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The Seleucid Influence on the Gandhāran Administrative System. A Study on the Greek-Derived Political Offices with Special Reference to the Indo-Scythian Kingdom of Apraca

1 Gandhāra Administration Between the Centuries

After Alexander's expedition (327–325 BCE) and following events such as the establishment of the Indo-Seleucid peace pact (305–303 BCE)¹ and the Indo-Greek conquests (second century BCE),² continuous contact between Indians and Greeks was established in north-western India. In one regard, if we focus on the legacy of the last Alexander, such long-lasting connections are perhaps the most obvious effects of Alexander's campaign. The mutual influence between Indian and Greek culture is evident primarily from inscriptions and only marginally from literary works.³ Given the characteristics of the data at our disposal, with extremely short and repetitive texts, this influence most often takes the form of numerous loanwords. Despite the presence of several Greek-borrowed political terms in the Indian languages and particularly in Gāndhārī, a systematic study of such loanwords has yet to be carried out. Such research must go beyond the mere review of these terms since it is necessary, as far as possible, to reconstruct the overall political system and the ideology underlying it: the presence of Greek (or, even more specifically, Seleucid) terminology alone is not enough to presume a full adoption of a given paradigm as it is well known that words travel much faster than the culture that produced them. In this paper, we will focus on the four Gāndhārī official titles

1 For a historical overview of the Indo-Seleucid war and subsequent alliance, see Giudice (2023).

2 For a detailed account of such conquests, see Tarn (1951) 129–151.

3 See Derrett (1967).

Nota: This work was carried out through an ongoing confrontation between the two authors. For academic requirements, § 1, 1.1, 1.2, 1.2.1, 1.2.2, and Conclusion are attributed to Maria Piera Candotti and § 2, 2.1, 2.2, 3, 3.1, 3.2, 4, 4.1, 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 4.2, 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and Appendix to Alessandro Giudice. All the translations from Sanskrit and Gāndhārī are by the authors unless explicitly declared. The Gāndhārī texts are quoted in the version of Baums/Glass (2002b–).

which are Greek borrowings, i.e., *stratega* (see § 2), *meridakha* (see § 3), *anaṃkaya* (see § 4.1), and *epesukupā* (see § 4.2). The first three are mentioned by Baums⁴ as derived from Hellenistic administrative titles, while Baums and Glass do not even register the last in their *Gāndhārī-English Dictionary*.⁵

1.1 A brief historical and linguistic sketch of Gandhāra and Apraca

We will focus on Gandhāra, one of the areas where this interaction lasted the longest and, more especially, on the Indo-Scythian sub-dynasty of Apraca (first century BCE–first century CE). References to Gandhāra and Apraca are found in 19 surviving inscriptions,⁶ although we will also consider data relating to Indo-Greeks and the Oḍi kingdom.⁷ The information we have on this kingdom is rather poor, as is generally the case for the whole area of Greater Gandhāra, if it is true that, as has been icastically stated by Skinner and Rienjang, “the political landscape of Gandhāra in the decades around the turn of the Common Era has been constructed from corroded coins, eroded inscriptions, decayed manuscripts, and weathered sculptures and then cross-referenced with archaeological data and literary references – a vexing task that remains unfinished”.⁸

The area experienced various forms of interaction between the two cultures over the centuries, with the most important turning points being: a) the split within the Greco-Bactrian kingdom at the end of Euthydemus I’s reign (230–200/195 BCE) when the kingdom was divided between his two sons. Euthydemus II was entrusted with the government of Bactria and the western territories, and Demetrius I was charged with the government of Arachosia and the eastern territories. This marks the beginning of what we can label the Indo-Greek Kingdom; b) the conquest of Gandhāra between 195 and 186 BCE by the Indo-Greek king Demetrius I;⁹ c) the further conquest of Eastern Gandhāra by the Śaka king Maues in 95

4 See Baums (2018a) 39.

5 See Baums/Glass (2002a–).

6 That is: CKI 176, 190, 241, 242, 243, 247, 255, 257, 259, 265, 358, 359, 402, 405, 454, 470, 930, 966 and 1035. It should be noted that CKI 470 and 966 only contain the names of Viśpavarma (CKI 470) and Aśpavarma (CKI 966) and nothing else. Therefore, the inscriptions containing the necessary information for the reconstruction of the history of the Apraca kingdom are only 17.

7 As for Indo-Greek, we will consider the following inscriptions: CKI 32, 33, 552 and 553. As for the Oḍi kingdom, we will consider inscription CKI 249.

8 Skinner/Rienjang (2020) 151.

9 Demetrius chose Kapisa in the Kabul Valley as his seat, while he entrusted the government of Gandhāra to his viceroy Pantaleon, who established himself in Taxila. Pantaleon ruled as viceroy

BCE Western Gandhāra was then dismembered into several kingdoms (Bajaur, Dir, Swat) until the Indo-Scythian conquest of Arachosia and Western Gandhāra in 60 BCE. During the last decades of the first century BCE, a subordinate dynastic line, i.e., that of the ('self-declared') *apracarāja*, seems to have developed in the area around today's Bajaur district. Although this does not amount to a full-fledged split from the Indo-Scythian kingdom, it is clear that the Apraca rulers enjoyed a degree of independence, as is also evidenced by the coinage; d) finally, from the end of the first century CE onwards, the area came under the dominion of the Kushan king, Kujula Kadphises (60–80 CE), under whose rule another subordinate dynasty, i.e., that of the Oḍi kingdom, developed.¹⁰

This geopolitically complex situation also had repercussions on the sociolinguistic scene, as evidenced by our sources, and created different linguistic landscapes depending on the period and place.¹¹ As for the Indo-Greek period, Schoubben analyses the Indo-Greek language contact in terms of a relationship of *adstratum*.¹² After Demetrius' invasion of India and Menander I's further conquests, the Greek language and culture should have imposed a *superstratum* in Gandhāra, to the detriment of the Gāndhārī language and Indian culture. However, Indian culture maintained its predominance since "his [= Menander's] empire [...] was essentially an Indian empire with a small Greek ruling caste; it was not a Greek empire, as the Seleucid was

until 180 BCE; following the assassination of Demetrius, Pantaleon became king in his own right until 170 BCE.

10 For a historical overview of Greater Gandhāra, we refer to Samad's work: see Samad (2011). As for the reconstruction of the historical account of the Indo-Scythian dynasty of Apraca, see Salomon (1996) 439–451; Falk (1998); Salomon (2005) 378–383; Skinner/Rienjang (2020). As for the reconstruction of the historical account of the kingdom of Oḍi, see Salomon (1986) 261; von Hinüber (2003) 7–11.

11 For instance, the sociolinguistic situation of Arachosia during the Mauryan period may be interpreted as characterised by diglossia rather than bilingualism since Greek and Aramaic were employed as official languages (= double acrolect) and Prakrit (a dialect of Gāndhārī) was instead the everyday one (= basilect), as it is evident from the substrate influence of Prakrit in the Greek translation of Aśoka's Rock Edicts XII and XIII. See Giudice/Capponi (2022) 78–83.

12 See Schoubben (2018) 84–87. When two or more languages are used in the same place and time, linguistic contact occurs: see Thomason (2001) 1–3. In this context, three levels (or *strata*) are distinguished: a *superstratum* (i.e. the language specialised in high stylistic registers, the language of administration, often the language of the conquerors), a *substratum* (i.e., a language limited to low to medium stylistic registers, often the language of the conquered), and, possibly, an *adstratum* (where the language of the winners and that of the losers share the same dignity): see Thomason/Kaufman (1988) 116–118.

meant to be, but something much more in the nature of a partnership”.¹³ Greek and Indian (in particular Gāndhārī) constituted two *adstrata*.¹⁴ Inscriptions, coin legends, and official documents were written either in Greek or Indian or were bilingual.¹⁵ Profoundly different and even more complex was the situation in Gandhāra under the rule of the Indo-Scythian kings, whose culture and language were originally Iranian (as is also evident from the onomastic data)¹⁶ and on which Buddhism was later grafted. When it comes to the later kingdoms centred in Mathurā, an increasing role of Sanskrit (which implies Brahmanical culture) can be seen in the inscriptions, which often feature what is called Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit.¹⁷ On the other hand, in the north-western part of the sub-continent, it seems that Gāndhārī was the only *superstratum* language, and it does not seem plausible that Greek was a *substratum*. In such a context, the presence of borrowings from Greek must be evaluated very carefully as it is not necessarily a sign of a profound cultural influence. On the other hand, the Iranian-turn that characterised the last decades of Kushan rule (with a revival of the use of Bactrian in inscriptions) as opposed to the Hellenistic influence in the early years of this kingdom is well known.

13 Tarn (1951) 260.

14 In this and similar descriptions of the sociolinguistic situation, there is, of course, an elephant in the room and it is notoriously Sanskrit. Its absence from public inscriptions does not allow one to infer that it was absent from the sociolinguistic landscape. Pollock recently convincingly argued that the political powers deliberately chose to use Prakrit instead of Sanskrit in public inscriptions for a long time: “in the early period of literacy in South Asia, no dynasty, regardless of how *vaidika* it was – and therefore, according to the logic of the religious argument, both willing and able to use Sanskrit – employed that language for its public records” – Pollock (2006) 61; “Sanskrit and Prakrit could inhabit the same cultural space, irrespective of religious affiliation, before Sanskrit’s final victory in the political sphere. The prominence of Prakrit does not reflect ignorance of Sanskrit, and the supposed concomitance between Prakrit and Buddhism as against Sanskrit and Brahmanism is a chimera. A more parsimonious, and historically more accurate, explanation is that the two idioms coexisted everywhere but had entirely separate discursive spheres from the start” – Pollock (2006) 118.

15 Literally translated loans and loan translations in Greek and Latin are also signs of Indo-Greek bilingualism. See Seldeslachts (1998).

16 See e.g. proper names such as Viśpavarma and Aspavarma with a characteristic OI *sp* from IE *kʷ*.

17 See Salomon (1998) 142–44. The Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman I (150 CE approx.), from the Western Satraps dynasty is well known and the first long inscription in Sanskrit.

1.2 Comparing political paradigms

Four Greek-derived political terms appear in the Gāndhārī inscriptions found so far and all are titles for state officers. They are as follows: Gā. *stratega* (< Gr. στρατηγός), Gā. *meridakha* (< Gr. μεριδάρχης), Gā. *anaṃkaya* (< Gr. ἀναγκαῖος), Gā. *epesukupa* (< Gr. ἐπίσκοπος). These Gāndhārī loanwords may indicate that the Indo-Greeks borrowed them from the Seleucid state administration in order to appoint their own officers. Capdetrey suggests that the Indo-Greeks may have adopted at least part of the Seleucid administrative hierarchy, quoting, among others, the existence of “deux dédicaces découvertes en Inde et datant du I^{er} siècle évoquant en effet des *meridarchai*. Elles pourraient ainsi témoigner du maintien, dans le royaumes gréco-bactrien et gréco-indien, d’une structure territoriale et d’une hiérarchie administrative séleucides”.¹⁸ The issue becomes more complex, however, when we find the same terminology in the Indo-Scythian period and, even more specifically, in the reign of Apraca: in this case, the exact meaning of terminological borrowings must be carefully and systematically assessed in order to understand which underlying political model best matches them.

1.2.1 The legacy of the Seleucid administrative system in Gandhāra

Broadly speaking, the Seleucid system distinguished three layers, each of which had different titles for officers depending on the time, region, and language: (i) the king; (ii) provincial governors (called στρατηγός or σατράπης); (iii) district superintendents (variously labelled as ὑπαρχος, μεριδάρχης, etc.).¹⁹ Unlike Tarn,²⁰ we do not believe that Indo-Greeks freely adopted the title of μεριδάρχης to indicate their district superintendents without appointing intermediate governors. It is plausible that Indo-Greeks borrowed the whole three-layer Seleucid administrative system through Graeco-Bactrian mediation. After Bactria had reached independence from the Seleucid kingdom, Diodotus I, the first Graeco-Bactrian king, organised his territory into satrapies²¹ and probably divided them into districts (μερίδες). Since Bactria was a former Seleucid satrapy where Seleucid officers were in charge, it may be supposed that the Graeco-Bactrians borrowed the Seleucid administrative system which was then inherited by the Indo-Greeks.²²

¹⁸ Capdetrey (2007) 261.

¹⁹ See Capdetrey (2007) 230–266 and 283–306

²⁰ See Tarn (1951) 242.

²¹ See Strab. 11.11.2.

²² See Coloru (2009) 265–266.

The scarcity of Indo-Greek epigraphical data (which attest only four occurrences of *meridakha* and one of *epesukupā*) does not permit absolute certainty in this field, but the Hellenistic influence is also evident in many other respects. Even the survival of the terms well beyond the end of the kingdoms in question is indirect evidence of the depth of influence on the culture of that region. Their territory, whose chief was the king (i), was thus divided into provinces (ii), held by a *stratega*, and these were, in turn, subdivided into districts (iii), in the charge of a *meridakha*. The three-layer scheme works perfectly for the Indo-Scythian Apraca dynasty in which both *strategas* and a *meridakha* are attested, whereas the inscriptions relating to Indo-Greeks and the dynasts of Oḍi only record the presence of *meridakhas* (see § 2 and 3). It is possible that only the Apraca kings introduced the office of *stratega* to refer to the Gandhāran provincial governor. However, if a political office of Greek derivation is attested among Indo-Scythians, it is highly more probable that it was inherited from Indo-Greeks rather than an Indo-Scythian innovation.²³ In our view, the assumed administrative system could work for all three groups with due differences which will be investigated later.

1.2.2 The Indian model and its influence

However, a competing model may have had a particular influence on the Indo-Scythian and Kushan kingdoms, but without excluding the Indo-Greek kingdoms altogether. That is to say the Indian political and administrative model. To assess its influence, however, it is necessary to try to reconstruct it chronologically as accurately as possible, which is not an easy task. There are mainly two sources on which one can rely for this operation, namely the edicts of Aśoka (mid-third century BCE) and the *Arthaśāstra* [AŚ] of Kauṭilya (first-second century CE). The relationship between these two sources has been dramatically reassessed in the last decades. The hypothesis that the latter represents the work of the advisor to the first Maurya emperor, Candragupta (r. 321–298 BCE) has definitely been dismissed, and the text is now considered to be a layered and complex work whose collation (partly based on earlier material) is established the first century CE²⁴ with a final heavily Brahmanised redaction around the second century CE. If, on the one hand, this new dating places the AŚ chronologically very close to the *floruit* of Apraca's reign, on the other, it calls for an overall re-reading of the work

²³ It is generally believed that Maues, the first Indo-Scythian ruler (95–60 BCE), adopted both the Indo-Greek administrative system and also the same Indo-Greek pattern for the issue of coins: see Samad (2011) 66–67.

²⁴ McClish proposes to call it *Daṇḍanīti*. See McClish (2019) 5.

that strips it of the superstructure it had been assigned by its interpretation as a mirror of the imperial Maurya project.²⁵

The Maurya ‘empire’ itself, incidentally, has been re-read in more recent times in a less anachronistic perspective. As a number of scholars have pointed out, Aśoka’s inscriptions suggest a fairly simple State structure that relied on the figure of the king himself helped by the *mahāmāttas*, high-ranking officials who reported directly to the king and for whom a sort of five-year turnover was foreseen.²⁶ The governance of the most difficult areas of the empire was then entrusted to eminent members of the court, or, even more often, to members of the royal family itself: the inscriptions usually indicate *kumāras* (young princes) in this role; in two cases we find mention of an *ayaputa* (*āryaputra*) ‘noble scion’.²⁷ Aśoka himself sent one of his sons, Kunāla, to Taxila, thus entrusting him with the management of a border area, namely Gandhāra itself.²⁸ These royal delegates in their turn may have been assisted by *mahāmāttas*. The political and administrative status of these areas is ambiguous, but it seems inappropriate to call them ‘provinces’ since varying degrees of independence modulated these areas’ relationship with the central power. As Thapar says in a recent contribution “far more investigation is needed to try and approximate the reality of administration in those times, with its varying regional patterns” pointing out how “the edicts seem more sensitive to a flexible administration”.²⁹ The relevant political admin-

25 Among the most recent contributions, see Olivelle (2013) 7–11 and 25–31; McClish (2019) 140–154.

26 For instance, Fussman (1987–1988) 71–72 maintained: “The Mauryan empire functioned [...] with a central absolute power, personal, that is, dependent on the personal activity of the sovereign, relying on the army and on efficient officers; with a regional administration organized in a non-systematic fashion [...]”.

27 Namely the Siddapura and Brahmagiri edicts, see Hultzsich (1925) 176 and 179 who, nevertheless, translates *ayaputa* as ‘royal prince’.

28 As pointed out already by Dikshitar (1932) 216, Buddhist tradition testifies to an equal lot for Aśoka himself sent by his father Bindusāra to Ujjainī.

29 Thapar (2012) 20. This is perhaps how one should interpret a famous, later, inscription of the Indo-Scythian *mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman (150 CE) which recalls the contribution of two Maurya-era officials in the construction of a dam on a lake. The inscription states that Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, *rāṣṭriya* of King Candragupta Maurya, had a dam built and that this dam was then further improved by the ‘Greek’ king (*rājan*) Tuṣaspha under the rule of Aśoka. Kielhorn, the first editor of this inscription, translates *rāṣṭriya* as ‘provincial’ governor but its more technical usage is to indicate either the heir apparent or the king’s brother-in-law. Similarly, Tuṣaspha, the Greek king, seems to be subordinate to Aśoka even though he is never attributed the title of governor. Thapar coined the term ‘metropolitan state’ to refer to these types of proto-imperial formations in which what is often a complex and politically and administratively evolved centre

istrative subdivisions are not those based on a geographical/cultural basis, but rather on purely typological or functional oppositions between

- domesticated/inhabited land (*janapada*) vs forests (*aṭava*)
- Pāṭaliputra, the capital (*paṭaliputta*) vs the outer cities (*bahira nagara*)
- domain of the stronghold (*koṭṭaviśaya*) vs productive land (*āhāra/āhāla*).³⁰

We will now turn to the AŚ. Its testimony must be evaluated with caution since ancient Indian sources on political thought tend to use abstract and general categories that can only indirectly be translated into factual reality. However, as McClish rightly points out, it is well established that the political reality described by the AŚ “consistently cleaves to the perspective of a small, regional kingdom on whose horizons exist much larger and more powerful states”.³¹ The text is dedicated to a sovereign ‘eager for conquest’ (*vijigṛṣu*) and, therefore, certainly not to a universal ruler who must be taught how to rule a vast empire. Nevertheless, it does have several points in common with what can be guessed from Aśoka’s inscriptions, not so much because the text describes a similar reality (which is, in fact, unlikely) but because the underlying ideology through which reality is represented is almost the same.

Power is once again built wholly and directly on the sovereign and his court without the mediation of intermediary bodies. The three categories that are, in a certain sense, expansions of the figure of the sovereign are:

- the *amātya* lit. members of the royal household recruited from among masters, friends, and relatives and entrusted with tasks of a very varied nature (they are also called *mahāmātra*);
- among these, the most loyal and most reliable rise to the role of *mantrin*, advisors;
- a more ambiguous function is that of the counsellor-chaplain (*mantripurohita*) who, just like the previously mentioned officials, supports the king (also thanks to his knowledge of sacred science and magic formulas). However, if the saying that the king should *follow him as a pupil his teacher, a son his*

has to deal with peripheries at different levels of political-administrative development and assimilation to the central power: see Thapar (1981) 409–426.

³⁰ This is a term of difficult interpretation, rendered as ‘province’ by Kielhorn. We cannot discuss it at length here but it suffices to say that this interpretation is far from unquestionable. If the term had the same etymology as scr. *āhāra*, it would have the meaning of food/nutrition, whereas if assimilated to scr. *ādhāra* that of support/base. In both cases it identifies the area that guarantees the subsistence of the kingdom enacting an opposition between land devoted to military/defensive activities and land exploited for civil/economic use (an opposition that, with different terminology, we will also find in the AŚ, see below).

³¹ McClish (2019) 150.

father, and a servant his master is true, then he should at the same time stand as an alternative and superior source of legitimacy. This ‘dual’ sovereignty is certainly typical of the ‘classical’ Brahmanical ideology of power even though, to the discerning eye, as already argued by McClish, the balance, in fact, tips decidedly in favour of the sovereign, at least in the *AŚ*.

Two different chapters offer us lists of *amātya/mahāmātras* with interesting insights into their internal structuring. In particular, *AŚ* 1.10 recommends a series of useful tests for assigning the correct functions to the different *amātyas*. The activities allocated to them differ according to the area in which they are successful:

<i>dharma</i> , ‘royal duty’	<i>dharmasthiyakaṅṭakaśodhaneṣu karmasu</i>	[they must be appointed to] actions concerning civil and penal law
<i>artha</i> , ‘profit’	<i>samāhartṛsamnidhātṛnicayakarmasu</i>	[they must be appointed to] the actions concerning the assets of the collector and of the treasurer
<i>kāma</i> , ‘pleasure’	<i>bāhyābhyanantaravihārarakṣāsu karmasu</i>	[they must be appointed to] the actions concerning the protection of the places of recreation, both internal and external
<i>bhaya</i> , ‘fear’	<i>āsannakāryeṣu rājñāḥ</i>	[they must be appointed to] the actions in proximity of the king
All four	<i>mantrinaḥ kuryāt</i>	he should appoint them as counsellors

On the other hand, another passage more specifically lists which officials (called *mahāmātras*) the king should keep on watching by means of his spies (*AŚ* 1.12.16):

Separately and according to their capacities, the king should send them, with a credible undercover in terms of region, dress, trade, language, origin, within his domain to spy on the a) counsellor-chaplain (*mantripurohita*) b) army chief (*senāpati*) c) Crown Prince (*yuvarāja*) d) chief-gate guard (*dauvārika*) e) head of the palace guard (*antarvaṃśika*) f) administrator (*praśāstr*) g) (tax) collectors (*samāhartṛ*) h) treasurers (*samnidhātṛ*) i) magistrates (*pradeṣṭṛ*) j) commanders (*nāyaka*) k) overseers of city transactions (*pauryāvahārika*) l) directors of factories (*kārmāntika*) m) [members of the] Council of Counsellors (*mantripariṣad*) n) inspectors (*adhyakṣa*) o) soldiers/judges (*daṇḍa*) p) citadels (*durga*) q) frontier guards (*antapāla*) r) tribal chiefs (*āṭavika*).³²

32 In another chapter (*AŚ* 5.3), the author sets out the salary of many of these officials, who are here mentioned in descending order of remuneration. Elements a-c are part (though not exclusively) of the upper range; there follows range d-h and range j-m + q; then i) the *pradeṣṭṛ* (pl.) put on a par with chiefs of elephant and chariot corps and last n) the *adhyakṣas* together with soothsayers, bards and panegyrists. This is one proof of the fact that the *adhyakṣas* to whom the chapter 2 of the *AŚ* is devoted are local officers.

The description in the *AŚ* seems to depict a fairly lean and simple power structure with no intermediate bodies between central and local powers. Again, just as happened in the Mauryan system, a typological subdivision of functions and not a hierarchical subdivision of the territory is at stake. This means that the concept of province (and provincial governor) does not seem relevant in the text for understanding political-administrative dynamics. Moreover, although the teachings in the *AŚ* are undoubtedly of an abstract nature, it seems implausible that this description does not somehow correspond to a real datum. Nevertheless, current translations, even recent ones, almost forcefully insert this dimension into the text, causing considerable distortion in the representation of political ideology. For example, Olivelle consistently translates *rāṣṭra* and *rāṣṭramukha* with ‘province’ and ‘provincial chief’ with very few exceptions.³³ Yet many elements invite caution and indicate that *rāṣṭra* is used to refer to a territory in the literal meaning of its being ‘a means of government’ i.e. it is used to refer to a part of the territory intended for agrarian activities which produces wealth and on which the king imposes his taxes. For lack of a better word, it can be rendered as ‘countryside’. The question cannot be dealt with exhaustively here, but we will try to at least offer some convincing elements. *AŚ* 2.6.1–3 pertains to the first redaction of the text and appears in the chapter 2 which, according to McClish,³⁴ mainly consists of archaic material collated at the time of the first redaction; this passage contains some administrative constituents (including *durga* often in composition with the former in the dvandva *durgarāṣṭra*, lit. ‘citadel and countryside’) and offers the following interesting definition of *rāṣṭra* seen from a tax collector’s point of view (*AŚ* 2.6.1–3):³⁵

*samāhartā durgam rāṣṭram khaṇim setum vanaṃ vrajam vaṇikpatham cāvekṣeta || 1 ||
śulkaṃ daṇḍaḥ pautavaṃ nāgariko lakṣaṇādhyakṣo mudrādhyakṣaḥ surā sūnā sūtram tailaṃ
ghṛtam kṣārah sauvarṇikāḥ panyasaṃsthā veśyā dyūtam vāstukaṃ kāruśilpigaṇo deva-
tādhyakṣo dvārabahirikādeyaṃ ca durgam || 2 || sitā bhāgo balih karo vaṇik nadīpālas
taro nāvah pattanam vivicitam vartanī rajjuś corarajjuś ca rāṣṭram || 3 ||*

The Collector should oversee the following: fort, province, pit mine, irrigation works, forest, herd, and trade route. Duties, fines, standardization of weights and measures, city manager,

³³ In particular, the compound *sabandhurāṣṭra* is an exception: ‘[the king] together with his family and kingdom’ (cfr. *AŚ* 1.6.5 and 1.6.11).

³⁴ McClish (2019) 241.

³⁵ The dvandva compound *durgarāṣṭra* is attested 5 times in the *AŚ* (3.12.2; 5.1.1; 47; 5.2.38 and 5.3.26) to which we can add an occurrence of *durgarāṣṭramukhya*, ‘chiefs of citadels and countryside’. Furthermore, a three-member *dvandva* is also attested, namely *durgarāṣṭradaṇḍa* (4.11.11 and 13.3.36) and *durgarāṣṭradaṇḍamukhya* (13.3.36 and 13.5.15), ‘chiefs of citadels, countryside and army’.

director of the mint, director of passports, liquor, abattoirs, yarn, oil, ghee, sweeteners, goldsmiths, commercial establishments, prostitutes, gambling, building compounds, unions of artisans and crafts-men, temple superintendent, and taxes at the gates and from outsiders – these constitute ‘fort’. Agriculture, share, tribute, tax, trader, river warden, ferry, boat, port, pasture, road toll, land survey, and capture of thieves – these constitute ‘province’.³⁶

There are many points yet to be resolved to properly understand this difficult passage full of poorly attested technical terminology or *hapaxes*. What seems indubitable, however, is that *rāṣṭra* here certainly does not mean a province in the sense of a territorial (and possibly cultural) unit that is partly autonomous but subject to central power. Rather, it is an abstract subdivision of possible sources of taxes/wealth for the king, which, with respect to *durga*, seem to be characterised by being concerned with the settled, peasant population as opposed to persons and activities from an urban environment, perhaps even the capital. By synecdoche, it also seems to indicate the authorities in charge of this type of activity.³⁷ More in-depth research of the individual terms is needed to go beyond this, but the scope of activities of a *rāṣṭra* were probably not wide if, as suggested in AŚ 5.1.50–52, the king could eliminate a traitorous country chief (*dūṣyarāṣṭramukhya*) by favouring, through an undercover agent nun, a confrontation with another peer, playing on the latter’s jealousy for his wife, daughter or daughter-in-law and culminating in a night fight between the two. Another passage that shows the complexity of the concept of *rāṣṭra* is found in book IX where the king’s military activities are described. In particular, AŚ 9.3 focuses on the fact that the warring king might have had to face uprisings behind his back (*paścātkopa*) on his very own territory. In this regard, the text identifies two types of uprisings. The first (AŚ 9.3.12) is called internal (*abhyantarakopa*) and incited by the Counsellor-Chaplain, the army general or the pretender to the throne, while the other (AŚ 9.3.12) is external (*bāhyakopa*) and caused by the activity of the country chief (*rāṣṭramukhya*), the border guardian (*antapāla*), a tribal chief (*āṭavika*), or someone who has surrendered with his army (*daṇḍopanata*).³⁸ With the exception of *daṇḍopanata*, which could, however, be a less common variant of the protector of the citadel (*durgapāla/ durgamukhya*), we are faced with the classical subdivision of political-administrative functions,³⁹ so

³⁶ Transl. Olivelle (2013) 109.

³⁷ AŚ 2.15.3 offers a slightly different definition of *rāṣṭra* from the point of view of the warehouse superintendent.

³⁸ The king who surrenders with troops is a crucial figure in the system of alliances and territory management, see AŚ 8.15.21–30 and 7.16.

³⁹ See, e.g., AŚ 1.16.7, which contains the compound *aṭavyantapālapurārāṣṭramukhya*, having *pura* as a compound member instead of *durga*.

that Olivelle's translation of *bāhyakopaḥ* as a 'revolt in the outlying regions' seems at best an over-interpretation.⁴⁰

Even when a partition of the territory is at stake, it is apparently made for purely administrative purposes. No cultural, political or geographical borders are identified, but instead a purely 'quantitative' criterion (maybe for the sake of tax collection) is used, as the following passage shows (AŚ 2.1.4):

aṣṭaśatagrāmyā madhye sthānīyam, catuḥśatagrāmyā droṇamukham, dviśatagrāmyāḥ kārvaṭikam, daśagrāmisaṃgrahena saṃgrahaṃ sthāpayet || 4 ||

In the middle of eight hundred villages, he should establish [an administrative centre called] *sthānīya*; in the middle of four hundred villages, [he should establish an administrative centre called] *droṇamukha*; in the middle of four hundred villages, [he should establish an administrative centre called] *kārvaṭika*; for [each] group of ten villages, [he should establish an administrative centre called] *saṃgraha*.⁴¹

The same division is recalled in a subsequent passage referring to judges (AŚ 3.1.1):

dharmasthās trayas trayo 'mātyā janapadasaṃdhisamgrahaṇadroṇamukhashthānīyeṣu vyāvahārikān arthān kuryuḥ || 1 ||

Three judges, [all] three [of the rank of] ministers, should try cases arising out of transactions at frontier posts, in the *saṃgrahas*, *droṇamukhas* and *sthānīyas*.⁴²

We are convinced that *sthānīya*, *droṇamukha*, *kārvaṭika*, and *saṃgraha* certainly indicate administrative centres probably for the sake of tax collection, as Kangle also maintained: "These towns are established for purposes of revenue, being the headquarters of revenue officers like *gopa*, *sthānīka*, etc."⁴³ However, unlike Olivelle,⁴⁴ there are no serious reasons to translate their labels as 'province capital', 'district municipality', 'county seat' and 'collection center' since, in no passage, does the AŚ describe a division of the kingdom/empire into units corresponding to modern day provinces, districts and counties.

To sum up, in both sources, we are presented with a simple, linear structure that is under direct, personal control of the king and his narrow inner circle. In particular, the intermediate level, that of the satrapies/strategies/provinces, seems to be missing, replaced by a much more flexible structure in which loosely allied

⁴⁰ Cfr. Olivelle (2013) 355.

⁴¹ Transl. after Kangle (1963) 63.

⁴² Transl. Kangle (1963) 219.

⁴³ Kangle (1963) 63 n. 4.

⁴⁴ In his translations of the two passages, Olivelle renders the term *strāṇīya* as 'provincial capital'. Cfr. Olivelle (2013) 99 and 179.

regions build a replica of the central structure (a *rāja* with his officials). The constituents of the state are built not on a hierarchical articulation of spaces but rather on a synergetic system of activity types.

2 The provincial superintendent: *stratega*

The Gāndhārī term *stratega* derives from the Greek στρατηγός (lit. ‘commander of the army’) and is registered as ‘general’ in the Gāndhārī-English Dictionary.⁴⁵ Considering its link with the Seleucid office (see § 2.1) and its occurrences (see § 2.2), the more proper meaning of this title would be ‘provincial governor’, although the Gandhāran *stratega* also had a military role. Other scholars such as Fussman⁴⁶ and Salomon⁴⁷ have already argued that Gā. *stratega* designated a regional governor or have equated it with a satrap,⁴⁸ but no one has investigated its relationship with the Seleucid στρατηγός. The term has fourteen epigraphic oc-

⁴⁵ See Baums/Glass (2002a–) s.v. *stratega*.

⁴⁶ See Fussman (1980) 25.

⁴⁷ See Salomon (1996) 428–429 n. 21 and 444.

⁴⁸ In fact, there is a Gāndhārī term that is directly cognate with the ‘satrap’, i.e., Gā. *kṣatrava*, also registered as ‘governor’ in the *Gāndhārī-English Dictionary*: see Baums/Glass (2002a–) s.v. *kṣatrava*. The latter is also attested in Sanskrit (Skt. *kṣatrapa*) but only on coins and in inscriptions. As for Gā. *kṣatrava*, its more plausible derivation is from OIr. **xšaθra-pā/ā-* (lit. ‘protector of the rule/kingdom’) as is also the case for Gr. σατράπης, which derives from the same (hypothetical) word. According to Schmitt (1976), the Greek term σατράπης could not derive either from OPers. *xšaça-pā-van-* or **xšaθra-pā-na*. The Gā. title *kṣatrava* has 18 numismatic occurrences, 17 epigraphical occurrences and 1 manuscript occurrence. It also occurs in the following compounds: a) *kṣatravaputraṇa* (‘son of the governor’, CKI 564); b) *kaviśigakṣatrava* (‘governor of Kaviśi’, CKI 150); c) *ganavhryakakṣatravaputra* (‘son of the governor Ganavhryaka’, CKI 150); d) *mahatavaśāṇḍikṣatrava* (‘the governor and relative of Vasa the Great’, CKI 929). Based on an overview of the occurrences, Gā. *kṣatrava* appears to connote a governor without any further specification in most cases. In at least one case, it seems to connote a local governor. In CKI 109, Śīvasena is said to be the governor in the town of Avhisarapraṭha (CKI 109). As for the Apraca kingdom, a *kṣatrava* is attested in only one case, i.e., CKI 257. The latter is inscribed on a relic, which was established by Śatruleka, son of a sister of Vijayamitra II and governor (CKI 257.1–2). As will be better explained below, the highest offices of the kingdom were probably only granted to the king’s sons (more specifically, the firstborn was the heir apparent, while the second born was the *stratega*). Based on this interpretation, Śatruleka, nephew of Vijayamitra II, obtained a lower office, i.e., that of *kṣatrava*. An indication that the office of *kṣatrava* was inferior is indicated by the fact that at the end of CKI 257, Śatruleka honours both the Apraca king Vijayamitra II and the *stratega* and master of Gandhāra Indravarma. Although the seal of Śīvasena (CKI 109) does not belong to the group of Apraca inscriptions, it may be inferred that, also in the case of the Apraca kingdom, the *kṣatrava* held the office of local governor.

currences (CKI 190, 241, 242, 255, 257, 265, 358, 405 and 1035), four numismatic occurrences (CKC 235 Rev, 236 Rev, 300 Rev and 307 Rev) and one manuscript occurrence (CKM 1: Av^{L1} v187) if compounds are also considered. All occurrences refer to the Indo-Scythian dynasty of Apraca, who ruled over this region between the end of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE.⁴⁹

2.1 The Seleucid στρατηγός: a brief framework

The Greek office of στρατηγός has a longstanding tradition. It was introduced in Athens by Cleisthenes' reform (508–507 BCE), according to which ten στρατηγοί were elected annually.⁵⁰ In the Hellenistic age, the role of στρατηγός changed depending on the time and place. For instance, in the Aetolian and Achaean League, the στρατηγός was the civil and military chief and was elected every year.⁵¹ In the Seleucid kingdom, the title of στρατηγός referred to both a provincial governor and a military commander. From the beginning of the Seleucid era until the reign of Antiochus III, the titles of the provincial governors differed depending on the region. In the western territories, they were appointed as στρατηγοί, whereas they were σατράπαι in the eastern ones. At an uncertain date in the late third century BCE, Antiochus III dismissed the office of σατράπης and generalised that of στρατηγός for each province. However, for the peripheric regions, he chose local dynasts as governors after they had recognised the Seleucid sovereignty.⁵² It appears that the Seleucid στρατηγός gradually carried out a widening array of tasks, passing from a mere military role to a civil one as well. To justify the connotation held by the Gandhāran *stratega*, the same widening process is to be inferred also among Graeco-Bactrians due to their constant contact with Seleucids.

2.2 The Gandhāran *stratega*: new insights into the Apraca dynasty

We have already pointed out that the administrative system of the Indo-Scythian Apraca kingdom was probably borrowed from the Seleucid one (see § 1). If the Gāndhārī title of *stratega* – attested only in inscriptions and coins related to the Apraca kingdom – were considered as the corresponding Seleucid στρατηγός, it

⁴⁹ See n. 10.

⁵⁰ For the historical reconstruction of Cleisthenes' reform, see Musti (2008) 272–277.

⁵¹ See Rhodes/Ameling/Tinnefeld (2015).

⁵² See Capdetrey (2007) 229–257 and 283–294.

should be interpreted as denoting the royal superintendent who was in charge of both the administration of a province and the military role. As will be discussed below, in the case of the Apraca kingdom, which was located in modern day Pakistan's Bajaur Agency,⁵³ the province was the territory between Peshawar and Taxila, i.e., the Gandhāra itself.

From the occurrences of Gā. *stratega*, it is apparent that the title only refers to the members of the king's family of the Apraca dynasty. This element seems to reinforce the interpretation of the term as 'provincial governor' as it was indeed a custom of Indian kings to assign the government of provinces to their heirs.⁵⁴ There are four *strategas* recorded by the sources, i.e., Vaga (CKI 242 and 265), Indravarma I (CKI 241, 255, 257, 405 and 1035), Viśpavarma (CKI 241), and Aśpavarma (CKI 190, 358; CKC 235, 236, 300 and 307). Here follows a brief presentation of each of them:

- (i) Vaga is one of the three sons of Viśṇuvarma, king of Apraca, and brother of Vijayamitra II (1 BCE/0 – 31/32 CE ca.),⁵⁵ who succeeded his father as king of Apraca,⁵⁶ and Indravarma I.⁵⁷

⁵³ See Salomon (1996) 418–419.

⁵⁴ See Salomon (1996) 444.

⁵⁵ The dates of Vijayamitra's reign have been detected thanks to the internal dating of inscriptions. The starting date of the eras mentioned epigraphically are 175 BCE for the era of Yonas – see Salomon (2012) – and 47/46 BCE (autumn-based year) for the Azes era (the beginning of which could shift to 48/47 BCE if the spring-based year is considered as its start) – see Falk/Bennett (2009); Baums (2018b).

⁵⁶ According to Falk, Vijayamitra II is to be considered the son of Viśṇuvarma and Rukhuṇa, since the latter is defined as *jīvaputra* ('having a living son', see Skt. *jīvaputrā*) in CKI 242, 257 and 265, which refer to her living son and the actual ruling king Vijayamitra II. In this first case, succession to the throne followed the regular father-to-son scheme: see Falk (1998) 95–99 and 106–107. Salomon supports another theory, which considers Vijayamitra II as Viśṇuvarma's younger brother: see Salomon (2005) 380. In this case, he ascended to the throne following the brother-to-brother kingly succession. Both hypotheses are valid, but, in our view, Falk's is more convincing. Salomon takes as counterargument the fact that, in later inscriptions relating to Ikṣvāku kings, the title *jīvaputrā* (or the corresponding *jīvasutā*) may also refer to the mother of a future king. However, following Salomon's hypothesis, which considers Vijayamitra II as Viśṇuvarma's younger brother, a problem arises regarding the title *jīvaputrā* attributed to Rukhuṇa, since there would be no heir apparent of which she would be mother if Vijayamitra II were her brother-in-law, her only sons are Indravarma I and Vaga, and neither of them is recorded as being the Apraca king. In this paper, we thus follow Falk's hypothesis, which our argument may even strengthen.

⁵⁷ In CKI 242, Vaga the *stratega* is recorded as Indravarma's brother. In CKI 265, Vaga the *stratega* is honoured after his parents and before his brother.

- (ii) The latter is said to be both a *stratega* and the master of Gandhāra (*gaṃdharaspami*), and he is married to Utara.⁵⁸
- (iii) Traditional interpretations consider Aśpavarma the son of Indravarma I,⁵⁹ based on numismatic evidence.⁶⁰ However, since Cribb demonstrates that Aśpavarma's coins have several features in common with the coinage minted at the end of the reign of Sasan,⁶¹ the Indo-Parthian ruler (last part of the first century CE), this position may need rethinking. Given that Indravarma II should be distinguished from Indravarma I,⁶² Skinner and Rienjang consider Aśpavarma the son of Indravarma II⁶³ and place him sixty years later than the traditional account.⁶⁴
- (iv) The last *stratega* to be mentioned is Viśpavarma, who is the father of Indravarma II,⁶⁵ but whose own father is uncertain. From our perspective, Viśpavarma may be considered the second son of Vijayamitra II, and we shall try to explain this below.

Skinner and Rienjang introduce a fundamental element into the reconstruction of the history of the Apraca kingdom. The scholars state that a split into two branches of the Apraca dynasty happened at the time of the reign of Vijayamitra II, a split archeologically attested by two different groups of reliquaries. The first group, whose reliquaries refer to king Vijayamitra II, was located in the present-day territory of Bajaur. In contrast, the second group, whose reliquaries refer to the *stratega* Indravarma I, was found in Gandhāra, east of the Khyber Pass up to Taxila, which was certainly another centre of power next to the royal court lo-

58 In CKI 241, Indravarma the *stratega* is honoured together with his wife Utara. In CKI 255, Indravarma the *stratega* is not directly mentioned, but he is inferred from the title *stretgabharya* attributed to his wife. In CKI 257, he is honoured together with his nephew Indrasena and his brother Vijayamitra II, and he is mentioned as the *stratega* and *gaṃdharaśpami*. In CKI 265, he is mentioned as the *kumara* ('royal scion') and as the establisher of relics together with his wife. In CKI 405, he is mentioned as the *stratega* and as one of the establishers of a *stūpa*, together with his mother and his brother Vijayamitra II. Finally, the Gāndhārī version of CKI 1035 simply bears Indravarma's name together with the title of *stratega*, whereas its Greek counterpart calls him Alexander the στρατηγός. However, there are too few elements to decide whether CKI 1035 should be related to Indravarma I or Indravarma II.

59 See Salomon (1996) 447–450; Falk (1998) 103–107; Senior (2001–2006) II, 138–143.

60 See, e.g., KCC 307 Rev.

61 See Cribb (2015a) 29–34; Cribb (2015b) 102–111.

62 See Falk (1998) 103–107; Baums (2012) 233.

63 See Skinner/Rienjang (2020) 152–161.

64 CKI 190 and CKI 358.2 simply bears Aśpavarma's name together with the title of *stratega*.

65 See CKI 241.1–2.

cated in Bajaur, where the king Vijayamitra II dwelled and operated.⁶⁶ According to our hypothesis, Gandhāra could be regarded not only as an extended area of military power conquered by Indravarma I but also as the seat of the provincial governor, where the *stratega* was based. The latter point may also be confirmed by the epigraphic occurrence of *gaṃdharaspami* ('master of Gandhāra') attributed to the general Indravarma I (CKI 257.5), who actually ruled over Gandhāra while his elder brother was the Apraca king. Gandhāra may be the only province of the Apraca kingdom (after its military conquest?) to be governed by a *stratega*. However, since a *meridakha* is attested for the Apraca kingdom (CKI 265), there were probably smaller districts governed by *meridakhas* (see § 3).

That considered, it is possible to use the dynasts' offices to further clarify familiar ties. An overall analysis of the inscriptions seems to show that the political office of *stratega* was never held by more than one person at the same time.⁶⁷ When the Apraca king had more than one son, each of them held a different office:

- A. In the case of two sons, the first was the heir apparent and would become the next Apraca king, whereas the second became the general and, after its conquest, the provincial governor of Gandhāra.
- B. In the case of three sons, the first two received the offices mentioned above, while the third had no specific title, simply bearing the title of *kumara*, which is to be read as an honorary kingly title such as 'royal scion' or the like. In our opinion, each of the king's sons (or even all the members of the royal family) bore the title of *kumara* before receiving a higher one. Albeit Viṣṇuvarma and Indravarma II, both called *kumara* (CKI 247 and 241), later became Apraca kings, whereas Indravarma I and Indragivarma, who were also known as *kumara* (CKI 242, 265 and 402), never became rulers.

This scheme of titles is apparent in the case of Vijayamitra II, Vaga, and Indravarma I, sons of Viṣṇuvarma. Thanks to the internal dating of inscriptions, it is possible to distinguish two different periods. Evidence of the first period is found in CKI 242 and 265, while CKI 241, 257, and 405 bear witness to the second. In the first period, dated to around 16/17 CE (63rd year of Azes; see CKI 242.1), Vijayamitra II was the Apraca king, Vaga was the *stratega*, and Indravarma I was merely a scion (= *kumara*).⁶⁸ In the second, which certainly dates back to 26/27 CE (27th year of Vijayamitra II, 73rd year of Azes, 201st year of the Greeks; see CKI 405),

⁶⁶ See Skinner/Rienjang (2020).

⁶⁷ Cfr. Salomon (1996) 444.

⁶⁸ See Appendix, Fig. 1.

Vijayamitra II was still the Apraca king, and Indravarma I had become the *stratega*, in charge of Gandhāra (see CKI 257.5), whereas Vaga is no longer mentioned. We assume that Vaga had died in the period between the two groups of inscriptions and Indravarma I took over as the governor of Gandhāra.⁶⁹ Therefore, at least for the third generation, it can be concluded that succession to the throne pertains to the elder son; military command and the provincial government of Gandhāra are left to the second son, while the third son has no higher offices and simply bears the title of *kumara*.

If we apply this scheme to the next generation, it is possible to better link Viśpavarma to the family tree by hypothesising his father's identity. Indravasu was undoubtedly Vijayamitra II's elder son, as he was the Apraca king (see CKI 241.2). If Indragivarma, who was recorded as Vijayamitra II's son and *kumara* (see CKI 402 A1 and B1), were considered as Vijayamitra II's third son, Viśpavarma would be the second son, since he held the title of *stratega* (see CKI 241.1). Viśpavarma was never attested as one of Vijayamitra II's sons, perhaps because his name only appeared as a patronymic for Indravarma II (CKI 241.1.lid). According to this hypothesis, Viśpavarma would have been the governor of Gandhāra at the same time as his hypothetical brother Indravasu was the reigning Apraca king. Unfortunately, the late history of the Apraca kingdom is unclear due to the scarce information about late dynasts. Vijayamitra II was still ruling for the 32nd year in 31/32 CE, as CKI 359 attests. The next date found in inscriptions is 51/52 CE (98th year of Azes; see CKI 358.2), and, at that time, Aśpavarma was already the *stratega*. Many events must have happened over this period of twenty years. Firstly, Vijayamitra II died after 31/32 CE. Consequently, his elder son Indravasu became the Apraca king, and Viśpavarma became the Gandhāran governor. Indravasu already had a living son who was the heir apparent (whose name was reconstructed as Vijayamitra III), since his wife Vasumitra was recorded as *jivaputra* (see CKI 241.2). Viśpavarma's son, Indravarma II, was a *kumara*, i.e., a royal scion, and *strategaputra* (see CKI 241.1).⁷⁰ Later, Indravarma became the Apraca king (see CKI 930), even though he was not the direct heir. Several hypotheses could be made about this. For instance, Indravasu's son may have died without heirs before he ascended the throne, and Indravarma II was chosen as the next Apraca king, as Viśpavarma may have died in the meantime. Accordingly, Indravarma II selected his son Aśpavarma as the Gandhāran governor.⁷¹ As Skinner and Rienjang have shown,⁷² considering Aśpavarma as the son of Indravarma II and not

⁶⁹ See Appendix, Fig. 2.

⁷⁰ See Appendix, Fig. 3.

⁷¹ See Appendix, Fig. 4.

⁷² See Skinner/Rienjang (2020) 160–161.

of Indravarma I proves his primary role in the late history of the Apraca kingdom, and also justifies the numerous numismatic and literary references to him.⁷³ Nevertheless, such a scheme can only remain hypothetical without any further discoveries. The following tables summarise the history of the Apraca dynasty⁷⁴ while a complete reconstruction of the male family tree of the Apraca dynasty can be found in the Appendix.⁷⁵

Tab. 1: Relevant male members of the Apraca dynasty.

Gen.	Male dynasty	Title	Epigraphic occurrences	Other occurrences	
I	VIJAYAMITRA I	<i>Apracaraya</i>	CKI 176 B ⁷⁶	//	
II	VIṢṆUVARMA	<i>Kumara</i>	CKI 247.1	//	
		<i>Apracaraya</i>	CKI 242.4; CKI 265.4	//	
III	VIJAYAMITRA II	<i>Apracaraya</i>	CKI 176 D3; CKI 241.3; CKI 242.5; CKI 257.4; CKI 265.4–5; CKI 359.1; CKI 402 A1 and B1; CKI 405.1; CKI 454 A1	//	
		VAGA	<i>Stratega</i>	CKI 242.5; 265.4	//
		INDRAVARMA I	<i>Apracaraya</i> putra	CKI 242.1	//
			<i>Kumara</i>	CKI 242.1; CKI 265.2	//
			<i>Stratega</i>	CKI 241.2; CKI 257.4A–5; CKI 405.1; CKI 1035 (?)	//
<i>Gaṃdharaśpami</i>	CKI 257.5		//		

⁷³ See Senior (2001) I, 89–94 and II, 138–143; Salomon (1999) 145–149.

⁷⁴ See Tabs. 1 and 2. Note that all the Apraca kings are marked in bold and a thicker line divides each of the six generations from the others.

⁷⁵ See Appendix, Fig. 5.

⁷⁶ Vijayamitra I and II were originally thought to be the same person – cfr. Salomon (1982) 63–64 –, and the distinction between the two was introduced by Fussman – cfr. Fussman (1993) 104. Although Falk discards this hypothesis, considering Viṣṇuvarma the founder of the Apraca dynasty – cfr. Falk (1998) 106 – Salomon points out that there must be an earlier ruler than Viṣṇuvarma, and the latter could be identified with Vijayamitra I: see Salomon (2005) 382.

Tab. 1 (continued)

Gen.	Male dynasty	Title	Epigraphic occurrences	Other occurrences
IV	INDRAVASU	<i>Apracaraya</i>	CKI 241.2	CKC 234 Rev; ⁷⁷ CKC 306 Rev
	VIŚPAVARMA	<i>Stratega</i>	CKI 241.1	//
	INDRAGIVARMA	<i>Kumara</i>	CKI 402 A1 and B1	//
V	VIJAYAMITRA III ⁷⁸	See VASUMITRA in Tab. 2		
	INDRAVARMA II	<i>Strategaputra</i>	CKI 241.1.lid	//
		<i>Kumara</i>	CKI 241.1	//
		<i>Apracaraya</i>	CKI 930 (Brāhmī section)	//
VI	AŚPAVARMA	<i>Stratega</i>	CKI 190; CKI 358.2	CKC 235 Rev; CKC 236 Rev; CKC 300 Rev; CKC 307 Rev.

3 The district superintendent: *meridakha*

The Gāndhārī term *meridakha* derives from the Greek μεριδάρχης, which means ‘district governor’,⁷⁹ and the Gāndhārī term retains the same meaning.⁸⁰ It has already been stated that the *meridakha* was the governor of small military and

⁷⁷ Senior introduced the correct reading for CKC 234 (*vijayamitraputrasa itravasusa apracarasasa*, “Of Indravasu, the Apraca king, son of Vijayamitra”) and for other coins of the same mint – see Senior (2001) II, 136 –, in place of the previous one which caused hermeneutical problems; cfr. Mitchiner (1975–1976) VII, 601.

⁷⁸ It is uncertain which Vijayamitra is mentioned in CKI 241.3: see Baums (2012) 234. We suppose that the name *vijemtro* is related to Vijayamitra II. It seems that Indravarma II (Gen. V), to whom the relic is dedicated, mentions all his relatives by name to honour them. They are however mentioned in a specific order: (i) his father Viśpavarma and his mother Śīśireṇa (Gen. IV); (ii) his uncle Indravasu and his aunt Vasumitra (Gen. IV); (iii) his great-uncle Indravarma I and his great-aunt Utara (Gen. III). Following this ascending order, it would be proper to expect Vijayamitra II (Gen. III) to be mentioned here instead of Vijayamitra III (Gen. V), reference to whom would break this scheme. For the Gā. title *jivaputra*, see n. 56.

⁷⁹ See *LSJ* s.v. μεριδάρχης.

⁸⁰ See Baums/Glass (2002a–) s.v. *meridakha*.

Tab. 2: Relevant female members of the Apraca dynasty.

Generation	Female dynast	Title	Epigraphic occurrences
II	RUKHUṆA/RUKHUṆAKA, wife of Viṣṇuvarma	<i>Apacarayabhaya</i>	CKI 242.2; CKI 405.1
		<i>Jivaputra</i>	CKI 242.2; CKI 257.5; CKI 265.4
III	UTARA, wife of Indravarma I	<i>Kumarabharya</i>	CKI 265.1–2
		<i>Strategabharya</i>	CKI 241.2; CKI 255.1
IV	VASUMITRA, wife of Indravasu	<i>Jivaputra</i>	CKI 241.2
IV	ŚÍSIREṆA, wife of Viṣpavarma	<i>Strategabharya</i>	CKI 241.1–2

civil units in Gandhāra.⁸¹ There are six epigraphic occurrences (CKI 32, 33, 249, 265, 454 and 552). Among them, CKI 32, 33, and 552 refer to Indo-Greeks, CKI 265 and 454 to the Indo-Scythian dynasty of Apraca, and CKI 249 refers to the Kuṣāṇa subkingdom of Odi. The office of *meridakha* is the only one attested in all three contexts and is connoted as district governor in all three historical contexts.

3.1 The role of μεριδάρχης in the Seleucid kingdom

Literary sources⁸² demonstrate that the office of μεριδάρχης⁸³ as district superintendent⁸⁴ is attested in Judea, which was part of the Seleucid kingdom between 198 and 63 BCE.⁸⁵ In particular, two district governors are recorded in Judea under the reigns of Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE), i.e., Apollonius and Jonathan. From 160 BCE at the latest, two satrapies, Coele-Syria and Phenicia, were subdivided into μερίδες to respect the ethnocultural differences among people. More

⁸¹ See, e.g., Falk (2009) 26.

⁸² See LXX 1Mac 10.65; Ioseph. *AJ* 12.261; 12.264.

⁸³ The corresponding noun μεριδαρχία indicates both the office of μεριδάρχης – see Ioseph. *AJ* 15.216 – and the territory he governed – see Marcus/Wikgren (1943) 359. Hesychius’s definition confirms this last meaning (Phot. *Lex.* μ 259): μεριδαρχίας: μεριτείας <κατὰ δεκαρχίας>, “*meridarchia*: a subdivision <under a government of ten>”. Furthermore, the term could refer to the Jewish ‘family division’: see LXX 1Esd 1.5, 1.12, 5.4 and 8.28; see Myers (1974) 22–23, 26, 58 and 83.

⁸⁴ We owe the Seleucid attestations to Capdetrey: see Capdetrey (2007) 261.

⁸⁵ See Martone (2008) 35–38.

specifically, Jonathan's appointment⁸⁶ as *μεριδάρχης* and *στρατηγός* means that *μερίδες* were considered sub-satrapies. Similarly, the title of *μεριδάρχης* is attested in papyrological sources⁸⁷ as an administrative officer in Ptolemaic Egypt. In particular, starting from 260/259 BCE, the Egyptian *νομός* of Arsinoites was split into three districts, i.e., *μερίδες*, which were in turn subdivided into local units called *τόποι*. Therefore, the *μεριδάρχης* was the chief of a *μερίς* and was responsible for the *toparchs*, i.e., the superintendents of the *τόποι*.⁸⁸

The term *μεριδάρχης* is also attested in two epigraphs, which both curiously come from the Indo-Greek context (in particular, from the Mohmand Agency), approximately dated to 150–50 BCE thanks to palaeographic evidence.⁸⁹ The first source is the bilingual Greek-Gāndhārī inscription of Kalliphon (CKI 552),⁹⁰ inscribed on a gilded *φιάλη*, which, according to Falk (2009) (to whom we owe these attestations), was offered – as a Greek-styled votive donation⁹¹ – to an Indian god (*Gā. boā*, who may correspond to the Vedic deity Bhava, ‘translated’ into Greek as Chaos).⁹² The second is a monolingual Greek inscription of Phantoklēs, inscribed on a *μαστός*⁹³ and donated in the same context as the previous one.

At the present stage of discoveries, there are no more occurrences of the Greek *μεριδάρχης*. The Gandhāran title of *meridakha* undoubtedly derives from the Seleucid office instead of the Ptolemaic one, as Gandhāra never came under

⁸⁶ See LXX 1Mac 10.65.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., *PTeub* 1.66.60. For other occurrences of *μεριδάρχης* in papyri, see Grenfell/Hunt/Smyly (1902) 276.

⁸⁸ See Ameling (2006).

⁸⁹ See Falk (2009) 38–39.

⁹⁰ CKI 552 (Greek version): ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ ΜΕΡΙΔΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΧΑΟCEI, “Kalliphōn, the Meridarchēs, after a vow dedicated (it) to *Chaos” – transl. Falk (2009) 26.

⁹¹ The Greek version of this inscription strictly follows the typical Greek formula for votive donations which has three main elements: a) the dedicatee's name in the nominative case; b) the offering verb (generally *ἀνατίθημι*, *τίθημι*, *ἀφιερῶ*, *καθερῶ*), usually conjugated in the aorist tense; c) the god's name in the dative case. See Guarducci (1987) 254–255.

⁹² The identification is, however, debated and called into question by the author himself who later prefers to postulate a cult of river gods; we prefer to gloss over the discussion of religious issues here due to the nature of this paper. See Falk (2009) 26–29 and 39–40. Cfr. Rougemont (2012) 268–270 and Falk (2020–2021) 126–127.

⁹³ Despite its peculiarity, this little-known inscription was only studied by Falk and Rougemont: see Falk (2009) 34–35; Rougemont (2012) 270–271. Falk's edition is unfortunately based on Sims-Williams' notes and a bad-quality photo, and presents the text as follows: ΔΙΑ ΦΑΝΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΙΔΑΡΧΟΥ ΔΡ Μ, “Through Phantoklēs, the Meridarchos. Dr(ahmas) 40” – transl. Falk (2009) 34. Rougemont reads the text differently: Διά Φοιτοκλέους (?) *vel* Φωτοκλέους (?) τοῦ μεριδάρχου · δρ. ν', “Par les soins de Phoitoklēs (?) ou Phōtoklēs, le méridarque – 50 drachmes” – transl. Rougemont (2012) 271.

Egyptian influence. In this regard, Coloru sustains that *μεριδάρχης* was present in the Seleucid administrative system long before Antiochus IV's reign.⁹⁴ The office was maintained among Greek-Bactrians after their independence and the title/role was later inherited by Indo-Greeks.

3.2 Features of the Gandhāran *meridakha*

Just like the Seleucid *μεριδάρχης*, the Gandhāran *meridakha* should be considered the governor of the districts into which Gandhāra was divided. As mentioned previously, the Gāndhārī term *meridakha* is attested among the Indo-Greeks and in the Apraca and Oḍi kingdoms. In the case of the former, the first occurrence of this officer is found in the Relic Inscription of Theodotos (CKI 32),⁹⁵ which is a Buddhist relic donation made by the Indo-Greek meridarch Theodotos, paleographically dated to the mid-second century BCE, according to Konow.⁹⁶ In all likelihood, Theodotos was the district governor of Gandhāra⁹⁷ and, if Konow's dating is correct, he was in charge during Menander I's reign. The next occurrence is found in the bilingual Greek-Gāndhārī inscription of the *meridakha* Kalliphon (CKI 552), discussed above.⁹⁸ The last Indo-Greek occurrence is found in another Buddhist reliquary donation, i.e., the Relic Inscription of "Unknown Meridarch" (CKI 33). Even though the *meridakha*'s name is unfortunately lost, this inscription is fundamental as it shows the presence of such an office in a later phase than CKI 32 and 552, which, based on palaeography, Konow dates to the second half of the first century BCE⁹⁹ or almost at the end of the Indo-Greek rule of Taxila, assuming its inheritance by Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ See Coloru (2009) 266.

⁹⁵ The name of the *meridakha* was first read as *theüdorena*, equivalent to the Greek Θεόδωρος – cfr. Thomas (1914) 363; Konow (1929) 2 – and then read as *the[ü]dotena*, equivalent to the Greek Θεόδοτος – see Salomon (1999) 198.

⁹⁶ See Konow (1939–1940) 639–640.

⁹⁷ See Thomas (1914) 364.

⁹⁸ CKI 552 (Gāndhārī version): *kaliphonena meridarkhena pratišunita nirakaṣe boasa*, "By Kalliphōn, the Meridarchēs, after a promise, (this) was repaid for Boa" – transl. Falk (2009) 29.

⁹⁹ See Konow (1929) 4–5.

¹⁰⁰ See Konow (1939–1940) 640. In this regard, there is an additional occurrence of Gā. *meridakha* to the six analysed, which is found in a donative inscription on a stone box (the findspot of which is unknown) and could potentially belong to the Indo-Greek period or later. It, unfortunately, does not yield any valuable information for reconstructing the administrative function of the Gandhāran *meridakha*. See Falk (2020–2021) 127–129.

Konow's hypothesis is confirmed by the other three occurrences (CKI 249, 265 and 454) which had not been discovered when it was formulated. At the beginning of Vijayamitra II's reign (3/4 CE or 13/14 CE), Naganamda, the wife of the *meridakha* Taraviya, established a *stūpa* (CKI 454) in the kingdom of Apraca. Moreover, Utara lists Sreṭha, the mother of a *meridakha*, as one of the honoured people in her relic inscription (CKI 265). If we apply the hypothesis discussed above, the *meridakha* may have been the governor of one of the districts into which the Apraca kingdom was divided, as the two inscriptions are dated to Vijayamitra's reign. In this case, the *meridakhas'* direct superior may first have been Vaga (alive at the time of CKI 265) and then Indravarma I. As regards the kingdom of Oḍi, Ṣadiya is said to have ordered the realization of Senavarma's relic inscription (CKI 249). The latter is the only attestation of a specific task of which the *meridakha* was in charge, since there is no mention of any duty other than the administration of a district, a duty which can be assumed from the etymology of the term itself and the comparison with the Hellenistic officers.

4 Marginal attestations of political offices: *anaṃkaya* and *epesukupa*

This last paragraph is devoted to two marginally attested Gāndhārī political terms, i.e., *anaṃkaya* (see § 4.1) and *epesukupa* (see § 4.2). We decided to deal with them together for two main reasons: the first is the paucity of their occurrences (respectively, two for *anaṃkaya* and one for *epesukupa*) and the second is that they denote minor officials who do not fit into the assumed three-layer hierarchy in the administration of the Apraca kingdom of Seleucid derivation discussed above (see § 1).

4.1 The royal high dignitary: *anaṃkaya*

The Gāndhārī term *anaṃkaya* derives from the Greek ἀναγκαῖος and is registered as 'minister' in the Gāndhārī-English Dictionary.¹⁰¹ However, its origin and its connection with the Greek term should be further investigated. It is found in only two Gāndhārī inscriptions, i.e., CKI 176 and 249, relating to the kingdoms of Apraca and Oḍi.

¹⁰¹ See Baums/Glass (2002a–) s.v. *anaṃkaya*.

4.1.1 The title of ἀναγκαῖος in Hellenistic kingdoms

The Greek term ἀναγκαῖος principally has the passive meaning of ‘constrained’, ‘forced’, from which the meaning of ‘connected by necessary or natural ties’, i.e., ‘related by blood’ is derived.¹⁰² It seems that the term ἀναγκαῖος is not attested in Seleucid inscriptions and is used as an official title only in the Hellenistic reign of Pergamon, as witnessed by two Attalid inscriptions.¹⁰³ The title ἀναγκαῖος has been traditionally interpreted as cognate with συγγενής.¹⁰⁴ However, Virgilio states that a distinction between the two titles should be assumed.¹⁰⁵ Due to a series of elements,¹⁰⁶ the title συγγενής was related to high officers who were also relatives of the king, while the title ἀναγκαῖος only referred to the king’s high dignitaries and was similar to the more common Hellenistic title of φίλος. Thus, the ἀναγκαῖοι here mentioned are not the king’s relatives but only some of the king’s high dignitaries. They were part of the king’s retinue, who followed the king on his diplomatic trips and formed a sort of ‘extended council’, consulted by the king in cases of emergency.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, in the kingdom of Pergamon, the title of ἀναγκαῖος did not imply a royal kinship and did not even refer to a particular political office. It was merely an honorary title given to the king’s high dignitaries who formed his entourage.

It seems that no Seleucid-related sources bear the title of ἀναγκαῖος, but the lack of attestations may be linked to the loss of most Seleucid sources. As Virgilio demonstrates, the title of ἀναγκαῖος should be equated to that of φίλος, and a large number of φίλοι are attested in Seleucid sources. In all Hellenistic kingdoms, the king was surrounded by royal agents, called φίλοι, invested with the king’s lofty dignity. The title of φίλος was an honorary title expressing the king’s esteem for some of his dignitaries within the court. The φίλοι (with which the Attalid ἀναγκαῖοι are cognate) took part in the royal council, which was known as συνέδριον and influenced the king’s decisions.¹⁰⁸ As a general rule, almost every high officer

102 See *LSJ* s.v. ἀναγκαῖος.

103 See OGIS 315, ll. 2–7, and OGIS 763, l. 31. In the first passage, Eumenes needed to consult his officers and decided to call a council. The latter was made up of three of the highest Attalid officers, namely the king’s brother Athenaeus, the σύντροφος Sosander, and the συγγενής and νομοφύλαξ Menogenes, and by many of the other ἀναγκαῖοι. See Virgilio (2003) 307.

104 Cfr. Corradi (1929) 246–247.

105 See Virgilio (1981) 112–118.

106 One of the most significant elements discussed by Virgilio is the fact that on two occasions Polybius (see Polyb. 5.71.2 and 36.5.7) uses συγγενής and ἀναγκαῖος together to indicate both a relationship of kinship and friendship. See Virgilio (1981) 112–118.

107 See Welles (1934) 250.

108 See Virgilio (2003) 136–138.

was a φίλος as there was no particular office linked to this title.¹⁰⁹ Among the offices granted to Seleucid φίλοι, let us mention that of ἐπιστολόγραφος, i.e., the head of the chancellery to be compared with the Gandhāran *anaṃkaya*.¹¹⁰ As Capdetrey underlines,¹¹¹ the ideological and administrative importance of written documentation made this office pivotal for the circulation of information and royal orders. In our opinion, in addition to holding military roles, one of the tasks the Gandhāran *anaṃkaya* might have overseen is somewhat related to that of the Seleucid ἐπιστολόγραφος as he seems to fill an important role in the chancellery (see § 4.1.2).

4.1.2 Features of the Gandhāran *anaṃkaya*

Due to its phonetic structure, the Gāndhārī term *anaṃkaya* apparently derives from the Greek ἀναγκαῖος, while its meaning has been variously interpreted by scholars.¹¹² From an overall analysis of Greek sources, it is apparent that ἀναγκαῖος is only an honorific title and has nothing to do with a real kinship with the king. Consequently, one might think that, likewise, the Gandhāran *anaṃkaya* also had no kinship ties with the king and that, just like the Hellenistic ἀναγκαῖος/φίλος, no specific tasks were directly linked to the title. From the Gāndhārī sources, three *anaṃkayas* are known:

- (i) The first is Viśpila (CKI 176 E),¹¹³ who was probably a courtier during Vijayamitra II's reign in Apraca.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ See Capdetrey (2007) 278–280.

¹¹⁰ Two ἐπιστολόγραφοι are known, namely Dionysus (under the reign of Antiochus IV, 175–164 BCE) and Menochares, son of Dionysus (under the reign of Demetrius I, 162–150 BCE). For further information, see Savalli-Lestrade (1998) 53 and 70.

¹¹¹ See Capdetrey (2007) 278–280.

¹¹² Konow was the first scholar to claim that *anaṃkaya* in CKI 176 derived from ἀναγκαῖος and referred to the king's advisers: cfr. Konow (1939–1940). Fussman did not support this hypothesis, leaving it untranslated. He stated that CKI 176 E is merely an engraver's addition: cfr. Fussman (1993) 108–109. Instead, Bailey, Fussman, and Salomon interpret the term in CKI 249 as 'royal kinsman': cfr. Bailey (1980) 23, 27; Fussman (1982) 8, 28; Salomon (1986) 271, 279. Von Hinüber translates it as '*Gefolgsmann*' ('follower'), not alluding to royal kinship: cfr. von Hinüber (2003) 29. As concerns both inscriptions, Baums leaves the term untranslated but claims that it was employed in the meaning of 'related by blood' just like the Greek word from which it derives: cfr. Baums (2012) 203, 232 and 237.

¹¹³ CKI 176 E: *Viśpīlena anaṃkayena likhite*, "[This] was written by the *anaṃkaya* Viśpila".

¹¹⁴ This is assumable as sections D2, D3, and E of CKI 176 were added by order of king Vijayamitra II. See Falk (2003).

- (ii) The second is Suhasoma (CKI 249.8g–9b),¹¹⁵ who was one of the two *anaṃkayas* of Senavarma, king of Oḍi, and who probably carried out military tasks.¹¹⁶
- (iii) The third is Saṃghamitra (CKI 249.13e–f),¹¹⁷ who was Senavarma’s other *anaṃkaya* and who probably had a role in the chancellery.

As is evident from this scheme, just as happens in the case of Hellenistic ἀναγκάσιοι/φίλοι, there may be more than one *anaṃkaya* at the same time, all of whom carry out different tasks. Suhasoma (CKI 249.8g–9b) is said to be *sayugasabalavaha* (‘with yoke animals and with troops and carriages’) and *aṣmaṇakara* (‘protector’),¹¹⁸ thus he filled a military role. Moreover, this *anaṃkaya* was circled by two other groups of officers, i.e., the *guśurakas* and the *sturakas*, both connected to the army.¹¹⁹

Viśpila (CKI 249.13e–14a) and Saṃghamitra (CKI 176 E) both seem to hold a bureaucratic office. In both occurrences, the term is in the instrumental case and

115 CKI 249.8g–9b: *maharajarayatirayakuyulakataph[śp]aputro sadaṣkaṇo devaputro | sadha aṇakaeṇa suhasomeṇa aṣmaṇakareṇa sayugasavalavah(*e)ṇa sadha guśurakehi sturakehi ca puyita*, “Sadaṣkaṇa, son of the great king, overking of kings Kujula Kadphises, son of gods, is honoured together with the *anaṃkaya* Suhasoma, the *aṣmaṇakara*, with (his) yoke animals, with (his) armies and carriages, together with the *guśurakas* and the *sturakas*”.

116 Salomon hypothesised a pedigree for the *anaṃkaya* Suhasoma which would show kinship relationships between the dynasties in question: he may be the co-donor of CKI 369 (dated to the mid-first century CE) together with his wife Vasuvadata, who, in turn, could be Indravarma I’s sister, at the time *kumara* and then *stratega* of the Apraca kingdom (see § 2.2), as CKI 242 seems to show (see CKI 242.5). See Salomon (1999) 149–153.

117 CKI 249.13e–f: *sia[t]i likhita ya śarirapraīṭhavaṇia saṃghamitreṇa laliaputreṇa*, “And [the inscription] concerning the relic establishment was written by the *anaṃkaya* Saṃghamitra, son of Lalia”.

118 The compound *aṣmaṇakara* is formed from *aṣmaṇa* and *kara* (Skt. *kāra*). Bailey links the first constituent with the Iranian root *axš-* ‘to observe, to watch over’: see Bailey (1980) 27. Thus, it literally means ‘the one who makes protection’, i.e., ‘the protector’.

119 The first attestation of both titles is found in this inscription. However, the first title is a secondary derivative from *guśura* (‘son of the house, noble kinsman’): see Bailey (1947) 149–150. The second is highly attested in the Gāndhārī corpus – see Baums/Glass (2002a–) s.v *guśura* – and probably had a military function – see Falk (2004) 149–150. Bailey connects the second title either to the Avestan *stura-* (‘great’) or to the Avestan *stūirtm* (‘under the care of’): see Bailey (1980) 27. In the first case, it would indicate noble men, whereas, in the second, it may refer to slaves or employees. Salomon also proposes to link it with the term *stora* (‘large animals’, ‘horse’; see Avestan *staora-*) that appears in the Niya Prakrit documents: see Salomon (1986) 279; see also Burrow (1937) 132. In the latter case, it would indicate either the cavalrymen or the officers in charge of caring for large animals such as camels or elephants: see Falk (2004) 150. Regardless of its etymology, the title definitely refers to a military officer, as it is apparent from the context.

is the agent of the passive participle *lihida* ('written'). In our view, it does not seem likely that the *anaṃkaya* was the officer in charge of engraving the text. In earlier inscriptions,¹²⁰ the engraver, called *livikara*, is never mentioned by name. An inscription, particularly an official one, was usually written in draft form before being engraved. We believe that these two *anaṃkayas* may be the ones in charge of preparing drafts of official inscriptions on the king's behalf. As alluded to above, these *anaṃkayas* may be somewhat linked with the Seleucid ἐπιστολόγραφος, the head of the chancellery, who was also an ἀναγκαῖος/φίλος.¹²¹ In conclusion, the Gāndhārī title *anaṃkaya*, which is not exclusive and may be held by more persons contemporarily (as in the case of the Oḍi kingdom), refers to the king's high dignitaries whose range of responsibility involved both military and bureaucratic duties, just like the Hellenistic ἀναγκαῖοι/φίλοι.

4.2 The shrine superintendent: *epesukupa*

As its form also suggests in this case, the Gāndhārī term *epesukupa* derives from the Greek ἐπίσκοπος. Although it occurs once in CKI 553, it is not registered in the Gāndhārī-English Dictionary and its meaning merits further investigation. As the Greek term assumes different meanings depending on the historical context, we first discuss the features of each officer labelled as ἐπίσκοπος (see § 4.2.1).¹²² We then analyse CKI 553 and argue that the Gandhāran *epesukupa* is better linked with the Seleucid ἐπίσκοπος, from whom this office might derive (see § 4.2.2).

¹²⁰ See CKI 14 E, 29, 30 and 31.

¹²¹ While searching for a parallel Indian officer, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* attributed the redaction of the king's edicts (*śāsana*) to the royal scribe (*lekhaka*), who was a high officer of ministerial rank, listed among the superintendents (*adhyakṣa*): see Olivelle (2013) 41–42. As one of his ministers – see AŚ 2.10.3, where he is said to be *amātyasampadopetaḥ* ('endowed with the quality of a minister') – the *lekhaka* was undoubtedly close to the king and "stood in an interesting position vis-à-vis the discursive processes of the court, as a functionary mediating the boundaries between the oral, the written and the performative": Visvanathan (2014) 33. Just like the Seleucid ἐπιστολόγραφος and the Gandhāran *anaṃkaya*, the royal scribe described by the *Arthaśāstra* is one of the king's high dignitaries (*amātya*).

¹²² The next subparagraphs (§ 4.2.1 and 4.2.1.1) expand Falk's short reference to Greek parallels of the Gāndhārī *epesukupa* of CKI 553, which deserve more attention and further reflection.

4.2.1 The changing role of the Greek ἐπίσκοπος: Athens, Alexander's empire, and Seleucid kingdom

The Greek term ἐπίσκοπος has different meanings: a) 'overseer', 'guardian'; b) 'scout', 'watch'; c) 'supervisor', 'inspector'; d) 'ecclesiastical supervisor'.¹²³ In its more specific and technical meaning, the title ἐπίσκοπος refers to a public officer who held a role of responsibility not only in the Athenian empire but also in Alexander's empire and in the Seleucid kingdom. However, they perform different tasks in each context, as we show below.¹²⁴

Balcer demonstrates that the office of the Athenian ἐπίσκοπος was not original but derived from an Achaemenid one, i.e., the King's Eye. The sources¹²⁵ show that the ἐπίσκοπος was an itinerant officer who periodically toured the territories subdued by Athens to ensure that their respective governments acted in its best interests. His job was to prevent rebellions and oversee local governments. In his wanderings, he was accompanied by a πρόξενος. He could not try any wrongdoer, but he could indict and summon them to the Athenian ἡλίαία. He was charged with conducting local investigations (ἀνακρίσεις). Finally, he had no military duties, which were held by the φρούραρχοι. Each ἐπίσκοπος was probably in charge of a territory, and, although only a few are recorded, the wide geographical distribution of the sources suggests that there were presumably a large number of such officers.¹²⁶

As concerns Alexander's ἐπίσκοπος, the sources record that Alexander the Great appointed some ἐπίσκοποι during his expeditions. Alexander's ἐπίσκοπος did not

¹²³ See *LSJ* s.v. ἐπίσκοπος.

¹²⁴ Among the literary attestations of ἐπίσκοπος, it is remarkable that Arrian (*Ind.* 12), who took up Megasthenes' lost account of the seven social groups of Indian society, used it to describe the group of overseers (i.e., public inspectors or more probably spies), who had no relationship with the historical Greek ἐπίσκοποι and Gandhāran *epesukupa*. Furthermore, it should be remarked that the earlier accounts of Diodorus (2.41.3) and Strabo (15.1.48) used the label ἔφοροι to refer to the latter social group (instead of ἐπίσκοποι). For further information on the sixth group mentioned in Megasthenes' account, see Stein (1921) 169–175; Hultzsck (1925) XLI; Breloer (1934) 158; Zambrini (1985) 811.

¹²⁵ Epigraphic sources: IG I³, 14.12–16 (first *Erythrai Decree*), IG I³, 15 (second *Erythrai Decree*) and IG I³, 40 (*Chalkis Decree*). Literary sources: Ar. *Av.* 1020–1055; Harp. s.v. ἐπίσκοπος; *Anec. Gr.* s.v. ἐπίσκέπται and ἐπίσκηψις.

¹²⁶ Notwithstanding the few available Persian sources, it is possible to use Greek sources to reconstruct the duties of the Persian King's Eye (Aesch. *Per.* 978–981; Hdt. 1.144.2; Ar. *Achar.* 91–124; Ctesias in Plut. *Artax.* 12.1; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.16; Xen. *Oecon.* 4.8 etc.). His tasks are almost the same as the Athenian ἐπίσκοπος. The main difference is the way in which the officers were chosen: ἐπίσκοποι are selected by the people (δῆμος), whereas the King's Eyes is picked by the Persian Great King (*xšāyaθiya*). See Balcer (1977).

carry out the same tasks as his Athenian counterpart. Arrian¹²⁷ relates that, before leaving Egypt in 332/331 BCE, Alexander appointed Aeschylus and Ehippus as ἐπίσκοποι at Memphis.¹²⁸ In another passage,¹²⁹ Arrian says that, after crossing Mount Caucasus in winter 330/329 BCE, Alexander appointed Proexes as satrap of the Caucasus Region (i.e., the Kabul valley) and Neiloxenus as his ἐπίσκοπος. The latter was put in command of an army. This means that not only did Alexander's ἐπίσκοπος have a supervisory role (in this case, the activity of a satrap) but that he was also head of the army. It is also said that Neiloxenus was one of the Companions, namely a high-ranked individual who served as an officer in Alexander's army.¹³⁰ On another occasion, Alexander chose a Companion as ἐπίσκοπος. More specifically, Arrian¹³¹ relates that, in 330 BCE, Alexander made Amminapes satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania and Tlepolemus superintendent of the two regions. Once again, the ἐπίσκοπος was appointed from the ἐταῖροι (so, he is a military officer) and supervised the satraps. In sum, Alexander's ἐπίσκοπος has the following features: a) his task was to supervise a satrap or a mercenary corps; b) he was chosen from the Companions; c) he commanded troops.

As regards the Seleucid administration, it seems that the ἐπίσκοπος was absent: this is certainly true in matters of judicial and military administration.¹³² However, thanks to Akkadian epigraphic sources, an ἐπίσκοπος is found in the Hellenistic Mesopotamia, part of the Seleucid empire, as one of the royal administrators of cults and sanctuaries. The Seleucid religious superintendents were usually called ἐπιστάτης or προστάτης,¹³³ but, in Mesopotamia, they were labelled with the Akkadian title *paqdu* as the inscriptions of Uruk and Babilonia demonstrate.¹³⁴ Still, an Akkadian inscription in the temple of Nippur (UM 29–15–802.2)

127 See Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.3.

128 Curtius provides another version of Alexander's division of tasks in Egypt. The report tells us that he put Aeschylus and Peucestes in command of Egypt: see Curt. 4.8.4. Curtius only records five officers, whereas Arrian lists sixteen. Due to his completeness, Arrian is probably to be considered the best source on Alexander's division of offices in Egypt. Curtius says that Alexander put Aeschylus and Peucestes in charge of Egypt, while Arrian records that Doloaspis and Petisis were appointed as governors of Egypt.

129 See Arr. *Anab.* 3.28.4.

130 See Heckel (2006) 349.

131 See Arr. *Anab.* 3.22.1.

132 Bikerman does not mention an ἐπίσκοπος in his survey of Seleucid offices. Cfr. Bikerman (1938).

133 There was an ἐπιστάτης in charge of the Artemision of Amyzon in Caria: see Amyzon 15.7 in Robert/Robert (1983) 151–154. In Jerusalem there was a προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ who was in conflict with the High Priest of the Temple: see 2Mac 3.4–6.

134 See van der Spek (1987) 72–74; Sommer (2000) 80–81.

records an *e-pi-is-ku-pu-su* (i.e., the Akkadian transcription of ἐπίσκοπος), named Enlil-uballit who lived during the reign of Demetrius I (162–150 BCE). The latter's tasks were probably the same as the *paqdu*, namely, to supervise the temple on behalf of the king.¹³⁵ Thus, although only a single occurrence is available, it is possible to conclude that the ἐπίσκοπος was one of the royal supervisors of temples and cults in the Seleucid kingdom.

4.2.2 The Gandhāran *epesukupā* as the royal superintendent of a shrine

The monolingual Gāndhārī inscription of the Mohmad Agency (CKI 553) bears the first (and for now the only) attestation of an *epesukupā* in Gandhāra. Falk compared the latter with the Athenian ἐπίσκοπος and Alexander's one even though, as we pointed out previously (see § 4.2.1), these officers are different from each other. We wonder whether the officer who could best be compared with it might be the Seleucid ἐπίσκοπος, i.e., the royal superintendent of a sanctuary, who was not considered by Falk in his discussion.¹³⁶ Even though the evidence is scanty, yet some points deserve attention.

Inscription CKI 553¹³⁷ appears on a partly gilded silver bowl, decorated with a sleeping Eros on a bed of roses.¹³⁸ It belongs to the same group of votive bowls as CKI 552 and again assumed to date back to the period between the mid-second and the mid-first century BCE (see § 3.2). To justify these Greek-style dedications, Falk assumes the existence of a sanctuary, a treasure house, or, more generally, a sacred space located in what today is the Mohmand Agency, where devotees of Mediterranean origin dedicated objects to their gods as if they were in their homeland. This sacred space may have been configured as a Greek τέμενος, as in the case of the temple site of Hāthibāḍā Ghoṣūṇḍī, of the same age.¹³⁹ As CKI 552 attests, in this Greek-fashioned sacred space, Indian godlike figures were worshipped in a Greek way by Indo-Greeks. Given the parallel Seleucid *e-pi-is-ku-pu-su* (= ἐπίσκοπος) of the temple of Nippur, we believe that a religious superinten-

135 See van der Spek (1992) 253.

136 It should be noted that Rougemont was the first scholar to report the attestation of an ἐπίσκοπος in the Seleucid kingdom. He supported a generic use of the Gāndhārī derived term as 'supervisor' instead of hypothesising the same value as the Seleucid one, i.e., 'supervisor of religious cults'. Cfr. Rougemont (2012) 270.

137 CKI 553: *samagakeṇa epesukupēṇa karavite ye aimukhe sajate*, "Ordered by Samaṅgaka, the religious superintendent, who became a devotee".

138 See Falk (2009) 29.

139 See Falk (2009) 39–40.

dent for such a religious site could be supposed and that the *epesukupā* may have been the proper officer to perform this task.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, it could be concluded that the *epesukupā* Samaṅgaka, with his Indo-Aryan name, might have been the royal supervisor on behalf of an Indo-Greek king for this Greek-styled shrine, and CKI 553 may be evidence of an act of piety on his side.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have demonstrated that four Gāndhārī loanwords from Greek, i.e., *stratega*, *meridakha*, *anaṃkaya*, and *epesukupā*, designate political officers borrowed from the administrative system of a Hellenistic kingdom, more particularly the Seleucid one. Graeco-Bactrian mediation probably played a role in causing the Indo-Greeks and, in turn, the dynasts of Apraca and Oḍi to inherit the three-layer Seleucid administrative system (see § 1). The Indian political and administrative system seems to remain in the background even though we have some hints of an Indian domestication of the different offices. In particular, the Gandhāran *stratega*, whether the heir apparent or a royal scion, would be appointed as the governor (perhaps better ‘viceroy’) of the sole Gandhāra unlike his Seleucid counterpart (see § 2.1). The function conveyed by this term matches with the well-known practice of entrusting the king’s sons with the management of some unsubdued and distant territories. As is clearly demonstrated by the sources on the Apraca kingdom, the investiture of royal dynasts changed depending on the birth order of their sons. This means that Viśpavarma, who bore the title *stratega*, may be considered as the second son of Vijayamitra II (see § 2.2). The Gandhāran *meridakha* should be regarded as the officer in charge of the districts into which Gandhāra was divided. The latter term counts the most occurrences, and this officer was undoubtedly present in each administrative system analysed (see § 3.1 and 3.2). The Gandhāran *anaṃkaya* should be viewed as a royal dignitary without a single office. The ἀναγκάιος, i.e., his Greek counterpart, could be detected from the Attalid inscriptions and should be considered equivalent to the Seleucid φίλος (see § 4.1.1). The inscriptions show that the *anaṃkaya* holds both a military and bureaucratic role (see § 4.1.2). The Gandhāran *epesukupā* has only one occurrence (CKI 553) and deserves the most attention. There is more than one Greek officer thus labelled, i.e., the Athenian ἐπίσκοπος, Alexander’s ἐπίσκοπος,

140 A similar office was known also in the Indian system, as attested by the *Arthaśāstra* term *devatādhyakṣa* (AŚ 2.6.2 and 5.2.38).

and the Seleucid *ἐπίσκοπος*. Their duties do not coincide, since the first is a judicial officer, the second a military commander, and the third a religious superintendent (see § 4.2.1). The Gandhāran *epesukupa* is most probably related to the Seleucid *ἐπίσκοπος* and should be considered a royal superintendent of a sanctuary. According to Falk (2009), both CKI 553 and CKI 552 are linked to a sort of Indo-Greek shrine which would have been shaped like a Greek *τέμενος* and where devotees were able to dedicate objects to deities of the Indian pantheon but in a Greek way of praying. In our view, the *epesukupa* could be the religious superintendent of such a shrine on behalf of the Indo-Greek king (see § 4.2.2).

Appendix: The family tree of the Apraca dynasty

As discussed in § 2.2, the identity of Viśpavarma’s father (i.e., Vijayamitra II) may be hypothesised thanks to the succession of offices held by dynasts. Here follow some sketches of the family tree with our proposed insert:

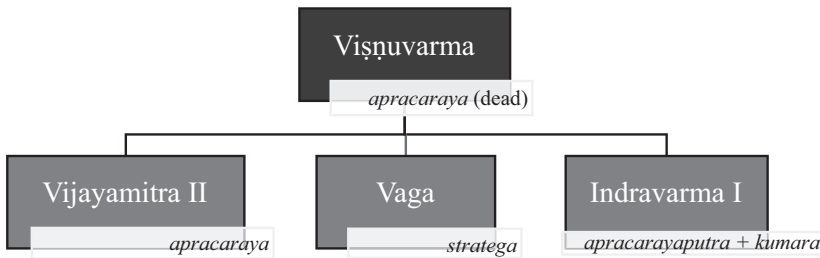


Fig. 1: Second and third generations of male Apraca dynasts before Vaga’s death.

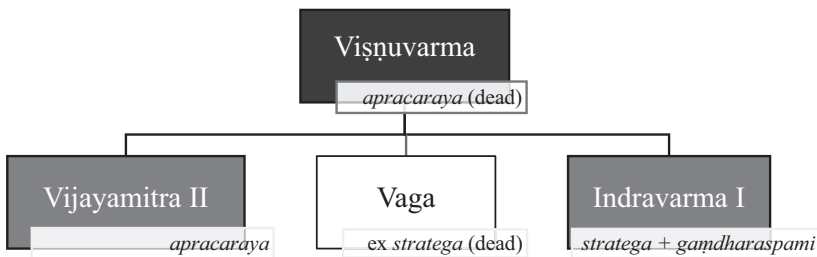


Fig. 2: Second and third generations of male Apraca dynasts after Vaga’s death.

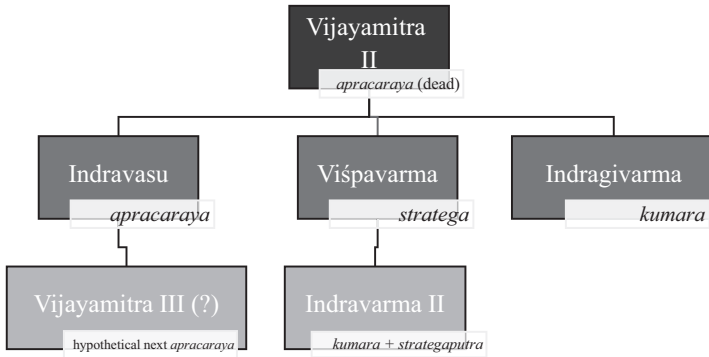


Fig. 3: Third, fourth and fifth generations during Indravasu's kingdom.

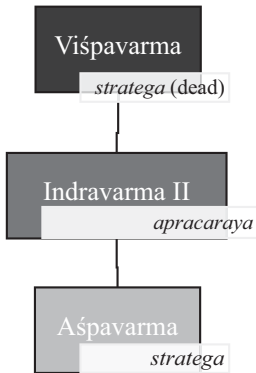


Fig. 4: Fourth, fifth and sixth generations during Indravarma II's kingdom.

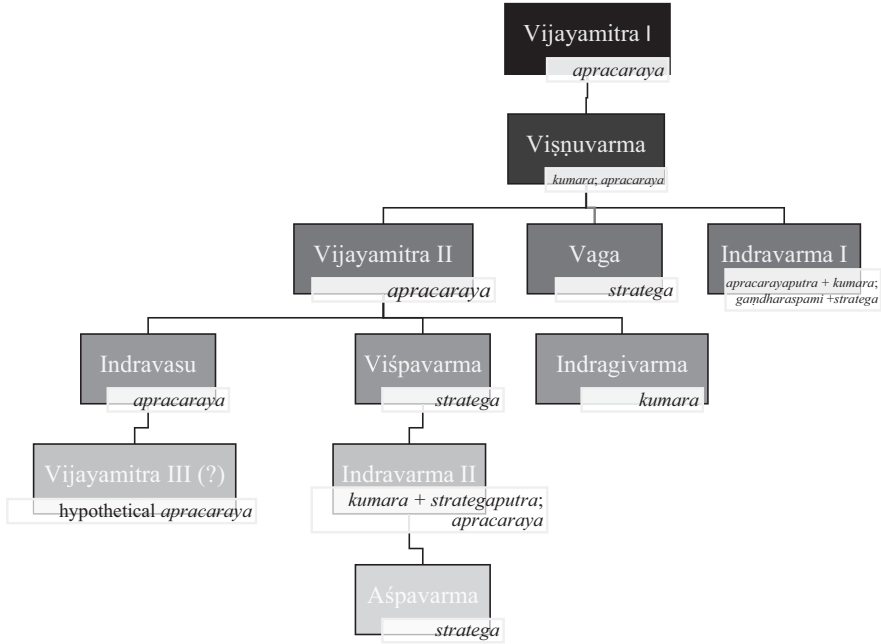


Fig. 5: The complete family tree of male Apraca dynasts (all six generations).

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