Primary sources and translations

The literary and epigraphical works are introduced according to their dates, authors, and circumstances of composition necessary for an evaluation of the statements they contain. The information is basic and meant for readers foreign to the respective academic fields. Within their linguistic groups they are sorted in alphabetical order. Quotes from the primary texts which make up the bulk of the first part of this book are introduced by remarks on their authors, with references to standard editions and translations. The scholar listed last in the enumeration with a colon following the page number is the author of the translation reproduced in the lines below the source text.

Chinese sources

The corpus of the literature of ancient China is conveniently accessible. There are several electronic approaches possible and the collections available are as numerous as they are different. Some provide new text divisions, others include the old commentaries in notes or different colour, some even present scans of the prints used. Whenever possible I used the material of the Chinese Text Project (ctext.org) for the historical texts, as it uses the traditional, pre-reform characters. Its text division is adopted as it allows the texts to be found even if Chinese typing is not possible. The page numbers of the classical Government Edition are included as well. For the Buddhist texts the collection of the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA; tripitaka.cbeta.org) was used, with the standard Taisho Tripitaka volume and text numbers.

Printed editions of all texts are copious and are usually discernible through their mode of reference. The Government edition of the standard histories in large folios numbers its pages with four digits; we used the 1997 Beijing edition (*zhonghua shuju* 中華書局). Apart from this there are numerous block-print editions where the sheets are folded and thread-bound. Such works have numbers followed by "a" or "b", referring to the first or second printed side on the same folded sheet. For verifying our numbers we used the 26 books in blockprint from the Song era, reprinted in 1959 in Shanghai. Many of the blockprints include interlinear commentaries of more recent times which embellish the narrative in various ways. Some such insertions are difficult to find, but YE Shaoyong was a great help tracing them.

Passages on Kushan history from the Chinese sources have previously been assembled by Zürcher (1968: 358-374), Thierry (2005: 489-527) and Dorn'eich (2011). The present selection contains some additional texts and leaves out others. Texts of a mainly religious nature are not taken into account and can be found collected in Zürcher (1968: 374-387) and Benjamin 2013.

The main difference to previous collections is that the texts are also given in Chinese characters for the reader to see what is expressed in the original and what is the interpretation of the translator. Instead of references to printed texts with page numbers, the Chinese sources are mentioned along with a "uniform resource locator" (URL) which facilitates access, as long as the URLs are valid. Unfortunately, the editors of printed editions and the homepages alike add punctuation according to their own interpretations of the text. Similar editorial freedom is seen when it comes to using modern simplified characters instead of the traditional ones, in which case the contents are not affected, in spite of the visual impression.

Despite the many helpers, mistakes or unorthodox ways of quoting may be found. They are due to my ignorance of Chinese, which was total at the beginning and has only slightly lost its impact since.

BS = Beishi 北史, "History of the Northern (Dynasties)" by Li Yanshou 李延壽, active AD 618-676. The work was completed in ca. **AD 629**. It deals with events from the foundation of the Wei empire in AD 386 until the fall of the Sui in AD 618. Our relevant passages are in 卷 97, 列傳第 85: 西域 dealing with the Western Regions. The author used the original Weishu 魏書 and other annals.

Ed.: (*Tang*) *Li Yanshou*, Bei shi, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1974, in 10 vols.

e-text: zh.wikisource.org/wiki/北史/卷097

Translation: None; excerpts in Zürcher 1968: 372-374.

FY = Fufazang Yinyuanzhuan 付法藏因緣傳, "Accounts of the transference of the Dharmapiṭaka". Translated from a lost Sanskrit original into Chinese in **AD 472** by Jijiaye (Kiṅkara?) and Tanyao, the first a Buddhist monk from "the Western Regions". It is part of the Taisho Tipiṭaka 50, no. 2058.

e-text: http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T50n2058_005

Translation: LÉVI, Sylvain, Notes sur les Indo-Scythes, *Journal Asiatique* 9ᵉ série 8.1896: 444-484 ⟨475-484 as Çrī-Dharma-piṭaka-sampradāya-nidāna (?)⟩.

Guanzi 管子, "Book of Master Guan", a collection of 86 **pre-Han or early-Han** texts from many anonymous authors on political or philosophical issues of a so-called "legalist" nature. The texts were compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 under Emperor Cheng 成 (32-7 BC).

e-text: ctext.org/guanzi

Translation: RICKETT, W. Allyn, *Guanzi* 管子 –*Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China. A Study and Translation*. Vol. 2: Chapters XII, 35 –XXIV, 86. Princeton (Princeton University Press) 1998.

HHJ = Hou Hanji 後漢紀, "Annals of the Later Han" is a work on the years AD 25 to 220 of the Eastern Han dynasty in 30 scrolls, soon eclipsed by the HHS. It was written by Yuan Hong 袁宏 (**AD 328-376**) during the Jin dynasty (AD 265-420). Yuan Hong shared some sources with the authors of the HHS, some parallels are verbally identical, others only in content. It is unclear which of the works is closer to the sources. Few cases concern the Yuezhi (cf. § 085 on the Indus).

e-text: https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/後漢紀

Translation: None.

HHS = Hou Hanshu 後漢書, "Chronicle of the Later Han (dynasty)", continues where the Hanshu has left off, in AD 24, and ends with events from AD 189. It was compiled by historians around Fan Ye 范曄 (**AD 398-445**) in the fifth century at the court of the Liu Song 劉宋 dynasty (AD 420-479). For the chapters on the Western Regions, the compilers made use of material from the Ban family. Ban Chao 班超 (AD 32-102), eldest son of Ban Biao, and brother of Ban Gu and Ban Zhao, was the general who was sent to incorporate the Western Regions, the kingdoms at the fringes of the Taklamakan, into the empire. Ban Chao's report to Emperor He 和 on his campaigns and his encounters with the Kushans forms the backbone of early imperial Kushan historiography. Since Ban Chao seems to have only reported about two Kushan rulers the question arises whether this state of affairs reflects the conditions during Ban Chao's own retreat from Xinjiang in AD 101, or rather the later report which came to the ears of Ban Zhao in AD 116. Fan Ye mentions in the last sentence of chapter 88/118 that he used information from Ban Yong 班勇, the youngest son of the general and a general himself, on Buddhism in India. At the end of the first section of chapter 88/118 of the HHS a report of Ban Yong to the Emperor An 安 in AD 125 is mentioned as a basis for the advance in knowledge of the HHS over the HS. However, since Ban Yong conquered the kingdoms in the western Taklamakan only after AD 125, his report to Emperor An could well have consisted of spin-off material from his father's pen.

It seems that the HHS mixed material from the HHJ with some from the SJ, much to the disadvantage of the contents. Some scholars, like Fussman (1998: 637), deny any certainty to the course of events as presented in the HHS.

For the e-text, including block-print of annotated text and its unicode version: ctext. com/hou-han-shu. The arrangement of the chapters on this page outlines how and why the number of chapters can vary. First we see the 88 chapters of the HHS, followed by 30 chapters (*juan* 卷 "scroll") preserved from the otherwise lost Xu Hanshu 續漢書, "Continuation of the Book of Han", of Sima Biao 司馬彪 (ca. **AD 240-306**). The Palace edition prints the 30 chapters first, while others, as the e-text of the ctext edition, place them after. The numbers "88/118" thus refer to the last chapter.

Translation (apart from the excerpts in Zürcher 1968 and Thierry 2005):

For HHS 87/117: WYLIE, Alex[ander], Ethnography of the After Han Dynasty. *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient* 1.1883 ("for the year 1882"): 52-83 (Eastern Barbarians, HHS 115), 198-246 (Southern barbarians, HHS 116), 423-478 (Western Keang, HHS 117).

For HHS 88/118: HILL, John E., *Through the Jade Gate – China to Rome. A study of the Silk Routes 1st to 2nd centuries CE. An annotated translation from the Hou Hanshu 'The Chronicle on the Western Regions' updated and expanded.* 2 Volumes [Amazon / CreateSpace] 2015.

HS = Hanshu 漢書, "Chronicle of the Han Dynasty", also called Qianhanshu 前漢書, "Book of the Former Han". It deals with the history of the Former Han from its first emperor in 206 BC up to the fall of Wang Mang 王莽 in AD 23. The text evolved within one family, Ban 班. The father Ban Biao 班彪 (AD 3-54) began writing the text around **AD 36**, which was then continued by his son Ban Gu 班固 (AD 32-92), and, after Ban Gu was undeservedly imprisoned in AD 92, finalized by Ban Chao's sister Ban Zhao 班昭 (AD 49-**140**). Because of its chronological upper limit, only the prehistory of the imperial Kushans is dealt with. The relative wealth of details on matters Yuezhi provided by the authors could be related to the fact that one of their family members, Ban Chao 班超, had been involved in military encounters with the Kushan, but there is no way to determine which authors are responsible for the relevant 96th chapter (Hulsewé 1979: 9).

e-text: ctext.com/han-shu

Translation: For chapters 61 and 96: HULSEWÉ, A.F.P. & M.A.N. LOEWE, *China in Central Asia – The Early Stage: 125 B.C. - A.D. 23. An annotated translation of chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han.* Leiden (Brill) 1979.

For chapter 94: WYLIE, A., History of the Heung-noo in their relations with China. Translated from the Tseen-Han-shoo. Book 94 etc. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 3.1874: 401-452.

For chapter 95: WYLIE, A., History of the South-Western Barbarians and Chaou-Sëen. Translated from the "Tseen Han Shou", Book 95. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 9.1880: 53-96.

For chapter 96A: WYLIE, A., Notes on the Western Regions. Translated from the "Tsëën Han Shoo," Book 96, Part 1. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 10.1881: 20-73.

For chapter 96B: WYLIE, A., Notes on the Western Regions. Translated from the "Tsëën Han Shoo," Book 96, Part 2. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 11.1882: 83-115.

Of the many commentaries of the Tang period 唐 (AD 618-907) only the scholastic **Yan Shigu** 顏師古 (**AD 581-645**) is cited (§§ 005, 006). He was the authority in his time on the Hanshu, having collected and revised all previous commentaries and created an actualized edition of the Hanshu.

JTS = Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書, "Old book of Tang", "old" in comparison to the Xin Tangshu 新唐書, "New book of Tang" (q.v.). It presents the history of the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907) in 200 "srolls", being compiled during the Later Jin period (**AD 936-946**). After the Xin Tangshu was published, the Jiu Tangshu was neglected. Until it was re-established as an official chronicle in the Qing period (AD 1644-1911) a great number of chapters were lost and later reconstructed from quotations in different sources.

Chapter 198, dealing with Samarkand and its former Yuezhi rulers may have been part of the lost portion.

e-text: https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E8%88%8A%E5%94%90%E6%9B%B8/%E5%8D%B7198

Translation: None.

LS = Liangshu 梁書, "History of the Liang state", dealing with the Liang dynasty (**AD 502-557**), written in the Tang period by Yao Silian 姚思廉. A recent edition is *Liangshu* 梁書, Beijing (Zhonghua Shuju) 1973; a scanned edition from AD 1633 is part of the eastasia.digital-collections.de.

e-text for *juan* 54: https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%A2%81%E6%9B%B8/%E5%8D%B754

Translation: None; excerpts in PELLIOT, Paul, Le Fou-nan. *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 3.1903: 248-303 (in part); LÉVI, Sylvain 1896: 176-187 (repr. 235-243 ⟨235f.⟩).

Mu Tianzi zhuan 穆天子傳, "The travels of Mu, the son of heaven", presents the travels of King Mu of Zhou, who lived in the 10th cent. BC. The fantasy novel was written in the **4th/5th cent. BC**. Different versions developed and were merged into a single text after the 3rd century BC.

e-text: http://ctext.org/mutianzi-zhuan

Translation: None; excerpts in YU 2010: 23, Thierry 2005: 489.

Nanzhou Yiwu Zhi 南州異物志, "Exotic things from the Southern Region", a description of foreign customs by Wan Zhen 萬震, written in the **3rd century AD**, preserved only in quotations. A passage on the Yuezhi was inserted as a gloss into the commentary named Zhengyi 正義 on Shiji 123 (史記正義, 卷 123), written in AD 736 by Zhang Shoujie 張守節.

e-text: http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=73729&remap=gb

Translation: None; excerpts in Zürcher 1968: 372; Thierry 2005: 496f. nos. 12, 13.

QHJ = Qian Hanji 前漢紀, "Annals of the Former Han (dynasty)", deals with the former Han period, 206 to 8 BC in 30 scrolls, ending with the usurper Wang Mang 王莽 (r. AD 8-22), written **after AD 198** by the historian Xun Yue 荀悦 at the order of the

Later Han Emperor Xian. The work partly abbreviates and rearranges the contents of the Hanshu, but the author also adds material not included in previous annals. The Yuezhi are dealt with only in the 13th chapter *xiaowu huangdi ji san*, 孝武皇帝紀三, "3rd record on the filial emperor Wu", and here only in the 8th paragraph.

e-text: http://ctext.org/qian-han-ji/xiao-wu-huang-di-ji-san

Translation: None; excerpts in Thierry 2005.

SJ = Shiji 史記, "The Scribe's Records", the first comprehensive history of China, started by Sima Tan 司馬談, 165-110 BC, astrologer to the court, and completed by his son Sima Qian 司馬遷, 135-86 BC, ending in his own time ca. **91 BC** during the reign of the Han emperor Wu. After the demise of Sima Qian the work was formalized around AD 20.

Commentators' notes have been included in the block-prints in smaller type from around AD 1100 onwards; e-texts usually distinguish these notes through colours from the basic text.

e-text: ctext.org/shiji, with pictures of various block-prints (→ Library Resources) sided by the unicode equivalent.

Translation: WATSON, Burton, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty – Revised Edition – by Sima Qian, translated by B.W.* Hong Kong (Renditions) / New York (Columbia University Press) 1993, 2 vols. (incomplete, cf. II: 455f. Our Records 110 and 123 are included).

For chapter 110 also:

GIELE, Enno transl. "The Hsiung-nu, Memoir 50", Nienhauser, William H. (ed.), *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume IX – The Memoirs of Han China, Part II by Ssu-ma Ch'ien*. Bloomington / Indianapolis (Indiana University Press) 2011: 237-310.

DE GROOT, J.J.M., *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens, Erster Teil, Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit in vollständiger Zusammenfassung übersetzt und erläutert*. Berlin / Leipzig (Walter de Gruyter) 1921. [Difficult to use as it does not provide reference numbers. Whether a text comes from SJ or HS has to be found out through back-leafing. Outdated, but with many insights.]

The favoured modern edition of the Shiji, the *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 edition, preserves the *Sanjia zhu* 三家注, "Commentaries of the Three Scholars", which were composed by **Pei Yin** 裴駰 (fl. AD 438), **Sima Zhen** 司馬貞 (fl. AD 745), and **Zhang Shoujie** 張守節 (fl. AD 725-735) respectively, and were first combined with the main text during the Song dynasty. Zhang's commentary, the *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義, "Rectifying the Meaning of the Grand Scribe's Records", is the latest of the three, with its principal strength lying in the area of explaining thorny geographical issues. The *Shiji zhengyi* often cites older texts, as the *Wu shi waiguo zhuan* 吳時外國傳 of the traveller **Kang Tai** 康泰. Sima Zhen's *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱, "Searching for the Obscure in the Grand Scribe's Records", sought to amplify and augment Pei Yin's earlier *Shiji jijie* 史記集解, "Collected Explanations on the Grand Scribe's Records". Pei's commentary, the earliest

and most comprehensive of the "Commentaries of the Three Scholars," is indeed a work that can be characterized by its title, a "Collection of other commentaries".

e-text: http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/shiji/sj_110.htm

Sūtrālaṃkāra = Da zhuangyan lun jing 大莊嚴論經. Taisho 201, p. 287a22-24; Buddhist didactic text going back to the early centuries of the first millennium. Its chapter 31 contains the theatre play Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā of Aśvaghoṣa, translated by Kumārajīva in the early 5th century.

e-text: http://www.cbeta.org/result/T04/T04n0201.htm

Translation: HUBER, Édouard, *Açvaghoṣa. Sûtrâlamkâra: Traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumārajīva*. Paris (Ernest Leroux), 1908; extracts in Zürcher 1968: 385.

Taiping yu lan 太平御覽 is an encyclopaedia from the Taiping period, written by a group of scholars from **AD 977 to 983**, using a multitude of unpublished chronicles and ancient books, thus providing an important source for the pre-Song period.

e-text: http://ctext.org/taiping-yulan

Translation: None; excerpts in Thierry 2005: 496, texte 12.

WL = Weilue 魏略, originally a work on history in 50 chapters by Yu Huan 魚豢, composed between **AD 239 and 265**. It closed with events dating to the lifetime of Emperor Ming (r. AD 227-239). The history of the Three Kingdoms (AD 220-280) is the topic of the Sanguozhi 三國志, composed by Chen Shou 陳壽 published in AD 429. The Sanguozhi was soon enlarged with commentaries, the earliest commentator being Pei Songzhi 裴松之, who lived during the southern dynasty of Liu-Song 劉宋 (AD 420-479). He added reworked passages from a chapter "On the peoples from the West" Xirongzhuan 西戎傳 from the Weilue to the end of the 30th book of the Sanguozhi.

e-text: http://ctext.org/sanguozhi/30

Translation: CHAVANNES, Édouard, Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei lio: Avant-propos. *T'oung Pao* 2nd Series 6.1905b: 519-571.

HIRTH, F. *China and the Roman Orient. Researches into their ancient and mediæval relations as represented in old Chinese records*. Leipzig/München (Hirth): 67-77.

HILL, John. *The Peoples of the West from the Weilue* 魏略 *by Yu Huan* 魚豢. *A third century Chinese account composed between 239 and 265 CE quoted in zhuan 30 of the Sanguozhi published in 429 CE.*

Draft English translation: John Hill, http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/weilue/weilue.html#section30. Excerpts in Zürcher 1968: 371f.

WS = Weishu 魏書, the first 30 chapters of the same Sanguozhi 三國志, composed by Chen Shou 陳壽 published in **AD 429**, dealing with the history of the Wei 魏. Most of

the text was lost and the work was partially reconstructed in the 11th century, making use of the Beishi and other sources. Weishu and Beishi are thus mutually linked, and so support or devalue each other. The extraneous sources used for both make it difficult to pin down events chronologically.

Not to be mistaken for the namesake Weishu 魏書 written by Wei Shou 魏收, who lived AD 506-572.

e-text: http://ctext.org/sanguozhi

Translation: None; excerpts in Zürcher 1968: 371.

XHS = Xu Hanshu 續漢書, "Continuation of the Book of Han". Written by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (ca. **AD 240-306**), who was a historian and librarian in the Western Jin 西晉 period (AD 265-316). His continued history of the Han contained 80 scrolls, including 8 treatises (*zhi* 志) in 30 scrolls and 50 imperial (*ji* 紀) and normal (*zhuan* 傳) biographies. The historian Liu Zhao 劉昭 added the eight *zhi* 志 during the Liang 梁 period (AD 502-557) to the Hou Hanshu which Fan Ye 范曄 (AD 398-445) had assembled, partly with material from the Ban family. As an original addition it is printed after the HHS in the Palace edition, while it is prefixed to the HHS in most other prints, because the events concerned precede those of the HHS in time. It does not contain entries on the Yuezhi and thus displays a certain reticence towards intercourse with the West for the period of its composition.

e-text: Placed at the end of the HHS in ctext.org/hou-han-shu

XTS = Xin Tangshu 新唐書, "New book of Tang" in 225 scrolls was submitted to the throne of the Northern Song in **AD 1060** by Zeng Gongliang 曾公亮 after being composed by a group of scholars. It aims at presenting more contents in fewer words than the first or "Old book of Tang", the Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書 (JTS q.v.). Both recognise the Yuezhi as rulers of Sogdiana until the advent of the Muslims.

e-text: https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%96%B0%E5%94%90%E6%9B%B8/%E5%8D%B7221%E4%B8%8B.

Translation: None.

Xuanzang = Datang Xiyuji 大唐西域記, "Records from the Regions West of the Great Tang" in 12 scrolls. A travel account of the pilgrim in search of Buddhist manuscripts, compiled in the Tang period (AD 618-907) by Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. AD 600-664), who forwarded his report orally to his disciple Bianji 辯機, who put it into writing after **AD 647**.

e-text: tripitaka.cbeta.org/T51n2087

Translation: WATTERS, Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D.* London (Royal Asiatic Society) 1904; *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D., Vol. II* (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, 15). London (Royal Asiatic Society) 1905.

YZS = Yi Zhoushu 逸周書, "Lost [chapters of the] Book of Zhou" is a history of early China, covering the reigns of the early Western Zhou dynasty 西周 (11th cent. - **770 BC**) rulers from King Wen 周文王 down to King Jing 周景王 (r. 544-521 BC). Parts are lost, others seem to be reworked.

> e-text: http://ctext.org/lost-book-of-zhou
> Translation: None; excerpts in Thierry 2005: 447.

Greek sources

Cassio Dio = Cassius Dio Cocceianus, Roman politician and historian with Greek background, wrote Ρωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία, "History of Rome", ca. AD 163-**230**.

> Edition with translation: *Dio's Roman History with an English Translation by Earnest Cary on the Basis of the Version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, in Nine Volumes*, VI (Loeb Classical Library, 83). London (Heinemann) / Cambridge (Harvard University Press) 1917, ʳ1963.
> e-text: penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/54*.html; www.perseus.tufts.edu

Periplus = *Periplus Mare Erythraei*, handbook for sailors by an unknown author trading between Egypt/Arabia and India, ca. **AD 65-75**.

> Edition with translation and commentary: CASSON, Lionel. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Princeton (Princeton University Press) 1989.

Ptolemy = Claudius Ptolemaeus, ca. **AD 100-160**, Greek astronomer, mathematician and geographer living in Alexandria, Egypt. His *Geography*, Γεωγραφικῆς Ὑφήγησις, "Introduction to the Depiction of the World", describes in prose and list form the positions of towns, mountains, rivers and peoples, using a grid system for the earth surface. Because of his disparate sources Ptolemy tends to misplace or misunderstand items, the more so the further they are from Egypt. Combining linear itineraries from travellers and merchants he occasionally reproduces the sequences correctly, but mixes lists, so that some lines are placed upside-down or horizontally mirror-inverted. Often we find the same place name listed twice – in different locations. His work is valuable, but the data must be treated with utmost care, not last because more than thousand years separate the lost original and the earliest preserved copies from Byzantion. From the eight books, Book 6 deals with the Middle East, Central and North Asia, and China and so covers sites with relevance to the Kushans.

> Edition with translation and commentary: HUMBACH, Helmut & Susanne ZIEGLER, *Ptolemy – Geography, Book 6. Middle East, Central and North Asia, China. Part I: Text and English/German Translations*. Wiesbaden (Reichert) 1998. – *Part II: with Klaus* FAISS, *Maps in Simplified Reconstruction, Notes and Indexes with a Supplement: NW and W India*. Wiesbaden (Reichert) 2002.

HUMBACH, Helmut & Klaus FAISS, *Herodotus' Scythians and Ptolemy's Central Asia. Semasiological and Onomasiological Studies*. Wiesbaden (Reichert) 2012.

e-text: The latest research is available through http://www.ptolemaios.unibe.ch

Strabo, ca. 63 BC - **AD 23**, Greek geographer from the Black Sea coast in Roman service.

Edition with translation and commentary: RADT, Stefan (ed.), 2004,3 = *Strabons Geographika, Band 3, Buch IX-XIII: Text und Übersetzung*. Göttingen (Vandenhoek & Ruprecht) 2004; 2008,7 = *Strabons Geographika, Band 7, Buch IX-XIII: Kommentar*. Göttingen (Vandenhoek & Ruprecht) 2008.

e-text: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/ = *The Geography of Strabo* (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge, Mass./London (Harvard University Press / William Heinemann) 1924.

Latin sources

Ammianus = Ammianus Marcellinus, AD ca. 330-**400**, his work *Rerum Gestarum*, deals with the years AD 353-378. As a soldier in the wars against the Sasanians he adds a number of his own reliable observations.

Editions with translations: SEYFARTH, Wolfgang, *Ammianus Marcellinus – Römische Geschichte, Lateinisch und Deutsch*. Berlin (Akademie Verlag), 4 vols., 1968-1971. – *Ammianus Marcellinus, With an English Translation*. John C. ROLFE. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard University Press) / London (William Heinemann) 1935-1940.

Historia Augusta: Late antique collection of biographies of emperors from Hadrian up to Numerian by unknown authors, probably assembled around **AD 400**.

Edition with translation: *Historia Augusta, Volume I: Hadrian. Aelius. Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius. L. Verus. Avidius Cassius. Commodus. Pertinax. Didius Julianus. Septimius Severus. Pescennius Niger. Clodius Albinus*. Translated by David MAGIE (Loeb Classical Library, 139) London (Heinemann) / Cambridge (Harvard University Press) 1921.

e-text with translation: penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Historia_Augusta/Hadrian/2*.html

Justinus = Marcus Junianus Justinus, author of a summary (Epitome) of the *Historiae Philippicae* of Gnaeus Pompeius **Trogus**, a historian of the first century BC dealing with the politics of Philipp II of Macedonia. His universal history started in Niniveh and ended **20 BC**. Justinus probably lived in the second cent. AD. He called his collection of quotes from Trogus *Historiarum Philippicarum libri XLIV*. The 44 chapters are introduced by the so-called **Prologues**. They have been preserved by some classical authors and provide nothing but a rough outline of the topics dealt with by Trogus. Thus we have

"Introductions" to the lost chapters of Trogus and to some even lost in Justin's Epitome.

The latest information of Pompeius concerns the last years of Augustus or the beginning of Tiberius' reign, i.e. ca. AD 15. Pompeius Trogus knows nothing about the sole *yabghu* Kujula (cf. Grenet 2006: 330, fn. 10).

e-text: http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/index.html = *Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée. Texte établi et traduit* par Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet 2003.

Tacitus = Publius Cornelius Tacitus, AD 58-**120**, Roman politician and historian. In his *Annales* he deals with the time from the death of Augustus upto and including Nero.

Edition and translation: *The Annals with an English Translation by John Jackson in Four Volumes, III: Annals, Books IV-VI, XI-XII* (Loeb Classical Library, 312). London (Heinemann) / Cambridge (Harvard University press) 1937, ʳ1963.

e-text: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Tacitus/Annals/

Iranian sources
A) In Bactrian language

Rabatak: Inscription on a stone slab in Bactrian language from the time of Kaniṣka dealing with a family sanctuary of the Kushans, presenting a full pedigree from Kujula to Kaniṣka. The site lies a short distance south-west of Baghlan in southern Bactria.

Ed. and translation: Sims-Williams, Nicholas, The Bactrian inscription of Rabatak: a new reading. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18.2004 [2008]: 53-68.

SK4 = Surkh Kotal

Inscription on a stone slab from the Kushan family sanctuary east of Baghlan in southern Bactria, dealing with the construction and repair work. The text is dated to the "Greek era" 289, again in the time of Kaniṣka I.

Ed.: Gershevitch, Ilya, Nokonzok's well. *Afghan Studies* 2.1979: 55-73.

Translation: Sims-Williams, Nicholas, Bactrian historical inscriptions of the Kushan period. *The Silk Road* 10.2012: 76-80.

B) In Middle Persian, Pahlavi and Greek languages

ŠKZ = Shahpur I: Second emperor of the Sasanian empire, reigning from **AD 240 to 270**. Apart from succeeding in three major battles over Roman emperors in Mesopotamia, he also subdued the Kushans in the East. His edicts at Persepolis are held in Middle Persian, Parthian and Greek.

Ed. and translation: Huyse, Philip, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šabuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ).* 2 vols. London (School of Oriental and African Studies) 1999.

Kerdīr: A magian acting in ever-rising ranks up to the state High Priest from Ardashir I up to Bahram III. He had a long text reiterating i.a. the deeds of Shahpur placed by the side of those of Shahpur at two places. The phrase mentioning the eastern border of Shahpur's realm, fronting Peshawar, is preserved in two of the four versions, at Naqsh-i Rustam and at Sar Mashhad, synoptically arranged in MacKenzie's edition.

Ed. and translation: MACKENZIE, D.N., *Kerdir's inscription (synoptic text in transliteration, transcription, translation and commentary)* (Iranische Denkmäler, 13; Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs, I). Berlin (Reimer) 1989: 35-72.

Paikuli: Narseh (r. AD 293-302), youngest son of Shahpur I, rectifies his accession to the throne against a group of adversaries on a stone monument at the site of Paikuli in Iraq Kurdistan (ca. 35°N 45°30'33 E) where he had received the consent of the princes inside his realm. The text was incised in Middle Persian and in Parthian.

Edition with translation and commentary: SKJÆRVØ, Prods O., *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli, Part 3,1 Restored text and translation; Part 3,2 Commentary.* Wiesbaden (Reichert) 1983.

With further parts, but not touching the Kushan passage: Cereti, Carlo G. & Gianfilippo Terribili: The Middle Persian and Parthian Inscriptions on the Paikuli Tower. *Iranica Antiqua* 49.2014; 347-412 (*non vidi*).

Armenian source

Moses Khorenats'i, historian, lived according to legends ca. **AD 410-490**. His work on the history of the Armenian people was later heavily reworked and is thus unreliable. It comes in three major sections, the first dealing with the earliest times up to Alexander, then up to Tiridates III (AD 330), then follows the Sasanian period up to AD 428. The text was enlarged by later authors. No doubt it contains ancient data but mixes personalities from different contexts rather freely.

Edition with translation and commentary: THOMSON, Robert W., *Moses Khorenats'i - History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary on the Literary Sources.* Cambridge Mass./London (Harvard University Press) 1978.

Arabic source

al-Ṭabarī = Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, Persian scholar and historian, lived from **AD 839-923**.

Ed.: DE GOEJE, M.J. et al. *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, Leiden (Brill) 1879-1901; repr. Leiden, 1964-1965.

Translation: BOSWORTH, C.E., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, V: *The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakmids, and Yemen.* Albany (SUNY) 1999.

Syriac source

Bardesanes of Edessa, AD 154-222, a "Chaldaean" astrologer and philosopher turned Christian, from Edessa in northern Greece, active in Mesopotamia, with unclear ethnic roots.

Ed. and translation: DRIJVERS, H.J.W., 2006, *The Book of the Laws of Countries – Dialogue on Fate of Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, edited and translated, with new introduction by Jan Willem Drijvers. Piscatavay (Gorgias) 2006.

Sanskrit sources

Mbh = Mahābhārata: A collection of texts from various sources and times around the story of a semi-historical war, its core redacted probably in early Gupta times, but certainly supplied with additions up to the sixth century.

e-text: http://bombay.indology.info/mahabharata/welcome.html

Purāṇas: A general term for a group of texts centering around "ancient history", with roots in BC times, but most of them heavily reworked or rewritten in the first millenium AD, and even later. Attempts at reconstructing an original core produced only few reliable results. Naturally, as with the Mbh, all texts mentioning Kushans and even Huns must be younger than their historically approved objects.

e-text: http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/#Pur

Rājataraṅginī: Historical account of Kashmir written by Kalhaṇa from **AD 1147 to 1149**. Material on the earliest periods was culled from many sources and Kalhaṇa's summaries are hardly reliable.

Ed.: STEIN, M.A., *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr. Vol. I: Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes*. Leipzig/Bombay (Harrassowitz) 1892.

Translation: STEIN, M.A., *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr. Translated with an Introduction, Commentary and Appendices, Vol. I*. Westminster (Constable) 1900.

Yavanajātaka. An astrological text for constructing horoscopes with an appendix on astronomy, written most likely in the **third century AD** by an otherwise unknown king called Sphujiddhvaja putting Hellenistic thoughts into an Indian garb.

Edition with translation and commentary: PINGREE, David, *The Yavanajataka of Sphujidhvaja, edited, translated, and commented on* (Harvard Oriental Series, 48), 2 vols. Cambridge/London, 1978. [The main text often presents emendations which are less trustworthy than the wording of the single manuscript relegated into the footnotes.]

Tibetan source

Li yul lun-bstan-pa, "Prophecy of the Khotan country", surveys the politico-religious events of Khotan from early times down to the year of its composition (**AD 890 or 902**),

being a Tibetan translation from an original in Khotanese.

Edition with translation: EMMERICK, Ronald E., *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (London Oriental Series, 19). London (Oxford University Press) 1967: 1-77.

Babylonian source

The **astrological diaries** written in Akkadian language present clear dates in combination with astral and political events. Those written in Parthian times mention contacts with forces from the East, in one case it seems that the "Tocharians" are the aim of a revenge attack (cf. § 034).

Edition with translation: SACHS, A.J. & Hermann HUNGER, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia, Vol. 3, Diaries from **164 B.C. to 61 B.C**.* Wien (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), 1996.