

CONTENTS

<i>Prefaces</i>	<i>page</i> xii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>Introduction</i>	xix

PART I. (INTRODUCTORY)

THE BACKGROUND IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Chapter I. THE SELEUCID SETTLEMENT *pages* 1–33

The Seleucid empire, *p.* 1. The importance of the eparchy, *p.* 2. Eparchy names, *p.* 3. Nature of the empire, *p.* 4. The settlement of Greeks, *p.* 5. The military colony, *p.* 6. Colony and city, *p.* 9. Foreign colonies, *p.* 10. Nomenclature of the military colony, *p.* 10. Colonies from new cities, *p.* 12. City nicknames, *p.* 13. Prophthasia, *p.* 14. Ethnic names, *p.* 15. Sirynx, *p.* 15. Two classes of cities, *p.* 16. The Greek cities, *p.* 17. Cities with native names, *p.* 19. Anisa, *p.* 19. Sirynx, *p.* 20. The question of Asiatic citizens, *p.* 21. Military colonies in towns, *p.* 22. The king and the new cities, *p.* 24. The epistates, *p.* 24. Greek Susa, *p.* 27. The cities under Parthian rule, *p.* 30. The land system, *p.* 31. The Iranian landowners, *p.* 32. The Seleucids and the peasantry, *p.* 32.

Chapter II. LITERATURE AND SOCIAL CONTACTS *pages* 34–70

The question of mixed marriages, *p.* 35. Half-breeds, *p.* 38. The Susa poems, *p.* 39. The migration of men of learning, *p.* 40. The change under Parthian rule, *p.* 42. The Stoic school at Seleuceia, *p.* 42. Rhetoric, *p.* 43. Seleucus the astronomer, *p.* 43. Apollodorus of Artemita, *p.* 44. The lost historian ('Troglus' source'), *p.* 45. Extent and date of his history, *p.* 48. Plutarch's eastern source in *Crasus*, *p.* 50. Isidore of Charax, *p.* 53. The Greeks and Iran, *p.* 55. Babylonia: on the surface, *p.* 56. Below the surface, *p.* 57. Its effect upon Greeks, *p.* 58. Seleuceia, *p.* 60. The trade routes, *p.* 61. Temporary Greek effect on the Middle East, *p.* 62. The Seleucid calendar, *p.* 65. The Parthian calendar, *p.* 65. The rising level of Asia, *p.* 65. Causes of the Greek failure, *p.* 66. Greek deities in Asia, *p.* 68. The Susa manumissions, *p.* 68. The problem of the Greek numbers, *p.* 69.

PART II

BACTRIA AND INDIA

Chapter III. EUTHYDEMUS AND BACTRIA *pages* 71–128

Diodotus, *p.* 72. Seleucid connection of the Euthydemids, *p.* 73. Euthydemus and his sons, *p.* 74. The Bactrian portraits, *p.* 75. The children of Demetrius, *p.* 76. The

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00941-6 - The Greeks in Bactria and India

William Woodthorpe Tarn

Table of Contents

[More information](#)

viii

CONTENTS

nomad background, *p.* 79. The kingdom of Euthydemus, *p.* 82. Ferghana, *p.* 83. The expedition into Chinese Turkestan, *p.* 84. The Greek words from Khotan, *p.* 85. Nickel, *p.* 87. Greater Margiane, *p.* 88. The system of sub-kings, *p.* 90. Antimachus, *p.* 90. Seistan, *p.* 93. Gedrosia, *p.* 93. Arachosia, *p.* 94. Demetrias in Arachosia, *p.* 94. The Paropamisadae, *p.* 95. Eparchies, *p.* 96. Alexandria-Kapisa, *p.* 97. Other towns, *p.* 99. History, *p.* 100. Bactria proper, *p.* 102. The gold question in Bactria and India, *p.* 104. The 'Seres', *p.* 109. The Siberian expedition, *p.* 109. Trade, *p.* 111. The supposed Oxo-Caspian route, *p.* 112. The Bactrian satrapies, *p.* 113. Bactra, *p.* 114. Defence against the nomads, *p.* 116. Cities, *p.* 118. Demetrias-Termedh, *p.* 118. Military colonies, *p.* 119. The walled villages, *p.* 121. Euthydemus and the native Bactrians, *p.* 124. Kūh-i-Khwāja, *p.* 127.

Chapter IV. DEMETRIUS AND THE INVASION OF INDIA*pages 129–182*

The Mauryan empire, *p.* 129. Previous invasions, *p.* 130. Demetrius as a second Alexander, *p.* 131. Chronology, *p.* 132. Date of Menander, *p.* 133. Euthydemus II, *p.* 134. Gandhāra, *p.* 135. Taxila (Bhir), *p.* 136. Demetrius II, *p.* 137. Demetrius' communications with Bactria, *p.* 139. Apollodotus and Menander, *p.* 140. Demetrius occupies Sind, *p.* 142. Demetrias-Patala, *p.* 142. The eastern advance, *p.* 143. Menander occupies Pātaliputra, *p.* 145. The southern advance, *p.* 147. Apollodotus occupies Barygaza and Ujjain, *p.* 148. Demetrius' plan, *p.* 152. 'Asia' and 'India', *p.* 153. *Rex Indorum*, *p.* 154. Demetrius' realm, *p.* 155. His return to Bactria, *p.* 156. Re-organisation of sub-kings, *p.* 156. Demetrius II, *p.* 157. Pantaleon, *p.* 157. Agathocles, *p.* 157. Hecate of the Three Ways, *p.* 158. Agathocles' coinage, *p.* 158. Coinage of Taxila, *p.* 161. Apollodotus, *p.* 163. Menander, *p.* 166. The meaning of the 'conquest' of India, *p.* 167. Alexander in India, *p.* 167. The 'free peoples', *p.* 169. Kambojas, *p.* 170. Asvaka, *p.* 170. Sibi, *p.* 170. Madras, *p.* 171. Sauvīras, *p.* 171. Abhīras, *p.* 171. Greeks and Buddhism, *p.* 172. Brahmans, *p.* 173. Pushyamitra, *p.* 175. Greeks and Buddhists, *p.* 175. The Asoka-Avadāna, *p.* 177. Demetrius as King of Justice, *p.* 178. His Taxila (Sirkap), *p.* 179. Nature of the 'conquest', *p.* 180. The bilingual coinage, *p.* 181. Demetrius' policy and kingship, *p.* 181.

Chapter V. ANTIOCHUS IV AND EUCRATIDES*pages 183–224*

Antiochus: the lost chapter, *p.* 183. His career, *p.* 184. Babylon, *p.* 187. His plan, *p.* 188. Coinage, *p.* 191. Egypt, *p.* 192. His triumph, *p.* 193. His Charisteria at Babylon, *p.* 195. His cousin Eucratides, *p.* 196. Eucratides' chronology, *p.* 197. Eucratides' conquest of eastern Iran, *p.* 199. Death of Demetrius, *p.* 200. The Euthydemid propaganda, *p.* 201. The reason of Eucratides' success, *p.* 202. His position, *p.* 203. The two Seleucid realms, *p.* 203. The Dioscuri, *p.* 204. Antiochus' celebrations, *p.* 206. Eucratideia, *p.* 207. Plato, *p.* 209. Eucratides invades India, *p.* 212. Premature death of Antiochus, *p.* 215. Death of Apollodotus, *p.* 215. Eucratides King of Kings, *p.* 217. Chronology, *p.* 218. His recall to Bactria, *p.* 219. His defeat and death, *p.* 219. Mithridates I and Bactria, *p.* 222.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00941-6 - The Greeks in Bactria and India

William Woodthorpe Tarn

Table of Contents

[More information](#)

CONTENTS

ix

Chapter VI. MENANDER AND HIS KINGDOM *pages 225–269*

Menander sole king in India, *p.* 225. Chronology, *p.* 225. Agathocleia, *p.* 226. Extent of his rule, *p.* 227. Antimachus II his sub-king, *p.* 229. Ptolemy the geographer, *p.* 230. The fragments of a list of the Greek provinces, *p.* 232. Sind and the South, *p.* 233. Gandhāra, *p.* 237. The East, *p.* 238. The Indian peoples, *p.* 239. Nature and organisation of the Greek provinces, *p.* 240. The towns, *p.* 243. Ptolemy's list east of the Jhelum, *p.* 245. Bucephala, *p.* 245. Iomousa, *p.* 246. Sāgala, *p.* 247. Greek poetry, *p.* 248. Military colonies, *p.* 249. Mathurā, *p.* 251. The cave inscriptions, *p.* 254. Indian citizens of Greek cities, *p.* 256. Nature of Menander's kingdom, *p.* 258. Trade, *p.* 260. Coinage, *p.* 261. Menander as a Chakravartin, *p.* 263. 'Weds Athena', *p.* 265. His legend, *p.* 265. The Milinda-pañha, *p.* 266. His attitude to Buddhism, *p.* 268.

Chapter VII. THE NOMAD CONQUEST OF BACTRIA *pages 270–311*

Heliocles, *p.* 270. Eucratides II, *p.* 271. Antialcidas, *p.* 273. Causes of the nomad invasion, *p.* 274. The trek of the Yueh-chi, *p.* 276. The Sai-wang, *p.* 277. Ferghana (Ta-yuan), *p.* 278. Chang-k'ien, *p.* 279. His Report: how far his, *p.* 280. The mythical Saca conquest of Bactria, *p.* 283. The Greek accounts, *p.* 284. Asii, *p.* 284. Tochari, *p.* 285. The Yueh-chi a composite horde, *p.* 286. Language and race of the Asii, *p.* 287. Of the Tochari, *p.* 288. Sacaraucae, *p.* 291. Pasiāni-Parsii, *p.* 292. Chronology of the conquest of Bactria (Ta-hia), *p.* 294. The Ta-hia = Tochari myth, *p.* 296. Origin of the name Ta-hia, *p.* 297. Parallels to their recognition by Chang-k'ien, *p.* 297. His account of them, *p.* 298. The 'walled towns', *p.* 299. Reconstruction of the conquest, *p.* 299. Origin and meaning of the Alexander-descents, *p.* 301. Coinage under the Yueh-chi, *p.* 303. The writing of Saca, *p.* 305. The 'perishing' of the Sacaraucae, *p.* 306. The 'heavenly horse', *p.* 308. The last Greek, *p.* 310. Chang-k'ien and his legend, *p.* 311.

Chapter VIII. GREEKS AND SACAS IN INDIA *pages 312–350*

The later Greek kings, *p.* 312. The western group: Antialcidas, *p.* 313. Lysias, *p.* 314. Taxila and Gandhāra, *p.* 315. The eastern group: Agathocleia, *p.* 317. Strato I, *p.* 317. Apollodotus II, *p.* 318. A second Zoilus, *p.* 319. The Saca invasion, *p.* 320. Ptolemy's 'Indo-Scythia', *p.* 320. Maues' coins, *p.* 321. Conquers Taxila and Gandhāra, *p.* 323. Loss of Mathurā and the East, *p.* 323. Square letter-forms, *p.* 325. Hippostratus and Nicias on the Jhelum, *p.* 326. Their defeat of the Sacas, *p.* 328. Hippostratus as Great King, *p.* 329. Paropamisadae: Saca (Parsii) conquest of Kabul, *p.* 332. Maues at Kapisa, *p.* 332. Telephus, *p.* 333. Amyntas, *p.* 334. Date of Maues' death, *p.* 335. Collapse of his empire, *p.* 336. The Greek revival: Hermaeus, *p.* 337. The Kujula Kadphises coins, *p.* 338. The Chinese account, *p.* 339. Reconstruction of the story of Hermaeus, *p.* 341. The Vonones coins, *p.* 344. The period of peace, *p.* 346. O-ik-san-li—Prophthasia, *p.* 347. Rise of Spalirises and his son Azes, *p.* 347. End of the two Greek kingdoms, *p.* 349.

Chapter IX. THE GREEKS AND INDIA *pages 351–408*

The change in the evidence, *p. 351*. The Kushans, *p. 352*. Duration of the Greek cities, *p. 352*. Duration of the Greek language, *p. 353*. The Indian mint officials, *p. 356*. The Indo-Macedonian calendars, *p. 359*. The Taxila of Gondophares, *p. 359*. Late Greek building, *p. 360*. Trade in the Greek period, *p. 361*. The Chinese trade, *p. 363*. Indo-China, *p. 364*. Khotan: the Greek seals, *p. 365*. Trade with the West, *p. 366*. Pliny's four stages and the monsoons, *p. 368*. The pepper trade, *p. 370*. The Yavana merchants of the cave inscriptions, *p. 371*. Parchment, *p. 373*. The traffic in girls, *p. 373*. Interaction of Greek and Indian civilisations, *p. 375*. The Greek words in Sanscrit, *p. 376*. Indians and Greek literature, *p. 378*. Greeks and Indian literature, *p. 380*. Drama and mime, *p. 381*. Fable and folktale, *p. 385*. Science, *p. 385*. Inscriptions by Greeks in Brahmi and Kharoshthi, *p. 387*. Indianisation, *p. 390*. Greeks and Indian religions, *p. 391*. Nomenclature, *p. 392*. The Gandhāra school of art, *p. 393*. Chronology, *p. 394*. The controversy over the Buddha-statue, *p. 395*. Current theories, *p. 397*. The definite evidence of a coin of Maues, *p. 400*. Indian development of a Greek idea, *p. 404*. Bhakti, *p. 406*. The last phase, *p. 407*. Alexander-descents, *p. 408*.

CONCLUSION *pages 409–413*

Excursus. The Milindapañha and Pseudo-Aristeas *p. 414*

Appendix 1. Monograms and find-spots *p. 437*

„ 2. The names in -ηνη *p. 442*

„ 3. Agathocles' pedigree coins *p. 446*

„ 4. The Yuga-purāna of the Gārgī Samhitā *p. 452*

„ 5. Demetrius in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāavela *p. 457*

„ 6. Alexandria of the Caucasus and Kapisa *p. 460*

„ 7. Antiochus IV and the temple of Nanaia *p. 463*

„ 8. A sealing from Seleuceia *p. 467*

„ 9. Ki-pin (Kophen) and 'Arachosia' *p. 469*

„ 10. Ta-yuan *p. 474*

„ 11. Chorasmia *p. 478*

„ 12. Ormuz: a lost kingdom *p. 481*

„ 13. Σάγαλα ἢ καὶ Εὐθυμέδεια *p. 486*

CONTENTS

xi

<i>Appendix</i> 14. The supposed Oxo-Caspian trade route	p. 488
„ 15. The Oxus question to-day	p. 491
„ 16. The Era of the Moga copperplate from Taxila	p. 494
„ 17. The Hermaeus-Kujula Kadphises coins	p. 503
„ 18. San and Rho	p. 508
„ 19. Pāndava-Pāndu and Pāndhya	p. 511
„ 20. The Chinese sources	p. 513
„ 21. The Greek names of the Tochari	p. 515
<i>Addenda</i>	p. 520
<i>Addenda (1950) to the Second Edition</i>	p. 521
<i>General Index</i>	p. 543
<i>Index of Principal Greek and Latin Passages</i>	p. 561
PLATE of coin-portraits	<i>following p. 561</i>
PEDIGREE of the Euthydemids and Eucratides, to show the fictitious descent from Alexander	<i>at end</i>
MAP 1. Asia beyond the Euphrates about 180–150 B.C.	„
„ 2. Northern India after the Greek conquest	„
„ 3. The Paropamisadae and Gandhāra (enlarged)	„