puruṣottamadeva: Trikāndaśeṣa
 1, 1, 31: 57, 343, 393
 Raghuvamśa → Kālidāsa
 Rājanighaṇṭu
 6, 135: 49, 386
 7, 55: 51, 388
 7, 103–104: 51, 388
 9, 43–44: 49, 388
 11, 65: 51f, 388
 12, 36–37: 50, 387
 12, 183: 50, 387
 13, 20: 52, 387
 16, 151: 52, 388
 Rājaśekhara: Karpūramañjarī
 4, 9+: 376
 Rājaśekhara: Kāvyaṁīmāmsā
 17: 105, 359
 Rājatarāṅginī → Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, Śrīvara
 Ramalavidyā → Bhojasāgara
 Rāmāyaṇa
 1, 53, 18–23: 25f, 340f, 344
 1, 54, 1–4: 26, 344
 2, 14, 3: 376
 2, 29, 13: 377
 2, 59, 5: 376
 2, 71, 3: 377
 2, 102, 14ff: 390
 3, 50, 28: 9
 4, 42, 10–12: 26f, 344, 345, 350, 358f
 5, 14, 21: 9
 Add. 4, 41, 867*: 27, 358
 Rasaratnasamuccaya → Vāgbhaṭa
 Rasārṇavasudhākara → Simhahhūpāla
 Ratnaparikṣā → Buddhahhaṭṭa
 Ratnaprakāśa → Śivarāmemdra Sarasvatī
 Romakasiddhānta
 Quoted by Aufrecht: 141
 Rudrayāmala → Jātimālā
 Sāhityadarpaṇa → Viśvanātha
 Śākaṭāyana: Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa
 1, 3, 56: 46
 Śakuntalā → Kālidāsa
 Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra → Bhoja
 Śāṅkara: Commentary of Harṣacarita
 on HC 6: 70, 349
 Śāṅkaracetovilāsa
 Aufrecht's summary: 80, 393, 399
 Śāradīyākhyā-nāmamālā → Harṣakīrti
 Sātvatantra
 2, 54: 100
 6, 154: 101
 Saurapurāṇa
 38, 41–45: 180f, 399
 Śaurikathodaya → Vāsudeva
 Siddhāntaśiromaṇi → Bhāskara
 Siddhayoga → Vṛnda
 Simhahhūpāla: Rasārṇavasudhākara
 3, 309f (530f): 106, 385
 Śīsupālavadhā → Māgha
 Śivadāsa: Kathārṇava
 30 quoted by Aufrecht: 94f, 363
 Śivadatta Miśra: Śivakoṣa
 138f: 57f, 388
 Śivadharmapurāṇa
 Unchecked references: 181
 Śivakoṣa → Śivadatta Miśra
 Śivapurāṇa
 38, 21–46: 181f, 342, 390

- Śivarāmendra Sarasvatī: Ratnaprakāśa
on Pat. on P. 4, 1, 49: 42
- Skandapurāṇa
1, 2, 39, 151–163: 183, 406
2, 7, 24, 22–50: 184ff, 338, 379
3, 3, 15, 20–35: 186ff, 348
5, 1, 24, 7: 338
6, 88, 8f & 18: 188f, 394
6, 88, 36–42: 189, 394
6, 121, 37–41: 189f, 394, 395
- Soḍhalanighaṇṭu
1, 1, 119: 56, 388
1, 2, 341: 56, 386
1, 3, 376: 56, 387
1, 4, 519: 56, 388
- Somadeva: Kathāsaritsāgara
6, 3 (29), 12.18.59: 366
7, 9 (43): 366
7, 36, 73: 94, 363
- Someśvara: Mānasollāsa
2, 3, 573: 65, 361
4, 2, 206: 66, 399
- Sphujidhvaja: Yavanajātaka
1, 17: 372
1, 23: 370
1, 34: 373
1, 38: 373
1, 43: 373
1, 48–50: 116, 370, 372, 373, 384
1, 51: 373
1, 53: 372, 373
1, 61: 372
1, 123: 116
2, 1: 373
2, 38: 370
2, 40: 370
2, 50: 116
3, 1: 117, 373
3, 38: 117
8, 23: 117
10, 1f: 372, 373
11, 1: 373
15, 19: 370
16, 19: 370
17, 19: 370
18, 56ff: 370
19, 46: 370
29, 1: 117
30, 73ff: 370
36, 2: 118
36, 44: 118
59, 3: 118
60, 73ff: 370
62, 64: 370
72, 1f: 370
77, 9: 118
79, 1: 118f
79, 3: 119
79, 60f: 119
- Śrīharṣa: Naiṣadhacarita
1, 64f: 76, 361
- Śrīvara: Rājatarāṅginī
1, 7, 173: 96f, 399
- Śrīngāramañjarī → Bhoja
- Subandhu: Vāsavadattā
Early reference shown wrong: 76
- Subhāṣita
= BhavP 3, 28, 53: 80
- Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa → Vidyākara
- Śukranīti
4, 3, 28–30 (55–57): 64, 399
4, 3, 62f (125f): 65, 399
4, 4, 37–39 (75–77): 65
- Sūryasiddhānta: Bhūgolādhyāya
Quoted by Vidyabhushana: 143
- Suśrutasaṁhitā
1, 13, 13: 109f, 387, 388f
- Svapnacintāmaṇi → Jagaddeva
- Śyāmilaka: Pādatāḍṭaka
24: 86, 344, 345, 352
110+–111+: 86f, 352, 378, 384
- Tājakasārasudhānidhi → Nārāyaṇa
- Tantravārttika → Kumārila Bhaṭṭa
- Tithyāditattva
Quoted in the ŚKDr: 141

- Toḍaramalla: Āyurvedasaukhya, ch.
Nighaṅtu
31 (90), 155: 55
37 (96), 28–30: 55, 388
- Trikāndaśeṣa → Puruṣottamadeva
- Udayadevasūri: Ārambhasiddhi
Quoted by Weber: 142
- Ujjvaladatta on the Uṇādisūtras
on 2, 74: 47, 334, 340
- Ūrubhaṅga → Bhāsa
- Utpala on Varāhamihira's Bṛhajjātaka
on 7, 1: 133
on 11, 1: 133
on 27, 1: 133
on 27, 2: 134
on 27, 21: 133
Authorities mentioned: 133
- Utpala on Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā
on 2, 14 (2, 32): 134
on 4, 22: 134
on 5, 78: 134f
on 9, 21: 135
on 9, 35: 135
on 10, 6: 135
on 10, 15: 135
on 13, 9: 136
on 16, 1: 136
on 16, 6: 136
on 18, 6: 136
- Utpala on Varāhamihira's Laghujātaka
on 2, 9: 137
- Vāgbhaṭa: Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya
1, 26, 35–43: 389
- Vāgbhaṭa: Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha
1, 7, 19, 228–230: 112, 341, 342
1, 7, 56, 152f: 111f
Uttara 49, 438: 112f
- Vāgbhaṭa: Rasaratnasamuccaya
2, 73: 113, 143
- Vaijayantī → Yādavaprakāśa
- Vāmana: Kāvyaḷamkāra
4, 2, 2+: 343
- Vāmanapurāṇa
13, 11: 190
13, 38: 190f
- Varadarāja: Laghukaumudī
n. 972 on P 2, 4, 84: 46, 343, 393
n. 1364 on P 4, 1, 49: 43, 46, 384
- Varāhamihira: Bṛhajjātaka
1, 8: 123, 369, 372, 373
1, 9: 373
1, 11f: 373
1, 15: 373
1, 18f: 372, 373
2, 2: 372, 373
7, 1: 123, 374
8, 9: 124
11, 1: 124
12, 1: 124
13, 3f: 370, 372, 373
21, 3: 125
27, 2, 19 & 21: 125f
- Varāhamihira: Bṛhatsaṃhitā
2, 32: 126, 368, 374
4, 22: 126, 374
5, 78–80: 126f, 346, 374
9, 21: 127, 344, 374
9, 35: 127, 345, 374
10, 6: 128, 374
10, 15: 128, 374
10, 18: 128, 374
13, 9: 128f, 344, 346, 374
14, 17f: 129, 345, 359
14, 31: 129, 345
16, 1: 129, 344
16, 6: 129f, 406
18, 6: 130, 374
- Varāhamihira: Laghujātaka
1, 2: 373
1, 9: 373
1, 16–18: 372, 373
2, 9: 137

- Varāhamihira: Pañcasiddhāntikā
 1, 3f: 130, 373, 407
 1, 8: 131, 405
 3, 13: 131, 405
 15, 18–25: 131f, 405, 407
 Varāhamihira: Yogayātrā
 3, 19f: 132, 374
 Varāṅgacarita → Jaṭāsīmhanandin
 Varṣaphala → Mañittha
 Vāsavadattā → Subandhu
 Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra
 6, 41: 140, 384, 401
 Vasiṣṭhasiddhānta
 Quoted by Vidyabhushana: 142
 Vāsudeva: Śaurikathodaya
 4, 29–41: 77f, 392
 Vātsyāyana: Kāmasūtra
 2, 5, 25ff with schol.: 66f, 378
 Vāyupurāṇa
 1, 45, 82: 191, 359
 1, 45, 115–120: 191, 346, 359
 1, 47, 41–44: 192, 346, 360
 1, 58, 82f: 192, 345, 346, 394
 2, 26, 120–143: 192ff, 342, 390
 2, 36, 101: 32, 194
 2, 36, 107f: 194, 394
 2, 37, 263f, 353–356, 382f: 194f, 349
 Vidyākara: Subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa
 943: 81, 342
 Vidyāmādhaviya → Viṣṇuśarman
 Vikramorvaṣīya → Kālidāsa
 Viracarita → Ananta
 Viśākhadatta: Mudrārākṣasa
 2, 12+: 85, 344, 345, 346, 350, 361
 3, 3+: 377
 5, 11: 84, 351
 Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa
 1, 9, 1–10: 195f, 359, 399
 1, 17: 195
 Viṣṇupurāṇa
 2, 3, 6–18: 196f, 359
 4, 3, 26–49: 197f, 338, 342, 345, 390
 5, 23, 4–23: 198ff, 392
 5, 24, 51–56: 200, 349, 355f
 Viṣṇuśarman on Vidyāmādhaviya
 Quoted by Pingree: 142
 Viśvanātha: Sāhityadarpaṇa
 432: 384
 Viśvanātha's Comm. on the Keśavajātaka
 Quoted by Aufrecht: 142
 Vivāhavṛndāvana → Keśavārka
 Vopadeva: Mugdhabodha
 4, 26: 47
 Vṛddha-Cāṇakya → Cāṇakyanīti
 Vṛddhayavanajātaka → Mīnarāja
 Vṛnda: Siddhayoga
 Quoted by P. V. Sharma: 113f, 387
 Yādavaprakāśa: Vaijayantī
 3, 1, 24: 54, 359
 Yaśodhara: Jayamaṅgalā
 on KS 2, 5, 25ff: 66f
 Yavanajātaka → Sphujidhvaja
 Yavanīpariṇaya → Prabhākara
 Yogayātrā → Varāhamihira
 Yugapurāṇa → Gargasamhitā

Inscriptions

- Allahabad Pillar: 377
 Alluru: 386
 Angkor: 397
 Ārā: 205
 Aśoka: 201ff, 240, 325, 328f, 331, 334, 338,
 345, 358
 Azes: 206f
 Bajaur Casket: 205f
 Bajaur Seal: 203
 Besnagar (of Heliodorus): 210f, 330, 354
 Besnagar Seal: 211
 Bhubaneswar: 216
 Bikaner (praśaṣṭi): 216
 Brāhmī: 208, 210ff
 Chatesvara Temple: 217
 Chitorgarh: 217

- Dantewara: 217f
 Gandhāra Gilded Bowl: 207
 Girnar: 218
 Gun inscriptions: 218
 Gwalior (Bhojaprasāṣṭi): 398
 Hāthigumphā (of Khāravēla): 213
 Indravarman Casket: 206
 Jhansi: 219
 Junāgaḍh (of Rudradāman): 211, 335, 336, 356
 Junnar: 213f, 337, 365
 Kabilāspur: 219f
 Kāldarra: 203
 Kaniṣka Casket: 204f
 Karle: 214f, 337
 Khaḍāvādā: 220
 Khālimpur: 220f
 Kharaosta Silver Reliquary: 206
 Kharoṣṭhī: 90, 203ff, 354f, 373
 Kohat: 207f
 Kumbhalgarh: 221
 Kuniyur: 221f
 Madanapara Grant: 222
 Mathurā: 210, 211
 Mathura Stone Slab: 208, 337
 Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: 211f, 335
 Nasik: 215f, 337
 Pentapadu Grant: 222
 Punjai: 222
 Ohind (Uṇḍ): 205
 Peshawar: 204
 Rabatak: 329f
 Reh: 210
 Rohtāsarh: 222f
 Sanchi: 213
 Śatrulekha Casket: 206
 Seṇavarma of Oḍi: 207
 Sringirishi: 223
 Swāt Relic Vase: 203
 Taxila: 203, 204, 206
 Traṣaka Reliquary: 208, 354
 Tuni 223
 Udaipur: 218f
 Vijayamitra of Apracha: 208

Pāli

- Abhidhānappadīpikā → Moggallāna
 Aṅguttaranikāya Commentary
 1 p. 90f: 233, 386
 2 p. 289: 233, 330, 383
 Apadāna
 406 Jatukaṇṇika: 224f, 329, 346, 363,
 403
 Buddhaghosa: Visuddhimagga
 525: 261
 Cūlavamsa
 76, 264: 241, 330, 381, 401
 Dīghanikāya
 Ambaṭṭhasutta 1, 26 (1 p. 98): 390f
 Lakkhaṇasuttanta 1, 2 (3 p. 144): 9
 Dīghanikāya Commentary
 1 p. 176: 230, 330, 383
 3 p. 736: 230, 380, 381
 Dīghanikāya Subcommentary
 1 p. 308f: 230f, 383
 Dīpavamsa
 8, 113: 237f, 380
 15, 49: 238
 21, 13: 407
 Itivuttaka Commentary
 2 p. 154: 234, 380
 Jātaka
 198 v. 144: 363
 277: 406
 Jinakālamālī → Ratanapañña
 Līnatthavaṇṇanā → Dīghanikāya
 Subcommentary
 Mahābodhivamsa
 p. 113–115: 241f, 380

- Mahāniddeśa
 on SN 820: 225f, 363, 403
 on SN 939: 226, 363, 403
- Mahāvamsa
 5, 160–165: 243f, 380
 6, 39ff: 391
 10, 88–90: 238f, 364, 381
 12, 1–6: 239f, 380
 12, 34–36: 240, 380
 12, 39f: 240f, 380
 29, 38f: 241, 381, 404
 34, 46–48: 244, 407
- Mahāvamsa Commentary
 (Vamsatthappakāsinī)
 on Mv 5, 161: 243f, 380
 on Mv 29, 39: 244
 on Mv 34, 47: 244, 406f
- Majjhimanikāya
 93 Assalāyanasutta: 224, 329, 338, 345, 358
- Majjhimanikāya Commentary
 3 p. 19: 231f, 385
 3 p. 409: 232
- Manorathapūraṇī → Aṅguttaranikāya
 Commentary
- Milindapaṇha
 1, 1: 246
 1, 2: 246f, 352
 1, 9–15: 247ff
 1, 37–39: 249ff
 1, 42f: 251ff
 2, 1, 1: 253f
 2, 1, 3f: 254ff
 3, 4, 4: 256
 3, 7, 4: 257, 403
 3, 7, 5: 257f
 3, 7, 17: 258
 4, 8, 88: 258f, 344, 401, 403
 5, 4: 259, 344, 401, 403
 6, 12: 259f
 6, 21: 260, 403
- Moggallāna: Abhidhānappadīpikā
 1, 6, 147: 263, 387, 388, 401
- Mohavicchedanī
 261, 383
- Papañcasūdanī → Majjhimanikāya
 Commentary
- Paramatthadīpanī → Udāna Commentary,
 Itivuttaka Comm., Theragāthā Comm.
- Ratanapañña: Jinakālamālī
 summary: 262, 396
- Saddhamopāyana
 160: 261, 381, 401
- Samantapāsādika → Vinaya Commentary
- Sammohavinodanī → Vibhaṅga
 Commentary
- Sandesakathā
 Quoted by Hinüber 1996: 396
- Sārasaṅgaha
 Minayeff 1894, 72f: 262
 Minayeff 1894, 79: 262
- Sāsanavamsa
 summary: 245, 380, 396
- Sīhalavattuppakaraṇa
 59: 260, 380, 381
 81: 260, 382
- Sumaṅgalavilāsinī → Dīghanikāya
 Commentary
- Theragāthā Commentary
 2 p. 227f: 234f, 380
- Thūpavamsa
 6 p. 192: 242, 380
 13 p. 224: 243, 381, 404
- Udāna Commentary
 p. 410: 234, 385
- Vamsatthappakāsinī → Mahāvamsa
 Commentary
- Vibhaṅga Commentary
 p. 240: 235f
 p. 387f: 236, 383
 p. 389: 236, 381
- Vinaya Commentary
 1 p. 55: 226f, 380
 1 p. 63f & 67: 227f, 380
 5 p. 1029: 228, 343
 5 p. 1084: 228f, 386
 5 p. 1086: 229, 386
 7 p.1336: 229, 381
- Visuddhimagga → Buddhaghosa

Buddhist Sanskrit, Tibetan, etc.

Āryaśūra: Jātakamālā

28: 376

Aśokāvadāna

p. 40of Przyłuski: 270f, 349

Bhaiṣajyavastu

p. 166–168: 264ff, 365

p. 170f: 266f, 365f

Bhikṣunī-Vinaya

162 (4 B 3): 267, 344

Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā → Kṣemendra

Divyāvadāna

33: 268f

Jātakamālā → Āryaśūra

bKah-'gyur

Schiefner 195f: 271f, 365f

Schiefner 194: 272f, 365

Kāraṇḍavyūha

2: 269: 406

Kṣemendra: Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā

57, 15: 269, 354

Lalitavistara

125, 21: 271, 384

Mahāvastu

1 p. 135: 267f, 327, 384

1 p. 171: 268, 383

Tāranātha

quoted by Lamotte: 354

Zambasta, Book of

24, 393: 273, 349

Prākṛit, Jaina Sanskrit

Āmradeva on Nemicandra

on Ākhyānakamaṇikośa 23, 608: 282, 397

Aṅgavijjā

9, 259: 282, 378

24: 329

57: 329

Āvaśyakacūrṇi

1, 191: 284

2, 554: 284

9, 44/54of: 284, 366

Āvaśyakaniryukti

334f: 284

Bhagavaī → Viyāhapaññatti

Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya → Saṅghadāsagaṇi

Candrasūri on Nirayāvali

Quoted by Weber: 282f

Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariāṃ → Śīlāṅka

Harivaṃśapurāṇa → Jinasena

Hemacandra: Kumārapālarita

6, 73f: 285, 399

Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti

43: 279, 378

52: 279f, 364, 405, 407

Jinabhadra: Viśeśaśyakabhāṣya

261–264 (1700–1703): 284f, 397

Jinasena: Harivaṃśapurāṇa

11, 65–67: 286, 365

50, 73: 286, 392

50, 84: 286, 392

52, 29: 286

Kumārapālarita → Hemacandra

Kuvalayamālā → Uddyotana

Mahendrasūri: Nammayāsundarīkathā

Summary: 287f, 365, 378

Nammayāsundarīkathā → Mahendrasūri

Nāyādhammakahāo

1, 1, 20/117: 275, 360, 378

18: 276

Nemicandra: Ākhyānakamaṇikośa →

Āmradeva

Nemicandra: Pravacanasāroddhara

274, 1594–1596: 283, 341

- Nirayāvaliyāo
Quoted by Weber: 280
- Nisīha
9, 29: 280, 378
Bhāṣyagāthā 11, 3689: 280f
- Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṁbandha →
Śubhaśīlagāṇi
- Pañhāvāgarañāim
1, 1, 4: 276, 341, 360
- Pannavaṇā
1, 37: 278f, 341
1, 107: 279, 384
- Paūmacariya → Vimalasūri
- Pravacanasāroddhara → Nemicandra
- Rāyapaseṇaiyyam
281: 277f, 378
- Samavāyāṅga
18, 43: 274, 384
- Saṅghadāsa: Vasudevahiṇḍi
Dhammillah. p. 38f: 290f, 375
Dhammillah. p. 62: 291, 366
Cārudattacarita p. 148: 292, 365
18, p. 296: 292f, 348
- Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamaśramaṇa:
Brhatkalpabhāṣya
Quoted by Jain 1979: 283, 366
- Śīlāṅka: Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariam
124: 288, 384
127: 288, 397
- Somadevasūri: Yaśastilakacampū, with
Śrutadeva's commentary
3, 423+: 289, 399
- Śrutadeva, see → Somadevasūri
- Śubhaśīlagāṇi:
Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṁbandha
1 quoted by Weber: 289, 400
- Uddyotana: Kuvalayamālā:
Summary: 289f, 365, 397
- Uvavāiya
55: 277, 378
- Vasudevahiṇḍi → Saṅghadāsa
- Vimalasūri: Paūmacariya
98, 64: 293
- Viśeśavāśyakabhāṣya → Jinabhadra
- Viyāhapaññatti
9, 33: 274f, 378
14, 1: 275
21, 21: 275, 405
- Yaśastilakacampū → Somadevasūri

New Indo-Aryan

- Orissan chronicles
Quoted from Stirling: 97ff, 356, 400f

Dravidian

- Akanānūru
149, 7–11: 294, 362, 385
- Apitāṇacintāmaṇi (Abhidhānacintāmaṇi)
1, 45: 297, 401
- Bhāṣāvyaḥkyāna
on KA 2, 11, 42: 63
- Cattanār: Maṇimēkalai
1, 45: 297, 365, 385
19, 107f: 297, 365, 386
- Cilappatikāram → Ilaṅkō
- Cīvakacintāmaṇi → Tiruttakkatēvar
- Ilaṅkō: Cilappatikāram
5, 10: 296, 365, 385
14, 66f: 296, 362, 379
28, 141f: 296, 356, 384
29, 11f: 296, 356, 384
- Kāśīkhaṇḍa → Śrīnātha

- Keraḷōlpatti
 quoted from Veluthat 2005: 391
- Koṅkuvēḷir: Peruṅkakai
 1, 17, 175: 298
 1, 32, 76: 299, 386
 1, 38, 233: 299, 385
 1, 58, 40–44: 299
 3, 4, 8: 299
 3, 5, 48: 299
 3, 16, 22: 299, 386
 3, 22, 213: 299f, 386
- Maṇimēkakai → Cattanār
- Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar
 62: 298
- Nakkīrar: Neṭunalvātai
 101f: 298, 385
- Neṭunalvātai → Nakkīrar
- Pārijātāpaharaṇa → Timmana
- Patirrupattu
 2, 7–10: 295, 362, 384, 385
 43, 4: 356
- Pattuppāṭṭu
 Mullaippāṭṭu 59–62: 295, 362, 386
- Peruṅkakai → Koṅkuvēḷir
- Perumpāṇār_{ruppaṭai}
 316–318: 298, 385
- Puṇānūru
 39, 14f: 356
 56, 17–20: 294f, 342, 385
 343, 1–10: 385
- Śrīnātha: Kāśīkhaṇḍa
 Quoted by Ramamurti 1899: 301
- Telugu-Varāhapurāṇa
 1, 42f quoted by Ramayya 1903: 301
- Timmana: Pārijātāpaharaṇa
 Quoted by Ramayya 1903: 301
- Tiruttakkatēvar: Cīvakacintāmaṇi
 1, 101: 297, 365
 1, 557: 298, 386
- Tiruvēṅkaṭa Catakam
 98: 300
- Tivākaram
 Quoted in Tamil Lexicon: 300
- Yālpāṇattu maṇippāyakarāti
 Quoted in Tamil Lexicon: 300, 386

Greek & Latin, Arabic, Javanese, etc.

- Appianus 11, 9, 53: 340
- al-Bīrūnī (Sachau)
 1, p. 153: 373, 407
 1, p. 158: 374
 1, p. 267: 132
 1, p. 300: 191
 1, p. 302: 129
 1, p. 303: 132, 407
 2, p. 5: 393
- Cedrenus: Church History 1, 561: 367
- Curtius 8, 9, 29f: 376
- Diodorus Siculus
 2, 38, 6: 376
 19, 14: 402
 19, 30: 379
- Ephorus F 30: 359
- Faxian p. lxxiv Beal: 381
- Gospel of John (Sogdian): 349
- Hegesander: 328
- Hephaestio: Apotelesmata 1, 21 & 22: 375
- Herodotus 4, 44: 332
- Ioannes Lydus: De prodigiis 26 & 57: 375
- Justinus 15, 4: 340
- Megasthenes F 32: 376
- Nicolaus Damascenus F 103y: 391
- Nagarakṛtāgama
 Quoted from Kern 1916: 396
- Nonnus: Dionysiaca 26, 152ff: 391
- Periplus maris Erythraei
 36: 342
 39: 386, 404
 49: 342, 362, 377, 386, 387, 404
 56: 342, 386, 387, 404, 405
 62: 345
- Philostratus: Vita Apollonii 5, 12: 367

Pliny: Natural History
 6, 26, 101: 362
 8, 10, 29: 389
 32, 11, 21: 407
 32, 11, 23: 386, 407
 32, 41, 123f: 389

Plutarch, Alexander 62: 340
 Plutarch, Moralia 821 D-E: 353
 Ptolemy: Geography
 7, 2, 2: 345, 358
 7, 2, 29: 397
 Strabo 2, 3, 4: 377

GENERAL INDEX

Names and words occurring only in the text part are not included.

Ābhīra 338f, 349
 Abhisārī 350
 Abisares 350
 Abul Fazl 357
 Achaemenids 327, 331f, 333, 352, 366, 383, 409
 Ādirājya 402
 aerial cars 40, 88ff, 284, 291, 365f, 375
 Aethiopia(ns) 359, 362, 409
 Afghan 398
 Agesilaus 204f, 354
 Aggikkhandopamasuttanta 380
 Ahichatra 391
 Ai Khanum 327
 Ājīvika 224
 Akkadian language 325, 332f
 Alasanda, see Alexandria
 Alexander the Great 329, 331, 336, 345, 357, 362, 402
 Alexander, historians of 6, 105, 332, 375
 Alexander of Corinth 328
 Alexander of Epirus 328
 Alexandria 63, 131, 191, 224ff, 241, 243, 244, 258, 260, 275, 284, 334, 353, 363, 364, 373, 381, 382, 385, 386, 402ff, 407
 Ali Shah 96
 amphorae 385
 anankaios 207, 354
 Anantakāya 353

Āndhra 23, 339, 346, 356, 359, 383, 384, 390
 Annam 396
 Antialcidas 354
 Antigonus 353
 Antigonus Gonatas 328
 Antiochia 6, 402, 405, 406
 Antiochus 353
 Antiochus II Theos 201, 328, 331, 334
 Anurādhapura 238f, 364, 381, 407
 Apabhramśa language 106, 385
 Aparantaka 240, 380
 Aphrodisius, Aphroisius 368
 Apollodotus 22, 347
 Arabia(ns) 23, 62, 297, 330, 335, 336, 337, 348, 349, 360, 362ff, 367, 368, 378, 381, 385, 387, 388, 393, 394, 396, 398ff, 404, 409f
 Arabian language 140, 383, 398
 Arabic script 385
 Arachosia 329, 336, 381, 383
 Aramaic language 329, 383
 Aramaic script 331f, 385
 Ārava, Āraba 360, 398, 405, 407
 Arikamedu 385
 Arjuna 5f, 8, 12, 16f, 21, 23, 347, 392
 Artemidorus (king) 337, 347
 Ārya 18, 329
 Āryāvarta 107, 339f, 343, 359, 394
 Asita 390

- Aśoka 95, 201ff, 227f, 237, 239, 241, 243,
 325, 327, 328f, 331, 335, 345, 358, 363, 380,
 382, 383, 403, 404
 Assam(ese) 5, 218, 339, 347
 astrology and astronomy 115ff, 268f, 325f,
 368ff, 385, 401
 Asura 100, 398
 Asura Bhaṇḍa 163f, 341
 Asura Kālayavana, see Kālayavana
 Asura Maya 89, 366, 374
 Aśvamedha 23, 101, 346, 350
 Avagāna 398
 Avalokiteśvara 269, 406
 Axum 409f
 Āyupāla 249ff
 Bābar 357
 Bactria 326, 327, 331f, 333, 336, 344, 345,
 346, 351, 402
 Bactrian language 329, 354, 355, 385
 Badakhshan 357
 Baghdad 400
 Bāhlika 6, 346
 Bāhu 164, 169, 195, 339, 350, 390
 Barbara 20, 63, 346, 358, 360, 383, 384
 Barbaricum 487, 386
 barley 49, 52, 112, 388
 Barygaza 342, 368, 377, 386
 bdellium 50, 387
 Begram 385, 402f
 Bengal 167, 358, 378, 396, 400
 betel (tāmbūla) 50, 285, 387, 399
 Bhadrāśva 402
 Bhagadatta 7, 22, 23, 32, 347f
 Bhāgavatism 353
 Bhaṇḍa Daitya, see Asura Bhaṇḍa
 Bharata 154, 279, 284, 286, 364f, 405, 407
 Bhāratavarṣa 9f, 149, 157, 165, 171, 172, 173,
 174, 190, 191, 196f
 Bharukaccha 7, 287, 368, 377
 Bhātikābhaya 244, 406f
 Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita 43
 Bhaya 151, 394
 Bhīma 390
 Bhīmaratha 348
 Bhīṣma 18ff, 358
 Bhoja 98, 348, 366f, 400
 Bhūpatibhāgyaratnāvali 115
 Bindusāra 328
 blood, bath in 375
 boots 228f, 386
 Brahmanabad 105
 Brāhmaṇa (Brahmin) 18, 20, 89, 96, 104,
 120, 184ff, 224, 329, 338f, 340, 379, 391
 Brāhmī script 210ff, 384
 Branchidae 332
 Bṛhadyavanajātaka 115
 Bṛhaspati 180
 Buddha 9, 224, 238, 245, 268, 269, 270f
 Buddhaghosa 259
 Buddhapada 262
 Buddhism 207, 211ff, 224ff, 343, 352ff,
 365, 379, 380ff, 399, 404
 Buddhist monks and nuns 226f, 230, 245,
 260, 262, 328, 343, 380ff, 404
 burial 353
 Burma 397
 Burushaski 357
 Byzantium 143, 383, 398, 405, 407
 Caesar 362, 393
 calendar 354, 355
 Caliph 400
 Cambodia 396
 Campā 91, 101, 378
 campus 354
 Candrābharaṇahorā 115
 Candragupta Maurya 85, 329, 334, 335,
 340, 350, 351
 Cankam, see Sangam
 Cāṇūra 348
 carpenters 284, 297, 299, 330, 386
 Cārvāka 399
 Celts 359
 Central Asia 331, 336, 342, 344, 345, 349,
 352, 382, 392, 406
 Cēra, see Kerala
 Champa 397
 Chiang Mai 396
 Childsnatcher 110f
 China 409, see also Cīna

- Chinese texts 264, 271, 329, 349, 352, 354, 384, 391, 403
 Chitral 357
 Chorasan 289, 399
 chrysoberyl 143f
 Cīna 60, 245, 345, 346, 347, 351, 360, 363, 383, 403
 Claudius 382
 Clement of Alexandria 382
 Coḍa (Cōla, Chola) 6, 60, 222, 223, 297, 328, 386
 coins 327, 332, 333, 364, 383, 385, 403
 complexion 9, 104, 343
 coral 63, 144, 171, 244, 386, 404, 406f
 Cosmas Indicopleustes 359
 courtesans 86f, 151, 376ff, 384
 cows 261, 340f, 361, 401
 cow-pea 405
 Cyrene 328
 Daitya 189, 395
 Dalverzin Tepe 204
 Dānava 189, 395
 dancing 341
 Daqin 364, 409
 Darada 6, 60, 346, 358, 383
 Darius 345
 Darwaz 357
 Dasyu 6, 390
 date tree 51f, 57f, 388
 Dattāmitra 348
 Deinippus 354
 Delhi 289, 400, 410
 Demetrias 348
 Demetrius 211, 348, 353, 354
 denarius 354
 Devamantiya 353
 Devarata 348
 Devamantiya 251, 353
 Devī 168, 189, 394
 Dhammasena 354
 Dhenukākāṭa 365
 Dhṛtarāṣṭra 9f, 12, 17
 dialogue form 352
 dice 140
 digvijaya 5ff, 21, 68f, 78, 279, 284, 286, 342, 350, 356, 364f, 394, 405
 Dion 354
 Dionysidorus 354
 Dionysus 376
 diseases 394
 drachma 354
 dramaturgy 384
 Dramiḍa, Draviḍa 23, 108, 338, 340, 384
 Draupadī 21, 22, 390
 dress 229, 233, 295, 379, 386, 391
 Droṇa 11, 12
 Durgādāsa 43, 47
 Durjaya 186ff, 348
 Duṭṭhagāmaṇi 241, 381, 403f
 Dvādaśarāṣiphalā 115
 Dvārakā, Dvārāvātī 33, 155, 393
 Dvārapāla 379
 eating habits 60, 61, 93, 100, 110, 112, 168, 340, 341, 398
 Egypt 328, 330, 336, 362, 363, 403ff
 Elam 333
 Eḷāra 241, 381, 404
 elephants 16, 66, 347, 399
 Elphinstone, Mountstuart 357
 emir 400
 English/British, as colonial power 401, 410
 English language 332, 336
 episkopos 354
 Eros 378
 Eucratides 403
 Eudoxus of Cyzicus 377
 famine 237
 female guards 83f, 105, 376ff
 Firdausī 357
 Fish-Eaters 7
 flying machines 40, 88ff, 284, 291, 365f, 375
 frankincense 50, 53f, 55, 56, 113, 259, 387
 Galenus 389
 Gandhāra 327, 331, 346, 351, 358, 366, 379
 Gāndhārī 18
 Gandharva 269
 Gaṅgā 158f, 180, 192

- Gardabhin 349
 garlic 51, 55, 113, 388
 Garuḍa 12, 90, 366
 Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi 351
 Gedrosia 7, 381
 Gilgit 357
 Goddess, see Devī
 gold 284, 330, 385
 Greece, Greeks 325f, 331, 332, 333, 334f,
 336, 341, 342, 362ff, 381, 388, 398f, 409
 Greek language 115, 117, 327, 329, 332f, 336,
 337, 349, 354, 369ff, 383ff, 387, 393, 398
 Greek script 327, 383ff
 Gujarat 55, 282, 335, 359, 368f
 Gulf 405
 Gupta 355, 400
 Haihaya 164, 195, 339, 390
 hair style 13, 45, 103, 339, 342f, 390ff
 Hamsadhvaja 378
 Harṣa 69f, 95
 Hebrew language 325, 332
 Heliodorus 210f, 330, 353, 354
 Heliophilus 354
 Hellenism 336, 337, 347, 352, 378, 398, 409
 henbane 113
 Hermaeus 354
 Hermagoras 353
 Hillājatājika 140
 Himalaya 192, 345, 358
 Hindu Shahi 357
 Hippocratic medicine 389
 Homer 387
 Hornstedt, C.E. 387f
 horses 7, 12, 23, 65, 76, 114, 163, 291, 326,
 334, 335, 347, 361, 375, 399
 Hun (Hūṇa) 20, 94, 330, 333, 343, 346,
 351, 394
 incense 48, 335, 376
 Indo-European 325
 Indo-Greeks 22, 120ff, 240, 271, 327, 337,
 344ff, 361f, 378, 380, 383, 385, 393, 394,
 400, 402ff, 409, 410
 Indra 18, 180
 Indus 27, 82, 340, 345, 350, 406, 409
 inscriptions 201ff, 354f
 interpreters and translators 333f, 335
 Ionia(ns) 325f, 332f, 334, 409
 iron pyrite 112f, 143
 Isandrus 354
 Iskardo 357
 Islam 64f, 96f, 399
 ivory worker 266f, 272f
 Jainism 224, 392
 Jalauka 95
 janapada 105, 147f, 157, 166, 173, 175, 195,
 359
 Janjua 357
 Jarāsandha 4, 32, 40, 286, 348, 392, 393
 jasmine 260
 Jat 357
 Jātakapadmakośa 140
 Jaṇarāya (Yamunarāja) 281
 Java 264, 292, 364, 365, 397, 400
 Javaṇa, see Yavana
 Jaxartes 360
 Jayadratha 9, 18, 348, 378, 390
 Jayasimha 399
 Jerome 382
 jewels 72, 284, 363, 364, 385
 Jirṇatājika 140
 Joṇa(ga)-, see Yona(ka)-
 Jones, Sir William 325
 Junnar 365
 Justinus 351
 Kaimkila Yavana 355f
 Kākavarṇa 349, 366
 Kālaka 140
 Kālakandarātissa 260, 381
 Kālakanyā 151ff, 394
 Kālakārāmasuttanta 380
 Kālayavana, era 393
 Kālayavana, island 71f, 366, 394
 Kālayavana, king 20, 32ff, 75, 77f, 100f,
 146f, 149, 151, 154ff, 157, 166f, 178f, 194,
 198ff, 286, 300, 343, 348, 350, 361, 364,
 392ff
 Kālayavana, people 188f, 394
 Kaliṅga 6, 23, 400
 Kaliyuga 8, 18, 75, 163, 168, 174, 175f, 178,
 192, 194f, 200, 245, 341, 349f, 394, 398

- Kalkin 147, 162f, 168, 194, 350, 394
 Kāmadhenu 3, 25, 340f, 361
 Kāmboja 6, 7, 11, 202, 240, 328f, 331, 333, 335, 343, 344f, 348, 358. 361, 390, 396, 410
 Kampana 348
 Kandahar 327, 331, 402
 Kaniška 204f, 393
 Kāpālika 399
 Kapisa 403
 Kapotaśānti 115
 Karṇa 16, 21, 341, 342
 Kārpāsika 7, 377
 Kāśa 338
 Kaseru 191
 Kaśerumat 32, 349, 361f, 393
 Kashmir 23, 95ff, 351, 379, 399
 Kassapa 245, 386
 Kaulika 399
 Kaurava 8ff, 344, 347, 348, 358, 361, 392
 Kerala(puta), Cēra 286, 328, 356
 Khanati 72, 363
 Kharoṣṭhī script 332, 354, 384f
 Khaśa, Khasa 60, 346
 Khmer language 396
 Khotanese language 349
 Kilakila 355f
 Kiranti 358
 Kirāta 20, 175, 345, 347, 348, 358, 359, 383, 384
 Kirrhadaī 358
 Kokkāsa 284, 291, 366
 Kolikila 195
 Kṛṣṇa 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 31ff, 57, 75, 100f, 147, 149, 150, 151, 154, 156, 162, 177, 300, 341, 343, 347, 348, 361, 377, 391, 392f
 Kṛtayuga 341
 Kṣatrapa 385
 Kṣatriya 18, 20, 27, 49f, 104, 328, 335, 338f, 340, 342, 357, 361, 398
 Kubera 366
 Kujavārajaśvalāśānti 115
 Kulinda 360
 Kulu 6
 Kumārapāla 285, 399
 Kumbhakarṇa 392
 Kuntala 23
 Kūrmacakra (Kūrmavibhāga) 123, 171, 173, 195, 359
 Kurukṣetra, battle of 9ff, 286, 361, 392
 Kuśāṇa 271, 329, 335, 339, 346, 349, 351, 353, 354, 362, 385
 Labhuṅja 245
 Lagnacandrikā 115
 Lalitā 163f
 Lamghan 399
 lamps 230f, 234, 297, 298, 330, 385f
 Lanākā, see Sri Lanka
 Lāṭa 391
 Lāṭācārya 131f
 Latin 383, 398
 Lavaṇapura 363
 lead 52, 53, 57f, 387, 388
 leeches 109f, 388f
 leprosy 375
 lexicography 334
 Lomaśa 140
 Lumpādhipa 399
 Lunar Dynasty 338
 Macedonia(ns) 328, 337
 Macedonian calendar 209f, 354, 355
 Madhva 180, 399
 Mādhyamika 327, 351
 Madra(ka) 11, 17, 346
 Magadha 364
 Māgadhī language 106, 235, 261, 383, 385
 Magas of Cyrene 328
 Mahācīna 363
 Mahārakkhita 240, 245
 Maharashtra 365, 382, 385
 Mahiśāsura 189, 394, 395
 Malay Peninsula 397
 Malayaketu 85
 Manetho 123, 140, 374
 Manichaeism 382
 Maṇipūra 347
 Maṅkura 353
 Mannar 404
 Marco Polo 357

- maritime contacts 71ff, 94, 260, 290, 294,
 330, 342, 358, 362ff, 385f, 394, 398f,
 403ff, 409
 Mārkaṇḍeya 8
 marriage, right of 337, 340, 398
 Mars 370, 372
 Maruṇḍa 349
 Mathurā 33, 110, 346, 359, 392, 393
 Māthura 351
 Maues 337, 347
 Maurya 329, 335, 340, 351, 352, 376, 383,
 402
 mechanical skills 264ff, 271ff, 291, 297,
 365ff, 375
 medicine 54ff, 109ff, 290f, 341, 375, 386,
 388f
 Megasthenes 334, 376, 391
 Menander 246ff, 262, 269, 352ff, 361, 380,
 403
 merchants 94, 225f, 287, 290, 330, 362ff,
 378, 398f, 409, 410
 Mercury 370, 373
 meridarch 203, 354
 Mesopotamia 325, 333, 368
 Metrodorus 367
 Middle Indo-Aryan 333
 Middle Persian language 330
 Milinda, see Menander
 Milindaṭṭhā 354
 Minara 354
 Mīnarāja 116, 119f, 368, 374
 Mithridates 348
 Mleccha 16, 47, 95, 101, 107f, 167, 329,
 338, 340, 343, 346, 349f, 394, 396, 398
 Moggaliputta Tissa 237f, 239f, 241f, 380
 Mongol 336, 398
 Moon 81, 121f, 126, 129f, 134, 136, 370ff,
 374
 Mucirī 294, 385
 Mucukunda 392
 Muddādaśāphala 115
 Mudgala 398
 Mughal 87, 98, 400, 410
 Muḥammad Ghorī 80, 393, 399
 Mura 347, 392
 Muruṇḍa 356
 Muslims 62, 79, 80, 95, 96, 100, 115, 167,
 180f, 261, 326, 337, 339, 340, 342, 348,
 353, 356, 359, 361, 362, 364, 367, 378, 379,
 381, 385, 387, 394, 398ff, 407, 410
 Mūtiba 390
 Nāga 97, 386, 399
 Nagara 366
 Nāgasena 245, 246, 251ff, 352f
 Nakṣatracūḍāmaṇi 115
 Nakula 6
 Nala 361
 Nanda 351
 Nārada 151, 392
 Naraka 347, 392
 Nāstik(y)a Yavana 399
 Nepal 358
 nimba (neem) tree 49, 56, 57f, 388
 Niṣāda 338
 Nysa 332
 obolos 354
 Oḍi 207
 Old Persian language 327, 332f, 352, 409
 olibanum, see frankincense
 onion 51, 55, 56, 57f, 341, 388
 Orissa 6, 97ff, 345, 356, 358, 400f
 Oṛiyā language 383
 Pacorus 353
 Pahlava, Pahnava, Palhava 6, 60, 241, 284,
 345f, 349, 360, 378, 383, 390, 398
 Paijavana 64, 395
 painter 264ff, 271f, 365
 Palhava, see Pahlava
 Pāli language 224ff, 261, 329f, 331, 352,
 381, 383, 396, 401, 403
 Pallava 6, 60, 75, 241, 398
 Palmyra 405
 Pañcāla 351
 Pāṇḍava 344
 Paṇḍukābhaya 238f, 364, 381
 Pāṇḍya 110, 294, 295, 328
 Pāṇini, date of 330f
 Pañjāb 5, 16, 66, 340, 341, 357
 Pārada 345, 390, 398
 Parakkamabāhu I 241, 381, 401

- Paramayona 225f, 363, 364, 403
 Pāraśava 328
 Pārasika, Pārasīka 113, 335, 345, 383, 398, 399, 405
 Paraśurāma 338, 391
 Paropanisadae 241
 Parthia(ns) 271, 336, 337, 345f, 353, 360, 378, 398, 409
 Parvataka 350
 Pārvatīya Mleccha 346
 Pāṣaṇḍa 168
 Pātāla 172
 Pāṭaliputra 85, 86f, 350, 351, 352, 378, 380, 381, 384
 Paulīśa(siddhānta) 130, 131, 132, 138, 140, 373, 374
 Paulus of Alexandria 373
 Paura 20, 333
 Paurava 350, 402
 Pavanasena 94, 363
 pearls 386, 404f, 407
 pepper 49, 53, 56, 57f, 300, 330, 385, 386, 387, 388, 399
 perfumes 259f, 263, 388, 401
 Persia, Persians 62, 241, 332, 333, 335, 345, 359, 398ff, 405, 409, 410
 Persian language 139, 141, 383, 398, 401
 planets 122, 125, 129, 130, 132, 136f, 140, 326, 368, 369, 370ff
 Plato 352
 poisoning 379
 Porus 350
 Prāgijyotiṣa 5, 7, 11, 23, 347
 Prākṛit languages 330, 384
 Pramati 175, 351, 394
 Praṣṭhāna 398
 Prinsep, James 325, 328
 prostitution 86f, 287, 378, 384
 Ptolemy II Philadelphus 328
 Ptolemy, Claudius 345, 358, 366, 373f, 397, 409
 Pulinda 346, 390
 Pulīśa, see Paulīśa
 Puṇḍra(ka) 23, 60, 338, 390
 punishments 267, 391
 Purūravas 84
 Puṣkarasārī script 384
 Puṣpamitra/Puṣyamitra Śuṅga 350, 351f
 Pythagoras 326
 Raghu 68f, 342, 350, 399
 Rāhu 126f, 134f
 Rājagrha 364
 Rājasūya 4, 8, 344
 Rāma 406
 Rāmakadeśa 406
 Ramala 115, 140
 Ramaṭha 383
 Rāmeṣu 74, 362
 Raumaka language 383, 398
 Rāvaṇa 366
 Ṛgveda 137, 370
 riverine geography 148, 158f, 172, 175, 192, 360, 406
 rock crystal 144
 Romā 6, 269, 364, 405, 406, 407
 Romaka, people/place 100, 114, 269, 406, 407
 Romakācārya 115, 140, 138
 Romakapura 140
 Romaka(siddhānta) 130f, 141, 373, 374, 407
 Romakatājika 140
 Romakaviṣaya 131, 137, 373, 405, 407
 Roman Empire 363, 383, 386, 410
 Romanukkharaṭṭha 407
 Romavivara 269, 406
 Rome, Romans 131, 197, 364, 383, 402, 405, 406ff, 409
 Rṣabha 284
 Rukmiṇī 40, 391
 Śabara 20, 338, 340, 346, 390
 Sabbadinna 353
 Sabbadotos 353
 Sadhammaratnāvaliya 354
 saffron 260
 Sāgala 246ff, 352, 403
 Sagara 27, 145f, 153, 159ff, 164f, 169, 177f, 181f, 192ff, 195, 197f, 338, 339, 342, 350, 361, 390ff
 Sahadeva 6, 406

- Sahya 110
 Saindhava 347, 361
 Śaka (Saka, Saga) 12, 20, 79, 271, 328, 330, 333, 335, 338, 339f, 341, 344, 345, 346ff, 351, 352, 356, 358, 360, 365, 383, 385, 390, 394f, 398
 Śaka era 351
 Śaka script 271
 Śakala 5
 Sāketa 327, 351
 Śālivāhana 78, 99, 351, 400f
 Salt Range 406
 Śalya 16, 17f, 341
 Sambhara Lake 406
 Samudragupta 350, 377
 Sangam (Cankam) 330, 385
 Sañjaya 9f, 13f, 17
 Sanskrit language 42ff, 107f, 115, 119, 141, 326, 330, 333f, 354, 368, 369ff, 384, 385, 387, 401, 406, 410
 Sasanids 377, 409
 Sātavāhana 351, 400f
 satī 379
 Satiyaputa 328
 Saturn 128, 135, 370, 372
 Satya 368
 Sātyaki 13, 344
 Satyaśīla 379
 Śaurasenī language 384, 385
 Sāyana 137
 Scylax 332
 Scythians 359, see also Śaka
 Seleucids 345
 Seleucus I Nicator 329, 340
 shaving 13, 45, 103, 342, 390f
 shoes 228f
 Śibi 346, 376
 Siddhapura 137, 407
 Siddhānta (in astronomy) 115, 130ff, 141, 142f, 373, 374, 407
 Siḥabāhu 391
 Sikandar 96
 Siṃhala, Sinhala 22, 23, 340, 381, 403
 Sindh 105, 348, 359, 378, 390, 400
 Sindhusauvīra 9, 346, 348
 Śiśupāla 75
 Sinhalese language 261, 354, 391
 Sītā (Rāma's wife) 9, 26f, 346, 358
 Sītā (river) 360
 slaves 7, 274, 275, 277f, 279, 280, 282f, 329, 376ff
 Sogdian language 349
 Sogdiana 336, 402
 Sopāra 284, 366
 South Arabia 362
 South-East Asia 245, 354, 363, 364, 382, 385, 387, 396f, 401, 410
 Speusippus 368
 Sphujidhvaja 115ff, 140, 368, 374
 Śramaṇas 329
 Sri Lanka 137, 239, 328, 354, 381, 382, 391, 404, 407
 Śrī Puḷumāvi 215
 stater 354
 Strabo 345, 351, 359, 376
 strategos 354
 Strījātaka 115
 Strīsāmudrikalakṣaṇa 115
 Sudakṣiṇa 11, 348
 Śūdra 43, 64, 49f, 104, 120, 195, 328, 329, 338, 339, 340, 359, 398
 Sumanas 348
 Sumatra 397
 Sun 122, 129, 136, 326, 343, 359, 370, 371, 372, 407
 Śūra 16, 348
 Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Suvarṇabhūmi 284, 397, 403
 Suvarṇadvīpa 363
 svayamvara 21, 22, 40
 Swat 203
 syrinx 354
 Tājika 115, 139, 398, 401
 Tājikapraśna 115
 Tājikaśāstra 115
 Tālajaṅgha 195, 339, 390
 Tamil language and texts 231, 294ff, 330, 356, 362, 365, 383, 384, 401, 403, 410
 Tāmralipta(ka) 13, 93, 291, 358
 Telugu language 48, 383

- Ter 385
 Thailand 262, 396, 410
 Theodamas 203, 354
 Theodorus 203, 354
 Thracians 332
 Tibetan texts 264, 384
 Tibeto-Burman peoples/languages 345, 383
 tin 387
 Tissa 226f, 234f, 243, 380
 Tocharoi 237, 354, 398
 trade 330, 333, 335, 342, 362ff, 385ff, 403ff
 Trigarta 346, 348
 Tukhāra 271, 345, 346, 349, 398
 Turkish language 383
 Turks 260, 398ff, 410
 Turuṣka (Turukha) 55, 56, 79, 94, 95, 110, 113, 260, 349, 359, 387, 398, 400
 Turvasu 338
 Tuṣāra 345, 346, 349, 398
 Tuṣāspa 335, 336
 Udayana 94
 Upaniṣad 352
 Uttarapatha 358, 359
 Vaiśya 104
 Vajradatta 347
 Vākāṭaka 355f
 Vālmīki 338f
 Vanavāsa 67, 378
 Vaṅga 23
 Vārāṇasī 80, 89, 393
 Varṣaphala 374
 Vasiṣṭha 3, 25f, 160, 169, 339, 340f, 361
 Vasumitra 82, 350
 Vāyu 123
 Veda 18, 339, 340, 343, 399
 Venus 127, 135, 370, 372
 Vidyādhara 93, 366, 367
 Vietnam 396, 410
 Vijaya 391
 vīṇā 299, 386
 Vindhya 166
 Vindhyaśakti 355f
 Viṣṇu 175, 192, 350, 367
 Viśvāmitra 3, 25f, 340f, 361, 390
 Viśvila 89f, 366
 Vṛddhayavana 368, 374
 Wakhan 357
 weights 204, 354
 wheat 52, 110, 112, 341, 342, 388, 405
 Wilson, Horace Hayman 326
 wine 74, 81, 110, 112, 168, 294, 330, 341, 342, 363, 378, 385
 Xerxes 327
 Yamakoṭi 407
 Yarkand 360
 Yauna 20, 332ff, 345, 346, 358
 Yavadvīpa 397
 Yavakoṭi (Yamakoṭi) 137
 Yavanācārya 115, 123, 138, 139, 140, 326, 374
 Yavanācāryapadāni 115
 Yavanācāryasiddhānta 115
 Yavanāri 57, 80, 393
 Yavanadeśa 94f, 363, 364, 378
 Yavanadvīpa (Javaṇḍīva), Yavana island 290, 292, 365, 378, 397, 404, 407
 Yavana era 208, 354, 393
 Yavanahorā 115
 Yavanajātaka 115
 Yavanajātakasamhitā 115
 Yavanajyotiṣaśāstra 115
 Yavana King (yavamarāja, yavanādhipati, yavananarendra, yavaneśa) 32, 116, 166, 335, 348f, 368, 392f, see also Yavaneśvara
 Yavanakoṣṭaka 115
 Yavana language 80, 107f, 139, 157, 230f, 233, 236, 245, 300, 330, 383ff, 401
 Yavanapārijātaka 115
 Yavanapura 131, 405, 407
 Yavamarājya 337
 Yavamarāṣṭra, Yavanaviśaya, Yavana country 264ff, 284, 287, 348, 356, 365, 374
 Yavana rebirth 170
 Yavanasamhitā 115
 Yavanasāra 115
 Yavana script 42, 45f, 267f, 271, 274, 279, 288, 327, 331f, 335, 384f
 Yavanasena 363
 Yavanatājika 115

- Yavana women 66f, 81, 83f, 86f, 91, 105,
106, 167f, 256, 274, 275, 277f, 279, 280,
282f, 335f, 342, 345, 348, 364, 376ff
- Yavaneśvara (astrologer) 115f, 117, 119, 133,
136, 139, 140, 142, 368, 374
- Yavanollāsādi 115
- Yayāti 174, 338
- Yonaka 329f
- Yonakadhammarakkhita(tthera) 236, 240,
243, 380, 381
- Yonakagiri 382
- Yonakamahādhammarakkhita(tthera)
226f, 234f, 380
- Yonaloka, Yonaraṭṭha, Yona(ka)visaya
240, 245, 262, 288, 380, 381, 396, 401
- Yonamahārakkhita 381, 404
- Yudhiṣṭhira 4, 7, 8, 23, 347
- Yuezhi 329
- Zenophilus 354
- zodiac 123, 125, 133, 140, 325f, 368, 369,
371f, 373

STUDIA ORIENTALIA

Edited by the Finnish Oriental Society (Societas Orientalis Fennica)

A complete list of publications as well as a list of articles in each volume can be found at: www.suomenitainenseura.org. Back issues in electronic format can be found at: ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/StOrE/issue/archive.

Distributed by Federation of Finnish Learned Societies/Bookstore Tiedekirja

www.tiedekirja.fi

address: Snellmaninkatu 13, FIN-00170 Helsinki, Finland

tel. +358-9-635177

e-mail: tiedekirja@tsv.fi

Volumes available:

76. 1995. 228 pp. Five Rağaz Collections. Materials for the study of Rağaz Poetry II. Compiled and ed. **J. Hämeen-Anttila**. €25
77. 1995. 258 pp. **T. Paajanen** Scribal Treatment of the Literary and Vernacular Proverbs of al-Mustařraf in 15th–17th Century Manuscripts. With special reference to diglossic variation. €25
78. 1996. 268 pp. Minor Rağaz Collections. Materials for the study of Rağaz poetry III. Compiled and ed. **J. Hämeen-Anttila**. €25
79. 1996. 178 pp. **P. Huang** Lao Zi: The book and the man. €25
80. 1997. 179 pp. **P. Nikkilä** Preference and Choice in the Confucian Analects. €25
81. 1997. xiv + 136 pp. **R. Harjula** The Ideal of the Good Life. As crystallized by Tanzanian Meru proverbs. €20
82. 1997. vii + 290 pp. (Collection of 10 articles + book reviews.) €25
83. 1997. x + 439 pp. **K. Karttunen** India and the Hellenistic World. €30
85. 1999. x + 468 pp. (Collection of 22 articles + book reviews.) €30
86. 1999. vii + 264 pp. **H. Juusola** Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts. €25
87. 1999. 326 pp. **Writing in the Altaic world**. Proceedings of the 41st Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC). Ed. Juha Janhunen & Volker Rybatzki. (Collection of 29 articles.) €25
88. 2000. viii + 249 pp. **V.-J. Vuori** Repetitive Structures in the Languages of East and South-East Asia. €25
89. 2000. xiii + 238 pp. **S.M. Alamolhoda** Phonostatistics and Phonotactics of the Syllable in Modern Persian. €25
90. 2000. xii + 330 pp. + 24 pls. **M. Torniainen** From Austere *wabi* to Golden *wabi*. Philosophical and aesthetic aspects of *wabi* in the way of tea. €35
91. 2000. xii + 436 pp. **M. Parpola** Kerala Brahmins in Transition. A study of a Nampūtiri family. €35
92. 2000. xi + 263 pp. **R. Lehonkoski** Describing East-Asian Grammar. An application of Role and Reference Grammar. €25
93. 2001. xiii + 247 pp. **A. Kerkkänen** Yugoslav Jewry. Aspects of post-World War II and post-Yugoslav developments. €25
94. 2001. 511 pp. **Vidyārņavandanam**. Essays in honour of Asko Parpola. Ed. Klaus Karttunen & Petteri Koskikallio. Contains a bibliography of Asko Parpola's publications. (Collection of 31 articles.) €40
95. 2003. 516 pp. (Collection of 22 articles + book reviews.) €30

96. 2003. vi + 320 pp. **H. Weiss** Obligatory Almsgiving. An inquiry into *Zakāt* in the pre-colonial Bilād as-Sūdān. €30
97. 2003. xxxix + 325 pp. **Remota Relata**. Essays on the history of Oriental studies in honour of Harry Halén. Ed. Juha Janhunen & Asko Parpola. (Collection of 26 articles.) €30
98. 2003. vii + 341 pp. **S. Seppälä** In Speechless Ecstasy. Expression and interpretation of mystical experience in Classical Syriac and Sufi literature. €30
99. 2004. xxvii + 444 pp. **Verbum et Calamus**. Semitic and related studies in honour of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Tapani Harviainen. Ed. Hannu Juusola, Juha Laulainen & Heikki Palva. (Collection of 34 articles.) €30
100. 2004. xviii + 253 pp. **S. Muir** Yiddish in Helsinki. Study of a colonial Yiddish dialect and culture. €30
101. 2007. 595 pp. (Collection of 22 articles + book reviews.) €30
102. 2006. 175 pp. **S. Akar** But if You Desire God and His Messenger. The concept of choice in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. €30
103. 2006. xviii + 230 pp. **Africa in the Long Run**. Festschrift in the honour of Professor Arvi Hurskainen. Ed. Lotta Harjula & Maaria Ylänkö. (Collection of 14 articles.) €30
104. 2006. 736 + xviii pp. **T. Salmenkari** Democracy, Participation, and Deliberation in China. The discussion in the official Chinese press, 1978–1981. €40
105. 2008. 437 pp. **H. Weiss** Between Accomodation and Revivalism. Muslims, the state, and society in Ghana from the precolonial to the postcolonial era. €30
106. 2009. xxiv + 503 pp. **Of God(s), Trees, Kings and Scholars**. Neo-Assyrian and related studies in honour of Simo Parpola. Ed. Mikko Luukko, Saana Svärd & Raija Mattila. (Collection of 34 articles.) €35
107. 2009. 400 pp. (Collection of 14 articles + book reviews.) €30
108. 2010. xviii + 335 pp. **Anantaṁ Śāstram**. Indological and linguistic studies in honour of Bertil Tikkanen. Ed. Klaus Karttunen. (Collection of 20 articles.) €30
109. 2011. xii + 240 pp. **Himalayan Nature: Representations and reality**. Ed. Erika Sandman & Riika J. Virtanen. (Collection of 12 articles + book reviews.) €25
110. 2011. xxiv + 333 pp. **Pūrvāparaprajñābbhinandanam – East and West, Past and Present: Indological and Other Essays in Honour of Klaus Karttunen**. Ed. Bertil Tikkanen & Albion M. Butters. — **B. Tikkanen** Preface. — **G. Bailey** “Him I Call a Brahmin”: Further instances of intertextuality between the Mahābhārata and some Pāli texts. — **H. Bakker** Origin and Spread of the Pāśupata Movement: About Heracles, Lakulīṣa and symbols of masculinity. — **J. Bronkhorst** Archetypes and Bottlenecks: Reflections on the text history of the Mahābhārata. — **M. Broo** Drama in the Service of Kṛṣṇa: Rūpa Gosvāmin’s Nāṭaka-Candrikā. — **R.P. Das** The Classical Āyurvedic Representation of Human Anatomy. — **M.M. Deshpande** *Ārṣa* versus *Anārṣa* in Pāṇini and Allied Literature. — **H. Falk** Die Kurus und Ihre Jungen Frauen. — **M. Fujii** The Recovery of the Body after Death: A prehistory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*. — **J. Meulenbeld** Lakṣmaṇa’s Yogacandrikā. — **P. Olivelle** War and Peace: Semantics of *Samdhi* and *Vigraha* in the *Arthaśāstra*. — **A. Parpola** The Three Ways of Chanting in a Sacrificial Laud: Chapter two of Jaimini-Paryadhyāya (Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra III) with Bhavatrāta’s commentary: Sanskrit text with an annotated English translation. — **R. Salomon** The Macedonian Month Xandikos in Gandhāran Inscriptions. — **H. Schildt** Rare Mediaeval Kerala Murals at Kumbla, near Kasargode. — **B. Tikkanen** Domaki Noun Inflection and Case Syntax. — **O. Merisalo** *In Horis Sanguinis*: Physiology and Generation in the Pseudo-Galenic *De Spermate*. — **P. Pohjanlehto** Nasal Reduction in Late Luwian. — **J. Pyysalo** Fourteen Indo-European Etymologies in Honour of Klaus Karttunen. **H. Halén** — Henrik Grenman and Olga Sederholm – Two unlucky Finnish Orientalists from the town of Vasa. — **T. Harviainen** Syriac Poems Written by Finnish Scholars in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. — **N. Johansson** Abraham Ibn Ezra on “The Scholars of India” – A twelfth century Jewish view of Indian astrology. — **K. Öhrnberg** Georg August

- Wallin: An Orientalist between national and imperial orientalism. — **Y. Vassilkov** From the History of Indian Studies in Russia: Gerasim Lebedev and the Freemasons. €30
111. 2011. xi + 482 pp. **J. Abellán Pérez** Ordenanzas jerezanas sobre la guarda de la frontera frente a Ronda y su serranía a comienzos de la guerra de Granada (1482–1484). — **L. Behzadi** Categories of proper language in classical Arabic literature. — **M.M. Dziekan** Algerische Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. — **M. Espinar Moreno** Economía de los centros de culto del Reino de Granada: Los bienes habices de la mezquita y rábitas del Padúl (Valle de Lecrín, Granada). — **K. Karttunen** Studies in the Gṛhya Prayogas of the Jaiminiya Sāmaveda: 5. Pratisarabandha. — **T. Kukkonen** The Good, the beautiful, and the true aesthetic issues in Islamic philosophy. — **S.H. Levitt** New considerations regarding the identity of Vedic *sóma* as the mushroom fly-agaric. — **T. Lindquist** Semantic borrowings and grammatical change in written Arabic in Israel under the influence of Hebrew: The Function of DPs and the peculiar ماحش. — **I. Lindstedt** Anti-religious views in the works of Ibn al-Rāwandī and Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī. — **V. Martínez Enamorado** Falcons and falconry in Al-Andalus. — **F. Moscoso García** Un pionero en los estudios de árabe marroquí: El P. Fr. Patricio José de la Torre. Refranes y adagios. — **I. Nokso-Koivisto** Summarized beauty: The Microcosm-Macrocosm analogy and Islamic aesthetics. — **C. Pérez Beltrán** Mujeres en cursos de alfabetización en el norte de Marruecos: Un estudio de caso en el círculo rural de Asila. — **T. Salmenkari** Access and repression in Korea. — **H. Shehadeh** Arabic loanwords in Hebrew. — **L. Tainio** Kosovo Turks: From privileged status to fear of assimilation. — **R. Tuori** “More didactic than lyrical”: Modern views on Karaite Hebrew poetry. — **M. Viitamäki** New wine from Medina: Aesthetics of popular qawwali lyrics. — **S. Wu** The great migration: Inception of the Zhou identity. — **J. Janhunen** Review article: Ancient art and archaeology from Central Asia. — Book Reviews. €30
112. 2012. vi + 206 pp. **M. Grodzki** “Muslims” and “Islam” in Middle Eastern Literature of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries AD: An Alternative perspective of West European oriental scholarship. — **A. Kamczycki** Zionist Restitution of the Ugly Jew’s Image: The Case of Theodor Herzl. — **K. Karttunen** Aśoka, the Buddhist Saṅgha and the Graeco-Roman World. — **H. Mazuz** Christians in the Qurʾān: Some insights derived from the classical exegetic approach. — **J.P. Monferrer-Sala** One More Time on the Arabized Nominal Form Iblīs. — **M.D. Rodríguez Gómez** Describing the Ruin: Writings of Arabic notaries in the last period of al-Andalus. — **N. Rubinstein-Shemer** Larger than Life: Prayer during wartime in Islamic law. — **T. Salmenkari** Using Feudalism for Political Criticism and for Promoting Systemic Change in China. — **J. Töyräänvuori** Weapons of the Storm God in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Traditions. — Book Reviews. €15
113. 2013. x + 230 pp. **Ex Oriente Lumina: Historiae variae multiethnicae** – Festschrift tillägnad Juha Janhunen på hans 61. födelsedag 12.2.2013. Ed. Tiina Hyttiäinen, Lotta Jalava, Janne Saarikivi & Erika Sandman. — **T. Hyttiäinen, L. Jalava, J. Saarikivi & E. Sandman** Preface. — **J. Anhava** In Search of Hidden Languages. — **M. Béniard** Shen Congwen 沈從文 (1902–1988): un auteur mésestimé. — **O.K. Fält** Perplexing Emperorship: The Status of the emperor of Japan in the United States’ planning bodies in 1943–1944. — **A. Girfanova** The Taz Ethnic Group: Its past and future. — **M. Härkönen** Tibetan Nuns: Gender as a force in a culture under “threat”. — **K. Karttunen** Finnish Students of Oriental Philology in St Petersburg. — **Kelsang Norbu with C.K. Stuart** An A Mdo Tibetan Woman’s Life and Religious Practice. — **J. Komppa** Bargaining for Deities and Chattels: Recent developments in Xiahe as reflected in the local antiques trade. — **S. Kuzay Li** Hanqiu 李涵秋 (1874–1923): Ein Author zwischen Tradition und Moderne: Der Roman “Die Fluten Von Guangling” (廣陵潮 Guangling Chao) Als Spiegel Seiner Zeit. — **A. Lahtinen** Challenges of Qinghai Province. — **Libu Lakhi, C.K. Stuart & G. Roche** Namuyi Tibetans: Electrified change. — **Limusishiden, Ha Mingzong & C.K. Stuart** Niidosang: A Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Deity. — **A. Logie** Understanding the Enigma of Traditional Korean Culture. — **A. Niemi** Sitting by the Rice-Basket: Hunger phrases in Chan Buddhism. — **G. Roche & Lcag mo tshe ring** Notes on the

- Maintenance of Diversity in Amdo: Language use in Gnyan thog village annual rituals. — **T. Salmenkari** Language in Taiwanese Social Movements. — **C. Schönig** Die Modernen Türkssprachen: Skizze zu einem Familienportrait. — **M. Suutarinen** Arabic Script among China's Muslims: A Dongxiang folk story. — **Wuqi Chenaktsang** A Short Introduction to Tibetan Kinship Terms in A-mdo. — **V. Zikmundová** Several Observations Concerning the Sibe Practice of the Deoci and Andai Rituals of the Khorchin Mongols. €20
114. 2014. xii + 578 pp. **Travelling through Time: Essays in honour of Kaj Öhrnberg**. Ed. Sylvia Akar, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila & Inka Nokso-Koivisto. — **S. Akar, J. Hämeen-Anttila & I. Nokso-Koivisto** Foreword. — **H. Halén** Kaj Öhrnberg: A Biographical sketch. — Bibliography of the Publications of Kaj Öhrnberg. — **M. Anhava** An Enchanted Wanderer. — **P. Berg** Like-Minded Scholars Through the Centuries: Mission Georg August Wallin. — **I. Lindstedt** The Transmission of al-Madā'īnī's Historical Material to al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī: A Comparison and analysis of two *khabars*. — **J. Hämeen-Anttila** Al-Kisrawī and the Arabic Translations of the *Khwadāynāmag*. — **T.P. Lankila** The Saracen Raid of Rome in 846: An Example of maritime *ghazw*. — **T. Heikkilä** Between East and West: The Many uses of the life of St Symeon of Trier. — **I. Perho** Ibn Taghrībirdī's Voice. — **V. Martínez Enamorado** Bronces de al-Ándalus y epigrafía: el caso del hallazgo de Denia (siglo XI). — **R. El Hour** De nuevo sobre el cadiazgo de al-Ándalus almorávide: reflexiones acerca del cadiazgo de Almuñécar. — **J. Abellán Pérez** La derrota granadina en las Lomas de Diego Díaz (1483). — **M. Espinar Moreno** Noticias sobre el cadí Rodrigo Aben Chapela de Aldeire y su familia. — **M. Viitamäki** Modern Conveyances, Traditional Destinations: Khvāja Ḥasan Nizāmī's 1911 tour of the Middle East. — **H. Weiss** „Katastrophen Sind Prüfungen Allahs“: Alltagserfahrungen Muslimischer Gelehrter in Nord-Ghana. — **M. Saarnivaara** From Terrorists to Celebrities: Deportation as a political opportunity for Palestinian Islamic Hamas. — **I. Nokso-Koivisto & S. Svärd** The Microcosm-Macrocosm Analogy in Mesopotamian and Mediaeval Islamic Contexts. — **J. Kaukua** Suhrawardī's Knowledge as Presence in Context. — **J. Mattila** The Philosophical Lives of Ibn al-Haytham and Ibn Ridwān: Autobiography as an expression of the philosophical way of life. — **T. Kukkonen** On Adding to the Names: The Camel's smile. — **R. Tuori** Polish-Lithuanian Karaite Hebrew *Zemiro*: Imitation only? A Review on a marginal genre. — **N. Nasrallah** Mediaeval Arabs Ate Sandwiches, Too: *Bazmāward* and *awsāt* for the record. — **M. Meouak** Palmiers-Dattiers et Dattes dans l'Occident Musulman d'après la '*Umdat al-ṭabīb fi ma'rifat al-nabāt li-kull labīb* d'Abū l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī (6^e/XII^e siècle). — **V. Prevost** Nourritures Médiévales: L'alimentation au Maghreb d'après les Sources Ibadites (XI^e–XIII^e siècle). — **M. Iliushina** A Journey to St Petersburg: On the fate of the manuscript *Kitāb riḥlat al-shitā' wa-l-ṣaif* by Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī. — **T. Harviainen & K. Karttunen** The Outset of Arabic Studies in Finland with Notes on Finnish: Carolus Clewberg and Michael Avellan. — **H. Halén** Haik Bek-Arakelov: An Armenian officer and Islamic poet. — **F. Thomasson** Johan David Åkerblad: Orientalist, traveller, and manuscript collector. — Illustrations to Thomasson's and Vasilyeva's Articles. — **O.V. Vasilyeva** Åkerblad's Collection in Suchtelen's Orientalia: From Sweden to Russia. — **H. Palva** G.A. Wallin's Contributions to the Study of Arabic Dialects. — **Fr. Moscoso García** Dos cuentos en árabe del norte de Marruecos: 'El porqué el murciélago no tiene plumas' y '¿Quién arma más lío?'. — **H. Juusola** Notes on the Orientalism Debate and Orientalism in Finland. — **S. Akar** Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language: From Grammar-Translation method to the Audio-Lingual approach. — A Note from the Editor. € 28
115. 2015. xiii + 332 pp. **Riika J. Virtanen** Tibetan Written Images: A Study of imagery in the writings of Dhondup Gyal. € 24