

## 大月氏雙靡翮侯使者萬若

“Wanruo, l’ambassadeur du *xihou* de Shuangmi des Dayuezhi”;

• and a third text from 37 BC speaking of:

## 送 . . . 大月氏休密翮侯

“escorter / raccompagner (...) *xihou* de Xiumi des Dayuezhi”.

**Note ed.:** The last text mentions the Yabghu of Wakhan, if we take Xiumi/Homi 休密 in the sense of the Chinese pilgrims.

**Note CHING:** To put the *terminus post quem* of the attestation of 大月氏王 “roi de Dayuezhi” in the Xuanquan tallies as 87 BC is now far from certain. According to HAO and ZHANG’s recent edition (2009, esp. pp. 201-207), 17 Xuanquan tallies bear a reference to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and/or Xihou 翮侯. The earliest one with the mention of Xihou was written in 43 BC, i.e. the one about Wanruo quoted by Grenet. However, one must be aware of the fact that the two attestations of 大月氏王 reported in 2004, then referred to by Grenet (2006: 339) have been reread differently in 2009. HAO & ZHANG read only one tally with the mention of 大月 氏王 (= Tally 31 in HAO & ZHANG 2009: 207). The editors explain that it is impossible to give a precise date of this fragmentary text, because the pit where it was found contained 611 tallies. Among them, 72 pieces mention the year, but their dates are highly variable, from the reign of the Zhao 昭 Emperor (87-74 BC) to very late ones.

**Note Fussman:** It is impossible to know whether the Ta-Yue-zhi king is already a Kushan or not. Ta-Yue-zhi means both Yue-zhi and Kushan in these texts.

**Note ed.:** It seems significant that in early but undateable years there was a “king” of the Yuezhi and only *yabghus* in the years 43 and 37 BC. The end of the monarchy and the installation of a polyarchical Yabghu system may well be the point in time which is at the base of the expression “more than 100 years later”, used for the take-over of Kujula (§ 056).

## The phase of the Yabghus

### 044 - Year ca. 80 BC [date = speculation ed.]: The installation of the five Yabghus

**Questions:** Did the five Yabghus exist from the time northern Bactria was invaded by the Yuezhi, or did they only later supplement or replace the Yuezhi king who, according to Zhang Qian, was still present when the land was occupied? What is the reason for the number five? Is it the topography of northern Bactria imposing a partition into five regional administrations, or was northern Bactria later supplemented by four comparatively large additional regions? It all depends on the interpretation of the toponyms.

• HS 96A.15a (3891), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·42》 = QHJ 《前漢紀·孝武皇帝紀三·8》; Zürcher 1968, 365, Thierry 2005: 498, texte 16, Hulsewé 1979: 121;

有五翕侯：

“There are five Hsi-hou.”

• HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Pulleyblank 1968: 247-248, Hill 2009: 29, CHING (private communication):

初，月氏為匈奴所滅，  
遂遷於大夏，  
分其國為休密、雙靡、貴霜、盼頓、都密，凡五部翕侯。

“Formerly, the Yuezhi were defeated by the Xiongnu.

They then moved to Daxia [Bactria]

and divided up the kingdom as Xiumi, Shuangmi, Guishuang, Xidun, and Dumi, altogether as five Xihous.”

### 045 – The various *xihou* through the centuries

The first **Yabghu** of Xiumi at Hemo:

• HS 96A.15a (3891), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·42》; Zürcher 1968: 365, Hulsewé 1979: 121-122, short forms as supplied by the QHJ 《前漢紀·孝武皇帝紀三·8》; (Thierry 2005: 498, texte 17) added for comparison:

一曰休密翕侯，治和墨城，去都護二千八百四十一里，去陽關七千八百二里；

“The first is entitled the Hsi-hou of Hsiu-mi 休密， and the seat of government is at the town of Ho-mo 和墨； it is distant by 2841 *li* from [the seat of] the protector general and 7802 *li* from the Yang barrier (...)”

**Note ed.:** Only 一曰未密翕侯。 in QHJ for the whole passage.

• HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Pulleyblank 1968: 247-248, Hill 2009: 29:

休密、

“those of Xiumi 休密 [Western Wakhan and Zibak].”

• BS 97.11b-12a (3225-3226); de Groot 1926,II: 97, Zürcher 1968: 372-373:

伽倍國，故休密翕侯，  
都 和墨 城，在莎車西，去代一萬三千里。  
人居山谷間。

“The kingdom of Chia-pei [伽倍] was formerly the *hsi-hou* (*yabghu*) of Hsiu-mi [休密]. It has its capital at the city of Ho-mo [和墨]; it lies west of So-chü (Yarkand), at a distance of 13,000 *li* from Tai (Ta-t’ung in N. Shansi). The people live in valleys.”

The **second Yabghu** of Shuangmi at Shuangmi:

- HS 96A.15a (3891), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·42》; Zürcher 1968: 365, Hulsewé 1979: 122:

二曰雙靡翁侯，治雙靡城，  
去都護三千七百四十一里，去陽關七千七百八十二里；

“The second is entitled the Hsi-hou of Shuang-mi, and the seat of government is at the town of Shuang-mi; it is distant by 3741 *li* from [the seat of] the protector general and 7782 *li* from the Yang barrier.”

**Note ed.:** Only 二曰雙靡翁侯。in QHJ.

- HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Pulleyblank 1968: 247-248, Hill 2009: 29:

雙靡、

“Shuangmi [Shighnan],”

**Note ed.:** For Shighnan on the northern course of the Wakhan river (37°33' N, 71°30' E) the Chinese also use Shih-k'i-ni, according to Watters (1905,II: 281) in his analysis of Xuanzang's account, where our “Shuangmi” follows directly, south of Wakhan, “with plenty of grapes”, as we find them in Nuristan.

- BS 97.11b-12a (3225-3226); de Groot 1926,II: 97, Zürcher 1968: 372-373:

折薛莫孫國，故雙靡翁侯，都雙靡城，  
在伽倍西，去代一萬三千五百里，  
居山谷間。

“The kingdom of Che-hsüeh-mo-sun was formerly the *yabgu* of Shuang-mi.

It has its capital at the city of Shuang-mi; it lies west of Chia-pei, at a distance of 13,500 *li* from Tai.

The people live in valleys.”

The **third Yabghu** of Guishuang at Huzao:

- HS 96A.15a-b (3891), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·42》; Zürcher 1968: 365, Hulsewé 1979: 122:

三曰貴霜翁侯，治護澡城，去都護五千九百四十里，去陽關七千九百八十二里。

“The third is entitled the Hsi-hou of Kuei-shuang, and the seat of government is at the town of Hu-tso [護澡]; it is distant by 5940 *li* from [the seat of] the protector general and 7982 *li* from the Yang barrier.”

**Note ed.:** Only 三曰貴霜翁侯。in QHJ.

- HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Pulleyblank

1968: 247-248, Hill 2009: 29:

貴霜、

“Guishuang [Badakhshan and adjoining territories north of the Oxus],”

• BS 97.11b-12a (3225-3226); de Groot 1926,II: 98, Zürcher 1968: 372-373:

鉗敦國，故貴霜翁侯，

都護澡城，

在折薛莫孫西，去代一萬三千五百六十里，

居山谷間。

“The kingdom of Ch’ien-tun was formerly the *yabgu* of Kuei-shuang.

It has its capital at the city of Hu-tsao;

it lies west of Che-hsüeh-mo-sun, at a distance of 13,560 *li* from Tai.

The people live in valleys.”

The **fourth Yabghu** of Xidun at Bomao:

• HS 96A.15b (3891), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·42》; Zürcher 1968: 365, Hulsewé 1979: 122:

四曰盼頓翁侯，

治薄茅城，

去都護五千九百六十二里，去陽關八千二百二里。

“The fourth is entitled the Hsi-hou of Hsi-tun,

and the seat of government is at the town of Po-mao;

it is distant by 5962 *li* from [the seat of] the protector general and 8202 *li* from the Yang barrier.”

**Note ed.:** Only 四曰盼頓翁侯。 in QHJ, reading Pangu instead of Xidun. – On the Middle Chinese phonetics of 護澡 cf. Pulleyblank 1962: 222, linking it to Waxšab.

• HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Pulleyblank 1968: 247-248, Hill 2009+2015,I: 28f. (with a discussion of the variant characters in this name 2015,I: 346f., n. 13.9):

盼頓、

“Xidun [the region of Balkh and Sheberghan],”

• BS 97.11b-12a (3225-3226); de Groot 1926,II: 98, Zürcher 1968: 372-373:

弗敵沙國，故盼頓翁侯，

都薄茅城，在鉗敦西，去代一萬三千六百六十里，

居山谷間。

“The kingdom of Fu-ti-sha was formerly the *yabgu* of Hsi-tun (盼頓). It has its capital at Po-mao; it lies west of Ch'ien-tun, at a distance of 13,660 *li* from Tai. The people live in valleys.”

**Note ed.:** For Chavannes (1907: 187, fn. 2) “Fou-ti-cha (...) doit être également la transcription du nom ‘Badakhshân.’” In this case we had Xidun where today the Afghan county of Takhar is situated. This is situated where the mountain road through Wakhan ends in Badakhshan, already in ca. AD 606, as seen in the itinerary quoted from Pei Ju’s preface to the Sui Shu 隋書, the official Sui chronicle, dealing with the years AD 581-618, volume 67; Chavannes 1905b: 535, fn. 3 cont. from p. 534:

其南道從鄯善、于闐、朱俱波、喝槃陀，度葱嶺，又經護密、吐火羅、挹怛、帆延、漕國，至北婆羅門，達于西海。

“La route du Sud passe par *Chan-chan* (au Sud du Lop nor), *Yu-t'ien* (Khoten), *Tchou-kiu-po* (Karghalik), *Ho-p'an-t'o* (Tasch-kourgane), franchit les *Ts'ong-ling* (Pamirs), puis traverse le *Hou-mi* 護密 (Wakhân), *T'ou-ho-lo* (Tokharestan), les *Yi-ta* (Hephthaites), le *Fan-yen* (Bamiyân), le royaume de *Ts'ao* (Ghazna ?; cf. Lévi, dans *Journ. As. Sept.-Oct.* 1895, p. 375), et arrive chez les *P'o-lo-men* (Hindous) du Nord où elle entre en communication avec la mer d'occident.”

The **fifth Yabgu** of Gaofu at Gaofu; Dumi/Yenfuye at Kaofu:

• HS 96A.15b (3891), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·42》; Zürcher 1968: 365, Hulsewé 1979: 122-123:

五曰高附翁侯，治高附城，去都護六千四十一里，去陽關九千二百八十三里。

“The fifth is entitled the Hsi-hou of Kao-fu, and the seat of government is at the town of Kao-fu; it is distant by 6041 *li* from [the seat of the] protector general and 9283 *li* from the Yang barrier.”

**Note ed.:** Only 五曰高附翁侯。 in QHJ.

• HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Pulleyblank 1968: 247-248, Hill 2009: 29 (2015: 28f.):

都密、

“and Dumi [the region of modern Termez].”

• BS 97.11b-12a (3225-3226); de Groot 1926,II: 98, Zürcher 1968: 372-373:

閻浮謁國，故高附翁侯，都高附城，  
在弗敵沙南，去代一萬三千七百六十里，  
居山谷間。

“The kingdom of Yen-fou-yeh was formerly the *yabgu* of Kao-fu. It has its capital at the city of Kao-fu; it lies south of Fu-ti-sha, at a distance of 13,760 *li* from Tai. The people live in valleys.”

#### 046 – The relation between *xihou* and *yuezhi*

HS 96A.10b (3891), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·42》; Zürcher 1968: 365, Hulsewé 1979: 123:

凡五翕侯，皆屬大月氏。

“All the five Hsi-hou are subject to the Ta Yüeh-chih.”

**Note ed.:** A discussion arose during the symposium about the semantics of *shu* 屬 “belong to”, whether indicating a status of dependency or rather denoting an inclusion, at least for the HS. The question and its answer can be regarded in combination with the “Han envoys and the Yabghus” (§§ 039, 040), where one solution would say that it is the Yabghus who provide the Han envoys with provisions. The discussion continued older controversies (cf. Thierry 2005: 472, ‘être soumis à’, Grenet 2006: 339 ‘indiquer une appartenance’, with their references).

In the following paragraph from the HHS, *shu* 屬 definitely describes subordination, cf. also § 061 (HS). Postulating a status of the Yabghus below the Yuezhi ruler, on the basis of the sentence given above implied that the Yuezhi royal family first exercised rule alongside the Yabghus and then was disempowered by them long before Kujula seized sole power. In the literature he certainly puts an end to his four co-Yabghus. For a possible date of the disempowerment of the Yuezhi royal family cf. § 044.

#### 047 – Comments on the Kabul area

**Context:** The Kabul area belonged to the Parthians before the Kushans took it. It was not one of the five original *yabghu* divisions, and therefore the Gaofu of the HS must be sought for someplace else.

HHS 88/118.9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·31》; Zürcher 1968: 367f., Thierry 2005: 520, texte 32, Hill 2009: 29:

高附國在大月氏西南，亦大國也。

其俗似天竺，而弱，易服。善賈販，內富於財。

所屬無常，天竺、罽賓、安息三國強則得之，弱則失之，而未嘗屬月氏。漢書以為五翕侯數，

非其實也。後屬安息。

及月氏破安息，始得高附。

“The kingdom of Gaofu [Kabul] is southwest of the Da Yuezhi [Kushans]. It is also a large kingdom.

Their way of life is similar to that of Tianzhu [Northwest India], but they are weak and

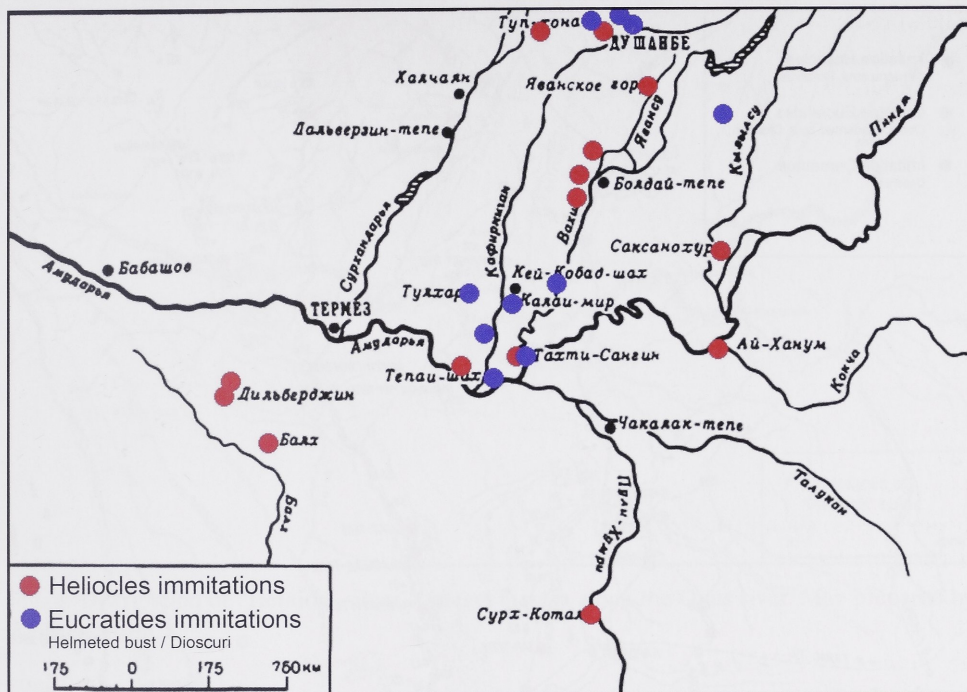


Fig. 2: Distribution of Heliokles and Eucratides imitation coins preceding the emission of the Tyrannoutos type of Kujula. Map prepared by Aleksey Gorin.

easy to subdue. They are excellent traders and are very wealthy.

They have not always been ruled by the same masters. Whenever one of the three kingdoms of Tianzhu [Northwest India], Jibin [Kapisha and Gandhara], or Anxi [Indo-Parthia] became powerful, they took control of it; when weakened, they lost it.

Gaofu [Kabul] was never previously dependent on the Yuezhi. The Hanshu was wrong when it included it among the five *xihou*.

Later, it was a dependency of Anxi [Indo-Parthia]. It was only after the Yuezhi defeated Anxi [Indo-Parthia] that they took Gaofu.”

**Note ed.:** Instead of “Later”, “Last” would agree with Thierry: “La dernière domination est celle de l’Anxi.”

#### 048 – Local distribution of Yabghus according to F. Grenet (*Journal Asiatique* 2006)

**Content:** By separating Gaofu from its namesake at Kabul and using classical and medieval non-Chinese sources the five *yabghu* realms are given places north of the Oxus in the relatively narrow stretch of 300 km width from the Iron Gates to the Ochus (Darya-i Pandj).

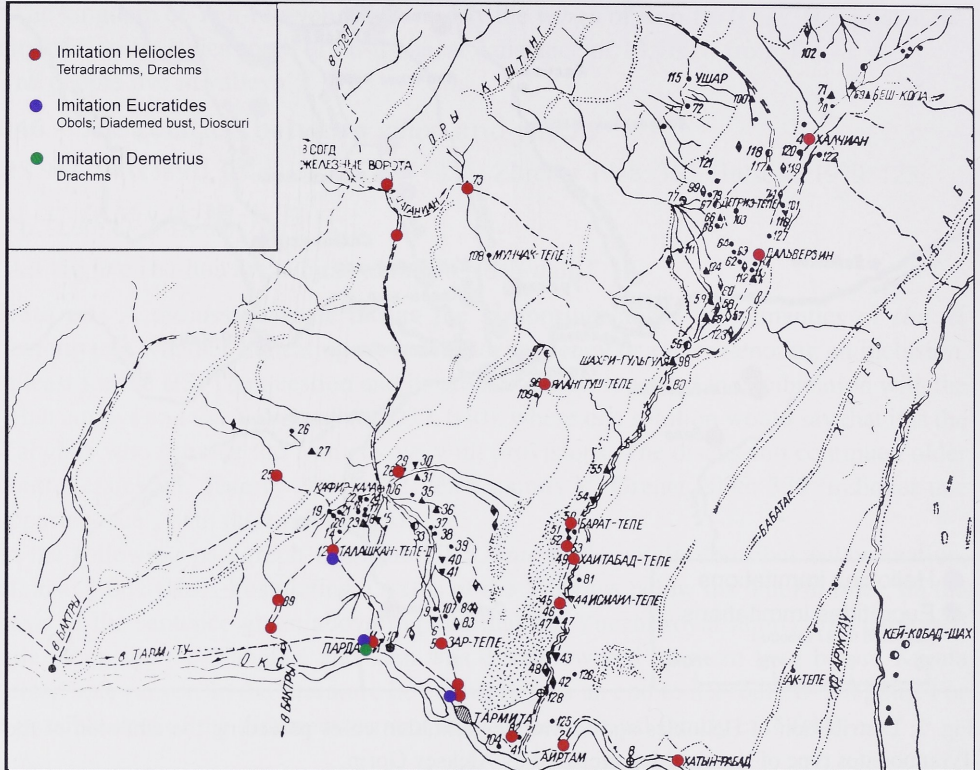


Fig. 3: Distribution of Heliokles, Eukratides and Demetrius imitation coins preceding the emission of the Tyrannountos type of Kujula. Map prepared by Aleksey Gorin.

- 1. The first *yabghu* with the shortest distance to China, had his seat at Hemo (\*g'wâ-mek, γuâ-mek), Ptolemy *kômèdoi*, Arabo-Persian *kumèdh*. This is taken to be the present Karategin, the high valley of the Wakhsh, i.e. the path by which the Yuezhi entered from the Ferghana valley into their new realm.
- 2. The second *yabghu* is located at Shuangmi (\*sûng-mia, \*shâng-mjie), that is reminiscent of the kingdom of Shūmān of Chinese and medieval Arabo-Persian sources. Its capital of the same name is usually identified as Hisar or slightly further west of Dushanbe, the realm including Khalchayan and Dal'verzintepe.
- 3. The third *yabghu* of Guishang (Kushan) had his capital at Huzao (\*g'wâg-tsog, \*hwax-tsau), that is, following Pulleyblank, Wakhshu or Wakhshab, the centre of \*Heraios coins (cf. § 075). It appears as Ōxeiana in Ptolemy, a city around the present Takht-i Sangin.
- 4. The *yabghu* of Xidun is placed in the valley of the Kafirnigan, between *yabghus* 3 and 5. The seat at Bomao (\*bâk-môg) is linked to the place which appears with the Latin accusative form Bubacene in Quintus Curtius 8.5.2, directly transposed from a Greek



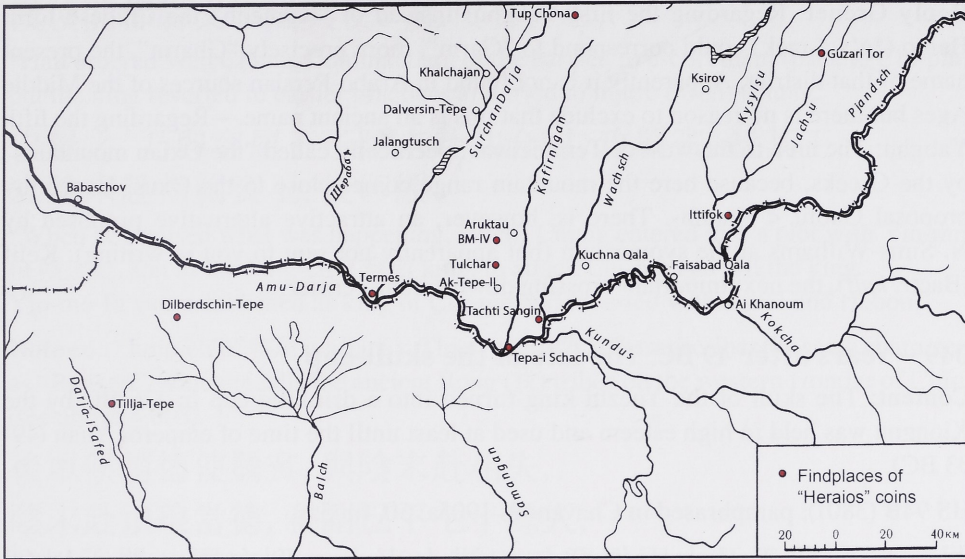


Fig. 4: Distribution of “Heraios” silver coinage, mainly along the Oxus river. Map prepared by Aleksey Gorin.

spelling.

- 5. In the HHS the centre of power of the fifth *yabghu* is called Dumi (\*tah-mlít), clearly Termez with its Bactrian form Tarmid. The HS speaks of Gaofu instead, \*kâu-b’iu, \*kauh-bôh, linked by Grenet to Old Iranian \*kaufa- «mountain, land of the hills». Thus Kabul far in the South is separated from the reconstruction, the unrecognised homophony explains why the HHS opposes the term in the HS.

**Note ed.:** Apart from Huzao (\*hwax-tsau) = Wakhshab and the latecomer Dumi = Tarmid/Termez, no equation is absolutely compelling. The classical *komedoi* range certainly is the modern Karategin, the valley of Rasht, but where is the place called Hemo (\*g’wâ-mek, yuâ-mek)? The region called Shuangmi sounds similar to Shūmān, but it is located south of the Wakhan valley in the Datang Xiyuji 大唐西域記, (“Siyuki”, Beal 1884,II: 296). Using the undefinable place called Bubacene from Alexander’s itinerary south of Samarkand to define the Chinese Bomao seems risky. Why Gaofu, explained through an Old Iranian term meaning “mountain”, should denote the land around Termez in a country consisting of mountains everywhere, can be questioned. For the times of Xuanzang at the latest it can be proven that Xiumi/Homi is Wakhan, justifying the translation of Hill. The “land of Termez” is described by Xuanzang (Watters 1904,I: 105) as having the extension of all the valleys north of the Oxus with 170 km North-South (≈ from Dushanbe to Termez) and 250 km East-West (≈ from Kulob to the Iron Gate). The *yabghu* of Gaofu still needs to be found, certainly not at Kabul, but possibly also not in Termez.

**Reply Grenet:** Regarding the first Yabghu: Instead of “Kumêdh” the Chinese form Hemo (\*g’wâ-mek) could correspond to “Garm”, more precisely “Gharm”, the present name of that district. Apparently it is not found in Arabo-Persian sources of the Middle Ages but there is no reason to exclude that this is an ancient name. – Regarding the fifth Yabghu: The area to the west of Termez was specifically called “the Oxian mountains” by the Greeks, because here the mountain range comes close to the Oxus. Hence my proposal Gaofu < \*kaufa-. There is, however, an attractive alternative proposed by N. Sims-Williams at the symposium (but apparently not sent to you in writing): Kelif (Bactr. *kalf*), the next important crossing downstream Termez.

### 049 – Years after 49 BC: The fate of the skull-cup

**Content:** The skull of the Yuezhi king turned into a drinking cup in 176 BC by the Xiongnu was held in high esteem and used at least until the time of emperor Yuan (49-33 BC).

HS 94B (3801); paraphrased in Chavannes 1905a: 50, fn. 5:

昌、猛與單于及大臣俱登匈奴諾水東山，刑白馬，單于以徑路刀金留犁撓酒，以老上單于所破月氏王頭為飲器者共飲血盟。

“[S]ous le règne de l’empereur Yuen (48-33 av. J.-C.), deux ambassadeurs chinois allèrent chez les Hiong-nou pour conclure un traité, et, afin de sceller la convention, ils burent du sang avec les chefs turcs dans le crâne du roi des Ta Yue-tche dont le chan yu Lao-chang avait fait une coupe à boire.”

### 050 – Year between 48 and 33 BC: End of the Jipin interlude with the son of Wutoulao and the usurper Yinmofu installed by Han

**Content:** Han helps an usurper to come to power in Jipin.

HS 96A.11a (3885), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·33》; Thierry 2005: 522, texte 33, Hulsewé 1979: 107:

自武帝始通罽賓，  
自以絕遠，漢兵不能至，其王烏頭勞數剽殺漢使。  
烏頭勞死，子代立，遣使奉獻。

“Communications started from (the time of) Emperor Wu [140-87 BC].

[The ruler of ed.] Chi-pin believed that it [= the country ed.] lay cut off by the long distance and that Han troops would not be able to reach it; and Wu-t’ou-lao 烏頭勞, the king, frequently menaced or killed Han envoys.

When Wu-t’ou-lao died, his son acceded in his place, and despatched envoys bearing gifts.”

漢使關都尉文忠送其使。王復欲害忠，

“Han ordered Wen Chung, Commandant of the barrier, to escort them (back to Chi-pin), but the king reverted to earlier practices and tried to injure (Wen) Chung.”

忠覺之，乃與容屈王子陰末赴共合謀，攻罽賓，殺其王，立陰末赴為罽賓王，授印綬。

“When he realised what was happening, (Wen) Chung entered into a plot with Yin-mo-fu 陰末赴, son of the Jung-ch’ü 容屈 king, to attack Chi-pin and kill the king. Yin-mo-fu was established as king of Chi-pin and invested with a seal and ribbon.”

**Note ed.:** “Jung-ch’ü” 容屈 is a hapax. Thierry (2005: 522) transcribes the same characters as “Rongqu”, which recalls the ancient Rong (戎) tribes on the western frontier of China (see above § 003).

後軍候趙德使罽賓，與陰末赴相失，陰末赴鎖琅當德，殺副已下七十餘人，遣使者上書謝。

“Later Chao Te 趙德, an army captain, was sent as an envoy to Chi-pin and fell out with Yin-mo-fu.

Yin-mo-fu had (Chao) Te bound in chains, and put to death [over] seventy members (of his mission) including his deputy.

And he then submitted a written account of the incident (to the Han emperor) begging to be forgiven.”

孝元帝以絕域不錄，放其使者於縣度，絕而不通。

“In view of the distance (at which the state lay) Emperor Hsiao Yüan 孝元 [48-33 BC] did not order the matter to be considered (for further action),

and he had the envoy (from Chi-pin) set free at the Suspended Crossing.

Relations were severed and there was now no communication (between Han and Chi-pin).”

**Note Hill:** This would seem to point to the Suspended Crossing in Hunza rather than the one along the Indus - as this was the last major barrier on the most direct route between Jibin and Pishan in the Tarim Basin.

成帝時，復遣使獻謝罪，漢欲遣使者報送其使，杜欽說大將軍王鳳曰：

“In the time of Emperor Ch’eng 成帝 [32-7 BC], (Chi-pin) again sent an envoy with gifts and a message of apology.

Han intended to send an envoy in return, to escort the mission back (to Chi-pin), but Tu Ch'in 杜欽 addressed Wang Feng 王鳳, the supreme general, in the following terms: "HS 96A.7b-8a (3886), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·34》; Hulsewé 1979: 109:

前罽賓王陰末赴本漢所立，後卒畔逆。(…)

"At first, Yin-mo-fu, king of Chi-pin, had originally been established by Han, but later he turned after all in rebellion. (…)"

所以不報恩，不懼誅者，自知絕遠，兵不至也。

有求則卑辭，無欲則嬌嫚，終不可懷服。

"The reason why (Chi-pin) has not required imperial grace and favour and does not fear punishment is that it knows itself to be cut off (from Han) by a long distance beyond the range of (Han) troops.

If there is something which it requires, its language is servile; if there is nothing which it desires, its behaviour is arrogant; and in the end the state will not be fit for acceptance as our subject."

**Note ed.:** The incident is mostly regarded as involving different groups of "Scythians", probably on account of the inexplicable names. On the attempt by YU (1992: 156ff.) to take Yinmofu 陰末赴 as Hermaios cf. Thierry (2005: 522, fn. 206). However, starting from the name *wu-tou-lao* 烏頭勞, pronounced like /a-do-ro/ in those days, we are rather close to Artemi-do-rus. For a similarly wanting middle part we can compare 丘就卻, Middle Chinese reconstructed (Pulleyblank) similar to *k<sup>h</sup>uw-dzuw-kiak*, representing Ku-ju-(la) Ka(-phsa-sa); Shiratori (1902: 129) cites the realm of *kang* 康 (not identical with the large nation of *kang-ju* 康居), with its capital of Samarkand, as an abbreviation of "Samarkand". Artemidorus held the western Panjab with Taxila and his biographical data are guessed to be in the middle of the first half of the first cent. BC. The Scythian counterpart must be Maues who held Taxila for a while. Herrmann (1914: 1804) explained the name Im-mot-hu (in Cantonese pronunciation) as "Imorgu oder Amorgu", i.e. belonging to the Saka group called Amyrgioi in classical accounts from the upper Kokcha and western Wakhan and likewise saw none else but Maues. While this explanation sounds credible, his explanation of A-t'a-lō (= *wu-tou-lao*, *a-do-ro*) as Agathokleia (ca. 100 BC) meets too many inconsistencies to deserve discussion. Artemidorus' dynasty ended in a son, name not known, who occurs on rare joint issues of him and Maues (*rajatirajasa moasa putasa ca artemidorasa*, "Of the King over Kings Maues and the son of Artemidorus"; CNG 88000618). His biographical data could partly overlap those of the emperors Wu (140-87 BC) and Yuan (48-33 BC), but strictly speaking Maues' presence is not needed for the activity of emperor Wu, while a life-date of Maues around 48 BC has been assumed for other reasons before (Falk 2011: 133-135). This implies that for the HS "Jipin" included the Taxila area. In any case, instead of an inter-Scythian strife, the episode seems to preserve the only reference to the Indo-Greeks in Chinese literature.

## 051 – Years around 20 BC: Justin = Pompeius Trogus abbreviated, on the advent of the Tocharians and the end of the Sakarauka

• End of the *Prologue* to chapter 42; de la Vaissière 2009: 528, fn. 8, Arnaud-Lindet 2003:

*Additae his res Scythicae.*

*Reges Tocharorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum.*

“On y a ajouté l’histoire de la Scythie.

Les rois asiatiques de Tocharie et la destruction des Saraouques.”

Grenet 2012: 20, fn. 4: “[T]he Asiani (became) kings over the Tocharians [i.e., Yuezhi],” or “Tocharian kings (and) Asiani.”

De la Vaissière (2009: 528, fn. 8) summarizes the prologues of book 41 and book 42 as well as the text of book 42: “[T]he Tochari killed the Parthian king and their kings, the Asiani, and occupied Sogdiana and Bactra.”

• Humbach & Faiss 2012: 21 read:

*Reges Tocharorum Asiani et interitus* [not noted as a v.l. by Arnaud-Lindet ed.] *Scarducarum* (usually read *Sacaraucarum*).

**Note ed.:** The Scythians and the Asiani intruded into Bactria during or after the time of the Diodotoi (§ 030). If we take *Reges Tocharorum* not as predicate expression, but as one part within a group of three subjects linked by a not so frequent monosyndeton (MBS § 430,1c) we get: “The kings of the Tocharians, the Asiani, and the fall of the Sacarucas,” that is three separate topics dealt with in one chapter. Different from the common understanding we see the “Tocharians” enter the scene, without the Asiani necessarily governing them. A date for these events is not provided, but may be expected to fall into the time of Augustus, whose acts close the 42th chapter.

## 052 – Year ca. 18/17 BC: Ambassadors from India visit Augustus during his four years in the East

**Context:** It is unclear whether the ambassadors came in the name of the Kushans or not. It must have been known on the subcontinent that Augustus was about to spend a longer time in the Near East. These passages may contain the first attested case of artificial crippling in India.

Cassio Dio, *Roman History* 54.9,8-10; Foster 1917: 304+306, Cary 1917: 305+307:

(...) ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος ἔς τε τὴν Σάμιον ἐπανῆλθε κἀνταῦθα αὐτὸς ἐχείμασε (...)

“But Augustus, for his part, returned to Samos and once more passed the winter there. (...)”

[8] καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα προσδιώκησε. πάμπολλαι γὰρ δὴ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε ἐσπέισαντο, δῶρα

πέμπαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις, πρῶτον τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὀφθείσας, καὶ τι καὶ μειράκιόν οἱ ἄνευ ὤμων, οἴους τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ὀρῶμεν, ἔδωκαν.

“For a great many embassies came to him, and the people of India, who had already made overtures, now made a treaty of friendship, sending among other gifts tigers, which were then for the first time seen by the Romans, as also, I think, by the Greeks. They also gave him a boy who had no shoulders or arms, like our statues of Hermes.”

[9] καὶ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ὄν ἐκεῖνο ἐς πάντα τοῖς ποσὶν ἅτε καὶ χερσὶν ἐχρήτο, τόξον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτεινε καὶ βέλη ἠφίει καὶ ἐσάλπιζεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως

“And yet, defective as he was, he could use his feet for everything, as if they were hands: with them he would stretch a bow, shoot missiles, and put a trumpet to his lips. How he did this I do not know; I merely state what is recorded.”

[10] γράφω γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα. εἷς δ' οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ζάρμαρος, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὢν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωος κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, εἴτε καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἦλθεν) ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελήσας ἐμυήθη τε τὰ τοῖν θεοῖν, τῶν μυστηρίων καίπερ οὐκ ἐν τῷ [p. 306] καθήκοντι καιρῷ, ὡς φασι, διὰ τὸν Αὐγούστον καὶ αὐτὸν μεμνημένον γενομένων, καὶ πυρὶ ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα ἐξέδωκεν.

“One of the Indians, Zarmarus, for some reason wished to die, — either because, being of the caste of sages, he was on this account moved by ambition, or, in accordance with the traditional custom of the Indians, because of old age, or because he wished to make a display for the benefit of Augustus and the Athenians (for Augustus had reached Athens);— he was therefore initiated into the mysteries of the two goddesses [Demeter and Korē], which were held [p. 307] out of season on account, they say, of Augustus, who also was an initiate, and he then threw himself alive into the fire.”

### 053 – Year 2 BC: King of the Yuezhi sends a Buddhist messenger to the Chinese court

**Context:** Buddhist teachings in 2 BC are not surprising for Bactria. The “king” may be one of those pre-Kujula rulers issuing silver coins with his portrait and name, some showing a reference to Nana on the reverse (cf. p. 282). On the antiquity of this passage cf. Zürcher 1990: 162 and on the non-existence of Buddhism in Xinjiang until ca. AD 250 cf. Zürcher 1990: *passim*.

Weilue 《魏略·西戎傳》quoted in Sanguozhi 《三國志·魏書三十·倭人傳·11》; Zürcher 1968: 371, Hill 2004: Section 6, Thierry 2005: 495, texte 10:

昔漢哀帝元壽元年，博士弟子景盧受大月氏王使伊存口受浮屠經曰復立者其人也。

“Autrefois, dans la 1<sup>e</sup> année de l'ère Yuan Shou de Aidi des Han, le disciple lettré Jing Lu reçut Yicun [at Xi'an? ed.], l'envoyé du roi des Grands Yuezhi, qui oralement lui enseigna les *sūtra* de Bouddha; celui qu'on appelle le Réapparu, c'est cet homme-là.”

**Note YE:** The “Réapparu” is from *fu li* 復立, some recensions read *fu dou* 復豆. And some Chinese scholars think that *fu dou* is a transcription of “Buddha”. So the translation of the last sentence could be: “the man is called ‘Buddha’.”

浮屠所載臨蒲塞、桑門、伯聞、疏間、白疏間、比丘、晨門，皆弟子號也。

“The *sūtras* of the Buddha record Lin pu sai (*upāsaka*), Sang men (*śramaṇa*), Bo wen (?), Shu wen (?), Bai shu wen (?), Bi qiu (*bhikṣu*), Chen men (?); all of these are names of disciples.” (transl. YE)

### 054 – The prosperity of Bactria under the united Kushans

• Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (fl. AD 725-735), speaking of Bactria, quotes in his Zhengyi 正義 on Shiji 123 the Nanzhou Yiwu Zhi of Wan Zhen 萬震, dealing with the southern countries. Thierry 2005: 496 § 13, LIU 2001: 278:

在天竺北可七千里，地高燥而遠。國王稱天子，國中騎乘常數十萬匹，城郭宮殿與大秦國同。人民赤白色，便習弓馬。土地所出，及奇瑋珍物，被服鮮好，天竺不及也。』

“The Great Yuezhi is located about seven thousand *li* north of India. Their land is at a high altitude; the climate is dry; the region is remote. The king of the state calls himself “son of the heaven.” There are so many riding horses in that country that the number often reaches several hundred thousand. City layouts and palaces are quite similar to those of the Daqin (the Roman empire). The skin of people there is reddish white. People are skillful at horse archery. Local products, rarities, treasures, clothing, and upholstery are very good, and even India cannot compare with it.”

• Quotation from the Wu shi waiguo zhuan 吳時外國傳 of Kang Tai 康泰 (3rd cent. AD) in the commentary Zhengyi on SJ 123 (3162); Thierry 2005: 495, LIU 2001: 273:

中國為人眾，秦為寶眾，月氏為馬眾也。

“While China is famous for its numerous population, and Rome is famous for its numerous treasures, the Yuezhi is famous for its numerous horses.”

- Strabo *Geographika* 11.11.1-3; Jones 1928,V: 279+281; text Radt 2004,3: 354+356, commentary Radt 2008,7: 293-296; transl. Radt 2004,3: 355+357:

Τῆς δὲ Βακτρίας μέρη μὲν τινα τῇ Ἀρίᾳ παραβέβληται πρὸς ἄρκτον, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ὑπέρκειται πρὸς ἕω. πολλή δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμφορος πλὴν ἐλαίου. τοσοῦτον δ' ἴσχυσαν οἱ ἀποστήσαντες Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας ὥστε τῆς τε Ἀριανῆς ἐπεκράτουν καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὡς φησὶν Ἀπολλόδορος ὁ Ἄρταμιτηνός, καὶ πλείω ἔθνη κατεστρέψαντο ἥπερ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος – εἴ γε καὶ τὸν Ὑπανὶν διέβη πρὸς ἕω καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰσάμου προῆλθε –, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς, τὰ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Εὐθυδήμου υἱὸς τοῦ Βακτρίων βασιλέως οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν Παταληνὴν κατέσχον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας τὴν τε Σαραόστου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Σιγέρδιδος βασιλείαν. καθ' ὅλου δὲ φησὶν ἐκεῖνος τῆς συμπάσης Ἀριανῆς πρόσχημα εἶναι τὴν Βακτριανὴν· καὶ διὰ καὶ μέχρι Σιρῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐξέτεινον τὴν ἀρχήν.

“Von Baktrien ziehen einige Teile sich nördlich an Arien entlang, die meisten aber liegen darüber hinaus nach Osten. Es ist ein ausgedehntes Land, das alles außer Öl erzeugt, und die Griechen die es selbständig gemacht haben sind durch die Trefflichkeit des Landes so stark geworden, dass sie die Herrschaft über Ariane und die Inder besaßen, wie Apollodor von Artemita sagt (FGrHist 779 F 7), und mehr Völker unterworfen haben als Alexander, besonders Menandros – wenn er tatsächlich den Hypanis nach Osten überquert hat und bis zum Isamos vorgedrungen ist –, teils er selbst, teils Demetrios, der Sohn des Euthydemos, des Königs der Baktrier: nicht nur haben sie Patalene besetzt, sondern an der weiteren Küste auch das sogenannte Königreich des Saraostos und das des Sigerdis. Er sagt, Baktriane sei überhaupt das Prachtstück der ganzen Ariane; so haben sie ihre Herrschaft sogar bis zu den Serern und den Phaunern ausgedehnt.”

πόλεις δ' εἶχον τὰ τε Βάκτρα, ἥπερ καὶ Ζαριάσπαν καλοῦσιν, (ἦν διαρρεῖ ὁμώνυμος ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸν Ὠξόν), καὶ Δάραψα καὶ ἄλλας πλείους· τούτων δ' ἦν καὶ ἡ Εὐκρατίδεια τοῦ ἄρξαντος ἐπώνυμος.

Οἱ δὲ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν Ἕλληνες καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διηρήκασιν (ὧν τὴν τε Ἀσπιώνου - καὶ τὴν Τουριούαν ἀφήρητο Εὐκρατίδην οἱ Παρθυαῖοι)· ἔσχον δὲ καὶ τὴν Σογδιανὴν ὑπερκειμένην πρὸς ἕω τῆς Βακτριανῆς μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ὠξου ποταμοῦ – ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν τε τῶν Βακτρίων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σογδίων – καὶ τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου· οὗτος δὲ τοὺς Σογδῖους ὀρίζει καὶ τοὺς νομάδας.

“An Städten hatten sie [die Griechen ed.] Baktra, das auch Zariaspa genannt wird (hindurch strömt ein gleichnamiger Fluss, der in den Oxos mündet), Darapsa und mehrere andere; dazu gehörte auch das nach dem einstigen Herrscher benannte Eukratideia.

Die Griechen die das Land in Besitz nahmen haben es auch in Satrapien eingeteilt (von denen die des Aspiones und Turiua dem Eukratidas von den Parthern entrissen wurde); sie setzten sich auch in den Besitz von Sogdiane, das nach Osten über Baktriane hinaus liegt, zwischen dem Oxos-Fluss – der das Land der Baktrier und das der Sogdier



voneinander trennt – und dem Iaxartes; dieser bildet die Grenze zwischen den Sogdiern und den Nomaden.”

## Events in the time of Kujūla Kadphises

### 055 – Years AD ±75-±89: Dates for the “Kuṣāṇa”, assumed to be Kujula, in inscriptions: Azes era 122-136

as *yaua* (*yabghu*): year 126 Azes = AD ±79 (reliquary, CKI 331)

as *maharaya guṣaṇa*: year 122 Azes = AD ±75 (reliquary, CKI 59)

as *maharaya rajatiraja devaputra khuṣaṇa*: year 136 Azes = AD ±89 (reliquary, CKI 60)

On the undated Māt statue his son Vema Takṣu is called: *kuṣāṇaputro* (§ 088).

**Note ed.:** It seems that the founder of a dynasty in those centuries had to indicate his non-royal descent through a particular title borne singly or in combination, since a “real” king had to be born from a king. Comparable cases are Arsaces I (ca. 250 -211 BC), the Parthian *autokrator* in the third cent. BC (Olbrycht 2011), Tryphon in Syria (142-138 BC, *autokrator*) and Puśyamitra, founder of the Śuṅga dynasty in the first cent. BC, who called himself simply *senāpati*, “General”, while Kujula uses his *yabghu* status to prove his elected status. None of his successors ever uses this title on coinage, while *kuṣāṇa* slowly turned into a dynastic self-designation.

### 056 – Year ca. AD ±30: Kujula does away with four co-Yabghus

HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Thierry 2005: 493 § 7, Hill 2009: 28f.:

後百餘歲，貴霜翽侯丘就卻攻滅四翽侯，  
自立為王，國號貴霜王。

“More than a hundred years later, the prince [*xihou*] of Guishuang, named Qiujiuque [Kujula Kadphises ed.], attacked and exterminated the four other *xihou*.

He established himself as king, and his dynasty was called that of the Guishuang [Kushan] King.”

**Note CHING:** The official edition reads 國號貴霜 without the final 王 *wang* “king”, which leads to an understanding as “the name of the/his state was called Guishuang”.

**Note ed.:** The year “more than a hundred years later” can refer, according to the context, either to the migration to Bactria after 176 BC, or after the installation of the five *yabghus* an uncertain time later. The latter poses no chronological problems.

### 057 – The “Heraios/Heraus” coinage

There are two views still current: a) This coinage from mainly the northern part of Bactria was issued before Kujula assumed power; b) it was issued by Kujula himself,