

praecipites, in campestrum planitiem fluvii decurrentes, Oxiam nomine paludem efficiunt, late longeque diffusam. Hic inter alia oppida celebrantur Alexandria et Cyreschata et Drepsa metropolis.

[59] “Next the Sogdiani dwell at the foot of the mountains which they call the Sogdii, through whose territories two rivers flow which are navigable by ships, the Araxates and the Dymas. These streams rush headlong over mountains and valleys into a level plain and form a lake, Oxia by name, which is both long and broad. Here among other towns Alexandria, Cyreschata, and the metropolis, Drepsa, are famous.”

[60] *His contigui sunt Sacae natio fera, squalentia incolens loca, solum pecori fructuosa, ideo nec civitatibus culta. Cui Ascanimia mons imminet et Comedus. Praeter quorum radices et vicum, quem Lithinon pyrgon appellant, iter longissimum patet, mercatoribus pervium, ad Seras subinde commeantibus.*

[60] “Next to these are the Sacae, a tribe of savages, inhabiting a rough country rich only for cattle, and hence without cities. It is overhung by the mountains Ascanimia and **Comedus**, along the base of which and through a village, which they call Lithinos Pyrgos, a very long road extends, which is the route taken by the traders who journey from time to time to the *land of the Seres*.”

The Smaller (group of) Yuezhi and the Kidarites

127 – Year AD 356/7: Smaller (group of) Kushans and Chionite (Huns)

Content: In the time of the East Roman Emperor Constantius II (r. AD 337-361) the Sasanian King Shahpur II (r. AD 309-379) was campaigning in the East and spent the winter of AD 356/7 near the realms of Kushans and Chionites.

Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10; Seyfarth 1968: 174/5:

dumque at Chionitas et Cusenos haec scripta mittuntur, in quorum confinis agebat hiemen Sapor, tempus interstitit longum.

“Während dieses Schreiben zu den Chioniten und Cusenern unterwegs war, in deren Grenzgebiet Sapor den Winter verbrachte, ging viel Zeit verloren.”

Note ed.: *Cusenos* is an emendation from *Eusenos* by Marquart (1901: 36, fn. 5) and generally accepted.

128 – Years after ca. AD 380: Kidara Kuṣāṇas take Gandhara and five kingdoms above it

Content: In the 5th century, Chinese chronicles again distinguish Large and Small (groups of) Yuezhi while speaking of different groups of Kidarite “Huns”. The one king mentioned by name in the Beishi is spelled Jiduoluo 寄多羅, reconstructed *kjie-ta-la*, and he calls himself *ki-da-ra* in monogram style on his coinage with the byname *ku-ṣa-ṇa*

also in a vertically arranged monogram, surely meant for *kuṣāṇa* (Cribb 2010: figs. 37-40). Formerly, his tribe lived in Sheng-jian-shi 剩鹽氏 (BS 97.13a; wrong for 贖監氏 Sheng-jian-shi? CHANG) or Lu-jian-shi 盧監氏 (WS 102.10a), west of Fu-ti-sha, south of the Juan-juan, who invaded them frequently. Therefore they moved west for about 2.100 *li* [880 km] to Boluo 薄羅, /boklo/ in Cantonese, assumedly Balkh, which means that the starting point was on the western end of the Taklamakan near the entrances to the Pamir transit routes through Wakhan or Komedes.

BS 97.12a (3226) ≈ WS 102.8b; Zürcher 1968: 373:

其王寄多羅勇武，
遂興師越大山，南侵北天竺。
自乾陀羅以北五國，盡役屬之。

“Their [= Larger (group of) Yuezhi ed.] king Chi-to-lo, who was brave and warlike, thereupon [= after moving west and establishing the capital at Po-lo/Balkh ed.] raised an army, crossed the great mountains and, going southwards, invaded Northern India (T'ien-chu).

The five kingdoms north of Ch'ien-t'o-lo (Gandhāra) became all subject to him.”

129 – The Kidarites active in Gandhara

Content: A short history of the Kidara Kushans starts in Gansu, including their descent from the Smaller (group of) Yuezhi and their mixture with the Ch'iang Tibetans. The identity of Fu-lou-sha can be debated, their capital south-west of Boluo (Balkh) is probably Peshawar (§ 128).

• BS 97.13a and WS 102.10; Zürcher 1968: 373:

BS: 小月氏國，都富樓沙城。其王本大月氏王寄多羅子也。
寄多羅為匈奴所逐，西徙。後令其子守此城，因號小月氏焉。
在波路西南，去代一萬六千六百里。
先居西平、張掖之間，被服頗與羌同。其俗以金銀錢為貨，隨
畜牧移徙，亦類匈奴。

WS: “The country of the Lesser Yüeh-chih has its capital at the city of Fu-lou-sha 富樓沙. Their king was originally a son of the Great Yüeh-chih king Chi-to-lo.

When Chi-to-lo had moved westward under pressure of the Hsiung-nu, he ordered his son to hold this city; hence they are called the ‘Lesser Yüeh-chih’. (Their capital) lies south-west of Pò-lu, at a distance of 15,600 miles [the BS text has 16.600 *li* ed.] from Tai.

They formerly lived in the region between Hsi-p'ing and Chang-yeh (E. Gansu), and in their way of clothing they (still) resemble the Ch'iang. As to their customs, they have

money made of gold and silver, and they move around following their herds of cattle—the also (in this respect) resemble the Hsiung-nu.”

Note ed.: For Fu-lou-sha 富樓沙 as Puruṣapura, Peshawar, cf. Faxian’s spelling 弗樓沙 in his travel account, Zürcher 1968: 374, Beal 1884,I: xxxii.

Note Cribb: There is likely to be contamination of the account of Kidara from the HHS account of Kujula Kadphises as suggested by Enoki etc. (cf. Cribb 2010: 91).

• Weilue 《魏略·西戎傳》 cited in Sanguozhi 《三國志·魏書三十·倭人傳·10》; Chavannes 1905b: 527f., Hill 2004: §3:

敦煌西域之南山中，從婁羌西至蔥嶺數千里，有月氏餘種蔥朮羌、白馬、黃牛羌。

“From Dunhuang in the Western Regions to the Er Qiang (‘Rebellious Qiang’) in the Nan Shan (‘Southern Mountains’), and several thousand *li* west to the Congling (the Pamirs), are the remnants of the Yuezhi and the Congzi (‘Brown Onion’), the Baima (‘White Horse’), and the Huangniu Qiang (‘Yellow Ox’ Qiang).”

各有酋豪，北與諸國接，不知其道里廣狹。

“Each of these peoples has its’ own chief. They are bordered to the north by various kingdoms. Neither the distance (from China), nor the extent (of their territories), is known.”

The aftermath

130 – The Kushans in lists of dynasties in the Indian epics and Purāṇas

Content: The classical Sanskrit sources, i.e. the epics and Purāṇas, are not particularly interested in preserving lists of names of foreign dynasties. They enumerate foreign ruling dynasties with an approximate number of rulers. The spellings in the manuscripts vary considerably. The Tuṣāras and Tukhāras are identical given a typical northwestern pronunciation license, and both forms clearly represent what are the “Tocharians” in other languages. Some sources speak of fourteen such Tocharians. The standard list of Kushans from Kujula to Kaniṣka III produces only ten (including Vasuṣāṇa and only one Vāsudeva; for a different list cf. Jongeward & Cribb 2015: 4), already implying a shift towards the Muruṇḍas, which are counted as another thirteen. So the classical Sanskrit sources show only that the Kushans were regarded in Brahminic circles as “Tocharians”; their dynastic self-designation as Kuṣāṇas was not favourably received.

• Viṣṇupurāṇa 4.24,12; ed.:

*tataḥ ṣoḍaśa śakā bhūpatayo bhavitārah,
tataś cāṣṭau yavanāś caturdaśa tuṣārā muṇḍāś ca trayodaśa ekādaśa maunāḥ,
ete prthivīm trayodaśavarṣaśatāni navanavatyadhikāni bhokṣyanti.*