

MIKHAIL D. BUKHARIN

EARLY ROYAL DYNASTIES IN THE *PURĀNAS*,
EPICS AND CLASSICAL TRADITION

The Indian campaigns of Dionysos and Heracles is the one of the most debated questions in the study of Indo-Greek relations. The basic facts of this story are represented in the works of Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo and Curtius Rufus, who in their turn took the data from the scriptures of the biographers of Alexander and the «Indika» of Megasthenes. Just some words to remind them: in very deep antiquity Dionysos came to India from the West with the army in which there were many women. He was born from his father's thigh on a mountain Meros. Having come to India, he has introduced the basic elements of the civilised way of life: has established the cities, laws, courts, has introduced agriculture. For accomplished deeds Dionysos was proclaimed a king. He has introduced the cult of gods, and installed his own. He has established a dynasty, after him there ruled Spatamba, Budia and Kradeva. Heracles has won India 15 generations after Dionysos, has made many feats, by clearing India from different sorts of monsters. He has divided India among the sons, and unique daughter Pandaya has been given an empire "in the South". For the perfect deeds Heracles was also proclaimed a king (Diod. II.38-39; Strabo. XI.5.5; XV.I.7-9; Arr. Ind. 7-9; Anab. IV.28.1-2, V.I.5-6; Plin. N. H. 6.59, 76, 79; Curt. VIII.10.11, VIII.11.2).

Previous identifications

Not getting into the detailed analysis of the viewpoints of the researchers, already for more than 200 years occupied by this legend, for presentation all spectrum of opinions we shall just give the list of the Indian gods with which Dionysos and Heracles have been previously identified. As to Dionysos these were Noah¹, Rama², Pṛthu³, Śiva⁴, Rudra-Śiva⁵, Kriṣṇa⁶, Skandha⁷, Balarama⁸, Soma⁹, Manu¹⁰,

1. Vossius, G., *De idololatrie gentilibi*, in Ger. Vossii Opera. Amstelodami, 1700. p. 69.

2. Jones, W., *On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India*, in AR. 1798. 1. 8. p. 256-257.

3. Lassen, Ch., *Bemerkungen über dieselbe Stelle des Megasthenes*, in ZKM. Bd V. 1844. S. 251-254.

4. Müllerus, C., *Megasthenes*, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Collegit, Disposuit, Notis et Prolegomenis Illustravit Carolus Müllerus. Vol. II. Parisiis, 1847. p. 401; Schwanbeck, E.A. (ed.). *Megasthenis Indika*. Bonnae, 1846. p. 43, 45; Mc'Crinde, J.W., *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. Calcutta, 1960 (1877). p. 111. In the second volume of his «Indische Altertumskunde» Ch. Lassen briefly said that in Dionysos worshiped in the mountains one should see Śiva: Lassen, Ch., *Indische Altertumskunde*. Bd II. Bonn, 1852. S. 698; Soloviev, V.S., *Mifologicheskii protsess v drevnem yazychestve [Mythological process in ancient paganism]*, in Soloviev, V.S., *Complete Collection of the Works*. Vol. 1. Moscow, 1991. p. 21 (in Russian); Humbach, H., *Megasthenes and the Indian Caste*, in *Proceedings of All-India Oriental Conference*. 29th Session, 1978. Poona, 1980. p. 398; Foucher, A., Bazin-Foucher, E., *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*. Vol. II., 1947. p. 256; Buddruss, G., *Review of Dahlquist A. 1962*, in *Gnomon*. 1965. 37. p. 721; Dumézil, G., *Héraclès: ses fils et sa fille*, in Dumézil, G., *La courtisane et les seigneurs colorés et autres essais: vingt cinq esquisses de mythologie*. P., 1983. p. 48-49, 59; Long, J. B., *Śiva and Dionysos – Visions of Terror and Bliss*, in *Numen*. 1971. 18. p. 180-209; Puskaš, I., *Megasthenes and the "Indian Gods" Heracles and Dionysos*, in *Mediterranean Studies*. 2. Greece and the Mediterranean / Ed. Richard W. Clement, Benjamin F. Taggie, Robert G. Schwartz. Kirksville, 1990. p. 39-47; Karttunen, K.: *India in Early Greek Literature*. Helsinki, 1986. p. 212-219.

5. Bongard-Levin, G.M., *Graeco-Roman Tradition and Religion-Philosophical Currents in Mauryan India*, in ALB. 1980-1981. 44-45. Madras, p. 59-62; Bongard-Levin, G.M., Ilyin, G.F.: *Indiya v drevnosti [India in Antiquity]*. Moscow, 1985. p. 374-375; Lévêque, P.: *Dionysos dans l'Inde*, in *Inde, Grèce ancienne: Regards croisés en anthropologie de l'espace*. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Vol. 576. Actes de Colloque International – Besançon, 4-5 Décembre, 1992, organisé par CHA (URA 338), le groupe de recherches en Anthropologie de l'Espace. Besançon, 1995. p. 125-137. See also O'Flaherty, W. Doniger: *Dionysos and Siva: Parallel Patterns in Two Parts of Myths*, in *Humanist Research*. 1980. 20. N. 1-2. p. 81-111.

Suryadeva¹¹, Holi festival¹², Mundu folk hero Maṅrang-Buru¹³, they spoke about the confusion of the traits of different gods and heroes¹⁴, or influence of different tribes' traditions¹⁵ or landscape¹⁶. Some contributors left the question open¹⁷ or tended to show, that the appearance of the figure of Dionysos in India is to be connected with political profits, pursued by Alexander and his biographers¹⁸, or a "game" of Alexander himself in Dionysos, who wanted thus to inspire soldiers to new feats¹⁹. Heracles²⁰ in his turn was identified with Kriṣṇa²¹,

6. Kennedy, J., *The Child Krishna, Christianity and the Gujars*, in JRAS. 1907. p. 967.

7. Kerbaker, M., *Il Bacco indiano nelle sue attinenze col mito e con culto dionisiaco* // Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti. 1905. V. 23. N. 1. p. 139-196.

8. Chaudhari, K., *Dionysos of Indo-Greek Coins – A Study*, in JNSI. 1983. 45. p. 119-133.

9. Chattopadhyaya, K., *Dionysos in Megasthenes: Who was He?*, in Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference. Madras. December 22nd-24th, 1924. Madras, 1925. p. 262-265.

10. Stein, O., *Megasthenes*, in RE. Bd 15. Hbd 29. Stuttgart, 1931. S. 310; Mankand, D.R.: *Puranic Chronology*. Anand, 1951. p. 3.

11. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*. Varanasi, 1963. p. vii-viii.

12. Growse, F.S., Mathura. 1880. p. 94.

13. Dahlquist, A., *Megasthenes and Indian Religion. A Study in Motives and Types*. Uppsala, 1962.

14. Sethna, K.D., *Megasthenes and Indian Chronology as Based on the Purānas*, in Purāṇa. 1966. 8. N. 1, p. 16-29; Goyal, S. R., *Kautiliya and Megasthenes*. Meerut, 1985. p. 104-113.

15. Goukowsky, P.: *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre (336-270 av. J.-C.)*. II. *Alexandre et Dionysos*. Nancy, 1981. p. 17, 25-28, 32, 37-38.

16. Ghirshman, R., *Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kushans* (MDAFA. Vol. 12) Le Caire, 1946. p. 46.

17. Arrian, *Der Alexanderzug. Indische Geschichte. Griechisch und Deutsch hrsg. und übersetzt von Gerhard Wirth und O. von Hinüber*. Sammlung Tusculum. München-Zürich, 1985. S. 1105.

18. Nock, A.D., *Notes on the Ruler-Cult. I: Alexander and Dionysos*, in JHS. 1928. 48. p. 25-30; Neville, J.: *Les Indes de Bacchus et d'Heracles*, in Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Ancienne. 1929. 55. p. 245-270; Zambrini, A.: *Idealizzazione di una terra: etnografia e propaganda negli Indika di Megasthene*, in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*. Atti del convegno di Cortona (24-30 maggio 1981). Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome. 67. Pisa-Roma, 1983. p. 1115; idem. *Gli Indika di Megasthene II*, in ASNP. 1985. Ser. 3. 15. N. 3. p. 782-785, 790-791; idem. *A proposito degli Indika di Arriano*, in ASNP. 1987. Ser. 3. 17. N. 1. p. 145-148, 150-152.

19. Tondriaux, J., *Alexandre le Grand assimilé à différentes divinités*, in Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire ancienne. 1949. 23. p. 45; idem. *Dionysos. Dieu*

Vasudeva-Kriṣṇa²², Indra²³, Śiva²⁴, Viṣṇu²⁵, any pre-Aryan Harappan

royal: du Bacchus tauromorphe au souverains hélénistiques Neoi Dionysoi // Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et Histoire Orientales et Slaves. 1952. 12. Mélanges Henri Grégoire. p. 455. The opposite point of view about serenity of Alexander in worship of Dionysos and absence of pragmatic motives in this story see. Vallois, R.: Alexandre et la mystique dionysiaque // RNA. 1932. 34. p. 81-82.

20. Basing on the imaginary etymological similarity of the names of Heracles and Hari this opinion was expressed already by F. Wilford: Wilford, F., *On Egypt and Other Countries, Adjacent to the Ca'li River or Nile of Ethiopia From the Ancient Books of Hindus*, in AR. 1799. 3. 8. p. 46-259.

21. Lassen, Ch., *Bemerkungen über dieselbe Stelle des Megasthenes*. S. 252 (However, he connects the name of daughter of Heracles Pandaia to the Pandava dynasty); idem. *Indische Altertumskunde*. Bd. I. Bonn, 1847. S. 647-655; 795-799; Bd. II. Bonn, 1847. S. 465, 698; Bd. III. Leipzig, 1852. S. 1107; Schwanbeck: *op. cit.* p. 43-44; McCrindle: *op. cit.* p. 111; Idem, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*. Westminster, 1901. p. 108. In another work he said the one should see Balarama in «Indian» Heracles: Idem, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*. New Delhi, 1896. p. 70; Barth, A., *Les religions de l'Inde (Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses)*. P., 1879. p. 100; Garbe, G., *Indien und Christentum*. Tübingen, 1914. S. 264; von Schröder, L., *Heracles und Indra. Eine mythenvergleichende Untersuchung* / Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Bd 58. Abhandlung 3. Wien, 1914. S. 22; Chattopadhyaya: *op. cit.* p. 263; Ruben, W. Krishna, *Konkordanz und Kommentar der Motive seines Heldenlebens*. Istantbul, 1943 (Istantbuler Schriften. 17). S. 278-281; *The History and Culture of Indian People*. Ed. By R. C. Majumdar. Vol. II. *The Age of Imperial Unity*. Bombay, 1953. p. 432; Goosens, R., *Le démon indien Σοφοάδειου*, in NCI. 1953. 5. p. 38-47; Eggermont, P.H.L., *The Muruṇḍas and the Ancient Trade Route From Taxila to Ujjain*, in JESHO. 1966. 9. p. 257-296; Humbach, *op. cit.* p. 398; Puskaś, *Megasthenes and the "Indian Gods" Heracles and Dionysos*. p. 39-47; Karttunen, *op. cit.* p. 211.

22. Audouin, R., Bernard, P.: *Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aï-Khanoum*, in Revue Numismatique. 1974. 6 série. 16. p. 18-20; Bongard-Levin, *op. cit.* p. 56-59. Bongard-Levin, G.M., *Indiya epohi Mauryev [India of the Maurya Times]*. Moscow, 1973. p. 288.

23. Müllerus: *op. cit.* p. 401; Dahlquist: *op. cit.*

24. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. vii-viii. These statements have been supported in the following works: Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 951-991; Rawlinson, H.G., *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*. Cambridge, 1916. p. 61; de Casparis, F., *Review of: Dahlquist A. Megasthenes and Indian Religion*, in JRAS. 1963. p. 280; Renou, L., Filliozat, J., *L'Inde classique. Manuel des Etudes indiens*. Vol. I. P., 1947. p. 245; Filliozat, J., *Les dravidiens dans la civilisation indienne*, in Journal des Savants. 1969. p. 76-77; Idem: *Connaissances gréco-romaines sur l'Inde*, in Journal des Savants. 1981. p. 111-112; Idem: *Pline et le Malaya*, in JA. 1974. 262. p. 128; André, J., Filliozat, J., *Pline l'Ancien. Histoire Naturelle*. Livre VI, 2e partie. P., 1980. p. 105 (in this case the authors have proposed a contradictory hypothesis: mention by Pliny the Elder of the Pandes (6.76) goes back to Pandavas, and that of Pandaia – to South Indian mythological tradition), 156-158.

25. Soloviev, *op. cit.* p. 19.

«proto-Śiva»²⁶, Paṇḍu – legendary founder of the Tamil dynasty²⁷, a king of the Paṇḍava dynasty Yayāti and his daughter Madhavi²⁸, they spoke about the confusion of the images of different gods²⁹.

The frameworks of an article do not allow to retell, even briefly, analyse and criticise the above mentioned points of view, however we may state, that no one of prior attempts to pick up any of the heroes of local literary tradition on the role of Dionysos and Heracles in order to

26. Skurzak, L., *En lisant Mégasthène (Nouvelles observations sur la civilisation indienne)*, in Eos. 1979. V. 67. p. 72; Sachse, J., *Megasthenes o Indikach*. Classica Wratislaviensia VIII. Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Wratislava, 1981. 578. p. 49.

27. De Romanis, F., *Romanukharaṭṭha e Taprobane: sui rapporti Roma-Ceylon nel I secolo*, in Helikon. Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica dell'Università di Messina. 1988. 28. p. 52-53; see English translation: Romanukharaṭṭha and Taprobane: Relations Between Rome and Sri Lanka in the First Century A.D., in Crossings. Early Mediterranean Contacts with India. Ed. by F. de Romanis, A. Tchernia. New Delhi, 1996. p. 198.; De Romanis, F., *Roma e i Nótia dell'India, ricerca sui rapporti tra Roma e l'India dravidica dal 30 A.C. all'età Flavia*, in Helikon. Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica dell'università di Messina. 1982-1987. 22-27. p. 185-189. see English translation: Rome and the Nótia of India: Relations Between Rome and Sri Lanka in the First Century A.D., in Crossings... p. 110-112.

The kingdom of Pandya as historical source of the kingdom of the daughter of Heracles was referred to in the following works: Lassen, *Indische Altertum-skunde*. Bd I. S. 649-650; Kanakasabhai Pillai, V., *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*. Madras, 1904. p. 54-55; Smith, V.A., *The Early History of India*. Oxf., 1908. p. 407; Schoff, W.H., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean, by a Merchant of the First Century*. N.Y., 1912 (repr. New Delhi, 1974, 1995). p. 238; Kuiper, *op. cit.* p. 144; Dessigane, R., Pattabiramin, P. Z., Filliozat, J., *La légende des jeux de Çiva à Madurai*, in Publications de l'Institut français d'indologie. 19. 1. Pondichéry. 1960. p. xiii; Filliozat, J., *Pline et le Malaya*. JA. 1974. 262. 1-2. p. 128; André, Filliozat, *op. cit.* p. 156-157; Casson, L., *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary. Princeton, 1989. p. 218.

28. Dumézil, *Héraclès, ses fils et sa fille ...* p. 51-59; Idem, Pandaia et le pays Pāṇḍya?, in Dumézil, G., *La courtisane et les seigneurs colorés ...* p. 60-65; Idem: *Types épiques indo-européens: un héros, un sorcier, un roi*, in Dumézil, G., *Mythe et épopee*. Vol. II. P., 1971. p. 258-259, 262, 264.

29. Goyal, *op. cit.* p. 113-124; Vofchuk, R., *Megasthènes y la religion de la India*, in Oriente-Occidente (Centro de investigaciones filosóficas C.I.F. seminario de Indología). 1985. V. 1. Buenos Aires. p. 19. Just but severe critic has been put forward by K. Karttunen: Karttunen, K.: *Graeco-Indica – A Survey of Recent Work*, in Arctos. 1986. 20. p. 85; Puskás, I., *Indian Religions in Classical Sources*, in Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecen. 1989. 25. p. 64-66; Filliozat, J.: *Pandaia, fille d'Héraclès indien*, in JA. 1943-1945. 234. p. 420.

interpret their campaigns to India and disclose the mechanism of formation of this legend, has got full success. For the researchers this story represented a set of the details connected to the cult and myths about any particular god. It is necessary to introduce corrections in the strategy of research: to determine, what subject was of key interest of the Classical authors, to separate the data of Megasthenes from the information of the companions of Alexander, to reveal the system of stereotypes, operated by the story-tellers, to attribute the authorship of the fragments of this story, that would make possible to consider this legend in its development. Moreover, one must give an idea to find the correspondences to all the features of Indian Dionysos and Heracles: these figures reflect the impressions of many people, living in different epochs, who have described different regions, whose culture for them was alien; research of this subject must not surpass the limits of the possible.

See below the table, in which the principal mythological subjects on the presence and deeds of Dionysos in India are generalized with division on primary and secondary sources:

Subject	Primary source	Secondary Source
In pre-historical times came with army from the West, conquered all Asia and India.	Historians of Alexander, Megasthenes	Diod. II. 38. 3; Strabo. XV. I. 6; Arr. Ind. 5. 8; 7. 5; Curt. VIII. 10. 1-2
Cured an illness in his army on the mount Meros, that's why the Greeks say, that he was born from the fathers' thigh (born in Nysa, brought up in one of the grottoes of Meros)	Historians of Alexander, Megasthenes	Diod. II. 38. 4; Plin. NH. VI. 23. 9; Solin. 52. 16; Poluaenus. Strat. I. 1. 2; Arr. Anab. V. 1. 6; Curt. VIII. 10. 12-13 (Mela. De Chorogr. 3. 66)
Having come to India, he found it wild, he introduced the basic elements of civilization:	Megasthenes	Diod. II. 38. 5; Arr. Ind. 7. 2-3

Subject	Primary source	Secondary Source
Taught the Indians to use arms	Megasthenes	Arr. Ind. 7. 7
Found the cities, Nysa including.	Historians of Alexander, (foundation of Nysa), Megasthenes	Arr. Anab. V. 1. 3 – 2. 2, Ind. 7. 5; Diod. II. 38. 5; Strabo. XV. I. 8; Plin. NH. VI. 23. 9; Solin. 52. 16; Curt. VIII. 10. 7, 11-12
Introduced the laws and courts	Megasthenes	Diod. II. 38. 5; Arr. Ind. 7. 5
Introduced the settled way of life, taught to use plough	Megasthenes	Arr. Ind. 7. 2, 7
Gave the seeds of the plants, taught to collect and store the foodstuff, to plant the grapes	Megasthenes	Diod. II. 38. 5; Strabo XV. 1. 8, 58; Arr. Ind. 7. 6
Rules in India 52 years, established a royal dynasty: Dionysos-Spatemba-Budia-Kradeva	Megasthenes	Diod. II. 38. 7; Arr. Ind. 8. 1-3; Plin. NH. VI. 21. 4-5; Solin. 52. 5
Taught the Indian to worship the gods and himself in particular; for many good deeds was worshiped as god, also – by the «philosophers» in the mountains	Megasthenes from the «Indians, living in the mountains».	Diod. II. 38. 5, 39. 1; Arr. Ind. 7. 3, 8; Strabo XV. 1. 58; Curt. VIII. 5. 11, 17
His cult included wearing of long hair, dances, music.	Megasthenes	Strabo XV. 1. 58; Arr. Anab. 6. 3. 5, Ind. 7. 8

Subject	Primary source	Secondary Source
From him the tribe of Oxydrakoi, who planted grapes, descended.	Historians of Alexander, Megasthenes (?)	Strabo. XV. I. 8

At least we should differ what was seen and described by the historians of Alexander from the data of Megasthenes, who was the author of the «extended version» of a legend. The texts of Diodorus, Arrian and Strabo are based on the mixture of at least these two versions. One would not forget, that they also had predecessors – Herodotus and Ktesias, whose information influenced on the composition of later stories about India, and mostly anonymous followers.

The Greek context of the composition of the legend

The legend about Indian campaigns of Dionysos and Heracles is transmitted in categories elaborated and used in the Greek world for description of proto-history of Greece and other regions of *oikumene*, beginning of the royal power in them. Appearance of this story in Classical tradition may be explained as follows: on the one hand, the most ancient period of the history of the people, beginning of its state, genealogy of the kings were the integral part of the Greek ethnographic tradition. The description of Persia (Herod. I. 96-107), Egypt (Herod. II. 99-142), Greece properly (Apollod. I.7.2; II.1.1) is presented in this way. There was a certain questionnaire, whose filling should make the description of a history of any region. If there was not enough material of local tradition or if the author could not receive it (modern researchers dealing with the material of the Indian tradition, *a priori* believe, that it had to be known to Megasthenes in not smaller volume) the history of any region was being thought out by analogy to the history of Greece and other known countries. The influence of this questionnaire is clearly traced, for example, in the description by Thucydides of the most ancient period of a history of

Greece, its first kings and governors of the other regions (e.g., I.2.2; I.4.1; I.8.2; I.10.2; I.15.2). The traditions of any peoples about their own origin could be «accepted» only in case if they corresponded to already fixed stereotype. The aim of ancient chorographer in its retelling was to integrate the «barbarous» (including Indian, Persian, Assirian) traditions into the Greek mythological proto-history. He had to follow his own literary-ethnographic tradition, being obliged to present the description of the beginning of the history, in this case – of the royal power of described region. The description of activity of the Dionysos as of cultural hero in India is given by Megasthenes practically in the same words, as well as description of benefactions, accomplished for the ancient inhabitants of Italy by king (king, but not by the god!) Ital: «...φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλὸν τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα τῆς Οἰνωτρίας... τοῦτον δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οἰνωτροὺς ὄντας ποιῆσαι γεωργούς καὶ νόμους ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστήσαι πρῶτον...» (Arist. Pol. 1329b). The cultural activity of Alexander the Great in Persia is described approximately in the same words (Arr. Ind. 40. 8).

It was namely the rule of the first Indian kings, beginning of the Indian history, and not the religious cults, as the majority of the researchers of this question believes, interested Megasthenes first of all in this story. Here we must see not a simply incoherent set of details about any two local gods, but complex construction consisting of ethnographic and political motives: the description of the most ancient stage of the history of India transmitted by means determined for such cases by ancient Greek ethnographic and political tradition. Numerous secondary details are to be located around this main subject. «Dionysos» and «Heracles» are in this case a kind of the technical terms, when the beginning of royal power is dealt. It is probable, that if any other region were touched, the primogenitors of the state and royal power would also carry the names of Dionysos and Heracles.

Conquest of India by Dionysos

Being an ethnographer, Megasthenes was mostly interested in information the most necessary for the Greek tradition – the beginning of history and royal power in the region described. If so, the most probable source of information was the description of the consecration of the first Indian king during the *rājasūya* rite. Its first commitment could also mean the first (ritual) conquest of India by its first king. The conquest of India by Dionysos, described by the Classical authors, was nothing more, but Interpretatio Graeca of the information, ascending, though most likely not directly, to the information on the first fulfilment of the *rājasūya* rite. It transmits the sense of one of the main concepts of activity of a king – “*vijāya*”. There is nothing impossible in the fact that the data of Megasthenes may go back to ancient Indian royal rituals. As was shown by R. Goosens, Flavius Philostratus (App. 2.19.15) has rather precisely transmitted the description of the *aśvamedha* rite in its ancient and poorly known form finding the best correspondence in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*³⁰. If we analyse the material of purāṇic tradition containing the data about *rājasūya*, we would see that the corresponding episodes of the beginning of history in general and royal power in particular have almost, and sometimes – exact parallels to the story by Megasthenes (or retelling of the messages of the historians of Alexander) about the dynasty of the first Indian kings founded by Dionysos. The use of the data of the purāṇas, in spite of the later date of fixation of the purāṇic texts in comparison with the date of visit of Megasthenes in India³¹, is justified, since mythological tradition of the beginning of history and genealogy of the first kings ascend to much more remote times, rather earlier, than the data of the Greeks on India. Purāṇic tradition and in particular the *Brahma-purāṇa* says, that the first king in the beginning of the new era of Manu Vaivasvata was

30. Goosens, R.: *Un texte grec relatif à Asvamedha* // JA. 1930. 216. p. 280-285.

31. The latest analysis of the data about the date of Megasthenes' visits to India see: Bukharin, M.D., *Megasfen v Indii (Megasthenes in India)*, in *Drevniy vostok i antichny mir. Trudy kafedry istorii drevnego mira [Ancient Orient and Classical World]*. I. Moscow, 1998 p. 103-113 (in Russian). Author presents arguments for postulation of various visits of Megasthenes not only to the court of Chandragupta Maurya in Pataliputra, but also to Poros to North-Western India between 321 and 317 B.C.

Pr̥thu, and it was him who has accomplished for the first time the rite of *rājasūya*, having symbolically conquered all the world:

*rājasūyābhiṣiktas tu pṛthur atair narādhipaiḥ |
vedadr̥ṣṭena vidhinā rājā rājye narādhipaḥ ||
tato manvantare 'fite cākṣuṣe 'mitatejasi |
vaivasvatāya manave pṛthivyām rājyaṃ ādiśat (4. 16-17)³².*

The rite itself means waging of symbolical «combat actions» by a king who is to be consecrated, and the tradition around *rājasūya* is full of real actions, waged by the inhabitants of Heaven and Earth. The *rājasūya* rite leads to the war of all against all³³. The retelling of such a mythological event could be the foundation of this legend by Megasthenes. Though military expeditions and the intrusions in the *rājasūya* rite had only symbolical significance³⁴, the conquest of all the world was both the starting point and purpose (though ritual, but always through the rite declared) of the reign of any Indian king.

Properly speaking the conquest of the Earth in a course of *rājasūya* rite takes place during the episode when 12 *ratnins*, ranged from the South to the North or from West to East, that repeats direction of the way of army of Dionysos during his Indian campaign, symbolise «parts», «members» of possession, which king had to concentrate, collect together, integrate in his own personality³⁵. Committing a sacrifice in the house of each *ratnin*, king thus wins and strongly keeps his possession. In the course of sacrifice to eight gods *devasuvah havimṣi*, the king makes three steps of Viṣṇu, symbolising the conquest of three worlds from West to East³⁶. Dionysos also has come «ἐκ τῶν πρὸς

32. «In ceremony of *rājasūya* Prithu was consecrated by these kings [the gods appointed by Brahmā as the rulers of plants, animals and other spheres – *M.B.*] on the throne / According to Vedic ritual king [is consecrated] by the kings on the throne / So, the era of Manu Cākṣuṣa has passed, / He [Brahmā – *M.B.*] passed the earthly kingdom to Manu Vaivasvata».

33. Thite, G., *Antipathy to Rajasuya: Why?*, in Sambodhi. 1972. 1. N. 3. October. p. 47-48.

34. *Ibid.* p. 54-57.

35. Detailed analysis of this episode see Sharma, R.S., *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1959. p. 103-118.

36. *Ibid.* p. 71.

ἐσπέραν τόπων» (Diod. II. 38. 3) – «from places laying to West», and this was said not by the Greeks, but by the Indians.

As to the army of Dionysos (Diod. II. 38. 6.), as that one may consider hundred persons drinking Soma during the *dasapeya* rite. The information about the women in army of Dionysos is born by the presence of women in the suite of the «Greek» Dionysos and might also come back to the fact that among twelve *rantins* two or three places were to be given to women³⁷.

The Birth of Dionysos. Meros Mount

The writers of late Hellenistic and Roman time, who have conserved the information of the biographers of Alexander and that of Megasthenes, have expressed them mistrust concerning birth of Dionysos from the Zeus' thigh: «Διόνυσος ἐξέτρεψε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς νόσου· ἐφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου παραδεδωκέναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις τεθρέφθαι τὸν Διόνυσον ἐν μηρῶ» (Diod. II.38.4)³⁸; «Sita est (urbs) sub radicibus montis quem Meron incolae appellant, inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam Iouis femine Liberum Paterem esse coelatum» (Curt. VIII.10.12)³⁹, i.e., in their opinion, not Indians, but the participants of the Alexander's campaign have created this story, having rather roughly adjusted salvation of the army of Dionysos under his birth. Roman writers Curtius Rufus and Diodorus the Sicilian certainly meant under the «Greeks» not only participants of the Alexander's campaign in India (Curt. VIII.10.11-12) and Megasthenes (who, certainly, knew all that was connected to the mountain Meros in works of the companions of Alexander), but also and mostly Greek mythological tradition as a whole. However similarity of their information to materials of the Indian tradition makes one doubt in this conclusion.

37. Sharma: *op. cit.*, p. 117.

38. «Dionysos cured his army from illness, therefore the Greeks transfer to the following generations, that Dionysos was grown up in thigh».

39. The city is located at the foot of a mountain, which the local inhabitants call Meros, therefore and the Greeks have invented the story, that Liber Pater was hidden in Jove's thigh.

On the one hand, this story has rather strong parallels in *Brahma-purāna*. From the thigh of Vena – father of the first king Pṛthu – the ruler of the *niśada* and other tribes lived in the Vindhya mountains (4.42-47), was born. After him from the right hand of Vena Pṛthu was born (4.47-49). He became the master of all beings, including mountains, plants and animals. *Viṣṇu-purāna* says the same (I.13.8-10). The fact of the birth of Pṛthu from the right hand of his father, though is not identical, but rather close to the information of companions of Alexander about appearance of Dionysos from his father's thigh (Diod. II.38.4; Strabo. XV.I.8; Arr. Anab. V.1.6). Having met a story so similar to the Greek myth, its first reteller⁴⁰ could easily «customise» it to already known story, changing «hand» on «thigh»⁴¹. Furthermore, there is no source, that said that these stories were told to the Greeks by the Indians⁴², i.e. not the Indians, but the biographers of Alexander have created this part of the legend, rather roughly customising the recovery of army of Dionysos to his birth. However this means, that the army of Alexander would meet the information coming back to classical Sanskrit *purānas*. It is hard to say, that this assumption is completely plausible.

In this case it would be possible to assume, that composition of this story in the army of Alexander the Great was influenced by local non-brahmanical tradition: in the legends of the Kafirs there is a history about the god Gish/Givish whose features are similar to what was told about Dionysos and his army. Gish/Givish was a kind of Mars of the Kafirs. Having set off in campaign with the army, he has given its participants fruits of a wonderful tree so that they were given forces. Then he led them against a demon. Though these stories differ in details a lot from the material of the Sanskrit *purānas* (we must not forget that the way of

40. This was not surely Megasthenes, since the «Geography» of Strabo (XV.I.9) and Arrian (Anab. V.1.6) assign its authorship to the «flatterers of Alexander», what could easily explain the changes of this subject in favor of Alexander.

41. R.M. Huntington states that an all other sources than «Vayu-purana» (62.119) a hand, but not a thigh is mentioned. Huntington, R.M., *The Legend of Pṛthu*, in *Purāna*. 1960. 2. 1-2. p. 190, n. 8.

42. «Διόνυσος ἔξετρεσε τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς νόσου· ἔφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτου παραδεδοκῆναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις τε-θρέφθαι τὸν Διόνυσον ἐν μηρῶ»: (Diod. II.38.4); «Sita est (urbs) sub radicibus montis quem Meron incolae appellant, inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam Iouis femine Liberum Paterem esse coelatum» (Curt. VIII.10.12).

oral communication via an interpreter presumes large simplification of the information to be transmitted), we may suggest, that originally during the Alexander's campaign through North-Western India there was told a story about the deeds of any local deity like Gish/Givish. Then, when the biographers of the campaign described the mount Meros, the story of the Dionysos' birth, whose traces in India were so much searched, was created. Megasthenes, being at Pataliputra, was necessarily looking for the information about the first Indian king and his birth also interested him a lot. Being aware of the story of the birth of Dionysos he could check up the presence of such a subject and having found analogue in the history about birth of Pṛthu – conserve it. By later writers they were mixed up and the first story was explained by the second.

Birth of Royal Power

Dionysos was proclaimed a king, since he surpassed all namely in merits (Diod. II.38-39). Taking into consideration that this episode is described in Greek categories of political thought one may find an obvious parallel to that in *Brahma-purāṇa*: Pṛthu was elected a king «*anurāgāt*», i.e. «from love», that quite precisely transmits the idea of coming to power due to the superiority not in force, but in merits: *anurāgāt tatas tasya nāma rājābhyajāyata* (4.57). The same is said by *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (I.13.48).

Dynasty of Dionysos

The most important information on this point is given by Arrianus «...καταστήσαι βασιλέα τῆς χώρας Σπατέμβαν τῶν ἐταίρων ἕνα τῶν βακχωδέστατον· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σπατέμβαν τὴν βασιληίην ἐκδέξασθαι Βουδύαν τὸν τοῦτου παῖδα... ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην Κραδεύαν» (Ind. 8.1-2) ⁴³. The

43. «... has appointed a king of the country Spatembera – one of the comrades most devoted to Bacchus, when Spatembera has died, the royal power has passed to his son Budia, [who] has transferred royal power to Kradeva».

genealogical strata of the legend permit us unambiguously to specify a hero who could be a prototype of Dionysos-establisher of the royal dynasty: this must have been an earthly mortal ruler (Strabo. XV.I.6; Arr. Ind. 5.6-8), who only in the future received divine honours, he was the first king, then has become to be esteemed as the god for his euergetic activity. This means that the gods themselves who have not passed the way from the Earth to the Heaven – Śiva, Viṣṇu, Indra – could not have direct relation to the formation of this legend in exposition by Megasthenes.

Since Sandracottos (Candragupta Maurya) and Dionysos belonged to the same dynasty (Arr. Ind. 9.9), and we know that the first Maurya belonged to the Lunar dynasty (*Matsya-purāṇa* 272. 22), so Dionysos, who put the foundation to the Candragupta lineage, and the first king of the Lunar race – were the same person. This could be only Pṛthu – first Earthly king according to the Purāṇic tradition. Pṛthu was not the founder of the Lunar dynasty, but he was its first king in its list, who stood even before its traditional founder Soma. «Initial» (*adhirājendra, adhirāja*), «first» (*prathamo*) of all the kings is called Pṛthu in *Brahma-purāṇa*:

*pārthivais ca mahābhāgaiḥ pārthivatvam ihicchubhiḥ ||...
ādirājo namaskāryo yodhānām prathamo nṛpaḥ || (4.1, 117-118) 44.*

He was given such a particular place in the kings' list, since it is after him that the Earth has received its name «Pṛthivī» (4.113). In the same way Pṛthu is glorified in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* 45.

The following ruler after Dionysos was a certain Spatamba, and after him – Budia. In the latter we may easily see Budha – the third king in the list of *Brahma-purāṇa*. Between Pṛthu and Budha the text places the reign of Soma. He was not a son of Pṛthu, and the text of Megasthenes nor approves any familial connection between Dionysos and Spatamba, whereas Budia is called the son of Spatamba (τὸν τοῦ-

44. «...and by glorious kings and by those who wish to gain royal dignity in this world... / Among the warriors let him be worshipped as primary kind, as the first ruler».

45. Patil, D. R., *Cultural History from the Vāyu-Purāṇa*, Poona, 1946, p. 28, 163. (cf. VP. I.13.92).

του παῖδα)⁴⁶. It precisely corresponds to relations between the kings described in *Brahma-purāṇa* (9.31-32; 108.56). The origin of the name «Spatemba» is not clarified; earlier proposed epithet «śvetāmbu»⁴⁷ («white spot») is not fixed in the sources. K.D. Sethna thought that this name reflects «saptāmbāḥ» («seven-watered»: RV. VII.42.1)⁴⁸. This fragment of Rig-Veda is addressed to Soma, but it does not contain such an epithet. So, this question remains open. We might suggest that the first part of this name reflects the Sanskrit «sva-».

Euergetic activity

Mythological tradition contains some data about euergetic activity of the first Indian king Pṛthu, which also may be a subject of consideration from the point of view of the theory and practice of the *rājasūya* rite. The function of universal conqueror presumed the production of the foodstuff⁴⁹. In a course of *rājasūya* king had to act as a source of the boon, which he distributed among the people⁵⁰. The Brahmanic tradition contains some information that the first king Pṛthu has found «all meal»⁵¹. It is known, that he not only «got» from Earth (represented in cow) agricultural skills in general and various fruits in particular, but also wanted «to conserve» all foodstuff, what has been done by Indian Dionysos (Diod. II.38.5). The image of Earth, ruined, infertile, found by Dionysos by coming to India, well agrees with the image of wildness in the reign of Pṛthu's father – the tyrant (but not king) Vena (VP. I.13.67-68, 86). The *rājasūya* rite itself is aimed at restoring of the exhausted forces of fertility at the end of each calendar year. In India found by Dionysos nothing was cultivated, the people lived in wildness, the soil remained raw, not giving the fruits.

46. See the analysis of the legend of the Budha's birth in Kirfel, W., *Der Mythos von der Tārā und der Geburt Buddhas*, in Kirfel, W., *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden, 1976, S. 72-90. He shows that it is namely *Brahma-purāṇa*, that conserved the most ancient and the fullest version of this myth (Ibid. S. 72).

47. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

48. Sethna, K.D., *Megasthenes and the Indian Chronology as Based on the Purāṇas*, in Purāṇa. 1966. 8.2. p. 277.

49. Ibid. p. 118.

50. Heesterman, J.C., *Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*. The Hague, 1957, p. 52.

51. See references in Ibid. p. 67.

The data of Indian sources about Pṛthu well agree with what is known about Dionysos: having subdued the Earth, he has induced it to give fruits. It is interesting to note that among others Pṛthu was proclaimed a king by the mountains, and Dionysos was especially worshiped in the mountains. *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* says, that before Pṛthu all the plants were exterminated, and people were dying of starvation (I.13.67-68, 86). *Brahma-purāṇa* describes, how due to Pṛthu the Earth started giving fruits (though – without ploughing), cows – milk, the meal appeared:

*akṛṣṭapacyā pṛthivī sidhyanty annāni cintanāt /
sarvakāmadughā gāvah puṭake puṭake madhu (4.59)⁵².*

One must attribute the fact that the soil gave fruits «*akṛṣṭapacyā*» to the glorifying of supernatural abilities of Pṛthu as king, but not to real interest of the teller to the absence of skills of ploughing in the epoch of Pṛthu. The opposite is said below. The foundation of the cities, introduction of trade, cattle breeding, ploughing, accumulation of means of life, appearance of «truth» and «lie», what is to be treated as the beginning of “laws” and “court”, settled way of life – all these innovations of “Indian” Dionysos have appeared in the time of Pṛthu’s rule:

*nahi pūrvavisarge vai viṣame pṛthivītale |
saṃvibhāgaḥ purāṇāṃ vā grāmānāṃ vābhavat tadā //
na sasyāni na gorakṣyaṇi na kṛṣir na vaṇikpathaḥ /
naiva satyānṛtaṃ cāsīn na lobho na ca matsaraḥ //
vaivasvate 'ntare tasmin sāmprataṃ samupasthite /...
tatra tatra prajāḥ sarvā nivāsaṃ samarocayan //
āhāraḥ phalamūlāni prajānām abhavat tadā...
sasyajātāni sarvāṇi pṛthur vaiṇyaḥ pratāpavān... (4. 91-97)⁵³.*

52. «Earth did not know ploughing, meal appeared without troubles / All the cows like Kamadugha, gave milk, honey was in each cup».

53. «In former creation on the rough surface of the Earth / There was no division of town and village / There was now farming, no cattle-breeding, no ploughing, not trade routes / There was now truth and lie, no avidity, no jealousy / When with this Vivasvata came the present... / Then all the living being have got settled way of life / They got meal, fruits and roots for descendants / Grain of each kind Pṛthu Vaiṇya has given...». The same text is given in «*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*» (I.13.83-84); *Bhagavata-purāṇa* also praises Pṛthu, who has introduced civilised way of life (IV. 15-18).

The fact that Dionysos has taught the Indians to plough (Arr. Ind. 7.7) may be explained by the theory according to which initially the *rājasūya* was a rite of royal ploughing⁵⁴.

Taking into consideration the fact that Megasthenes could borrow certain layer of the information from the scriptures of the companions of Alexander the Great, in particular in the part concerning the worship of Dionysos and Heracles in India, and that Megasthenes himself undoubtedly, has visited the Northwest of India, where he could receive the information from the bearers of «non-brahmanical» Indian culture, it is necessary to note, that it is practically possible to look for the parallels to this story in mythology of the Kafirs: Imra/Mara it is considered as their Supreme god. He has introduced in the life of the people a lot of important cultural innovations. He has distributed wheat, has learned the people to plough. After he has imparted to people skills of cultural life, he has passed on heavens. It is quite possible, that the bases of this history were written down not at a court yard of Candragupta, but among mountains in the Northwest of India, and in Pataliputra were already developed.

Establishment of the gods' cult by Dionysos and its features

The sources say that Dionysos taught the Indian to worship himself and other gods (Diod. II.38.5; Arr. Ind. 7.3, 8). The best and perhaps the only correspondence of the introduction of the god-worship in Indian tradition is the legend of the restoration of Vedic sacrifice by Pṛthu, abolished by his father Vena:

*maryādāṃ bhedayāṃ āsa dharmopetāṃ sa pārthivaḥ /
vedadharmān atikramya so 'dharmanirato 'bhavat //
niḥsvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ prajāś tasmīn prajāpatau /
pravṛttaṃ na papuḥ somaṃ hutaṃ yajñeṣu devatāḥ //
na yaṣṭavyaṃ na hotavyaṃ iti tasya prajāpateḥ /
āśit pratijñā krūreyaṃ vināśe pratyupasthite //*

54. Heesterman, *op. cit.*

*aham ijyaś ca yaṣṭā ca yajñāś ceti bhrgūdvaḥa /
mayi yajño vidhātavyo mayi hotavyam ity api // (4. 31-34)⁵⁵.*

Since Pṛthu was the first king in era of Manu Vaivasvata, Megasthenes could take him as first who has established the worship of the gods. Long hair of the followers of Indian Dionysos also could make the Greeks describe the character of his cult as Bacchic. Meanwhile in the *rājasūya* rite the long hair had important ritualistic sense. According to the *rājasūya* ideas, the hair comprises man's force. The force of water⁵⁶, by which king was consecrated, passed into his hair. King could not cut them off, but – only to truncate, in order not to lose his force⁵⁷. During the *rājasūya* rite, for this reason, even the servants were not permitted to shave hair or beard⁵⁸.

The part of information of Megasthenes about the worship of Dionysos in the mountains (Str. XV.1.58) could not be written down in Pataliputra. Some more parallels to this story can be traced, again, in mythology of the Kafirs: Imra/Mara – the Supreme god, – was esteemed as an inventor of dance, and founder of the first figure of the god. The first ones he has planed himself. The fact that Imra/Mara could have certain relation to creation of a legend about Indian Dionysos-cultural hero, was already marked above. These data supplement already quite clear information layer allowing to speak about possible influence of the mythological tradition of the Kafirs in formation of the bases of a history about the Indian campaign Dionysos and Heracles directly on Megasthenes or via Alexander's biographers.

55. «This king has passed the limits of the just and unjust; / Passed of the laws of the Vedas, he has given himself to lawlessness; / With this ruler the subjects did not study the sacred writing, did not commit sacrifices; / The gods in sacrifices did not get neither Soma nor libations; / «Neither sacrifices, nor libations » – so ordered this ruler... / «I must be worshipped, for me one should commit a sacrifice » – so [he has said], o son of Bhṛigu, «for me sacrifice and libation are to be committed ». Same story is represented in VP. I.13.14, 20-24.

56. We must not forget that Soma and Varuna – two principal deities taking part in the *rājasūya* rite, represented the water.

57. Gonda, J., *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View*. Leiden, 1969. p. 21. See also: Heesterman, *op. cit.*, p. 216-217.

58. Heesterman, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Conclusion.

So, we consider as fixed the fact, that the history of conquest of India by Dionysos, being formed according to the rules of Classical Greek ethnography is based on the material of Indian tradition ascending in general to the *rājasūya* rite. It has at least two layers: the army of Alexander during its Indian campaign could meet traces of the cult of local deities, probably, Śiva-like, which have supported their waiting to see traces of Dionysos' stay in India. Megasthenes, being aware of this legend, has saturated it with the «historical» details, describing the beginning of an Indian history and royal power according to the Puranic tradition.

III
«INDIAN» HERACLES:

Subject	Primary source	Secondary source
Born (as Dionysos) in India, conquered it, ruled 15 generations later than Dionysos	Megasthenes	Strabo. XV.I.6-7; Diod. II.39.1; Arr. Anab. V.3.4, Ind. 8.4; IX9; Ios. Flav. Contra Apion. I.20.144
After many exploits unsuccessfully tried to take the rock Aorn	Historians of Alexander	Arr. IV.28.1-4, Ind. 5.10; Diod. XVII.85.2; Strabo. XV.I.8; Curt. VIII.11.2.
Committed an incest at the end of his life with his unique daughter Pandaia, gave her a kingdom in the South (by the see), where (at the people of Pandes) women get married at 6 (7), and people live 40 years.	Megasthenes	Diod. II.39.2; Plin. NH. VI.23.6; Arr. Ind. 8.6-7, IX.1-8; Phlegon, Mirab. 33.2; Solin. 52.15; Polyaen. Strateg. I.3.4.

Subject	Primary source	Secondary source
Wandered all around the Earth and Sea, purified them from the monsters, found a pearl for his daughter. Among the pearls which are more valuable than gold, there are king and queen.	«some Indians, rich Hellenes, Romans» Megasthenes	Diod. II.39.2 = Arr. Ind. 8.6-13.
Divided India among his many sons, continued royal dynasty, begun by Dionysos.	Megasthenes	Diod. II.39.2; Arr. Ind. 8.6
For his deeds was worshiped by the inhabitants of the plains.	Megasthenes	Strabo. XV.I.58
Was worshiped in the tribes of Surasenoī (in the cities of Metora and Kleisobora) and that of Sibi, who thought themselves the rest of the troops, assaulted Aorn.	Megasthenes	Strabo. XV.I.8; Diod. XVII.96.2; Arr. Ind. 5.10; VIII.5; Curt. IX.4.2.
Has found many towns, Pataliputra including, which he strongly fortified.	Megasthenes	Diod. II.39.3
Many stories have been created about him.	Megasthenes	Arr. Ind. 5.10;

Subject	Primary source	Secondary source
Was distinguished by incredible courage and strength, carried a stick and a lion skin.	Megasthenes	Diod. II.39.1-2; Curt. IX.4.2; Strabo. XV.I.8; Arr. Ind. 8.6.

Conquest of India. Establishment of a new dynasty

The fact that the descendants of Heracles have become the rulers of India, where the Dionysos' dynasty already ruled (Arr. Ind.8.4) could mean for the Greek reader one more all Indian military campaign, but we must see in it only the fact of a symbolical reconquest of Earth in the *rājasūya* rite, realised by a new king or a new dynasty. For analysis of this event the key moments are: Heracles belonged to the same dynasty as Dionysos, he conquered India, established a new dynasty and had a daughter named Pandaya. All these facts may be combined only if we assume, that this part of Megasthenes' story transmits a central event of the *Mahābharata* – the victory of the Paṇḍavas over the Kauravas. Since the Paṇḍavas as well as the Kauravas belonged to the Lunar dynasty, the sequence of kings from Manu to Paṇḍu and that of their sons is represented in two versions – brief and extended – in *Mahābharata* (I.94-95). This story represented by the Classical authors also gives us the coming to power of another clan in the frame of the same dynasty. If so, it is possible, that a certain Kradeva is not a spoiled form of the name Pururvas, as generally assumed⁵⁹, but – any Kurudeva, a generalised character, which could reflect in the story of Megasthenes the last generation of the Kauravas: the second part of his name evidently reflects the Sanskrit «deva» (god), while the first come back to «kuru». The establishment of the Paṇḍavas' power was accompanied by combat actions, wanderings all over India, battles with different sorts of monsters and finally fulfilment of *rājasūya* by Yudhiṣṭhira.

59. So thought Ch. Lassen and Ch. Dumézil: Lassen, Ch., *Bemerkungen über dieselbe Stelle des Megasthenes...* S. 253; Dumézil, Ch., *Héraclès: ses fils et sa fille...*, p. 50.

The partition of the Earth between the sons of a king, that was mentioned by Megasthenes concerning Indian Heracles, was a necessary attribute of the *rājasūya* rite⁶⁰.

*Location of the kingdom of the Heracles daughter
and the problem of the “dog-headed” people*

The name of the daughter of Heracles, Pandaya, must also indicate to the coming of this story to the deeds of the Paṇḍavas. Another hypothesis is much more popular: quite a lot of researchers refer to the kingdom Paṇḍya, situated on the extreme South of India, as to historical correspondence of the kingdom of Heracles daughter⁶¹. The information on this point is given by Pliny the Elder and Solin: «*Ab his gens Pandae, sola indorum regnata feminis*» (Plin. 6.76)⁶²; «*...Crates Pergamenus Indos, qui centenos annos excedant, Gymnetas appellat, non pauci Macrobios. Ctesias gentem ex his, quae appellatur Pandae, in conuallibus sitam annos ducenos uiuere, in iuuenta candido capillo qui in senectute nigrescat; contra alios quadragenos non excedere annos, iunctos Macrobiis, quorum feminae semel pariant... Mandorum nomen iis dedit Clitachus, et Megasthenes trecentos quoque eorum uicos adnumerat. Feminas septimo aetatis anno parere, senectam quadragesimo accidere. Duris Indorum quosdam cum feris coire mixtosque et semiferos esse partus... In Calingis eiusdem Indiae gente quinquennis concipere feminas, octauum uitae annum non excedere*»

60. Dumézil, G., *Alexandre et les sages de l'Inde*, in Dumézil, G.: *La courtisane et les seigneurs colorés...*, p. 73-74.

61. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*. Bd I. S. 649-650; Kanakasabhai Pillai, V., *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*. Madras, 1904. p. 54-55; Smith, V.A., *The Early History of India*. Oxf., 1908. p. 407; Schoff, W.H., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean*, by a Merchant of the First Century. N.Y., 1912 (repr. New Delhi, 1974, 1995). p. 238; Kuiper, *op. cit.* p. 144; Dessigane, R., Pattabiramin, P.Z., Filliozat, J.: *La légende des jeux de Śiva à Madurai* (Publications de l'Institut français d'indologie. 19.1.) Pondichéry. 1960, p. xiii; Filliozat, *Pline et le Malaya*, p. 128; André, Filliozat, *op. cit.*, p. 156-157; Casson, L., *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary. Princeton, 1989, p. 218.

62. «Then follow Pandes, the only people of the Indians ruled by women».

(Plin. 7.27-30)⁶³; «...*Pandaea gens a feminis regitur, cui reginam primam adsignant Herculis filiam. Et Nysa urbs regioni isti datur, mons etiam Ioui sacer, Meros nomine, in cuius specu nutritum Liberum patrem ueteres Indi adfirmant; ex cuius uocabuli argumento lasciuenti fame creditur Liberum femine natum*» (Solin. 52.15-16)⁶⁴; «*Megasthenes per diuersos Indiae montes esse scribit nationes capitibus caninis, armatas unguibus, amictas uestitu tegrorum, ad sermonem humanum nulla uoce, sed latratibus tantum sonantes rictibusque. Apud Ctesiam legitur quasdam feminas ibi semel parere natosque canos ilico fieri; esse rursum gentem alteram quae in iuuenta cana sit, nigrescat in senectute, ultra aevi nostri terminos perennantem*» (Solin. 52.27-28)⁶⁵. From here it follows, that the information about Pandes, ruled by women, first of which was the daughter of Heracles, was known already to Ktesias, who could hardly collect the authentic information on the extreme South of India, and that this region must be searched somewhere in Northwest of India. I. Puskas believes, that already Herodotus knew the fact of existence of the Pandes, as of independent state in the extreme South of India⁶⁶. Ktesias himself could not be unaware of the fact that the people

63. «...Krates of Pergam calls the Indians who surpass the age of 100 years Hymnetes, not a few [of the writers] – Makrobioi. Ktesias says, that from them a people, called Pandes, lives in plains for 200 years, in the childhood they have white hair, that get dark in the old age, while the others, the neighbours of the Makrobii, whose women give birth only once, do not live more than 40 years... Klitarch gives them the name of Mandes, and Megasthenes counts 300 settlements of them. The women give birth being 7 years old and reach old age being 40... Duris says that some of the Indians conjoin with wild animals, and mixed beings and semi-animals appear... Among the Kalingoi – people of the same region of India, conception takes place in the age of 5 years, and they do not surpass the age of 8 years».

64. «...The people of Pandes is ruled by women, and their first queen was, as they say, the daughter of Heracles. To this region also prescribe the town Nysa and mount Meros, consecrated to Yuue, where, as ancient Indians say, Dionysos was brought up in the grotto; from this the hearsay comes that Father Liber has come from the thigh».

65. «Megasthenes say, that in different Indian mountains live the peoples with the dog heads, having claws, wearing cloths of skins, for human communication they do not use voice, but the barking from the open mouth. Ktesias says, that some women there bear children only once, and children immediately have white hair. And another people with white hair in the youth and black in the old age surpasses our limits of life».

66. Puskas, I.: *Mahabharata Motives in Classical Greek and Latin Sources*, in

«Παδαίοι» was mentioned already by Herodotus (III.98), who located them to the East of Indus. Abundance of new details says that Ktesias collected the data about them independently. Anyway ideas of I. Puskas look unproved: it is rather difficult to locate on the extreme south the people, located by Herodotus to the East of Indus. The legend of the people ruled by a woman could be reflected in the name of «Female harbour», located not far to west from the mouth of Indus, called after a woman, who was the first to rule in this region (Arr. Ind. 22.5; Ptol. 6.21.2); also it is reflected in the name of «the country Pandouoi», mentioned by Ptolemy (7.1.46) along the river Bidasp (Gydasp – inflow of Indus, nowadays – Jelum). Pliny the Elder also says that «oppidum Panda» is located «behind Paropamisadae» (6.49), that is again in the Northwest of India.

For defining the location of the kingdom of the daughter of Heracles of great help will be the analysis of the above-stated data about Pandes with comparison to the information about the «dog-headed». The question on the origin of the «dog-headed» is discussed already for a long time; as a rule, this name is explained by simple

Sanskrit and World Culture, Proceedings of the Fourth World Sanskrit Conference of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, Weimar, May 23-30, 1979, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Oriens*. 18, Berlin, 1979. S. 257-262; Idem: *Herodotus and India*, in *Oikumene*. 1983. 4. p. 204-205. It is interesting to note that K. Karttunen also refuses to connect the Pandoi of Ktesias with information about the daughter of Heracles and her people. The foundation for it is that «Ktesias belongs to much earlier time than Megasthenes»: Karttunen, *India in Early Greek Literature*, p. 206. I do not see any contradiction: namely from Ktesias Megasthenes could have direct information of the Pandes and develop it.

67. The efforts to identify the “dog-headed” see: Lassen, *Indische Aletthumskunde*. II. S. 654-656; Bunbary, E.H., *History of Classical Geography*. I. L., 1883; Reese, W., *Die griechischen Nachrichten über Indien bis zum Feldzuge Alexanders des Grossen*. Leipzig, 1914. S. 71-92; Rowlinson, H.G., *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. Cambridge, 1916. p. 66 (svamukha); Wecker, O., *Kynokefaloi*, in *RE*. Bd 12. Stuttgart, 1925. S. 25-26; Sircar, D.C.: *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. New Delhi, 1971. p. 69; Idem: *Cosmography and Cosmology in Early Indian Literature*. Calcutta, 1976. p. 233; Schwarz, F.F., *Kynokefaloi*, in *Der Kleine Pauly*. Bd III. Stuttgart, 1975. S. 400; Lindegger, P., *Griechischen und römischen Quellen zum peripheren Tibet II: Überlieferungen von Herodot zu den Alexanderhistorikern (Die nördlichen Grenzregionen Indiens)*, *Opuscula Tibetana*. 1982. 14. S. 69-70; Karttunen, K., in *Κυνοκέφαλοι and Κυνομοιολογία in Classical Ethnography*, in *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica*. 1984. 18. p. 31-36.

borrowing from the legends about «śunamukha»⁶⁷. However, R. Shafer believed, that the problem is in the mistake of the scribe of Ktesias, who instead of primary «κυλυξετο» has inserted «κυλυστο», and thus one would think of Kauravas – the dominant political power of India of that time⁶⁸.

The search for correspondence for the «dog-headed» namely in «śunamukha» causes bewilderment: this name was given by Herodotus yet in relation to Libya. Greater attention is to be paid to the significant amount of concurrences in the characteristics between

Pandes	«Dog-headed»:
a. Ruled by women (Plin. N. H. 6.76).	
b. are a part of the long-livers Makrobii (Plin. N. H. 7.28: with reference on Ktesias).	Another people... surpasses our limits of life (Solin. 52.28).
c. in the childhood they have white hair, that get dark in the old age (Plin. N. H. 7.28: with reference on Ktesias).	children immediately have white hair (Solin. 52.28).
d. The women of the Mandes – neighbors of Makrobii – The women give birth being 7 years old and reach old age being 40 (Plin. N. H. 7.29: with reference on Ktesias and Klitarchus).	Women bear only once (Solin. 52.28).
e. the first queen of the Pandes was the daughter of Heracles (Solin. 52.15).	

68. Shafer, R., *Unmasking Ktesias' Dog-Headed People*, in *Historia*. 1964. Bd 13. Heft 4, p. 499-503. K. Karttunen was right to call his viewpoint "not standing the critics": Karttunen, K., *Κυνοκέφαλοι and Κυναμολγοί...* p. 33. The fact, that historians of Alexander say nothing about them Karttunen explains in a way, that the «dog-headed... were living in a more remote place»: Karttunen: *India and Hellenistic World*, p. 27. Here he contradicts himself: according to his opinion, information of such non-aryan tribes comes from the Northwest of India: Idem: *India in Early Greek Literature*, p. 185.

Pandes	«Dog-headed»:
f. have 300 settlements (Plin. N. H. 7.29: with reference on Megasthenes)	Number 12000 people (Ctes. F. 45.30).
g. Mount Meros and town Nysa are located in their region; live in the plains for 200 years (Solin. 52.16).	Live in different mountains (Solin. 52.27).

the Pandes and the «dog-headed»:

Then we have the following picture: 1) a part of the people of Makrobii make the Pandes, who live for 200 years, whose children have white hair, getting black to the old age; 2) the Makrobii have neighbours Mandes, whose women bear once and live only till 40, their children have the same feature as well as the children of the «dog-headed», whose life surpasses known limits; 3) extremely small duration of life have the Kalongoi. If to agree that Pandes and Mandes are the same people and, most likely, it is so, the only information of the small life expectancy of the Mandes is falling from the picture of correspondence of the Pandes to the «dog-headed»; this corresponds to the data about Kalingoi. Some mess in the data occurs, because it was not a single author, but a few – living in different epoch, who contributed to the creation of this legend, therefore Pandes could receive another spelling «Mandes» and as though be separated from them, and Mandes could receive the characteristics of the Kalingoi.

The idea of the existence of the «dog-headed» people could be borrowed from the writing of Herodotus, who located them in the inner Lybia (4.191); also he was the first, who informed about Indian people of Indian people «Pandoi» (III.99). The Indian and Ethiopian (African) realities were often being mixed, so the idea of the existence of the «dog-headed» people could easily be transferred by Ktesias to India and adopted by the future writers. This explanation is as even probable, since Ktesias, describing the «dog-headed» says: «καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Καλύστριοι, ὅπερ Ἑλληνιστὶ κυνοκέφαλοι· τὸ δὲ

69. «By the Indians they are called “kalustrioi”, while by the Greeks – “dog-headed”: the people itself numbers 12000 [persons]».

ἔθνος ἐστὶν ἕως δώδεκα μυριάδων» (F. 45. 30)⁶⁹. The origin of the «Indian» name «Καλύστριοι» will give us the key for the solution of this question. Its first part– Καλύ(σ) – must go back to the name of the country of the *Kārūṣās*. The second part – στριοι – could go back to Sanskrit *rāstra* and thus the name «Καλύστριοι» could mean «coming from the kingdom of the *Kārūṣās*». Their name in this case would be close to the name of the town of Kleisobora – «*Kārūṣapūra*» – «town of the *Kārūṣās*»⁷⁰, where along with Mathura Heracles was especially worshiped (Arr. Ind. 8. 5) and make «Καλύστριοι» – «dog-headed» even closer to the Pandes. From the other hand, taking into consideration that the Pandes were ruler by women, «στριοι» could go back to Sanskrit *strī* – «woman» and mean «*Kārūṣās* ruled by women». One may not agree with interpretation of the second part of this name; of principal importance is the origin of the first part of the name of the «Καλύστριοι» as ascending to the name of the *Kārūṣās*. In both cases, however, we should admit that during oral transmission of the information (here the most incredible distortions are possible) about «*kārūṣārāśtraḥ*» or «*kārūṣāstriyaḥ*» syllables *-rāś* and *-ṣā* have dropped out. The examples of such losses in transmission of the Sanskrit names into Greek are very well known, e.g.: the name of the Śaka king Nahapāna, mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (41: 14. 2), turned into Μανβάνος, and the name of the Magadha capital Pāṭaliputra – into Παλίμβοθρα (Arr. Ind. 2.9). So, the name «κυῶνοκέφαλοι» is nothing more than offensive nickname: the Greeks did not know the language of the *Kārūṣās*, it looked like a mixture of rough sounds, and they have mentioned this fact: this clearly comes from the above cited passage of Solinus, who said that instead of human speech the «dog-headed» use for communication the dogfish barking (52.27). That's why they have given them such a nickname: in this context we should take the notion «dog-headed» as synonym of the «barbarous». So, the *Kārūṣās* – speaking doggish-like unknown language people whose worshiped ancestor was Paṇḍu – gave birth to the

70. Vigasin, A.A., *Karta Indii v «Estestvennoy istorii» Pliniya Starshogo* [Map of India in “Natural History” of Pliny the Elder], VDI. 1999. N. 1, p. 26-28 (in Russian).

idea of the Pandes in the Classical tradition, whose first queen was the daughter of Heracles, and their «Greek» name was born not in India. Searching for any designation of unknown people talking unknown language, Ktesias and then Megasthenes and all the rest naturally used such a «precise» nickname. It is highly possible that the information of Duris about semi-animals, resulted from the conjunction of the people with animals, also relates to the «dog-headed».

In any case neither Herodotus, nor Ktesias had located the kingdom of Pandaya in the extreme South of India, but somewhere in the Indo-Gang valley. On the other hand, Megasthenes perceived, certainly, the information, transmitted to him on hearing; hence notion “South” should be transferred to him not differently, as «*dakṣiṇa*». And in «*dakṣiṇa*» one must not see the extreme South of India, where the «historical» Dravidian kingdom Paṇḍya was situated; this notion designated territory of the Decan, opposite to the «Middle land» – «*madhyadeśa*». In this case the only problem is that the kingdom of Pandaya was situated to the South from other parts of the empire of Heracles.

Conclusion

In the story of the «dog-headed» people and the Pandes we see the third (in fact the first) layer of information, changed by the future generations of retellers. In all probability neither Herodotus nor Ktesias did not locate the kingdom of Pandaya in the extreme South of India, but somewhere in North-western India. This might be reflected in the name of «Women’s harbor», which lied near the mouth of Indus a bit to the West, named after the first woman ruled in those places (Arr. Ind. 22.5). Later on there have been made some new additions by Poliaenus and Arrian, which refer to the Greek and Romans traders in the Dravidian South, but this was much later than the legend has been completely formed. The adventures of the Paṇḍavas perfectly fit the need of historical events for the «Indika» of Megasthenes. In this case we must give up an idea of looking for any particular character of Indian tradition who could be Indian Heracles.

It would be hardly reasonable to try to search for all the traits of

Indian Dionysos or Heracles in any separate character. There are some details who could belong to only one character, there are others, that one may neither attribute unambiguously, nor reject as not belonging to a certain character. However if one raises the question as it was put forward till now: what Indian deity was described by Megasthenes or Alexander's biographers under the names of Dionysos and Heracles, the answer will be the following: in the story of conquest of India by both of them the figure of a king who was going to come to power and for that to fulfil the *rājasūya* rite, was reflected. As to Dionysos this was the first king of the *Purāṇas* Pr̥thu, as to Heracles – the deeds of the Paṇḍava brothers and the coming to power of the new Paṇḍava dynasty.