

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 Vaskuṣāṇa 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.*

“Then there will be sixteen Śaka kings; then eight Yavanas, fourteen Tuṣāras, thirteen Muṇḍas, eleven Maunas. These will enjoy the earth for 1399 years.”

Note ed.: The numbers should not be taken literally. The first two are multiples of 8, the others decrease from 14, 13 down to 11. The *muṇḍas* are the *murunḍas*, occurring in the epigraph mentioning Kaniṣka III (§ 118) as *muroḍa*.

• Bhāgavatapurāṇa 12.1,28-29; ed.:

*tato 'ṣṭau yavanā bhāvyaś caturdaśa turuṣkakāḥ,
bhūyo daśa guruṇḍāś ca maulā ekādaśaiva tu,
ete bhokṣyanti pṛthivīm daśa varṣa-śatāni ca,
navādhikāṃ ca navatiṃ maulā ekādaśa kṣitim.*

“Then there will be eight Yavanas, fourteen Turuṣkakas, moreover ten Guruṇḍas and eleven Maulas. These will enjoy the earth for 1099 years, and eleven Maulas.”

Note ed.: Although the numbers are mostly the same, the spelling of the ruling dynasties varies considerably. The *turuṣkaka* of the printed edition refers rather to Turks than to Kushans.

• Mahābhārata 8.51,18; ed.:

ugrāś ca krūrakarmāṇas tukhārā yavanāḥ khaśāḥ.

“Gruesome and of brute behaviour are the Tukhāras, the Yavanas, the Tibetans.”

Note ed.: Follow i.a. by the Daradas and Śakas.

• Mbh 3.48,21a presents the Tukhāras along with Pahlavas, Daradas, Yavanas, Hārahūṇas, and Chinese, most of them located in and beyond the Himalaya.

• An insertion *482A:9-11 in the Harivaṃśa 31.148, a younger part of the Mahābhārata, lists the Tukhāras with Gāndhāras, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Daradas and Tibetans, Lambakas and Marundhas, thus adding the regions east of Kabul and down the Indus to the cis-Himalayan groups.

• Similar lists without particulars are found in the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 57,38-40 (*tukhāra*) and Mbh 12.65,13-14, where Turuṣkas and Tuṣāras are found within one stanza.

131 – Year before AD 335: Weak successors of the imperial Kushans render to Samudragupta

Content: The eulogy posthumously incised on a stone pillar, now at the Allahabad Fort, lists a group of dynasties which showed submission to Samudragupta (r. ca. AD 320-335). The *daivaputras* are those literally “connected with the *devaputras*”, the latter a self-designation of the Kushans. Those called *śāhi* should have ruled Gandhara and the Kabul-Kāpiśī area (following the logic expressed in § 075), those called *śāhānuṣāhi* could be successors of Iranian forces. It can be debated whether *śaka-muruṇḍa* refers to Śakas and Muruṇḍas or to Śakas which are Muruṇḍas. In any case, the *murunḍas* for

some time were at home in Lampāka, the Laghman valley, and so the whole enumeration seems to refer to countries conquered or at least controlled in the North-West.

Allahabad pillar inscription, Fleet 1888: 8, 14:

(...) *aneka-bhraṣṭa-rājyotsanna-rājavaṃśa-pratiṣṭhāpanodbhūta-nikila-bh[uva]navica[ra]ṇa-śānta-yaśasaḥ daivaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhi-śaka-muruṇḍaiḥ saiṃhala-kādibhiś ca* (L. 24:) *sarvva-dvīpa-vāsibhir ātmanivedana-kanyopāyānadāna-garutmadānka-svaviśayabhukti-sāsana[y]ācanādy-upāya-sevā-kṛta-bāhu-vīrya-prasara-dharaṇi-bandhasya prithivyāṃ apratirathasya* (L. 25:) *sucarita-śātālankṛtāneka-guṇa-gaṇotsiktibhiś caraṇa-tala-pramṛṣṭānya-narapati-kīrtteḥ* (...)

“(L. 23.) Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by establishing (*again*) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty; – whose binding together of the (*whole*) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (*his*) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (*giving*) Garuḍa-tokens, (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, &c., (*rendered*) by the Daivaputras, Śāhis, Śāhānuśāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Simhala and all (*other*) dwellers in islands; – who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; (...).”

132 – Year ca. AD 712: Yuezhi rulers of Samarkand flee into the Pamir

Content: In AD 712 Qutayba ibn Muslim took Samarkand, in AD 715 Tibetan and Turc troops attacked Kashgar. In this scenario the following movement could find a suitable place, although it seems to be mixed up with older accounts, cf. § 004.

Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書, “Old book of Tang”, AD 946, scroll 198, and Xin Tangshu 新唐書, AD 1060, scroll 221, describe the state of Samarkand. Translation of XTS by Chavannes 1903: 133f.:

君姓溫，本月氏人。始居祁連北昭武城，

(JTS 其王姓溫，月氏人也。先居張掖祁連山北昭武城，)

為突厥所破，稍南依蔥嶺，即有其地。

(JTS 為突厥所破，南依南依蔥嶺，遂有其地。)

“Le nom de famille du prince est Wen. C’était à l’origine des Yue-tche qui résidaient autrefois dans la veille de Tchao-ou, au nord (des monts) K’i-lien.

Ayant été battus par les Tou-kiue, ils se retirent graduellement vers le sud en s’appuyant sur (les monts) Ts’ong-ling et entrèrent ainsi en possession de ce territoire.”

Note ed.: Chavannes (1903: 134, fn. 1) takes the Turcs (Tou-kiue; *tujue* 突厥) as a mistake for the Xiongnu, and the expulsion mentioned as linked to our “attack no. 2”, which made the Yuezhi go west. However, understanding *Tujue* as a term for the Muslim forces with or without Turc combatants we see that this passage is in line with the context and deals with Sogdia or Ferghana, from where a flight “south” over the

Terek pass leads into the Pamirs, “Ts’ong-ling”, *congling* 葱嶺. Yoshida (2003) denies any link to the ancient Yuezhi.

133 – Year AD 1148: Memories in an Indian chronicle

Rājatarāṅgiṇi 1,168 to 173, Stein 1900: 31f.:

athābhvan svanāmāṅkapuratrayavidhāyinaḥ |
huṣka-juṣka-kaniṣkākhyās trayas tatraiva pārthivāḥ ||RT 1.168||
savihārasya [corr. Stein 1900: 30 note ed.] nirmātā juṣko juṣkapurasya[1] yaḥ |
jayasvāmipurasyāpi śuddhadhīḥ saṅvidhāyakaḥ ||169||
te turuṣkānvayodbhūtā api puṇyāśrayā nṛpāḥ |
śuṣkaletṛādideśeṣu maṭhacaityādi cakrire ||170||
prājye rājyakṣane teṣāṃ prāyaḥ kaśmīramaṇḍalam |
bhojyam āste sma bauddhānāṃ pravrajyorjitatejasām ||171||
tadā bhagavataḥ śākyasiṃhasya parinirvṛteḥ |
asmīn mahīlokadhātau sārḍhaṃ varṣaśataṃ hy agāt ||172||
bodhisattvaś ca deśe ’smīn eko bhūmīśvaro ’bhavat |
sa ca nāgārjunaḥ śrīmān ṣaḍarhadvanasaṃśrayī ||173||

“168. Then there were in this land three kings called Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, who built three towns named after them [Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura, Kaniṣkapura].

169. That wise king Juṣka, who built Juṣkapura with its Vihāra, was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura.

170. These kings who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the Turuṣka race, built at Śuṣkaletṛa and other places Maṭhas, Caityas and similar [structures].

171. During the powerful reign of these [kings] the land of Kaśmīr was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by [practicing] the law of religious mendicancy (*pravrajyā*) had acquired great renown.

172. At that time one hundred and fifty years had passed in this terrestrial world since the blessed Śākyasiṃha (Buddha) had obtained complete beatitude (Nirvāṇa).

173. And a Bodhisattva lived [then] in this country as the sole lord of the land, namely the glorious Nāgārjuna, who resided at Ṣaḍarhadvana.”

References

The following references to the compilation of sources should not be mistaken for a bibliography, for which see Puri up to 1977, paralleled by Litvinskii (1978), followed for certain years by the commented surveys of Fussman 1978 and 1987. The papers or bibliographies in the conference volumes edited by Basham (1968), Ayubi (1970) and Jayaswal (2012: 393-442) provide references to more recent work. Hill’s (2015,II: 291-347) compendium has a large collection of secondary literature; Dorn’eich (2002)