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Seals, Sealings and Tokens from Gandhāra. By ur Rahman and Falk.
(Mongraphien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, Band 21). pp. 222.
Weisbaden, Reichert, 2011.

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were instruments in the propagation of Gupta power, rather than the other way around. By choosing Udayagiri as his centrepiece, he is able to locate his study in the works of the greatest of the Gupta rulers in the one site of Gupta royal-religious activity where a significant set of monumental art has survived *in situ*.

In view of the great resonance of Gupta and immediately post-Gupta culture in South East Asia, let us consider the wider relevance of this book. The term *hindouisation* of South East Asia (usually translated into English as indianisation), was coined in the 1920s by the distinguished French epigrapher and historian, Georges Coedès. Coedès had in mind a counterpart to the prevailing colonial model of the romanisation of Europe, but conceded in his introduction to *Les Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, that the colonisation in Asia was *cultural* not military. Nonetheless, from the 1920s to the 1970s, many European and Indian scholars referred to the imposition of Indian culture on South East Asian societies by 'colonists' in the first and early second millennium. Though the imposition model is rejected by contemporary scholars of South East Asia, the term 'indianisation' is still used: there is an urgent need for a redefinition of what it means – just as the concept of romanisation has been redefined and refined many times. The deepest aim of Willis' book is to delineate the profound changes in rituals and endowments, art and architecture under Candragupta's reign which were to launch a new phase of Hinduism and himself as a *cakravartin*. Among the many achievements of this book, it offers a logical basis for a more precise discussion of what that new phase of Hinduism involved, the agents through whom it was achieved, and its implications for models of indianisation (or indianisations?) over wider regions.

This is an elegantly written book, unusual in the way it combines the archaeological perceptions of extensive field-walking in Central India, an art historian's eye for eloquent iconographic and stylistic detail, with a comprehensive knowledge of relevant inscriptions and many (but never burdensome) quotations from Sanskrit texts, followed by beautiful English translations. Inevitably, since there are many controversies surrounding textual issues, of which the authentication and dating of all parts of the *Arthasāstra* and the *Laws of Manu* are but two examples, there will be critics of one passage or another in this book. But all would agree that it offers a coherent set of richly documented, transparently framed arguments, which together comprise a well-considered, new interpretation of religio-political change in the reign of Candragupta II. Cambridge University Press is to be praised for the excellent standard of production: an attractive typeface, and high-quality paper which permit sharp reproductions of the illustrations complementing the points made in the text and always placed adjacent to them.

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SEALS, SEALINGS AND TOKENS FROM GANDHĀRA. By AMAN UR RAHMAN and HARRY FALK. (Mongraphien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, Band 21). pp. 222. Weisbaden, Reichert, 2011.
doi:10.1017/S1356186311000836

This book is a catalogue of seals, sealings and tokens found in 'Greater Gandhāra', that is, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province) of Pakistan and adjacent parts of Afghanistan. The collection presented in the book includes 1,023 specimens. The items are mostly in the private collection of the first author, but the catalogue includes 118 specimens from the Taxila Museum and 131 specimens from the Peshawar Museum. We have to be extremely grateful to Aman ur Rahman for managing to include the material from the Pakistan museums in the catalogue. Although most of these

items have been published elsewhere, the important collections from Peshawar and Taxila are presented here completely for the first time. Moreover, the value of their re-edition is considerably enhanced by the excellent quality of the depictions and the revised readings. The result is an encyclopedia of exceptional value. The volume will be an essential tool in any library dealing with the history and archaeology of Gandhāra and it will be invaluable for any museum with holdings from the Gandhāra region.

Each item in the catalogue is carefully described and beautifully (if not lavishly) reproduced with colour photographs of the front and side (and sometimes the back if required). Impressions are reproduced in black-and-white and enlarged. This means the reader can understand the shape, fabric and appearance of the original, but also clearly see the engraved or incised designs. As anyone who has worked with this kind of material will know, there is sometimes a problem with publication because one cannot discern what is original and what has been introduced through photographic reproduction of the design or inscription. In the book under review, the authors have very cleverly decided to illustrate the designs in black-and-white and this means there can be no confusion between the original and the photograph given to show the design or inscription. This makes the book very easy to use and greatly increases its value.

The front matter includes an Introduction (pp. 9–12) and a lengthy Commentary on Scribal Aspects (pp. 13–30). The book ends with three appendices, a list of references and an index of names and vocabulary. The materials discussed in the catalogue proper are divided into a number of typological sections: Male Portraits, Female Portraits, Male Figures, Female Figures, Multiple Portraits and Figures, Hellenistic Deities, Indo-Iranian Deities, Buddhist Contexts, Humans and Animals, Quadrupeds, Birds, Other Creatures, Fantastic Creatures, Plants, Tamga Designs and Symbols, and Inscriptions. These sections offer easy access to the rather heterogeneous collection and facilitate the comparison of related pieces. In some cases, however, one would have preferred a slightly different categorisation. Thus the *pūrṇaḥaṭa* symbols perhaps would be better placed in the section of symbols rather than plants. In other – very few – cases the identification of the objects, on which categorisation is based, is not completely clear and should have had some explanation. Thus the object 11.05.12 labelled as “Bird sitting atop of an altar or pedestal” (p. 147) has no parallels in the corpus and could also represent a fish. The seal contains the legend *puśatrāṭra* “Of Puśatrāṭr”. A comparable seal was seen by me some years ago in a private collection. It clearly depicts a fish and bears the biscript Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhī label *puruśadāṭa* “Of Puruśadāṭa”. In view of this parallel one should at least consider the possibility that the object shown on the seal is not a bird, but a fish.

Chronologically the material belongs to a crucial phase in Gandhāran and Indian history – the centuries before and after the beginning of our era, which witnessed a series of fundamental changes in the political, economic and religious history of India. It was the time after Alexander’s campaign to the East which resulted in considerable Greek and Hellenistic influence in the Indian North-West. But it was also the era when Iranian dynasties such as the Parthians, the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas dominated the political and cultural spheres. Buddhism started to spread beyond the borders of South Asia towards Central and East Asia. And the first traces of what we later call Hinduism become visible in the material and literary culture of South Asia. All these complex developments are illustrated here by a unique and magnificent corpus of seals and tokens, which not only contain pictorial representations of deities and religious symbols and narratives, but also textual material which considerably enhances the historical value of the collection. Many of the seals bear inscriptions written in the languages and scripts used in Gandhāra at the time, i.e. Kharoṣṭhī (language: Gāndhārī), Brāhmī (languages: Gāndhārī/Sanskrit), Greek, Middle Persian and Bactrian. Sometimes they are combined to biscript – or triscript epigraphs.

It must be regarded as extremely fortunate that Harry Falk, one of the few scholars well versed in most of these scripts and languages, tackled the epigraphic study of the seals. The most important

results of his research are not in the small commentaries, which accompany each entry of the catalogue, but in an introductory essay which he modestly calls 'Commentary on the Scribal Aspects'. This essay is much more than that and can, with little doubt, be called the heart of the book. In a conclusive and concise way, Falk has here assembled a multitude of original insights and ideas which considerably add to our knowledge of various aspects of the religious, cultural and political history of the Indian North-West. This review is not the place to name all the subjects dealt with here but some of them which show – *pars pro toto* – the high level of scholarship represented in the book should be mentioned. Falk begins his essay with remarks on the scripts and languages used on the seals. Of special interest is Falk's observation that the introduction of Sanskrit as the language of the seals was closely associated with the end of the use of Kharoṣṭhī. This seems to indicate that Brāhmī was perceived as the more appropriate script for writing Sanskrit. The process of 'Sanskritisation' which can be observed in different regions in India – at different times – is thus characterised in the North-West by a two-fold change: that from Kharoṣṭhī to Brāhmī and that from Middle-Indian (Gāndhārī) to Sanskrit.

This historical change would allow for an – at least tentative – chronological categorisation of the material and can certainly provide a valuable tool for the further study of this corpus.

According to Falk's palaeographical evaluation the majority of Brāhmī seals belong to the third or fourth century CE (p. 15). Falk continues with an onomastic evaluation of the corpus including a long discussion of the important Iranian names found in the corpus. Of special interest here is the name *śrībrāhmaṇa* which most would consider a reference to the highest Indian *varṇa*. It is characteristic of Falk's cautious and highly learned approach that he does not follow this track, but refers to a Bactrian seal published long ago by Helmut Humbach. This seal is inscribed with the Bactrian name ΦPAMANO and its Kharoṣṭhī equivalent *vhramaṇasa*. Both names possibly go back to Iranian *farmān* (p. 18).

The majority of the seals in the collection are personal seals. They belonged to an individual and were usually inscribed with that individual's name. As a second type Falk distinguishes "Official seals" which he further divides into Buddhist, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Zoroastrian seals according to the institutions which are referred to. Remarkable here are references to – otherwise unattested – Buddhist institutions like the *phalachadana* and a *pradakṣiṇāśālā*, translated by Falk as "fruit-covering (building)" and "circumambulation hall" (p. 21). For the first term Falk rightly points to the meaning "house built of wooden boards" attested in some modern Sanskrit dictionaries. As far as I am aware, the only known text containing the connotation cited by Falk is the *Mahāvīyutpatti* 131 (s.v.). Falk explains this connotation by the habit "to dry fruit in the shade" (p. 117). This is possible, but not, I think, the only possibility. Before assuming that fruit was dried in a special building within a Buddhist complex (which is, of course, possible), one should also think of other ways to explain this rarely attested compound. Contrary to Falk's assumption, it seems to me plausible that the first element of this compound is not associated with *phala* n. "fruit" (CDIAL 9051), but with *phala* n. "gaming board" (MBh.), *phālaka* n. "board, lath, bench" (CDIAL 9053). For the specific connotation of *chadana* in this compound see CDIAL 5017 (*chādana*). Hence a translation "wooden house" – as given by the *Mahāvīyutpatti* – should not be entirely disregarded.

Another interesting seal belonged to a Zoroastrian institution. It refers to a person called Mihira (correct on p. 22 and p. 65 the erroneous reading *mirihe* → *mihire*) living in Narapura, a place which Falk convincingly identifies with modern Nalwar, Rajasthan. This seal is very similar to a piece which Falk had published some years before and which was said to originate from Kashmir Smast. Here another Mihira, hailing from Sāmbapura in Multan, is mentioned. Although Falk hesitates to draw any conclusions from this parallel, one might ask whether this type of seal was produced at Kashmir Smast for Zoroastrian devotees who came to that place which they called according to inscriptional references *horamaysanagara* "Town of Ahura Mazda".

It is a pity that the authors do not provide a comprehensive list of the entire material which would illustrate the exact percentage of the different kinds of seals according to their religious, linguistic, palaeographical and typological characteristics. Together with the above-mentioned chronological tools on the basis of language and script such a list would have considerably added to the value of the historical information of the catalogue.

In a separate chapter of his 'Commentary' Falk deals with the important monastic complex Kashmir Smast – an example of an extraordinary religious syncretism and one of the earliest known Śaiva places in South Asia. Falk has already written two important studies on this site ("A Copper Plate Donation Record and Some Seals from the Kashmir Smast", *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* XXIII [2003] pp. 1–19; "Money Can Buy Me Heaven: Religious Donations in Late and Post-Kushan India", *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* XL [2008], pp. 137–148) and it is a welcome enrichment of this catalogue that he uses his essay to introduce some new material which is part of the Aman ur Rahman Collection and to add some remarks on previous publications on Kashmir Smast. Falk here also draws attention to a number of fakes which were published by M. Nasim Khan. Everybody dealing with Kashmir Smast in future should therefore first consult this comment in Falk's essay before using any material or interpretations. Of more general interest – especially for art historians – are the discussions of the Kashmir Smast's "Lajjā Gaurī" (p. 24f.) and of the so-called *triratna* symbol (also called *nandyāvarta*, *nandipada*) which Falk believes to be a monogram containing the letters *namo* (pp. 26–27).

Falk also enters into a discussion of historical material – including the important Apracarāja dynasty and the Pāratarājas – which touches on wider complexities and controversies in the history of Gandhāra. It is not surprising that such a huge mass of material can be interpreted in different ways. In general, both authors avoid speculative and controversial interpretations and choose a balanced approach which makes this book a reliable source for scholars who are not experts in the type of material catalogued.

On some minor questions it might be possible to hold a different opinion. As one of the remarkably few instances of disagreement on my part, I would cite the interesting fragment of a *dhāraṇī* seal. Falk suggests that its text is very similar to the *Bodhigarbhālāṃkāralakṣa dhāraṇī*, "but not identical with it", and he concludes: "I leave it to the specialists to trace our *dhāraṇī* in the Buddhist sources (p. 28)". Since Falk is referring to my article on seals bearing this text ("Two stamps with the *Bodhigarbhālāṃkāralakṣa Dhāraṇī* from Afghanistan and Some Further Remarks on the Classification of Objects with the *ye dharmā* Formula", in *Prajñādhara: Essays on Asian Art History, Epigraphy and Culture in Honour of Gouriswar Bhattacharya*, (ed.) Gerd Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji, [New Delhi, 2009], pp. 37–56), I feel that I should comment on his suggestion. Based on my knowledge of comparable pieces from North-West and North India, I would be surprised if the *dhāraṇī* found on the seal in the Aman ur Rahman Collection would represent anything other than the *mantra* of *Bodhigarbhālāṃkāralakṣa dhāraṇī*. Falk correctly remarks that the size reconstructed by him according to the preserved part of the seal does not provide enough space for the complete *mantra*. On the base of his reconstruction the first preserved line of the *mantra* corresponds to the seventh line of the complete text. Before assuming that the text of this well-attested and rather coherently transmitted *dhāraṇī* alters, I would suggest a different reconstruction which allows for more space. Falk's picture represents a perfect circle. But if we compare preserved seals or sealings of this type, they are usually slightly oval rather than circular. To support my argument I used Falk's drawing and prepared another picture which allows us to place one more line on the reconstructed seal. According to this attempt, the text of the seal consisted originally of 18 lines containing 6 to 26 *aḥṣanas* (numbers given here in brackets). On the basis of the available parallels from the North-West (given in my article just cited), the text can be tentatively reconstructed as follows:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 1 (6 Akṣaras) | namo bhagavate |
| 2 (13) | vīpulanadanakāmcānotkṣiptaprabhā |
| 3 (16) | sa ketumūrdhne tathāgatāya namo bhagavate |
| 4 (18) | sākyamunaye tathāgatāyārhate samyaksambuddhāya |
| 5 (19) | tadyathā oṃ bodhi bodhi bodhi sarvatathāgatagocara |
| 6 (21) | dhara dhara hara hara prahara prahara mahābodhicittadhara |
| 7 (24) | culu culu śataraśmisaṃcodite sarvatathāgatābhiṣikte guṇagu |
| 8 (23) | namate buddhaguṇāvabhāse mili mili gaganatale sarvatathā |
| 9 (21) | gatādhiṣṭhite nabhastale śama śama praśama praśama sarva |
| 10 (26) | pāpaviśodhane hulu hulu mahābodhimārgasaṃprasthite sarvatathāgata |
| 11 (22) | pratiṣṭhītaśudhe svāhā: oṃ sarvatathāgataḥ vyavalokite jaya |
| 12 (22) | jaya svāhā: oṃ huru huru jayamukhe svāhā ye dharmā hetuprabha |
| 13 (19) | vā hetusteṣā tathāgata prāha teṣāṃ ca yo nirodho e |
| 14 (*19) | vavād(i) mahāśra[ma]ṇaḥ |
| 15 (*18) | ? saṃpāra ? ja |
| 16 (*16) | |
| 17 (*13) | |
| 18 (*6) | |

As in many other instances the *mantra* of the *Bodhiḡarbhālaṅkāralakṣa dhāraṇī* concludes with the *ye-dharmā*-verse in its North-Western form (i.e. with *prāha* instead of *hy avadat*). But as Falk correctly observed, it is followed here by another textual component, which is only partially preserved and read by Falk as: *saṃpāra . . . ja*. I am not able to identify this text and have to join Falk in leaving the determination of this last portion to other specialists.

There is a huge amount of fascinating information in the catalogue showing that the authors have given much thought and many years to the materials studied. Only somebody who has already dealt with this type of material can appreciate how much work and study stands behind this brilliant and convincing presentation which offers the useful and avoids the superfluous. The publisher is to be especially praised for the excellent quality of the paper and the reproductions which make this volume a delight to consult. The catalogue is indeed a treasure-trove for everyone interested in early India, its culture and religions and its history. But more than that, it is also an aesthetic pleasure to enjoy the remarkable artistic quality which many of the pieces display. Despite the admirable work done by both authors it is characteristic of this type of material that it provides much ground for further, exciting discoveries. We all should feel invited by Aman ur Rahman and Harry Falk to use their excellent book for our research and to make it thus, what it certainly deserves to be: a mile-stone in the exploration of the history and culture of Gandhāra.

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THE MAKING OF WESTERN INDOLOGY: HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.
By ROSANE ROCHER AND LUDO ROCHER. pp. 238. London, Routledge, 2012.
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Writing from Oxford University in the 1870s, the professor of comparative philology, Friedrich Max Müller, hailed not the polymathic Sir William Jones but Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Jones's younger successor as president of the Asiatic Society in Bengal, as being "the founder and father of true Sanskrit